Industrial Heritage Tourism

Philip Feifan Xie

Industrial Heritage Tourism

TOURISM AND CULTURAL CHANGE

Series Editors: Professor Mike Robinson, *Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage, University of Birmingham, UK* and Dr Alison Phipps, *University of Glasgow, Scotland, UK*

TCC is a series of books that explores the complex and ever-changing relationship between tourism and culture(s). The series focuses on the ways that places, peoples, pasts, and ways of life are increasingly shaped/ transformed/ created/packaged for touristic purposes. The series examines the ways tourism utilises/makes and re-makes cultural capital in its various guises (visual and performing arts, crafts, festivals, built heritage, cuisine etc.) and the multifarious political, economic, social and ethical issues that are raised as a consequence.

Understanding tourism's relationships with culture(s) and vice versa, is of ever-increasing significance in a globalising world. This series will critically examine the dynamic inter-relationships between tourism and culture(s). Theoretical explorations, research-informed analyses, and detailed historical reviews from a variety of disciplinary perspectives are invited to consider such relationships.

Full details of all the books in this series and of all our other publications can be found on http://www.channelviewpublications.com, or by writing to Channel View Publications, St Nicholas House, 31-34 High Street, Bristol BS1 2AW, UK.

Industrial Heritage Tourism

Philip Feifan Xie

Contents

Illustrations

Figures

Plates

Tables

Acknowledgments

Any limitations in the book's thought, structure or scope are, of course, entirely my own. If I have overlooked anyone, I offer my sincere apologies. It was not due to ingratitude but to acute mental failure at the conclusion of this four-year labor of love.

Preface

For the past several decades, practical and theoretical discussions have waxed and waned on the issue of appropriating industrial heritage sites for tourism purposes. This book represents the first significant attempt to place industrial heritage in the context of tourism studies and endeavors to supplement and enhance the academic literature in this bourgeoning field. Factory and manufacturing buildings, transportation infrastructures and derelict industrial sites represent not only a value in the market for land use, but also an opportunity to create and promote new leisure activities. Refurbished and given new active roles to play in their communities, these structures are worth discovering and rediscovering by tourists and local communities alike. Industrial heritage incorporates the passage of time and represents multiple layers of cultural activities. The advent of tourism is interpreted as a social reconstruction and conceived of as an extension of heritage consumption.

This book initially coalesced in the early 2000s when I noticed a surge of interest in visiting industrial sites worldwide. The industrial landscape, including remains, ruins, waterfront warehouses and factories, once rejected by the public, has opened up new space for resourceful reinterpretation and provided an intriguing backdrop for the growth of the creative economy. There is a growing development of a new 'tourist gaze' directed at industrial heritage sites, and the potential for parlaying that gaze into a broader 'nostalgia industry' has gained attention at all levels, from the grass roots to governments. It is argued that contemporary society has experienced the third Industrial Revolution that brings industrial romance into everyday life. The revival of interest in the traditions of artisanship has led to attention to the aesthetic qualities of industrial sites, and to a concern in repurposing them. Most importantly, industrial heritage has become a rallying point for social justice movement centering on the preservation of vernacular industrial cultures and in defense of local workforces who have suffered the effects of deindustrialization.

In this book, I do not purport to present a wholly new conception of industrial heritage tourism. It is a work neither of sociocultural theory nor of industrial archaeology, although it partakes in both. Rather, it is an attempt to characterize the complex nature of industrial heritage sites' transformations into tourist attractions. The goal is to offer a theoretical framework underpinned by contemporary issues and case studies with an emphasis on linking industrial heritage tourism theory to practice. By proposing a conceptual framework and assembling the most relevant case studies on four different continents, I hope to stimulate meaningful dialogue on the impacts of tourism and to raise consciousness around the importance and value of functional and non-functional industrial sites. Overall, the subject of industrial heritage provokes an ongoing and inconclusive debate that continues to shape our attitudes toward the preserved sites and structures that comprise the diverse portfolio of social, cultural and economic valuations.

This book proposes a conceptual framework derived from the substantial amount of extant literature. The selection of the research framework was an involved process. Whether railroads, coal mines, automobiles, steel or agriculture, industrial heritage plays a key role in protecting, interpreting and, when appropriate, imaginatively adapting landscapes linked to the history of work. This proposed framework aims to better understand the interrelationships between the motives behind and attributes of industrial heritage tourism development and to integrate tourism projects into a new social landscape. It is not a collection of concepts, but rather a construct in which each motive and attribute plays an integral role. Four key motives are identified: (1) conservation; (2) space; (3) community; and (4) image. Six sets of attributes related to the listed motives are also presented: potentials and stakeholders, related to conservation; adaptive reuse, associated with space; economics and authenticity, associated with community; and perceptions, which follow image.

Many industrial sites are multifaceted in their meanings, because they have progressed over various times, and have been shaped by different social groups in different historical periods. In addition, they are related with collective social memory, local identity and interventions for new economic activities. This book applies its conceptual framework to four case studies, ranging from the failed proposal for the Jeep museum in Toledo, Ohio, to the profile of tourists visiting the salt fields in Taiwan, to the morphological transformation of the waterfront in Auckland, New Zealand, to a comparative study of developmental processes between the LX Factory in Lisbon, Portugal, and the Westergasfabriek in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. These selected studies imply a reformulation of the concept

of industrial heritage and are set in a broader context for tourism and community involvement. The analysis goes beyond the principles of urban planning and design, and reveals that tourism is widely used to rejuvenate postindustrial cities and engenders a new meaning for the industrial sites.

This book recommends that industrial heritage should be viewed as a 'living heritage' that maintains a continuous link to modern industry and plays a significant role in mediating the past, present and future. In addition, it advocates the creation of mixed-use spaces for tourism development encompassing entertainment, retailing, food, and dining to form a cluster of creative industries. Various stakeholders must work together to achieve the common goals that will uphold the sustainability of industrial heritage tourism. Particularly, there is an urgent need to understand industrial heritage tourists' profiles and preferences. Finally, tourism sites should present interactive programs that focus on diversity, rather than standardization. Industrial heritage tourism enriches the context of interdisciplinary collaboration and has already achieved many substantial criteria for an independent academic discipline. It is a field of study seeking to utilize industrial heritage for travel and tourism, concentrating on the investigation of tourist behavior and destination marketing.

Staiff *et al.* (2013: 1) suggest that heritage tourism has the communicative nature of the journeying: conversations with the deities – symbolic, material, spiritual and knowledge interactions and engagements that intensify the sanctity of the place. Scholarly research on the originality, functionality and dimensions of industrial heritage is indeed a long journey. I hope, throughout this book, to draw attention to the far-reaching implications of industrial heritage so that the great significance of tourism at industrial sites can be better appreciated, so that more informed decisions can be made concerning its planning and management and so that the benefits of industrial heritage tourism can be shared at various levels of postindustrial communities worldwide.

Introduction

The Scope of Industrial Heritage Tourism

Industrial heritage has been called the 'landscapes of nostalgia' (Halewood & Hannam, 2001: 566) in which former rust belts and brownfields are transformed into valuable assets for rejuvenation. It has long been viewed as *Les Lieux de Mémoire*, or sites of memory (Finley, 2004) where the historic and cultural past are preserved. The remains of industrial culture are identified and repackaged as sites of historical, technological, social, architectural or scientific value (TICCIH, 2003). The concept might be conceived of in different ways for different purposes. But its foundation is deeply rooted in a postmodern imagination as the industrial landscape is continually being restored, reconstructed, interpreted and packaged into a sense of regenerated meaning.

Tourism represents a powerful option for preserving heritage and an effective means of reconstructing 'landscapes of nostalgia'. As a subset of the wider field of heritage tourism, industrial heritage tourism refers to 'the development of touristic activities and industries on man-made sites, buildings and landscapes that originated with industrial processes of earlier periods' (Edward & Llurdés i Coit, 1996: 342). Promoters of industrial heritage tourism have sought to improve the image of old industrial sites and encourage appreciation for the industrial tradition. The subjects of industrial heritage encompass the material remains of industry, such as factory complexes, buildings and architecture, plants, machinery or entire communities with a considerable industrial base. Goodall and Beech (2006) suggest that industrial heritage consists of three broad categories: factory buildings, power sources used by industrial machinery and means of transporting materials. The Nizhny Tagil Charter for the Industrial Heritage, adopted by the International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage (TICCIH) in Russia in 2003, has broadened the scope of industrial sites; in addition to buildings, machinery, workshops, mills, factories, mines and warehouses, it also includes places where 'energy is generated, transmitted and used, transport and all its infrastructure, as well as places used for social activities related to industry such as housing, religious worship or education'. By turning such

sites into tourist attractions, it becomes possible to educate tourists on the histories of economic production and social stratification (Timothy, 2007). Most importantly, these industrial resources embody a distinctive place identity that shapes the character of former centers of industry, and in so doing, create a source of pride for local residents. As the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO, 2013) points out, industrial heritage should be viewed as an important aspect of world civilization because 'industrial sites are important milestones in the history of humanity, marking humankind's dual power of destruction and creation that engenders both nuisances and progress'.

The scope of industrial heritage encompasses tangible and intangible assets. Tangible assets comprise the vernacular built environment while intangibles show the cultural value embedded in the heritage sites (Firth, 2011). In the process of converting these assets into tourist attractions, tourism promoters and communities turn them into 'theatres of memory' (Samuel, 1994: viii) in which historic drama is salvaged and retold. Tourism serves as not only a catalyst for finding meaning and identity in the industrial past (Gouthro & Palmer, 2011), but also as a means to industrial heritage conservation. The creation of industrial heritage tourism sites, and the concomitant process of restoring industrial architecture for tourist purposes, can be utilized as a basis for revitalization, both in an economic and a cultural sense. In turn, this revitalization helps former sites of industry and the communities that contain them, to regain valid meaning for contemporary society (Bodurow, 2003). Stratton (2000: 8) describes the success of developing the industrial heritage as follows: 'regeneration works best if it is based on broad principles of conservation, building incrementally on surviving resources in terms of buildings, landscape, and people'. Scholars of industrial heritage tourism have observed that the production of tourist sites effectively creates a sense of place and promotes values such as uniqueness, imagination, authenticity, sustainability and community participation (Gunn & Var, 2002). The purpose of industrial heritage tourism provides visitors with 'a heritage with which to continually interact, one which fuses with the present' (Lowenthal, 1999: 410) and a satisfactory tour of the 'aesthetics of deindustrialization' (Edwards & Llurdés i Coit, 1996: 343). It helps improve industrial image, counteract public prejudice and enhance economic development. Eventually, industrial heritage tourism has become an integral part of cultural landscape tourism (Prentice, 1997) in which beauty is in the eye of the beholder.

Areas of industrial tourism, among many, include the course of American industrial decline in Lowell, Massachusetts (Gross, 2000), problems faced by mining museums in South Wales and New Zealand

(Legget, 2011; Wanhill, 2000), cultural resistance to the development of industrial heritage in Bolivia (Pretes, 2002) and the contested interpretations of images of industrial cities in the UK (Bramwell & Rawding, 1996). Perspectives of industrial heritage have varied from geographically isolated mines and quarries (Ball, 2000; Edwards & Llurdés, 1996; Jansen-Verbeke, 1997; Vargas-Sanchez *et al.*, 2009) as tourist attractions, to Scottish malt whisky distilleries as a means of green tourism (McBoyle, 1996), to the Ironbridge Gorge Museum as the birthplace of the Industrial Revolution in England (Alfrey & Clark, 1993), to railway heritage destinations as a romantic era of tourism (Conlin & Bird, 2014), to an inner city, multi-ethnic neighborhood in Birmingham as a balance between economic and social goals (Caffyn & Lutz, 1999). They can be classified as productive, processing and transport attractions (Llurdés i Coit, 2001) and serve as an important legacy that is of central relevance to tourism in the cities. Furthermore, tourist sites that do not focus on industrial heritage *per se*, but make use of former industrial buildings in order to house other kinds of attractions, are rising to prominence. The recent success of Tate Modern in London, which adaptively reused the former Bankside Power Station, and the Canal of Saint-Martin in Paris, France, which renovated the surviving industrial landmarks of the neighborhood, have proved that tourism has become a driving force for urban regeneration. Haan (2011) documents that about 124 key museums and visitor attractions in the UK with industrial and social history as their core offering have attracted an impressive total of 103 million visits from 2001 to 2010, with the yearly figure for 2005 standing at 12.4 million. These numbers demonstrate that industrial heritage tourism is far from a niche market in the UK, but a fast-growing segment that has developed across the rest of Europe. Industrial heritage tourism is a subject of considerable interest for scholars of tourism and urban planners because it represents an important socioeconomic phenomenon (Bazin, 1998).

The increase in popularity of industrial heritage tourism can be attributed to eroding temporal boundaries between 'heritage of the recent past' (Walton, 2009) and 'future heritage' (Fairclough, 2008). Hobsbawm (2012) argues that societies and cultures invent new traditions based upon knowledge of the past and cultural practices established throughout history. Jameson (2001: 57) calls 'invented traditions' as 'pastiche' or 'blank parody' that 'in a wild in which stylistic innovation is no longer possible, all that is left is to imitate dead styles, to speak through the masks and with the voices of the styles in the imaginary museum'. Industrial heritage interpretation has become a product of contemporary interest and represents selective images of a preferred past (Schofield, 1996). As

Bernard-Henri Lévy (2007: 79) comments on his tour of the Space Needle in Seattle, Washington, industrial sites represent 'poetry and modernity, precariousness and technical challenge, lightness of form meshed with a Babel syndrome, city lights, and haunting quality of darkness, tall trees of steel'. It is a mixture of the real and the imagined that gives industrial attractions a special meaning. Consequently, former industrial sites have become *la mode rétro*, increasingly romanticized and sanitized as a part of gentrification, commodification and postindustrialism.

The flip side of the sanitized nostalgia promoted by industrial heritage tourism, however, is a concern about the impact of postindustrialization on Western societies, and anxiety about the postmodern economics and sensibilities that emerge in the wake of deindustrialization, such as the rise in computerized and automated production techniques (Beaudet & Lundgren, 1996). Traditional industry, including numerous sites located underground (e.g. mines) or on the earth's surface (e.g. plants), gives tourists nostalgic affection and novel experiences. High and Lewis (2007: 9) use the term 'industrial sublime' to describe the phenomenon of 'nostalgia for vanishing landmarks', or the 'museumification' of industrial landscape. It is evident that there is a surge of interest in industrial heritage tourism that 'in recent years, a flurry of coffee table books has also appeared, celebrating everything from vanishing "Wheat Kings" (country grain elevators) to the "Industrial Cathedrals of the North" (mine headframes)'.

By stressing the value of the local industrial past and present, the shift to tourism may enhance the residents' identity and encourage localization in a gradually more globalized world. Industrial heritage tourism engenders an interesting 'new combination' (Hospers, 2002: 401): it improves a region's image and functions as a public relations tool to counteract public prejudices against industrial areas in decline (Goodall, 1994; Harris, 1989). It is a type of 'new tourism' where 'sustained value creation' (Ryan, 2002) aims to benefit communities, environments, businesses and tourists. For example, there is a growing group of people in Japan who are willing to pay for guided tours and even cruises of industrial sites. This movement is called *Kojo Moe* in Japanese, which literally translates to something like 'factory love' to enjoy industrial landscapes by participating in numerous nighttime cruises around industrial areas, photography, blogs, etc. As Andrews (2011) reports, in conjunction with the meteoric rise of industrial heritage awareness in Japan, this new form of tourism '[spreads] the word that processing plants, manufacturing facilities, chimneys…yes, these can be beautiful!'.

In a similar vein, the success of the Christmas fantasy film *Polar Express*, was captured in Owosso, Michigan, and used the Pere Marquette

1225 for the running train, one of the biggest steam locomotives operating in the US. The movie made the 1225 model a bigger tourist draw than it already was. Samilton (2013) observes that on a bitterly cold Friday night in December, hundreds of people line up on the platform outside the steam railroading museum to ride a 66-year-old piece of American history. The train leaves for its hour-long run to the 'North Pole,' aka Ashley, Michigan, where Santa Claus is supposed to wait. The excited kids and adults who love the children's book or animated movie, the staff and the volunteers play up all the references. There's even someone pretending to be the ghostly Hobo character. Dan Kirschman, who has volunteered there since 1987, says a steam engine isn't just a machine. 'A steam locomotive is more like a living, breathing thing', he says, 'as it's running, it has a pulse, it has a character'.

Despite the significance of industrial heritage, the development of tourism poses a challenge for urban conservation and planning. Industrial heritage is a complex issue to be interpreted and understood in a wider social context. Researchers have criticized the phenomenon of heritage tourism, arguing that it is mainly driven by nostalgia and the desire to relive a glorified, misremembered version of the past (Caton & Santos, 2007). Faulker (1978) offers the terms 'heritage of objects' and 'heritage of ideas'. The former includes objects or buildings that comprise an important historic record, while the latter relates to an emotional need. Industrial heritage is an amalgamation of both objects and ideas intended to further the continuity and substantiality of collective identity. The development of industrial heritage tourism endeavors to create overall tourist experiences that maintain a historical identity and the spirit of the past. Such goals inherently contain the potential for both problems and opportunities. Initially, the constructed and syncretic nature of industrial heritage arises from an invented tradition. Industrial sites are transformed for historic consumption where tourists seek an interpretation representing popular images of a destination's culture and heritage. Concerns with authenticity and commodification are prevalent in industrial heritage tourism, and are seen by some as an attribute of postmodernity and the growing pursuit of heritage of all kinds (Conran, 2006; Kim & Jamal, 2007). The act of visual consumption that makes industrial heritage a viable and increasingly popular form of tourism also contributes to the distortion of industrial landscapes, transforming them into aestheticized spaces of leisure and entertainment (Urry, 2002). Ashworth (1992) indicates that the creation of heritage tourism sites has gradually morphed into a commodification process in which selection becomes increasingly essential. Summerby-Murray (2002) echoes that the heritage discourse is constructed through

selective memory in the celebration, commemoration and commodification processes. Reconstructing the past in the present representation remains problematic as industrial sites are converted into 'phantasmal destination[s]' (Gao *et al.*, 2012), favored by tourists primarily because of an industrial myth associated with them. Rather than attempting to faithfully reproduce an historical moment, industrial heritage tourism often presents a trendy, commodified version of history fraught with spectacles and simulacra: what other scholars call 'historic theme parks' (Timothy & Boyd, 2003), 'hot interpretation' (Uzzell & Ballantyne, 2008) or 'tourism heritage' (Weaver, 2011).

Perhaps the biggest challenge lies in tailoring the industrial experience to appeal to a variety of tastes and social changes, namely, that the desire to present an 'authentic' historical experience may exist in tension with commodification. Industrial landscapes are raw spaces whose value is viewed differently by various stakeholders. The assessment of industrial heritage is often contested and fluid because it is politically motivated and manipulated in order to fit the political, economic and cultural needs of different time periods. For instance, many historic industrial buildings were radically restructured in the 1960s due in part to the decline of old industries and the growth of a 'new era' for the financial and service sectors. These buildings were deemed unaesthetic and unnecessary wastelands at the core of cities and were too costly to reuse. The stereotypical images of industrial buildings and structures were particularly manifested in the treatment of coal mines and textile factories, for which conservation was widely viewed as redundant and uneconomical. Tiesdell *et al.* (1996: vii) lament that up until the 1960s, historic urban quarters, including industrial quarters, 'were often regarded as obsolete and the subject of proposals for clearance and comprehensive redevelopment'.

Since the 1970s, however, abandoned industrial landscapes have become one of the most powerful available resources for urban development, as modernization discourses have encouraged the conversion of industrial heritage sites into spaces of consumption (Severcan & Barlas, 2007). The demolition of industrial sites is increasingly seen as wasteful, while adaptive reuse is viewed more favorably by urban planners and politicians. This shift in values has led developers to turn former wastelands and brownfields into residential and commercial developments, driving up land values and encouraging real estate speculation on remaining industrial landscapes. Industrial neighborhoods are therefore in the throes of gentrification, filling up with trendy restaurants, galleries and shops. Cases include, but are not limited to, the conversion of cotton mills in Lowell, Massachusetts, into office complexes; the transformation of the

former whisky brewery in Toronto, Canada, into a historic distillery district filled with cafés, offices, shopping centers and residential units; and the transformation of the Ghirardelli chocolate factory into a landmark in San Francisco's industrial heritage, complete with shops, restaurants and luxury hotels. Similar trends can be spotted in European industrial communities: in 1977, the French government decided to convert the Gare d'Orsay, the first electrified rail terminal in Paris, into the Musée d'Orsay. The design of the new museum preserved the historical railway station as an industrial landmark, even including a huge clock that still works in the main terminal housing the museum. In 2008, the Portuguese government refurbished the former Port of Lisbon warehouse built to store *bacalhau*, or dried cod, and revamped it into a modern museum of the Far East.

The recent success of modernization and the preservation movement has given rise to a new set of challenges, most notably, restrictions on what can be done with culturally significant buildings and areas. The movement realizes that not all such spaces can be converted into a museum-like environment; therefore, the intent of conservation must harmonize with the need for a healthy socioeconomic base in the community. The processes of revaluation and commodification of industrial sites are driven by a dialectic process between governments who want to link industrial districts with their commercial future, and members of the preservation movement who recognize that the old industries represent a particular set of values to be conserved and protected. The reuse and management of industrial heritage sites have gradually gained attention from tourism businesses wanting to capitalize on the commercial market. very often, when a redevelopment is slated for the industrial site, the original purpose of conservation has been lost. Fahim (2008) describes the casualties of building booms in Brooklyn neighborhoods in the US that have made preservationists worry for the future of the city's industrial heritage: 'a Civil War-era graving dock in Red Hook was paved over and is now a parking lot for Ikea; the old Dutch Mustard Company building in Williamsburg was torn down and turned into condominiums; and the Greenpoint Terminal Market, a former rope factory, was destroyed by fire'. Therefore, instead of viewing industrial heritage as an evolving economic tool that can be adapted to local contexts, societies continue to renovate industrial sites by 'converting them haphazardly for private uses following the dynamics of market mechanisms' (Severcan & Barlas, 2007: 677).

Within the context of industrial heritage, there is a strong relationship between place identity and industry rooted within the communities. However, little systematic research has been undertaken to understand the implications of tourism on promoting economy and morale across local

communities blighted by industrial decline and dereliction (Page, 1995; Prentice, 1993). Factors of personal perception and aesthetic preferences combined with a highly simplified version of history and heritage play a key role in determining what is worth conserving (Edwards & Llurdés i Coit, 1996). While former industrial sites can be adapted, copied and interpreted to portray the past, tensions may arise when community members perceive a dissonance between the tourist attraction and the historical and cultural meanings of the original site. The emergence of industrial tourism has been considered by many to be a mixed blessing for the host community because benefits and costs coexist in its practice. Problems such as conflicting interpretations of living memory experiences, the nature of industrial structures, location (*in situ* and *ex situ*) and ideological conflicts surface when using industrial heritage to promote tourism. Despite the positive reaction to tourism development which is seen as an alternative to revive the local economy, community attitudes and awareness can critically affect the reconstruction process. As tourism projects are implemented, local communities become concerned about how their tradition and heritage are portrayed to tourists (Gonzalez, 2008).

Furthermore, the shift of industrial landscapes from production centers to consumption sites may involve cultural changes when choosing industrial heritage tourism. Many industrial sites have experienced a deterioration in their prosperity alongside a decline in their key industries. Conflicts and opposition may surface when various stakeholders pursue differing goals by using tourism as a vehicle for economic development. Firth (2011), through the case study of Woolloomooloo Finger Wharf in Sydney, Australia, finds that industrial heritage tourism can be an effective means of cosmetically conserving the tangible value of a heritage site, where a derelict structure can be transformed into a popular leisure and recreation precinct; however, it is less effective in conserving its intangible value including place identity and cultural integrity. Industrial heritage tourism is therefore somewhat oxymoronic since heritage and tourism development often fail to preserve existing intangible industrial values or to create new values behind which a community can unite.

Industrial heritage tourism is thus an extremely complex phenomenon, particularly in various sites and countries. The relationships that tourism shares with industrial heritage are multilayered and can be seen as a microcosm of urban forms in relation to a variety of spatial scales, from the global to the national, regional and local. As a part of public culture, industrial heritage represents a particular place and people as well as distinctive inheritances. Tourism is a purposely decontextualized mix of processes by which various stakeholders selectively reinterpret heritage

(Fjellman, 1992). It is an agent of sociopolitical display and communal consciousness that showcases the production of 'memory making' and legitimizes 'myth making' (Hollinshead, 1999). Therefore, different countries and communities tend to exhibit ambivalence toward tourism development. The reuse of industrial heritage may include a change or expansion in the function of a once fully industrial site, either into a tourist attraction or to a new functional purpose much different from its original and/or present use. It is important that the heritage and history of the site are valued and incorporated into plans that benefit its new function.

The recognition and development of industrial heritage has diffused globally. For most European countries who celebrate their status as the birthplace of the Industrial Revolution, industrial heritage is 'an entrenched ethic of putting the cultural landscape into a continuous cycle of use' (Bodurow, 2003: 70). Europe has embraced a model that views heritage not as a commodity in which market forces determine which products survive, but as a common legacy to be nurtured and protected, including industrial sites that may lack mass appeal. Instead of the laissez-faire ideas that dominated the economic and social thought of the classical Industrial Revolution, governments in Europe have generally moved into the social and economic realms to meet the needs of their more complex industrial sectors. European tourists support industrial infrastructure as an avatar of a former glorious heritage and a holdover from the many decades of tradition. In Germany and France, scholars use the term 'industrial tourism' to denote what others term 'industrial heritage tourism', that is, visits to non-operational firms. The Völklingen Ironworks in Germany and the Fiat automobile factory in Italy exemplify the rapid change of industrial redevelopment and the preservation of historic identity. A tourist survey in 2010 for overnight tourist stays in the Ruhr region of Germany indicates that nearly three quarters responded that industrial heritage had been their main motive for visiting the region (Sylvers, 2011). The success of industrial heritage tourism in the Ruhr region leads the local innovation policy to structural change and becomes a helpful tool for reconstructing industrial areas (Hospers, 2002).

European countries have exhibited different patterns of industrial tourism development. For example, Italy and France tend to view industrial heritage as a patrimonial stewardship, the Netherlands and Germany recognize their heritage resources as a significant economic contributor, while Scandinavian countries correlate heritage assets with environmental preservation. In particular, Scandinavian countries have a strong tradition of research in and conservation of their industrial heritage, which is maintained by enthusiasts, officials and industrial employees and

progressed in concert with colleges, industry and museums (Wager, 2000). Industrial-historical protected sites have traditionally been associated with tourism in Europe. The European Cultural Routes (ECR) were proposed by the Council of Europe to engage travel and education associated with industry, technology and productive activities. Specifically, the advent of the European Route of Industrial Heritage (ERIH) provides a network of more than 850 sites in 32 European countries, in order to fulfill the needs of a growing niche of industrial heritage tourists from various nations (Haan, 2011). The ERIH receives European Union funding to produce signs and multilingual information panels, leaflets and web pages to promote tourism. In addition to preserving traditional sites, industrial museums, such as the National Slate Museum in Llanberis, Wales and the Westphalian Industrial Museum in Dortmund, Germany, are also affiliated with the ERIH in order to provide tours and overnight stays in these regions. These museums are intimately linked to what has been the region's lifeline for generations and are dedicated to presenting the industrial heyday of the late 19th and 20th centuries. Furthermore, the preservation of industrial heritage is a means of expressing nostalgia for local and regional traditions, which is intimately connected to uneasiness with globalization. For example, the history of the city of Murano, which is located near Venice, Italy, has been inextricably connected with glassmaking since 1291. Despite the decline in the sales of handmade glass as cheap ones made in developing countries flood the market (Povoledo, 2011), there is a growing interest on the part of tourists to visit the glass factories and museums and observe the process of making glass. Murano's success as a tourist attraction proves that tourism increases awareness of the glassmaking process and enhances the quality of the product, ultimately improving the sales of handmade glass.

Comparatively, North America has experienced difficult economic conditions, as the decline of once thriving industries has damaged former industrial communities. The black blast furnaces that once darkened the sky with soot have been reduced to skeletons and sold for scrap. Tourism is widely viewed as an attempt to search for an alternative strategy for economic development, to revive former industrial sites and to create tangible benefits for local communities (Alonso *et al.*, 2010). Unlike their European counterparts whose approaches to industrial heritage have been public sector, regulatory and top down, North American perspectives have long been private sector, incentive driven and bottom up. The concept in the US mainly refers to tourism as a marketing tool for commercial consumption. Meanwhile, in Asia, industrial heritage is seen as a source of national pride that is sanctioned by governments. Virtually all countries

in the Asia-Pacific region have made 'culture' the focus of a government ministry. Heritage labels, cultural display and tourist access are all tightly regulated by the state (Wood, 1997). Industrial heritage tourism serves important political purposes that are commonly used to highlight the virtues of particular ideologies. For example, in Japan and South Korea, industrial heritage tourism exposes tourists a participatory experience showcasing industrial products, production processes, applications, and historical backgrounds in operational sites. There exists a power relationship in Asia to justify an industrial site for tourism funding as well as to stimulate pride in the national and regional history. Tourism development of industrial sites is regarded as creative economy associated with cultural, artistic or simply entertainment value (Caves, 2000).

Overview of this Book

There is a clear need for more comprehensive research into industrial heritage tourism. Within this emerging field, there exists an early and continuing concern with sufficiently conceptualizing industrial heritage tourism as distinct from other travel forms. Previous failures to attend to the unique nature and dynamics of industrial heritage tourism have resulted in inadequate research, in which these dynamics have been misrepresented through the facile use of urban and regional planning methods. Additionally, research on industrial heritage tourism has not yet paid enough attention to the problem of reception in terms of both locations and sources. Therefore, work on specific industrial sites often cannot illuminate the social base of heritage representations.

Some of these problems can be solved by adopting and further managing a variety of attributes for the development of industrial heritage (Mitchneck, 1998). Each industrial heritage project contains its own complex economic, historic, social, emotional and physical attributes. As every destination is different, so is the complex history of each industrial heritage site, yet common themes exist. In such circumstances, the creation of a conceptual framework appears useful, for it permits researchers to explore relationships among variables in a logical and prescribed fashion. Moreover, the complexity of industrial heritage tourism needs to be navigated by an overall conceptual framework, which is important to take into account local and regional motives and attributes, as well as to assess the feasibility of the tourism project. There is a pressing need to create a useful framework that helps illuminate the general attributes of industrial heritage tourism, while not falling into the trap of paying inadequate attention to the specifics of each location.

This book attempts to (1) demonstrate how industrial heritage tourism can be theorized from historical, cultural, social and economic perspectives by proposing a conceptual framework; (2) present case studies of industrial heritage tourism sites and compare differences, particularly the varying approaches undertaken by countries in Asia, North America, Australasia and Europe; and (3) make suggestions about the future of industrial heritage tourism research and development. It is divided into six chapters, each of which contains both a description and a theoretical discussion. In the following chapter, I examine contemporary debates surrounding the articulation of industrial heritage tourism, paying particular attention to the concepts and definitions that are employed by different interlocutors. In doing so, I provide an overview of previous heritage and sociocultural studies stressing landscape, memory, identity and history. I argue that we are currently experiencing the third Industrial Revolution which brings industrial romance into everyday life and enhances nostalgia for its past. By highlighting the tension between absolutist and syncretic discourses of industrial heritage, I suggest that tourism plays a key role in establishing a new combination of economic development and image making.

In Chapter 2, I propose a conceptual framework including a set of motives and attributes for developing industrial heritage tourism. There are many approaches to studying industrial heritage as well as the spatial and temporal changes of specific industrial sites. The conceptual framework proposed in this chapter provides much-needed analytical tools, not only for conceptualizing the essential characteristics of industrial heritage tourism, but more importantly, for understanding the necessary attributes of a well-managed industrial attraction. It is an exploratory framework, which joins the insights of this study with those found in the extant literature; however, the framework also forms a basis for measuring the effectiveness of the management of industrial sites, which focuses on several key issues, such as stakeholders, perceptions, image, space and authenticity for tourism development. It is evident that no conceptual framework can be entirely objective or conclusive, because of the inevitable beliefs and values contained therein. Although due regard should be given to the limitations of a framework based largely on a literature review and purporting to be complementary in nature rather than encompassing, the framework outlined here serves to present insights into industrial heritage while also predicting and prescribing the direction of future tourism advances. Ultimately, this conceptual framework is substantiated by selected case studies in order to yield implications for tourism planners and to illuminate the progress of industrial heritage tourism.

Chapters 3 to 6 will present four case studies from Asia, North America, Australasia and Europe. The purpose of these case studies is to explicate the links to the motives and attributes for industrial heritage tourism, provide readers with a deeper understanding of the assessment tools described in Chapter 2 and demonstrate the efficacy of this book's conceptual framework when applied to concrete cases. These case studies stem from field trips and data collection undertaken between 2005 and 2014. Chapter 3 examines a now-defunct proposal for the National Historic Jeep Museum in Toledo, Ohio. The investigation reveals that although the potentials for conserving and preserving the museum were highly valued, conflicting views of various stakeholders existed as to the proper purpose and operation of the museum, which ultimately proved insurmountable. Problems are attributed to negative community perceptions, a lack of strong support from the Jeep industry, the controversial reuse of existing facilities, ill-informed economic benefits and the issue of authenticity.

Chapter 4 describes industrial heritage tourism in Taiwan where the salt production industry was a primary source of national pride and economic prosperity until the 1980s, when Taiwan transitioned from an economy based on agriculture to one based on technology. The salt fields formed their own industry villages including processing facilities, a railway network and residential units. Since the transition, several salt fields and the villages surrounding them have been preserved and converted into tourist attractions. A survey was undertaken on the southwest coast of Taiwan, a region once dominated by the salt industry. The necessity of developing tourism opportunities has resulted in the creation of a cultural revival in these salt fields for sightseeing. This chapter identifies theme, product and design as the three most important attributes that contribute to the attraction of a salt destination and affect tourists' perceived satisfaction and participatory experiences.

Chapter 5 shifts the discussion from historical interpretation to the process of transforming an old industrial site into a tourist attraction. It uses the morphology and the impact of event tourism to analyze the progress of the waterfront redevelopment in Auckland, New Zealand. The institutionalized commercialization of waterfront spaces and spectacles such as the America's Cup and the Rugby World Cup, and the subsequent creation of an ideal postindustrial city get a mixed review. The regeneration is regarded as a huge success because morphological changes produce a positive and high-quality image of the place; however, physical and social transformation continues operating on the contested industrial heritage in the Wynyard Quarter. The waterfront redevelopment signifies an

aggressive, top-down process driven by real estate developers that often lacks cooperation between government and the public and a consensus on how to develop industrial heritage along the waterfront.

Chapter 6 investigates the metamorphosis of the LX Factory in Lisbon, Portugal and the Westergasfabriek in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. Once abandoned manufacturing complexes for fabric and gas companies, both sites have been renovated to offer an infusion of contemporary art, design and entertainment. The industrial space is now home to some fabulous heritage projects driven by enthusiasts and governments. The transformation of these factory sites into an upscale tourist attraction demonstrates the complex interplay of adaptive reuse, gentrification and creative destruction in the process of tourism development. This chapter proposes a life cycle of industrial heritage starting from territorialization, deterritorialization, to reterritorialization, a process that revalues industrial heritage to attract investment as well as cater for tourist markets, has led to the creation of a 'symbolic economy of space' (Zukin, 1995), and by extension, a new type of culture for both factory sites. The comparative study looks at the interface between industrial identity and conservation, and an emphasis is placed on creative economics and the debate of authenticity.

Multisited studies are constantly in danger of sacrificing depth and breadth, but ultimately case studies in these sites speak to the problem and promise of microscopy in all industrial heritage tourism projects. These studies illustrate the general trends and show the urgent need for more dialogue and collaboration between the fields of industrial heritage and tourism development. The importance of this book lies in its diversity as well as its dimensions. It involves extensive research with a wide range of industrial heritage bodies, and examines attitudes toward, and perceptions of, industrial sites on the part of the general public. The selected case studies deploy the conceptual framework proposed in Chapter 2 in order to present a compelling picture of the current state of global industrial heritage tourism. Whatever the context (be it in Asia, North America, Australasia, Europe), the issues and problems surrounding industrial heritage tourism are broadly similar. Moreover, the study of industrial heritage tourism focuses not just on individual sites and buildings, but also on how these are interpreted and valued by different stakeholders. Drawing on these insights, the concluding chapter reviews the complexities and contradictions inherent in industrial heritage tourism and provides guidance for future development. The perception of industrial heritage, which has evolved as a feeling of disorder and decay in the ruins, turns out to be an appeal. The raw character of the space has

increasingly become the focus of neoliberal conceptions of urban planning. In the face of these new conceptions, concerns about homogenization and standardization of tourism development for industrial sites are topics of polemics and ongoing political activism. The future of industrial heritage tourism remains a raw space open to temporary and contingent forms of occupation. As the Spanish architect, Ignasi de Solà-Morales, coins the term *'terrain vague'* in French, industrial heritage tourism constantly serves to remind people of the ways in which 'the memory of the past seems to predominate over the present'.

1 Approaches to Industrial Heritage Tourism

Theorizing Heritage: Landscape, Memory and Identity

Heritage is a loaded word that is used in daily discourse but has a variety of different meanings (Meethan, 1996). Initially, it conveys the ostensible mission, in which the 'past', understood to be transparent, coherent and discrete, is transmitted in a more or less unchanged form to the present. However, in practice, heritage is a *bona fide* intellectual exercise that is not just responding to the contours of culture, but is also constructing a selective and incomplete version of the past in a way that is intelligible to present-day audiences. To some extent, heritage is a moot concept (Edson, 2004) with fuzzy semantic boundaries (Cohen & Cohen, 2012). It is generational: the attitudes, stories, moral judgments and key artifacts that presumably make up a given culture's heritage morph over time (Littler & Naidoo, 2005). It is closely associated with societal context and increasingly perceived as human development (Loulanski, 2006).

Heritage is marked by communities who identify their historical and cultural resources and develop these with the intent of sharing them with others (Cass & Jahrig, 1998). Lowenthal (1999: xv) proposes that heritage consists of 'domesticating' the past so as to infuse it with present causes. Graham *et al*. (2000: 2) echo that heritage is 'a view from the present, either backward to a past or forward to a future'. Heritagization is a process of recontextualization in which material culture is selected, preserved and reconstructed by uniting principles, practices and processes (Misiura, 2006). From a constructionist perspective, the process of heritage-making refers to the ways in which past material artifacts, mythologies, memories and traditions become cultural, political and economic resources for the present (Graham & Howard, 2008).

The discourse of heritage has long been viewed by scholars as a landscape derived from the negotiation of history by its stakeholders. In minimalist terms, a landscape is the backdrop against which archaeological

16

remains are plotted (Ashmore & Knapp, 1999). It is an entity that exists by virtue of its being perceived, experienced and contextualized by people. Cultural geographers refer to the heritage landscape as a *genre de vie* (Graham, 1994), a harmony between human life and the milieu in which it was lived (Cosgrove, 1998). Duncan (1990: 17) regards the heritage landscape as 'an ordered assemblage of objects, a text [which] acts as a signifying system through which a social system is communicated, reproduced, experienced and explored'. Heritage is a signifier, more than a simple idea underlying the historical unity of objects, and involves various perspectives, modes of involution, replacement and engagement. The study of heritage is always placed within a wider framework of the political economy of signs, largely because the identifications of patrimony and heritage that have become increasingly difficult to interpret as staged authenticity in one generation turn out to be authentic 'heritage' in the next (Hobsbawm, 2012). Therefore, it is hard to pin down, objectively and precisely, what heritage represents since the definition is continually altered and negotiated by various aspects of identities. Different interest groups within a culture may have competing interpretations of what a heritage constitutes and may struggle to make their interpretation dominant. Benhamou (2003: 255) suggests that the definition of built heritage includes archaeological sites, historic buildings and historic urban centers; however, they change over time and space and depend on a variety of dimensions such as symbolic, cultural and national identity. Therefore, social constructionists argue that heritage has unstable and blurred boundaries of what it includes and what it excludes. As Cassia (1999: 254) points out, heritage is a transposable concept that is often disputed, yet dispute creates heritage.

Several fields have grappled with the implications of understanding heritage as a contemporary product shaped from history, power and identity (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). The American human geographer Carl Sauer (1925) first formulated the concept of a cultural landscape, a force in shaping the visible features in delimited areas. Heritage is characterized by the complexity of a cultural landscape and a polyvocality of interpretations reflective of an array of social differences. The content of heritage should at least include the following five facets. (1) Any relict or physical survival from the past. Examples are archaeological sites and monumental buildings sanctioned by the government via an adjective title used in various settings, such as 'heritage railway stations', 'heritage industry', etc. (2) Objects presumed to represent or to be imbued with intangible aspects of the past. Heritage comprises a set of collective memories existing within 'an imagined political community' (Anderson,

1991), including people who are bound by cultural and political networks. (3) Objects and artifacts from the past, particularly those that represent the accumulation of a culture's creativity, skill and artistic productivity. Such objects aestheticize imaginary constructs of identity, creating a narrative of progress and cultural accumulation that bolsters the nation state (Graham, 1994). (4) Artifacts of human productivity that can be mobilized to form 'heritage landscapes', a space encompassing associated images and symbols representing an instrument of modernization (Lefebvre, 1991). (5) A major commercial activity which is loosely defined as a 'heritage industry'. Parker (1998: 3) proposes the phrase 'prescriptive elitism' to indicate that heritage is both descriptive, in that it educates people about its contents, and prescriptive, in that it contains both explicit and implicit lessons about what counts as heritage. Both are evaluated by their commercial value and extended from 'a saleable past to include a saleable culturally distinctive present' (Parker, 1998: 2).

Research interest in heritage has been a growing phenomenon since the late 20th century (Herbert, 2001). Heritage is widely viewed as an integral part of culture, which is consciously chosen, explicitly valued and shared with the public. The roles of heritage, seen before in the narrow meaning of symbols of national unity and local pride, have expanded to include much broader phenomena, contributing to political ideals, economic prosperity, social cohesion and cultural diversity (Clark, 2001). In general terms, heritage encompasses both cultural and natural elements according to the UNESCO Convention of 1972 (Ahmad, 2006). Natural heritage includes biological, hydrographic and morphological phenomena, such as lakes, mountains and coastlines. Cultural heritage represents a wide variety of cultural products made by humans in past eras, which are generally categorized into two major factors, tangible and intangible (Jamieson, 2006). Tangible heritage refers to such physical objects as historic buildings, landmarks, urban and rural landscapes, groups of buildings and sites, and museums, while intangible heritage, made up of all immaterial manifestations of culture, embodies the socio-psychological expression of values, lifestyles, traditions, mores and folklores (Vecco, 2010). In the early 2000s, the international community recognized that intangible heritage, due to its incorporeal nature, needs and deserves safeguarding, which culminated in the adoption of the 2003 UNESCO Convention on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage and the 2005 UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions. The former covers the craftsmanship of industrial products or skills transmission. The latter teaches measures to promote traditional knowledge and associated genetic resources that form part of a single integrated industrial heritage.

Despite their individualities, the relationship between tangible and intangible heritage is synchronized and intertwined in a contemporary society. The resource base from which heritage is assembled comprises a variety of events, personalities, rituals and artifacts rooted in a given place and symbolically associated with one another; however, intangible heritage tends to disintegrate into pure image and creates a mental landscape in which everything is pastiche (Urry, 2002). Lenzerini (2011) suggests that the main 'constitutive factors' of intangible heritage are represented by the 'self-identification' of this heritage as an essential element of the cultural identity of its creators and bearers. In other words, intangible heritage can be constantly recreated in response to the historical and social evolution of the societies concerned. Ruggles and Silverman (2009) argue that cultural heritage is shaped by a society whose norms and values attribute differential importance to the objects presumed important and tangential to its heritage. Intangible heritage infuses the tangible with meaning, such as place identity, musical instruments, ritual objects and so on (Deacon, 2004). Munjeri (2004) asserts that tangible heritage can only be interpreted through the intangible, while the intangible values need to rely on the tangible to be visualized. In order to safeguard the essence of heritage, it is critical to recognize and interpret the interrelations between the intangible and its associated tangible heritage.

In recent decades, the connection between cultural detritus and the concept of heritage has been problematized and reformulated via the social formation called 'postmodernity' and a new subjective position called the 'postmodern condition'. Both have been presumed to disrupt previous understandings of the construction and the meaning of heritage. Although the concept of postmodernity is notoriously contested, it reveals tensions between heritage and modernity as a means of economic development. For example, Nuryanti (1996) indicates that the role of heritage in postmodern tourism is challenging, mainly for interpretation, marketing, planning and the interdependencies between heritage tourism and local communities. The problems are largely attributed to two major postmodern symptoms (Jameson, 2001): the disappearance of history, in which our entire contemporary social system has begun to lose the capacity to retain its own past; and a present existing in perpetual change that ultimately obliterates traditions. In the past, traditional industries were all linked to producers, with relatives who worked in factories or on farms, their labor dedicated to making things. There is a lingering concern about losing those connections in the postmodern era: the memory of how we made things or even that we did, and still do. Heritage becomes a part of the entire cultural logic of late capitalism when the glorification

of an idealized past becomes a threat to the present. The gradual shift into postmodernity is marked by the continued fascination with heritage and tradition endowed with new meaning and function. The past is viewed as a reference point with a quarry of possibilities from which selection occurs. The use of the past for current purposes empowers the commodification of heritage as it becomes marked and ritualized as an open text transformed through intellectual interpretation. As Casetti (1998: 8) points out, postmodernity evokes 'the idea of dynamic construction, of an open and complex organization', attempting to uncover the ways in which the normalization of gender, race, class and other oppressions is integral to the construction of a single, linear, coherent cultural heritage. Postmodernity is a form of text that can be 'read' from different cultures, languages and social classes, to name just a few.

In the context of postmodernity, heritage closely relates to collective memory, a social construct originating from shared communications about the past and a broad spectrum of meanings associated with different forms of presence, real or imaginary (Nora, 2011). Borrowing French historian Fernand Braudel's term, *longue durée*, heritage stands for an idea of present-centeredness that can be conceptualized as the result of the interaction among three historical factors: (1) the intellectual and cultural traditions that frame all our representations of the past; (2) the memory makers who selectively adopt and manipulate these traditions; and (3) the memory consumers who use, revise or transform such artifacts according to their own interests (Kansteiner, 2002). These historical factors have evolved at various periods in time and different developmental stages. In reality, heritage is a fluid concept moving to and fro along a past–present continuum. Graham *et al*. (2000: 24) raise a series of provocative questions: 'who decides what is heritage, and whose heritage is it?'; 'can the past be "owned" and, if so, who "owns" it, what do we mean by "own" and who reconciles conflicting claims to such ownership?'. Smith (2006) coins the term 'authorized heritage discourse' to point out that the cultural identity and memories understood to comprise a heritage are frequently determined by dominant political, social, religious or ethnic groups. Lowenthal (1999) suggests that although we are aware that the past varies from personal experience through fallible memory to learned history, we still want old things to 'seem' old with antiquity valued and validated by the patina of age. In other words, the past is a foreign country that can be reconstructed in the public interpretation of heritage and culture, while memory is represented as a recollection of senses in generational and experiential times.

At a deeper level, memory takes two distinctive forms: transmitted and acquired (Gilloch, 1997). The former is handed down from one

generation to the next while the latter is everything that has happened or is felt to have happened. One of the implicit presumptions about memory, certainly in the culture at large, is that a hierarchy exists that designates some memories more important, or more worthy of commemoration than others. Memory plays a critical role in the artificial and synthetic commodity world by offering satisfaction that is fundamentally illusory in nature. It also creates the illusion of inexhaustible variety and the satisfaction of all imaginable wants (Rojek, 1998). Tunbridge (2001: 359) distinguishes between two forms of heritage expression in the context of postmodernity and memory: public heritage expressions that draw on more local history, and private heritage expressions that produce a more dissonant story. In the former, public heritage expressions are made up of multiple messages while in the latter, heritage expressions are streamlined for commercial intent.

Nora (2011) argues that as a result of postmodernity and deindustrialization, there is more 'acquired memory' perceived as commercially viable heritage and less 'transmitted memory' constructed from the past. Heritage is more or less a product of the creative imagination assuming the past exists and is determined by inheritors living at present. It stimulates multiple memories ranging from recollections which flow into each other and diverge, resonate backward and forward and splice the personal and collective (Edensor, 2005). Heritage is enmeshed within new social contexts, whether as part of the history to which it belongs or as marketing that draws people from farther afield. Simply put, heritage historicizes the new landscape for consumption and is heavily influenced by contemporary demand factors, such as the desire for creation, cultural pride, authentic experiences and entertainment by and for visitors. It serves as a process by which functionality is deliberately transformed for consumption, often with thematic interpretation and packaging to enhance its attractiveness.

The increased attention given to acquired memory by heritage projects is a troubling sign of the disarray brought on by what German philosopher Walter Benjamin called 'phantasmagoria', the annihilation of stable meanings in culture coupled with the convergence of public and private spaces. The presumption is that transmitted memory through working with various stakeholders is more important than acquired memory. Benjamin (2002: 17) writes, 'the joy of watching is triumphant' and 'through which the familiar city beckons, to the flâneur as phantasmagoria – now a landscape, now a room'. His understandings of two sets of memories, despite theoretically inspirational, leave several questions unanswered: who decides which acquired memories get

transformed into transmitted memories? How does that process work, and how does it uphold, produce or possibly challenge systems of oppression? Why presume that transmitted memories are more important than acquired ones? and what presumptions undergird that hierarchy? These questions come down to the politics of collecting and selecting memories, and the inevitable fallibility of collective and transmitted memories. They turn into a political process that has inspired a number of contemporary polemics about heritage and its interpretation.

French philosopher Paul Ricoeur's (2004) book, *La memoire, l'historie, l'oubli* (*Memory, History, Forgetting*), arguably distinguishes three parts of memory lanes: (1) the phenomenology of memory; (2) the epistemology of history; and (3) the hermeneutics of the human historical condition. From Ricoeur's perspective, the 'representation of the past' remains paradoxical memory and imagination. The 'faithfulness' of specific memories confronts 'the idealist prejudice' in the phenomenology of individual memory with the collective memory of sociology (Ricoeur, 2004: 128). What we inherit is called 'manipulated memory' (Ricoeur, 2004: 129) which entails a 'right of forgetting'. If so, history and heritage are opposed (Samuel, 1994) and heritage is not the popular nostalgic rediscovery of the past, but an area of dispute as different groups claim different versions of the past as significant and requiring custodianship (Cassia, 1999). Ultimately, all these memories have coalesced into a movement to reshape history and reinforce stereotypical images of heritage and cultural presentations.

In a similar vein, Thompson (1979) proposes the 'rubbish theory' through the study of modern art collection. The value of an object is vibrant, rising and falling depending upon context as it ages. While most objects decline in value, the perceived scarcity or other changes of valuation might cause prices to rise as an object ages, as evidenced by antiques, vintage automobiles and industrial products. Pomian (2007), through a study of folk museums, suggests that three distinct economics are involved in the process of collection, e.g. that of the market, that of art and that of memory. The economy of the market is associated with the functional value of practical use; while the economy of art is grounded on cultural values such as beauty and meaning. However, the economy of memory is personal and cultural which is grounded on an identity value that provides the criteria of relevance for what is remembered and what is forgotten (Assmann, 2002). Objects that are collected and exhibited have a function as 'semiophores' which are carriers of meaning. Given the conflicting nature of values, the rubbish in the old system of the market may be rediscovered as new in the system of art. On the flip side, semiophores can turn into rubbish when the artifact loses its explanatory

capacity even though it still exists materially. To some extent, the rubbish theory represents the recycling of memory that disappearing or destroyed values can be reconstructed at a certain point.

Ricoeur and Thompson's theories provide a solid foundation for so-called 'undesirable heritage': heritage that the majority of the population would prefer not to inherit, or in which many unpleasant features are edited out. The advent of tourism has shaped the poststructuralist thought and has led to a reimagining of power relationships and the ways in which they are central to the production and consumption of experiences. Macdonald's (2006: 11) study on representations of Germany's fascist past, identifies heritage as a 'material testimony of identity', primarily interpreted as a 'set of practices concerned with the continuity, persistence and sustainability of collective identity'. Lukas (2000: 32) describes the industrial heritage in the Soviet era as 'grotesque heritage' where huge firms turned once quiet provincial towns into unifunctional industrial settlements. Everything from public housing to barber shops was centered around the firms, which were considered a homogeneous industrial monument. Soyez (2013) further suggests that industrial heritage in the auto industry in Germany carries a painful past when concentration camps and forced labor were used to manufacture automobiles during World War II. The contention of tourism development is that 'darker sides of industrialization paths and aspects of industrialization go unmentioned or are hidden in most industrial heritage contexts' (Soyez, 2013: 9). Connerton (2008) proposes that this kind of 'sanitization' is a form of 'prescriptive forgetting' or 'repressive erasure', further indicating that heritage is often fashioned from selective memories to fit the current political agenda.

Heritage is thus implicated in contemporary social debates, dissonances and controversies, and its contours change as present circumstances do. The root cause of disinheritance is a struggle between the materiality of a site and the changing forms of historical consciousness (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). Samuel (1994: x) compares heritage to 'the idea of history as an organic form of knowledge, and one whose sources are promiscuous, drawing not only on real life experience, but also memory and myth, fantasy and desire'. For example, the landscape of Albania in Eastern Europe is littered with Communist-era military bunkers built to protect the isolated state from 'imperialism and revisionism' under the former dictator Enver Hoxha. The dilemma, whether to destroy or refashion these bunkers, has split the country in recent years (Geoghegan, 2012). While many Albanians want their paranoid past to disappear unmourned and have converted derelict bunkers into everything from hostels to cafes,

others believe that these are a testament to Albanian industrial heritage and should be protected as cultural monuments. Similarly, the growing popularity of Trabi-Safari in Germany reflects the strong cognitive appeal of nostalgia. The former cult vehicle of East Germany, the Trabant, infamous for its mediocre performance and horrendous noises, is now sold as an incomparable experience for ever-curious tourists, who pay to drive these clunkers on guided tours throughout Germany. In this case, the Trabant represents a car firmly rooted in Germany's past with selective memories. It evolves as a 'semiophore', an item valuable for its meaning rather than its worth and exists within a specific narrative context. The meaning of heritage becomes discordant since it inevitably goes through a process of selection, whereby certain memories of the past are imbued with a symbolic significance for the present landscape and its inhabitants. Heritage functions as a reminder of the past, but never reflects thorough consensus views of that past.

Collective memories ultimately lead to nostalgia, a byproduct of preserving memory for the purpose of heritage and the need for development in response to changing political agendas and societal values. 'Nostalgia' is usually a pejorative term that describes an uncritical or oversentimental view of the past. It is a 'nice type of sadness', the invocation of loss or of an imagined past (Strangleman, 2013). Davis (1979) identifies three orders of nostalgia: simple nostalgia (the past was better); reflexive nostalgia (was the past really that way?); and interpretive nostalgia (why am I feeling nostalgic?). The foundation of nostalgia, according to Davis, questions memory in a critical way. Searle and Byrne (2002) analyze the growth and decline of inner-city Pyrmont-Ultimo in Sydney, Australia, where the blue-collar history of the place has been selectively chosen. The memories of an industrial neighborhood were sanitized to make them more appealing to contemporary lifestyle-oriented residential markets. The study reflects what Bourdieu terms 'misrecognition', akin to Marxian ideas of 'false consciousness'. The power play has become increasingly mobile and fluid as misrecognition embodies a set of active social processes. Remembrance around industrial heritage can be read as a far more active engagement with the past – it becomes a restorative nostalgia (Boym, 2001).

Trigg (2006) uses Heidegger's metaphysics of 'the Nothing' and proposes that nostalgia serves to spatialize the Nothingness running between place and memory, rationality and history, decay and time. Nostalgic yearning for the past is intensified by means of reviving memories and provoking individual remembrances (Park, 2010). The conflict arises from the new sense of historicity and romanticism for the past. Nostalgia is invoked

but not really explained or carefully defined, eventually involving some type of temporal distortion and misrecognition of the past (Kohn, 2010). Goulding (2001) calls heritage tourists 'nostalgic consumers', searching for a misunderstanding of the past while society elicits a longing for a time that did not really exist. Although nostalgia plays a key role in the revival of cultural heritage, it is inherently inauthentic, mainly because it uses memory that is highly unstable and unique to the visitor (Hodge, 2011). Kirchenblatt-Gimblett (1998) suggests that cultural production, or production of difference, equates with institutional memory-making. Travels and tourism encounter with the perceived essence of place, its myth and its memories, to which heritage contributes its validating materialism, where she calls the imaginaries of 'madeness' and the physical evidence of 'hereness', *ipso facto*, of places. She presents a penetrative account of how certain objects or themes become favored through the prevailing imaginable vision of places and local reality-making through the development of tourism. Heritage ought to be depicted in presentations of peoples, places and pasts even though representation of them may be difficult to render as 'real'. Many narratives of heritage need *theatricality* since the representation of nostalgia is against *actuality*. In other words, heritage is not just a cultural production, but a critical site of meaning production (Hollinshead, 2005).

Industrial Revolutions

There is an ongoing debate on the inception of industrial heritage. According to the Nizhny Tagil Charter, the scope of industrial heritage includes 'the historical period of principal interest extends toward from the beginning of the industrial revolution in the second half of the eighteenth century up to and including the present day, while also examining its earlier pre-industrial and proto-industrial roots'. The extant literature, meanwhile, gives the period from 1760 to 1840 as the Industrial Revolution, and focuses solely on industrial archaeology such as ruins and relics identified for preservation. The emphasis is directly on the Industrial Revolution as a driving force from hand production methods to machines, manufacturing and the improved efficiency of steam and water power. However, Stuart (2011) points out that due to the widespread impact of the revolution, there is a passing acknowledgement to industry prior to the Industrial Revolution but rarely a reference to the post-Industrial Revolution. This is not to say that the Industrial Revolution is an unimportant part of the world's heritage, nor that industrial archaeology should not play a key role in studying the Industrial Revolution, but when the notion of industrial heritage is considered, 'the

shackles of the Industrial Revolution should be discarded and recognition should be given to industrial heritage in its broadest sense by adopting definitions' (Stuart, 2011: 1).

In this book, I argue that industrial heritage should be identified in much broader terms than simply using the first Industrial Revolution as a demarcation point. In other words, the first Industrial Revolution should not be understood as the sole domain of industrial heritage. The periods of the Industrial Revolution should be extended and viewed as at least three stages of development, which profoundly impacted on the socioeconomic fabric of cultures all over the world. The first Industrial Revolution began in Europe and was marked by the creation of machinery and manufacturing techniques that significantly enhanced the productivity, efficiency and wealth of Western cultures. The second revolution is regarded as an attempt to deindustrialize the traditional manufacturing base by introducing information technology while outsourcing manufacturing to less-developed countries. I also propose the existence of a third Industrial Revolution marked by economies based on service provision. After the boom of mass production and globalization as part of industrialization, industry is now undertaking a rediscovery of the traditions and techniques of bygone days. Traditional industries, facing demise during the second Industrial Revolution, have revived and transformed into a 'chic' heritage. There is a renewal of interest in local businesses and artisanship, enhanced by the use of internet technologies, primarily as a protest against the inequalities generated by globalization. The 'object industrializer' and 'heritage conservationist' are now starting to communicate with each other. Industrial products are increasingly made not only for functionality, but also with uniqueness and aesthetic durability in mind, because customization and manual work create a bond with the object that makes its beauty appreciated for longer. Additionally, the concept of sustainability has resulted in a new emphasis on the usable life of the object, working with recyclable material and environmentally friendly production methods. The net result of these developments is a soul-searching process in which former centers of industrial and artisanal creation seek out and celebrate their historical and cultural roots, and in so doing, exert influence on the future development of industrial heritage.

The first Industrial Revolution

The first Industrial Revolution, spanning the 18th and 19th centuries, changed both the scale and the means by which the world produced its goods. Notably, the adoption of steam power and the invention of steam

engines enabled the creation of machines capable of mass production. In addition, the origination of advanced wool spinning machines and new processes in the iron industry revolutionized textile and steel manufacturing. These technological advancements brought about a series of socioeconomic changes: the growth of factories and other industrial plants mushroomed in major cities, attracting more workers to urban areas. The factory systems entailed an increased division of labor, significantly increasing productivity. Demand for skilled craftsmen able to work with hand tools declined, as factories progressively prioritized the ability to follow discipline over machine-operating skills in their employment decisions. Eventually, the manufacturing and mass-production economy prevailed over small-scale artisanship as standardization and mechanization became the norms.

The first Industrial Revolution originated in Britain, where at that point, the expression 'the workshop of the world' was adapted. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the birthplace of the Industrial Revolution was Ironbridge Gorge in Shropshire, England. The technique of smelting the iron that was used for the bridge has been hailed as an important symbol of the dawn of the industrial age. Charles Dickens (1889: 199) documents the realities of life resulting from the Industrial Revolution in his seminal book, *The Old Curiosity Shop*. It illustrates an impression of industry at that time:

> In a large and lofty building, supported by pillars of iron, with great black apertures in the upper walls, open to the external air, echoing to the roof with the beating of hammers and roar of furnaces, mingled with the hissing of red-hot metal plunged in water, and a hundred strange unearthly noises never heard elsewhere; in this gloomy place, moving like demons among the flame and smoke, dimly and fitfully seen, flushed and tormented by the burning fires, and wielding great weapons, a faulty blow from any one of which must have crushed some workman's skull, a number of men labor like giants.

The revolution quickly spread to Liege, Belgium, which became famous for machinery production. In later years, Germany overtook Britain in steel production and became the leader in the chemical industries. The rise of the United States in the late 19th century marked a new era for the Industrial Revolution. The famous comment 'any color as long as [Ford Model T] is black' by Henry Ford in 1914 marked the advent of Fordism, the moving assembly line for the manufacturing and mass-production economy. Fordism also created the production facilities, as part of an industrial site, to implement the assembly line and to increase productivity.

The Highland Park Ford Plant in Michigan, for example, set the precedent for many factories and production plants with spacious, open floors for the efficient arrangement of machinery, as well as expansive windows that brought in additional light and a pleasant working environment.

The Industrial Revolution led to the creation of numerous industrial enterprises, permanently altering the urban landscape. A series of scientific and engineering discoveries further encouraged the establishment of industrial bases, which ultimately developed into an interdependent network of businesses. For example, the development of railway corridors enabled mining industries to transport coal from local pits to various destinations more efficiently. Among the recipients of this coal were the steel-related industries, which used coal from the mining industry to produce steel for factories. The railway system not only benefited financially from transporting the products of these industries, but it also depended upon them as the raw materials from which the railway system was built. In addition, the industry was concentrated almost exclusively in a specific region or county. In Lancashire, the UK, in the 19th century, the city of Manchester gained renown for its cotton industry. Talavera de la Reina, a town in central Spain, is well known for its fine ceramics industry. These towns and cities flourished as a result of their industrial exports and passed both the industries and the prosperity resulting from them down the generations. The industries in these particular towns and cities sustain a distinct regionalism that both the history of industry and industrial heritage are essential. Traditional industry has its identity and locality deeply rooted in communities.

In addition to economic prosperity, the development of regionally based industries fostered the creation of new political institutions, social customs and cultural traditions. The Industrial Revolution represents the working class' everyday material culture and way of life in a wider context. The creation of industrial vernacular cultures has accentuated the class division as industrial heritage is largely consumed by the middle classes and endorsed by the social elites. The interpretation of culture is contentious where conformity is disputed and eventually a new form of social structure is created (Navarro, 2006). Graham *et al.* (2000) suggest that historically, industrial heritage is enmeshed in class and perceptions of 'race'. Social class has been implicated in the process of heritage awareness and designation from the beginnings of organized historic preservation. For example, the slate industry in Gwynedd, North Wales, was exploited as far back as the Roman period, but it was not until the 18th century that the industry began to grow significantly, remaining technically innovative until the early 20th century (Gwyn, 2001). The slate industry enabled a

traditional culture and minority language to adapt to the modern world by acquiring new skills. Social changes occurred as quarry communities created their own democratic structures including workers' chapels, and contributed financial support to local colleges. Industrial growth in Gwynedd helped spur a revival of interest in the Welsh language and furthered the movement for its preservation. The business functioned through the medium of the Welsh language and folk music is often connected with male voice choirs, deeply rooted in the slate quarrying and mining industries. The impact of the industry on the landscape is profound and remains largely intact, creating distinctive quarrying environments and settlements that are recognized as classic examples of 19th-century industrial/vernacular towns and villages.

The second Industrial Revolution

The second Industrial Revolution, also known as the technological revolution, marked by a shift from industrialization to the service industry, occurred in the latter half of the 19th century. It brought a break in the industrial sector and with it an accelerating obsolescence of several industrial landscapes (Sieverts, 2003). Industry at the beginning of the 20th century was different from that at the start of the first Industrial Revolution. The staples of the 'Great Age of Industry', such as coal, textiles, heavy engineering and ship building, gradually became obsolete. Their infrastructures, canals, railways and docks, were changed and supporting industries were revolutionized. Furthermore, the negative connotations of industry were replacing the positive, and were increasingly associated with social problems, pollution and visual and aesthetic unpleasantness (Arnesen, 2006).

The postindustrialization emerged after World War II as a phase of urban development characterized by the contraction of basic manufacturing and the supplanting of traditional industry and labor by service industries and the centrality of theoretical knowledge (Bell, 1973). Synthetic resources, such as plastics, solar power and new alloys, replaced Western industrial centers while mechanized factories began to move away from human-directed assembly line manufacturing, in favor of automatic operation. The rise of automation in manufacturing created a worldwide ripple effect in both local and global social relations. Traditional labor-intensive industries were outsourced from industrialized countries to less-developed countries. Whether labeled post-Fordism or deindustrialization, the new emphasis on service and information technology in developed countries has greatly impacted traditional industries and their communities.

Resource extraction and manufacturing sites were rendered obsolete, either simply abandoned or closed as a source of pollution and economic failure. The mining and steel industries, once pillars of the economy, faced headwinds as resource extraction was outsourced to developing countries. Communities created around a particular industry found themselves with little else to sustain their economies and associated ways of life. Accompanying rapid industrial decline, the working people of such communities began to suffer from the degradation of their social networks and quality of life, and often became disillusioned. A vicious circle formed as the outmigration of populations and the dereliction of many communities exacerbated the decline of their industrial base. For example, in the US, the 2010 census data showed a dramatic decline in Detroit's population. Over the previous 10 years, the city lost a quarter of its residents, bringing it down to a size similar to the pre-auto boom numbers of 1910. Similarly, the city of Scranton located in Pennsylvania, once 'the Electric City' renowned for producing the first electric trams in America, saw its population almost halved since 1940 (Harris, 1989). Crossing the Atlantic, the English comedy film *The Full Monty*, set in Sheffield, England, depicted former steel workers, who lacked gainful employment after the shutdown of steel plants and production, looking to form a male striptease act. Despite being a comedy, it touched a nerve by addressing several social issues in the postindustrial cities, e.g. unemployment, nostalgia, working class and sinking tangible heritage.

On the flip side of these changes, the emergence of industrial heritage during the second Industrial Revolution is widely seen as preserved spaces of memory and conservation of archaeological heritage. The term 'industrial archaeology' was coined in 1955 by the British scholar Michael Rix, who wrote an article in *The Amateur Historian* advocating that 'industrial archaeology is the registration, in some cases preservation and interpretation of sites and structures of early industrial activities, in particular the monuments of the industrial revolution'. The initial purpose of industrial archaeology was to call for the greater study and preservation of 18th- and 19th-century industrial sites and relics of the British Industrial Revolution. Subsequently, archaeologists quickly adopted the term in the 1960s and the work of industrial archaeology has led to greater public awareness of industrial heritage, including the creation of industry museums and the inclusion of sites on national and international historic cultural registers in many parts of the world. For example, Hudson (1963, 1979) and Buchanan (1972) propose that industrial remains should be interpreted as part of the cultural heritage within the discipline of industrial archaeology. Both authors define the goals of industrial archaeology as being

the cataloguing and study of the physical remnants and infrastructures and the documentation of industrial history.

A real organization was not created until 1973 when the Association for Industrial Archaeology (AIA) was formed to preserve, restore and redevelop industrial heritage. In 1971, the First International Congress on the Conservation of Industrial Monuments (FICCIM), held in Ironbridge in the UK, created the International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage (TICCIH), which has made a significant contribution to the protection of industrial heritage in many countries. The TICCIH was the first to bring together professionals in the field and it eventually became the scientific advisor on industrial heritage to UNESCO's International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS). The TICCIH organized several conferences and formed 'specialist sections' catering for specific industries including mining, textiles and food. These had the major advantage of allowing the TICCIH to marshal its expertise and work toward further developing international thematic studies, which eventually led to the 2003 Nizhny Tagil Charter in Russia. The Charter for Industrial Heritage has expanded the extent of industrial legacy as 'the remains of industrial culture which are of historical, technological, social, architectural or scientific value'. Thousands of industrial sites including factories, railroad corridors, waste transfer stations and even vacant gas stations have been individually assessed as sites worthy of preservation due to their role in the economic and cultural development of industrial communities. The prominent consequences of these assessments has been an increase in the profile of industrial heritage across the world and a growth both in the number of inscribed World Heritage Sites and in the number of sites on the Tentative Lists of many countries (Oglethorpe, 2011).

Another defining aspect of the second Industrial Revolution is the growing awareness of, and concern with, environmental degradation and preservation on the part of both the experts and the general public. Kirkwood (2001) calls industrial heritage 'manufactured sites' from which efforts to address the legacy of contaminated and derelict lands that have been left by past industrial activity have emerged in recent decades. In particular, the increase in brownfields, defined as 'abandoned or underused industrial and commercial sites where redevelopment is complicated by real or perceived contamination' (United States Environmental Protection Agency, 1996), has become a major environmental issue to tackle. It has created an image problem, both for industrial sites still in existence and for emerging attempts to preserve the heritage of an industrial past that may have damaged the local environment. There is an ever-increasing tendency toward the need to both clean up and redevelop environmentally

compromised land. The shift from abandonment to restoration and reuse of industrial land has profound socioeconomic and environmental impacts on neighboring areas and communities. The conservation process reached a turning point with the demolition of London's Euston Station in 1962 and the subsequent demolition of New York's Penn Station in 1963. The structural changes alerted the preservationists and the values of industrial heritage gained attention from the public.

Hough (2001) explicates that there are three different categories of 'manufactured sites', each representing a different facet of, and approach to, environmental degradation as a result of industry. The first category refers to a class of site found in older manufacturing cities and towns and whose present condition is a result of manufacturing and industrial processes. A second type of 'manufactured site' signifies both the presence of environmentally challenged sites and the processes and techniques used to clean up these conditions. Such places are synonymous with environmentally degraded conditions within the blighted city fabric, e.g. abandoned mills alongside canals, waste landfills that occupy the city's periphery, derelict marine terminals and the patchwork of small factories within older residential communities. All have been described as gritty, century-old manufacturing plants and soot-stained brick buildings. The third category represents an interdisciplinary approach to reclaiming sites altered by industrial activity. Factories that were once a mainstay of city economic life now find land cheaper, services better and transportation faster in suburban industrial parks. Economic incentives drive suburbanization, which results in an abandoned inner city and a combination of prohibitive prices. Buildings not suited for other types of usage and a blighted economic base that cannot afford the goods and services lead to a 'donut effect', where the city center becomes hollow with residents living on the urban fringe due largely to suburbanization. As a result, the former functional industrial sites have disappeared to make room for new business. Artifacts produced in the heyday of the Industrial Revolution are displayed in museums for conservation. The second Industrial Revolution revealed that the social construction of industrial sites became the stimulation of the urban phantasmagoria, the architectural oddities situated in industrial areas are preserved with a range of creative solutions for reusing them, as well as a process of commodification of cultural heritage.

The third Industrial Revolution

The third Industrial Revolution, as initially described by Rifkin (2011), is a new phase of transformation in which internet technology

and renewable energy emerge to create a powerful global revolution. Heavy manufacturing has given way to light manufacturing and specialty production requiring smaller and more compact factories. Despite fast-changing technology, manufacturing is more or less returning to its origins. In lieu of mass production and outsourcing, industries have begun to market themselves as stewards of tradition and preservers of ancient artisanal techniques. The general public has also expressed a renewed interest in the preservation of cultural heritage and manufacturing industries are finding ways to meet the demands of that awareness. This revival of interest in the traditions of artisanship and industrial culture has led to attention to the aesthetic qualities of industrial sites, and to a concern in repurposing them. Many of the sites that once housed large industrial operations and employed thousands of workers could be productive again. Rehabilitated and decontaminated, these properties have the potential to house emerging technologies and manufacturing processes (Collaton & Bartsch, 1996). Efforts to reverse the trend toward urban decay in the 1960s provided a close examination of these sites and communities. By the end of the 1970s, it was widely appreciated that the artifacts of the Industrial Revolution constituted an invaluable and saleable heritage. The famous artist, Andy Warhol, fondly calls his atelier 'the Factory' in New York City; in comparison with the darkness and misery of factory settings during the 1950s, the new concept of 'factory' is considered to be a hip hangout and has an instant air of youth and creativity (Zwart, 2007). This newfound appreciation shows the creation of nostalgic renderings of industrial history, and this evocation of nostalgia has produced its own political effects.

In particular, industrial nostalgia has become a rallying point for social justice movements centering on the preservation of vernacular industrial cultures, and in defense of local workforces who have suffered the effects of deindustrialization. The destruction of important traces of the Industrial Revolution and subsequent urban transformations aroused local concern (Campagnol, 2011). The social awareness of industrial heritage reached a peak during this revolution. For example, the establishment of 'SAVE Britain's heritage' committee in the 1970s raised the social justice of industrial heritage sites and involved a series of spectacular industrial preservation actions like the Temple Meads Station in Bristol and the Battersea Power Station in London. In 1988, the British Tourist Authority initiated the campaign 'See Industry at Work' to promote the development of company tours (Mader, 2003). Later, these tours included food tourism (Hall *et al.*, 2003), beer tourism such as touring the original 'Heineken Experience' in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, and factory tourism such

as watching glassblowing in an industrial building or an art gallery (see Plate 1.1). The inward awareness of cultural identity, coupled with the increasing deindustrialization of modern society, puts original industrial sites at special risk. Paradoxically, it is probably a mixture of nostalgia, revulsion against rapid deindustrialization and an inchoate desire to return to older values, however illusory, that lies behind much of the popular appeal of the industrial past (Edensor, 2005).

Collective nostalgia in the postindustrialization era revives dying industries as urban renewal becomes a social norm. Although interest in industrial heritage emerged under the influence of Britain as the cradle of industrial archeology, in the 1970s, a shift toward urban renewal spread to the rest of Europe, where the structure of the urban fabric was maintained and prioritized. The founding of the Club of Rome in 1968 as an informal association for political movements also pushed the preservation of industrial heritage sites. Zuidhof (2009) suggests the demolition of the textile factory Pieter van Doorn in Tilburg, the Netherlands, in 1975 as the starting point for the emergence of industrial archeology. The factory was bulldozed without public consultation, generating national resistance and a widespread concern for industrial heritage. Groups formed opposing

Plate 1.1 A live glassmaking demonstration including narration of the process and techniques used in the Toledo Museum of Art, Ohio

the threatened demolition of valuable industrial heritage and squat movements surfaced in large cities occupying vacant factories as living and working communities. The resistance movement triggered projects focused on subsidized functions like neighborhood centers, social housing or a combination of both. The abandoned industrial sites were being used to house small companies in order to utilize the space fully. It was not until 1984 that the Dutch Federation of Industrial Heritage (FIEN) was established to promote knowledge and cooperation in the maintenance and management of industrial heritage.

In Spain, the 'Barcelona model' was initiated to transform urban landscapes, especially in old industrial cities like Barcelona. The model was designed by a progressive alliance of social movements and grass-roots activists. It has had a palpable impact both on the economies and the urban landscapes of cities. Industrial sites, previously considered obsolete buildings, have been remodeled, resignified and assessed according to their political, social, economic and symbolic complexity. The planners recognize that heritage, regardless of being architectural, vernacular, industrial, etc., is an irreplaceable expression of the wealth and diversity of common culture. Antich (2004) suggests that the Barcelona model was largely driven by two forces: on the one hand, the involvement of various stakeholders such as local governments seeking to define the industrial heritage values and community members wishing to participate in the decision-making process that drives urban regeneration; and on the other hand, a more philosophically and culturally based analysis emphasizes the destruction of memory. The purpose of erasing memory simply emerges from a postmodern sensibility that drives these regeneration projects to create discontinuities between the history of a place and its present, reducing that history to a blurred past (Balibrea, 2004).

Along with the Barcelona model, the third Industrial Revolution engenders the 'Guggenheim effect', which offers another radical way to deconstruct industrial heritage. The establishment of the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao in Spain demonstrates a successful marriage of modern architecture with the ancient metal industry, as a new form to attract tourists. The museum integrates industrial elements, e.g. the shapes of stone, glass, metal and titanium, into the urban context in order to illuminate the relationship between the regeneration designed to restructure urban cores and the gentrification of inner-city neighborhoods (Vicario & Monje, 2003). The socio-spatial consequences of regeneration after the building of the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao were exceedingly significant. Following the success of the museum, Bilbao City Council identified new spaces for furthering the regeneration process that significantly transformed the

urban landscape in a former manufacturing town. Similarly, the reclaimed industrial waterfront of Amsterdam's Noord (North) followed the model of the 'Guggenheim effect' and commenced the Eye Film Institute overlooking the IJ-Dock complex, in order to attract tourists and business to this newly developed area.

The third Industrial Revolution brings industrial romance into everyday life. Old industrial settings including rivers, canals and sea lanes, turnpikes and later railways have become prominent elements in identity-making and are promoted as romantic getaways. Former industrial production has swiftly drawn attention from media and tourists. Crowley (2013) reports a thriving business in repairing vintage typewriters in Massachusetts, where an old clunker of a typewriter becomes a sense of nostalgia and preservation. In an age of computers, tablets and smartphones, more and more people are interested in hearing the sounds of typing and touching the hard metal. The fascination with the past and obsolete technologies as attractions has gained attention worldwide.

The pervasiveness of the new railway culture also demonstrates that though industrial romance has largely vanished from contemporary train travel, journeys by rail still conjure up images of sumptuous velvet upholstery, glamorous passengers, fine dining and dreams of exotic destinations. Unfortunately, the luxury of vintage routes had all but disappeared from the rail networks during the 1970s economic doldrums, but in recent years, more and more travelers relish elegant rail travel and pursue train heritage. For example, the historic carriages used in the 1930s have been tracked down and sent to workshops in France, Germany and Britain for complete renovation. The purpose is simple – to restore the carriages to their full grandeur with special attention paid to the delicate marquetry and friezes that are individual to each carriage. The resultant retro atmosphere is created to evoke foggy platforms, an air of mysterious intrigue and an overall experience reminiscent of Agatha Christie's classic 1934 novel *Murder on the Orient Express*. At the international level, India celebrated the 160th birthday of its railways on April 16, 2013, to commemorate its first passenger train which left Boree Bunder in Bombay in 1853 and embarked on a 21-mile journey to Thane, pulled by three steam engines named Sindh, Sultan and Sahib. The revival of railway and train travel reflects a redefinition of the relationship between nature, time and space (Urry, 1995).

Ultimately, the third Industrial Revolution brings back an enduring fascination with a different kind of relic: nostalgia for the industrial past, or a supposed 'golden age' when the manufacturing industry was the primary source of income and national pride. Heritagization has become a savior before the deluge of globalization. The present era can be understood as the

beginning of a new way of appreciating industry. Industrial ephemera from just a few decades ago, such as gramophones, rotary telephones, gumball machines and creaking metal typewriters, represent a bygone era and are used to remarket as a sense of authenticity. Retro goods are increasingly housed in theme parks and museums to showcase past industrial glory. Most importantly, industrial heritage is both marketed and perceived as more interesting than present-day modernity. The development of industrial heritage has far-reaching implications for leisure activities across a broad social spectrum.

The History of Industrial Heritage Tourism

Industrial heritage is a part of urban palimpsest featuring the factory buildings and ruins of successive industrial eras that can be found in different areas. The concept of 'manufacturing heritage' is described by Hewison (1987: 9) as 'a commodity which nobody seems able to define, but which everyone is eager to sell'. Hudson (1963: 19–21) echoes that although industrial heritage is 'the organized, disciplined study of the physical remains of yesterday's industries and communications', 'it would be a great pity and a great handicap if its boundaries were to be become too rigid'. It is actually created via the effort to build a tourist attraction, and seeks through its particular interactions with memory, community, place identity and the past.

Although it is difficult to find out when industrial heritage tourism started, de Cauter (1993) suggests that the introduction of world's fairs in the late 19th century represented an excellent opportunity for visitors to appreciate the global sensibility of industrial production and consumption. In fact, world's fairs are the offspring of the Industrial Revolution. The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, known as the Crystal Palace Exhibition in 1851, asserted Britain's scientific and technological dominance, its economic prosperity and once mighty industry. Chicago's Columbian Exposition of 1893 coincided with an era of rapid industrialization, technological transformation and urbanization (Ganz, 2012). As poet Carl Sandburg wrote in 1914, Chicago was 'hog butcher for the world, tool maker, stacker of wheat', a model industrial city in the US. Therefore, world's fairs tended toward an ideal representation of an industrial society, conceived of as exhibitions of science and industry. These exhibitions were spectacles that eventually became 'the laboratories of exoticism, tourism and consumerism' (Ganz, 2012: 14), which attracted visitors to travel from around the world and participate in these early evocations of festivity.

Equally, it is difficult to track down the creators of the terms 'industrial tourism' or 'industrial heritage tourism'. The Industry Québec in Canada proposed the first time in North America in 1982 when a broad term *le tourisme industriel* was raised. In Europe, Soyez (1986) seems to have been the first to address industrial tourism systematically by embedding the phenomenon in tourism geography conceptions, supported by referring to evidence gathered in Germany, Sweden and North America. A few years later, these ideas were substantiated by the first dedicated empirical study on Villeroy & Boch at Mettlach in Germany (Soyez, 1989). The Villeroy & Boch Company, established in 1748, is one of the most famous European china and ceramics producers. As an increasing number of tourists visited the factory in the 1980s, it imposed restrictions on visiting the production facility; however, it established a real innovation of that time, namely a site dedicated to visitors, the so-called *Keravision*, and eventually converted it into the *Erlebniszentrum* (Discovery Center). Soyez documents the attractiveness of industrial production for visitors and proposes the term *Industrietourismus* to better understand the new phenomenon driven by the curiosity of tourists.

The development of scholarship examining the emergence of tourism based on industrial heritage has been a subject of interest since the early work of Alfrey and Putnam (1992). In their book, *The Industrial Heritage: Managing Resources and Uses*, the authors argue that there is considerable variation in industrial heritage mediated by a number of factors, from governmental support to the perception of the locals. The book raises a possible scenario in which industrial centers, such as factories, plants or farms, could play a key role in providing a rewarding experience, a focal point for enjoyment and a leisure pastime for visitors (Vargas-Sanchez, 2011). Binney *et al*.'s (1990) book, *Bright Future: The Re-Use of Industrial Buildings*, explores the reuse of industrial and manufacturing sites in a historic and architectural perspective. They advocate that industrial buildings are made to last and are tremendously adaptable for other uses. Adaptive reuse is an optimal solution for many redundant industrial sites, provided it is underpinned by a proper historical understanding and contributes to the overall character of its surroundings. Kincaid (2002) introduces best practice guidelines for developers and others involved in the refurbishment of industrial buildings. The aspect of regeneration is also discussed by Stratton (2000), Atkinson *et al*. (2002) and Ashworth and Graham (2005), that the reuse of industrial buildings and regions has increasingly become an international 'best practice', widely employed in the rhetoric of urban planners and politicians. Derelict industrial areas have spaces to be disguised for new meanings and regeneration strategies

should capitalize on the capacity of these areas to be used for residential and leisure functions. Although the architectural and archaeological features of industrial buildings are discussed as well as the social history they represent in a local community, a few literatures have focused on how industrial heritage can be interpreted for tourism. Comparatively little attention has been directed at examining the cultural conditions under which industrial heritage develops or the effects of that development, let alone what happens when efforts are made to turn industrial heritage into a tourist destination.

The exploitation of industrial heritage for tourism began in Europe when exhausted coal mines and the like were repackaged as tourist attractions. Tourism has sought to improve the image of old industrial towns and encourage an appreciation of a district's cultural and industrial tradition through operating information offices, issuing maps and information publications, organizing guided visits and promoting special events. Many projects combine the conservation and interpretation of industrial sites with other recreational activities as an effective means of ensuring their long-term survival. Gradually, the movement to promote industrial heritage as a resource for reclaiming local identities, constructing a historical narrative of industrial glory and marketing both identity and history to tourists has become widespread and has enjoyed broad grass-roots support. Adaptation into visitor attractions not only provides the relics of an industrial past with sustainable new uses, but it also offers partnerships with commercial enterprise to improve the local economy (Morrison, 2011). Otgaar (2012) suggests that since the 1980s, various countries, regions and cities have identified industrial tourism as a relevant segment of their tourism market coupled with a growing interest from tourists for unique and authentic experiences. Several European countries, including France, Germany, Italy and Spain, have developed 'historic industrial heritage inventories' in order to record their heritage and prepare for commercial development. Ultimately, tourism shows the benefits of integrating industrial heritage with contemporary working life.

One of the most important marketing tools is the industrial World Heritage Sites which celebrates industrial heritage and its landscape. It started in 1978 with the entry of the Wieliczka Salt Mine in the first World Heritage List. In 1986, the inscription of Ironbridge Gorge introduced the concept of extensive industrial landscapes, where its heritage is recognized as a comprehensive entity rather than a single site or complex (Falconer & Young, 2011). In the 1990s, a further 14 industrial World Heritage Sites were inscribed including Rammelsberg, a metal-mining town in Germany,

the Karlskrona naval dockyard in Sweden, Crespi D'Alba textile mills in Italy and the Canal du Midi in Belgium. Currently, over 33 specific industrial sites (out of the 851 objects on the list) are listed on UNESCO's World Heritage List. The purpose of these sites is to use tourism as a tool to improve the image of a region and to enhance the relation between business and society.

Defining Industrial Heritage Tourism

There is considerable interest in industrial heritage tourism, but the terms used to describe it and the literature in which it is described are equally confusing. A variety of terms, such as 'industrial tourism', 'factory tourism', 'factory visits', 'company tours' and 'industrial archeology', are used interchangeably in the tourism literature to describe this bourgeoning tourism phenomenon. Steinecke (2001) uses the term 'industrial experience worlds' to illustrate the wider scope of tourism, including routes of industrial heritage, industrial experience landscapes and company tours. Edwards and Llurdés i Coit (1996) propose that industrial heritage tourism forms a distinctive subset of the wider field of heritage tourism, which mainly focuses on 'the remnants of the past that are associated with primary (extractive) or secondary (manufacturing) economic histories, and it is typically associated with the past of the working class' (Timothy, 2007: xiii).

Otgaar *et al*. (2010) propose that industrial tourism should be defined as a visit to a functional manufacturing site in order to witness processes that are actually live in real time. It is an experience that generates the special excitement of something authentic and memorable. Frew (2000) distinguishes 'industrial tourism' from 'industrial heritage tourism', arguing that the former involves visits by tourists to operational industrial sites where the core activity of the site is non-tourism oriented, while the latter refers to visits to non-operational industrial sites. From this perspective, industrial heritage tourism means tourism to sites where the industrial operations for which the site was originally built have ceased. In other words, industrial tourism is not seen as being industrial heritage tourism as heritage sites are normally not in production, except for demonstrations or small-scale production purposes.

However, the attempt to distinguish both terms based upon operations and functionalities poses a theoretical challenge. Industrial sites can be both operational and non-operational at various periods of time. Vargas-Sanchez (2011) questions the distinction, pointing out that it lacks an understanding of industrial heritage tourism, which is founded on a

long-dead and later recreated heritage (such as mining parks). There are factory tours to understand how the raw material is transformed, the processes and technology involved, and the finished products are displayed in both functional and non-functional sites. The bankruptcy of Eastman Kodak in 2012 provides a vivid example to illustrate the fluid nature of the industrial world. The Kodak brand has long been seen as a modern industry with cutting-edge technology for film and cameras. The 131-year-old film pioneer, who introduced the Brownie camera a century ago, had been struggling to adapt to an increasingly digital world and faltering in the face of advancing technology. It is evident that the increasing popularity of digital cameras caused Kodak to cease to be viable as a business. On the other hand, the Kodak brand continues to be central to the way that Americans understand photography itself. The phrase 'Kodak moment' denotes a memorable or a picture worthy moment, even though we no longer actually use Kodak technology to create it. Hence, it is both current and obsolete, or both a part of industry as we understand it, and a fading past of our industrial heritage. Comparably, Nokia, once a paper mill set up 150 years ago in southern Finland, became the country's global claim to fame in mobile phones. However, the company, the symbol of Finnish innovation and technology, was sold to Microsoft in 2013. Therefore, the criterion of functionality does not seem to apply to the concept of industrial heritage tourism as the vicissitudes of industrial transformation in recent decades are too rapid, ephemeral and apt to vacillate between operating and non-operating to merit any attempt to distinguish between industry and industrial heritage.

Industrial heritage tourism is loosely and variously defined, but whether a tourist trip is 'industrial heritage' should be determined by the tourist's intent and the drawing power of the heritage or event, not by activity alone. Simply put, industrial heritage tourism refers to tourism in which industrial milieus provide tourists with venues and attractions (Willim, 2005). Soyez (2013) suggests that there are many definitions of industrial heritage tourism and various concepts in place to denote the types and meanings of that tourism. The existing concepts of 'industrial heritage' often lack a comparison between living/working industries and defunct industries. Through extensive studies of BMW World in Munich, the Mercedes Museum in Stuttgart, the Audi Forum in Ingolstadt and the Volkswagen Autostadt in Wolfsburg, Germany, Soyez claims that living industries exhibit an increasingly more inclusive scheme of industrial heritage tourism. Common-sense definitions refer to tradition and the exaltation of a past way of life, while ignoring that living industries actually offer higher and more innovative levels of authenticity than more 'traditional'

heritage sites. Industrial heritage tourism should be viewed as an attempt at reclamation by adding a contemporary twist and attracting tourists to experience industrial sites and modes of production. It brings the industrial past to life and engages with tourists in the present where manufacturing processes are explained and equipment is demonstrated. In the meantime, the particularity of the industrial histories becomes subordinated to the thematic demands of a touristic mode of consumption. From a marketing perspective, cities draw tourists by differentiating themselves from other cities, and one way to achieve this is to link industrial heritage sites to local history and collective memories.

Furthermore, industrial heritage tourism is associated with the semiotic approach to place identity and attachment. Physical industrial buildings, objects and past events, together with their interpretive markers, create a distinctive identity while the preservation of physical relics and ruins from the past serve to conserve their accumulated messages. Industrial heritage sites are best understood using a postmodern theoretical framework. It is a series of historical and economic shifts associated with postmodernism, such as deindustrialization, gentrification and commodification, which make industrial heritage tourism viable. Edwards and Llurdés i Coit (1996: 342) argue that because many aspects of contemporary mining production have emerged from earlier periods and are linked to the history and culture of a local region, touristic activities on these sites can be described as industrial heritage tourism despite being currently operational. Therefore, industrial heritage tourism should be appropriately defined as industrial sites, both functional and no longer functional, that partake in tourism activities by offering the kind of coherent and commodifiable image that is necessary to produce the tourist experience.

Industrial heritage tourism comes in a variety of forms. Essentially, it helps retain aspects of heritage landscapes either directly through the conservation and reuse of buildings and structures for tourism development, or indirectly through valorizing the work of various agencies in monetary terms by bringing in visitor income (Lane *et al.*, 2013). Visiting industrial sites and museums is the most common way to appreciate heritage and culture in a given location. The auto industry in particular capitalizes on industrial heritage tourism. In Italy, the remodeled National Automobile Museum opened in Turin in 2011 showcasing 178 cars to draw tourists from around the world. The Fiat 500 model occupied the central position of a nostalgic display to foreground the significance of car culture and the socioeconomic history of Turin. In recent years, industrial heritage tourism has been combined with sightseeing, product purchasing and knowledge tours. For example, the auto companies BMW,

Mercedes-Benz, Audi and Volvo initiated European delivery programs to lure North American auto enthusiasts to travel to their headquarters. As auto enthusiasts land in Europe, they are taxied directly from the airport to the auto factory for a tour of the construction process before being presented with their brand new car. Given two weeks of complimentary European auto insurance, buyers can drive their new car through Europe for a few days and then drop it off at a designated port so that it can be shipped home. The industrial experience tour includes the production proper where tourists/buyers watch the car assembly, and service elements such as the customer center to welcome the tours. Although the ultimate purpose is to purchase a car, these consumers are actually industrial heritage tourists since the purpose of the tour is to help them understand and appreciate the manufacturing process. BMW markets and describes this kind of experience as follows:

> Choose an unforgettable European Delivery experience. Meet your vehicle in Munich and save up to 7% of the base price. At the acclaimed BMW Welt, you'll find automobile exhibits and the delivery center under one striking roof. Get a close-up look at all aspects of BMW during a museum and factory tour. Then take your new car on the roads it was designed to drive on – the mountainous, winding, Autobahn-racing roads of Europe. Available driving adventures let you enjoy European hospitality and your new BMW, at the same time.

The United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), bringing into focus both past and present patrimony, identifies industrial heritage tourism in three broad areas: (1) industrial and technological monuments, e.g. sites, moveable heritage and artifacts in museums; (2) living industry of all types, including agriculture and food production; and (3) intangible heritage, e.g. cultural activities inspired by industrial development. Edwards and Llurdés i Coit (1996), through their study of mining and quarrying attractions, propose that industrial heritage tourist attractions can be classified into the following four major categories: (1) productive attractions: these are sources of raw materials that have visible imprints on the landscapes; (2) processing attractions: these represent traditional techniques at 'site serving' locations, such as smelting works, crushing areas, etc.; (3) transport attractions: these represent the distribution of raw and processed materials, such as railroad tracks; (4) sociocultural attractions: these are housing quarters, resource towns and villages, and shops related to the industry and community life.

Falser (2001), an art historian working at UNESCO, identifies a 10-point classification of industrial heritage: (1) extractive industries; (2) bulk products industries; (3) manufacturing industries; (4) utilities; (5) power sources and prime movers; (6) transportation; (7) communication; (8) bridges, trestles, aqueducts; (9) building technology; and (10) specialized structures/objects. Lane *et al.* (2013) have added three additional classifications not listed above which are also important: (1) industrial heritage complexes comprising a factory or factories complete with workers' housing and related buildings and infrastructure. Examples include Saltaire World Heritage Site in the UK which is among the first set of preserved factory buildings, and the sugar production factory in Hualien, Taiwan, where the agricultural industry of the colonial past is conserved; (2) industrial museums, such as the Catalonian Museum of Science and Industry in Spain and the Chemnitz Industrial Museum in Germany; and (3) a special category of industrial museums that attempt to replicate industrial heritage complexes, rather than be conventional museums; typical of these are the UK's Beamish, The Living Museum of the North, which recreates the early 20th-century climax of the Industrial Revolution, and the Zollverein Coal Mine in Essen, Germany, an enormous industrial complex from 1928 to 1986.

There are many ways whereby industrial heritage can be used for travel and tourism. According to the Memorandum of Understanding on the establishment in Zabrze (Poland) of the International Documentation and Research Center on Industrial Heritage for Tourism (2009), tourist activities involve viewing industrial museums, exteriors and landscapes; appreciating the aesthetic values of architecture and artifacts; and enjoying intangible heritage by participating in cultural events inspired by industrial heritage. Timothy (2011: 369) echoes that the range of industrial resources needs to go beyond the relics and sites associated with manufacturing, the extraction of natural resources, shipping and transport. Typologies of industrial sites were proposed ranging from manufacturing to disposal systems, including ancillary features, that go with them, such as museums, waterfronts, townships, etc. Therefore, every item related to the industrial process is part of the industrial heritage tourism, from the means of transport to the tools, from ways of extracting raw materials to the conversion of factories. Industrial heritage consists of those tangible and intangible aspects of human systems that are considered culturally significant for their aesthetic, economic, historic, organizational, political, scalar and social value (see Table 1.1).

Table 1.1 Types of industrial sites and examples

Type of industrial site	Examples
Manufacturing and processing	Factories, assembly plants, smelters, mills, glassblowing works, textile plants, leatherworks, breweries, wineries, mints, printing presses, potteries and kilns, diamond workshops, fish and animal processing plants
Resource extraction	Open-pit mines, underground mines, quarries, lumber yards and sawmills
Shipping and transport	Railroads, canals, aqueducts, bridges, shipyards, docks, warehouses, transportation museums
Engineering	Bridges, dams, aerospace facilities
Energy production	Hydroelectric plants, nuclear energy stations, dams, windmills
Disposal systems	Sewer systems, landfills, incinerators
Other related attractions	Waterfronts, brownfields, industrial museums

Source: Timothy (2011: 369)

Challenges of Industrial Heritage Tourism

Industrial heritage tourism encompasses five major components: *culture* to connect with the past; *physical* to present authenticity; *product* to appeal to tourists; *experience* to relive the history; and *sustainability* to involve stakeholders' participation. A comprehensive tour of structures and artifacts represents a means of increasing understanding of the industrial past by promoting its culture, celebrating its achievement and revitalizing the industrial products. Despite the potential financial and cultural benefits of tourism, industrial heritage has its own specific problems compared to other types of built heritage. Researchers face a number of challenges in trying to understand this type of tourism. These separate but related challenges include: (1) lack of public awareness; (2) lack of economic measures; and (3) spatial and regional complexities.

This section discusses each of the three challenges in detail. In general, lack of public awareness is due in part to the impact of power relations on the decision-making process. Deficiency of the data measuring the economic impact of industrial heritage tourism handicaps capital investment on the part of governments and businesses. Industrial heritage tourism often lacks credibility in the eyes of decision-makers because the field is ambiguously defined. Lastly, industrial heritage tourism is commonly understood not as a worldwide phenomenon or discrete genre of tourism, but as a regional

phenomenon, rooted in specific localities and industries. The object-oriented approach to industrial heritage focuses on 'industrial monuments' such as the train, the factory or the mining pit, while industrial territories are largely disregarded or merely represented in a museum setting (Del Pozo & Gonzalez, 2012). The questions asked when planning, developing and evaluating industrial heritage tourism are different from those that are asked for other types of cultural tourism. The process of converting industrial heritage to tourism varies dramatically in form and function from place to place. This process involves various stakeholders, e.g. governments, businesses and communities, which will be detailed in Chapter 2. An understanding of the role and impacts of industrial heritage tourism in each community requires an appreciation of the differences in the geographic situation of each.

Lack of public awareness

Industrial heritage represents an era of human history marked by profound technical, economic and social changes. It provides not only an important sense of identity, but also commemorates technological and scientific improvements in the history of manufacturing, engineering and construction. However, the primary goal of industrial heritage tourist attractions is to educate or cater to educational institutions, rather than to independent tourists. Industrial heritage has inherent educational value, which can and is used to help future generations learn about history. Even the unsafe and exploitative conditions for workers in 19th-century factories and the environmental consequences of heavy industry are part of that story. In the US, industrial heritage is seen as 'public archaeology' which can be attributed to the efforts to promote stewardship of the archaeological record and help communities or individuals in some way to solve societal problems (Little, 2009). Educational experiences are often tailored to tourists by personalizing them and promising to immerse tourists in the everyday world of a historical attraction. For example, the museum in Killhope, the UK, is a fully restored 19th-century lead mine, where high schools can experience the work and life of the lead miners of the Pennine Dales. Attractions include a huge working waterwheel, a mineshop, a wash house where workers looked for minerals and lead ore and a 'jigger-house' which sorted the lead ore from other materials. Similarly, the Ironbridge Gorge Museums in Shropshire are a cluster of 10 destinations beside the River Severn, including the National Design and Technology Education Centre, Coalport China Museum and Coalbrookdale Museum of Iron, serving the purpose of educating current

generations about the 'Birthplace of Industrial Heritage'. The area was developed as an assemblage of museums and linked industrial sites catering to education.

The popularity that industrial heritage sites enjoy as destinations for school field trips does not translate to full-scale tourism. Industrial heritage tourism has long been considered a 'Cinderella business', a type of business fraught with opportunities yet failing to receive the necessary resources or attention that it deserves. The sector is fragmented and largely composed of small attractions that barely cooperate with each other. The specific uses of industrial sites are heavily influenced by demographics including population density, educational background, age distribution and the racial diversity of the population in the surrounding areas. In communities where the majority of the population grew up in perceived blue-collar districts, tourism projects have been unable either to sustain local commitment and involvement or to mobilize support. Lack of public awareness has been viewed as a major barrier to the appreciation of industrial heritage. Therefore, a widespread inability to understand the financial and aesthetic values of industrial sites constitutes a problem to their transformation for tourist consumption.

By comparison, urban planners and tourism marketers pay close attention to a domain of tourism frequently called 'sacred landscapes' – prestigious buildings such as palaces, castles, monuments and chateaux that have been preserved by the individuals who own them or by the communities in which they reside. Built heritage is based on aesthetic and historical qualities. Cultural elites are used to define heritage as grand and aesthetically worthy of adoration (Shackel *et al.*, 2011), while everyday life and labor within industrial heritage discourses are given relatively less attention than technological and architectural significance (Smith, 2006). Additionally, historical landmarks are frequently converted into hotels and pensions as evidenced by the boom of the *parador* in Spain and the *pousada* in Portugal, where monasteries and castles are refurbished into luxury hotels. On the contrary, an industrial heritage property, particularly in urban areas of large cities, carries a dubious business value and is unlikely to enjoy this privilege. The financial risks associated with industrial tourism development are particularly prominent in once-booming factory towns, which are often in a state of decline due to the collapse of manufacturing and the outsourcing of jobs. Though such towns may benefit from tourism development, the procedures for inspecting, evaluating and categorizing an industrial property are both expensive and time-consuming. Given the severe economic limitations of these cities, the transformation of industrial sites into tourist attractions often proves difficult.

Tourism development is widely regarded as a peripheral activity and an uninterpreted landscape by the communities hosting tourist attractions. Most industrial heritage site management is undertaken by non-profit, local government or state agencies, and often by volunteers rather than paid labor (Lane *et al.*, 2013). The emphasis is normally on conserving, not making money. There is a lack of partnership between tourism agencies and heritage sites resulting in poor perception and communication, and engendering a limited understanding of tourism, its impacts and potential benefits, among the majority of the local population residing in industrial cities. Assessments of industrial heritage sites for tourism are often undertaken by national and international agencies, such as the ICOMOS and the World Conservation Union (IUCN), while many residents do not realize the potential on their doorsteps, or the value of the city's industrial resources as tourist attractions. Despite the exponential growth of tourism, concerns linger that the transformation of industrial cities would sacrifice the site of community and human connection. The commodification of an industrial site and the placing of tourism at its center may convert a city into a 'theme park' (Sorkin, 1992). Local residents tend to perceive both tourism development and commodification as a threat to community integrity.

According to a survey by British Heritage (2011), there are about 650 industrial visitor attractions in the UK. However, listed industrial buildings are more at risk than almost any other kind of heritage building. Almost 11% of Grade I and II industrial buildings are at risk, compared to just 3% of usual heritage buildings like cottages and stately homes. Among those buildings at risk, only 40% could be put to sustainable and economic new uses. For the remaining 60%, in spite of immense cultural value, opportunities for adaptive reuse are limited. Most industrial heritage sites at risk are not capable of being converted for new uses. These sites typically involve buildings that contain historic machinery, or are redundant engineering structures or abandoned mines. Textile mills also make up a large proportion of at-risk industrial structures, and these buildings are often concentrated in a single place, such as Lancashire, Greater Manchester and West Yorkshire. The survey also shows that almost all of the major car plants that existed in Coventry in 1994 have since been demolished. Just a handful of smaller factories survive in what was the hub of British car manufacturing.

Public opinion in the UK toward industrial heritage is mixed. Almost half the population (43%) does not know when the Industrial Revolution took place, while 80% of respondents think industrial structures are just as important as castles and country houses. Public attitudes do, however,

indicate strong support for the preservation of industrial heritage; 86% agree that it is critical to value and appreciate industrial heritage and 71% think that industrial heritage sites should be reused for modern-day purposes as long as their character is preserved. Only 9% think that industrial sites are depressing or an eyesore. The survey reveals that the remains of industrial sites are poorly understood, underappreciated and very much at risk, even though many respondents realize the significance of industrial heritage. Their awareness has been ambivalent, torn between valuing industrial heritage and green countryside. It reinforces the enduring concern for developing tourism in industrial communities.

Lack of economic measures

Vargas-Sanchez (2011) has raised several questions regarding the purpose of developing industrial heritage tourism: 'Why are more and more companies opening their minds (and doors) to industrial tourism and promoting visits to their installations?', 'To what kinds of visitor are they catering?', 'Why and how would these visits be attractive for different target groups?' and 'What explains the increasing interest for this kind of experience in factories and similar facilities?'. To answer these questions, stakeholder and scholars must attempt to measure the impact of tourism on regional economic development, such as the percentage of revenue from retail sales that can be reasonably attributed to tourists, or the number of jobs created through industrial heritage tourism.

It is not uncommon for the redevelopment of an industrial past to lead to an economic rebirth. Although tourism does not replace the employment lost in former industries, it brings notable direct and indirect income wherever it is successful. Lane *et al.* (2013) suggest that despite no definitive value for industrial heritage tourism to the European Union's economy, it is estimated that there are 18 million overnight tourist trips plus 146 million day visits, generating a direct spend of almost €9 billion annually. The total impact is likely to be larger when the indirect and induced effects are taken into account as many industrial heritage sites tend to be locally based with a close link to the communities.

The economic success includes the Big Pit National Coal Museum in Blaenavon, Wales, among other regions, which is listed on the European Route for Industrial Heritage (ERIH). The development of the Big Pit National Coal Museum has earned a UNESCO World Heritage Site, a classification that gives an area more recognition and results in funds from the World Heritage Committee and the European Union. In the same way, a survey of the Welsh Slate Museum estimates that it generates 114 local jobs,

including those of the 40 people who work at the museum. Approximately £2.7 million was spent in the area between 2009 and 2010 by tourists and museum staff members in Llanberis, a town of about 2000 people in an isolated corner of Britain (Sylvers, 2011). In Australia, the Kandos Bicentennial Industrial Museum is located in a town of 1300 people, 230 kilometers northwest of Sydney, Australia. Although it is remotely located, the Kandos museum receives about 2000 visitors a year. The museum's exhibits include one dedicated to the cement industry, traditionally a large local employer. In order to serve as a focal point for local tourism, the museum must improve on the building and the setting up of exhibits to better interpret the story of Kandos and the cement industry. There is no doubt that industrial heritage museums' economic contributions are important to the areas in which they are located, not only as employers and buyers, but also as establishments that create opportunities for other businesses.

Despite the positive economic impacts of industrial heritage tourism, debates on the quality of the jobs and who benefits from tourism remain a thorny issue. Some argue that even though there might be some benefits to former industrial communities directly resulting from the preservation of industrial sites, these benefits do not necessarily help the people whose livelihood and identity have been endangered by deindustrialization. At least in North America, deindustrialization has meant, among other things, that decent paying, often unionized jobs for people who either can't or won't withstand the pressures of higher education are now gone. The gentrification of former industrial sites, and their conversion into tourist attractions, certainly creates jobs in communities that once had a strong industrial base. However, these jobs are more likely to be minimum wage than are industrial manufacturing jobs, or the jobs offered at these sites will require skills that displaced industrial workers do not have. It is doubtful that the people who once held jobs in these industrial sites will be able to get new positions in the refurbished buildings. Even if they can, it is not guaranteed that those jobs will enable them to enjoy the standard of living that their manufacturing jobs once allowed.

Another problem is that there is currently no single or comprehensive source of data on the impacts of the industrial heritage sector. The economic impacts of industrial heritage tourism tend to be a site-only phenomenon, which rarely includes accommodation elements (Lane *et al.*, 2013). Many former industrial areas do not have existing accommodation facilities and few industrial regions have yet evolved into proto-resorts, and are incapable of offering a variety of attractions and accommodations. Although some factories, such as the sugar production factory in Hualien,

Taiwan, have converted the former staff dormitories into bed and breakfast facilities, the economic benefits that accrue to destination areas are vague and economic assessment tools in industrial heritage tourism do not apply to overnight stays.

Furthermore, industrial heritage tourism is dominated by the public sector and not-for-profit groups who are often reliant on volunteers. When a small economy begins to depend primarily on tourism, without other manufacturing or industrial supports, the result can be an increase in welfare usage because monetary benefits to the local economy may be insignificant (Copeland, 1991). Iverson and Cusack (2000) suggest that the expansion of the welfare state has primarily been caused by deindustrialization and, in this case, a shift toward a tourist economy because workers in the tourism industry no longer possess marketable or specialized skills. Consequently, employers have little incentive to offer higher pay as individual employees are easily replaceable without specialized skills.

From an urban planning perspective, industrial sites range in size from abandoned factories to thousands of acres of brownfields. The sheer size of the tracts of land left over after deindustrialization can influence urban form and the visual landscape. Implementing tourism projects must recognize funding realities. The motives for local tourism development are recycling more old buildings, transforming them into offices, apartments, bars and boutiques, and driving up real estate values and property taxes; however, the challenge is that many developers do not consider industrial heritage as part of the mainstream property market and can be put off by a site's scale, possible contamination, conversion costs or, if the building is listed, an exaggerated notion of the restrictions this could impose. In addition, developers are finding it hard to raise finances for large projects as the economic downturn experienced by many former industrial cities has led to a severe decrease in available public subsidies. This causes more industrial buildings to remain derelict for longer periods of time. From the owners' perspective, many find themselves struggling to maintain a large historic building on top of the challenges of running the business itself. Redundant industrial sites located in the hinterlands carry a low property value that makes these buildings unlikely to attract tenants; hence, there is little incentive to repair them. For many investors, the easiest option is simply to clear the site and build anew.

The financing of tourism developments is one of the more complex issues facing stakeholders as economic benefits may be difficult to measure for the purpose of urban regeneration. Although a wide range of financial resources are available, economic measures are often used to earmark

particular activities. Unfortunately, the lack of credible measures about the size of industrial heritage tourism is due in part to its diversity. Few industries have as many different associations representing its various segments as tourism. Data can be missed when an establishment conducts a significant volume of tourism-induced business but earns most of its revenues from other sources. Industrial heritage tourism has thousands of businesses, many of them small to medium-sized. It is much harder to unite them in common causes, let alone to share economic data.

Spatial and regional complexity

Industrial sites appear in a variety of locales and take on a variety of forms. Some are found in major metropolitan centers while others are warehouses situated next to a waterfront. A mere listing of these places does little to describe the extent of their industrial legacy worldwide, nor do the sites themselves suggest any single pattern for their future regeneration (Kirkwood, 2001). Meethan (1996: 326) suggests that the development of heritage and tourism has gone through four stages: (1) the spatial restructuring of late capitalism and the decline of traditional industries; (2) the resultant competition between localities for investment; (3) the commodification of the built environment in which heritage becomes a tangible asset; and (4) the emergence of heritage as enterprise. The sector has become highly diverse in terms of size, governance and the industry involved. Some industrial sites are small, preserving just one piece of heritage and relying wholly on state financial support; others are much larger with a greater business ethos combining a professional management and workforce. The temporal and spatial changes experienced by industrial sites are significant and the pressures for redevelopment are immense. Tourism is one economic means to revitalize industrial legacy and integrate remediation and landscape design. It goes beyond the reclamation of waste and contaminated urban sites and instead tourism development is an interdisciplinary approach to maintain the sustainability of local economies.

Spatially, Europe is very much the dominant player in industrial heritage tourism on a global basis. In the first initiative report within the Lisbon Treaty (adopted on September 27, 2011), the European Parliament emphasizes that 'the development of Europe's industrial heritage could also benefit secondary destinations and contribute to achieving a more sustainable tourism sector in Europe, through the preservation, transformation and rehabilitation of the industrial sites'. In addition, it identifies industrial heritage in the Lisbon Treaty as 'typical forms

of thematic and diversified tourism seems to meet the objective of a sustainable tourism policy orientated both to preserve Europe's diversity and multiculturalism and to avoid the distortions and the damages of undifferentiated mass tourism'. In 2010, the coal and steel-based industrial cities of the German Ruhr region became Europe's Capital of Culture. Using the UNESCO list of 962 industrial sites as a guide, Europe has a near monopoly on this activity. Of the 33 listed industrial heritage–related sites, 28 are in Europe (Lane *et al*., 2013). Growing recognition of the importance of industrial cities indicates that tourism has become a greater part of the cultural and economic agenda in Europe.

In addition, various European nations create 'anchor points' or a 'patrimonial cult' (Choay, 2001) to elucidate the significance of industrial heritage in specific regions, which are historically important and most attractive for tourists. The ERIH has created several routes leading through Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, France and Germany to form an industrial heritage map. In Eastern Europe, some former Communist countries have formed the Industrial Monuments Route (Gruber, 2009) serving as an alternative to the countries' castles and churches. Tourists can access the ERIH website by name, region, subject or via 10 different regional routes and 10 European theme routes. An example of the manifestation of this phenomenon can be found in these countries where numerous cities have sought to remarket their declined industrial areas. In Italy, ex-industrial areas such as Ostiense in Rome and Arsenale in Venice, with many warehouses, workshops, shipyards and factories, have been given a new lease of life in service industries. Industrial heritage provides a fertile ground for national nostalgia, collective memories of a greater past and reassertion of lost social value. The ERIH network is recognized as a European sector standard to benchmark industrial heritage tourism, so much so that both Germany and the Netherlands have been able to use this to get ERIH-branded tourism signage on their countries' roads paid for out of regional funds (Haan, 2011: 50).

In the US, industrial heritage tourism relates to morphological changes, and often occurs in the inner cities as part of urban regeneration. It is rarely regional and often refers to sites, buildings, machines and districts. For example, Clybourn Avenue, a steel mill district, two miles northwest of downtown Chicago, may explain the viability of preserving and repurposing industrial heritage in terms of such factors as accessibility, land rent, planning restrictions, comparative shopping and proximity to other tourism-related phenomenon. The gentrification of the Clybourn district engendered a renewal in which rundown neighborhoods were bought out by developers and investors and turned into recreational

spaces and commercial establishments. The changes, which include a new shopping mall with a gourmet grocery and a six-screen theater, have led to the economic and aesthetic yuppification of the district (Bergman, 1988). Similarly, the Starbucks coffee company launched a program in November 2011 to 'create jobs for the USA'. A local company in East Liverpool in Ohio, formerly known as 'the pottery capital of the USA', was chosen to produce Starbucks' mugs. The town's pottery industry, once the economic backbone of the community, had been wiped out and had faded into oblivion. The Starbucks program, including the building of a modern ceramic factory, has revitalized the pottery industry in East Liverpool, providing the town with one of the most hopeful stories in recent American manufacturing history. With the Starbucks orders, the mug company was able to rehire people that had been let go in previous months and years, and hire new workers who needed employment. The factory also attracts a flow of tourists who come to appreciate the manufacturing process and the workmanship of the mugs.

In Asia, the rejuvenation of industrial heritage has produced a huge potential for tourism and a driving force to preserve the near past. Industrial heritage is widely viewed as 'retrochic' and as a source of local, regional and national pride. For instance, one of the newest destinations in Bangkok, Thailand, is the Train Market (*Talad Rot Fai*), a refurbished industrial site opened in 2010. It attracts many twenty-something Thai hipsters, who gather at a series of lots near old train tracks and search for sale items including antique metal fans, record players, Harley-Davidson motorcycles, Vespas and even vintage bicycles. Nearby, dozens of old Volkswagen vans have been converted into mobile bars for visitors to hangout and to take photos in front of the many nostalgic backdrops. Purnell (2012) interviewed several tourists to reflect upon their motives for visiting the market:

> 'I like to see all the different old stuff,' says Puii Ouengsaengphakorn, a 23-year-old student at Bangkok's Mahanakorn University. On a recent visit, she was posing in front of an antique Coca-Cola vending machine. 'The world has developed and changed a lot,' she says. Her friend, a 23-year-old IT support technician, agreed. 'In my opinion, antiques are more interesting than present day things,' he says.

Nonetheless, the disparities in the administrative policies of different geographic locations cause different paths of development. The views on industrial heritage are different among North Americans, Europeans and Asians. The developmental process is also varied in disparate regions. Tourism development is often situated between industrial representation,

landscape appreciation and tourist consumption. The widespread geographic distribution and the many scales at which tourism operates discourage a uniform plan for coordinated marketing and research. Spatial and regional complexities aggravate the situation that few destinations have clear goals to attract tourists and use industrial heritage for economic improvement.

Summary

The American writer William Faulkner's famous line, 'the past is never dead, it's not even past', best describes the complex interplay of industrial heritage. This chapter attempts to contextualize industrial heritage tourism by problematizing the interrelations between landscape, memory and identity, situating a discussion of these relationships within the wider discourses of heritage and tourism. The issues of memory, landscape and identity provide a unique reference point for a discussion on industrial heritage whose ruins have long been viewed as spaces of danger, delinquency, ugliness and disorder (Edensor, 2005), a pattern that plagues industrial sites around the world. However, the focus on the industrial landscape has shifted and what was once a generally passive background has now assumed the foreground. The determinant of industrial heritage is now seen as an active and far more complex entity in relation to socioeconomic development. Industrial sites, functional or non-functional, have gradually become 'places of special interest' (Ashmore & Knapp, 1999: 2) where selective memories are used for tourism. Characteristically, these sites include an eclectic mix of industries and an equally eclectic residential population. Memories of these places have evoked mixed emotions from the communities as industrial heritage conjures up grit, grime, smoke and noise. Industrial heritage tourism is a product of postmodernity and is acknowledged as a major trajectory in contemporary tourism. It is argued that industrial heritage tourism can be both operational and non-operational in nature, dependent on tourists' motives, perceptions and preferences. Industrial heritage tourism is an important, if neglected, component of cultural tourism, developed during the second and third stages of the Industrial Revolution when authenticity and sustainability were deemed increasingly important. The changing perception of industrial ruins as tourism assets to be developed by various stakeholders presents an interdisciplinary approach to reclaiming sites altered by industrial activity and re-establishing a community identity. Using industrial heritage as a model for urban development creates opportunities for collaborative work between planners, designers, scientists, engineers and tourism marketers.

However, challenges for industrial heritage tourism are plentiful. Barriers include a lack of public awareness, a lack of economic measures to understand the magnitude of tourism businesses and the geography of complexity. The increase in conservation costs coupled with the decrease in the opportunities for public funding intensifies the problem to appreciate the significance of industrial heritage tourism. Spatial differences hinder a coordinated effort to market and promote industrial heritage tourism. More importantly, taking a holistic perspective, industrial heritage tourism often fails to stress the interrelationships among people, locations and features, in space and through time. These problems pose a challenge to further develop existing industrial sites and their conversion for tourist consumption. A conceptual framework is needed for identifying key elements in order to ensure the success of this burgeoning tourism genre. Chapter 2 provides a progressive approach to the issues facing such challenges. It will take a major step in examining and providing a wide range of practical and implemented solutions to aid in a better understanding of industrial heritage tourism.

2 A Framework for Approaching Industrial Heritage Tourism

Introduction

Over the past decades, industrial heritage has suffered an increased risk of loss through destruction and abandonment, endangering some of the greatest testaments to the creative genius of humanity. The value of industrial heritage is not only associated with land use, housing, jobs and the majority of manufacturing buildings as part of the urban landscape, but it also reveals the importance of a community's history and that preserving it contributes to regional pride. The preservation of industrial sites and facilities tends to evoke the entire historical process, along the lines of community life and improvement. Tourism has become a vital part of industrial heritage promotion and is largely driven by two forces: first, the reclamation of postindustrial landscapes led by increasing demand for the necessity to protect industrial heritage; second, the pressure on the stakeholders willing to reuse those areas and to incorporate them into economic development plans (Loures *et al.*, 2011). There is a growing acceptance of tourism as an agent of preservation and of industrial revitalization. Industrial heritage tourism is broadly viewed as a resource with huge possibilities for economic reactivation, architectural rehabilitation, museum creation and urban and spatial planning (Del Pozo & Gonzalez, 2012).

In practice, industrial heritage tourism is a process of refashioning existing industrial facilities and utilizing former industrial sites for economic means. It is a form of territorial development and is dependent upon various authorities' degree of involvement in the economic conversion of the spaces. It is a viable means of promoting and supporting the regeneration and economic development of host communities residing in industrial areas. These industrial sites, whether abandoned or in use, have been reimagined and re-energized to cater to tourists' needs. Tourism development grapples with location, the history of the area, the socioeconomic dimensions of the industry and the links between the industry and the identity of the area. Most importantly, tourism

demonstrates the vibrant interplay between tangible and intangible heritage and highlights choices open to communities in conserving and exploiting their past.

Despite a plethora of examples of developing industrial heritage, one of the biggest problems affecting tourism planning from marketing to design worldwide is poorly developed awareness of industrial heritage as a mosaic of interrelated forms. Industrial heritage is deeply imbued with a sense of the intrinsic importance of localization and regionalization within the context of social movements. It is a part of the historicity of the urban and rural landscape that can be passed down from generation to generation. Despite a small increase in industrial heritage tourism, heritage awareness remains a low priority when stakeholders are determining what to do with industrial sites in a postindustrial setting. Richards and Wilson (2006: 1210) point out that unwise tourism planning for heritage has led to 'serial reproduction' (Harvey, 1989), 'placelessness' (Relph, 2008) or 'McDisneyization' (Ritzer & Liska, 1997) when employing the same formulaic mechanisms, and their ability to create 'uniqueness' arguably diminishes (Harvey, 1989). Industrial heritage tourism tends to produce patches of selective memory rather than a clear and compelling narrative of local history and identity, and that problems ensue when tourism developers choose to use a cleaned-up, 'appropriate' version of local history instead of presenting a more complex but less flattering one. In most countries, the management of industrial landscapes goes no further than the conservation of individual buildings, the preservation of industrial ruins and the support of special sites that are historically or architecturally significant (Steinberg, 1996). Whitehand and Gu (2010) demonstrate the existence of a mismatch between the inherently historic-geographical characters of urban landscapes and the poorly integrated and often piecemeal approach to the way decisions about those landscapes are made. Planning authorities for developing industrial heritage tourism appear to neglect the issues of historical narrative and regional identity that connect the industrial foundation of a community and the historical grain of a city. The development of tourism is largely seen as built heritage conservation with little input from local communities and public participation. In other words, the goals of converting postindustrial sites into an invigorating landscape, reviving their heritage roots and benefiting the communities through tourism are often unfulfilled.

On a broader academic front, there exists endless intellectual deliberation on conserving heritage and preserving its authenticity and originality. Industrial landscapes have been reinterpreted, rehabilitated and remade following the processes of deindustrialization and

commodification. Shepherd (2006: 244) points out that the key issue in the discourse of heritage is to consider 'whose heritage is being preserved, by whom, and for what purposes?'. Dominant heritage discourses are assumed to be neutral, apolitical and common sense. However, questions of what counts as industrial heritage, why it is important, who defines it and how it should be used remain unanswered as the growth of tourism sectors impinges on industrial communities. Jones and Munday (2001: 586) argue that industrial heritage tourism should not only cover physical remains from the industrial past, but also sociofacts including aspects of social and institutional organizations, and mentifacts comprising attitudinal characteristics and value systems, such as religion and language. Debates on the application of tourism have also stimulated a concern about the effectiveness of using industrial resources and the negative effects of patrimonialization. These sites are often located far from conventional tourist attractions and the aesthetic appearance of the impoverished neighborhoods may be poor. The success of industrial heritage tourism depends on existing functions that guide appropriate progress, the ability to respond to a changing environment and increasing demands from tourists. Tourism development and concerns about regional heritage should interact in an enclosed and complex manner, coupled with the well-established issue of sustainability as a key element in the planning process.

Geographically, the potential importance of industrial heritage to tourism has been extensively documented in industrialized countries, with the great bulk of research focused on Western Europe and North America. It is generally acknowledged that these nations have experienced an Industrial Revolution and that regional industries have gone through a series of problems and changes. The operational incorporation of former industrial buildings into the patrimony becomes far more important in the context of urbanization, mainly carried out after the 1960s, which generally resulted in an unsuccessful combination of residential and industrial spaces (Cercleux *et al.*, 2012). Through lessons learned in the past, these industrialized nations provide a coherent variety of experiences in dealing with tourists' demand for industrial heritage conservation. Relatively speaking, industrial heritage tourism is catering sufficiently well to these maturing markets. In contrast, the majority of developing countries, in spite of the local and global significance of their manufacturing industries, have been largely ignored in the discussion of industrial heritage tourism (Steinberg, 1996). Tourism in developing countries is viewed as part of the rehabilitation of industrial towns where 'creative destruction' is proactively employed. In the absence of tourism guidance and policies,

the development of industrial heritage tourism proceeds in an unplanned or poorly planned manner, which usually results in low awareness, poor image and lack of interest from tourists.

Furthermore, the interpretation of deindustrialized landscapes remains a problem, despite some success in creative redevelopment, reflecting the replacement of industry with elements of the service economy in recent decades. Industrial heritage tourism faces the challenge of problematizing these issues, in particular closely examining its underlying practices and understanding dissenting voices from the affected communities. In the past, planning models, such as regional planning concepts and destination zones (Gunn & Var, 2002), to a large extent, contributed to the development of methodological processes for industrial tourism destinations. However, today's tourism planners still grapple with a lack of spatial concepts, a vague understanding of tourist motivation and behaviors and a rapid change in the socioeconomic demographics from which they can draw. Rather than integrating procedures regarding the functioning of tourism concepts, models have been developed independently with little or no attempt at building on previous efforts (Pearce, 1995).

In response to these problems ensuing from poor planning, there is a pressing need to develop general categories of industrial heritage tourism with common themes, which can be easily extrapolated to other locations. The motives and attributes of tourism development in an industrial heritage setting should be identified. Additionally, stakeholders including residents and local officials need to coordinate to create much-needed room for planning and management. In such circumstances, the creation of a conceptual framework appears useful because it permits researchers to explore relationships among variables in a logical and prescribed fashion.

A Framework of Industrial Heritage Tourism

In most industrial cities, fragments of the remains of industrial heritage pose a challenge to preservation and redevelopment. The common consensus is that the sustainability and revitalization of the sites will be most feasible if tourism projects are integrated into new concepts of appropriate use. Although both trade and scholarly publications worldwide frequently discuss space reuse for industrial sites, case studies tend to provide only a description and interpretation of particular elements of each industrial construction. The new functionality of former industrial sites is a complex process that involves studying their particular features and exploring market potentials highlighted by different perspectives. One major topic of debate

involves the question of how best to preserve industrial heritage sites: while some proponents advocate static conservation, in which developers aim to fossilize the past for a nostalgic feel, others promote a continuous and organic approach to preserve vital qualities of the industrial elements. Nyseth and Sognnæs (2012), through their study of old industrial towns in Norway, point out that these conflicting views for conservation seem to operate at the same time or at least overlap over time. Economic arguments in relation to the cultural economy and the commodification of heritage typically occur at a later phase. The relative success of conservation is based on a combination of supplementary tools, including a variety of different forms of co-governance among stakeholders.

In essence, a conceptual framework is needed to present the complex interplay of motives, economy and stakeholders in the process. However, one of the challenges for tourism researchers is to organize and manage various motives and attributes for the development of industrial heritage (Mitchneck, 1998). Each industrial heritage project has its own unique economic, historic, social, emotional, physical and other attributes. Suffice it to say that as every destination is different, so is the complex history of each industrial heritage site. These attributes are also interrelated to present a broad picture of tourism development. For instance, the public's interest or disinterest in an industrial site depends on its initial state of conservation and the public perception of its economic potential. If it is in a very bad state, the stakeholders involved are likely to neglect it and this can only accelerate its deterioration. Conversely, an industrial heritage site in good condition with a historically compelling image will elicit a positive response and arouse more interest, resulting in an increase in the resources allocated for its conservation (Greffe, 2004).

In addition, undertaking industrial heritage tourism raises a number of complications: first, the use of the industrial past as an expression of place identity serving economic development and social capital can occur at various spatial scales. Therefore, space has become a major issue when deciding the form of tourism at local, regional or national levels; second, there are many facets of industrial heritage in modern society in which participants and stakeholders demand a substantial justification for sites' continued existence, or for choosing one mode of development over others. Political activities such as legitimation play a powerful role in appealing for the continuity of the past and present. Industrial heritage provides the resources for tourism development, but, more broadly, it functions as an amenity resource base for a wide range of economic activities.

Based on an extensive literature review and numerous case studies, this chapter links key motives and attributes to form a theoretical framework

(see Figure 2.1). Four motives and six attributes are identified for this research framework that serves as a yardstick to measure the likelihood of success and the sustainability of industrial heritage tourism. The framework analyzes the postindustrial land transformation case studies, considering both tourism and conservation used in redevelopment. The objectives are not only to better understand the interrelationships between these motives and attributes, but also to evaluate the relative success of industrial heritage tourism projects. Diversity of motives has been a key to the vitality of tourism development and gives it a secure place in the current expansion of heritage culture (Crump, 1999). Four key motives are identified: (1) conservation; (2) space; (3) community; and (4) image. In the framework, these motives are represented by the arcs of the circle; hence, all are connected and can be arranged in any order. The circle was chosen because the motives may influence each other in ways that are non-linear. Six sets of attributes related to the listed motives are presented in rectangles, these being *potentials* and *stakeholders*, related to conservation; *adaptive reuse* associated with space; *economics* and *authenticity* link to community; and *perceptions* follow image. These are identified as important measures to examine the feasibility of industrial heritage tourism.

Figure 2.1 A framework for approaching industrial heritage tourism

The framework presents the equilibrium that exists between motives and attributes which are inextricably intertwined and juxtaposed with each other. Ideally, the conceptual framework reflects a fluid state of development where motives and attributes influence each other. Upon realizing the potentials of industrial heritage, the motives for industrial heritage development have been diverse, such as a desire to celebrate community achievement, an interest in innovation and ingenuity or an effort to compensate for irreparable space loss. Conservation and adaptive reuse of industrial sites create economic, social and cultural benefits for the wider community, such as helping rebrand a community's positive image and regaining the identity of both place and inhabitants. Tourism projects for industrial buildings are primarily initiated through the public sector as well as conversions undertaken by private developers for commercial purposes. These stakeholders have both economic and practical motives to preserve and reuse the character of industrial heritage and to capture the past and present of the sites. Through the study of market potentials, developers strive to find a balance between economics and authenticity. All these interconnections result in the relative success of industrial heritage tourism. Industrial heritage players weave a 'realm of possibility' (Zander & Zander, 2002: 20) when they look at available resources and find the best use for an industrial community. This chapter aims to illustrate a conceptual scheme for the analysis of industrial heritage tourism. The detailed explanations of these motives and attributes are as follows.

Motives

(1) Conservation

The conservation of industrial landscapes in a postindustrial era constitutes an important cultural objective and encourages the positive reuse of redundant or abandoned buildings that are part of a locality's industrial heritage. The rapid transformations that took place after World War II which led to the demolition of major parts of historic and 'inefficient' areas of a town gave way to nostalgia and ignited a countermovement toward conservation in many places (Nyseth & Sognnæs, 2013). Conservation refers to a process of selecting criteria for industrial heritage, bringing the professionals into the decision-making process and involving activist movements and pressure groups. In recent decades, the demolition of old heritage buildings has met with protests from conservationists in nearly every large city in the West, due to the rise of the 'green movement' (Pendlebury, 2009). Consequently, the goals of conservation have widened to include the regeneration and rehabilitation of areas to be achieved through land-use management plans

as much as through protective designations. Ashworth and Larkham (1994) propose that heritage is a contemporary commodity purposefully created to satisfy public consumption demands. The concept, definition and means of preserving heritage have gone through an evolutionary progress that started as a preservation movement, then shifted its focus to conservation, and ultimately advocated protection according to the criteria of consumer demand and managed through intervention in the market. The raw materials from which the heritage product is assembled comprise a varied mixture of historical events, personalities, memories, mythologies and surviving physical relics, together with the places with which they are symbolically associated. Therefore, the act of conservation involves agencies, resources, interpretation, products and user industries, which engender a series of dilemmas, tensions, opportunities and eventually consensus (Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2000).

Despite the significance of conservation, its definition poses a widespread problem since the term can be understood in both a broad and a narrow sense. Munoz Vinas (2005) suggests that conservation in a narrow sense is interpreted as the opposite of restoration; while in a broad sense, it is understood to include the sum of all activities, including restoration. From a broad perspective, restoration is another commonly accepted notion in the conservation field implying a return to a former state. The challenge of restoration is not necessarily to return a site to its 'original' state, but to preserve the authenticity and original intent of the objects to be restored. Similarly, the term 'preservation' means to keep something as it is, without changing it in a very substantial way, e.g. retaining its shape, status, use, even ownership. In reality, these terms are used interchangeably in the literature; however, the common sense is that preservation and restoration act together producing different approaches. The distinction relies on the noticeability of the action and the consequences of the transformation. In other words, the measurement of the degree of conservation depends upon whether the object has produced, or is expected to produce noticeable changes in something (Munoz Vinas, 2005: 20). The degree of success, to some extent, is subject to the judgments of stakeholders from different culture and heritage backgrounds.

Two schools of thought have developed regarding the principles and the proper aim of conservation (Jokilehto, 1999: 149). The first school emphasizes the adoption of a minimalist approach to conversion in order to avoid excessive redevelopment and to help retain character. Many industrial manufacturers want the former industrial areas to retain a shape and character that matches the initial conditions of their construction. They advocate preserving the area as a historical industrial district in the

same way that blocks of historic homes are preserved in many cities and buildings serve as landmarks of the past. Industrial remains, this school of thought argues, need to be protected even if they are mutilated. In such cases, conservation of the original appears to be far more important than artificial restoration. The second school prefers a form of 'careful restoration' in which the refurbishment of historical sites is considered necessary for future functionality. The concept derives from an architectural perspective (Viollet-le-Duc, 1987), which suggests that every industrial site should be restored in its own distinctive way. Specifically, both appearance and structure should be considered in the process of renovation. Restoration serves not only as a means of reinstating the building in a condition of completeness, but also as a means of replacement to restore the original and historical materials lost over generations.

Additionally, an 'anti-restoration movement' has seen a surge in popularity over the past 30 years. Initially championed by English intellectual John Ruskin (Nasser, 2003), anti-restorationists argue that minimum intervention is ideal. Romanticist in its orientation, this movement proclaims that industrial sites should not be viewed as ruins and trash, but as picturesque and sublime from different angles. Tourism development needs to be minimalist, stressing the heritage value of the sites. In particular, modern society has a moral obligation to preserve the original state of industrial sites or ruins, so that they can be studied by the next generation. Tim Edensor's (2005: 8) book *Industrial Ruins* argues that the industrial wasteland is a type of 'disorderly aesthetics' that goes against a 'conscious principle of construction'. Martinez (2008) recommends a 'third way' approach to avoid both the style-obsessed excesses and the radicalism of those who prefer to see the disappearance of abandoned industrial sites, rather than a purposeful intervention. The anti-restorationist approach stresses authenticity and sustainability as guiding principles in the restoration of industrial sites. From a modernist architectural perspective, industrial ruins contain 'not deliberately organized assemblies devised to strike chords and meanings through associations, but fortuitous combinations which interrupt normative meanings' (Edensor, 2005: 77). If so, restoration should be reversible in nature. An intervention, such as a commercial development for tourism, should be objective and based on a certain kind of interpretation so that the potential historical and cultural values are not distorted. Authenticity and sustainability ought to navigate the spatial and temporal distribution of industrial heritage renovation.

The primary goal of conservation is to preserve heritage and honor and celebrate the meaning of the industrial history contained at the site (Alfrey & Putnam, 1992). In the US, industrial buildings can be placed on

the National Register of Historic Places or the National Trust for Historic Preservation to receive government funding to restore the original function of the sites. It requires that the properties retain their historic integrity and have significance or documented importance. In the UK, the creation of a local listing published by English Heritage provides another way of highlighting those industrial sites that are valued by the local community. Stratton (2000: 8) places conservation at the center of measures for determining the success of industrial heritage development, arguing that 'regeneration works best if it is based on broad principles of conservation, building incrementally on surviving resources in terms of buildings, landscape, and people'. Tourism serves to promote nostalgia for the past as well as to strengthen present cultural and heritage ties. In particular, it represents an indispensable financial resource for the conservation and restoration of heritage that otherwise faces shrinking budgets and state transfers. Planning theories form the basis for regeneration that would also be attractive to tourists. The reuse of redundant industrial buildings makes good environmental sense and local authorities encourage developers to look at all possible reuse options and view demolition as the last resort. Using old manufacturing buildings for new purposes has increasingly become an integral part of conservation. Cole (2004) advises that the viability of conserving industrial sites is fundamentally dependent upon existing social, environmental and economic perspectives regarding the sustainability of tourism. Conservation is essential in the process of converting industrial heritage into a means of economic development. Furthermore, heritage policies communicate with other public policies due to common interests in social inclusion, urban regeneration and economic revitalization (Rautenberg, 2012). Thus, in order to link conservation to such broader spatial and socioeconomic issues, multidisciplinary approaches toward conservation are recommended (Cho & Shin, 2014).

(2) Space

Industrial heritage is fraught with contested space – physical, intellectual, economic, social and cultural. It is impossible to discuss space as a purely physical entity; space is always endowed with multiple and contested meanings and functions (Edensor, 2005). Foucault (1984: 252) explicitly links space with power by stating 'space is fundamental in any forms of communal life; space is fundamental in any exercise of power'. Lefebvre (1991) states that space is a social product, or the social construction of space, organized by power relations and constituted by a conceptual triad: spatial practice, representations of space and representational space. Spatial practice is perceived with physical meaning. Representations of space are

viewed as conceived space related to mental place, while representational space is lived space associated with images and symbols. Lefebvre (1991: 29) further suggests that space appears 'as luminous, as intelligible, as giving action free rein', that the illusion of transparency and the realist illusion coexist in our perceived spaces. Every society, as modes of production, produces a space, its own space.

Gentrification is a manifestation of the ideology of space that is constantly recreated through the deployment of tradition and the appropriation of industrial sites whose material realities are being negated. For example, the revival of the meatpacking district and the recycling of a railway into the High Line Park in New York City suggest that aesthetic landscapes of gentrification gesture toward the look and feel of the very social space they threaten to destroy. Likewise, the recent renovation of Toronto's Don Valley Brick Works in Canada, a former quarry and brick making factory, entails the reinvention of a postindustrial site and includes a recreational park to beautify the industrial ruin. In Europe, the opening of the Social Area at Spaces Herengracht in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, reflects a new and modern way of viewing space from the community and business. Formerly a warehouse, the Social Space provides a sense of communalism where social networking is the priority. These industrial spaces were transformed into the natural scenery shared by the communities and networked by the participants. Most importantly, these places emerge as 'tourist places' when they are appropriated, used and made part of the living memory and accumulated life narratives of people performing tourism (Bærenholdt *et al.*, 2004).

Prima facie, space is associated with a range of socioeconomic subjects and rooted in power relations. A traditional essentialist approach classifies space and place in terms of scale, labeling space as global, local, regional or national (Amin, 2002). Agarwal (2012), however, argues that the discourse of scalar and territorial relativization should be shifted toward relational spatiality, which draws a linear distinction between space and place. The emergence of relational spatiality implies that space can go through extensive regeneration involving recreation, reorganization and the rebranding of space and place (Agarwal, 2002). Basically, space can be restructured with a multifarious mixture of nodes, scapes, flows and networks (Healey, 2007). Rojek (1995: 146) observes that amid growing globalization and industrialization, there are risks to the emergence of 'universal cultural space' that provides the same aesthetic and spatial references wherever one is in the world. Space development belies the real issues to create 'socioeconomic vibrancy' and to develop 'real cultural capital' (Ray, 1998: 5).

The French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu, uses the word 'habitus' to describe the complex of social space, process, power and capital in contemporary society. The habitus, according to Bourdieu (1984), is a historically constituted, shared generative schema of perception, appreciation and categorization, mediating between structure and agency (Nash, 1999). It is learned and inculcated to the point where one's cultural and class tastes are felt as an irrefutable bodily reality. Habitus is also created and reproduced by dispositions, forces that are shaped by past events and structures. It embodies a set of individualized perceptions and it is viewed as both idiosyncratic and as objective aesthetic judgments by individuals. There is an important concept for understanding contextually determined ethical habitus – the notions of 'the field', referring to various social and institutional arenas, where people express and create their dispositions and compete for the distribution of capital (Gaventa, 2003). The field is a space networking with various relationships, e.g. religion, education, culture and heritage, and struggling over desired resources. Very often, tensions and contradictions arise when people encounter different contexts as they experience power differently, depending upon which field they are in at a given moment; therefore, context and environment are key influences on habitus. The space development has become fluid by combining everyone with facilities, roads, health, and strong leadership from elected officials. From an architectural perspective, the trend for the sustainability agenda persists in the concept of habitus, for instance, cars are being rerouted to make way for an efficient flow of pedestrians and cyclists in some cities. Inside buildings, elevators are being tucked behind centrally located, exhilarating stairways, requiring people to exercise while making more room for the disabled in mechanical lifts. Space has surfaced as an active agent providing networks and social capital for connecting people in the circle.

Searle and Byrne (2002) stress that habitus is not a natural space, but rather a social space that is apprehended through a set of social practices. It is also a domain of contestation since the field encompasses 'the socially structured space within which actors struggle' to achieve their objectives (Hillier, 2001: 4). Most importantly, habitus implies a sense of place (re)created by a variety of stakeholders. A sense of place is defined as 'the (dis)connectedness that human beings feel for a particular locale' (Hillier, 2001: 10). Cosgrove (2000) proposes that habitus eventually forms a sense of place, derived from intrinsic characters, feelings and sentiments of attachment that people experience for that place. Sense of place goes beyond the physical qualities, but is full of meanings, conflict and memories. It represents the experience of 'home' where one feels

oneself 'in one's place'. In contemporary society, sense of place has become necessary to turn social space into 'invented space' (Huxtable, 1997), or a communal space conducive to communicate. As Harvey (2000: 209) notes, the tradition and custom, space and sense of place through which people perceive their common identity provide 'the recourse to a familiar landscape of experience that allows the unchallenged transmission of social memory'.

Bourdieu's habitus offers an excellent tool for conceptualizing tourism space in industrial heritage. Primarily, space used for industrial heritage tourism is a certain amount of land acquired at a reasonable cost and situated in an appropriate location (Tiesdell *et al.*, 1996). The underlying assumption is that all industrial spaces can be transformed from useless to prosperous and back again through investment and disinvestment (Edensor, 2005). The utilization of abandoned industrial space has long been a heated discussion among urban planners and architects. The problem is that identity differentials that manifest as power differentials, like class, race and gender, affect the extent to which people have access to that resource. They play a role in who has the power to transform industrial heritage spaces in their own image, and which version of history promoted by those sites will constitute the 'official' version. Various dimensions of the space are used to reflect the sociocultural identity of the community, which Stratton (2000: 22) calls 'environmental capital'. The evaluation of the existing space and the possibility of reuse are critical for industrial tourism planning, as commented by Lynch (1972):

> The landscape is harsh and lunar, eloquent of the misery and injustice of the industrial revolution. Yet there is also a grandeur in these gigantic and varicolored heaps, some bare, some coated with grass, which loom like great volcanic cones over the house ridges. The high pit hoists and slender stacks, the low domes and fat brick bottles of the kilns are remarkable forms. The massive brickwork of the bridges, canals, and railway cuttings are handsome engineering surfaces. The derelict land itself, which weaves through the entire urban fabric, is a resource of a special kind. (Lynch, 1972: 13)

Therefore, the concept of habitus helps to deconstruct the power relations that determine a 'pleasing' way for tourism development. The discussions of 'habitus' and 'a culture of space' lead critics to advocate the development of an industrial heritage tourism that can be utilized to establish, work on, care for, develop and carry responsibility for people throughout the process of space use. If spaces are conceived as

non-functional, they can be replaced and turned into abstract ones by removing the signs of unproductive blankness. Industrial heritage tourism projects have to genuinely consider the delicacy of peculiar spaces and environments in order to not only encompass the elements of industrial heritage that are directly presented, but also to imaginatively explore those that are not directly presented.

(3) Community

The neglect of industrial buildings by some in the communities implies that they have long been, and still are, considered by many to be a nuisance and an eyesore. Community attitudes held by a group of people determine the relative success of tourism development. Hooper-Greenhill (1999) borrows the term 'interpretive communities' from literary theory to indicate that individuals in heritage sites will interpret and make sense of what is exhibited based upon their membership in a given social group. Each interpretive community uses their own interpretive strategy when analyzing and discussing what is presented to them. Cantell (2005) shows that many communities living near industrial complexes often overlook industrial sites as blighted, polluted and ordinary architecture while ignoring rich architectural detailing, character-defining features and unique public spaces created in industrial complexes. Perspectives on industrial heritage tend to be negative when the urban decay and the downturn of local industry lead to neighborhood blight. The impact of a few abandoned buildings can swiftly spread throughout a transitional community. As abandonment increases in a neighborhood, property values decline and owners become less willing to maintain their real estate. In turn, more and more properties fall into disrepair and eventual desertion. Wilson and Kelling (1989: 75) coin a term 'broken window theory' to explain the effect of abandoned industrial buildings on local communities. According to this theory, a neglected property allowed to remain in a poor condition is a signal to the community that no one cares and 'if a window in a building is broken and is left unrepaired, all the rest of the windows will soon be broken'.

The development of industrial heritage has become a means of economics to the community by using the authenticity of a former industrial place to educate or optimally fulfill its mission (Prentice, 1993). There is no standard formula for successful industrial heritage revitalization and the approaches taken by stakeholders must be based on the local community (Murphy, 1985). From this perspective, industrial heritage tourism helps preserve and promote understanding and celebrate a site's complex social legacy, enabling participants to connect with and

celebrate their past (Harvie, 2002; Palmer, 1999). McKercher's (2001) case study on a heritage attraction development in Australia suggests that the efficacy of community involvement is key for the decision-making process. In particular, emotional attachment to the heritage attraction, rather than a rational assessment of its future, drives community attitudes. A tourism project that fails to generate enough support and endorsement from the community may find its interpretation of local heritage contested. Furthermore, there is a danger of a community being excluded from industrial heritage tourism development, which may originate at the grass-roots level but become 'hijacked' by planners, councilors and external consultants (Getz, 1994). The question remains as to whether or not communities have a choice in the conservation of their industrial heritage when business investment and tourist demand often carry more weight than local planning strategies. What industrial values as opposed to financial and commercial values shape community decisions? Are interpretation activities informed by stereotypical perceptions of 'best practice' which implicitly excludes community participation in the decision-making process?

Community attitudes, while important, do not guarantee a satisfactory preservation plan for recapturing the past. Image and economic obsolescence, as suggested by Tiesdell *et al*. (1996), need to be overcome by industrial communities. There is not a general rule that applies indiscriminately to every community affected by postindustrial blight. Rojas (2000: 12) describes three phases of heritage conservation impacting on the communities. In the first phase, conservation is led by the urban cultural elites with a strong focus on specific edifices. The second phase is marked by the more proactive role played by the public sector, who take direct responsibility, legislating and investing in the heritage preservation. In the third phase, conservation and preservation become the responsibility of a broader set of actors; in particular, 'the beneficiaries of the preservation – the local community – pay a substantial part of the cost of preserving the area'. However, Razzu (2005) contends that the level of poverty is so high in some industrial cities that it is not possible to involve the community in the payment of 'a substantial part' of the interpolation. The third phase, while being of significance for the sustainability of any regeneration, has to be adapted to the level of poverty of the community involved.

The social exchange theory (Gursoy & Rutherford, 2004) has been used to assess the perceptions of the community toward tourism. The theory means that the community benefiting from tourism are likely to perceive the industry as positive, thus they would support the industry,

while those who perceive themselves as incurring costs as a result of tourism development would display negative attitudes toward tourism, thereby opposing such development. One of the successful experiments is the establishment of the 798 Art Zone in Beijing, China. It is a newly emerged tourism destination that has been developed based on an abandoned Soviet-style factory (Xiong, 2009). The artists moved in looking for cheap rent and identified the special features of the factory, such as its high ceilings, historic design and abundant natural light. The creativity of artists coupled with a surge in interest from tourists eventually formed an arts community. When the factory was facing the possibility of being bulldozed by real estate developers, the community that benefited from the art galleries pulled together to preserve this creative space. The 798 Art Zone was eventually preserved and acknowledged by the local government, and has become one of the most important tourist destinations in Beijing.

Industry is often a source of local prosperity, but it has also historically been a source of oppression. Industrial communities have experienced social problems when gentrification and tourism occur in their areas. For example, about 20 years ago in Portland, Oregon, a massive development project began whereby the old, all-but-abandoned industrial district was transformed into the Pearl District, now one of the city's richest neighborhoods and a major source of tourist dollars. The problem is this: prior to the development of the Pearl District, Portland's sizeable, low-income population mostly lived in the industrial district and the homeless squatted in abandoned buildings. Pushed out of their homes by gentrification, the homeless were forced to sleep on the streets in plain view of the often contemptuous middle-class tourists and residents, and to panhandle more aggressively in the downtown area – an even more prominent (though less affluent) commercial and tourist-friendly neighborhood. These difficulties, plus increasing complaints on the part of tourists and the more affluent locals about the increasing prominence of panhandling downtown, led to ever more draconian anti-homeless laws, which have not been matched by equally aggressive efforts to build shelters and help the homeless transition into life off the streets, and more aggressive confrontations between the homeless and the local police. The implications remind planners about the importance of involving community members before tourism actions are taken, and the need to truly understand how residents feel about the industry as well as the financial support received for redevelopment. Most importantly, the local community should have the ability to benefit from the commodification of their industrial heritage.

(4) Image

Interest in urban revitalization projects indicates a desire to change the mental picture of a place (Lynch, 1972). Contemporary cities endeavor to promote the specific contours of their images, which result in direct structural changes and are associated with globalization, deindustrialization and consumption (Bramwell & Rawding, 1996). Subsequently, the character of major cities is increasingly transformed by the proliferation of stadiums, museums, art galleries, centers for the performing arts and the like. The success of updated images for industrial cities derives from landscape, population size and the city's approach to urban regeneration. The transformation of postindustrial cities eventually leads to the creative city movement, where the image of a city or a region is based both on its physical assets and on a series of experiences built around those assets, normally extending to the 'living culture' and the atmosphere of places (Richards & Wilson, 2006: 1209). The founding of the creative city movement has led more cities to pursue aggressive rebranding projects. In the meantime, postindustrial cities must contend with negative stereotypes that paint them as neglected, depressing in appearance and overwhelmed with social problems. Cities predominantly associated with industry have unique problems updating their image. Industrial heritage produces imaginaries and subjectivities shared by tourists. Without a concerted effort regarding marketing and promotion, these cities could remain *locus horribilus* (Grunenberg, 1999: 195), overrun by crime and identified as undesirable by locals and prospective tourists alike.

Florida (2002) proposes three ingredients as crucial to the successful redevelopment of postindustrial cities. These ingredients are the 3 Ts: technology, talent and tolerance, which convey a strong message for the image and branding of the cities (Xie, 2013). Lazzeretti (2013) contends that several traditional industrial cities have reimagined themselves to accommodate so-called 'creative industries' where culture and heritage are repositioned for public consumption. For example, Pittsburgh has reinvented itself from the Steel City to a high technology hub in Pennsylvania within two decades. Gradually, Pittsburgh's population has increased as more people move into the city looking for new jobs thereby boosting artistic creativity. As Pittsburgh's success story indicates, changing images are important for local economies as they influence people's perception of place and affect their behavior.

In addition to its effects on the behavior of current and prospective residents, place distinctiveness, although highly subjective and individualistic, remains a unique selling proposition in tourism marketing. Industrial heritage tourism is characterized as a fragmented industry that

has different histories and place associations, attachments, meanings and uses; therefore, the role of mental constructs in shaping place identity has become crucial. Healey (2004) suggests that the trajectory of a place is constantly contested and emergent, as places reinvent themselves both materially and culturally. Heritage in these places is forged from socially constructed and negotiated identities which are selected to create a desired remade image of the city (Arnesen, 2006). Industrial heritage tourism has long emphasized the significance of creating a sense of place (Gunn & Var, 2002) that is unique, imaginative, authentic and sustainable, and promotes community participation.

Despite the fact that tourism has been used to improve a city's image, egregious self-promotion appears to be a double-edged sword. On the one hand, the deployment of selective memories in heritage discourse is utilized for contemporary consumption in the form of tourism, and eventually self-promotion can make cities fashionable again. This self-promotion also brings fresh perspectives into the local communities and marks industrial heritage as a valuable resource. On the other hand, romanticized images of deindustrialized landscapes remain problematic for public interpretation. Constructing industrial heritage for economic advantage is increasingly viewed as a political process, rather than a grass-roots initiative (Kyle *et al*., 2004). Furthermore, the temptation to imagine the industrial past threatens to remove the unique character of place in order to satisfy the tourist demand for socially harmonious and economically productive heritage landscapes. Summerby-Murray (2002: 60), in his case study of the deindustrialized landscapes of Atlantic Canada, suggests that dissonant aspects of the industrial past tend to be suppressed by a municipal projected image that promotes tourism, education, quiet lifestyles and high technologies. The representation of industrial heritage is discriminatory and a product of competing visions and memories, resulting in an overly sanitized image at odds with the contemporary reality of place identity. Industrial heritage tourism aims to assist in the regeneration of the area through economic development, and does so by dramatizing the city's industrial history. To some extent, it is a product of the imagination built on interpretations of place distinctiveness. Changing images of industrial destinations emerge from a process whereby stakeholders, both individual and institutional, actively make and remake their identities, to selectively reject and to manipulate the images and identities found within (McLean & Cooke, 1999). By investing in heritage attractions, industrial cities seek to secure a niche by developing tourism that is sustainable and plentiful in synergies with other strategic sectors of the urban economy.

Attributes

(1) Potentials

The potentials for industrial heritage tourism rest on a discourse of representation, interpretation, authenticity and power play by various stakeholders. Industrial heritage has been largely pursued as a future-oriented means of economic development, while potentials for the generation of new identities, values and connections with the past are the first step in assessing its likely success. Urban redevelopment projects in dilapidated industrial districts have to genuinely consider the peculiar environment in which they are based (Razzu, 2005). Very often, adapting industrial heritage to tourism could restore not only the buildings and their physical environment but also the jobs and vitality of the communities surrounding them. Knowing how tourists view heritage and conceptualize tourist elements is also key to understanding how to tailor tourism projects to more effectively and positively impact communities. Market assessment and tourism industry potential reveal a range of performance outcomes for decision-makers. Industrial heritage is inherently political, widely used for ever-evolving economic growth.

During the process of repurposing aspects of the past for a new use in the present, some aspects may be removed from their historical context, while others will be excluded as a matter of course (Summerby-Murray, 2002). Campagnol (2011) opines that disabled industrial areas represent a challenge in their preservation largely due to their large scale and the difficulty in proposing new uses. Therefore, the aim of industrial heritage tourism is not about fossilizing the industrial past, but raising awareness of its potential to add value to economic development. Brown (2006) employs two key variables: landscape values and development preferences, to understand whether heritage value can be utilized as predictors of place-specific development. Conducting a potential analysis is particularly useful for assessing the possible risk of converting industrial buildings for other uses, when they are located in non-prime sites. It makes little sense to pursue tourism at sites in which health and safety are problematic and may lead to litigation. In fact, many industrial sites do not possess features suitable for tourism development. Therefore, undertaking a feasibility study for tourism development is a crucial initial stage in the development process (Datzer et al., 2010).

Industrial heritage can be found in small towns as well as urban quarters. Many light industrial sites, such as service stations, railroad buildings, utility yards and the like, are unused but have potentials for tourism. Wilkey (2000) proposes the term 'industrial triage' to evaluate

the characteristics of the areas in question and to make a sound decision about which properties to invest in. The degradation of the environment and industrial scenery in some urban areas is so marked that it is difficult to attract new activities of any kind, let alone those associated with local heritage. On the other hand, the derelict land itself can be seen as a resource of a special kind (Lynch, 1972). A neighborhood full of underused properties, which has lost much of its industrial base, can earmark tourism as a key sector for economic growth and seek to draw new businesses and jobs into the community. Employing discretion when determining which sites to develop is wise since the industrial site 'produces its past at an accelerated rate, generating a scrapheap of things, people, ideas, ways of life' (Alfrey & Putnam, 1992: 55). Thus, it is necessary to prioritize the most important industrial resource for tourism purposes. Binney *et al.* (1990) point out that the physical settings of industrial sites have unexpected potential. There is often water and open land surrounding industrial buildings for shipping convenience. If these surroundings are attractively landscaped, they will offer great opportunities for large-scale regeneration.

Warren *et al.* (1998) show that most tourism projects on industrial heritage need to be nurtured through at least four stages: incubation, negotiation, construction and management. The assessment study and industrial triage can be viewed as part of the incubation stage. The Nordic Council of Ministers propose that the study of industrial heritage go through inventory, documentation, evaluation and classification in order to determine the most suitable ways to conserve industrial buildings (Wager, 2000). In particular, surveying and inventory work are instrumental for industrial heritage tourism. Otgaar (2012) suggests that industrial tourism potential can be assessed by four factors: the attractiveness of the site; the supply of tourism programs; the quality of the location and visitor facilities; and good marketing promotion. Llurdés i Coit (2001) resonates that the task of identifying the most appropriate sites for development must include an evaluation of the potential of several industrial heritage sites in different stages. The purpose is to identify, understand and increase the knowledge of industrial sites and landscapes, and give them a long-term sustainable future.

In its 2006 report entitled 'Heritage Works: The Use of Historic Buildings in Regeneration', English Heritage raises the question of what positive qualities and benefits can heritage assets add to a regeneration scheme. The report identifies the study of market potentials as the initial stage of exploration. The feasibility study determines, first of all, whether a given locale contains heritage assets that may have interesting historical and cultural associations, and can be interpreted and developed within the

wider regeneration area. Secondly, historic buildings create a focal point that people can relate to and be familiar with which will give a sense of place. Thirdly, the historic buildings, including workers' residential areas, may be well-loved local landmarks that the community rallies to support. The urban renaissance of Digbeth located in Birmingham, the UK, for example, has formed the basis of a new orthodoxy in the revitalization of inner-city industrial districts. The development has gone through state-led gentrification to economic restructuring (Barber & Hall, 2008; Porter & Barber, 2006). It shows that careful planning and potential assessment help a community take steps toward economic sustainability. The successful transformation of industrial landscapes into multifunctional landscapes is attributable to systematically evaluating, documenting and developing remnants of the industrial society (Bergeron, 1996).

(2) Stakeholders

Developing industrial heritage constantly faces a series of dilemmas: government officials generally fail to accurately assess the genuine value and identity of old industrial sites; industrial constructions are restricted to the local specificity; investors usually prefer to direct their energies toward constructing new buildings due to convenience and potential cleanup fees; and owners of old industrial buildings tend to have divergent views on how to exploit their real estate. Moreover, governments often become developers, owners and operators of industrial facilities. Given the complexity of plans for developing industrial heritage tourism, the common approach is the use of the stakeholder theory, through focus groups and the linkage of diverse interests and functions of the community (Krueger, 1994). Such a multi-stakeholder process ensures that the development of industrial heritage will be widely recognized and valued by both communities and businesses.

A stakeholder is broadly defined as a person/group who has the right and capacity to participate in the decision-making process; thus, anyone who is impacted by the action of multiparties has a right to be involved (Gray, 1989). In tourism studies, collaboration among stakeholders to develop a consensus about destination development is becoming crucial (Bramwell & Sharman, 1999). Industrial heritage projects rely upon a broad array of people who can operate in a multitude of diverse fields. A body of stakeholders may include governments, business leaders, planners and coalition-builders who can easily adapt to the unique situations involved with each project. Stakeholders also include active members of grass-roots organizations, supporters and current or potential users of the facility. It is noted that the types of stakeholders involved in industrial

heritage development, and the manner of their participation, vary by region. European models of industrial museum development are largely dependent on grass-roots organizations across the region (Howard, 2002), while in Asia and North America, more government entities contribute to the development of industrial heritage, in part because of the role such projects may play in spurring economic growth in the greater community. For example, Goodey (1994) comments that in the US, development and marketing partnerships between business, community and local authorities are essential to the development of successful industrial heritage projects.

The stakeholder theory is characterized by 'a process of joint decision making among autonomous, key stakeholders of an inter-organizational, community tourism domain to resolve planning problems of the domain and/or manage issues related to the planning and development of the domain' (Jamal & Getz, 1995: 188). It is assumed that the stakeholders involved in the project are willing to work together and have strong entrepreneurial and related skills. However, through two case studies covering Queen's Pier and historic Chinese tenement houses in Wing Lee Street in Hong Kong, China, Yung and Chan (2011) suggest that the lack of an effective public participation mechanism and an integrated heritage conservation approach in the decision-making process inhibits stakeholders' ability to identify the values of potential heritage sites and effective ways to redevelop built heritage attractions. Another major problem that lies within the decision-making process is the presence of differing and often irreconcilable opinions about the conservation practice, or even about what is worthy of conservation.

Although industrial heritage tourism is a niche product, it is an extremely complex product with little effective networking among providers, and between providers and policymakers (Lane *et al.*, 2013). This chapter distinguishes community members from stakeholders due to the fact that a community's right to participate does not equal its capacity to participate (Jamal & Getz, 1999). Reconciling the differences in opinion between tourism industry officials, governments and heritage planners is a fundamental challenge for the local residents and their communities. Therefore, the concept of community is viewed independently as a major motive, instead of an attribute. Aas *et al*. (2005) suggest that despite a lack of faith on the part of the community in tourism development, stakeholder collaboration remains important in heritage management and there are at least four tangible benefits: (1) improving channels of communication between heritage and tourism groups; (2) generating income for heritage conservation and management; (3) involving the local community in

decision-making; and (4) incorporating the local community in tourism activities. Study findings show that collaboration between heritage conservation and tourism through stakeholder involvement often achieves optimal results for economic development. Arnesen (2006), using a Norwegian case study to investigate the reuse of industrial buildings, proposes that the main issues that stakeholders face in a heritage-led regeneration process are balancing preservation and use; integrating the interpretive aspect in the regeneration plan; and installing in the local community a sense of ownership and of belonging to the regeneration process. In addition, technological advancement, changes in ownership of industrial sites and the relocation of production abroad pose new questions for parties involved in the care of industrial heritage (Wager, 2000). As a result, industrial heritage tourism is developed by multiple forces, producing various pathways to conservation due to the specific interplay between local histories and their wider implications.

Steinberg (1996) advises that urban rehabilitation and revitalization in practice should involve a variety of significant stakeholders, covering the political, cultural, social, economic and urban aspects of industrial heritage development. To begin with, it is well recognized that governments have a number of critical roles to play in policy development associated with tourism (Hall & Jenkins, 1995). Steinberg calls the structure of city planning an 'urban tissue' including specific patterns or features such as the density of land uses, building typologies and infrastructure components. These aspects involve a team of urban planners, private investors and builders who generate new uses for industrial buildings and give a facelift to neighborhoods. Among these players, political support for urban revitalization is crucial and a prerequisite for any substantial rehabilitation. As heritage conservation becomes an important element of cities' development policies, stakeholders' primary concern with the cultural dimensions of heritage and tourism development expands to include international organizations, such as UNESCO, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and bilateral institutions who specialize in tourism-oriented marketing and the promotion of local investment. Social aspects manifest themselves in particular through the presence of local residents who bear the brunt of an economic downturn due to the decline of traditional industry. Industrial heritage tourism leads to the regeneration of these areas and residents play a key role in reshaping a neighborhood's social fabric throughout the gentrification process. Industrial sites pose a challenge for developers and businesspeople as the land values and accompanying costs of cleanup need to be reassessed. On the other hand, revitalization may contribute both to the modernization

of the commercial sectors and to enhanced revenues in the long run. Consequently, the land values of these industrial areas increase accordingly. Tourism is incentivizing this process of revitalization: it provides a means to sustain industrial heritage by boosting the financial position of archaeological and other heritage-related projects.

To achieve these goals, a multitude of professionals such as economists, architects, planners, developers and administrators, work on control, marketing and promotion. Du Cros *et al*. (2007) advocate placing an emphasis on transparency and engineering a carefully planned process for issue resolution. Greffe (2004) proposes using a 'heritage ecosystem approach' linking the quality of a monument to the relationship between the providers of heritage-related services and those who desire these services. Ultimately, stakeholders create a changed political environment in which industrial heritage sites are rehabilitated to reflect their true value, and where the policies and practice of government are modified accordingly. Arnstein (1969) coins the phrase 'ladder of citizen participation' which denotes a process whereby a number of different stakeholders, including local residents, are empowered in the decision-making process, and is instrumental in the project's success. Steinberg (1996) further suggests that civic authorities should get involved with the rehabilitation and reuse of old industrial properties which are no longer under government protection and use. These properties should be listed and their rehabilitation and adaptive reuse should be promoted. Local civic authorities should employ incentives, such as property tax exemptions and transfers of floor-space indexes, for real estate developers to rehabilitate and conserve industrial properties and put them to new economic uses.

(3) Adaptive Reuse

Adaptive reuse is a relatively new approach to site conservation. Historically, the conservation movement has engendered two major theories regarding the proper approach to the reuse of cultural and heritage resources. The first theory appears in John Ruskin's (1849) book on *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, which argued that the signs of history are the most culturally valued objects. The strong appreciation for the virtues and values of ancient buildings was wholeheartedly defended. On the other hand, Eugène Viollet-le-Duc's theory of the interpretive restoration of medieval buildings claims that cultural resources possess an 'original state', and that conservation has a moral duty to free the object from the ravages of time. His idea presumes that the original state of the object is not the state it had when it was produced, but the state it had when it was conceived (Munoz Vinas, 2005). Viollet-le-Duc's perspective supports that adaptive reuse is a form of

expressive conservation whose purpose serves to express the group's values and beliefs as well as appreciate a given culture and identity. Adaptive reuse can well lead to the revaluation of the industrial heritage and gives new life to a community (Kincaid, 2002).

Adaptive reuse of industrial heritage sites forms a domain of interest in the field of planning and urban design. The residual utility and value of industrial sites can be optimized by adapting and refurbishing using the process of adaptive reuse (Ellison *et al.*, 2007). Stratton (2000) posits that when regarding adaptive reuse as a new trend, it is important to keep in mind that reuse and adaptation of industrial heritage are as old as the Industrial Revolution itself. The main difference between adaptive reuse now and then is the issue of conservation and preservation, and the urban regeneration trend within which present-day adaptive reuse often takes part. The underlying assumption is that industrial buildings sit vacant or underused because they have lost their utility. Too often, demolition is the proposed response to functional obsolescence. But the environmentally and economically responsible response to the presence of vacant buildings is adaptive reuse. On a basic level, it means inserting a new utility into a building when the original use, systems or configuration no longer meet the needs of the marketplace (Rypkema, 2008). Adaptive reuse has been identified as a process to ameliorate the financial, environmental and social performance of buildings (Langston *et al.*, 2007). The reuse process can encompass, but is not limited to, the functionality of the buildings, components, materials and recycled materials (Bullen & Love, 2010). In recent years, architects and urban planners have made great strides in reaching acceptable compromises between heritage features and physical utility, which change a disused or ineffective object into a new one based upon current economic needs.

Industrial buildings are particularly well suited to adaptive reuse due to their large and open spaces. In attempting to conserve and recycle dilapidated industrial buildings with constructive but unglamorous histories, many cities generate reuse schemes that are responsive to the traces of industrial culture in its many aspects (Alfrey & Putnam, 1992; Ren *et al.*, 2014). Some industrial buildings were designed and built by prominent architects during the heyday of the Industrial Revolution. Common examples include the red-brick factories with load-bearing walls during the first Industrial Revolution; steel frame construction at the end of the 19th century; and reinforced concrete supported by an exterior skeleton in the early 20th century during the second Industrial Revolution. The majority of the buildings are architecturally impressive, representing an important part of the historic industrial character of a community. Through adaptive

reuse, tourism takes advantage of particular industrial resources to generate potentially memorable and distinctive experiences.

The decline of heavy industry during the early and mid-20th century has left a legacy of abandoned and underutilized dormant sites across countries. The recycling of these sites has become an effective historic preservation tool. Building reuse is initially motivated by the desire to protect its historical significance from demolition; later, the emphasis shifts toward the idea of asserting vernacular identity and culture through preserving its spaces, focusing on creativity, generating more jobs and maintaining cultural sustainability. In recent decades, adaptive reuse vis-à-vis urban regeneration has become an economic development agenda. Numerous reuse schemes are generated as formerly disused or underutilized industrial sites are converted into various new forms, such as residences, boutique hotels, restaurants and museums, or old industrial landmarks are morphed into profitable new businesses.

Industrial museums in Europe, for instance, tend to create a network of open spaces and recreational uses that can function as tourist attractions, opportunities to interact with the locals and links to adjacent neighborhoods (Davis, 1999). The locations of museums combine transportation, pedestrian circulation, public spaces and mixed uses in a large-scale renewal plan. Heritage sites give tourists and suburbanites a reason to visit the inner city whose spillover effects benefit the surrounding areas. For example, the *Westelijke Eilanden* (Western Islands) in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, were originally home to shipyards and the West India Trading Company warehouses. The district, through canals linked with small drawbridges, is now home to artists' studios and fancy restaurants. The Guinness Storehouse in Dublin, Ireland, showcases the country's most famous export through a mixed use of brewery, multimedia displays and restaurants. It has become the most visited destination and a top choice for tourists visiting Dublin. The Powerhouse Museum, a converted electric tram power station in Sydney, Australia, offers a refreshing primer on Australia's arts, crafts and industries and has become one of the city's most popular tourist destinations. In Incheon, Korea, industrial heritage has been used to develop a cultural zone in which the old town has been completely renovated to restore the value of industrial spaces (Cho & Shin, 2014). These examples of adaptive reuses tend to emphasize the goals of sustainability and maintaining a low carbon footprint by integrating social and environmental policies (Yung & Chan, 2012).

Despite the success of adaptive reuse, the experimental character of 'inventing' new styles within a relatively short time leads to a dominance of style over content and even to the disappearance of content. Cercleux

et al. (2012) propose an ecosystemic approach to industrial heritage in which adaptive reuse follows one of three development trajectories: (1) in harmony, where the measures of adaptation are suited to the regeneration actions and space usage turns out to be positive; (2) in disharmony, where negative consequences occur due to the lack of a feasibility study and community involvement; and (3) indifferent, which borders between positive and negative: through the process of the regeneration project, the functionality of the building is restored; however, initial requirements, especially the architectural value of the industrial patrimony building, are not met. Therefore, the aesthetic, historic, revitalizing and sustainable advantages of adaptive reuse need to be assessed prior to large-scale development (Cantell, 2005).

Adaptive reuse often occurs in advantageous locations near city centers, situated along waterways, supported by existing infrastructure and adjacent to residential communities. The conflict may occur between building low-income housing and concurrently adaptive reuse of industrial buildings. New York City provides several interesting examples of adaptive reuse where the goals of rehabilitating industrial buildings and creating low-income housing can be compatible. These include the Glass Factory on Avenue C, which was converted into an AIDS shelter; and a casket factory in the Bronx that was transformed into low-income housing. Meanwhile, Soho and Tribeca have been converted into trendy neighborhoods through the reuse of manufacturing warehouse buildings. In Germany, the Landschaftspark Duisberg-Nord, an abandoned coal and steel plant was refurbished into a landscape park. The plant was preserved because the initial cost of demolition was high, while tourism and recreation were the fastest growing sectors of the economy. Local stakeholders' ability to accurately identify and address the economic needs and limits of Duisberg renders this project a successful model of a low-maintenance adaptive reuse. Similarly, the drive to preserve the specificity of local culture informs the adaptive reuse of Miss'Opo in historic downtown Porto, Portugal. The raw industrial space, which once housed textile workshops, has been transformed into a creative medley of guesthouse, café, bar, shop and art gallery. The space embodies the feeling of contrast that comes from the industrial design reflected in the badly painted gray walls, large areas with panels and ceilings with exposed beams, and retro furniture carefully chosen to give a refined look. In essence, the creation of Miss'Opo is a quirky industrial heritage tourism project involving a team of architects, planners and local residents. It now attracts a mix of artists and industrial tourists, and most importantly, recreates the bohemian spirit in an old industrial setting.

It must be noted that adaptive reuse for industrial heritage tourism may play an important role in promoting art, cultural activities and creative industries. The leading edge of Los Angeles' underground art movement in the US, for instance, is located in the city's industrial district. Artists have set up homes in the contiguous districts of Highland Park, Eagle Rock, Mount Washington and Lincoln Heights, and their presence has done much to revitalize a previously dilapidated, industrial dead zone of Los Angeles. Former industrial landmarks have been refurbished and converted into art studios. The Brewery, a renovated complex of 20 buildings dating from the 1920s, has gone from brewing suds to exhibiting designers and architects, with some 300 artists occupying space in a variety of galleries and art annexes that are open to the public. Equally, the establishment of Huashan 1914 Creative Park, built on a former distillery and rice wine brewery, has served to reflect changes to the slow and simple lifestyle of Taipei in Taiwan. The neighboring Songshan Cultural and Creative Park, the former tobacco factory located in an industrial complex of the Japanese colonial era, has also been used to house boutiques, cinemas and restaurants. In Sweden, the skyscraper known as Turning Torso, designed by the Spanish architect Santiago Calatrava, provides an example of how adaptive reuse can be deployed to redevelop European waterfronts. Spiraling 623 feet above the former industrial district in the Swedish city of Malmo, the Turning Torso replaces a crane that used to tower nearby. It sits on the strait that separates Denmark from Sweden and is the tallest residential building in Sweden. The new building has instantly become the landmark of the city of Malmo.

In theory, adaptive reuse for industrial heritage should be promoted largely through public initiatives dominated by the adaption of local culture and undertaken by private businesses. Plans for adaptive reuse typically consider parts of the fabric of a city that can accommodate change. However, Jansen-Verbeke (1995) suggests that not all projects proposed must relate to a locale's socioeconomic history and very often, industrial buildings should simply be used for other purposes, such as cultural centers, character accommodations or even sports arenas. The key issue is that services provided by industrial tourism should be mutually complementary, rather than competitive. Zuidhof (2009) documents the adaptive reuse process of the former Rotterdam dry-dock complex and shows the significance of community awareness of the industrial value and the influence from different stakeholders. Not all industrial spaces can be museum-like environments, so the intent of conservation must harmonize with the need for a healthy socioeconomic base in the community. In other

words, conservation does not need to always emphasize a site's history and can tolerate an alteration.

Adaptive reuse raises other problems as well, namely, only the visual aspects of the site are conserved, and not enough emphasis is given to the industrial processes that occurred on site, the character of the site and the related history. The oft-cited example is the major conservation project in Lowell, Massachusetts, where heritage development was designed to interpret the city's textile legacy through multiple sites. Using detailed presentations of 'history where it happened' (Freeman, 1990: 42), Lowell employs different locales to give the city a powerful sense of place and to bring richness to the interpretive threads. The nearby American Museum of Textile History is the former Kitson Machine Shop. The building's interior alterations have eradicated any useful semblance of its origins. However, the permanent exhibit, Textile in America, draws on the museum's outstanding collections of both machinery and fabrics in an ambitious attempt to synthesize a national narrative of product and process development. Lowell's experiment has resulted in a city 'reborn' out of its single-industry past (Stanton, 2006), since 'the motives of those who invest and revitalize historic places are likely to be different from those initial preservationists who bring these areas into public consciousness' (Tiesdell *et al.*, 1996: 200).

(4) Economics

Manufacturing nostalgia invokes a past featuring a robust local economy with a prosperous working class; however, a more objective examination of economic realities reveals that making a good living at the factory is a fantasy at present. The current job market in the industrialized nations relies on a broad service sector with few manufacturing jobs available; however, in many parts of the Global South, manufacturing is still a huge business. Davidson (2012) documents the urban and industrial decay along the Amtrak line between New York and Washington, DC. His argument is that the economy is changing too fast for industrial communities to keep up, which produces a strange juxtaposition between dilapidation and prosperity. The shrinking availability of traditional manufacturing jobs results in a deep divide between rich and poor along the urban corridor. According to the census data, in the mid-1940s, more than half of the New Jersey workforce labored in factories; today the number is around 7%. The same number of manufacturing jobs exists in the US today as existed in 1941, when the country was just more than one-third its current population. While gazing out the Amtrak window, Davidson (2012) discovers that

the decline of manufacturing and the subsequent deterioration of local economies are all too visible:

> The old brick factory buildings with huge windows that gave workers light and air in a pre-air-conditioned world are boarded up, crumbling or, in a few of the luckier spots, being converted into condos. There's also another, somewhat more hopeful story on display, though you have to look a little harder to see it. These are the decidedly unromantic houses of modern production: short, vast complexes, built without any nod to aesthetics. There are few windows in these buildings, because precision machinery operates best without the fluctuations in heat and humidity caused by exposure to the sun. They are one story high, because it's too costly to build a second or third floor capable of withstanding the weight and pounding of massive machinery. There are some workers inside — there to make sure the machines keep running — but not many. (Davidson, 2012: 57)

Thus, the revival of industrial towns becomes a priority as the significance of industry is now appreciated when all the manufacturing jobs are gone. The reason that governments take steps to promote the redevelopment of industrial sites is that these places represent a wasted resource within the community. Vacant land almost always has some economic value to offer a community, whether as the site of a new factory to provide jobs and tax revenues, as open space that contributes to a neighborhood's vitality or as the location of any number of other local resources. Conversely, an empty industrial site can have serious detrimental effects by blighting a neighborhood and discouraging economic development. The development of tourism is meaningful because industrial sites tend to be located in areas with a disproportionate share of poverty and social problems. Often, the neighborhoods surrounding an industrial site have traditionally been working-class areas but have deteriorated as local industries have declined and as other changes have occurred. Previous research (Shifflet Associates, 1999) suggests that a well-developed industrial heritage site produces enormous economic benefits, namely, creating reputable industrial attractions and generating high awareness of the heritage sites within and beyond formerly industrial communities and constitute major draws for tourists. Revitalization particularly benefits low-income and minority residents who have suffered the economic and health consequences of living near blighted buildings and contaminated lands (Collaton & Bartsch, 1996).

Rypkema (2008) indicates that the economic contributions of industrial heritage can be categorized into four attributes: job creation, an increase

in household income, small business development and urban regeneration. Among all other things, the rehabilitation of industrial sites plays a key role in job creation and household income, since rehabilitation is a labor-intensive industry and has a ripple effect on the local communities. For example, the introduction of tourism not only increases economic resources for municipal government, but also those who lost jobs in deindustrialization may count on newly created jobs in the leisure sector. The economic benefits of preserving industrial heritage are multiple, ranging from spaces for leisure activities to cultural inheritance (Ruijgrok, 2006). The former refers to the actions of conservation and the transformation of existing spaces for leisure and recreational purposes; while the latter indicates a positive perspective with the process of gentrification and a key role in the territorial evolution of urban environments. Both can be defined as the amount of welfare that heritage generates for society. An economic study of the West Somerset Railway, a heritage steam railway in southwest England, estimates the value of the multiplier for tourism and sightseeing at 1.9 (International Center for Research and Consultancy, 2004). In other words, for every £1 spent with the railway, a further £0.9 is generated in the local economy, almost doubling the value of the initial spend. Comparably, a study of the economic impacts of Ffestiniog and Welsh Highland Railways (Williams, 2008) indicates that the amount of primary income received by both heritage tourism lines from their 128,000 passengers, 95% of whom are tourists, is circa €6 million annually. In addition, secondary indirect and induced revenues inject an estimated €5 million.

In the US, the High Line located along the Lower West Side of New York City was once an elevated railroad track serving local factories and the meatpacking industry. It was converted into a park that integrates landscaping with rail-inspired design and provides a fresh perspective on the city. The High Line has instantly become one of New York City's most popular attractions, especially attracting tourism business. The economic impact has been equally impressive. In 2012, it drew 4.4 million tourists, well over a million more than the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA). In addition, the area has attracted more than $2 billion in planned or actual private investment, thousands of new residential units, 1000 hotel rooms and new restaurants, galleries and shops (New York City Economic Development Corporation, 2014). A study published by CBRE Global Research and Consulting found in 2012 that the asking rents in buildings adjacent to the High Line on average are 51% higher than those for comparable buildings just a block away. Although the location of the High Line does not have a good subway connection, it invites architects and designers to move

their business nearby. One is designing the new Whitney Museum, whose decision to relocate from the Upper East Side to the southern end of the High Line in 2015 is seen as affirmation of the neighborhood's arrival and the spin-off effect from the success of the park. Local governments are tending to capitalize on the economic success and have proposed two more trails: an underground Low Line that would use an old trolley terminal on the Lower East Side, and a 3.5-mile QueensWay in Queens.

Despite the huge potential of tourism economics, the valorization of industrial heritage faces two major challenges: the need to create new jobs when tourism serves as a means of heritage conservation; and the need to emphasize the authenticity and quality of products in an increasingly globalized environment. Industrial heritage is on the horns of an economic dilemma in that it can be viewed as either an asset or a liability. It goes far beyond the traditional economic framework of the production and consumption of a particular good. Greffe (2004) argues that the economic process of heritage valorization should be measured in direct, indirect and induced job creation by heritage-related sectors. Industrial heritage tourism cannot be linearly viewed as a lever for job creation; instead, it goes into a cycle of development leading to a positive increase in the number of jobs, as the economic fabric responds to the increase in the purchasing power of tourists as well as the income it generates for the community. The people who are economically disenfranchised by the loss of industry need to find new jobs, while industrial cities strive to entice middle-class professionals to move to an area. Eventually, these forces create jobs in the non-heritage sector. The conditions of valorization and potential strengthen the economic integration to urban and rural zones where traditional industry struggles.

Ruijgrok (2006) utilizes three different measures to quantify the economic values of industrial heritage: the recreational perception value, the bequest value and the housing comfort value. The recreational perception value measures people's willingness to pay for recreational visits to an existing site or their willingness to pay for the conservation of an industrial area. The bequest value focuses on optimism derived from the sheer knowledge that heritage will be passed on to the next generation. The housing comfort value gauges people's willingness to pay for heritage by deriving that from their expenditure behavior when buying a house in the area. Both recreational perception and bequest values are measured using contingent valuation surveys, while housing comfort value is appraised with the hedonic pricing method. A variety of variables including 'neighborhood quality', 'year of construction', etc. have been included in these methods in order to create a clear understanding of the economic

impacts of industrial heritage. The findings show that a vast majority of respondents (85.2%) are willing to pay for heritage conservation. Thus, the benefits of developing industrial heritage for commercial purposes greatly exceed the costs, and investment in heritage protection is economically sound. Similarly, De la Torre (2002) in a study of the construction of the Getty Center in Los Angeles, California, indicates that heritage values vary widely from location to location as willingness to pay for heritage ranges from $0.6 to $261 per household. However, direct spending by tourists at industrial heritage sites stimulates further expenditure by these organizations and their employees in the local economies.

Industrial heritage tourism is often cited as a means by which urban areas can offset the effects of economic restructuring (Harris, 1989; Oglethorpe, 1987) and raise the tourist profile of cities and regions (Kerstetter *et al.*, 1998). It is viewed as a natural replacement industry that uses the available resources, such as employable people and available buildings, and is perceived as a growth industry due to travel mobility and increased leisure time worldwide. Using tourism as an economic means to minimize the losses is associated with a deindustrialized global economy. Generally, these measures fall into two categories: bottom-up or top-down. A bottom-up approach refers to extensive economic data collection on a site-by-site basis; while a top-down approach relies on general tourism data which include off-site spending. *Caveat emptor* still applies for this kind of economic measurement: an economy dependent on industrial heritage may be limited, because new employment can never fully compensate for the loss of jobs resulting from the closure of former industrial sites (Edwards & Llurdés i Coit, 1996). To some extent, the economic impact of industrial heritage tourism still requires extensive research and systematic procedure.

(5) Authenticity

Authenticity is perhaps the most basic and important principle informing the aesthetic decisions made by developers of industrial heritage tourist sites (Chhabra *et al.*, 2003). It is at the center of debate in the context of industrial heritage tourism. The interventions for redevelopment, conversion, adaption or reuse of industrial buildings create a clash with the practice of preservation and the criteria of authenticity (Zwart, 2007). An authentic place is 'characterized by a built environment that reflects something of humanity's gift of artistry' (Stratton, 2000: 55), and alludes to the spectacular creations of industrial sites in size, scope, architectural detail and meaning. Authenticity is the 'real history' of a place – and is sometimes best explained by the telling of what it is not. From an urban

planning perspective, authenticity is seen as the 'opposite of generic' (Florida, 2002: 228). Authentic sites are presumed to be animated by *genius loci* – the spirit of place – which militates against the creation of a generic tourist experience, and constitutes an area's most important aesthetic attribute (Revill, 1994). Hillman (1998) describes authenticity as 'place of the soul' encompassing 'a world of imagination, passion, fantasy, reflection, that is neither physical and material, on the one hand, nor spiritual and abstract on the other, and yet bound to them both'. Authenticity is an integral part of the *anima mundi* connecting reality and imagination.

Industrial cities go through various stages of gentrification that often reshape a city's landscape and social fabric. This process poses a challenge for projects that aim to preserve a site's originality. Industrial heritage is a form of cultural and landscape tourism (Prentice, 1997) in which the beauty is in the eye of the beholder. Since its very inception, the land conservation process has been modifying objects and these modifications have presumably been made for the sake of authenticity. However, this tautological argument reflects that the modifications that bring the objects to a preferred condition cannot make them more authentic than they are at present. On the contrary, the preferred condition of an object is its original condition, while any change performed upon it can actually make it less real. Therefore, the role that authenticity plays in objectivist theories of conservation appears to be a contested heritage discourse, which produces a landscape that some have described as 'bogus history' (Hewison, 1987) or as 'nostalgic pastiche' (Graham *et al.*, 2000: 19). Heritage-led regeneration is critically approached by Atkinson *et al.* (2002), who claim that place marketing creates an authentic vision of a city. Postindustrial cities have been transformed into sites of cleanliness for tourist consumption and historic buildings are aggressively used as distinctive features for marketing. As a result of this, 'shadow' elements of the city are forced to be controlled and disguised by tourism businesses. The industrial heritage presented and celebrated in tourist attractions is often selective and turns into a symbolic reminder of the past.

Xie and Lane (2006) suggest that there is a deep desire to seek the authentic, and what is presumed to be original, driven by a belief that the original must somehow be best. Industrial attraction development entails a merging of the real and the imagined that give such places a special meaning. Such an approach to the development process assumes that authenticity is not constructed automatically, but with the intervention of various stakeholders through negotiation with different players (Xie, 2011). The Venice Charter of 1964 espouses that one of the strongest rationales for preserving and safeguarding heritage sites lies in 'the full

richness of their authenticity'. The Nara Document on Authenticity in 1994 declares that 'the understanding of authenticity plays a fundamental role…in conservation and restoration planning'. Likewise, the Nizhny Tagil Charter for Industrial Heritage in 2003 emphasizes that 'the most important sites should be fully protected and no interventions allowed that compromise their historical integrity or the authenticity of their fabric'. Therefore, the trend for industrial heritage focuses on places where authenticity is highly regarded and seen as a primary attribute for tourism. The attractiveness lies within 'real buildings, real people, real history…an authentic place also offers unique and original experiences' (Florida, 2002: 228).

More recent approaches to authenticity have sought to highlight diversity rather than universality by emphasizing in their conceptualization of value 'subjectivity and dependence upon personal history, cultural inheritance and idealized conceptions of the world' (Jacques, 1995: 91). Authenticity is not a monolithic and unquestionable concept. Rather, it can be interpreted and perceived instinctively by different people. The case study of the heritage buildings in Rotterdam, the Netherlands (Ruijgrok, 2006), shows that 'authenticity' and 'ensemble' are two major factors in determining whether a building is worth protecting. The tourism industry tends to create a deeper form of 'staged authenticity' (MacCannell, 1989: 91) by drawing tourists into a contrived 'front stage', such as a museum setting that fossilizes displays and relies on caricature and stereotype with the implications of a lapse in time. Tours of these sites often trick tourists into accepting that contrived displays are in fact 'authentic' (Cohen, 1988).

Another debate about authenticity in tourism centers on whether to conserve heritage *in situ* or to create *ex situ* attractions. There are many differences between *in situ* and *ex situ* industrial sites for tourism development. Samuel (1994) argues that the best display of industrial heritage is working heritage *in situ*, which is not taken away to a museum setting, but provides a link to a fast disappearing social and cultural heritage. One of the successful *in situ* industrial sites is the Ford Rouge Center in Dearborn, Michigan, sponsored by the Ford Motor Company, which showcases an assembly plant for Ford trucks. It changes the stereotypical image of an auto factory in which workers scurry about as thousands of components meld into a truck that is driven away at the end of the assembly line. Rather, the factory presents a multidimensional view of the assembly line in which visitors can stand on the production floor and watch trucks being built. The experiential authenticity of the Ford Rouge Center challenges the conventional boundaries between museum

and the built environment by integrating industrial production and visual interpretation.

Originally, *ex situ* refers to the plan and design of the new industrial site in progress, particularly the transnational aspects of migrating industrial plants from industrialized to newly industrializing countries. It becomes a question of whether to take the former trappings and artifacts of specific industrial cultures and preserve them at a different site, such as a museum or a theme park. *Ex situ* remains a popular choice for industrial heritage because it enables sites to be relocated in different geographic locations. Changes in the ownership of companies, their internationalization and reorganization have also undermined the traditional local and national links. There is an urgent need to revitalize and recapture the public by creating a 'total-environment museum' (Davis, 1999: 56) that aims to bring authentic environments to life and foster a sense of cultural identity. Proponents of *ex situ* argue that there is hardly a single original industrial culture that can be said to exist in a specific location. True authenticity can never be achieved in any form of museum or heritage presentation. A salient example of such an incongruity is the Elgin Marbles, which are from Athens, Greece, but are now exhibited in the British Museum in London. There is heated debate about the appropriateness of that location (should they be returned to Greece?) as well as of cultural expression (is the heritage of the Parthenon lost in the museum?). Both points are emphasized by Harrison (2005: 3), who stresses that 'it is highly unlikely that most visitors to the British Museum – including Greek visitors – could distinguish the genuine Elgin/Parthenon marbles from plaster casts' and yet, 'certainly, much store is set on something being "the real thing"'. Lyth (2006) further points out that nowhere is the dispute over heritage and tourism more bitter than over the importance of authenticity. Goulding (2000) proposes that the perception of authenticity is often evaluated by tourists and identifies three types of tourists searching for contemporary heritage attractions: the 'existential', the 'aesthetic' and the 'social' tourists. In practice, *in situ* and *ex situ* have been utilized interchangeably during the process of industrial heritage tourism, where authenticity exists in the context of nostalgic memories.

At a deeper level, the authenticity of industrial heritage is a question of aesthetic appreciation as industrial ruins are increasingly viewed as a form of retrochic. In the popular imagination, authenticity is often bound up with the aesthetic called 'ruin porn' (Griffioen, 2009), where desolate, wrecked and abandoned industrial spaces are presumed to provide the best opportunity for photographs and to represent the most faithful aspects of a city's culture and heritage. Binelli (2012), through

interviewing tourists visiting the ruins of the 3.5-million-square-foot Packard Plant in Detroit, argues:

> Ruins don't encourage you to dwell on what they were like in their heyday, before they were ruins. The Coliseum in Rome or the amphitheater at Leptis Magna have never been anything but ruins. They're eternal ruins. It's the same here. This building could never have looked more magnificent than it does now, surrounded by its own silence. Ruins don't make you think of the past, they direct you toward the future. The effect is almost prophetic. This is what the future will end up like. This is what the future has always ended up looking like.

The concept of ruin porn reflects a shifting view on the authenticity of industrial heritage. The idea behind these vacant lots is to rethink the possibilities for the land use, in lieu of new buildings. There is a popular organized tour run by American Rust Belt cities, where tourists visit industrial sites and take photos of the sprawling, blighted complexes in order to catch a glimpse of a 'nostalgic otherworld'. For example, the city of Buffalo in New York State has created a tour called 'Buffalo: City of No Illusions' including a guided 'urban exploration' itinerary that puts the emphasis on the dystopian and the pursuit of authenticity (Cheng, 2014). It is reported that tourists are often touched by a kind of melancholy, a sense of loss for industrial cities that have fallen on hard times, a beauty in decay. Therefore, a new aesthetic form of authenticity has emerged as experiential learning of industrial sites and products become the key element for tourism.

(6) Perceptions

The perceptions and aesthetic preferences of both community members and tourists have played a key role in determining what is worth conserving (Edwards & Llurdés i Coit, 1996). The success of industrial heritage sites depends on the ability to represent a simplified narrative of history in order to make tourism development viable. Tourism researchers are united in the claim that in order for tourism to sustain itself in a community, local residents must be willing partners in the development process (Haywood, 1988). Wager (2000) shows that in the Nordic countries, public attitudes toward industrial heritage are largely positive due to the special protection measures taken by the government. Scandinavia has a strong tradition of promoting research, protection and care of its industrial heritage, working in concert with individual enthusiasts, officials and industrial employees, and institutions such as universities, industry and local communities. All have helped tourists and

the local community to develop a positive perception of industrial heritage and use it for leisure and travel. Mathews' (2011) study of tourists to The Cliff Mine, Michigan, also reveals that both tourists and locals alike have an interest in not only industrial heritage, but also the preservation of that heritage. The place identity is generally indicative of locals' feelings toward the future of the mining town. Successful tourism development requires a common community perception and a unified approach to rebuilding the industrial image that the venture will generate new jobs, enhance community infrastructure and assist in invigorating the flagging economies of urban areas.

However, previous research demonstrates that perceptions of industrial heritage on the part of the local community appear to be low and vary between different groups. The reasons for low perceptions can be explained by the fact that a defunct industry is seldom fondly remembered in the immediate aftermath of its decline. Industrial buildings are usually perceived as ugly 'monstrous structures' and are not given the same appreciation as other built heritage by the community and developers. Industrial heritage tourism is under serious psychological and aesthetic burdens with an image problem. The linkages between local industry and the many dangers, toils and snares of its past are deeply engrained in the psyches of much of the population. Tourism does not reduce former workers' negative feelings toward newly departed industries, in their justification and complexity, to a form of false consciousness that is little more than a barrier to progress. In fact, the perception of *terra nullius* among the locals often causes detrimental impacts on future development. Jansen-Verbeke (1997) describes the negative reactions of a community and their willingness to tear down relics of the industrial past associated with black smoke. The popular belief that safety issues related to derelict industrial sites linger long after an industry has departed eschews viable development for tourism purposes (Cole, 2004). Objections to tourism development may be psychological and aesthetic as well, according to Edensor (2005), the 'shell-ridden terrain' of former industrial sites evokes 'a sense of lost vitality', such that they are not only considered depressing, but they are also an eyesore that uglifies the environment.

Del Pozo and Gonzalez (2012) suggest that the 'heritage affair' is a feature of cultural agendas that are set by the higher class and a lack of power among members of the working class. The elder generations who are nostalgic about the remains of the past have difficulty in passing the feelings to younger people. In addition, public perceptions of obsolescence have become a major obstacle to be overcome. Tiesdell *et al*. (1996) categorize the feelings of obsolescence in the development of industrial heritage according

to several different dimensions, such as physical/structural deterioration, where a building no longer suits its current use; image obsolescence, where stereotypical perceptions of industrial wasteland persist; locational obsolescence, where accessibility and changing traffic cause a shift of tourist flow; and economic obsolescence, where the cost of the reuse of industrial buildings well exceeds the potential benefits. Resolving the question of whether to reuse for tourism often requires a Solomonic decision on the part of city planners and local residents. Challenges for the industrial communities include, but are not limited to, whether and how tourism projects can proceed amid entrenched attitudes of indifference or rejection toward industrial heritage on the part of local communities.

Another perceptual problem is the power disparity between local residents and the tourism industry. Local residents living near industrial sites feel a sense of powerlessness and a lack of knowledge about industrial heritage conservation. Yung and Chan (2011) explicate that economic, social, cultural and political factors must be considered holistically and incorporated into the public participation mechanisms for heritage conservation. Cameron (2000) chronicles efforts at urban regeneration in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, a once-prosperous, steel-manufacturing town. She interviewed several residents, including city planners and citizens of all economic backgrounds, who were both excited and alienated by the project of building a large museum of industry supported by the Bethlehem Steel Company. Of all the groups, those most affected by industrial changes were the workers left jobless and without local prospects for work in the wake of the Bethlehem Steel Company's economic withdrawal from the community. Their perceptions of the meaning and prospects of the development of the museum were uncertain. Although negative perception lingers in the communities, industrial landscapes are now enmeshed within new social contexts, and it is critical to both involve community members and to fully understand residents' feelings about local industries before tourism actions are taken. In order to provide both economic and cultural benefits to a community, tourism planners need to create an atmosphere in which residents can actively participate in caring for and protecting their industrial heritage, as well as an arena to share their accomplishments (Gray, 2000).

Tourists' perception of industrial heritage tourism is equally important. In the long term, the sustainable way to support industrial heritage sites is to change tourists' attitudes about the value of heritage preservation. The majority of tourists who visit industrial heritage sites are well educated, though a shortage of time tests their commitment to cultural activities (Stratton, 2000). Surveys conducted in 2002 at Ironbridge in the UK show

that 45% of tourists are non-manual workers and 30% are retired. However, industrial heritage is constantly ranked as one of the lowest in perceived importance by public (Edwards & Llurdés i Coit, 1996). Stynes and Sun (2004) conducted a visitor survey in the Lackawanna Valley National Heritage Area (LVNHA), a historic anthracite coal-mining region located in northeastern Pennsylvania. Their findings indicate that tourists interested in this mining and industry national heritage area are generally professionals near or of retirement age who also reside within the state of Pennsylvania. Similarly, Cameron and Gatewood's (2000) study shows that tourists' underlying motivations and values are deemed highly important when they have a chance to visit the revitalized downtown area. An overwhelming number of respondents indicate a general interest in visiting industrial sites and approximately 27% express a desire for some sort of personal experience when visiting industrial towns. Industrial heritage tourists appear to seek a numinous encounter with local cultures and histories. The shifting perception of industrial heritage is closely associated with the changing images of the industrial sites.

Summary

Developing industrial heritage sites into tourist attractions can be a powerful force for arguing that a region's historic and cultural past should be preserved. This chapter has advocated the incorporation of industrial heritage tourism within a proposed conceptual framework, in order to facilitate some theoretical coherence in moving discussions forward. This framework proposes that the relative success of industrial heritage tourism depends on identifying and addressing key motives and attributes. It is exploratory, deriving its strength and utility from extant literature and case studies. The current scholarly literature forms a solid basis to measure the effectiveness of the management of industrial sites.

The essential characteristics of industrial heritage tourism are its multidisciplinary and scalar interpretations. There are many approaches to study industrial heritage and the discourse of this framework should effectively inform conceptualizations of tourism, particularly with regard to the management of the spatial and temporal changes of various industrial attractions. From these identified motives (e.g. conservation, space, image and community) and attributes (e.g. potentials, stakeholders, adaptive reuse, economics, authenticity and perceptions), conservation serves as a tool for regenerating and sustaining tourism development. Two attributes, potentials and stakeholders, correlate with the motive of conservation. Potentials are an evaluative tool that helps stakeholders determine

which sites to develop, the proper order in which to develop them and the optimal plans for each individual site, while stakeholders are the key players for a multitude of diverse fields. Space is necessary for a variety of tourism programs in an existing industrial complex, such as destinations, attractions and industrial objects. Adaptive reuse is a theoretical approach to space that yields certain advantages and contributes to a change or an expansion in the function of the site. Community involvement in industrial heritage tourism is vital for success, in which authenticity and economics are the major attributes. Image change is perhaps the most economically and politically crucial motive for tourism, and developing a competitive advantage for communities ravaged by deindustrialization is the important reason to attempt to change local images through tourism. A common positive perception from the community and incoming tourists is necessary to revitalize the dated image.

The framework of approach engenders certain implications for practitioners and heritage planners, which can be of use in illuminating the complexity of heritage planning. The linkages between motives and attributes proposed by this conceptual framework aim to assist stakeholders in finding the most effective way to coordinate their efforts. For example, developers, design professionals, owners and other team members face many regulatory and financial barriers set by governments when undertaking the adaptive reuse of a historic industrial building. The decision-making process involves environmental assessments, socioeconomic criteria and government support. It is noted that this conceptual framework provides a composite answer, but not a complete one, for industrial heritage tourism. Ostensibly, no conceptual framework can be entirely objective or conclusive, because of the inevitable beliefs and values that are held. These motives and attributes overlap and interact with one another. The strength of the framework lies in its ability to present the reality of tourism impacts and to illustrate the nature of motives vis-à-vis attributes during the process of developing industrial heritage tourism.

The following chapters present various approaches to empirically describe and analyze four postindustrial landscape transformations, in order to build a set of principles that serve as a basis for the redevelopment of similar destinations worldwide. The analysis focuses on explicating the links between the motives and attributes that animate the design approaches described in the book, guide the process of future projects and develop further understanding of the assessment tools. The chapters include an analysis of the failed proposal for the Jeep museum in Toledo, Ohio, to identify the barriers to reusing industrial heritage sites; a case study focusing on the revival of the salt industry in Taiwan illustrates the complexity of history,

identity and image perceived by tourists; a study of the spatiotemporal transformation of the waterfront in Auckland, New Zealand explains the governance structure and use of event tourism to promote industrial heritage and raises the awareness of cultural potentials of the industrial past; and a comparative study of the LX Factory in Portugal and the Westergasfabriek in the Netherlands illuminates postindustrial landscapes from former factory sites to creative economies.

In choosing to emphasize these specific cases, these chapters aim to address projects with different typologies in designing and implementing industrial heritage tourism. Key thematic areas in tourism are chosen and empirical research is undertaken to elucidate both common problems and good practices. Issues regarding conservation in combination with the adaptive reuse of an industrial site, the reinterpretation of a former industrial area and building and the inclusion of the local community are extensively discussed through these case studies. The studies are underpinned by how different aspects of planning and dilemmas are associated with the stakeholders crossing several geographic locations, enabling the application of this conceptual framework that is not site specific. In addition, the socioeconomic, historic and cultural characteristics are focused to better understand the nuances of these industrial settings.

3 The Proposal for the Jeep Museum in Toledo, Ohio

Introduction

In 2013, the *Los Angeles Times* reported a story about industrial heritage tourism in Detroit (Semuels, 2013) where tourists flock to view its ruins. In recent years, the city has seen a small increase in history buffs and photographers visiting its abandoned factory buildings. The photos, though grim, bring back nostalgic memories: viewers would reminisce about passing through the train station in its glory, or recall photographs of their grandparents' honeymoon at a posh hotel in downtown Detroit. Locals use the term 'ruin porn' to describe the phenomenon of people gawking at the decay. Originally, tourism marketing agencies wanted tourists to see the positive parts of Detroit, such as the vacant fields which enterprising farmers have turned into urban gardens; however, the majority of tourists expressed a strong interest in industrial ruins; tourists who 'crawled on their hands and knees to peek inside a train station closed long ago; they squeezed through a gap in a fence to climb the stairs of what was once a luxury high-rise; they ducked under crumbling doorways to see a forgotten ballroom where the Who held its first U.S. concert' (Semuels, 2013: 7).

Criticism has grown amid the increasing popularity of visiting the industrial ruins of Detroit. Strangleman (2013: 23) proposes the term 'smokestack nostalgia' to critique the visual imagery that has emerged from the process of deindustrialization. Industrial heritage is subject to the kind of dehistoricizing and romanticizing imagery that 'characterizes nostalgic treatments of more distant but nonetheless passing ways of life'. Ruin porn is largely considered by local residents not to be a helpful restitution of postindustrial cities in the contemporary American landscape, which fetishizes ruins without showing any concern whatsoever for those who live among them. Clemens' (2012) book entitled *Punching Out* documents the process of dismantling a Detroit automobile factory over the course of a year and laments an over-aestheticized trivialization of ruin porn by various contingents of 'urban explorers' (aka industrial heritage tourists).

He likens these tourists to contemporary 'spelunkers', who lack respect for the historical and cultural context of the ruins they fetishize, and remarks that 'there were similar signs posted on the property of closed plants all over the city, and the urban spelunkers still got inside and snapped their pictures. The artistes… [were] armed with telephoto lenses, French theory, and poetic notions. Another ruin to roam and photograph, Budd (stamping plant) would be their plant soon enough' (Clemens, 2012: 253). Strangleman (2013: 24) interprets Clemens' remarks: 'their photographic equipment speaks of voyeurism, their French theory of their abstraction, and their poetry connotes a detachment from the lived reality of Detroiters'. He is worried that 'the "Motor City" may not produce the world's cars anymore, but it does provide the raw material for countless books on ruins' (Strangleman, 2013: 26). Industrial heritage tourism, in various different forms, has already attracted attention amid sustained criticism in Detroit.

Such a contrasting view represents the complicated facets of industrial heritage that coincide with the sharp decline of traditional industrial cities and the negativity reflected by local communities. In general, the rise of the suburbs and the ensuing problems in inner cities caused significant geographic restructuring along with major changes in social relations. The City of Detroit eventually declared bankruptcy in July 2013, with about 78,000 vacant structures including the wrecked hulks of factories and abandoned machinery too large to remove. The demolition of each derelict building costs approximately $8000, money the bankrupt city can't afford (Semuels, 2013). The city says that 85% of the area had experienced a population decline over the last decade, and efforts to persuade investors to buy commercial buildings and rehabilitate them have been mixed, at best. For example, plans to turn the Michigan Central Depot, a once grand train station, into a casino and then into a police headquarters have gone nowhere, and it has stood empty since 1988. Although tourism provides an alternative for economic development, the challenge remains here: how can preservation projects proceed amid widespread attitudes of rejection or indifference toward industrial heritage on the part of the local communities? Industrial sites provide tangible links between the past, present and future. They are the focus for the struggle between potentially conflicting aspirations of conservation and commercial tourism. Whether Detroit will seek to capitalize on industrial heritage tourists, or discourage them, remains unclear. Yet another city full of industrial ruins, Gary, Indiana, has already taken advantage of the photographers flocking to its abandoned buildings. It charges $50 for a photography permit (Semuels, 2013).

The case of Detroit and the emerging interest in industrial ruins demonstrate that the US has experienced a major shift in its industrial base in the past decades. Many communities have experienced wrenching plant downsizings and shutdowns, leaving underused or abandoned industrial sites in their wake. Postindustrial cities face an identity crisis as they lose their economic base. The decline of employment in manufacturing and basic industries has manifested as working-class displacement and urban decay. The dialectics of deindustrialization also generate the racialized and gendered aspects of industrial heritage, where redevelopment constitutes a significant component of the urban landscape (Prentice, 1998). Collaton and Bartsch (1996: 19) outline four major scenarios that stem from the abandonment of industrial sites: (1) property owners who are unable to sell industrial properties may simply abandon them, thereby undermining the local tax base; (2) vacant facilities deteriorate, inviting unsupervised stripping of machinery or materials, vandalism or arson, and 'midnight dumping' of contaminated substances; (3) pollution that goes unabated may worsen and spread, further diminishing a property's value, adding to cleanup costs and undermining the economic viability of adjoining properties; and (4) these abandoned sites often become unwanted legal, regulatory and financial burdens on communities and exacerbate social problems. Industrial sites in the US have been frequently viewed as failed and tragic places that are ripe for urban gentrification, redevelopment or arrested decay. The regeneration becomes a mourning process and a postindustrial necrology, by using the analogy of riding a train that has fallen off the tracks and is desperately seeking to be rescued.

Urry (2002) notices that although a profound sense of loss accompanied the rapid deindustrialization of the 1980s and 1990s, these poor conditions created the possibility for an economic restructuring in which heritage plays a key role. Large-scale manufacturing enterprises have vast shop floors and equally open spaces that once served as assembly lines for factory workers. Today, an industrial site is an amalgamation of all of the above, part museum, part heritage, part architectural wonder and part leisure and sightseeing. The detritus of former processes of manufacture and industrial history are of particular interest for the ways that they become imbued with new meanings. Tourism generates a distinct place identity in a space of industrial reuse. Industrial heritage attractions are being promoted as an aid to regional economic development in areas suffering from industrial job losses. Many cities have turned to place marketing as a competitive strategy for attracting tourists and businesses. Edensor (2005: 15) argues that in a postmodern society, it is necessary to acknowledge 'the blurring of boundaries, and also the inevitability of

decay' and actively work to 'position this in a celebratory fashion, so that ruins are free from the gloomy constraints of a melancholic imagination, and can equally represent the fecund'.

In the US, the research foci on industrial heritage tourism are quite narrow in scope, primarily on the economic motivations of industrial sites (Jones & Munday, 2001; Rudd & Davis, 1998; Strauss & Lord, 2001) and postindustrial landscapes (Donald, 1999). Since the 1960s, the historic preservation movement has gradually utilized conservation to rehabilitate and revitalize local communities by promoting urban economic development and cultural capital through passing history, values and traditions (Page & Mason, 2004). Concerns have been voiced about the impacts of tourism on the host communities and the complex relationships between place identity and commodification. Robinson (1999) suggests that a key issue in measuring cultural changes is the inclusion of a wider-ranging set of 'cultural indicators' of tourism impacts. The notion of these indicators suggest that the various stakeholders involved in tourism, from the local community as *de facto* judges of the cultural appropriateness to the governments who exercise control of tourism development. Hitchcock *et al*. (1993) propose that at the root of tourism are the questions 'who should be the main beneficiaries from tourism development?', 'who should determine its pattern and pace?' and 'who will have ownership of the tourism resources and how can sustainability of tourism development be ensured?'.

Thus far, little systematic research has been undertaken into the role of tourism in promoting economy and morale across local communities blighted by industrial decline and dereliction (Spirou, 2011). There is a need to evaluate the experiences gained by tourists and the benefits received by communities when developing industrial heritage tourism (Beeho & Prentice, 1995). Local communities are vulnerable to dissonance that stems from conflict over the meanings of, and future visions for, tangible elements of industrial heritage. Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) claim that the dissonance phenomenon occurs due to these tangible elements of heritage and psychological perspectives. While the heritage elements offer a definite sense of past inheritance for the local communities, the psychological elements have a tendency to facilitate cognitive discordance as diverse perceptions held by residents to define heritage in their preferred manner. There are many contentious issues when industrial heritage is utilized and constructed for commercial intent.

This chapter explores the tourism potentials of an industrial city, Toledo, Ohio, famous for its once-booming Jeep industry. The city of Toledo is located in northwest Ohio and was the birthplace of the Jeep in the United States.

After facing debilitating urban decay in recent decades, the city is striving to improve its image and regenerate the local economy through promoting tourism. As a part of the city's revitalization, the National Historic Jeep Museum was proposed in 2005 by the city council to celebrate the Jeep's role in local, national and global history. The building of a museum is supposed to be a popular component of the attraction base and tourism resource of a destination area (Hewison, 1987). The initial proposal focuses on two major issues: the historic preservation of Jeep culture and museum-led regeneration in the city of Toledo.

This research presents an extensive investigation of the problems and prospects of the Jeep museum proposal by measuring the attributes and motives proposed in the conceptual framework in Chapter 2, e.g. potentials, stakeholders, adaptive reuse, economics, authenticity and perceptions. Particularly, residents' attitudes and perceptions toward the proposed Jeep museum, as well as concerns over preserving the authenticity and the representation of the Jeep identity are central to this study. The setting of Toledo is described and the methodology is detailed. The findings reveal various problems, such as poor perceptions, lack of support from the business sector and the issue of authenticity, as reasons behind the unsuccessful proposal as reflected by different stakeholders. The research implications of the study provide suggestions for future improvements to industrial heritage tourism.

The Proposed Jeep Museum

Over the past 50 years, tens of thousands of factories, warehouses, rail yards and other industrial facilities have been abandoned in the US. Although some of these sites have been reused, many continue to sit idle. These industrial sites are suffering from postindustrial blight, decaying infrastructure and declining finances, an all-too-common trajectory in the Rust Belt cities. The largest concentrations of inactive industrial properties are in Midwest cities like Detroit, Cleveland and Toledo (Fischer, 1997). The city of Toledo is situated on Lake Erie and had been a bustling lake port since the 19th century. The image of the city revolves around manufacturing, particularly the Jeep and glass industries.

Because of its dependency on manufacturing, Toledo was hit hard by deindustrialization and globalization, when factory production was largely outsourced. The slump in American manufacturing in the 1980s and 1990s led to a depressed city whose population fled to the suburbs. Toledo decided to undergo significant redevelopment to draw residents back and create a new image to attract businesses. Bramwell and Rawding (1996) examines

industrial cities and found that city images are closely associated with population size, landscape and history, the mix of economic activities, the regional and national importance, power relations within the community participation, local politics and the city's approach to urban regeneration. In recent years, Toledo has capitalized on the glass industry and promoted a distinctive image. For example, the Glass Pavilion was built for the Toledo Museum of Art in 2005, in order to commemorate the city's industrial roots. All exterior and nearly all interior walls in the pavilion consist of large panels of curved glass, illustrating the industrial legacy of Toledo, once known as the 'Glass City'.

Besides the glass industry, automobile manufacturing has long been the dominant source of employment in Toledo. Manufacturing companies, such as Willys-Overland and Owens-Corning Fiberglass, were not only workplaces but also foci for the community and the development of shared beliefs and cultures. In particular, the Willys-Overland Company spent most of the 1930s working on the engine for the new lightweight 'Americar', with hopes to sell to the US military. The company designed a car around this engine and the US military officials finally chose the Willys model. At some point in the testing process, the Willys-Overland car acquired the name 'Jeep'. The most accepted theory holds that the name derives from the abbreviation GP meaning general purpose. Between 1941 and 1945, Willys-Overland manufactured more than 300,000 Jeeps in Toledo. The city's industries played a vital role in World War II and the Korean and Vietnam wars that followed. Willys-Overland's contracts alone totaled more than $200 million and the order for military Jeeps came to almost $100 million (Porter, 1987). For many years, the company remained the city's largest employer, which reduced unemployment and revived the downtown economy significantly. In the 1960s, the *New York Times* ranked Toledo as one of the most prosperous cities in the US.

The turning point began in 1969 when Chrysler purchased the Jeep Corporation. The Jeep industry was thrown into turmoil when demand for the vehicles sharply declined. In the 1980s and 1990s, Toledo, like many troubled cities throughout the US, contained areas of serious deterioration surrounding the central business district (CBD). The change in the local economic structure resulted in high rates of unemployment. Coupled with racial and social tensions, Toledo has suffered a population loss, estimated at 60,177 people, who moved out of the city between 1980 and 2000 (Ohio Urban Revitalization, 2000). The Jeep industry has been described as 'a smile that is missing a lot of teeth' (Toledo Blade, 2003) because the pillar of local industry has become a series of vacant lots offering little job prospects for the city.

Despite the city's significance as a Jeep manufacturing hub, comparatively little attention has been directed at examining its heritage culture, let alone any planning for tourism. After Chrysler merged with Daimler in the 1990s to form DaimlerChrysler AG, a new plant was built to increase the output of Jeeps. The manufacturing of Jeep Wranglers moved to a Stickney Avenue factory adjoining Toledo North Assembly factory, where Jeep Liberty is made. The original plant, built in 1913, was demolished in March 2002 as part of this restructuring plan. Within the plant, Jeep House was used to hold some of the Toledo assembly's collection including a 1905 Overland Roundabout, items from the city's Jeep-making history and auto memorabilia, which were stored elsewhere. The motivation to demolish Jeep House instead of preserving it was that it could become a target for vandals as surrounding factory buildings had been torn down (McKinnon, 2002).

Couched within the interests of building historical social memory and the pursuit of education, a group of local community members has been trying to get a National Jeep Museum established in Toledo since the beginning of 2002. The aim of the museum was to expand the notion of what industrial heritage is, in order to take account of the intangible benefits of establishing a museum for Jeep, such as industrial tradition, craftsmanship and city identity. The proposal for the Jeep museum encompassed a précis of the content of the display and explored how the museum could give dying economies and vacant sites a second life as exhibitions of themselves. The establishment would be multipurpose: it would provide a new type of tourist attraction in Toledo, a recreation of community identity, a valuable resource for formal and informal education and a basis for economic regeneration (Millar, 1989). It also rested on the fundamental principle that Jeep is a concrete product that can be identified by the public as an iconic American car. The heritage of Jeep is never viewed as remote from everyday life; hence, a Jeep museum has the potential to attract the general public, as well as auto enthusiasts and people interested in American history. Moreover, the authenticity of Jeep manufacturing in Toledo makes the city an ideal location for this kind of tourist attraction.

Leary and Sholes (2000) suggest that the key to the success of urban revitalization is contingent upon linking the past and the present through contact with artifacts and lives. Developing an industrial museum conveys the dual dimensions of the verisimilitude of authenticity and place identity. Corsane (2004) further discusses that heritage and museum outputs need to be prepared to engage with topical and sometimes difficult issues. Where risks are taken in order to produce public programs

that are challenging and stimulating, there is always the potential for controversy. Although the heritagization of Jeep can turn inauthentic in the museum setting, it is the character and quality of the specific approximations offered by the museum that determine its place within this whole panoply of purposes. The proposed museum was similar in form and function to the UK's Beamish, an open-air museum presenting a working recreation of everyday life at the early 20th-century climax of the Industrial Revolution, complete with working tramways, an accessible coal drift mine, costumed interpreters, 3D movies and souvenir stores (Lane *et al.*, 2013). Therefore, it attempted to replicate the factory complexes, rather than be a conventional museum. The proposal for the Jeep museum aspired to incorporate Toledo's industrial past into the spatial reconstruction. It was hopeful that the identification and conservation of Jeep heritage was by no means governmental, but was triggered by the concerns of the grass roots and local residents for the preservation of a past legacy perceived to be disappearing under the weight of urban decay and deindustrialization.

At first glance, the proposal was attractive to the city council, who were acutely aware of the seriousness of urban decay and the detrimental effects on the local economy. The city council adopted an entrepreneurial style of governance in response to deindustrialization and shifted from welfare provision to economic development. Although Toledo has yet to shake off its image as an old industrial city, the museum proposal represented a good faith effort to promote tourism by dramatizing the city's industrial history. However, such an ambitious plan for a reinterpreted landscape of the Jeep industry needed sustained local commitment and the involvement of external sources of support. This chapter explores the feasibility of the Jeep museum proposal from the perspectives of both businesses and the general public. It analyzes the reasons for the failed proposal including the conflicting views of stakeholders, controversial reuse and an ill-informed economic impact, and slippery authenticity and poor perception.

Methodology

The Jeep museum proposal involved community and business leaders, development consultants and input from the public at large. It was an overview of the planning process, an assessment of area market trends and opportunities, a physical development plan, implementation and design guidelines and a fiscal impact study. This research was conducted in Toledo and surrounding areas within Lucas County where the city is

located. Data gathering and analysis from 2005 to 2006 were based on three stages as follows. (1) Examination of documents related to the Jeep museum initiative. In addition, the history and industrial development of Toledo and its surrounding areas were collected and analyzed. Government planning documents were examined to understand the issues of concern to planners in the region. (2) In-depth interviews with more than 15 groups of stakeholders in the Toledo tourism and business arenas representing a broad array of interests and concerns. The snowball method was used to identify relevant stakeholders based on the views of other stakeholders. The sample included representatives from municipal, county and state governments, transportation agencies, community development organizations, regulators, economic development agencies and private companies. This method involved identifying a core subset of participants who were affected by the Jeep industry and asking them to nominate other stakeholders whom they considered to have relevant characteristics (Araujo & Bramwell, 1999).

Interviews were conducted in the form of focus groups (Krueger, 1994) by using adaptive management (Reed, 1999). Early in each group meeting, the participants were asked about their expectations for a possible museum and suggestions were solicited on how to develop a site in downtown Toledo. A brainstorming discussion then followed after which the participants wrote their views and concerns on index cards. These cards were categorized according to themes that were then discussed. Collective decisions were made when various negotiated views were established. The focus groups tended to identify the problems and prospects of developing a Jeep museum and endeavored to build a consensus among the participants. (3) Telephone interviews were conducted in Toledo and the surrounding counties to seek perceptions and attitudes toward industrial heritage on the part of local residents. The survey sample was randomly selected from the pages of a local telephone directory. The rapid rise in the use of cell phones and caller identification technology, along with the poor reputation of telemarketing in the US, made telephone interviews more difficult, and yielded a low response rate (10%). However, a total of 150 valid household interviews were conducted.

Findings

High potentials and conflicted views from stakeholders

The focus group interviews yielded positive feedback from the variety of stakeholders considering the development of the Jeep museum. The

city council's tourism service officer described a vision of Toledo in the future as 'a major port, a manufacturing center, a cultural beacon, a recreation center, and a family-oriented city'. The building of the Jeep museum exactly matched that kind of vision and had the potential to not only bring visitors to the city, but also to attract new businesses as well. The museum, thus, could be seen as a place where people could go to actively make and remake their identities, and to manipulate the images and identities found within (McLean & Cooke, 1999). The Jeep museum would bring together people who were interested in the history of the Jeep. Additionally, the museum would examine and record the socioeconomic and cultural impact of the Jeep industry upon northwest Ohio to articulate and promote a better understanding of the inherent relationship between Jeep and this community.

Participants in the focus groups were asked to identify the most viable industrial resources for conversion into tourist attractions. Virtually all of the participants prioritized the Jeep and glass industries as the most marketable tourism resources in Toledo. The consensus from the participants was obvious and two participants from the city council commented as follows:

> Toledo has never gotten it together – I've heard it a million times. That's why the Jeep museum is important for us – we will have it together. People realize that Jeep is more than an industry. It is the thing that makes Toledo different. It's as viable as anything else as a brand.
>
> We're all trying to find our place in the world. Toledo is a typical industrial city. Decisions need to be made based on where the Toledo area will be in the future. We should fundamentally redefine this city by adding travel and tourism.

Participants then began to identify key components for the relative success of the museum. Although most participants recognized the potential for the development of the Jeep museum, the logistics of transforming a Jeep plant into an area of interest for tourism emerged as a major challenge in the focus groups. The establishment of the Jeep museum was constrained by a variety of factors. There were at least four major concerns regarding its development: (1) the potential costs and benefits for the community; (2) obtaining support from DaimlerChrysler, the United Auto Workers Labor Union and local government; (3) ensuring an authentic presentation for the Jeep museum; and (4) local participation. Regarding the costs and benefits, the participants questioned the potential financial burdens on the taxpayers and the projected benefits for the

local community. Strong financial backing from the DaimlerChrysler Cooperation was ranked as the most important factor for the success of the museum. In other words, DaimlerChrysler owns the Jeep brand and its commitment to the museum was seen as a crucial condition. Authentic presentation is regarded as the key factor to presenting an eclectic mix of heritage and entertainment drawn from different backgrounds. The interest in Jeep-related topics should be all-consuming for the public so that the locals would be the strongest supporters for the construction of a museum. As two of the participants commented:

> Jeep is a registered trademark and owned by Chrysler. It is so Americana that we [Americans] should take the responsibility for building this museum. Chrysler has the old and new models and database for tracing the history of Jeep. The exhibitions and displays need the support from Chrysler first, so that the city has enough funding to pursue this goal.
>
> Whether for recreation or conservation, I think the unique selling point for the Jeep museum is its individuality – freedom and American spirit. Plus, Jeep is born here and we produce more Jeeps than anywhere else. My concern is that there is a danger in greater uniformity if we don't take priority in authenticity.

Further investigation revealed divergent views from different stakeholders on how to develop the museum. The museum proposal was stalled because coherent plans for the museum were opposed by various focus groups. It received a warm reception from the tourism industry and several local business organizations, who believed the museum would revive the downtown area and boost the tourism industry. However, the city government insisted on addressing Jeep heritage as a focus for cultural animation in an old industrial neighborhood populated by working-class people. The resources of the Jeep industry play a leading role in the process of regeneration and have yet to be realized. From DaimlerChrysler's perspective, although Jeep is an important industry and one of the largest employers in Toledo, the corporation expressed concerns over the viability of the museum. The reasons, through extensive interviews, fall into three major categories: first, it was unclear if such a museum would be a worthy investment. Although the Jeep museum would promote the image of DaimlerChrysler, its total cost has yet to be determined. The development costs, safety and security risks of the Jeep museum need to be evaluated. The economic downturn in the auto industry has reduced monies for projects such as investment in marketing and automobile promotion.

The corporation experienced a restructuring and it has limited resources to support the establishment of a new museum. In fact, the merger of Chrysler and Daimler-Benz was dissolved in 2007 due to internal politics and bad business. Chrysler is now fully owned by Italian automaker Fiat. Second, the Toledo Jeep museum may be redundant in the region. DaimlerChrysler argued that the Ford Rouge Center in Dearborn, Michigan, which is about 55 miles from Toledo, has a similar industrial theme. The center, sponsored by the Ford Motor Company, showcases an assembly plant for Ford trucks. The converted automobile factory attracts tourists nationwide and has already earned a solid reputation as an industrial heritage museum. Whether the proposed Jeep museum will be a strong competitor or a redundancy remains unknown. Finally, the infrastructure of the plant may not have space for the Jeep museum. Unlike the Ford Rouge Center, where a tourist attraction and an automobile plant are combined, DaimlerChrysler was considering producing a new line of Wrangler model at the original site of the Jeep plant. The possibility of including tourism facilities at the plant has not been prioritized at this moment.

Controversial reuse and ill-informed economic impact

The proposal for the Jeep museum recognized the role that the museum can play in developing social cohesion. As Fleming (1997: 28) states, 'the quality of urban life is defined by a city's cultural activity, beyond job creation, tourism development and image improvement, it can generate community identity and pride'. The city officials in Toledo have acknowledged the importance of creating a 'look' as a way to manage complex urban spaces. To frame an image of a city often entails the power to define that city's culture and heritage. By marketing Toledo as a 'Jeep town', the areas surrounding the Jeep museum have the potential to stabilize and revive Toledo's downtown through a combination of light industry, artists' studios, tourism and conservation. The location will encourage restaurants, shops, boutiques and cultural activities. It is anticipated that the museum will act as a catalyst for changing the character of the neighborhood. Visitors to the museum may translate into increased pedestrian traffic, bringing customers to shops and restaurants.

However, such a possibility requires careful planning, long negotiation, complex financial arrangements and significant business participation (Falk, 2000). As noted by Relph (2008), there is a fundamental distinction between the insider-participant and the external observer in urban planning. The very idea of a Jeep museum is associated with the gaze of the latter

since it implies a certain objectification of the scene. Adaptive reuse involves partnerships between particular stakeholders, especially individual property owners and businesses (Taggart, 2000). Such agencies have not collaborated in the wider social object to achieve a harmonious effect. A conflict of ideals occurs between those who advocate building a Jeep museum in downtown Toledo to maintain a sense of identity for local communities, and business developments that manipulate the urban landscape to satisfy visitors' expectations. The Jeep museum may turn out to be a primary heritage honeypot for tourists rather than an initiative in conservation and interpretation. One local business leader in downtown Toledo suggested the following:

> While developing the Jeep museum, many small businesses will ask what kind of role they can play. The reuse of downtown area for the museum would certainly change the business patterns, some may fail, some will succeed. Without clarifying the details for the development, I suspect the city will win few votes from the business.

Another city planner expressed a similar concern:

> The recession tore the biggest hole in downtown Toledo. There are many derelict buildings available for reuse. I am not sure which one can truly get financial support without government and business involvement. I hope the museum location facilitates the gentrification and brings more people back to the city. We need people here!

Unlike European models for the development of an industrial museum, which are largely dependent on grass-roots organizations across the region (Howard, 2002), things are different in the US, where strong business support and local public consultation are viewed as core. For example, Becker and George (2011) explore residents' attitudes toward the proposed development of a rapid transit rail system for the US Gulf Coast corridor. Participation in touristic activities was the primary reason identified for supporting the future use of the rail system. However, local businesses in Toledo cast doubts on the potential economics of the establishment of a Jeep museum. The combination of tourism investment and community interests was poorly interpreted. The proposal for a Jeep museum faced obstacles because local businesses balked at the cost. However, community supporters stressed that the benefits of the Jeep museum must be evaluated on a longer-term basis, or even as an intangible asset. Such possible advantages include the replacement of the traditional industrialized

image of the place by a more attractive one in the eyes of possible outside investors, and the encouragement of an entrepreneurial spirit among the local population. As an example of this outcome, museum proponents cited the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame and Museum in Cleveland, Ohio, which draws more than 1.5 million visitors each year. This museum, 'a project that almost died many times', was made possible only through the cooperation of business community leaders from Cleveland and music industry representatives from New York. Although the costs of the project ballooned from $26 million to $93 million, the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame has turned into a major economic boost for the city. Unfortunately, it was difficult to convince local businesses in Toledo that investment in the Jeep museum fits within a much more diversified economic structure. A lack of leadership in promoting the Jeep museum dampened the economic potential of industrial heritage tourism.

Zukin (1995) proposes the term 'symbolic economics' to indicate that tourism practices fluctuate between representational, interpretive and experiential spaces located somewhere among the tourist gaze, material landscapes and sites and symbols of tourism. Industrial heritage tourism bridges local industry and the general public when corporate partnership can showcase its products. Museums can be seen as an important heritage tourism symbol that enhances a city's image as well as the 'reality' of a city. However, in the case of the Jeep museum, this symbolic economic impact has met resistance through a lack of strong business leadership. In particular, DaimlerChrysler was not enthusiastic about providing financial support and local businesses were not well informed about the museum plan. Advocates of the museum failed to forge the private–public partnership necessary to make their proposal a reality. The proposal was seen as wishful thinking, rather than an opportunity to improve the city economy.

Slippery authenticity and poor perception

In tourism literature, authenticity is not a fixed entity, but a flexible notion to be continuously negotiated and molded into *ad hoc* resources, or assets to be spent in order to achieve economic priorities. It needs to be defined not only in terms of the provenance of material and non-material aspects of a culture, but also by subjective criteria as applied by various stakeholders. Authenticity is constructed, experienced and managed by a variety of 'cultural mediators' (Ooi, 2002). In other words, it is a state of being that can only be judged by stakeholders involved in the process. Furthermore, authenticity can be viewed as having many different

meanings depending on the contexts. Using Bhabha's (2004) concept of the 'subaltern', authenticity is often defined in a fabricated and unequal host–guest situation. In his observation of the evolution of New Orleans' traditional Mardi Gras, Gotham (2007: 205) comments that instead of viewing tourism as a threat to authenticity, it would be helpful to adopt a more complex and nuanced understanding of various players' relationship to tourism. He further suggests that instead of regarding authenticity as immutable and primordial, it might be useful to examine the process of authentication 'focusing on how and under what conditions people make claims for authenticity and the interests that such claims serve'. In such contexts, it is hard to pin down objectively and precisely what is authentic because the concept is constantly shifting and being transformed. The difficulty with understanding authenticity, according to Yang and Wall (2009: 251), flows from the reality that it embodies 'more than a simple idea underlying the originality of objects, but involves various perspectives, value statements, judgments, stereotypes, and spatial and socio-political influences'.

The investigation revealed concerns over where and how to present an authentic account of Toledo's industrial history via a museum. Tourism and development planners collaborated on a blueprint for the Jeep museum utilizing abandoned hospital buildings in downtown Toledo, as opposed to the original factory site. The city government thought that a Jeep museum located downtown would be ideally positioned to act as a forefront of innovative interpretation and an agent of inner-city regeneration. The proposal was not favored by the public, which preferred the location of the museum right on the original Jeep plant, a sprawling industrial complex about 10 miles from downtown. In the telephone interviews, some participants were skeptical about transforming the abandoned hospital buildings into a Jeep museum because it would create a 'fake environment' without a real connection to the Jeep industry. Industrial heritage tourism may reproduce Jeep as 'retrochic', creating tourism sites with an emphasis on style, rather than substance. The result of the telephone interviews expressed a concern that industrial heritage tourism can develop at the expense of a city, or its local residents. Dodd (1998) suggests that for the attractiveness of industrial sites, tourism development may change location decisions and pay more attention to accessibility for tourists. There are a variety of ways for tourists to visit industrial sites, including open doors (companies that open their site without any modifications), communication centers (duplications of production units in specially developed visitor centers) and commercial units (a shop near the production site) (Marcon et al., 2000). However, the question of location, whether in situ or ex situ,

became a thorny issue for the museum planning. The change of location was seen as a detachment from the factory site and the Jeep museum would lose its true role as a reflection of the industrial heritage of the city.

Industrial heritage attractions open the window to cultural exchange, thereby promoting national and international understandings between tourists and local communities. In the context of the industrial heritage museum, education and entertainment are the most significant factors in the initiative. It should allow tourists to participate in the assembly plant and represent the Jeep industry through the imaginary and material spaces of the tours. A new form of authenticity emphasizes conceptual design and interior spaces, so that tourists understand the history and heritage in a visual way. The purpose of the museum should provide tourists with 'a heritage with which to continually interact, one which fuses with present' (Lowenthal, 1999: 410). In particular, employees working at heritage sites play an active role in presenting industrial heritage as well as communicating with tourists. For example, the former Piquette Avenue Plant in Detroit, which was the birthplace of Henry Ford's Model T automobile, has volunteer staff on site to introduce production history. The staff mostly consists of retired autoworkers knowledgeable about the lives of typical autoworkers in 1908 and how they built cars before the advent of Henry Ford's moving assembly line. Such cultural exchange opportunities may not only provide tourists with a chance to appreciate former and existing industry, but may also help local communities to rebuild a sense of pride in their own new identities.

The proponents of the museum sought to revitalize the city's Jeep industry and recapture the public by creating a total environment, which aims to bring authentic environments to life and foster a sense of cultural identity. The concept of 'total environment museums' challenges the conventional boundaries between museum and environment by integrating conservation and interpretation. Both locals and tourists can observe what it would be like to be a worker on the Jeep assembly lines. Through the representational spaces of the tours, workers as well as locals and tourists become signs of the 'real' Jeep plant. The Jeep museum should act as a unique marketing tourism program and combine the backstage, an authentic space with Jeep as an industrial product, and a front stage, where the museum could showcase a history that is intertwined with industrial heritage. As the director of the Greater Toledo Visitor and Convention Bureau pointed out:

If [the] Jeep museum works out, we'd like everyone who comes to Toledo to see a Jeep being made. The stereotypical image of a Jeep factory is

one of workers scurrying about as thousands of components meld into a Jeep that is driven away at the end of an assembly line. But Jeep plants don't like that anymore. Rather, automated machines do much of the assembly. A successful museum should be multidimensional and visitors will stand on the production floor and watch the Jeep that is being built.

The growing commodification of Jeep results in the emergence of a new industry, which is distinct from the traditional brand. Jeep is no longer seen as a four-wheel drive used by the US Army, but rather it has become an American icon. Jeep production lines have expanded from the original Willys model to the Grand Cherokee, Liberty and Wrangler. The current Jeep line includes sport utility vehicles, station wagons and even trucks. Jeep is a trademark appearing on various merchandise, including electronics, adventure gear and clothing. Thus, the Jeep museum proposal faces a loss of focus and a challenging task to provide a clear image. There is a risk that local residents would be excluded from decisions about what kind of exhibition space can be created. The primary goal of the museum takes a risk of not presenting culture but rather achieving general economic development through satisfying tourists. Although they are aware that Jeeps are unique, tourists typically fail to see beyond this façade and seldom comprehend the greater, more profound historical and cultural impact of this vehicle. Their perceptions about the authenticity of Jeep, in fact, will be a judgment or a value placed on the setting. Consequently, the Jeep museum proposal did not receive broad-based local support as had been expected.

Tourism can have both positive and negative outcomes for residents in communities where sharing and preserving industrial heritage may be seen as conflicting goals (Besculides et al., 2002). Community attachment presents critical implications for the sustainability of a site, as it constitutes a necessary condition for resident involvement and support behaviors (Nicholas et al., 2009). In addition, economic dependence on tourism is attributable to positive attitudes toward commercial development (Chen & Chen, 2010). The development of industrial heritage tourism has involved numerous stakeholders. Among them, residents' perceptions and attitudes toward industrial identity play a key role in shaping urban planning (Andereck, 2005). The telephone interviews demonstrated that local residents showed a desire for preserving and commemorating Toledo's past, particularly the heyday of the local Jeep industry. Several residents relished seeing and visualizing Jeeps that they were brought up with. The description of the Jeep evoked responses and residents

expressed an interest to see if tourism could revitalize the economy. On the other hand, they lamented that the Jeep industry has become a 'lost gem' of the postindustrial motor industry, as several residents exclaimed that Chrysler 'don't manufacture Jeeps like they use to' and that the loss of independence of Jeep manufacturing erodes the vehicle's quality and image. Therefore, residents felt that these 'fascinating' and 'beautiful' aesthetic features of the Jeep should be prioritized in the museum planning.

The telephone interviews also revealed that industrial heritage ranks low among the types of tourism programs that residents would like to see Toledo develop. Many responded that they viewed the Jeep industry primarily as a source of employment. The conservation of the Jeep industry was hardly mentioned by participants in telephone interviews. Data show that only 14% of the interviewed residents ranked the Jeep industry as a major tourist attraction. Other industries, such as food processing (25%), the Maumee River (30%), wood products (25%) and agriculture (16%) ranked much higher. Jeep heritage has suffered from its perception as a peripheral activity and an uninterpreted landscape. Strangleman *et al.* (2013: 7) posit that there are generational aspects to industrial memorialization as follows:

> For the children of deindustrialization as for their communities, the industrial past provides a significant cultural foundation, but their relationship with that past is conflicted and complicated. In much of the rust belt, a whole generation of working-class people has grown up hearing stories about the good old industrial days but not ever doing such work…they know neither the hardships nor the romance of industrial work, except as the subject of stories about the past.

While the majority of the population grew up in perceived blue-collar districts, the proposed Jeep museum was unable either to sustain local commitment and involvement or to mobilize support, according to the results of the telephone interviews. The very idea of 'portside paralysis' describes a community's resistance to change and its sense of powerlessness. It is suggested that poor perception and communication have engendered a limited understanding of tourism, its impacts and potential benefits among the majority of the local population. As a result of this, many residents did not realize their own potential or the value of the city's industrial resources as a tourist attraction. The telephone interviews indicated that mistrust between various factions was endemic, since the Jeep museum is seen to represent a potential benefit to one

sector (tourism businesses) and, simultaneously, a marginalizing force on another (local residents).

Summary

Tourism can conceivably influence cultural changes and place identity in different ways. A postindustrial identity is always conditioned by a dynamic tension between exogenous forces and local traditions, which is appropriated, constructed and traded through and around the development of tourism and material objects of touristic exchange (Doorne *et al.*, 2003). The Jeep museum proposal was scrapped in 2008 when the new mayor came into office. While failed projects are most frequently criticized for cost overrun and delay in handing over the tasks resulting in unfulfilled objectives and thwarting stakeholders' expectations, the proposal for the Jeep museum presented a different scenario: the project was intended to establish Toledo's prominence as an industrial heritage center while improving a large part of the city. The proposal would have provided the local community with a sense of continuity and was important to cultural identity as well as to the safeguarding of industrial heritage. In addition, investing in the Jeep museum would have marked Toledo as an exemplary city, attempting to change its image. The spin-off effects could have offered an excellent opportunity to market a historical landmark and industrial production to the world.

However, these scenarios and expectations did not come to fruition and the Jeep museum project may well seem an improbable dream with a lack of leadership, resistance from the local residents and lukewarm support from the Jeep industry. In terms of proposed attributes and motives, it is evident that the city of Toledo has huge potential to develop industrial heritage tourism. By examining the attributes of stakeholders, adaptive reuse, economics, authenticity and perceptions, problems surfaced when the project was unable to tackle issues of conflicting views from various stakeholders, controversial reuse, ill-informed economic benefits, slippery authenticity and poor community perception. Goodey (1994) notes on the development and marketing of the heritage industry in the US that partnerships between business, community and local authorities are essential for success. Nonetheless, such a strong partnership has yet to be formed in the context of Toledo's Jeep museum proposal.

The proposal is comprised of a constantly shifting mosaic of stakeholders. Each of these groups has a different view of the role and future of the development. The idea of industrial heritage as a viable enterprise and principal means of regenerating areas, attracting tourism and putting places

on the map, was promoted by local authorities and tourism businesses. Therefore, the adoption of strategies becomes a political process of conflict resolution and consensus all set within a local legislative context in which power brokers have a disproportionate influence. On the other hand, building the museum is characterized by fragmentation and a dominance of small tourism businesses that often trade seasonally. This had led to a lack of management expertise for developing industrial heritage tourism, a divergence of aims between the commercial and public sectors and a short-term planning horizon.

In retrospect, the proposal suffered from a lack of heritage interpretation, and as such, failed to substantiate the inner value of a Jeep museum. Schouten (1995) indicates that the tourist is looking for an experience rather than the hard facts of historical reality, which can be provided through interpretation. By borrowing Urry's (2002: 3) term 'edutainment', the proposal dissuaded Chrysler and other businesses from investing in the museum, as the long-term heritage value was never fully explained. In addition, the potential location of the museum, e.g. *in situ* and *ex situ*, became a thorny issue when residents perceived the proposed location as inauthentic. The lack of adequate interpretation ultimately caused dissonance among stakeholders in the form of clashing perceptions filtered through conflicting value systems (Graham *et al*., 2000).

Previous research (Besculides *et al*., 2002; Jurowski *et al*., 1995) finds a positive relationship between residents' acceptance of an industry and their economic dependency on it. The findings of this investigation show an opposite view because Toledo residents' perceptions were less receptive to tourism and their overall attitudes toward the Jeep museum proposal were not encouraging. Although the Jeep museum appears to be a good idea for the community, limited knowledge about the proposal on the part of local residents clearly reflects their alienation from the tourism businesses and local municipalities. It is not surprising that a community with high unemployment tends to be less receptive to the idea of tourism than one with low unemployment (MacNulty, 1985). However, it is critical to promote and win support from the locals for industrial heritage tourism. Image and economic obsolescence, as described by Tiesdell *et al*. (1996), need to be overcome by industrial city's residents. The implications remind planners about the importance of involving community members before tourism actions are taken, and the need to truly understand how residents feel about the industry. To provide both economic and cultural benefits to a community, tourism planners need to create an atmosphere in which residents can actively participate in caring for and protecting their

industrial heritage, as well as an arena to share their accomplishments (Gary, 2000).

It is suggested that the local government could encourage the development of a Jeep museum by lubricating the pathways to public funding. Strong financial support would certainly result in a much more effective targeting of specific groups and, as an added benefit, it would give private sector lenders more confidence in the wisdom of funding the museum project. In order to establish a committed and well-organized public–private leadership group to plan the museum, it is crucial to share ideas among the public and private partners and stakeholders, in order to more clearly define those issues that require attention on a local basis. Public participation is necessary to ensure that residents are fully aware of the value of a Jeep museum, as well as to promote knowledge about and pride in Toledo's industrial heritage. As Graham *et al*. (2004: 32) suggest, heritage knowledge is situated in social and intellectual circumstances, it is time-specific and thus its meanings can be altered as texts are reread in changing times, circumstances and constructs of place and scale. Consequently, it is inevitable that such knowledge becomes fields of contestation.

This chapter examines the problems that accompany the development of industrial heritage in an American industrial city. The proposal for the Jeep museum as a tourist destination emerges within a particular geographic and historic context and raises a number of issues for heritage planning. Corsane (2004: 10) opines that when heritage and museum are ready to become sites and spaces, and where a multiplicity of voices can be heard and different representations found, they open up as places where dialogue can take place. This case study reveals that a central problem in developing industrial heritage tourism is an underdeveloped demand side: many in the local community are not currently aware of the significance of the museum nor possess the financial resources to fully contribute to a regeneration process based upon tourism. Industrial heritage has been largely utilized as a future-oriented economic resource, while neglecting the emotional and popular potential for the generation of new identities and connections with the past (Benito del Pozo & Gonzalez, 2012). Raising awareness among local residents is one of the key elements in preserving industrial heritage for tourism and it should be a priority for governmental organizations. It is critical for local residents to see tourism as a means of helping learn about, share and preserve their industrial heritage. Not only do the Jeep industry and local residents need to be coordinated, but also all of the stakeholders, particularly tourism businesses and local governments, must reconcile

their conflicted interests in order to collaborate for the well-being of local industrial heritage as a whole.

There is no doubt that cooperation between stakeholders is essential to the development of industrial heritage tourism, but at the same time it is rather difficult to achieve. There are lessons to be learned from Toledo's example for improvements in developing industrial heritage. Using six key attributes, the analysis of this study examines the relative success of the analytical model for industrial heritage tourism developed in Chapter 2. Future studies can use these attributes to evaluate industrial heritage development in other cities. In practice, tourism planning in industrial areas has made much of the need for meaningful and high levels of local participation. This should include rigorous consultation and information dissemination procedures, and the involvement of existing businesses (from Chrysler to small businesses) in the museum's development and operation. As Kotler *et al*. (1993: 20) observe, 'no two places are likely to sort out their strategies, use their resources, define their products, or implement their plans in the same way. Places differ in their histories, cultures, politics, leadership, and particular ways of managing public-private relationships'. This statement captures the essence of the complexity of industrial heritage tourism.

4 Perceptions of Attractiveness for Salt Heritage Tourism

Introduction

Traditional industries, including the salt and sugar industries, provide tourists with a mixture of nostalgic affection and novel experiences (Campagnol, 2011; Jolliffe, 2013). By stressing the value of the industrial past and present, an industrial area's shift from a site of active production to a tourist attraction may enhance the community's identity and encourage localization in an increasingly globalized world. Salt fields are former sites of resource extraction and production which have been viewed in terms of their cultural, heritage, aesthetic and recreational values for postindustrial service activities such as tourism (Sauri-Pujol & Llurdés i Coit, 1995). Salt heritage tourism, like mining tourism, includes tours in the salt fields, participatory experiences in the salt production process and the purchase of salt-related souvenirs. The development of a salt resource engenders a widespread interest in industrial heritage tourism, which is an attempt at reclaiming traditional agricultural practices by adding a contemporary twist and inviting tourists to experience the salt fields and modes of production (Daher, 2005).

Che (2013) stresses that the salt fields formerly or currently in operation, including underground mines, can provide tourists with opportunities to experience and learn about the unique histories and settlement patterns associated with extractive industries. The development of salt tourism endeavors to create overall tourist experiences that maintain a historical identity and the spirit of the past. For example, the establishment of the salt museum in Northwich, the UK, serves to conserve and promote the history of the Cheshire salt industry and the communities of the salt towns. Cardona, a salt mine region located in Catalonia, Spain, transformed into a tourist town when the decline of mines occurred worldwide. Building on salt's status as the region's primary source of financial development, Cardona developed a project called 'the Salt Mountain', open for leisure and tourism purposes (Sauri-Pujol & Llurdés i Coit, 1995). The iconic Wieliczka Salt Mine in

southern Poland was converted into a tourist attraction to help tourists appreciate rock salt and its production process. Tourists can view artifacts illustrating mining techniques as well as ornaments carved out of rock salt (Smith, 2009). The underground tour consists of a two-kilometer walk which passes through 20 caves. The nearby Cracow Salt Works Museum was placed on UNESCO's World Heritage List in 1978, followed by the Royal Saltworks at Arc-et-Senans in France in 1982, to demonstrate the historical significance of salt mining. Similarly, *la Maison du Sel*, the House of Salt, in Guerande, France, connects salt makers and naturalists and aims at raising public awareness about salt marshes and their industrial heritage. The idea of using salt for medical tourism is also gaining popularity, especially in former Soviet Union nations, such as the Kyrgyz Republic (Schofield, 2004) which has developed a number of health spas, advertising the efficacy of therapies utilizing local salt and brine springs to alleviate arthritis and circulatory ailments (Connell, 2007; Kurlansky, 2003).

The establishment of salt production–based tourism has the potential for both problems and opportunities. As a subset of industrial heritage tourism, salt tourism not only brings the industrial past to life and engages with tourists in the present by explaining manufacturing processes and demonstrating the use of equipment, but it also interprets a destination's history and transforms its culture and heritage into popular images palatable for tourist consumption (Frew, 2011). Tourism activities tend to refer to tradition and to exalt a past way of work, while ignoring the fact that the living industries actually offer higher and more innovative levels of authenticity than 'traditional' heritage sites. Concerns with program quality and commodification are prevalent in salt tourism. Staged authenticity occurs when a tourist destination intentionally uses service as a stage and goods as props to engage tourists in a way that creates a memorable event (Pine & Gilmore, 1998). Borrowing the concept of 'shoppertainment' or 'entertailing' from the retail industry, destinations progressively draw tourists in by offering fun activities, attractive displays and promotional events. Experiences can be thematized and characterized by tourists' participation and connection with the destinations. They derive from 'an iterative process of exploration, scripting, and staging' (Pine & Gilmore, 1998: 102). The act of visual consumption (Watson & Waterton, 2010) and the focus on experiential authenticity that make industrial heritage a viable and increasingly popular form of tourism may also contribute to the distortion of industrial landscapes, transforming them into aestheticized spaces of leisure and entertainment (Urry, 2002). Therefore, the conversion of salt fields into sites of leisure and tourism

faces a daunting task: to create and maintain a balance of entertainment versus education; cultural preservation versus economic development; and authenticity versus commodification.

At a deeper level, despite the growing interest in industrial heritage worldwide, analysis of industrial products for the purposes of tourism development and policy evaluation is still an underdeveloped research field (Xie, 2006). However, many studies have looked at facilities and services located in former industrial sites (Kerstetter *et al.*, 1998; Pretes, 2002; Timothy, 2007). In other words, the majority of research focuses on the supply side of industrial sites while neglecting travellers' characteristics, preferences, motivations and other demand-related variables. Poria *et al.* (2003) suggest that few studies have explored the relationship between the demand perspective and the core of site attributes to attract tourists. In particular, little research has been done to understand the perceptions and motivations that 'pull' tourists to specific sites, and the reasons why some industrial sites draw more tourists than others. There is a need for heritage planners to focus more directly on understanding tourists' needs, motivations and experiences and the benefits that tourists both expect and actually gain from visiting industrial heritage sites (Apostolakis, 2003).

This chapter attempts to broaden understandings of industrial heritage tourism by exploring various factors that contribute to the overall attractiveness of the industrial site. More specifically, it presents salt tourism in Taiwan as a case study in order to isolate and examine the characteristics that contribute most to the perceived attractiveness of salt heritage sites. Tourism is viewed as a viable way to preserve the traditional practice of salt making as a commercial activity and enhance the market effects of salt as a natural and industrial heritage. Three key attributes of tourist sites, e.g. themes, programs and designs, are identified as focal points of study through a critical review of the extant literature on heritage tourism. Drawing on this literature, it devises a study measuring which attributes contribute most to tourists' perceptions of the salt fields of southwestern Taiwan as an attractive place to visit. Tourists were asked to assess these attributes and to explain their perceptions of the destinations, experiences and products offered by heritage salt destinations. The aim of this chapter is to shed light on the demand side of industrial heritage tourism by ascertaining how tourists perceive the salt destinations in Taiwan. It begins with a literature review on the issue of what makes a site attractive to tourists, and explores the range of themes, programs and designs used in salt tourism. A brief history of the salt industry in Taiwan is introduced and research methods are detailed. The survey results are

reported and the chapter concludes with a discussion on the research implications.

Themes, Programs and Designs of Salt Tourism

Tourism experiences have centered on themes, products and designs that mix modernity with nostalgia (Xie *et al.*, 2011). Hollinshead (1998) suggests that heritage is the result of dynamic processes that produce, reproduce and transform the resource being commemorated. Salt heritage and its interpretation are ever-changing and imaginative phenomena in all stages of development: creation and renewal rather than original fields. Heritage interpretation and presentation provide the key to a successful management policy (Millar, 1989). Both enhance current understanding of the existing legacy of the past cultural, natural and built environments in all their unique manifestations, while presentation of heritage sites is through the various media of guides, information boards and re-enactments that serve to entertain and educate the tourists. MacCannell (1989: 8) evokes 'a museumization of work and work relations', which he terms 'work display', as a cultural production of curios marking the death of industrial society. MacCannell (1989: 7) further suggests that the 'museumization' of premodern cultural forms transforms labor into cultural productions by tourists and sightseers who are moved by 'the universality of work relations, not as this is represented through their own work (from which they are alienated), but as it is relevant to them at their leisure through the displayed work of others'. As developers capitalize on industrial heritage culture for recreational purposes, 'work watching' becomes a normative practice, in which both landscape and labor become interpreted and marketed for tourists (Wanhill, 2000).

Current research on destination attractiveness attempts to better understand tourists' decision-making processes as well as the specific benefits derived by tourists as a result of tourism experiences (Formica & Uysal, 2006; Kim & Perdue, 2011; Mayo & Jarvis, 1981). The extant literature defines attractiveness as a bundle of tourism facilities and services composed of a number of multidimensional attributes (Cracolici & Nijkamp, 2009; Lee *et al.*, 2009). Hu and Ritchie (1993) classify tourism attributes into two general categories: 'universal attributes' and 'dependent attributes'. The universal attributes, such as scenery, climate and price, are the most critical criteria. They are 'universal' in that every destination has these attributes in some form. In contrast, dependent attributes are idiosyncratic or specific to individual regions. They thus vary with the 'context of the decision' or 'situational effects' (June & Smith, 1987). Dodd

(1998) suggests that the motives for tourists to visit an industrial site can be attributed to a number of variables including dependent variables, such as their attitude before their visit, the number of previous visits, product involvement and demographic variables that influence the individual information sources used.

The existing research (Garrod & Fyall, 2001; Poria *et al.*, 2001, 2003) in heritage tourism suggests that a place's heritage and historical/cultural context and characteristics are often influenced by tourists' perceptions of the significance and value of that heritage. Industrial heritage tourism becomes a phenomenon based on the motivations and perceptions of tourists, actual and potential. The use of tourism as a vehicle for narrating a place's industrial past has deepened tourist–local interactions (Pretes, 2002). In the context of salt tourism, the interaction increases environmental awareness through a sensory approach (elaborate scenery), a scientific approach (observation and experimentation) and a human approach (meeting salt makers). There is a pressing need to understand psychological and perceptual assessments of motivational attributes from a tourist perspective (Kim, 1998), in order to better understand the correlation between an industrial site's specific characteristics and the motives undergirding a tourist's decision to visit the site.

Cameron and Gatewood's (2000) study shows that tourists' underlying motivations and values play an important role in their decisions to visit industrial and agricultural sites. The survey conducted in the historic downtown of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, shows that an overwhelming number of respondents express a general interest in visiting industrial sites and approximately 27% of respondents indicate a desire for some sort of personal experience when visiting industrial towns and sites. The authors use the word *numen*, indicating a spiritual and emotional experience in connection with industrial and historical places. McIntosh and Prentice (1999), through interviewing tourists at cultural heritage attractions in the UK, suggest that experiential and emotive processes are crucial factors in a tourist's decision to visit a cultural heritage site. In particular, three distinct thought processes are identified: reinforced assimilation, cognitive perception and retroactive association. Individual visitors learn culture and heritage through interacting with destinations and tourism products. What tourists look for is a holistic experience, comprising thoughts and emotions (Hastrup & Hervik, 1994). Dahm (2002), in his case study of a salt-producing site in Figueira da Foz, Portugal, proposes that exchanges of experience with salt workers and the reconstruction of a totally new, but traditionally built warehouse are essential to the success of salt tourism. In addition,

salt tourism should offer exhibitions, workshops and training courses for tourists to assist their appreciation for salt production. Interpretation assistance programs are necessary since the majority of salt heritage tourists have limited knowledge of salt production. The attractiveness of the salt production process needs to be illustrated clearly when tourists visit the destinations.

Poria *et al*. (2004) classify reasons for visiting heritage sites into three distinct groups: heritage experience, learning experience and recreational experience. Tourists who cite heritage experience as their primary reason for visiting heritage sites are characterized by a desire to gain hands-on experience with cultural artifacts. Those who seek a learning experience wish to observe historical sites and study the past they represent, while those motivated by a recreational experience are not necessarily moved to visit heritage sites by the content of the material they present. Murphy *et al*. (2000) echo that the ability of a given destination to compete in the tourism marketplace depends on how tourists perceive this complex amalgam of elements and experiences. A destination offers a compound attractiveness based on individual tourists' perceptions regarding themes, programs and products (Cracolici & Nijkamp, 2009). Kao *et al*. (2008) categorize experiential qualities for tourist destinations, all of which determine the quality of tourist experiences, into four realms: immersion, surprise, participation and fun. These experiential qualities are analyzed by Vargas-Sanchez *et al*. (2013), who conclude that industrial tourists are motivated by a desire for learning, a desire to seek both learning and entertainment and a desire for learning, combined with an emotional motivation. In other words, industrial heritage tourists expect to immerse themselves in a type of 'experience-scapes' or 'an imagined, landscapes of experience' (O'Dell, 2005: 16).

In transforming industrial products into sources of recreation, tourism businesses search for a niche that combines nostalgic ambiance with cultural experiences and recreational opportunities in order to entice both tourists and local community members to participate. Within salt heritage tourism in particular, and in industrial heritage tourism more generally, the trend is to develop sites of creative tourism (Richards & Wilson, 2007), which offer tourists 'the opportunity to develop their creative potential through active participation in learning experiences'. According to Richards and Wilson (2006), there are three basic types of creative tourism experience: (1) creative spectacles, in which tourism sites produce creative experiences intended for passive consumption by tourists; (2) creative spaces, in which spatial changes occur to entice tourists to engage in active interaction; and (3) creative tourism, a convergence of

creative spectacles and creative spaces encouraging active participation by tourists. Creative tourism represents essential conditions that privilege a particular discourse on salt tourism, which encompasses five major components: *culture* to connect with the past; *environment* to present authenticity; *product* to appeal to tourists; *experience* to relive the history; and *sustainability* to involve stakeholders' participation. A comprehensive tour of a salt field and of the salt production process represents a means of enlarging tourists' understanding of the industrial past, a desire to celebrate industrial achievement and an effort to revitalize the culture of salt production.

The evaluative attributes of the present study draw mutually compatible ideas from the literature in the fields mentioned above. Themes, programs and designs are identified as the three major attributes of a salt tourism site, and thus, as the primary categories through which to gauge tourists' perceived attractiveness for salt tourism in Taiwan. Themes link disparate elements of an attraction, for example, connecting tourists' observation of the salt production process to the products ultimately sold as souvenirs (Richards & Wilson, 2007). Themes also help create a narrative that is understandable for the tourists. Programs vary but mainly focus on the participatory experiences offered to tourists and the interpretation assistance programs that help tourists make sense of their experiences, such as tour guides and display cases. Designs encompass the décor and exhibition of the salt destination, the original fields where guided tours are provided and the souvenir products designed for tourist purchase. These designs, whether traditional, modern or hybrid, are a primary medium through which tourists relate to visual images of the salt fields. They evoke desires for tourist participation and purchasing.

Salt Heritage in Taiwan

Over the past three decades, Taiwan has transformed itself from an agricultural island to an economic powerhouse that is a leading producer of high technology. Its traditional industries, such as salt, sugar, mining and fishery, have turned into tourist attractions (Liu, 2013). In particular, salt, a symbol of Taiwan's industrial heritage, has gradually become attractive to tourists searching for a nostalgic past and seeking a sense of national identity. Southwestern Taiwan's land morphology was once dominated by the salt industry, including extensive farming distribution and extended transportation networks along the coast. The significance of the salt production economy to the locals' livelihood shaped the cultural landscape across many rural communities.

Salt is at once so ubiquitous and rarefied that it's often hard to tell when to use which kind. Naturally occurring salts, collected from underground salt deposits or evaporated from ocean water, come in a variety of shapes and colors. The immense labor required to extract salt and prepare it for human use has led to a specific culture of salt fields comprising architectural and technical achievements, such as devices, equipment, tools and techniques, as well as social developments such as the salter's life and housing. The solar evaporation method was widely used in the Taiwanese salt fields, where salt crystals were first noticed in trapped pools of seawater and where the warm local climate, in which the evaporation rate exceeds the precipitation rate, rendered that method of production. The concentrated brine created by this method precipitated the salt, which was then gathered by a mechanical harvesting machine. The solar evaporation method is believed to be the oldest harvesting method used in Taiwan and the salt evaporation ponds, or salterns, used to extract salts from seawater were located all along the nation's southwestern coast. Salt harvesting and carrying were labor-intensive and employed more than 70% of the workforce in southwestern Taiwan (Yunjianan Tourism Bureau, 2011). Since World War II, the salt fields have gradually ceased production and the majority of salt workers have been replaced by machines. While most salt workers have transitioned into different agricultural jobs, some of them remain in the salt fields as tour guides and museum staff.

Historically, salt was a precious commodity during the Japanese occupation of Taiwan in the 19th century. The industry expanded quickly, largely driven by Japan's domestic need for industrial salt. It also provided locals with the means to transition from an agricultural to an industrial economy. However, salt production was monopolized by the governments and overseen by the Salt Administration Offices. The implementation of 'Taiwan Salt Field Regulations' in 1899 strictly regulated that all salt fields owned by the Taiwanese must be merged within the Japanese-funded 'Taiwan Salt Company'. After World War II, the Nationalist government took over the salt industry and established the Taiwan Salt Industrial Corporation, a governmental agency in charge of all the salt fields on the island.

In 1997, the Taiwan Salt Industrial Corporation proposed to establish the Taiwan Salt Museum in order to preserve the heritage of the salt industry. The aims of the museum are to preserve the industrial heritage and to raise public awareness of the salt industry through setting up environmental education projects. In 2002, the Cigu salt field announced the termination of its mechanized salt production, officially ending

338 years of solar salt production (Zhang & Lei, 2012). The closure was attributed to a shift in seasonal weather conditions resulting in reduced production, as well as to the aging of the salt producers and falling salt prices. Most traditional producers were elderly and the recruitment of new salters was very limited. Since 2003, all salt consumed in Taiwan has been imported from Australia (Tsai, 2013).

The Taiwan Salt Industrial Corporation was privatized by the government and renamed the Taiyan Biotechnology Corporation. The change of ownership from public to private has encouraged tourism businesses and has offered an excellent opportunity to develop leisure activities. The transition of the public salt industry into a private tourism venture has led to the creation of several 'spin-off' attractions, including museums, souvenirs, a sculpture arts festival and spas, all of which have gained popularity and provide significant economic contributions to the local communities. The development of salt tourism serves to preserve traditional salt production practices in currently abandoned areas and to maintain the saltworks infrastructure in optimal condition. For example, Taiyan Biotechnology Corporation remodeled the Cigu Saltern, best known for its four-story-high mountain of salt, or 'Salt Mountain' as it is popularly called, into a tourist attraction, making it one of the few surviving witnesses to Taiwan's three-century-old salt-making history. Stairways have been cut into the slope of the snow-white hill to enable tourists to climb and enjoy the panoramic view it affords. It has quickly become the most popular landmark for salt tourism and a symbol of industrial heritage in the region.

The transformation of Taiwan's salt fields into sources of leisure and tourism reflects a number of political, economic and cultural transitions faced by entire communities (Tsai, 2013). With a complex and evolving relationship, there are many questions about the realities of salt heritage. Jolliffe (2013) suggests that during the process of transforming industrial heritage into tourism, a series of questions need to be answered, including how has salt influenced cultures and societies? What happens when production at particular locations declines? What are the consequences when countries completely exit from being salt producers and transition toward tourism? How is salt ingrained as part of national identities and how is this reflected in the tourism products? These are some selected questions related to the heritage and local legacies of salt production and using salt heritage as a lens gives 'a distinctive way of tracing the movements of people, products and experiences in relation to a global commodity that has shaped our modern world' (Jolliffe, 2013: 6).

The abandoned salt fields represent an excellent opportunity for industrial heritage conservation, cultural learning, education and leisure

(see Plate 4.1). They are an important attraction for the southwest coast of Taiwan, where a long history of colonialism, global market fluctuations, policy directives and, until recently, community involvement have all contributed to the creation of a culturally rich tourist experience and made tourism development a necessary adaptation for salt fields that are striving to survive and capitalize on their resources. Salt fields engender feelings of nostalgic affection and provide novel experiences for tourists. These sites now attract hundreds of tourists every day during the summer, and group tours are conducted at visitor centers. Tourists' participation in activities, such as salt drying, salted pickle making and salt sculpture arts festivals, have generated employment and resulted in raised awareness about local cultures. Tourist activities typically culminate in a visit to the souvenir shop, where all the products are made of salt. By stressing the value of the local industrial past and present, the shift to tourism may enhance the residents' identity and encourage localization in a gradually more globalized world.

The development of salt heritage tourism is a complex issue, with many different and sometimes contentious approaches. For example, the newly

Plate 4.1 The Jingzaijiao tiled salt field in Taiwan

privatized corporation in charge of turning the salt fields into tourist attractions was more concerned about its bottom line than aiding the local economy. Attempts to revitalize economy were made to generate incomes for compensating the industrial decline and the solutions for the closed salt fields and equipment for sales. Land assets used for salt production and storage were sold, leased or transformed for the construction of industrial or technological parks, or they were simply left vacant or abandoned. In recent years, approaches have shifted toward the rejuvenation and conservation of existing salt resources and the promotion of community welfare. Influenced by local cultural advocates, the heritage significance of Taiwan's salt fields has been considered a vital means not only of documenting local industrial development history, but also of raising visitors' awareness of a need to preserve past industrial resources as well.

From a governmental perspective, the Ministry of Economic Affairs (MOEA) created tourism factory projects in 2003 aimed at promoting innovative concepts and value-added services for the preservation of declining manufacturing establishments. The MOEA's tourism factory projects provide traditional industries, such as salt fields, with an opportunity to assimilate into the service economy by venturing into the provision of tourism and leisure experiences. A similar revitalization project for industrial culture assets administered by the Council of Cultural Affairs has recognized the vitality of the salt culture in Taiwan. These projects have promoted already existing sites of salt tourism to the general public and offered resources for converting abandoned salt fields into new tourism sites. The Southwest Coast National Scenic Area was established in 2003 to market salt heritage tourism and surrounding scenic sightseeing. The governmental support tends to nurture the development of business relationships between owners of defunct salt fields and stakeholders in existing educational and/or tourism ventures. However, a holistic and incremental approach integrating cultural significance, ecological sustainability and tourist experience has become increasingly important. There is an urgent need for accurate and practical management tools to understand the value of salt tourism and the reuse of salt fields for leisure.

Despite the transformation of the salt industry into a source of tourist revenue, little research has been conducted on the motivations, experiences or perceptions of tourists visiting the salt fields. There are a couple of reasons behind the lack of research interest: first, salt industry restructuring is widely viewed as a means of land development by the state-owned operators, in order to generate income for the locals and diversify salt production. Developing strong salt tourism requires commitment in

the form of policy endorsement, partnership and business investment. In the process of organizational restructuring and business diversification, controversies often arise due to divergent views concerning the future of salt fields. While a grass-roots movement advocates preserving closed salt fields as heritage sites and integrating establishments to local cultural spaces, land development values are prioritized by both salt enterprises and local government. As a result, land use for leisure and tourism has been planned primarily for political and commercial interests. Second, current salt attractions located along southwestern Taiwan are largely run by small businesses and quasi-governmental enterprises (e.g. spin-off enterprises from the former Taiwan Salt Industrial Corporation). The development of salt tourism tends to be fragmented and supported by stakeholders at the community level. These small businesses have limited resources to develop a full-scale salt tourism. Salt fields have been envisaged to be an integral part of Taiwan's industrial heritage. However, the widespread geographic distribution and the many scales at which tourism operates discourage a uniform plan for coordinated marketing and research.

Methodology

The research was undertaken in multiple stages. The initial fieldwork was conducted in the salt fields and refineries of southwestern Taiwan. The main purpose was to identify themes, programs and designs used in Taiwanese salt heritage tourism. The salt history was extensively reviewed and interviews with selected residents were undertaken to gauge the local community's perception of tourism development in the salt fields. The objective was to encourage a wide discussion on transforming salt fields into tourism from managerial perspectives. The groups consisting of community members were chosen at random. They discussed the importance of participating in the production processes to provide a viable tourist experience and sharing production techniques to preserve the heritage of the salt industry. The interviews engendered a fuller picture of the community's opinions regarding historical and heritage representations through the exchange of views in a socially interactive situation.

The following three themes were identified through the interviews. (1) Production processes where salt culture is revealed through a series of demonstrations, such as the solar evaporation method or capturing salt water in shallow ponds, etc. The process virtually replicates the working conditions of a century ago. Tourists are invited to both observe and participate in production processes by using the mechanical harvesting

machines and walking in the ponds to discover the process of creating salt crystals and concentrated brine. These demonstrations also provide participatory experience for tourists to learn the oldest method of salt production. (2) Products offered at salt destinations to tourists, such as flaky sea salt used for cooking and spas, and salt-based beverages, cosmetics and daily products. These are souvenirs for sale with different packages and designs as tourist purchase intention is important. (3) Abandoned salt fields without tourist interventions such as interpretation assistance programs or products for sale. These fields are seen as raw space open to the public but retain the original feel of the industrial sites from which they emerge.

In the second stage, two distinct programs used in salt tourism were identified: (1) interactive experiences that encourage tourists to participate in traditional salt production practices with the assistance of staff and original props; and (2) interpretation assistance programs where tourists receive guided tours supported by maps, signage and multimedia presentations of the salt production process. They also include videos/films/tapes explaining specific exhibits and facets of salt production including material culture, the geology of salt deposits and archive bibliography. Additionally, both programs were incorporated into both nostalgic and modern designs. The design for modern style emphasizes the aesthetic aspects of salt production and the display rooms are beautified to reflect the community identity. In contrast, the nostalgic style shows a resemblance to the original form of salt production. It depicts the hardship and roughness of salt production in the early years when the fields were a means of economic income for the local community.

In the last stage, tourist surveys were conducted at the Dongsan rest area along State Highway Three which leads to four major salt tourist destinations on the southwest coast: the Cigu salt mountain (七股鹽山), the Taiwan Salt Museum (臺灣鹽博物館), the Jingzaijiao tiled salt fields (井仔腳鹽田) and the Zhounan salt field (布袋洲南鹽場). The purpose of using the rest area for the survey was threefold: (1) It is located at a crossroads between Tainan and Chiayi counties. The areas have a variety of industrial attractions with heavy traffic for travel and tourism. The Dongsan is ranked as one of the most satisfactory rest areas in the region, providing a playground for children and food services for visitors. It is also accessible to the majority of tourists visiting all four major salt destinations. (2) Salt tourist destinations are scattered along the highway and are devoted to tracing the history, customs and identity of Taiwan's salt production and are representatives of salt tourism. Surveys undertaken in the rest area captured the majority of tourists interested in visiting the

salt fields and on their way to the attractions. (3) Conducting surveys in the rest area provides a comprehensive view of tourists' perceptions of salt tourism. For example, both the Jingzaijiao tiled salt field and the Zhounan salt field are run by local businesses and attract a small number of tourists. However, the Cigu salt mountain is the most recognizable symbol of salt heritage, and it along with the Taiwan Salt Museum located nearby, attracts the largest number of tourists. These destinations have different ownerships ranging from quasi-governmental enterprises to local businesses. They also represent a wide range of salt attractions in Taiwan and are well known among tourists.

The questionnaire consisted of three sections. The first solicited socio-demographic information from tourists as well as their prior knowledge of salt heritage and the frequency of their visits to these destinations. The second section included questions about perceived experiences with the themes, programs and designs of salt sightseeing using a set of rating scales. General questions were asked regarding the types of salt sites visited, which sites the tourists visited and what influenced their choice to engage in salt heritage tourism, why they came and the nature of their experience at different sites and settings with a particular emphasis on what they consider to be real and faithful representations of salt tourism. This section employed a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (completely disagree) to 5 (completely agree). The third section provided open-ended comments encouraging tourists to elaborate on themes that they felt integral to their perceptions of attractiveness within the salt heritage context. Systematic sampling was used for this tourist survey to ensure that each participant in the population had an equal chance of being selected (Mallen & Adams, 2008). Every tenth tourist in the rest area was approached and shown the different themes, programs and designs in pictures utilized to experience salt tourism. They were asked to fill out the questionnaire in Chinese after seeing these pictures. A total of 440 questionnaires were distributed to tourists in this location in May 2009. Valid questionnaires numbered 412 with a response rate of 94%. All tourists were domestic from various regions of Taiwan.

A quantitative approach was used to analyze the data collected from the 412 questionnaires. A two-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to understand if the main effects were independent of each other. Tests were performed to examine if differences existed between the groups based upon themes, programs and designs. F-values were gauged to determine whether or not significant differences in the means existed. In addition, the Scheffe *post-hoc* analysis with least significant difference was utilized to test differences in the means of the responses. Cronbach's alpha was

also utilized to test the reliability of measuring perceived attractiveness. The alpha values were more than 0.95 showing high internal consistency in this study.

Findings

Socio-demographic characteristics of tourists

The demographic variables of the respondents are listed in Table 4.1. Of the total respondents, 45% were male and 55% female. The majority

Table 4.1 Profile of sample respondents (*n*=412)

	Percentage of sample
Gender	
Male	45.1
Female	54.9
Age (years)	
<18	7.8
18–24	12.9
25–34	31.3
35–44	31.1
45–54	12.6
55–64	3.6
>65	0.7
Occupation	
Business	31.3
Service	22.3
Civil servant	13.6
Student	16.5
Homemaker	8.3
Retired/others	6.9
Education	
Less than high school	9.2
High school	26.7
Bachelor's degree	53.2
Graduate degree	10.9
Marital status	
Single	39.3
Married	60.7

of the respondents were between the ages of 25 and 34 (31%) or between 35 and 44 (31%). Those over 55 comprised only 4% of the respondents. In terms of occupations, 31% identified themselves as working in business and 22% as employees of the service industry, such as restaurants and hotels. With respect to educational attainment, 53% of the respondents claimed to have earned a college degree and 11% reported completing a graduate degree. In terms of marital status, over 60% of the respondents were married. The overwhelming number of visitors (70%) was from neighboring regions of the southwest coast, such as the Yunjianan (47%) and Gaoping (23%) regions. These characteristics reflect the demographic pattern of industrial heritage tourists, which match those of a cultural tourist (Orbasli, 2000; Richards, 2004; Richards & Wilson, 2006): these tourists have a high educational level and live fairly locally or within the same region as the sites. From a demand perspective, it is not surprising given that the nature of salt tourism mainly targets nearby communities and the number of tourists from northern Taiwan continues to be low.

A large proportion of the tourists surveyed (54%) had visited tourist destinations along the southwest coast in the previous three years. Of those who had visited the salt fields and museum, 82% of the respondents indicated that they had traveled at least once in the previous three years, while 88% had traveled to other heritage sites, such as Fort Zeelandia, a colonial site located in the south of Taiwan. When asked about preexisting knowledge and understanding of salt heritage, 52% of the respondents replied that they had an 'average' level of knowledge, while 31% knew nothing about the traditional salt industry. Specifically, 58% of the respondents indicated that they were aware that the salt industry played an important role in Taiwan's industrial heritage and 57% agreed that salt fields can be readily converted to sources of leisure and tourism. In addition, 33% of the respondents knew about the abolition of the Taiwanese government's administrative monopoly on the salt industry and that salt in Taiwan is currently imported. Because of their rich industrial tradition and natural heritage, salt fields have been widely viewed as an important landscape in southwestern Taiwan, and were integrated into the community life before their conversion into tourist sites.

The socio-demographic information suggests that domestic tourists in Taiwan were likely to be young adults between 25 and 45 years of age, and employed in the service industry or in business, with a college level of education. Although the majority of tourists evaluated their preexisting knowledge and understanding of salt heritage as average, they knew quite a lot about the salt industry and its heritage. Tourists expressed the belief that salt fields have inherent educational value. Visiting salt fields that have

been converted into tourist sites is an effective and valuable way to learn about history. However, salt tourism appears to differ from other forms of industrial heritage tourism, in that the majority of its tourists tend to be young adults. This contrasts markedly with, for example, mining tourism in which most tourists are near or of retirement age (Stynes & Sun, 2004). These demographic differences suggest that an increasing number of tourists understand the significance of transforming salt fields for the purpose of travel and tourism. Tourists commonly identify the following motives for visiting the salt fields: the enjoyment of being taken back in time, understanding how people used to live and work and gaining a better understanding of salt heritage and history in the communities that have historically made a living through salt production. In addition, there is a growing awareness of the cultural patrimony involved in tourism in Taiwan and many young adults are interested in exploring their cultural roots through touring former salt industry sites. Salt fields become venues for tourists to learn firsthand about the region's natural attributes, local history and traditional lifestyle.

Perceptions of attractiveness

Table 4.2 presents the mean ratings of tourists' perceptions about what makes a salt landscape an attractive place to visit. On a scale ranging from 1 (completely disagree) to 5 (completely agree), tourists were asked to describe various aspects of salt attractions. Out of many characteristics, a total of 11 seemed to represent the motives regarding the appearance and attractiveness of salt fields. A desire to participate in salt-related activity (3.75), curiosity in learning about the landscape (3.65) and an interest in learning salt history (3.60) were the three most commonly cited motives for visiting, showing that tourists express a strong interest in participatory experiences and deindustrialized landscapes, and in learning about the role that salt plays in national and local industrial heritage. In addition, tourists were impressed by the tour guides, who had previously worked as salt producers in the fields. Living histories from these tour guides impart an authentic experience and increase the credibility of interpretive materials. Particularly, the desire to learn appears to be the predominant motivation among tourists, with the physical nature of the salt fields being the most attractive attribute, followed by the desire to know more about salt history. The salt fields attract tourists who consider salt to be a symbol of cultural distinctiveness, a historical artifact and a connection to the past.

Tourists expect touring salt fields to involve some amount of participation at the level of production. They would recommend the

Table 4.2 Tourists' responses to perceived salt landscape

Characteristic	Mean	Std dev
After viewing the landscape, I would like to participate in salt-related activity	3.75	0.90
I am impressed by the salt landscape	3.65	0.73
This landscape motivates me to learn salt history	3.60	0.85
This landscape draws my attention to the salt industry	3.59	0.75
This landscape looks appealing	3.58	0.85
I wish I could spend more time at this destination in the near future	3.52	0.91
This landscape motivates me to explore this community	3.51	0.84
This landscape motivates me to learn more about the salt industry	3.50	0.84
I would highly recommend hands-on experience to my friends and relatives	3.43	0.87
I wish I could get more involved in salt-related activities personally in the near future	3.33	0.87

Note: Features were rated on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (completely disagree) to 5 (completely agree) (Cronbach's $\alpha=0.940$)

activity to their friends and relatives (3.43) and prefer tourism experiences that provide more opportunities for hands-on participation, such as the salt drying process, salt tasting and salt for pickles (3.33). It appears that salt-related activities have intrinsic appeal and produce a wide range of pleasurable thoughts and feelings associated with salt culture. It also shows that direct participation in salt production correlates with a growing number of tourists expressing an interest in visiting the salt fields again and learning more about salt heritage.

Table 4.3 presents perceptions about the attractiveness of specific themes, programs and designs currently and potentially used in salt tourism. Various sets of these attributes were shown to tourists. Tourists were asked to compare their perceptions about three groups of themes: (a) basic salt fields with non-interactive representations of historic information and traditional practices; (b) attractions that introduce tourists to the processes and equipment used in the salt production process with interactive representations of historic information that immerse the tourist in self-directed participatory experiences; and (c) salt products including salt popsicles, detergent, toothpaste, cosmetics, etc. The survey asked tourists to rank their level of attraction to each theme on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (completely unimportant) to 5 (completely important). Attractions emphasizing the production process (3.43) and

Table 4.3 Perception of salt attractions in themes, programs and designs

Attributes		Means	Std dev	F value	Post-hoc
Themes	Original (a)	3.13	0.71	4.79*	b>a
					c>a
	Production process (b)	3.43	0.64		
	Products (c)	3.49	0.67		
Programs	Basic (a)	3.13	0.71	13.92*	b>a
					c>a
	Participatory experience (b)	3.61	0.63		
	Interpretation assistance (b)	3.32	0.65		
Designs	Original (a)	3.13	0.71	4.54*	b>a
					c>a
	Nostalgic (b)	3.45	0.68		
	Modern (c)	3.47	0.63		

Note: *$p<0.05$

the sale of salt products (3.49) were perceived to be somewhat important while the basic salt fields were ranked low (3.13). The results showed that tourists preferred salt tourism including a detailed presentation of the salt production process and products to demonstrate salt's commercial values, rather than a less guided, more open-ended presentation of the original salt fields. The need for facilities and services that provide adequate and appropriate interpretation was expressed by tourists to be a necessary prerequisite for a fulfilling experience. These facilities and services include a lecture, a tour of the fields, the handing out of brochures and other explanatory and advertising materials, and refreshments. Tourists anticipated that a presentation of the salt production process and souvenirs would be provided when visiting the salt fields, and considered them important parts of the tourist experience.

In terms of programs, the study examined the difference between the provision of a hands-on experience allowing tourists to participate in salt-related activities, interpretive assistance programs and the basic programs, such as display cases and signage in the exhibition hall, without any assistance or hands-on activity. Similar to the ranking of the themes, the basic program was viewed as the least popular, while both hands-on experience and interpretation assistance were seen as highly important ($F=13.92$, $p<0.05$). In particular, hands-on experience was ranked slightly higher than interpretation assistance programs (3.61 and 3.32, respectively). In terms of design, tourists' perception of aesthetic qualities revealed a positive perception of nostalgic and modern

presentations. Both were ranked significantly higher than the originals without alternations. For tourists with average knowledge of salt culture, nostalgic or modern décors are highly visible, easy to get acquainted with and are perceived as more familiar than original abandoned fields. In addition to the noticeably aesthetic difference, several tourists asserted that modern design actually appeals to them as they found that artistic display helps them appreciate salt heritage better.

Multifactorial ANOVA was used to analyze the differences among themes, programs and designs; in particular, interaction effects between variables were examined. An interaction effect is a change in the simple main effect of one variable over the level of the second variable (e.g. theme×program interaction). The results in Table 4.4 show that programs ($F=21.71$, $p<0.05$) were the most significant factor that tourists considered when determining the attractiveness of a given salt tourism site. Tourists enjoyed participatory activities in the salt fields and expressed a strong interest in exhibitions that gave them a firsthand experience of traditional salt production, guided tours and a number of other interpretive programs. Tourists described salt production as 'labor intensive', 'a marked seasonal character' and 'dependent on weather conditions'. The interaction effect suggests that only a combination of theme and design ($F=16.59$, $p<0.05$) are statistically significant features to attract tourists. Table 4.5 shows the cross-examination of themes and designs where production, product, nostalgia and modernity interact. In terms of production, the nostalgic design ranks slightly higher than the modern one (3.56 and 3.34, respectively). However, when it comes to the purchase of souvenirs, modern designs rank higher (3.65 and 3.32, respectively).

Table 4.4 ANOVA for themes, programs and designs

Source	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F value	Sig.
Themes	0.114	1	0.114	0.287	0.592
Programs	8.649	1	8.649	21.708	0.000*
Designs	0.280	1	0.280	0.703	0.402
Theme×program	0.249	1	0.249	0.626	0.430
Theme×design	6.611	1	6.611	16.593	0.000*
Program×design	0.008	1	0.008	0.020	0.889
Theme×program×design	0.033	1	0.033	0.082	0.775
Error	164.676	403	–	–	–
Total	5025.123	4112	–	–	–

*$p<0.05$

Table 4.5 Perceived attraction between themes and designs

Themes	Designs	Mean	Std Error
Production	Nostalgic	3.56	0.07
	Modern	3.34	0.06
Product	Nostalgic	3.32	0.07
	Modern	3.65	0.07

Tourists appear to prefer experiencing the salt production process in a setting with a nostalgic design while purchasing salt products with a modern twist. Tourists' preference for modern design in products may reflect a shift in their perceived attractiveness, in which 'traditional' is allowed to contain some portion of adaptation and innovation (Moreno & Littrell, 2001). The findings resonate with Kim and Perdue's (2011) suggestion that a site offering a 'fun and comfortable atmosphere' has a stronger effect on destination attractiveness. The apparent traditionalism of salt products does not determine tourists' intention to purchase. For example, tourists indicated that they preferred unprocessed sea salt packed in a sleek plastic bag, with a specification of mineral contents and the place harvested. The growing preponderance of these products, as presented on a massive scale for industrial heritage tourism, does not necessarily detract or diminish the interest of tourists. Modern versions of salt products may cater to the younger generation who is interested in convivial design with touches of industrial heritage. They are interested in salt-related products that are representative, functional and trendy. Contemporary and creative designs do not affect tourists' perception of attractiveness; rather, they pique the interest of tourists and appear not only to increase the value of the product (Xie *et al.*, 2012), but also reflect tourism-induced commodification in the context of social change and cultural dynamism.

Research Implications

Salt production has long been a conduit of identity and self-preservation in Taiwan. Tourism can function as both agent and process in the preservation of local landscapes, identities and economics, embedded as they are within the larger environment. The transformation of the salt industry into the business of leisure and tourism is used to support indigenous identity and maintain traditions, while tourists' visits to salt destinations have generated employment and raised awareness about local cultures. The development of salt tourism reflects the history

of the southwest coast of Taiwan and empowers local communities to appreciate the value of industrial heritage. Most importantly, salt used for leisure and tourism is a powerful signifier of ideological meanings in contemporary society.

Through administering surveys, diverse tourist activities commemorating the traditional salt industry are examined and the extent to which tourists perceive them as attractive can be gauged. Results indicate that the demographic profile of domestic tourists who in engage in salt tourism in Taiwan tends to be young, highly educated adults. These demographic patterns are similar to those found in other countries where industrial heritage tourism is gaining popularity. Despite their average level of knowledge about the salt industry, tourists showed enthusiasm for learning about the salt production process and a willingness to feel connected to the history presented in the salt fields. There is a growing consensus that salt is an artifact of historic significance and a part of cultural heritage in Taiwan. The survey reveals that tourists are interested in participating in salt-related activities, such as the salt drying process and using salt for making pickles. Richards (2001) proposes that in the contemporary economy, the passive consumption of cultural services will give way to more participatory forms of consumption, including interaction, learning and doing. These interactive elements were highly regarded by tourists, who seek a combination of learning and entertainment in their visits to industrial heritage attractions. In particular, participatory experience influences tourists' perception of, and satisfaction with, their experience in tourism.

The study identifies theme, product and design as the three most important attributes contributing to the attractiveness of a salt destination, and affecting tourists' choices to salt heritage sites. The findings show that tourists preferred salt tourism that includes a comprehensive production process and interpretation assistance programs to help understand the historical, national and regional complexities of the industry. However, participatory experience was ranked higher than the interpretation assistance programs, while both nostalgic and modern décor in the display rooms are perceived as authentic. Tourists were aware of the commercialization of salt fields as functions, forms and meanings altered. Although tourists demand some level of originality, the focus has shifted toward motif design, uniqueness and aesthetic qualities as the criteria for an attractive destination. It appears that tourists' 'fun gaze' (Ooi, 2002: 87) accepts kitsch, commercialism and cultural inauthenticity. Attractions centered on the 'fun gaze' are understood as constructed spectacles, in which tourists embark on a playful search for enjoyment in the salt fields.

Salt tourism provides tourists with a unique experience and empowers them to produce their own narratives of culture and heritage. The ANOVA tests suggest that programs and a combination of theme and design were viewed as the most statistically significant attributes used in salt tourism. The interaction analysis shows that tourists' understanding of theme and design may be much more complicated and layered than initially expected. They want certain aspects of the attraction to signal traditionalism, such as observing the salt production process in a nostalgic setting, but they like souvenir products to be rather modern; to some extent, those hybrid designs of salt products signal greater attractiveness to sell. Salt tourism is a hybrid form of attraction that seeks to create a synergy between the educational and the entertainment values of its heritage content. Product and experiential values were rated strongly by tourists. Participatory techniques are used in salt tourism not just to give tourists a voice, but also to develop memorable experiences that create a compelling case for the value of salt as an integral part of the heritage of a given community.

Summary

Given the importance to heritage tourism research of understanding the motivations for a tourist's visit and given the lack of publications that adequately examine what makes an industrial heritage site attractive to tourists, this chapter aims to delineate tourists' perceptions of salt heritage attractions; in particular, the roles that themes, programs and designs play in attracting tourists. The research consists of an analysis from the demand perspective, using empirical research focused on the tourists visiting the salt fields along the southwest coast of Taiwan. The study suggests a number of valuable implications for salt destination marketing efforts and highlights the importance of theme, program and design elements as core appeals of the destination.

The study demonstrates that the sustainability and viability of salt attractions should be considered during tourism development. The success of salt tourism relies on local endorsement and ownership of these sites, including the involvement of communities and current or former salt workers to foster social sustainability. As Ballesteros and Ramirez (2007) point out, community involvement, such as employment in the salt fields, brings two instant benefits: on the one hand, it provide in-depth insight into the nature of industrial heritage tourism; and on the other, it have a clearly practical dimension that recommends the inclusion of indicators relating to community identity in the assessment, planning and

management of this type of tourism. By connecting to the former workers' own experience, interpretation assistance programs provide tourists with an opportunity to experience 'real work' or engage in 'work watching' to appreciate how workplaces, lifestyles and communities based on the salt economy function. The development, management and communication of heritage sites require a better mode of interpretation, whereby tourists are encouraged to participate, interact and engage with some aspects of salt culture. The interactive programs and varying themes offered at sites enhance the value of the attraction, help tourists better understand salt heritage and foster tourist appreciation for the place they visited.

Results reinforce the need for tourism planners to deliver positive, memorable surprises to tourists in order to supersede baseline expectations. It is necessary to identify key factors that influence tourists' perception of a site as an attractive tourist destination in order to understand the behavior of tourists and respond effectively. Tourists are more aware of the role that salt heritage has played in history and everyday affairs in the past; hence, they demand an equitable slice of the localized heritage experience (Chhabra, 2012). A salt heritage destination needs to illustrate the intrinsic attractiveness of salt production. Furthermore, there is an urgent need to develop customized salt-related products, which are already evident in the rapid take-up of interactive interpretation by salt fields and museums. The marketing of salt tourism also provides the tourist with a 'must-see' sense of excitement, which in turn leads to the 'fun' factor and a positive recollection of memories. Educational experiences are often tailored to tourists by personalizing them and promising to immerse tourists in the everyday world of a historical attraction. By adding interactive elements, salt tourism creates more active participation, or poses questions to tourists in order to increase their degree of immersion. These elements, in turn, have a broad appeal for all who seek an indelible experience with salt heritage. As Poria *et al*. (2009) point out, it is necessary to customize the experiences for tourists who visit the heritage sites, rather than provide only one predictable and standardized experience. This is because tourists to heritage sites now expect an active participatory experience with interpretive aids that offer specific knowledge and reinforce their perceived cultural identity.

5 Waterfront Redevelopment and Urban Morphology

Introduction

Port cities all around the world face challenges as they seek to redevelop their urban waterfronts in the interest of economic competitiveness, place promotion and tourism. Urban waterfronts are primarily occupied by ports, warehouses, factories and transportation authorities. In recent decades, numerous waterfronts have undergone a reorientation from brownfields to commercial, residential and recreational areas. Obsolete and derelict industrial structures on waterfronts, owing to the relative decline in shipping employment as a result of deindustrialization, are emerging as ideal host environments for spatial rebranding (Doorne, 1998; Hutton, 2009). The practice of rebranding urban waterfronts has experienced its greatest successes and has reached new heights of commodification in the creation of themed landscapes, which have become something of a global trend, with some of the major examples including the London Docklands (Wood & Handley, 1999), the Baltimore waterfront in Maryland (Vallega, 2001), the Tokyo Waterfront City, Odaiba in Japan (Murayama & Parker, 2007) and the riverfront development in Singapore (Chang & Huang, 2011). The extant research includes, but is not limited to, changing political-economic frameworks, urban revitalization, planning and design, spatial and land-use transformation in waterfront districts, the role of history and heritage in regeneration, and ecological and environmental issues concerning waterfronts (Aiesha & Evans, 2007; Gordon, 1999; McCarthy, 2004; Sieber, 1993).

Much of this research, by both researchers and practitioners, has been multidisciplinary (Hoyle *et al.*, 1988; Marshall, 2001). Sairinen and Kumpulainen (2006: 121) propose that waterfront redevelopment embodies the historic alteration of land and water uses along the edges of cities and that the process is attributable to a number of factors: (1) technological changes after World War II, which led to the abandonment and deterioration of thousands of acres of industrial land across waterfronts; (2) the historic preservation movement to promote industrial heritage; (3) heightened

environmental awareness and water cleanup; (4) consistent pressure from the public to redevelop central city areas; and (5) urban renewal including state, federal and municipal assistance. Roberts (2000) argues that waterfront regeneration is evolutionary and can be traced through various decades, such as reconstruction in the 1950s, revitalization in the 1960s, renewal in the 1970s, redevelopment in the 1980s and regeneration in the 1990s. This evolutionary process has shifted from physically oriented renewal schemes toward a more comprehensive form of policy and practice including environmental and social sustainability.

Traditionally, waterfront redevelopment practices have consisted of an array of plan-led and market-driven approaches in which the derelict areas of postindustrial cities have been transformed (Galland & Hansen, 2012). These changes in port cities have closely associated with urban morphology and are concerned essentially with the spatial impact on the physical environment of new development, as well as the spatial coordination of the various functions and activities that they would require in relation to the urban fabric at the all-important junction of land and water. The morphology is intimately connected to the changes of the built urban environment in general. In fact, it is most fruitful to use the methodologies of morphology as a field of study to understand waterfront redevelopment practices. For example, the Olympic Sculpture Park in Seattle, Washington, displays modern sculptures in steel, granite, fiberglass and bronze and the project has expanded the harborside promenade to improve accessibility. Comparably, the revitalized harbor district in Düsseldorf, Germany, where old warehouses have colorful façades and famous architects, such as Frank Gehry, has installed a number of vibrant new buildings that make up the modern *MedienHafen*, or Media Harbor. These regeneration projects have influenced waterfront policies and take place in an environment of increased capital mobility and inter-urban competition over broad swathes of time (Malone, 1996). Most saliently, waterfront redevelopment affords postindustrial cities the opportunity to remediate brownfields, restore natural shorelines, spur economic growth and enhance transit, pedestrian and bike connectivity (Spector, 2010).

From a tourism planning perspective, there are generally two types of waterfront renewal projects (Griffin & Hayllar, 2006): one entails a complete transformation in which tourism and leisure functions are imagined to be the prime objective of a waterfront development. Such projects aim to generate a highly marketable aesthetic, promote historic interest and cultivate cultural attractions through hosting urban festivities. Another type is waterfronts that have maintained their original uses but have incorporated leisure and tourism, because maintaining the working port remains a draw factor. As a result, different models of waterfront regeneration emerge: some creating

bland standardization and gentrification, and others focusing more on heritage renaissance, community development or contemporary culture (Hoyle *et al*., 1988).

In addition, urban festivities are increasingly sought and exploited by local stakeholders as opportunities to construct place variation and attract tourists (Mathews, 2010). Festivities, such as special or hallmark events, serve as catalysts for redevelopment and emphasize the use of images and symbols to sell products and experiences (Gotham, 2002; Gottdiener, 2001). There is a tendency to combine waterfront transformation with urban festivities in order to underwrite the 'growing aestheticization of urban space' (Kipfer & Keil, 2002: 243) and, in so doing, offset disinvestment in the manufacturing sector (Jayne, 2006). Such processes prompt the creation of newly commodified waterfronts, which act as a 'themed background' (Law, 1996: 20) for entertainment, conferences and shopping. This transformation also serves to reimage the postindustrial city in order to harness competitive advantage and attract tourists and businesses.

Given the importance of historical elements in urban morphology, recent years have witnessed a growing interest in incorporating morphology into tourism studies (Gospodini, 2001, 2004; Hall, 2009; Spector, 2010); however, the significance of applying morphology to tourism, especially event-induced tourism, remains neglected by researchers (Liu & Wall, 2009). Although architectural heritage has been discussed in the tourism literature, little work has been carried out to explain how tourism relates to the morphological process (Lasansky & McLaren, 2004). There is a lack of research on the spatiotemporal effects of tourism in the context of waterfront redevelopment. In particular, examples of a clearly formulated methodology and effective planning implementation are quite rare (Gu, 2010). Morphologically, waterfront redevelopment has tended to force existing sectors like boat building, fishing and some port activities to relocate in order to accommodate the new types of activities being undertaken (Craig-Smith, 1995). Consequently, it creates new leisure and tourism quarters as a basis for further regeneration initiatives (Jones, 2007). A reconstituted waterfront with amenities and considerable investment in leisure-oriented infrastructures proves to have profound impacts on contemporary society.

This chapter serves to address the morphology of one specific industrial heritage site, namely, the waterfront in Auckland, New Zealand. It explores the morphological processes and challenges facing current planning management on Auckland's waterfront. This study seeks to examine the wider impacts and implications of hosting special events such as the Rugby World Cup and the America's Cup in Auckland. The hosting of hallmark

events provides an impetus for the redevelopment of an unattractive and poorly utilized waterfront area (Orams & Brons, 1999). The success of these events also exerts a profound influence on urban tourist space. The purpose of this research is to enter the territory of waterfront revitalization and, through a morphological analysis, establish the phases and impacts of the urbanization process and identify ways in which former industrial land can be better employed. By using an evolutionary analysis of the spatial structure of the waterfront landscape as the basis for development coordination and control, this chapter demonstrates that government agencies, public participation and event tourism have been the key agents of change in influencing waterfront development in Auckland. Locally, the unique industrial and historical characteristics and government-led planning play a critical role for Auckland in seeking a new place identity. The chapter also details a less successful attempt at promoting industrial heritage tourism via waterfront revitalization at a later stage, largely because the planning outlined by public agencies was ignored by private entities and the general public was given no role in site development.

Urban Morphology and Tourism

Geographical and morphological ideas and techniques, which provided a basis for the Conzenian school of thought (Conzen, 1969), are concerned with articulating and characterizing the structure of assorted landscapes according to their underlying formative processes. The existing research on urban morphology focuses upon the city as a human habitat and has integrated a number of disciplines, such as geography, planning and architecture (Burgers, 2000; Vance, 1990). The study of the relationship between urban morphology and tourism originated in Britain as resort morphology (Gilbert, 1949) and has been commonly utilized to describe the form and function of towns since the advent of space commercialization. Morphology posits the evolutionary cycle of a town and tracks a dynamic complex of changes across various time periods. The growing literature on urban morphology pursues very different models, ranging from static (Crang, 2000) to historical (Moudon, 1997) to integrated (Conzen, 1969; Whitehand, 1992). These studies are actively utilized by urban planners to make decisions about how and where to engage in improvement projects, such as old districts, commercial streets and industrial zones.

Morphology both describes and prescribes the spatial structure and character of the built environment. This systematic mapping of the past and the surviving distribution of particular types of buildings and land use across large areas yields important insights into industrial history and provides

an essential context for understanding industrial development. Historic landscape characterization has been developed in several areas of planning and design practice, notably in heritage conservation; however, few tourism studies utilize morphology to gauge the social, cultural and environmental impacts on destinations (Xie & Gu, 2011; Xie *et al.*, 2013). Policies for urban regeneration are generally inspired by exploiting the cultural potentials of historic and industrial districts (Jansen-Verbeke & Lievois, 1999) with little emphasis on the scale of the tourist spatial structure. Although the resulting morphological and socioeconomic implications vary in different cities, they have gradually become instrumental in understanding tourism impacts at spatial levels. In particular, the relationship between morphological periodicities and the stratification of a waterfront development is important to the understanding and planning of urban areas. In this connection, a morphologically based inquiry into the modes of decision-making that underlie the spatial character and dynamics of a waterfront landscape offers a sound footing for tourism planning. The consequences of tourism and the evolutionary process of waterfront regeneration can be fully recognized and analyzed through urban morphology.

Under the current economy, tourism is the primary objective behind most urban waterfront development (Griffin & Hayllar, 2006). It is an integral part of 'the production of space', a procedural character of socio-spatial relations that life is in a state of perpetual change, transformation and reconfiguration (Lefebvre, 1991). Tourism engages some sort of 'creative destruction', 'destructive creation' or 'creative enhancement' (Mitchell, 2013: 375) of an already historically constituted place and serves as a catalyst of change for industrial sites across urban waterfronts, which in turn alters the spatial structuring of the surrounding landscape. In addition, waterfront redevelopment articulates with different processes of exclusion and polarization, and creates new social orders through prompting new temporal and spatial power relations, i.e. job creation and destruction, the dynamics of housing markets, financial mechanisms and public participation or the absence thereof (Moulaert *et al.*, 2005). Harris and Williams (2011) show that regeneration demonstrates the transformative power of capital increasingly focusing on attracting potential tourists. It tends to foreground the consumption of pleasure as a city's most important scheme for growing local economies. Massey (1993) refers to tourism as 'power geometry', which is the multiple relations of domination/subordination and participation/exclusion through which social space is reorganized. Tourism proves to be a powerful leitmotif for planners and politicians to shape landscapes in their desired image. Tourism-induced urban design pays attention to façadism and pastiche streetscape recreation, or an over-sanitization of both the history

and the life of an industrial town. As a result, Orbasli (2000) explicates that tourism is no longer an outcome of conservation, but conservation becomes a product of tourism.

Festivals, public celebrations and special events have become a common device in tourism to promote place identity and to revitalize industrial sites (Getz, 2008; Krausse, 1998). Event tourism is a great spatial attribute and serves to restructure urban spaces (Andersson & Getz, 2008; Dwyer *et al.*, 2005). Hosting events both produces and reflects the existence of not only a growing mobile and affluent population who seek new and fashionable encounters with cultural experiences, but also a strong and effective series of marketing channels (Lane *et al.*, 2013). Hallmark events, such as world's fairs and Olympics Games, integrate local economic development with urban gentrification (Getz, 2012; Goldblatt, 2005). Daly and Malone (1996), through the study of Darling Harbour in Sydney, Australia, found that waterfront projects are primarily driven by economic ambitions, spurred by a widespread assumption that urban renewal can be sustained by tourism rather than the financial or other sectors of the economy. Gotham (2005) conducted a study of New Orleans' waterfront in Louisiana, and discovered that special events, such as Mardi Gras, are one of the 'cultural strategies' to promote travel and to re-establish a city's image. Robinson *et al.* (2013) propose that events are especially important in the context of building a legacy, or longer-term impacts after the event. Cities can use event hosting as an opportunity to raise awareness, build community, improve local image and enhance economic activity. Waterfront development has long been used to refurbish former industrial areas and set space aside for commercial uses. Special events have transformed these landscapes within a space–time framework, and have eventually led to the creation of a gentrified waterfront.

With the demise of manufacturing and the impact of containerization in port areas, waterfront industries have used tourism as a means to legitimize or to authenticate major public projects (Xie, 2003). For example, the city of Rotterdam in the Netherlands has established a special foundation for industrial heritage tourism, mainly promoting visitors to the port, with the financial support of the Dutch government (Otgaar, 2012). These projects can be refashioned by the needs of tourism to symbolize reconstruction of the existing entity. Mathews (2010), through a study of the Distillery District in Toronto, Canada, proposes four stages of differentiation when industrial heritage is utilized for commercial intent: differentiation as negation, as coherence, as residue and as multiplicity. In the stage of negation, a themed space is constructed but filled with contradiction.

During the stage of coherence, industrial sites are identified with 'a mode of resemblance' (Mathews, 2010: 41). Regeneration refers to a strategy in which, as Jacques Derrida (1980: 279) observes, 'coherence in contradiction expresses the force of a desire': through rendering the contradictions of the site coherent, a unique sense of place is constructed, enabling the landscape to bear new meanings. In the stage of residue, Mathews argues that the development of industrial heritage lacks present engagement with the past. Residue is conceptualized as 'both a physical reminder (formulated through the visual apprehension of buildings, objects, and significations), and as a set of moments, ideas, images, ways of seeing which remain in place but lie outside of the present framing of the past' (Mathews, 2010: 42). Lastly, in the stage of multiplicity, plural interpretations of a postindustrial site are accepted and place identity is reconstructed through an assemblage of meanings in real and reel space.

Waterfront development is an accumulation process that is highly intertwined with the national state, the local state and the port authority as well as other urban interests (Desfor & Jorgensen, 2004). Smith (2009) comments that a mixture of residential, recreational and cultural developments results in a gentrified space that is largely occupied by urban professionals, suburban communities and tourists. Material symbolism has been constantly construed in various time periods to refashion a city's image. The initiation of waterfront development through the hosting of special or hallmark events is a typical public project supported by governments and businesses alike (Adamietz, 2012). Successful examples include Barcelona's waterfront redevelopment prior to its hosting of the Olympic Games in 1992 (Jones, 2007), the Brisbane South Bank renewal in conjunction with the world's fair in 1988 (Fagence, 1995), the waterfront renewal of Fremantle, Western Australia, in honor of the 1987 America's Cup defense (Hall & Selwood, 1995) and the creation of Sydney's Darling Harbour in celebration of Australia's bicentenary and the Olympic Games in 2000 (Daly & Malone, 1996). These hallmark events were closely associated with the improvement of a derelict waterfront, the establishment of recreation and tourism facilities including conference and exhibition centers, and the generation of income and employment (Craig-Smith, 1995).

In recent years, waterfront regeneration has gained support from both the general public and political officials. Gospodini (2001) proposes that morphology is particularly conducive to clarifying three aspects of tourism development, e.g. the preservation of aspects of a city's past, authenticity in terms of spatial morphology and richness in meaning. Sairinen and Kumpulainen (2006), through their study assessing the social impact of the waterfront in Helsinki, Finland, reveal that the community makes

use of waterfront areas as part of local identity and that gentrification stemming from tourism development promotes social status in the areas, such as changing the reputation of a city and generating pride and investment on the part of the communities. Furthermore, by providing access and commercial activities along the waterfront, regeneration is seen as a tool for improving the social sustainability of land-use plans. The significance of the shift in the use of waterfronts from industry to tourism is 'as profound as the initial eighteenth and nineteenth century of development of harbors and shores for industry, and their use in earlier times for shipping, storage and shipbuilding' (Sairinen & Kumpulainen, 2006: 121). Krolikowski and Brown (2008) suggest that the waterfront provides a linkage between a sense of place and pedestrian tourists and eventually a 'tourism precinct' is formed. These precincts perform a number of functions for tourists, most notably by providing an environment where they have more freedom to wander and explore (Griffin *et al*., 2008). The redevelopment of waterfronts that predominantly function as a tourism precinct eventually impacts spatiotemporal changes in urban cores. All these transformations can be described and characterized with morphology aided by the use of surveying, mapping and analytical techniques (Conzen, 1969).

Methodology

This study was based upon extensive reviews of urban planning documents in Auckland, New Zealand. It draws on qualitative and quantitative data that were collected as part of a longitudinal and ongoing study of the Auckland waterfront redevelopment. During the course of this study, the Royal Commission on Auckland Governance (2009: 11–12) recommended that any future development of the waterfront should be carried out by a waterfront agency with the capacity to design and implement a 'master plan' for the area, as opposed to the piecemeal approach that had been taken to date. In response to the report, the Auckland Waterfront Development Agency was established in 2010 following the creation of the new Auckland Council, which combines the operations of the previous Auckland Regional Council and the city and district councils. In the end, the Auckland Waterfront Development Agency adopted a strategic approach to the development of Auckland's entire waterfront (Auckland Waterfront Development Agency, 2010).

It is noted that before 2010, the main public agencies involved in waterfront issues had been the Auckland Regional Council and the

Auckland City Council. The former had a regulatory role with regard to the coastal marine area below the mean high-water mark through its regional coastal plan, while the latter agency was responsible for managing the natural and physical resources above this mark through its district plan. Those areas connecting water and land were the joint responsibility of both jurisdictions. The Auckland Regional Council included representation from the Auckland Regional Transport Authority and Auckland Regional Holdings (ARH), which were established in 2004. The ARH successfully completed its bid for 100% ownership of the Ports of Auckland Limited in 2005. Most of the land and properties in the port area were owned and managed by the ARH. However, one of ARH's main functions was to produce returns from its investments to fund regional transport and stormwater programs. As a result, the financial targets and objectives of the ARH contributed very little to the realization of the city council's sociocultural objectives of waterfront redevelopment.

Based upon the above changing political structure, this research was carried out in three stages. First, governmental documents outlining the waterfront development plan were compared to the actual historico-morphological shifts experienced by the waterfront in recent decades. These documents include the publication on behalf of the Auckland Council, Waterfront Auckland established in 2009 to oversee the revitalization of the waterfront adjacent to the city center, and the Auckland plan drafted by the council to direct long-term development strategies. Various governmental development agencies, such as the Auckland Regional Council and City Council were visited in order to obtain updated data on waterfront planning. Historical documents about Princes Wharf, Viaduct Harbour and the Wynyard Quarter were examined in order to understand the morphological patterns of Auckland's waterfront and the districts immediately abutting it. In addition, a recent proposal from Auckland City Council including a physical development plan and implementation guidelines for the Wynyard Quarter was studied to reflect the shifting policies toward tourism development.

In the second stage, changes in urban tourism planning on streets and districts were carefully recorded and plotted with the goal of assessing the variation of urban forms. Maps of changing morphology in these periods were drawn and compared. The revised maps were based on an actual survey by Vercoe and Harding in September 1866, a sketch plan of the city and suburbs of Auckland in 1895; Auckland and its environs in 1925; a street map of Auckland city and suburbs since 1950; a planning map by Auckland City Council; and Auckland city GIS data in 2008.

Lastly, the tourism business district (TBD) through special events offering a geographical concentration of facilities and attractions along the waterfront was identified. In particular, the changing morphology due to the hosting of hallmark events such as the America's Cup and the Rugby World Cup was recorded. Ashworth and Page (2011) suggest that it is difficult to identify the TBD, largely because the users of urban services and facilities are not just tourists, but also workers and residents who may utilize or share the same services and facilities. Therefore, the distribution of recreational facilities, such as the Viaduct Events Centre and Voyager New Zealand Maritime Museum, was mapped since the majority of these tourist attractions are adjacent to the waterfront.

Findings

The impacts of governance structures on morphological changes

The early growth of many towns and cities in New Zealand was fundamentally influenced by its maritime history and shipping industry. Auckland has been branded the 'City of Sails' and its harbor is one of its key geographic features. The Port of Auckland is an international trade port on the Waitemata Harbour, lying on the central and eastern Auckland waterfront (see Figure 5.1). Four distinguishing precincts are identified by Waterfront Auckland (2011): the port; the Central Wharfs including Princes Wharf and Queens Wharf; Wynyard Quarter and Viaduct Harbour; and Westhaven Marina. These areas, a total of 55 hectares of wharves and storage areas for containers, autos and other large cargos, have always been essential to the economic and sociocultural development of the country.

Due to changes in port operations, transport modes and the progressive expirations of industrial leases in the reclamation lands over the course of the 1980s, many deteriorating waterfront areas in Auckland began to seek alternative uses. Because waterfronts comprise transferable values, whether architectural, aesthetic or social, the local government advocated that the waterfront area should be preserved, or at least restored to its previous condition. Its development attracted wider public attention in 1989 when the city council's Harbour Edge project was announced. Substantial changes did not begin until 1993 when the 'Whitbread Round the World Race' led to the redevelopment of the inner wharf area by the Ports of Auckland Limited (Gu, 2014). The redevelopment projects along the waterfront that followed were related to increasing demand for business growth and urban living. Urban intensification and mixed-use redevelopment were viewed as a priority by the local government and communities alike.

Figure 5.1 Principal plan units of Waterfront Auckland, New Zealand
Note: (1) Port unit, (2) Quay Park unit, (3) Central Wharfs unit, (4) Britomart unit,
(5) Fort Street unit, (6) Central Area unit, (7) Viaduct Harbour unit, (8) Wynyard
Quarter unit, (9) Victoria Park unit

As shown in Figure 5.2, the Auckland waterfront was created by a series
of land reclamation schemes starting in 1866 when the basic morphological
structure was set. Its transformation can be divided generally into four phases.
The first extended around 1895, dominated by an augmentative process
of land reclamation to satisfy increasing demands for marine transport,
industries and services. Beginning already in the 1920s, the reclaimed land
began to be used to accommodate the early railway development of Auckland,
as the station was established to become a hub near the waterfront. The
second phase extended from the 1920s to the 1950s, when rapid economic
growth, especially during the interwar period, stimulated further waterfront
expansion. A wide range of wharves was identified and expanded to cope
with shipping and transportation. The third phase lasted from the 1950s
to the late 1970s, when containerization led to the expansion of existing
loading areas and the creation of larger industrial wharves (Auckland
Harbour Board, 1973; McClean, 1997). The fourth phase started in the late
1970s when the major land reclamations of Auckland's waterfront were
completed. On the southern side of the port is Quay Park, where much of
the land was formerly owned by the New Zealand Railway Corporation
and subsequently administered by the Department of Survey and Land
Information. It is entirely reclaimed land and was the site of Auckland's
former central rail station, shunting yards and associated warehouses filled
with industrial buildings. Since the 1980s, contemporary apartments, an
office park, Vector Arena and intensive housing communities have been
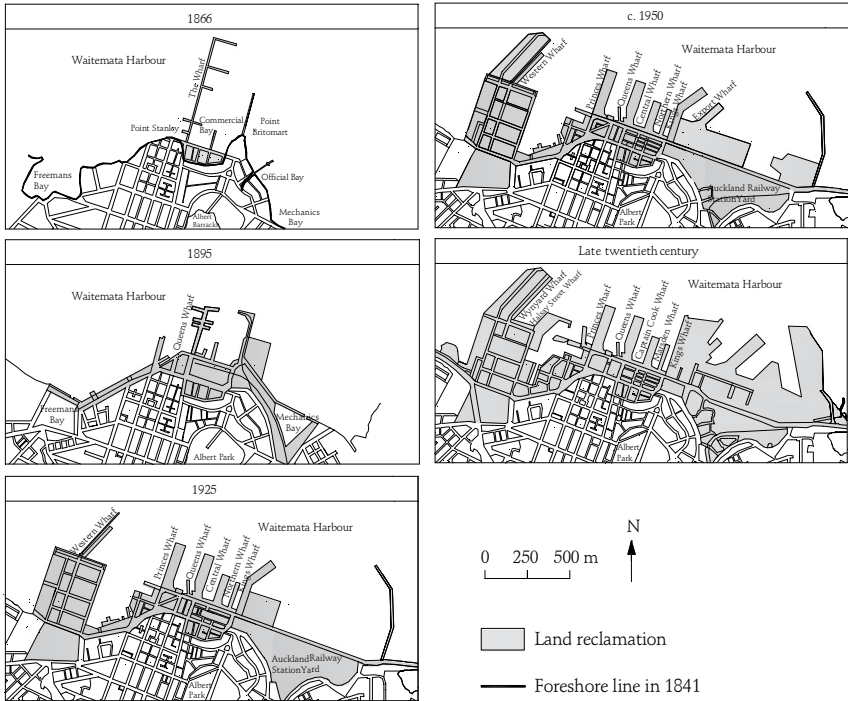
Figure 5.2 The morphology of Auckland's waterfront region
Source: Gu (2014)

built, mainly along the edge of Quay Park. Land-use changes to Viaduct Basin, Princes Wharf and Quay Park are characteristic of the alienations that have occurred independently. Since the 1990s, the waterfront has become a multipurpose harbor where tourism and leisure have been introduced. As of the early 2000s, the total land reclaimed in Auckland amounted to 328 hectares (Gu, 2014).

   A striking outcome of the dynamics of waterfront expansion is the formation of contrasting 'plan units' (Conzen, 1969), which are used as a tool to analyze the morphology of built forms. The waterfronts of Auckland consist of nine district plan units, each containing a distinctive set of landscape characteristics (Table 5.1). The plan unit represents an individualized combination of streets, plots and buildings distinct from its neighbors, unique in its site circumstances and endowed with a measure of morphological unity or homogeneity (Gu, 2010, 2014). These identified units were built to act as extensions of former industrial sites and continue to

Table 5.1 Characteristics of streets, plots and buildings of the plan units in Auckland's waterfront area

	Streets	Plots	Buildings
(1) Port unit	Occupation streets	Large singular plot	Mainly low-rise buildings serving cargo transport
(2) Quay Park unit	Irregular curving streets	Medium-sized irregular plots	Mixture of commercial and residential buildings, mainly in contemporary style
(3) Central Wharf unit	Occupation streets	Large plots	Mixture of contemporary and industrial buildings
(4) Britomart unit	Through streets in grid pattern	Mixture of small and medium-sized plots	Mixture of historical warehouses, public buildings and modern and contemporary commercial buildings
(5) Fort Street unit	Mainly through streets	Mixture of small through plots and irregularly shaped plots	Mixture of historical and contemporary commercial buildings
(6) Central Area unit	Through street	Mainly medium-sized plots	Mainly modern and contemporary high-rise commercial buildings
(7) Viaduct Harbour unit	Irregular through streets	Mixture of medium-sized through plots and irregularly shaped plots	Mainly mid-rise contemporary industrial and residential buildings
(8) Wynyard Quarter unit	Mainly through street in grid pattern	Mainly medium-sized through plots	Mainly low-rise marine service and industrial buildings
(9) Victoria Park unit	N/A	Large singular plot	N/A

Source: Gu (2014).

exert a significant influence on the morphological pattern of the waterfront. Following the Conzenian methods, Table 5.1 summarizes the characteristics of the streets, plots and buildings of the plan units in Auckland's waterfront areas. It is evident that the entire waterfront is bounded by a railway yard. These units including Britomart and Central Wharf are dedicated to transport and account for about 50% of the total waterfront area. The plan units directly bordering Auckland's central business districts (CBDs) have smaller plots and higher building density. The built environment of these units, especially the Fort Street unit and the Central Area unit, appear to be natural extensions of their CBD.

Each of the plan units provides a particular type of mixed-use space, running the gamut from historical warehouses to contemporary industrial buildings. Large-scale waterfront redevelopment is designed and built with the intention of generating tourism and leisure activity and eventually forms the TBD along the stretch of the waterfront. There used to be two complaints about the waterfront in Auckland: it offered no inspiring parks and no access worthy of the scenery. The ecological approach of the plan units has taken care of both problems in one stroke and has helped to accommodate a dense program of new neighborhoods, recreational facilities, restaurants, shopping and civic amenities while restoring partial industrial function and character. Murayama and Parker (2007) suggest that mixed land use creates an idealized 'amenity environment' in which local residents can play, work and live. The redevelopment brings vitality back to the city and the emergence of the TBD shows that recreational facilities in the waterfront are dominant elements. The relationship between redevelopment and the creation of the TBD should be characterized as market driven where the multifunctional land use responds to the needs of capital and seeks out tourists interested in maritime, historical and industrial heritage. The resultant environment presents the distribution of the range of tourist-oriented functions that occur in space.

Table 5.2 lists the key documents and proposals prepared by various Auckland agencies to direct the overall waterfront planning and design. These documents illustrate the liberation of market forces under neoliberalism, in conjunction with new urban governance structures, creating so-called 'third wave new-build gentrification' (Murphy, 2008: 2522) in New Zealand. The waterfront redevelopment in Auckland is a process of urban intensification and has been directly influenced by statutory planning, including the regional council and the city council. The early projects were propelled by individual development proposals and managed by separate project corporations (Auckland City Council, 1996, 2006). The consequences of this neoliberal policy shift are evident in the

Princes Wharf redevelopment project (Cayford, 2009) and the Viaduct Basin project (Eisenhut, 2008), in which developer-driven market processes have been dominant (Oram, 2007).

As shown in Table 5.2, Auckland did not have a comprehensive planning and design guide for the entire waterfront until 2005, by which time the major redevelopment projects in Princes Wharf and Viaduct Basin had already been completed. In the absence of an agreed long-term plan and a clear investment direction (Cormack, 2009), it was not surprising that new waterfront redevelopment projects tend to be inconsistent in the decision-making process. Although an integrated approach has been specified in the Waterfront Vision 2040 (Auckland Regional Council and Auckland City Council, 2005), an effective management and sustainable policy framework are still lacking. Specifically, the city council prepared the Auckland City Centre Waterfront Masterplan in 2009, but very limited research and implementation details have been included in the document. An effective system of waterfront planning and design, including a conceptual framework, development plans and detailed design, is unfortunately absent.

At the operational level, governance structures appear to be fundamental to formulating planning and design recommendations for the sensitive management of the waterfront landscape. However, the lack of a sound theoretical basis for interpreting and representing the landscape contributes to the disjunction between plan and reality. Doorne (1998), through studying the redevelopment of Wellington's waterfront in New Zealand, finds that the key players are the city council and property owners while consultations with other stakeholders have been inadequate. Larner and Craig (2005) posit that governmental policies put too much stress on strategic interventions in order to promote economy while continuing to give primacy to market forces since 2000. The governance structure demonstrates that New Zealand adopts policies that focus on the free flow of capital and labor. The shifting policies trickle down to Auckland City Territorial Authority, resulting in a laissez-faire attitude toward inner-city residential development as well as toward the waterfront commercial uses (Murphy, 2008).

In addition, redevelopment projects have not sufficiently protected heritage landscapes and public amenities. According to the Royal Commission on Auckland Governance (2009: 196), a government agency responsible for making suggestions regarding future urban development, the waterfront landscape in Auckland is fragmented and lacks historical integration, largely due to the poor quality of much of the built environment, which has significantly reduced the amenity value of the waterfront. The redevelopment projects are frequently enclosed and segregated from the neighboring urban

fabric as the new plans give little consideration to maintaining the original industrial structure. In other words, new buildings on the waterfront have become ahistorical and have succumbed to high-density commercial and residential developments. The planning thus engenders a disconnection from industrial heritage along the waterfront.

The impact of event tourism on morphological changes

Auckland has made a particular effort to establish itself as a cultural and economic center. Strategies to rebrand and promote Auckland typically include recasting the waterfront as an 'arts, culture and entertainment' district, as part of a larger plan to grow the city's tourism, fashion and creative industries. The objective of the redevelopment, as stated by Auckland Waterfront (2011: 5), is to create 'a destination that is recognized for outstanding design and architecture, public spaces, facilities and events; a place where we can express our cultural heritage and history, and celebrate our great achievements as a city and nation'. The underlying assumption is that through the reconstruction of the waterfront spaces, Auckland is able to attract more capital and people.

Event tourism thus plays a key role in generating interest in this developmental process: most notably, Auckland's selection as the 2000 and 2003 host of the America's Cup, an international event that awards its champion the world's oldest sporting trophy. The hosting of the Rugby World Cup in 2011 has also influenced the tourism economy, and more recently, the Skycity Badminton Open in 2014 and FIFA under-20s in 2015 have brought additional public and media attention. One of the most tangible outcomes is that the success has boosted the country's confidence in its ability to host large-scale international events and to speed up waterfront regeneration.

The regeneration efforts that accompanied event tourism in Auckland attempted to enhance the natural character of the waterfront area in order to boost tourism and the local economy. The America's Cup match was a major tourist draw and a substantial contributor to the image of the city. The first area to benefit from the Auckland waterfront redevelopment was Viaduct Basin, which prior to the late 1990s, was primarily used for timber milling, boat building, cargo handling at the port and fish processing. Major redevelopment took place after the first running of the America's Cup yacht races in 1998. The previously underutilized Viaduct Harbour was refurbished solely for the Cup, not only to build the yachts and equipment, but also for visiting vessels and spectators. A large proportion of land was then transformed into apartments and commercial areas. In

the same area, Princes Wharf was built in 1923 to accommodate wool bale stores. The resulting concrete structure was adapted in 1960 as a passenger ship terminal and parking garage. From 1999 to 2001, the redevelopment project created a high-density, multi-use complex that included restaurants, retail shops, apartments, a car park and a hotel.

Privatization of the waterfront areas has obviously dominated in Auckland. However, public demand for heritage preservation and the creation of a desirable leisure environment occurred in the preparation for the hosting of the America's Cup and the subsequent arrival of tourists. The southern side of the Port unit is viewed as an ideal 'portscape' and the Cup acted as an added catalyst for public and private investment. The establishment of the maritime museum, renamed Voyager New Zealand Maritime Museum, was originally advocated by the public to commemorate Auckland's seafaring history, and it attracted about 100,000 visitors in 2011 (New Zealand Maritime Museum, 2012). The new Viaduct Events Centre was established and heritage trams were reintroduced for the Rugby World Cup hosted in 2011. Auckland's successful bid to host the America's Cup led to the promotion of the waterfront as a tourist destination where visitors could experience the competition, which in turn led to economic prosperity and regeneration.

Event tourism requires substantial investment from local government and businesses. According to the New Zealand Herald (2011), a report by PricewaterhouseCoopers suggests that the redevelopment of Auckland's waterfront will generate NZ\$4.29 billion in jobs and investment by 2040. More than 40,000 jobs will be attributable to the waterfront within the next 30 years, 17,000 of which would not exist without redevelopment work. The data delineate the waterfront as vital to Auckland's economic future and as potentially the most important urban redevelopment project in New Zealand. In particular, the local government forecasts that the regeneration will revitalize the tourism and events industries, attract highly skilled workers and new businesses to the waterfront, strengthen the fishing and maritime industries and draw visitors from all over the world. Additionally, an increase in international tourists and cruise ships using Auckland as a port of call or a turnaround destination is directly attributable to an increased perception of the waterfront as an attractive location to visit. The city is developing a cultural heritage and environment showcase on the success of the waterfront.

The hosting of the America's Cup in 2000 and 2003 provided ample opportunities for government to upgrade the neglected Viaduct Harbour. The Auckland City and Regional Councils supported the 2000 and 2003 America's Cup defences as a means of inserting the city into a global circuit

Plate 5.1 The Wynyard Quarter: A monument to Auckland's industrial past

of tourism (Murphy, 2008). The large-scale waterfront redevelopment cost NZ$60 million over the three years preceding the 2000 America's Cup, but the 2000 America's Cup Regatta generated NZ$473 million net additional expenditure for the Auckland economy and over NZ$600 million for the New Zealand economy (Page, 2002). Based on survey research among the main spending sectors, Market Economics Ltd. (2003) reports that the hosting of the America's Cup in 2003 generated NZ$523 million in net additional spending for the economy which would not have occurred otherwise. The expenditure generated NZ$529 million in added value to the national economy with Auckland receiving NZ$450 million. Cup-related expenditure also had a substantial positive effect on employment, sustaining the equivalent of 9360 full-time years of employment at the national level and 8180 full-time years in the Auckland economy. Another international event in 2003, New Zealand Fashion Week, staged at Viaduct Harbour, garnered NZ$23 million for the country and NZ$19 million for Auckland (Lewis *et al*., 2008). As visitor attractions, these events were held on the waterfront and were an undoubted success, drawing on a large number of tourists.

Following the success of these hallmark events, waterfront redevelopment has expanded to the adjacent Wynyard Quarter, also known as the Tank Farm located on the western end of Auckland's commercial waterfront area (see Plate 5.1). The Wynyard Quarter was previously zoned predominantly for port and marine-related industrial activities. It includes an area of 35 hectares that was formerly reclaimed between 1905 and 1930 (Auckland Harbour Board, 1973). It is a monument to Auckland's industrial past and remains a prominent harbor landmark. The aim of the redevelopment project is to 'optimise revenues' while delivering a 'world class waterfront development' (Cayford, 2008). It has gone through a variety of stages and is expected to continue for 20 more years (Auckland Regional Council and Auckland City Council, 2005). The primary goal of redeveloping the Wynyard Quarter is to reflect Auckland's gritty maritime heritage in a new, revitalized public environment. The vision for the area is a mixture of residential, retail, commercial and tourism facilities that will enable the growth of a diverse, vibrant and sustainable residential and business community.

Features for the development of the Wynyard Quarter tend to focus on infrastructure and connectivity. The Auckland Regional Council (2005) announced the construction of a headland park connecting the Quarter and the Wharf, providing space for events and more access to the water's edge. Promenades were established reaching from Viaduct Harbour to the Wynyard Quarter while pontoons were built in the Viaduct to enhance tourists' harbor experience closer to the water. Waterfront Auckland views the redevelopment as 'a connected waterfront' aimed at facilitating tourists' movement and enjoyment of the changes in the waterfront at various angles. The issue of accessibility is highly important for the attractiveness of the waterfront, which includes the availability of other primary and secondary tourism products nearby (Otgaar *et al.*, 2010). The Wynyard revitalization works as a catalyst of change and a tool for raising awareness about Auckland as a positive tourist destination.

The vision for the waterfront set out by Auckland City Council (2006: 12) was of a destination that 'excites the senses and celebrates our sea-loving Pacific culture and our maritime history, commercially successful and innovative, a place for all people, rich in character and activity that truly links people, city and the sea'. Hallmark events were intertwined with the waterfront redevelopment by creating a so-called 'Cup Village' filled with restaurants, cafes, bars, hotels and recreational facilities. Tourism has been promoted by the New Zealand Sail, which specializes in tour operations and departs from jetties in the Viaduct (Oram, 2007). Public spaces become a venue for city festivals, which

draw tourists to visit the waterfront. Morphological changes for event tourism were apparent from the 1990s to the 2000s: hallmark events drove the creation of more tourism-friendly public spaces and expanded the waterfront to the industrial end. These spaces created through tourism enabled the proliferation of festivals and provided access for the public to attend. For example, redevelopment created a promenade reaching from the western end of the waterfront at Harbour Bridge Park to Teal Park at the eastern end. This promenade provides a convenient connection for the whole of the waterfront, linking areas that were once unreachable and disconnected from each other. Furthermore, a new bridge connecting the Wynyard Quarter with Viaduct Harbour was completed in 2011. A new bus route has been introduced linking the adjacent suburbs with the city center and the waterfront (Adamietz, 2012).

The Wynyard Quarter connects Viaduct Harbour with the existing large Westhaven Marina and the Auckland Fish Market. Tourists and residents alike can enjoy a coherent waterfront redevelopment with commercial functions, e.g. a working harbor, a ferry port, tour operators, hospitality businesses and recreational facilities such as parks, seating, bars and restaurants. The central part of the Wynyard Quarter has combined commercial office space and residential living earmarked for mixed-use apartments and townhouses. Urban design proposals and planning documents for the future development of the Wynyard Quarter reveal that some relatively unconstrained open spaces are to be provided. This is much needed in Auckland's waterfront, though its size could be more generous. Future development will, to a large extent, continue previous patterns of urban intensification (Auckland City Council, 2006). Accessibility and connectivity have become the themes in the current stage of the waterfront renewal.

Research Implications

Malone (1996) suggests that the waterfront is a 'frontier', and that regeneration constitutes frontier development's contemporary counterpart. Both processes share a common basis in economic deregulation practices, ambitions for flagship projects and the desire to compete successfully in the global economy. Waterfront development has been a key strategy in political agendas given its ability to generate economic value, to revitalize localities and the social value placed on being able to access coastal environments in urban centers. However, waterfront regeneration is both politically and economically motivated. It illustrates the changing role of government in the context of economic restructuring and the embracing

of tourism as a significant element in the local economy. The use of event tourism as an impetus for waterfront regeneration fills a gap between business and society as it tends to establish a strong relationship between industries and the communities in which they are located.

From a regional planning perspective, questions remain when the waterfront is redeveloped for a new economic purpose: how can industrial landscapes and underused waterfronts transform to serve a postindustrial economy and culture? How do cities achieve a suitable balance between preserving their waterfront for traditional uses and developing alternatives? Who should decide on the transformation process of industrial heritage for tourist consumption? Frenchman (2001) observes that heritage-based narratives transmit a multiplicity of stories about people and events in contemporary cities. Consequently, these narratives morph into a type of 'experience economy' where redevelopment focuses on the management of information by presenting a unique spatial form and experience related to culture and heritage. Heritage development thus turns into a sector of the 'information economy', in which 'the growth of heritage is not being pushed by a yearning for the past, but pulled by forces that are creating the future' (Frenchman, 2001: 282).

Despite the success achieved by revitalization projects in other port cities, waterfront redevelopment in Auckland has not lived up to its developmental, aesthetic and promotional goals. As demonstrated by the city's shifting morphological patterns, this is because Auckland's waterfront renewal tends to exclude existing users and creates environments which have limited consideration for the city's culture or industrial heritage (Chang & Huang, 2011). Recent construction in the Wynyard Quarter is likely to switch the site from a space of industrial production to a high-end consumption enclave. While the vision for the Wynyard Quarter articulated by development agencies is oriented around the themes of community inclusion and adaptive reuse in an attempt to make a distinction, each of these aspects is complicated by commercial intent. Aiesha and Evans (2007) comment that an imbalance in or neglect of an area's livability risks the commodification all too familiar in tourism and other monocultural usage of urban sites. To some extent, waterfront development forms an impediment to the dissemination of local and regional industrial histories and the potential for creative exchange. New development has largely created isolated 'landscapes of consumption' awash with gentrified cultural and recreational activities (Cooper, 1993). The manifestation of industrial heritage appears to be superficial except for the 'graffiti-covered' tanks at Silo Park in the Wynyard Quarter.

The area, once a cement depot for the bulk liquid industry, has been redesigned for outdoor recreation, festivals and al fresco dining. However, looking beyond the façade reveals that the area's industrial heritage has been watered down, resulting in an event space with little connection to history.

The top-down governance of space in waterfront redevelopment leads to a passive as opposed to an active mode of public participation. The policymaking process is heavily influenced by Waterfront Auckland and the government agencies specializing in urban planning. The advent of waterfront redevelopment envisaged a meaningful engagement with a space that carries a rich set of industrial histories, a strong visual aesthetic, the presence of a convention and visitors bureau (CVB) and the incorporation of cultural and leisure production and consumption. While redevelopment has achieved significant improvement from Princes Wharf to the Viaduct, the refurbishment of the Wynyard Quarter has resulted in an aestheticization of space as the destination is sanitized and purified under the power of real estate developers and government agencies. Although event tourism has inspired the creation of a more accessible and connected waterfront for tourists, changes made to the Wynyard Quarter for event tourism could be further improved. Jauhiainen (1995) observes that a market and property-led approach to waterfront development tends to be problematic when the public is expected to subsidize infrastructure improvements but is not given adequate opportunities to participate in the redevelopment process. Consequently, the waterfront has increasingly been stripped of its sense of place and its roots in industrial heritage and is in danger of entering a state of 'placelessness'.

The waterfront was viewed as a public asset prior to large-scale redevelopment by the local government. The privatization and the subsequent developer-driven development took place with the changing policies toward urban decay. Council planning is routinely the subject of intense debate and no little politicking. Under tourism initiatives, the city of Auckland seeks funding to help renovate and expand the industrial waterfront. For example, ArtBoxNZ is an initiative proposed by the Ports of Auckland and Maersk Line to raise awareness of the shipping industry through organizing an art exhibition. A 40-foot refrigerated container was painted by Askew One and Trust Me during the Ports of Auckland's Open Weekend Festival in 2014. Nonetheless, it is apparent that in the decision-making process, the influences of 'hidden' agendas and individual leadership within organizational structures are considerable. One such example is the emerging conflict over the brightly colored tanks situated

in the Wynyard Quarter that have been decorated by local graffiti artists. Waterfront Auckland and Auckland Council have recommended moving the graffiti artwork further north, claiming the artistic display is 'out of context' (Orsman, 2012). The conflicting views show the inherent struggles between arts, industrial heritage and waterfront planning, and who should play a more important role in the decision-making process. This is crucial in comparison with the early stages of redevelopment when regeneration and renewal ran parallel to each other. Waterfront renewal entails sweeping away what was already there, motivated by hygiene, while regeneration, in contrast, performs a deep cleaning, but wants the past to remain visible (Harris & Williams, 2011). To achieve an objective and accountable policy process, transparency, dialogue and debate between governments and the general public are fundamental.

Waterfront investment is typically organized as a public–private partnership comprising both endeavors aided by heavy public subsidization, such as tax breaks. Mathews (2010) suggests that private ownership of a heritage site produces a tension between economic viability and preservation. It minimizes residents' access and power to shape the planning process, and investors' level of accountability to the general public. Although a mixture of public and private endeavors is most conducive to tourism development, Auckland has shifted from one extreme approach to the other with limited success in combining the approaches. Furthermore, the lack of a theoretical basis for waterfront design and an effective implementation strategy between public and private sectors has directly contributed to the discrepancy between image and reality. This is particularly evident in Auckland's waterfront redevelopment, in which a process of privatization has dominated the changing landscape in recent years. To counteract such a discrepancy, two tools are essential: an appreciation for the importance of maintaining the integrity of industrial and maritime heritage, and a holistic approach to development that encompasses the entire waterfront as opposed to isolated parcels of land. Jones (2007) advocates a blend of the more commercially oriented American approach and the more community-oriented approach of Europe in order to better integrate waterfront revitalization into existing development. Galland and Hansen (2012), through tracing the waterfront redevelopment process in Denmark, propose a hybrid planning approach that goes beyond traditional plan-led and market-driven planning styles. The hybrid approach stresses a more comprehensive waterfront redevelopment and management framework based on a systematic investigation of waterfront landscape characteristics and an objective impact assessment is fundamental to the future success of the waterfront.

Summary

The waterfront redevelopment projects are derived from the replacement of traditionally industrial areas with recreated, revitalized and reinvented landscapes of consumption for tourism and leisure (Harvey, 1989). This chapter directs morphological analysis toward understanding the physical and tourism impacts on the revitalization of the waterfront in Auckland. It is suggested that event tourism and governance structure are behind the morphological changes of the waterfront at different phases.

The emergence of tourism-related land uses on waterfronts has brought not only a range of physical, economic and social benefits (McCarthy, 1998, 2004), but also disadvantages that alienate local residents and increase the operating costs. Auckland's waterfront has been influenced by the uncoordinated objectives of the agencies involved in the preparation and implementation of the waterfront planning and design, prior to the creation of the new Auckland Council in 2010. The process has inevitably diluted the significance of industrial heritage and histories, and created a new meaning: redevelopment becomes a commodity traded by governments and estate developers. Ironically, the commercial need to exploit industrial sites has consequently led to the advent of the heritage industry (Hewison, 1987). It is hopeful that future development of the Wynyard Quarter will live up to its potential to exemplify industrial and historical values in the planning process. The importance of achieving the correct balance between public and private investment is recommended to successfully revising Auckland's waterfront.

Despite the rising prominence of waterfront redevelopment, history shows that waterfronts are typically built or renovated to suit a combination of political, economic and sociocultural purposes. Only a small number of waterfront development projects are solely leisure focused; a mixed-use approach to renewal is more common. In many cases, a mixed-use approach involves selective reinterpretation of industrial heritage in order to legitimize a governmental viewpoint on those aspects of the past that are important to remember or to market. Waterfront redevelopment is initially viewed as a nostalgic search for industrial roots and authenticity, while festivals and special events have been primarily organized for image-making purposes to obtain local political advantage. Using redevelopment opportunities to promote economic growth remains one of the dominating strategies in tourism planning and marketing.

This chapter demonstrates that establishing a systematic understanding of morphological change creates a sound base for landscape management and tourism planning. Auckland's waterfront started life as a colossal

scheme with a vast industrial property development, mainly underwritten by taxpayers, attached to the hosting of hallmark events. Its development has spread from preliminary work on Princes Wharf to the Viaduct and most recently to the Wynyard Quarter. Hallmark events, such as the America's Cup and the Rugby World Cup, provide an impetus for renovating and upgrading the waterfront, an outcome considered beneficial by many locals. The renovated waterfront now boasts not only retails, offices and apartments, but also restaurants and pubs that vie with those in Auckland's TBD. Hall and Selwood (1995: 113) point out that waterfront regeneration represents much of the excesses of postmodernism, in which tourism is transformed from 'totems of place and communal identity to monuments of symbolic capital', and the city is 'imaged through the organization of urban space, as in the redevelopment of redundant dockland areas and through the staging of hallmark events and spectacles'.

The coastal zone has become one of the most contested planning spaces in New Zealand (Hall, 2009). Urban waterfront regeneration in Auckland is a centerpiece of the urban spectacle and has been accelerated by the hosting of special events. This study helps to overcome the problem of idiographic studies and makes it possible to identify waterfront landscapes common to different geographical regions; it also distinguishes distinctive industrial characteristics along the waterfront and regenerations at various periods of times that are important for cities seeking to develop a stronger place identity and image. Future studies of waterfront redevelopment should be contextualized within particular environments and from varying angles, acknowledging that there is no single objective model for the analysis of politics, policies and power (Doorne, 1998). Barker et al. (2001), through evaluating the impact of the America's Cup in 2000, conclude that the nature and extent of impacts can vary significantly between events and destinations. However, the economic agendas on which tourism is based need to be carefully viewed in the context of the total impact generated. The waterfront should be developed organically over a longer period of time, by including public participation in the decision-making process and seeking authentic heritage roots.

6 *La Fabrique des Lieux:* The LX Factory and the Westergasfabriek

Introduction

As industrial heritage is regarded by the public as a steadily diminishing resource, the milieu of industrial complexes and their potential reuse for leisure, tourism and entertainment have gained prominence worldwide, particularly in Europe, where a 'culture of pleasure' (Zarrilli & Brito, 2013: 205) is appreciated and supported by all walks of life. The transformation of urban space into heritage sites links to a sense of nostalgia and collective memory for the industrial past. The potential exists for the economic revitalization of a variety of sites, ranging from plants, power stations, chemical works, gasworks, iron and steel plants and car factories to brickworks. Coupled with the rise of a 'contemporary regime of historicity' (Koselleck, 1990), a new sense of consciousness about heritage and the latest temporality of existence surrounding the question of when sites used for tourist consumption are leading to intellectual debates on the process of heritagization. Regeneration initiatives arguably need to conserve as much heritage as possible, but also pose a challenge to reuse these industrial buildings whereas tensions between the mixed-use development and the creation of themed space remain high (Smith, 2007). Furthermore, planning for the regeneration of industrial destinations is a complex process, particularly when the mission includes sustainable development for local communities (Hartog, 2005).

Europe, a continent once severely affected by deindustrialization and globalization, presents some of the most successful examples of mobilizing industrial heritage for socioeconomic improvement. One of the well-known cases is *Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei* (Leipzig Cotton Mill). Once the largest cotton mill in continental Europe and representative of East Germany's industrial power, the Leipzig Cotton Mill was converted into a communal arts center and galleries following the reunification of Germany.

The ensuing transformation of the *Spinnerei* is encapsulated by its new slogan: 'From Cotton to Culture'. Similarly, Löwenbräu brewery, close to the city center of Zürich, Switzerland, has skillfully been repurposed for a complex of museums, offices and apartments nestling among the old red-brick warehouses. Despite the loss of grit and grain, industrial sites attract artists in the first place, as regeneration writ large; they draw investment for significant refurbishment. The common sense in Europe is that when culture populates the relics of industry, the effect is often of a kind of regeneration. As part of postindustrial processes and the abandonment of industry, tourism has been found to be one of the most important sources of urban regeneration (Harvey, 1989).

As the birthplace of industrial heritage, Europe displays vastly different views of its heritage from other continents. It constantly reverses, whether practically or discursively, the functionality of urban space. An interesting study of this attitude comes from a BBC news report (Schofield, 2013) regarding the quays along the River Seine in Paris, France. The quays were once used by boats unloading deliveries; however, decades ago, they began to be taken over by motorcars. Now the process has been put into reverse, with a mile-and-a-half of quayside reclaimed in 2013 for pedestrians. These are *les nouvelles berges* – the new quays – the latest in the city's perennial efforts to improve public space and renovate former industrial sites. According to a press release from Paris City Hall, the aim is to 'take back possession of the river – to rebuild a connection which had begun to disappear'. The convergence of industrial preservation and economic concerns comes at a critical time for local officials struggling to craft community revitalization strategies targeting old industrial areas. The resulting strategy turns the original functions of the quays into a concept of creative industry for tourism and business.

Since the European Cultural Convention in 1954, heritage has been broadly viewed as an irreplaceable expression of the wealth and diversity of common culture. The consensus is that countries and institutions need to take appropriate measures to safeguard industrial heritage as part of the cultural landscape. Loures (2008) argues that in Europe, the whole city is 'heritage' by default, whether a specific site is large, small, historic, industrial, old or new. 'Recent' heritage sites may no longer be considered, *a priori*, of lesser value than older ones. There is a shift toward the need to list several contemporary industrial sites for conservation due to their architectural significance. Dutch architect Rem Koolhaas comments that the necessary time for a building to achieve 'an official heritage status has shortened, from centuries to now just a few years' (Krejcisz, 2012: 10). It is highly likely that in the future, buildings could be conserved before they are even

built. Industrial heritage becomes 'contemporary archaeology' that does not even need to be of the past (Preucel & Mrozowski, 2010). By contrast, a site's perceived authenticity, bohemian atmosphere and cool image turn out to be important attributes for commercial development (Pappalepore *et al.*, 2014). Such perceptual changes further suggest that conservation is heading in a selective direction: what people wish to preserve and therefore what they value is increasingly a stylistic choice, rather than a historical consideration (Zhou, 2013).

The restructuring of the global economy, the automation of production processes and the relocation of industries create severe socioeconomic and ecological repercussions in Europe. There is a deep uneasiness toward globalization, and a concern that industrial aspects of society are quickly vanishing before any attempt at conservation or documentation can be made (Fritz *et al.*, 2002). The growing 'present-centeredness of heritage' (Lowenthal, 1999: 3) derives from the perception that the assets from the industrial era should be preserved and adaptively reused. The modern preservation movement, for example, prompts museums to invest a great deal of effort in documenting what it perceives to be a disappearing industrial society. Such a movement has met with little public opposition because it is *de rigueur*, as most people want to retain 'nice old buildings' (Krejcisz, 2012). In addition, developers, tenants, cities and local media engage in an active attempt to construct 'place differentiation' (Mathews, 2010) through the development of tourism. As a result, tourist cities have emerged where 'the typical skyline of an industrial city is not antithetical to the development of tourism' (Gelbman, 2007: 160). Industrial heritage and tourism form a symbiotic relationship in this modern society.

Even though Europe as a whole supports the proactive development of industrial heritage, approaches are often contested, unstable and fluid because the process of repurposing heritage sites is often politically motivated and manipulated in different spans of time. Converting industrial heritage into a source of tourist consumption is invariably problematic, facing the issues of dissonance and the authenticity of the attraction. In particular, the sources of funding to develop tourism tend to vary due to political systems, as the role of tourism in regenerating and revitalizing historical places has an impact on traditional functions. Rautenberg (2012), for example, compares the regeneration of cities and public policies between the UK and France. The findings show complex situations and approaches when industrial heritage is adopted for tourism businesses. The first major distinction between the two countries is that the UK is interested in commercial activities while France emphasizes grand projects or flagships. Local authorities play an important role in the

UK as many historic industrial sites have been saved by charitable trusts and tax subsidies, e.g. the creation of the Heritage Lottery Fund in 1994, which provides grants to support tourism development in the UK. Second, the majority of the UK population views industrial heritage projects as a 'mystification' of labor and of the workers' culture. Governments in France, meanwhile, exert a huge influence on the repair of industrial monuments, but large-scale industrial tourism development remains to be tackled. Lastly, local residents in France believe that industrial heritage tourism is imposed from 'the outside' which results in local agents not fully accepting or identifying themselves with these projects, while politics in the UK are impacted by struggles and tensions between local populations and grass-roots movements. Such differing views of and approaches to industrial heritage tourism demonstrate that a comparative study is needed to understand how industrial heritage is adapted and implemented, and what kind of expectations exist for developing tourism in an industrial area.

This chapter proposes a life-cycle model of industrial heritage development, consisting of territorialization, deterritorialization and reterritorialization (see Figure 6.1) to illustrate the complex interplay of identity, landscape and socio-spatial change. It analyzes and compares the competitive dynamics of two industrial heritage attractions in Europe: the LX Factory in Lisbon, Portugal and the Westergasfabriek in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. Both destinations were *la fabrique des lieux* (Lucchini, 2012), factory sites, which experienced gentrification from factory production to leisure and tourism. In both sites, the establishment of industrial heritage tourism, as an instrument for urban regeneration, comprised of actualizing and reinterpreting elements from the factory past, combining conservation and innovation, reproduction and creation and consequently generating a new social meaning with a different territorial identity. Tourism is largely driven by nostalgia and reflects a new reading of urban space as a place and object of consumption, recreation and leisure (Jones & Munday, 2001). On the contrary, this focus on aesthetics and marketability tends to dilute the original functionality of the industrial sites. Several questions are raised regarding the new temporality of heritage and the growing sense of urban space as primarily about aesthetics and consumption, specifically, should a factory be preserved after the end of its productive functions? Where do we see those new conceptions of time and space, and when and how industrial heritage tourism is developed? Or is there a conjunction between an external construction process of a tourism type and an internal construction process of a heritage type?

These questions incorporate the notion of a life-cycle model proposed in this chapter. It is suggested that industrial heritage is subject to

changes and potential regeneration which comprise, at least, three stages: territorialization, deterritorialization and reterritorialization. In the stage of territorialization, industrial sites are identified as an important heritage resource and preserved as manifestations of local and regional history. It is a process of building a new industrial landscape for commercial use. Deterritorialization denotes the stage in which forces of tourism inject new meanings and values into current industrial sites, and eventually heritage and tourism become inseparable. During this phase of tourism development, industrial heritage undergoes a process of patrimonialization, in which the original function of the industrial building is discontinued but space is used for a new business purpose. The final stage, reterritorialization, indicates an emerging phenomenon of repurposing the industrial landscape for the use of creative industries. Creativity places an industrial location in a better position to generate innovative products for consumers (Richards & Wilson, 2006, 2007). Consequently, creative economies play a crucial role in revitalizing the local community.

The aim of this chapter is threefold. First, it draws on postmodernist and poststructuralist theories to delineate the three stages of the proposed life-cycle model. The triad entails an epistemological transformation in searching content and forms of industrial heritage. Secondly, it applies each stage of this model to both the LX Factory and the Westergasfabriek, comparing two former factory sites in order to construct a progressive relationship with respect to tourism development and the creative industry. Thirdly, the chapter strives to be a basis for a form of management tool, helping monitor changes in the context of European industrial heritage tourism. In the following, the concepts of each cycle of industrial heritage are detailed. The research settings of the LX Factory and the Westergasfabriek are introduced. The methodology and findings are reported and the chapter concludes with a summary.

Figure 6.1 The life cycle model of industrial heritage

The Life-Cycle Model of Industrial Heritage

Territorialization: Territorial identity construction

A territory is a rarely fixed but continuously changing configuration of various interrelated assemblages, connecting between history, power and resistance (Harvey, 2014). Territorialization refers to the process of making a territory out of a place and converting it to productive use. Lefebvre (1991: 38) proposes that territorialization can be understood in terms of the way in which it is perceived, conceived and lived in a multi-context environment. In other words, a territory is a space produced through a series of social activities that can be measured, quantified, observed and described (O'Dell, 2005). Additionally, a territory can be planned, manipulated and designed to influence the community in different ways. A territorial identity is socially defined and imbued with new meaning during the process of social transformation.

The salient feature of postmodernism is that a territorial identity is assumed to be equivocal and subjective: heritage is not a concrete entity acted upon by forces from outside, but rather as sets of symbols or as webs of significance and meaning (Xie, 2011). These variable, relative and conditional symbols constitute the territorial identity. In his seminal work, *The Location of Culture*, Bhabha (2004) argues that a territorial identity is hybridized, ambiguous and interstitial. Many destinations, peoples and experiences are located in what Bhabha calls the 'third space', which is an existence that is under-recognized, displaced and in-between forms of assumed differences. Typically, a postindustrial site falls into the category of a 'third space', a product of vibrant processes that can reproduce and transform the original functionality and space. The transformative potential of a postindustrial site appears to be huge; however, the complexity and ambiguity of such a space remain challenging. In particular, the socioeconomic values of industrial heritage are ever changing and imaginative in all stages of development, e.g. creation, renewal and gentrification rather than a static entity that does not interact with the surrounding environment.

Industrial spaces are usually set in planned environments, which are separate from residential zones. Lucchini (2012) proposes that industrial zones have created 'cultural wastelands' ready for a new morphological form. By borrowing the concept of heterotopia (Foucault, 1990), he argues that territorialized industrial lands have become contemporary heterotopias, where places and spaces merge into Otherness, or of other spaces. These places are based on subjective readings and are open to

multiple interpretations. In that case, a territorial identity is irrelevant to the original meaning of the industrial site, instead, a *genius loci* becomes the key where a spirit of place is crucial. The argument is not for the preexistence of a site's 'spirit'; rather, the spirit of a place, insofar as one can be said to exist, is continually created by social, political and other relationships that people have with, and within, the site. Every 'cultural wasteland' can be filled with a new meaning and territorialization is a social process whose final outcome is the presentation and interpretation of industrial heritage identity in the contemporary society. In other words, territorialization transforms the concept of patrimony to the necessity of reclaiming industrial landscapes.

At a deep level, territorialization focuses upon the historicity of social space, the polymorphism of geographies, the restricting of scale and the remaking of state space (Brenner & Theodore, 2002). Loures (2008: 688) opines that 'state rescaling' enables the recognition of an entire industrial landscape as a single element, beyond a group of buildings within an industrial site. The notion of industrial landscape serves to describe and classify the remnant materials of the industrial culture in order to attribute them to a new implication. The purpose of territorialization is to highlight diversity rather than universality by emphasizing in the conceptualization of industrial history, cultural inheritance and idealized conceptions of the world (Jacques, 1995). This diversity enhances the possibilities of a creative practice in the preservation, design and planning of an industrial landscape. Cultural wastelands, in fact, are an amalgamation of the real and the imagined that engenders a special meaning, which includes the creation of public spaces for arts and heritage marked by a former industrial site. Although former industrial milieus have been altered, the cohesive strategy of conserving what has come to be regarded as industrial heritage has developed.

Zwart (2007: 15), through his case study of industrial heritage in Bratislava, Slovakia, suggests that territorialization makes a significant contribution to the local scene by altering the original industrial cityscape. He argues that the process of territorialization needs to be evaluated via the following three factors: (1) architectural layering, denoted by a balance between new and old buildings. The overall value of the site is higher when the new and old parts are well integrated. For example, an abandoned chimney of an old factory can be preserved and utilized as a landmark to provide directions; (2) emotional factors. Industrial heritage carries strong emotional connotations with a distinctive social identity thus any renovation needs to take emotional factors and historical ambiance into account; (3) regeneration of areas. Choosing to restore rather than to

dismantle industrial buildings can play a key factor in regeneration. A local eyesore can be converted into something that the local community can feel proud of once more, enhancing the quality of the environment and the value of the area, attracting creative businesses and talented people and, hopefully, providing employment opportunities. These factors show that territorialization is a contemporary phenomenon, belonging to the cultural production of a territorial space. Most importantly, territorialization produces an industrial landscape that displays a history of a place and constitutes 'a testimony of culture, social and economic conception and evolution which documents and interprets considerable values for heritage' (Loures, 2008: 690).

Deterritorialization: *In situ* and *ex situ*

The concept of deterritorialization was initially created by French postmodern philosophers Deleuze and Guattari (1972), to demonstrate that ties between culture and place undergo a constant process of transformation. Deterritorialization is a means by which competing cultural forces and actors wrest control away from one another. In general, deterritorialization describes an action that decontextualizes a set of existing relations, such as the impact of globalization concerning migration, travel and consumption detached from local places. It serves to break up an established entity through 'lines of flight', or an operator that transcends the real and ascends to the virtual. According to Deleuze and Guattari (1972), deterritorialization eschews a given to build a new set of assemblage, whereas reterritorialization hegemonizes a former assemblage and stabilizes a new configuration of power and resistance.

As Anderson (1991) points out, the postmodern world is 'an imagined political community' and we live on as a 'structure of feeling' embodied in material practice and lived experience. In his book *Simulacra and Simulation*, Baudrillard (1995) distinguishes between what he calls 'dissimulation' and 'simulation' for contemporary society: dissimulation involves the masking of reality by presupposing its absolute existence; simulation, on the other hand, 'devours' reality, leaving nothing except signs which merely refer to each other (Xie & Lane, 2006). Given the ubiquity of mass media and the surging popularity of social networks, simulation becomes the most prominent feature and purveyor of 'reality.' The notions of 'deconstruction', 'invention of tradition' and 'recycling of tradition' once again become buzzwords to explore the impacts of tourism as a means of economic development. In this context, deterritorialized industrial heritage

is a *bricolage* of mixing, melding and merging with other heritages in various periods of time.

There is a lingering concern about the change to deterritorialization from territorialization. Inda and Rosaldo (2002: 10) address the phrase 'de/territorialism' as follows: 'the key to the meaning of this term is the slash…this means that the root of the word always to some extent undoes the action of the prefix such that while the "de" may pull culture apart from place, the "territorialization" is always there to pull it back in one way or another'. During time–space compression, exogenous factors, such as tourism and urban renewal, reconfigure the spatial parameters of social life and form new patterns of sociality (Molz, 2012). The process of transformation to tourism can be conceptualized in four stages: territorial shape, symbolic shape, institutional shape and established role (Paasi, 1986). Territorial shape implies that the place already had a territorial identity prior to becoming a tourist destination. Symbolic shape refers to a territory that forms a 'discourse of region' in which socio-spatial meanings and representations characterizing the destination are produced and reproduced. Institutional shape is termed as the 'discourse of development' undergirding attempts to increase tourists and improve infrastructure. The final stage, established role, indicates that a destination has acquired an identity comprised of a material basis and socially constructed representations. The iconographic meaning and history of the location are continually produced anew in order to attract businesses and tourists (Saarinen, 1998).

In addition, deterritorialization constitutes power relations to reorganize the spatial bases, or transnational spaces *in situ* and *ex situ*. Kearney (1995: 553) suggests that a sense of deterritorialization has to do with the construction of 'hyperspaces', such as amusement parks and museums, which have detached themselves from any local reference. Similar to these deterritorialized spaces are 'hyperreal' places in which simulacra are seen as more authentic than the original place or artifact to which they refer. From an anthropological perspective, deterritorialization implicates the removal of cultural subjects and objects from a certain location in space and time. Increased transnational mobility is a driving force behind spatiotemporal changes, often influenced by mass media, social networks and communication technologies. Authentication becomes a process of deterritorialization (removed from territory): the original content of industrial identity is decoded into a new entity. Often, tourism plays a role by selling a reconstituted and commodified form of industrial heritage. Deterritorialization is a functional authenticity because the

industrial sites still retain their external significance while at the same time they acquire new meanings.

Deterritorialization is associated with the idea of liminality where industrial practices, locations and identities are positioned between the global and local, the public and private, and fluid and solid spaces. Hannam *et al.* (2006) indicate that deterritorialization is associated with 'liquid modernity' (Bauman, 2000), and that contemporary globalization and mobility entail 'neither the absolute territorialization of societies, economics, or cultures onto a global scale, nor their complete deterritorialization into a supraterritorial, distanceless, placeless, or borderless space of flows' (Brenner, 2004: 64). The status of liminality is widely viewed as industrial heritage on a border that exoticizes extreme differences or conflicts as a source of beautification in industrial sites. The 'in-between' industrial spaces, previously marginalized and abandoned, suddenly find they can empower themselves through showcasing their industrial roots. Tourism becomes a useful channel for these 'in-between' spaces to legitimize themselves in public for socioeconomic purposes. Wang (2009) points out that when the link between artists and archaic industrial buildings is legitimized, the resulting space becomes commercialized. Ultimately, industrial heritage morphs into a state of hybridity where the architectural edifice prompts economic growth. Heritage is a nostalgic method of remembering the industrial past, but what's past is prologue.

Tourism studies aptly borrow the concept of deterritorialization to demonstrate the deterritorialized relationships between home and destination (White & White, 2007): for example, one may speak of cruise ships as 'deterritorialized destinations' (Wood, 2004), or of the ways in which music tourism induces deterritorial place and identity (Connell & Gibson, 2004). In the context of heritage tourism, the concept of patrimony has been used to denote the group of elements that personify the past, making it present, according to a sense of continuity inherent to its characteristics (Loures, 2008). However, heritage assets from the industrial age have always been more difficult to conserve than those from earlier periods. They frequently fail to meet the conventional criteria for heritage site designation and it has been too easy for both planners and developers to underrate their significance (White, 2011). Tourism makes a shift from heritagization to patrimonialization involving generating touristic schemes to develop new cultural objects, creating sites of social value out of obsolete spaces and promoting economically viable heritage sites. The process of tourist site development also creates an 'in-between' space of liminality, which I refer to as the true meaning of deterritorialization. In

doing so, it reflects the central dilemma of modern tourism: the tourist gaze has become so mobile, portable and culturally promiscuous (Strain, 2003), that ultimately, postindustrial landscapes have transformed into 'blended geographies' (Molz, 2012: 42) where social and economic relations are becoming detached from localities that captured the zeitgeist of a globalizing world.

Hollinshead (2004) summarizes that forms of deterritorialization, whether *in situ* or *ex situ*, refer to cultural hybridity, including (a) a liminal space or interstitial passage between fixed identifications; (b) a 'third space' to avoid the politics of polarization and radicalization; (c) an emergent cultural knowledge that resists unitary notions of diversity; (d) a space between received rules of *a priori* cultural engagement and antagonistic forms of cultural representation; (e) a fantastic location of cultural difference where identities continually open up for change; (f) a social utterance which undergoes historical transformations; and (g) a continuous negotiation and encounter over differential meanings of culture. Hybridity holds that industrial heritage does not consist of discrete phenomena existing on an island; instead, they are always in contact with one another which leads to further mixed-ness (Huddart, 2006) and turns to reterritorialization. Industrial heritage tourism represents a collage of different forms of industrial presentations and an eventual creation of new identity.

Reterritorialization: Landscape reclamation

The definition of reterritorialization has a more liberal and less poststructually inflected meaning than deterritorialization. Loures *et al.* (2006: 600) define reterritorialization as 'sustainable landscape reclamation', offering an important cultural objective; the preservation of an industrial building is also an inherently sustainable practice which encourages positive reuse. The benefits of reterritorialization include promoting sustainability, reducing negative environmental impacts and fomenting economic prosperity, social inclusion and a better quality of life (Loures *et al.*, 2006). At this stage, industrial heritage tourism has developed as an extension of these ongoing processes and as a part of a cultural heritage movement (Willim, 2005). It engenders the valorization and aestheticization of industrial heritage on the part of 'the creative industries' or 'the experience industries'. Reterritorialization represents a new form of economic sustenance that has emerged as the signification of industrial sites. From a geographic perspective, reterritorialization is 'landscape turns' and 'spatial turns' (Jimenez, 2003), distinct spatial practices that enable industrial heritage and the tourist to negotiate a shared space or a new space.

Reterritorialization reflects a changing pattern of industrial zones, buildings and even neighborhoods. Lowenthal (1999) proposes that interpretations of the past are reflections of modern expectations and aesthetics, which eventually produce the phenomenon of cultural clustering extensively utilized in Europe's postindustrial cities (Mommaas, 2004). Pappalepore *et al.* (2014) explore the role that creative clustering plays in the development of tourism in East London, the UK, and suggest that the concentration of creative industries affords opportunities for consumption and for the accumulation of cultural capital. This clustering combined with a particular urban morphology plays a new role of culture and creativity in the physical and economic revitalization. Previous confined and vertical perspectives of urban planning have been gradually replaced by a more inclusive, process-oriented and transverse approach, taking into account 'external' economic and spatial effects. Through events and established businesses, urban planners find ways to regenerate industrial quarters and to strengthen the local 'creative economy' (Flew, 2012).

Cho and Shin (2014) contend that the intrinsic value of industrial built forms as heritage objects is not taken for granted. The aestheticization of industrial buildings in heritage conservation is often claimed to give rise to a new type of space tailored for a cultural community (Wang, 2009). In this respect, industrial heritage development requires more than maintaining a balance between preservation and adaptive reuse. It needs cultural valorization of obsolete industrial spaces in order to create and legitimize a new set of cultural meanings. On the other hand, it often includes the process of creating new functions for obsolete spaces. These aspects involve generating institutional rationales and schemes to create new cultural products and community identities. Reterritorialization projects not only involve the conversion of old industrial buildings into functional spaces, but they also demonstrate a sustainable mode of economic development while preserving history. Wang (2009) further deems that the conventional 'preserving-in-amber' method of tourism development (Lowenthal, 1999) applied to monuments is inappropriate for industrial heritage, whose value is seldom set in concrete. Instead, industrial heritage is going through a constant reconstruction, relocation, restoration and rehabilitation, in order to 'imagineer' a particular set of values through themed built environments and spectacles. The emergence of a 'creative industry' and of a 'creative economy', though commercially successful, is the byproduct of a conscious and deliberate manipulation of heritage by playing the cards of the industrial past in the era of deindustrialization.

Willim (2005: 42) coins the phrase 'industrial cool', referring to 'a certain distance to an industry is either physically or emotionally retained',

which simultaneously signifies the possibility of a reflexive attitude and the creation of a sense of enchantment for industrial ruins. The purpose of leisure and tourism is to establish an industry aestheticized to such a degree that it constitutes a kind of distance to what is actually produced. Willim opines that an inherent tension in the aestheticization occurs within the frame of 'industrial cool', eventually leading to a number of industrial production sites that have acquired a new aura as they have been incorporated into art and popular culture. Edensor (2005) speculates that a nostalgic passion for industrial ruins, in spite of their state of decay, motivates artists, photographers and filmmakers to visit industrial landscapes and turn them into a trendy space. Consequently, a 'new cultural class' (Ley, 1994: 56) emerges in these areas marked by gentrification. This class represents a counterculture movement and seeks the industrial site for its accessibility and amenities, and is attracted by a certain social diversity. Therefore, producing a social mix is crucial so that the nostalgic lure of former industries produces 'experiencescapes' (O'Dell, 2005), something perceived as stylish and aesthetically suitable for tourist consumption. Creative industry emerges to accommodate these 'performative events' (Coleman & Crang, 2002), while consumers (tourists, visitors, workers, residents) become 'prosumers who simultaneously consume and construct the place, co-creating the value that can be derived from the experience of these areas' (Pappalepore *et al.*, 2014: 237). Reterritorialization generates 'enclavic tourist space[s]' (Edensor, 2000: 322), which are carefully crafted and manicured for incoming visitors and produce a unique hybrid identity through cultural and heritage regeneration.

Research Settings

LX Factory

The LX Factory (short for Lisboa Factory) is centrally located in the heart of Alcântara, an industrial and working-class neighborhood in Lisbon, Portugal. There is a colorfully painted water tower in the center of the complex sporting the phrase *'alegria no trabalho'* in Portuguese (meaning 'joy at work'). The LX Factory began in 1846 as a cloth manufacturing factory for threads and fabrics, called *Companhia de Fiação e Tecidos Lisbonense*. In 1873, the owners were the first Portuguese industrialists to build workers' houses in the nearby streets, and the factory ultimately became one of the most important manufacturing complexes in Lisbon's history. The sharp decline in cloth manufacturing in recent decades caused the complex to be largely abandoned during the 1990s. Before the

Lisbon City Council could decide on how to renovate the Alcântara area, these industrial buildings were bought by a property company named the MainSide. At first blush, the MainSide saw the refurbishment as a temporary situation and planned to keep the LX Factory complex for several years, subject to the council's final decision about the zoning plan of the Alcântara area. However, due to a continued lack of clarity about the council's plans for the future of the area, the MainSide decided to continue the LX Factory project in 2007 and has converted the space into a 23,000 square meter island of artistic creativity (Plate 6.1).

The LX Factory is situated within an intensive industrial area where the price of land is low. The Alcântara neighborhood has long been associated with a working-class identity (Vidal, 2014). With the valorization of industrial tradition, the raw space has attracted public attention and was initially used as a backdrop for television commercials, concerts and plays. The factory complex has been publicized as a type of 'industrial cool' for cultural display. The interior design reuses the original factory doors and keeps constructive elements of the building, yet the space is sufficiently flexible so that it attracts different businesses. With

Plate 6.1 The LX Factory in Lisbon, Portugal

minimal refurbishment and renovation, the MainSide initially rented at a rate of 6–12 euros per square meter, which drew over 80 small enterprises including fashion, advertising, communications, multimedia, art, design, architecture, music, photography, dance schools and several cafés. The open factory spaces are now lined with art and have quickly become an arts mecca. One wall, for example, sports graffiti containing the words 'until debt tear us apart', reflecting the economic austerity measures implemented in Portugal in 2012. Nonetheless, the reuse of the abandoned factory brings bright ideas to once faded façades, and keen entrepreneurs inside the complex have helped lift the mood of a city with plenty more to be optimistic about. The LX Factory showcases the industrial past, reality and reinvention, and has become both an emblem of a postindustrial legacy and a classic example of adaptive reuse. Due to the increase in mass media coverage, the LX Factory is ranked as one of the 'must-see' destinations in Lisbon (Zarrilli & Brito, 2013).

With the instant success of the LX Factory, the MainSide has submitted a proposal to reuse derelict industrial buildings for business throughout the whole Alcântara district. The underlying assumption of the proposal is that the existing space, once recognized and defined as industrial heritage, is ideal for art studios, retailing and restaurants. Therefore, minimal changes and interventions are needed while the authenticity of the industrial sites can be preserved. According to the MainSide, the purpose of such revitalization projects is to 'preserve the natural appearance and its original charm: high ceilings, iron staircases, industrial elevator, wiring and even exposed metal beams and other facilities' (Gravereau, 2012: 69). Inherited characteristics are retained as much as possible, so that the memory of the past infuses today's activities. An anti-restorationist approach, which highly stresses authenticity and sustainability, functions as a guiding principle and is clearly reflected in the LX Factory.

One of the main attractions of the LX Factory, a bookstore called *Ler Devagar*, which means: read slowly, is housed in the room of an old rotary press that once printed the main newspapers in Portugal, and now stocks a large selection of books across two floors of space. The *Cantina LX* restaurant, located near the entrance of the factory, is a combination of canteen and art gallery. The restaurant was converted from the former plant refectory and retains its original raw appearance. During the weekend, the LX Factory hosts parties for thousands of people in the vast empty space in the main building. Another innovation at the LX Factory is the Open Day event, with live music, film, food, art fairs, expositions and a live DJ until late evening. It is important to note that from the start, the reuse of the LX Factory was provisional and it remains an ongoing project to

complete. Ultimately, the LX Factory is a testimony to the possibility of using creativity to produce spaces suited to activities with low levels of investment by taking advantage of the environment (Gravereau, 2012).

The Westergasfabriek

The Westergasfabriek, once the largest coal–natural gas conversion plant in the Netherlands, is located northwest of the Jordaan district in Amsterdam (see Plate 6.2). It occupies 50 acres of brownfield, of which 12 acres contain the original gasworks. The site has 19 industrial buildings including an immense round gas tank. The majority of the buildings in the complex were established between 1885 and 1905 and were built in a neo-Renaissance style. With the discovery of natural gas in the Netherlands in the 1960s, traditional coal-to-gas conversion became outdated. The gas plant was all but abandoned in the late 1960s, leaving behind a major environmental problem: contaminated soil in the ground that needed to be cleaned up. Many of the buildings were swiftly demolished including an iconic water tower. The energy company then used the area for storage

Plate 6.2 The Westergasfabriek, Amsterdam, the Netherlands

and repairs until 1990, just after the remaining buildings were recognized as industrial monuments, saving them from further demolition.

In 1992, ownership was transferred to the local district council, which allowed the abandoned spaces to be used as a temporary venue for a number of cultural events, including opera and theater performances and photography exhibitions. Gradually, artists and other groups started to use the site for social gatherings and studio spaces, creating an underground second life for the site. The cultural movement sparked community interest in the potential use of the site for recreation and leisure activities. In the late 1990s, the local government decided that the site ought to be converted into an urban park with rental spaces for special events in some selected buildings. The *fabriek* (factory) has re-emerged as a cultural and recreational park, with lawns and a long pool suitable for wading and assorted sports facilities. Inside the main buildings, cinemas, cafés, restaurants, nightspots and creative offices have proliferated and thrived. The aesthetic surrounding *Westerpark* goes from urban plan to reedy wilderness, with marshes and shallow waterfalls. Industrial heritage conservation efforts in the Netherlands have pursued the creation of new cultural opportunities in spaces once thought to be obsolete, and in so doing, made value-added heritage sites.

Crucially, the site has always been supported by a specific development policy that commits the council to resisting demolition, unless physical retention is not feasible, or when an appropriate level of archaeological recording is required. In the 1980s, Amsterdam created a second level of city government called the *stadsdeel*, or borough. One such borough was *Stadsdeel Westerpark*, which encompasses the area around the plant and park complex. The office of the *stadsdeel* identified the development potential around the gasworks. Some notable redevelopment projects were instituted by the Westergasfabriek Development Coalition, which put forward design criteria for future development on the gas plant site. In 2000, a developer decided to take the project and held a closed competition to choose the design. The renovation was completed in 2005 including a thorough cleanup of the site, reinforced by strong industrial environment policies in overarching Amsterdam city planning statutes. The statutory protection provides the supporting infrastructure of the Westergasfabriek complex to conserve the structure's overall local distinctiveness.

The refurbishment of the city gasworks has proven exceedingly successful, slowly helping transform the postindustrial site into a centerpiece of Amsterdam and a sign of the city's economic rebirth (Bonink & Hitters, 2001). It is probably one of the foremost examples of contemporary brownfield reclamation with a strong emphasis on culture

and tourism in Europe (Koekebakker, 2004). The redeveloped gasworks has been the topic of conversation among travelers as well as mass media since the project was implemented in 2000. Its status was quickly elevated to a major regeneration project that offers unique entertainment opportunities within its spatially enclosed Jordaan district. Moreover, with a multitude of cultural activities in and around its buildings, the Westergasfabriek has become one of the most visited tourist sites in Amsterdam.

Methodology

The research data on which this chapter is based were drawn from the fieldwork in the LX Factory and the Westergasfabriek spanning from 2011 to 2013. Prior to conducting the fieldwork, textual materials of the LX Factory and the Westergasfabriek that included the history, industrial heritage and imagery of the factory sites were examined. These sites are shaped and influenced by the era in which they were established, especially in terms of architecture, form, function, land use, culture and characteristics. The primary objective of this textual review was to understand the historical development of both locations in a socioeconomic context. Preceding the interviews, a general overview of the LX Factory and the Westergasfabriek websites was undertaken and information on their marketing strategies was collected. Promotional material from the websites including brochures and posters were compiled to identify themes and content that would inform qualitative interviews.

Interviews with the shop and restaurant owners, gallery owners, chambers of commerce and industry, urban planners and tourism promotion offices in both the LX Factory and the Westergasfabriek provided insight to better understand the impact of industrial heritage tourism and its future development. Interview questions included business operation, industrial identity, knowledge, social relations and tourism activities around which to focus the conversation, allowing participants the freedom to describe and evaluate their perceptions of industrial heritage tourism. Upcoming events and access to tourism planning information, such as journals, guides, special events, etc., were included in the interviews. The approach was to allow an open conversation in order to ground the research in concrete, verifiable information about sources of heritage management and planning processes. A total of 36 interviews were undertaken at both sites, each interview differing slightly in length and the range of questions covered. The interviews were organized through a process of snowballing where the project was started by talking to a well-known acquaintance, who then suggested further contacts. For

example, interviews in the LX Factory started in *Cafetaria Izzi*, where visitors gather for coffee and lunch. Interviews in the Westergasfabriek were initially conducted in the *Ketelhuis*, an industrial site converted into a meeting place for coffee and the movies. All interviews were conducted in English. Additionally, private planning firms familiar with industrial heritage tourism projects in Portugal and the Netherlands were consulted to ascertain the technicalities and planning experiences surrounding tourism developments in order to seek directions as to where detailed information can be found.

Findings

Territorialization: Cultural Wastelands

The LX Factory and the Westergasfabriek have much in common at the stage of territorialization. Both were economically defunct factories situated on the fringe of their respective cities, and were formally classified as brownfields to be cleaned up. Abandoned industrial sites have traditionally constituted an important source of environmental problems (Conesa *et al.*, 2008). At the beginning, they were derelict landscapes replete with postindustrial connotations: for those who work there, those who live there and for those who would represent and prepare such places as attractions. Most importantly, both sites were physically obsolete and widely viewed as cultural wastelands fraught with undesirable socioeconomic and environmental elements.

Jacob's (1961) seminal book, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, explains how there is concern about the erosion of public space due to urban decay and ghettoization. In the past, abandonment, demolition or sale were fairly common approaches to dealing with facilities that were designated as 'industrial buildings', which no longer served their original production functions. Lynch's (1960) book, *Image of the City,* further suggests that the connotation of renewal or gentrification develops a threat carrying with it the implication of disregard for, or destruction of, the old. However, recent calls for new approaches have prompted urban planners to reconsider the value of abandoned sites and to endeavor to recover them through initiatives like the reintroduction of cafés, studios and exhibitions. The need for greater environmental protection coupled with increasing public awareness about the need to reclaim derelict land, endorses the development of 'best practice' for urban revitalization. The aim of industrial land reclamation is to end protracted urban decay and use abandoned industrial sites as multifunctional spaces to stimulate economic improvement.

Territorialization serves as a catalyst of change to convert environmentally impaired assets into productive use and to reintegrate them into their surrounding communities. The common sense is that industrial sites should be reclaimed and areas of social exclusion associated with hostile environments should form part of urban regeneration. Edensor (2005) is highly critical of the tendency to assign industrial sites to the category of 'waste', without material and social values in the postindustrial life of contemporary society. Rather, there is an increasing need to address the industrial legacy of derelict buildings where existing space is imbued with new meanings and activities that can stand in juxtaposition to the dominant interpretations of the postindustrial landscape. Certain stakeholders realize that the fundamental roots of the LX Factory and the Westergasfabriek are in a factory setting. In contrast to traditional ways of dealing with abandoned factories, creative ways to prevent these sites from becoming less interesting are stressed prior to the beginning of the cleanup process. Initial efforts tend to focus on preservation and conservation as a strategy for economic revitalization.

The Westergasfabriek has drawn upon a two-pronged strategy for territorialization: protecting industrial heritage through preserving historic structures; and creating a park that provides Amsterdam with both intimate and large-scale public space for a range of recreational and cultural activities (Loures *et al.*, 2011). The government aims to transform the site and neighboring areas into a dynamic public recreational center. Factory heritage was valued highly throughout the planning stage, as the original gas tower and others were the first to be preserved and turned into a featured part of the park landscape. Koekebakker (2004) opines that the purpose of the refurbishment was to construct a new industrial identity at three different but complementary levels. The first level is connected to the initial perception by a variety of stakeholders, including residents and city officials of the ongoing cultural, social and civic values of the site. The physical characteristics of the industrial buildings are at stake in attracting the attention of local stakeholders and should be well maintained in order to create a distinctive atmosphere. The second level of identity construction is related to the development of a consistent vision for the site, involving stakeholders to restore industrial glory. Finally, the third level concerns the social, spatial and material qualities of the envisioned site. In other words, a territorial identity is carefully reconstructed through a passage from conceptual design ideas to implemented built work on site.

By contrast, the LX Factory showcases a totally different developmental path. The abandoned factory was purchased by a property company and utilized as a temporary working space. Even with dozens of

businesses and artists ensconced in these buildings, the conversion project was provisional, dependent on the zoning plan from the City Council. However, after years of waiting, the property company realized that while the zoning rules remain in flux, the current structure is probably best suited for businesses. Coupled with the LX Factory's intrinsic characteristics, the proposed redevelopment project aims at the creation of a chain of historic and industrial places that symbolize cultural continuity and provide some recreational opportunities. The project also produces a new territorial identity on site where an industrial space merges heritage with a significant collection of artistic entities. The ultimate result of this project is a reintegration of the LX Factory into its surrounding neighborhood, and a sense of local pride in both the industrial heritage and contemporary usages that the structure signifies. The LX Factory has not ceased to exist; but it now matters in very different ways.

The development of the LX Factory coincides with shifting planning policies in Portugal, which target derelict industrial sites not for destruction, but for conservation, rehabilitation and enhancement. For decades, factories were left deserted, but in an era of chronic high unemployment and subsequent population loss, there is a pressing need to revive local economies through the creative salvaging of old industrial structures. Conservation is introduced as a component of the larger agenda of land use planning, which shapes the ideas about what heritage could and should exist in contemporary society. Benito del Pozo and Gonzalez (2012: 448) observe that industrial heritage in Portugal is both the byproduct of the deindustrialization process and a potential resource to help find a way out of it. In this regard, industrial heritage contributes to the 'becoming-rent of profit' (Harvey, 2002) at the territorial level; that is, the service sector could thrive from a rent based on the aesthetic, physical and human values of definite territory. While the cheap and ample workshop space offered by redeveloped industrial structures is ideal for small businesses and artistic activities, low-cost space, a well-designed factory layout, convenient transportation and unique industrial characteristics have drawn tourists as well. In addition, the grass-roots movement appealing to the cultural identity-building, the social values of industrial sites and their potential economic resource facilitate the proposals for constructive interventions. The increasing interest in industrial heritage by the general public also helps the government seek external funds to conserve these buildings, rather than eliminating traces of former industry. In turn, the LX Factory is viewed as both an industrial icon and an ideal location for the logical transition to a service economy via the reinvention of traditions.

From the perspective of territorialization, industrial heritage in both the LX Factory and the Westergasfabriek started as a social and urban reconstruction. Both former factories fell into disuse with a large number of buildings left vacant. For survival, the factories began to rent out the unused work areas. Many of the early tenants were small business owners paying very low rents. Former factory sites with aesthetic values are linked to the processes of territorial valorization by local governments and property developers. When factoring in nostalgic memory and community image, both sites closely connect with the place identity of the industrial past. However, postmodernity has eroded the idea of 'place' and replaced it with 'space', resulting in the constant dissolution of constitutive elements of territorial identity and complexity (Casey, 1997). In particular, as these decaying industrial areas have increasingly become 'junkspace' (Koolhaas, 2002), there is an urgent need to define a distinctive territorial identity by inserting new cultural symbols that will resonate with a local sense of heritage.

Deterritorialization: Tourism and regeneration

The advent of tourism is implicated in the construction of place, both literally through its physical infrastructures and through the representative and performative accretions of place imagery (Watson & Waterton, 2010: 11). Graham and Howard (2008) posit that the notion of *lieux de memoire*, emphasized by sites-as-monuments, is an outdated concept, which hinders the creation of new meanings and identities. The concept of *la fabrique des lieux* is historically constructed as a postindustrial product for tourism built on the former factory site. Industrial heritage is enveloped in a network of meanings in which places are no longer givens, but constantly reproduced by the stakeholders who participate in them. Deterritorialization is the reconstruction of a new place identity and a process of growth with novel foundations. Tourism plays a key role in assigning value to potential heritage sites and promoting a sense of territorial specificity.

The process of the deterritorialization of industrial heritage constitutes a paradox of advanced modernity (Hernandez i Marti, 2006): despite the fact that the patrimonialization of culture is an important aspect of industrial heritage, it cannot avoid a deterritorialized context or media in order to take place. In other words, original factory sites can be recycled, adapted, re-functionalized and revitalized, with industrial heritage comprised of elements with a selective representation. Socioeconomic

activities can have nothing to do with their original constructive functions; rather, they merely represent 'a symbolic, subjective, processual and reflexive selection of cultural elements (from the past)' (Hernandez i Marti, 2006: 95).

Deterritorialization in the Westergasfabriek largely lies with local government, which supervises and is keenly aware of both the city's rich heritage and its investment possibilities. The potentials of reconstruction of the gasworks have been acknowledged by various levels of policymakers, who give permission to develop so-called 'creative industries' by bringing tourism together and facilitating its regeneration. In 1996, the local government provided a blueprint for redeveloping the Westergasfabriek (Bonink & Hitters, 2001) including: (1) a combination of visitor attractions and cultural activities; (2) a combination of cultural use and park use; (3) cultural attractions should include a mixture of government-subsidized and commercial activities; (4) incubation opportunities should be provided for start-ups through differentiated rents; (5) flexible use of the buildings; and (6) intercultural characters to accommodate different ideas and plans. The aim of the blueprint was to attract a wide range of organizations to bundle diverse cultural activities. The policy stipulated that local government should seek out and reserve space for small-scale innovative and alternative businesses. The local government mobilizes tourism businesses to nurture an atmosphere of creativity and provide a newfangled meaning to enrich the Westergasfabriek.

At the same time, small-scale companies, such as advertising agencies, event organizers, web designers and publishers, often want buildings that stand out, that are distinctive and unique. Although there is a loss of the 'natural' relationship between the original gasworks and the new park for entertainment and recreation, bringing these companies together in a transformed factory inspires and engenders a crossover for a new type of business. These in turn attract trendy bars, cafés and restaurants, which draw hip and young customers and tourists to visit the factory site. Giddens (1990) argues that globalization involves a profound reorganization of time and space in social and cultural life. The confines of locality appear to disintegrate and make way for relations between absent others. As a result of these changes, 'the very tissue of spatial experience alters, conjoining proximity and distance in ways that have few close parallels in prior ages' (Giddens, 1990: 142). Deterritorialization improves the economic value of industrial sites and enriches the quality of the physical environment. It also generates a transformation of industrial heritage and contributes to the success of tourism.

Comparatively, the LX Factory received little financial support from the local government due to chronic financial problems. Deterritorialization is a virtual spontaneous process where the industrial landscape changes incrementally, influenced by economic and cultural factors, rather than political ones. Bain (2003: 303) describes this transformative process as 'improvisational spaces', which mean unordered spaces that are open to multiple usage and which retain a diversity of forms and functions. The restructuring of spaces occurs when cheap rents and spacious rooms attract artists to move. This instantly impacts time–space compression where the former factory represents new cultural activities, experiences and identities. Canclini (1995: 288) observes that deterritorialization encompasses reterritorialized manifestations, in which 'certain relative, partial territorial re-localizations of old and new symbolic productions' coexist. In the case of the LX Factory, the spaces that have been recognized and defined as industrial heritage are carefully preserved for the tourist gaze, while the original appearance of the buildings has been kept for its aesthetic value, rather than for the consideration of function or history. For example, heavy machines inside the factory are neatly displayed in the hallway of the buildings, but space on the second floor is divided into rooms of different sizes and filled with art studios. The inflow of tourists indicates that an activity of cultural consumption is being deterritorialized and highly mediatized. Consequently, 'as local heritage are reappropriated by visiting cultures, they are necessarily also reappropriated by the receiving local cultures, as their heritage asset has been irremissibly incorporated into the global touristic imaginary' (Hernandez i Marti, 2006: 98–99).

Both the LX Factory and the Westergasfabriek show that during the process of deterritorialization, industrial heritage is commercialized and spectacularized due to the forces of tourism. There is virtually no relationship between the original function of the factory and the end products of restoration for the purpose of tourism and economic regeneration. The façades of the buildings are carefully preserved; however, the insides are adaptively reused for commercial and artistic purposes. Such renovations indicate a rising global demand for industrial heritage experiences and a desire on the part of tourists to interact with contemporary artists and recreational facilities. It is noted that tourist participation is a detachment from industrial heritage characteristics and has reinforced the stereotypical image of old factories. The lack of interpretive assistance for both factories restored in this manner poses a challenge for tourists to fully understand the historical development. Deterritorialization ultimately produces a disconnect between a past as lived, found or discovered and another as represented by signifiers of an imagined landscape.

Reterritorialization: Creative industry

The stage of reterritorialization produces a postindustrial and delocalized landscape where heritage is transformed into an industry for marketing and commodification. Contemporary artists, local government and grass-roots movements are undoubtedly the drivers of development for the LX Factory and the Westergasfabriek which engender specific creative mechanisms based on the multiple and lively cultural expressions taking place. It was the first time to 'extract synergies from different fields to the factory site' (Personal Communication, 2012). Territorialization and deterritorialization rejuvenate the factory by injecting their buildings with a new source of creativity in a short period of time. The artists and developers who began inhabiting the sites at this stage are the forerunners of new ways of living, who search for, adapt to and negotiate identities with the help of rich and available media and tourist cultures. Reterritorialization generates cultural renaissance in both sites, and attracts more businesses that entice talented individuals to work and live in the neighborhood. Eventually, the factory landscape with its multifunctional clusters transforms into a sizable incubator of creative industry.

Caves (2000) defines creative industries as supply goods or services broadly associated with cultural, artistic or simple entertainment value. They include publishing, visual art, performing arts, recording, film and television, fashion, toys and gaming. More recently, creative industries involve the promotion of experimentation that is highly dependent on social networks (Evans, 2005; Sacco & Segre, 2009). Florida (2005) points out that contemporary society is entering a creative age, as the rise of creativity is the prime motivating factor of the economy. He then goes a step further by presenting his 3 Ts theory of economic growth: technology, talent and tolerance, which are necessary to ignite the economic sparks of creativity. Creative images combined with a stimulating cultural environment are in a privileged position to attract relevant professionals, businesses and talent (Zukin, 1995). The third T, tolerance, is the crucial magnet enabling places to mobilize and attract talent and has the close connections between place, community and a strong economy. In particular, the physical qualities of ex-industrial spaces, as well as their relatively low rent and the public support they enjoy, tend to transform them into sites of creative production that attract professionals (Hutton, 2006).

Costa (2013) suggests that the discussion of 'creative industries', 'cultural quarters' or 'creative cities' has a certain degree of fuzziness, as creativity is a relative concept; at the same time, it is recognized as something that cuts across all economic activities and social practices.

Reterritorialized postindustrial landscapes produce social power through the appropriation of spaces as an emerging new phenomenon by improving land value and livability, contributing to increase the quality of life, and diverting growth toward extant urban areas. The new cultural landscape has brought many benefits including the decontamination of previously abandoned industrial sites, and the creation of attractive and high-quality multifunctional spaces accessible to both residents and tourists. Nonetheless, the reterritorialized landscape also poses problems for connecting tenants and tourists with the past. Transforming industrial sites into incubators of creative industry is a complex process, engineered by a variety of agents, milieus and subcultures (Richards, 2011). The value potentials can be assessed and recognized in a multiplicity of layers. Creativity can be seen in different lights at distinct levels, something creative in one context or for one person is not necessarily so for another. Moreover, the relative success is judged by public awareness and the perception of socioeconomic values. Some characterizations of creativity in tourism planning may not be 'magic bullets', but could be 'snake oil', if a cultural economy is being overdeveloped (Pratt & Jeffcutt, 2009).

Furthermore, Augé (2009: 26) observes three kinds of accelerated transformations that are responsible for what he calls 'supermodernity' for creative economies. The first is an 'acceleration of history', leading to an excess of events, when economic activities have overwhelmed the original function of the sites. The second is a surplus in the realm of space, in which 'the excess of space is correlative with the shrinking of the planet' (Augé, 2009: 31). The last is 'figure of excess', a sign of transformation as he calls 'the figure of the ego, the individual' (Augé, 2009: 36). Reterritorialized spaces, in the context of supermodernity, should embody the industrial past within historical and social meanings, and concomitantly, 'normal' social interaction ought to occur. Augé (2009: 77–78) designates places in which these connections do not happen as 'a space which cannot be defined as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity will be a non-place'. Non-places are produced by supermodernity and do not integrate with earlier places.

Augé's 'non-place' theory posits that industrial heritage regeneration is a complex process where development can be easily divorced from any sense of locality. Reterritorialization plays a dual role: on the one hand, it resuscitates industrial wastelands, encouraging the cleanup and redevelopment of industrial areas, the adaptive reuse of old buildings and the construction of new spaces of consumption (Smith, 2007). On the other hand, reterritorialization projects are sometimes at odds with the goal of maintaining a connection to the history and heritage of local

communities. Evans (2005) differentiates between various approaches to reterritorialization projects: 'cultural regeneration' refers to the integration of cultural activities into a wider strategy of urban planning, 'culture-led' regeneration provides a catalyst for further developments and 'culture and regeneration' suggests regeneration strategies into which cultural activities are less integrated and play a more marginal role as an 'add-on'. In the context of this comparative study, the LX Factory fits the description of 'culture-led' regeneration, as its industrial buildings and milieu serve as agents of change to attract new businesses in an enclosed environment, while the Westergasfabriek is going through 'cultural regeneration' as the industrial landscape promotes a wider strategy of sustainability, multifunctionality and social inclusion.

Bonink and Hitters (2001: 236–237) attribute the success of the Westergasfabriek to a clustered milieu of innovation and detail five specific features used for promoting the site as follows. (1) Creative industries in the network economy. The atmosphere created in the complex and supported by the government is a source of value for the Westergasfabriek. In particular, clustering, flexible specialization and informal networking are significant tools that creative industries use to maintain their synergy. (2) Mixed permanent and incidental use of public and non-public cultural activities. Adaptive reuse works well when both public and non-public cultural activities are involved in the complex. The Westergasfabriek has accommodated a wide variety of events, including performing arts, film screenings and art studios; however, incidental users are needed for setting up lively events and exhibitions and these events are the major attraction of the area. (3) Attracting a broad and diverse range of visitors. The Westergasfabriek has drawn a wide range of visitors from its inception, ranging from park users to cultural tourists. The key to success here is to set up low-threshold activities that will provide easy access to such an audience. (4) Experimental character. It forms an image of cutting-edge technology and entertainment, catering to different age groups. This enables the Westergasfabriek to attract visitors despite the peripheral location of the area and strengthens the milieu of innovation. (5) Mixing public and private investment. The Westergasfabriek has never been a governmental 'grand project'; instead, it used a new model for tourism development, in which the public funds the park and commercial investors pay for rental space. This hybrid model of urban development and rent differentiation serves to maintain the specific industrial heritage of the buildings.

In reality, the Westergasfabriek signals the increasing interconnection between issues surrounding leisure and tourism. The entertainment venues, restaurants, cultural attractions and signage offered by the complex

focus the tourist gaze in particular ways. It is increasingly crowded with people and has evolved into a social gathering place. The marriage of local economies and leisure lifestyles works well in this physical environment. Unlike tourist enclaves that tend to be performatively distant from the everyday spaces of workaday life, the Westergasfabriek presents a new lifestyle where heritage serves as a medium to intermingle locals with tourists, who constantly interact within these refurbished industrial buildings. For example, *Het Ketelhuis*, a small movie theater in the park, serves as a meeting place for people having coffee or drinks prior to screenings. The interior design remains a factory setting with little alteration. However, it is a unique, multifunctional entertainment center drawing from all walks of life. The layout in this cultural quarter has the potential to challenge traditional views of tourism consumption by blurring the boundaries between tourists, residents and day visitors (Ashworth & Page, 2011).

The LX Factory (2011) has marketed itself as 'a creative island' whose brochure states that 'you can actually breathe the industrial environment at every step. A factory of experiences where intervention, thought, production is made possible'. The prominence of the factory setting has brought a steady flow of tourists and commercial ventures. Its success has since been emulated by other developers, who recognize the potential for profit offered by investment in derelict factory buildings. As a growing number of tourists visit the art studios and exhibitions inside the complex, more art galleries and commercial organizations rush into the area. This influx of organizations into the neighborhood drives up rents and many local artists have expressed concerns that the rent will grow too high for non-profit organizations or individuals in an already fragile economy. Rising rents in the complex mean small shops are being priced out. This pressure is acute in the art community where many of the independent shops that once defined the neighborhood are considering moving out. Despite the concerns for the high rent, their perspectives toward the transformation from industrial wasteland to tourist attraction are similar to the rest of the artist community. The local residents as well as these newly established galleries express acceptance of the change, which they think is the result of a market economy. Several artists in the LX Factory have also indicated that their interactions with tourists are beneficial for selling their art, as tourists can see and communicate with these products in a non-traditional gallery setting.

Through the lens of commercialization, reterritorialization has transformed both the LX Factory and the Westergasfabriek into reconfigured spaces, comprising tourist destinations, art studios and a

shopping/restaurant/entertainment complex inside a single industrial heritage location. The once abandoned factories have gained more attention among the public and press and are drawing increasing numbers of tourists. The creative industry also presents an opportunity for local communities to get involved with the booming tourism business. The outcome is a place that mixes authenticity with a mélange of characteristics. The reterritorialization creates a fusion that is industrial, modern, changing and subject to competing interpretations. As Root (1996: 86) observes, 'interestingly, because the recorded, commodified version of traditional arts retains the external look of the original, and in fact explicitly refers to ways of life presented as existing outside the market, the illusion of seamlessness sometimes breaks down, and visitors occasionally do get a glimpse of something real'.

Both sites have become an 'authentic' brand, holding huge business potentials for economic revitalization. In recent years, besides the entertainment, retail and arts industries, many multinational companies have been willing to present their promotions in the former industrial sites, which could further squeeze small businesses out of these complexes. With more people trying to relocate to these areas, the rent will continue to climb as leisure and fashion businesses make bids for space. As a result, reterritorialization may drive up prices beyond what small businesses, non-profit organizations or artists can afford. As evidenced in both sites, tourism remains an integral part of the cultural landscape, where a territorial identity is reinforced and rebranded at different periods of time.

Summary

This chapter floats the idea of applying a life-cycle model to understand the process of industrial heritage tourism. It puts forward a three-stage process of change from organically evolved territorial identity to a complex deterritorializing and reterritorializing landscape in which a creative economy is the dominant feature. The comparative study shows that territorialization is the initial phase, in which abandoned industrial sites, understood largely as 'cultural wastelands', make early forays into land use. Deterritorialization reflects the abandonment of the old functionality and the subsequent use of industrial façades for tourism and regeneration. A deterritorialized site is an interstitial place bearing the traces of the past and designated to become a cultural attraction. It is also a contested site, in which the future remains in flux, even as current use unmoors it a bit from its past designation. Relative deterritorialization is always accompanied by reterritorialization. As Voicu (2012: 69) points

out, 'in the anomie between "having been deterritorialized" and "awaiting to be reterritorialized", there is all manner of unprecedented "becoming"'.

In this proposed life-cycle model, I particularly argue for the significance of deterritorialization, a process in which industrial sites undergo a series of modifications, transformations and expansions that exemplify the increasing commodification and contestation of industrial heritage. In this context, deterritorialization and reterritorialization represent spatial manifestations of contemporary changes underway in the relationship between socioeconomic life and its territorial moorings (Popescu, 2010), constantly evolving in relation to era, environment and stakeholders. In the LX Factory and the Westergasfabriek, old machinery is placed and retained as symbols of local heritage, but in the absence of description or animation, it risks becoming unmoored from the historical and geographic specificity of its origins; buildings that once served particular industrial functions are now utilized for their 'retrochic' aesthetic as a backdrop to artistic production; and the 'heritage' appearing signage is one of the only things tethering these sites to their origin; eventually, the faux-historic heritage is just another example of the ways in which the historical background *in situ* risks obfuscation. The regeneration engenders a new form of heritage in which commerce and culture are entangled and inseparable. At both sites, industrial heritage tourism creates a new territorial identity that fuses the local and global, realism and romanticism, the fetishization of heritage and the creativity of environment. It is noted that a new territorial identity has nothing to do with industrial authenticity, but authenticates heritage for tourist consumption.

Both the LX Factory and the Westergasfabriek can be largely seen as 'success stories' in terms of industrial heritage tourism development, which aims to create genuine cultural identities out of obsolete spaces through the construction of value-added heritage sites. The public awareness of industrial heritage in Portugal and the Netherlands is strong and the collective memory of each respective nation's industrial era deserves to be fostered. The old factory spaces are thematized which incorporates a great variety of leisure and entertainment elements and links to economic development. The results imply that management values cultural diversity and evolutionary heritage practice that makes a significant contribution to sustainable development. The LX Factory and the Westergasfabriek show how industrial heritage conservation can take on a product-led dimension, where a balance of intervention and façade preservation has formed favorable settings for tourism and arts.

Nonetheless, the specific role of creative activities in those dynamics varies. Not every abandoned industrial complex is sprouting artists,

as certain factors have to be in place first. The cultural valorization of obsolete spaces offers diverse strategies for the role that industrial heritage may play in repairing the negative effects of deindustrialization. The regeneration of the LX Factory is largely attributed to bottom-up experience, emerging from endogenous agents, real estate developers and artists seeking empty spaces, while the Westergasfabriek clearly results from top-down initiatives on the part of the city and local governments. At all stages of the Westergasfabriek's development, support is provided by public funds to promote a postindustrial identity and showcase the success of urban regeneration. By contrast, the LX Factory has a locally rooted milieu with less-structured productive systems, in which renewal projects and experiences are essentially run by private initiatives.

Despite differences, nuances, varied historical and institutional backgrounds and industrial characteristics, the LX Factory and the Westergasfabriek share an analogous situation where creative segments of the cultural landscape are flourishing. The search for 'industrial cool', authenticity and economic revitalization, noted earlier in this chapter, can become a major tourist attraction for valuable niche markets, related to festivals, events and ultimately to the establishment of a new spirit of place by integrating industrial heritage into the new postindustrial landscape, in order to achieve a carefully planned creative industry. Whatever the path taken in this part of the life cycle, a territorial identity has become the currency at play in the marketplace of cultural regeneration. Industrial heritage is not governed only by tourism impacts: a whole series of other change engines are at work, even in other industrial ruins, fuelled by gentrification, the commercialization of place, the serial reproduction of culture (Richards & Wilson, 2006) and the globalization of knowledge and ideas. The role that tourism plays in the final stage of reterritorialization may be best understood as a complex adaptive system, with, in many cases, dynamic non-linear change. Thus, the life cycle proposed here can be interrupted by unforeseen events including the imposition of state-directed histories (Hutton, 2006), changes in cultural fashion, competition between destinations and even shifting perceptions of industrial heritage. Whether industrial heritage is a mere façade remains debatable; however, a new territorial identity is constantly reborn within these factory buildings.

Conclusions

Introduction

On January 10, 2014, the *Financial Times* interviewed American film director, David Lynch, for his 2014 factory photography exhibition in London, the UK. Lynch reminisced that in the mid-1980s, he visited northern England to see 'real smoke and fire and industry', only to discover that many locales were tearing down a smokestack every week and putting up prefab factories in its place. What remains of these broken-down industrial buildings, chimneys and stairwells and empty machine halls, with their rusting levers and pulleys and dials, and even dark, desolate spaces, has inspired Lynch, who documents and photographs derelict industrial spaces in his films to craft 'an imagined factory world'. He comments that 'the real factories that I love, they're black-and-white experiences. Color putrefies them' (Jobey, 2014).

In the meantime, the Kreis 5 District of Zürich-West, Switzerland, has gone from an industrial wasteland to the city's most exciting artistic quarter. The city's first skyscraper, which resides in the district, was not created by the commercial banks, but by Freitag, a company that recycles truck tarps in order to create its iconic messenger bags. According to Freitag, the 26-meter-high tower, which harbors the company's flagship store, was 'completely built from rusty, recycled freight-containers. Lovingly they were gutted, reinforced, piled up and secured'. Freitag thus developed Zürich's first skyscraper by using industrial materials to erect a structure 'low enough not to violate the city's restriction on high-rise buildings. High enough to send shivers down everyone's spine' (www.freitag.ch). As tourists pour in, this industrial building represents the hyper-modern pulverization of time and space, the transformation of everyday life and the accelerating commodification of industrial heritage.

Both David Lynch and Freitag are among a large and growing number of enthusiasts who are passionate about industrial products and sites and appreciate the stark contrast of the derelict buildings. These old industrial complexes become spatial landmarks of affective and collective memory in contemporary society. There has been a remarkable growth of interest in the value of industrial heritage that has led to widening concerns about

the development of tourism. In reality, industrial heritage is facing two different scenarios: on the one hand, these sites retain a general atmosphere of abandonment and decay where bricks are falling off and pigeons are coming in to roost. They represent vulnerable fixtures barely holding industrial history together with baling wire and nostalgic memories. On the other hand, industrial heritage has increasingly become a domain of activity and a receptacle for postindustrial communities' desires to construct new identities and/or creative industries. Industrial space is composed of tactile and multilayered spatiality that denotes a continuous cycle of redevelopment. Although the prospect of industrial heritage tourism is often invested with much hope on the part of the communities, that kind of hope can be fickle. Harris and Williams (2011: 13) suggest that any type of industrial heritage conservation and regeneration serves to 'construct an unstable, slippery metaphoric field of references and inferences whose meanings and implications continually threaten to invade and corrupt the new territory in potentially disruptive and unpredictable ways'.

Dickinson (2001: 34) describes four possible results for old industrial structures in the contemporary era: (1) demolition and disappearance; (2) recycling into new primary commercial uses; (3) transformation into historical monuments; or (4) persistence in the landscape as conventional ruins. However, the description ignores a key issue in understanding the nature of industrial heritage: it is a 'timely asset' (Ferry & Limbert, 2008) in which resources are embedded in particular temporalities, which are in turn grounded in political relations through which local futures are imagined. The conventional wisdom that industrial heritage entails the promotion of a culture that is backward-looking rather than future oriented, fearful of the present and therefore incapable of innovation (Hewison, 1987), is proved wrong. Industrial heritage can be visualized as a source of economic and cultural capital (Graham *et al*., 2004) and a 'metacultural production of discourses' (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004), which continuously reinterprets and refashions itself into a new economic means and cultural identity. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004: 59) comments that industrial heritage represents 'the asynchrony of historical, heritage, and habitus clocks and differential temporalities of things, persons, and events', which 'produce a tension between the contemporary and the contemporaneous…a confusion of evanescence with disappearance, and a paradox – namely, the possession of heritage as a mark of modernity – that is the condition of possibility for the world heritage enterprise'.

The thesis of this book explores the power of narrative as structured experiences unfolding in space and time as well as the use of industrial sites by various stakeholders to generate meaningful and, it is argued here,

effective and affective tourism attractions. The marriage of industrial heritage and tourism is a product of postmodernism, which often mixes with a blurring of ideas, an uncertainty about the future and is heavily influenced by public and business investments. The exposed brick and ductwork have their charm and old varnished beauty in which industrial heritage can be understood as both a resource and an opportunity to revalue collective memories and identities. Postmodernism is associated with postindustrial cities that have undergone a shift from secondary industries (manufacturing and production) to tertiary (service sector) and arguably, quaternary industries (finance and economics). Therefore, industrial vestiges and expressions of collective memory have become increasingly important from both locals and governments alike. Edensor (2005: 123) suggests that industrial heritage ought to be viewed in transparent polyvisuality where tourism is an imaginative, sensual, conjectural and playful fashion free from the 'constraining effects of norms surrounding its value or function'.

Historical and industrial characteristics are perhaps best observed as a combination of reused industrial buildings, such as warehouses, with modern architecture, visitor centers, heritage experiences and interpretations (Robinson *et al*., 2013). Governments experienced a major turnaround that saw billions in economic development as well as the transformation of areas of blighted industrial properties. Many projects are housed in former industrial complexes, but gradually converted them to new sites. Industrial heritage has been used as a tool for tourism and urban regeneration, in which a shift occurred from policies aimed at organizing events for spectacular consumption, to the creation of spaces for cultural production and creativity. These changes inevitably generate questions about whether reinvention and rebranding are sufficient or, whether society should move to a state where a new development solution is needed. Nonetheless, industrial heritage tourism is a type of special interest tourism, or niche tourism to contextualize place regeneration and lead to a form of tourist consumption that is based upon former industrial identity and perceived economic values.

There are four factors that influence the nature and pace of the advance of industrial heritage tourism (Cossons, 2011): a sound foundation of scholarly knowledge; determined and evidence-based advocacy; the public's willingness to embrace novel notions of what matters to them and to do something about it; and the political will to support innovative and often challenging ideas. Due to the complexity of industrial heritage tourism and its relatively recent development in the field of academic research, Cameron and Mengler (2013: 47) suggest that heritage institutions can

no longer limit or determine in advance the shape, heterogeneity and combination of associations, values and meaning that cluster around industrial sites. Since many influencing factors and stakeholders are involved in the process of heritagization, their expertise and resultant heritage exchanges, both intended and unintended, can be conceptualized through a multidisciplinary practice framework, which enables tourism scholars to find links between bodies of knowledge and research goals.

Revisiting the Conceptual Framework

This book presents a conceptual framework derived from the vast amount of extant literature. Within the emerging field of research on industrial heritage tourism, an early and continuing concern has been to establish an appropriate and useful conceptual framework for guiding principles. Whether railroads, coal mines, automobiles, steel or agriculture, industrial heritage tourism plays a key role in protecting, interpreting and, when appropriate, imaginatively adapting landscapes linked to the history of work. As noted in Chapter 2, the proposed framework is shown in a circular pattern including four motives and six attributes, in order to measure the likelihood of success and the sustainability of industrial heritage tourism. It is not a collection of concepts, but rather a construct in which each motive and attribute plays an integral role. A conceptual framework lays out the key factors, constructs and variables, and presumes relationships among them so that it can be applied to various situations (Miles & Huberman, 1994). This proposed framework aims to better understand the interrelationships between these identified motives and attributes and integrate tourism projects into a broader academic landscape. The four key motives identified in the current framework, illustrated by the arcs of a circle, are: (1) conservation; (2) space; (3) community; and (4) image. The circle was chosen because the motives may influence each other in ways that are non-linear and changeable. Six sets of attributes related to the listed motives are presented in rectangular form, these being *potentials* and *stakeholders* related to conservation; *adaptive reuse* associated with space; *economics* and *authenticity* linked with community; and *perceptions* following image. The following summarizes the significance of the proposed framework and each attribute and motive applied in the model.

Industrial heritage tourism's potential power and the involvement of stakeholders are closely associated with conservation, as industrial heritage is regarded as a modern way of maintaining living contact with cultural works of the past. Graham *et al*. (2004: 35) propose that all heritage

resources are renewable because they can be continuously reinterpreted. Their physical fabric, however, is a finite resource dependent on the degree of conservation and preservation undertaken, as well as on the participation of various stakeholders. Industrial heritage has generated different and sometimes conflicting views during the development process. The conversion of industrial heritage is not completed by individual planners, but by a cadre of cultural intermediaries in governments, tourism businesses, local communities, mass media and other institutions. Otgaar (2012) advocates using the term 'industrial tourism potential' to analyze the ability of an industrial site and a region to attract tourists. Not all former factories and industrial buildings can be saved, but some should be after a careful assessment of their potential for generating tourist interest and new local identities. An evaluation of conservation potential should include a structure's role in local stories of historical development and of working-class people. Without physical reminders of previous ways of living and being, the ability to read the past is impoverished (Strangleman, 2013). In other words, interpretation assistance programs are necessary during the conservation stage to help tourists better understand the significance and potential of a given conservation plan.

Tourism originates from the land use of industrial sites. Spatial relations, such as cultural, political and economic practices, have featured in discussions of industrial heritage tourism (Rofel, 1997). The dialectical relationship between tourism and adaptive reuse is a dynamic process of reconfiguring spatial relations. Lefebvre (1991: 26) suggests that space is both 'a means of production' and 'a means of control, and hence of domination, of power'. Adaptive reuse is prioritized at the beginning of planning as it helps to extend the life of industrial buildings and prevents them from being abandoned and left derelict. As the concept of repurposing an industrial structure for a new objective becomes more popular, businesses are breathing new life into factory buildings as restaurants, cafes and art galleries emerge. Spatiotemporally, the adaptive reuse expands from a specific industrial site to a whole precinct. New examples include Yaletown in Vancouver, Canada, a former industrial precinct now dotted with entertainment and high-price lofts; and the so-called Latin Quarter of Amsterdam in the Netherlands, De Pijp, which has polished up some of its rough edges and has emerged as a trendy 'it' neighborhood. In particular, the neighborhood adjacent to the Heineken Brewery retains its multicultural atmosphere and industrial charm.

Adaptive reuse of industrial buildings and sites for tourism purposes can have a transformative impact on local communities blighted by economic decline, and revitalize local cultures whose identities have been

weakened by depopulation. The deterritorialization of industrial space often proves to be successful at attracting tourists when much of a site's character-defining features are preserved, e.g. the interior of the site is removed, leaving the basic industrial form intact, and a new structural system is inserted into the remaining space. There is something about the interior spaces and elaborate façades that many developers find hard to resist. The resolution of adaptive reuse is to infuse old structures with new functions to meet contemporary demand. These renovations often create an entirely new sense of spatial organization while emphasizing the essence of industrial heritage.

Tourism is an inherently expansive economy, constantly appropriating and constructing experiences and places (Coleman & Crang, 2002). Linking economics and authenticity to the community is instrumental in developing industrial heritage tourism. Perhaps the most compelling benefit of tourism is the range of positive economic effects made possible by utilizing local history and heritage. Industrial heritage tourism comes in different forms, ranging from special events, to salt heritage tourism, to factory tourism, to company tours. This development can add economic value to communities while helping meet key goals such as job creation and population growth. Although industrial heritage tourism is somewhat elusive and cannot easily compensate for high unemployment, the loss of a manufacture-based economy and negative local reputations, preserving industrial heritage in an authentic way has proven effective in anchoring community economic development efforts, thus acting as a catalyst and stimulating further redevelopment (Kidd, 2011). Frew (2000) suggests that some factory tours generate jobs in the tourism industry via the multiplier effect: tourists specifically seek out industrial sites, downtowns and communities for their travel destinations. They may be encouraged by an attractive supply of industrial heritage tourism to extend their stay and spend more on local hotels, restaurants and retail, thus further bolstering the local economy.

The development of industrial heritage tourism tends to focus upon authenticity as a growing number of tourists value original aspects of historic and industrial products. The process of heritagization tends to aestheticize reproduced spaces, whereby the past is transformed by a process of 'ahistoric aestheticization' in order to invent fantasy spaces (Walsh, 1992). Many industrial sites have becomes too sanitized in their attempts to clean up and beautify their physical appearance, at the expense of a more complex historical and cultural preservation. Mooney-Melvin (1991) explicates that modified authenticity favors reworking the past to enhance its appeal to modern audiences. Heritage for tourism is a form of

resurrection accepting the use of fake or faux features in order to reconstruct historic structures. Nonetheless, Hughes (1998) cautions that care must be taken not to overwrite the original significance of heritage spaces when developing tourism. Martin Heidegger's (2008) seminal work *Sein und Zeit* (*Being and Time*), compares the conditions of 'home' and 'homelessness'. Heidegger states that 'non-authentic' being is a falsely reassuring sense of living 'in one's own home', while true 'authentic' being is totally estranged from 'average everydayness'. To apply Heidegger's theory to the experience of industrial heritage tourists, authenticity can only be found outside of one's usual environment. Thus, local communities and tourists may hold and pursue divergent views on what renders an industrial heritage site authentic or desirable. Smith (2009) argues that while the reuse of industrial buildings for modern purposes is a common regeneration strategy, this can paradoxically be problematic as the original workers may feel no affiliation with the repurposed structure. Industrial heritage tourism represents typical 'authentic' being since it presupposes a 'historic' environment where tourists and the industrial past meet for a given period of time.

Furthermore, tourism can be seen as an instrument to improve the image of existing industries and their home regions. It is an effective tool of co-branding places, products and producers all together (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005; Otgaar, 2012). Mitchell and Orwig (2002) review the growing use of manufacturing plant tours, company museums and company visitor centers as strategic tools available to strengthen the bond between tourists and industrial brands. As tourists experience the production process and learn its historical significance, their subjective perceptions and objective characteristics change. Brand recognition and loyalty follow tourists' perceptual changes. Correspondingly, such attractions can strengthen the connection between companies and the communities in which they operate, encouraging residents to seek employment at industrial sites and existing employees to take pride in their industrial output. More comprehensive studies evaluating the effects of industrial heritage tourism on local and tourist perceptions are needed to better understand the significance of tourism as a means of economic development.

Revisiting the Case Studies

One of the central assertions of this book is that discussing approaches to industrial heritage tourism is inherently to draw connections, comparisons, articulations and overlaps with other destinations, because industrial heritage tourism is by its very nature a socioeconomic activity that involves various stakeholders, each with competing goals and desires

for redevelopment. While this book uses four specific industrial destinations worldwide as its analytical focus, it would be misleading to say that it is a case study per se, or a work about industrial heritage to the exclusion of other considerations. In fact, these case studies, both practical and ideological, cover a wider scope of research topics ranging from a proposed Jeep museum in the US, salt heritage in Taiwan, waterfront redevelopment in New Zealand and a comparative study of the LX Factory in Portugal and the Westergasfabriek in the Netherlands. The proposed conceptual framework plays out in these case studies, though not always explicitly. They serve as a model for other communities seeking to use tourism to preserve and interpret the history of work and industry. The following summarizes the findings from these specific destinations.

The conceptual framework of this book has been adapted to evaluate a proposal for a National Historic Jeep Museum by the city of Toledo, Ohio. The investigation reveals that although the museum's potential for conserving and interpreting Toledo's Jeep manufacturing history is highly valued, there exist conflicting views by various stakeholders. Problems are attributed to inadequate community perceptions, a lack of strong support from the Jeep industry, the controversial reuse of existing facilities, ill-informed economic benefits and the issue of authenticity. At a deeper level, the proposed project was a late starter when the city of Toledo was in economic recession. Tourism was not propelled by political patronage, or propped up by sponsored financial incentives from the automobile company. The low awareness about the potential benefits of a Jeep museum on the part of the public was detrimental to the promotion of industrial heritage. In some respects, the proposal exemplifies the situation for an industrial heritage museum that failed to get off the ground. It holds lessons for other faltering developments centered on the provision of industrial sites for travel and leisure.

Salt heritage tourism includes tours in the salt fields, participation in the salt production process and the purchase of salt-related products. It encompasses not only architectural but also landscape elements related to geology and topography. The necessity of developing tourism opportunities has resulted in a cultural revival in the salt fields. The chapter identifies theme, product and design as the three most important attributes that contribute to the attractiveness of a salt destination and affect tourists' decision-making processes. A survey was administered on the southwest coast of Taiwan, a region once dominated by the salt industry. The findings showed that tourists preferred to visit salt tourism destinations that offer participatory experiences and interpretation assistance programs. A combination of theme and design was viewed as the most significant

attribute for attractiveness. Tourists expressed a desire to visit salt heritage sites that present traditional themes, but offer modern exhibition designs and souvenir products. The interactive elements were highly regarded by tourists as key sources of learning and entertainment. Participatory experience influences tourist perception of, and satisfaction with, their experience in salt tourism. In particular, interpretation assistance programs offer tourists not only a way of understanding how the industrial past continues to influence the present, but they also foster a climate of conservation awareness for salt heritage in Taiwan.

New Zealand's Auckland waterfront, once a grimy and faded industrial port, has undergone regeneration in recent decades. The result shows that the institutionalized commercialization of leisure spaces attracts spectacles such as the America's Cup and the Rugby World Cup, and becomes an impetus for the remodeling of Auckland's waterfront. The regeneration was highly regarded because morphological changes and event tourism produce a positive and high-quality image of the place; however, physical and social transformation continues to operate on the contested industrial heritage in the vicinity of the Wynyard Quarter. Brown (2006) suggests that the two variables of landscape values and development preferences serve as predictors of place-specific regeneration. Auckland's waterfront redevelopment is the result of an aggressive, top-down process driven by politicians and real estate developers, marked by a lack of cooperation and consensus building between government, business and the general public. The findings show that capital, bureaucratic and political intervention is embodied in the forms of tourist space found along the waterfront. Hall and Selwood (1995: 114) commiserate about the waterfront redevelopment as 'in the creation of a city of fun, only a historic façade of the port remains'. Auckland's less than successful waterfront redevelopment in the late stage echoes Trigg's (2006) argument that the remnants from the fallout of postindustrialism and postmodernism should be assessed in a spatiotemporal context. Derelict industrial sites, such as ports and waterfronts, are not fixed but fluid in terms of temporality and progress. The aesthetics of industrial heritage lies in Walter Benjamin's idea of *Jetztzeit* (here and now) to converge time and space in a non-linear setting. From this perspective, industrial heritage is situated at a conceptual impasse and contentious intellectual debates on the impacts of tourism.

The trajectories of the LX Factory in Lisbon, Portugal and the Westergasfabriek in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, show a space of industrial reuse from its industrial beginning to contemporary refashioning. Both sites commemorate the cultural and economic contributions of the working classes, and there is a strong relation between industrial

repurposing and the arts sector (Park, 2014). The chapter proposes a life-cycle model of industrial heritage development that goes through a process of territorialization, deterritorialization and reterritorialization. At the outset of territorialization, both former factory plants were given new life as cultural centers, leading to the broader development of an industrial park, arts-led regeneration and cultural precincts. Small galleries at risk of expulsion from the inner city were offered space in the LX Factory and the Westergasfabriek. Old factory spaces emerged as prime real estate for the artists, deriving their appeal from open spaces, lowered rent and authentic aesthetics. Local authorities, taking advantage of vacant industrial premises and the rise of small businesses, led initiatives in further regeneration. Territorialization thus draws historical experiences and postindustrial imagery into sites of urban redevelopment, transforming them into consumption strategies.

However, place differentiation operates during the stages of deterritorialization and reterritorialization. Heritage preservation has become a project to ensure economic viability in the Westergasfabriek while unplanned tourism projects are omnipresent in the LX Factory, characterizing the originality of industrial patina *in situ*. The narratives of the industrial histories of both sites are largely absent within the district beyond heritage plaques, machines and general-use objects placed throughout the interior and exterior spaces. While both sites were able to retain their arts communities under the pressure of gentrification and rising rents, a growing number of artists have fallen victim to the familiar story of arts displacement (Mathews, 2008). Zukin (1989) describes an emergent 'artistic mode of production' where young professionals are attracted to regenerated industrial environments because the new locations effectively reduce the cost of labor, while the prospect of proximity to 'stylish living' in the broader sense compensates for a relative lack of remuneration. However, the outcome of the economic valorization of both the LX Factory and the Westergasfabriek is an increase in property prices that leads, ironically, to the displacement of these artists, those very people whose aesthetic dispositions helped to initiate the influx of tourists and professionals. Through gentrification, places and people once deemed authentic, trendy and subversive may become appropriated, manufactured and mass-produced kitsch for higher earning groups (Lees *et al.*, 2007).

This book has attempted to illustrate many of the complexities and contradictions inherent in the development of industrial heritage tourism, as well as offering case studies on four different continents. While the phenomenon of industrial heritage tourism is a new focus for academic research, many decades of urban planning and revitalization have

demonstrated that certain approaches are more successful than others. Recent accomplishments in industrial heritage tourism have arguably provided a new impetus for stakeholders to discover and achieve the next level of regeneration. By contrast, the wisdom of learning from failure is incontrovertible. Case studies, such as the abortive proposal to build the Jeep museum in Toledo, help us learn from failures to improve future performance, while the study of salt heritage tourism in Taiwan profiles the tourists interested in experiencing industrial heritage. The purpose of the book is thus to help close the gap between rhetoric and reality, and evidence suggests that industrial heritage tourism is one of the most promising fields for policymaking, urban planning and economic development.

In the meantime, the case studies in this book are fraught with controversies and tensions. On the surface, the transformation of industrial spaces has been successfully reimagined and reused for tourism. However, the transformative process often faces serious objections on the part of stakeholders including local communities, revealing the problems that often accompany stylistic restoration and façadism. The popularity of industrial heritage tourism projects among local residents could diminish in the face of growing tourists and the changes they bring: congestion, higher prices and persistent unemployment. Tourism today largely represents a qualitative and quantitative transformation of preexisting structures in old industrial cities and districts. The critical issues of 'style selectivity' and 'authentic restoration' have become contentious in the process of tourism development. Many projects succeed on one level, but can fail on another. Even as prosperous tourist precincts, they are not deemed meaningful by the community in which they are located and goodwill from local residents can be short lived (Smith, 2009).

On the basis of the observations and discussions presented, it is possible to make recommendations to increase the likelihood of success in industrial heritage tourism. The following sections outline these recommendations for future research, which center on the cultivation of living industrial heritage, forging public–private partnerships, the production of mixed-use spaces, tourist segmentation and the growth of industrial heritage tourism as an academic discipline.

Recommendations

Living industrial heritage for tourism

The research on industrial heritage tourism has traditionally been regarded as contested by tourism scholars and practitioners. The prevailing

assumption is that any attempt to use heritage elements to accommodate tourists will cheapen or trivialize the presentation and interpretation of industrial history. The marketing of industrial heritage tourism often emphasizes the fossilized aspects of industries, buildings and sites. Tourism practice may distort or calcify a culture into a 'frozen' picture of the past. This practice of distortion leads to the creation of stereotyped and clichéd tourist experiences, in which tourists seek, and the host society provides, little more than access to a prefabricated repertoire of expected symbols. The touristification of industrial heritage, albeit rare, remains a concern in reference to situations where tourism is so pervasive that it has become a way of everyday life.

Differences in the perceptions of industrial heritage tourism can cause problems for the recognition, funding and administration of tourist sites. The combination of industrial heritage and tourism remains a burgeoning field of research and development. For example, Europe has occupied the forefront of research and discussion about the transformation of industrial sites into tourist attractions; even so, the European Commission Communications did not contain any reference to industrial heritage tourism until 2010 (Handszuh, 2011), under the concept of cultural itineraries (European Commission Communication, 2010: 352). The official acknowledgment of industrial heritage tourism commenced in 2011 when designations, such as 'tourism and regeneration of physical sites', 'European heritage label', 'European Union Prize for Cultural Heritage', were approved and implemented in the European Union. Despite the fact that industrial heritage tourism has been active for many decades, its lagging recognition reveals the perceptual gap between central governments and local businesses.

On the other end of the spectrum, urban regeneration stresses pleasure over utility when tourism dominates the redevelopment scheme. Industrial heritage is used as a tool to evoke past eras and somewhat idealized versions of the past. It provides a focal point for a tourist gaze and an opportunity to reminisce about the industrial past. However, commodification changes the meaning of industrial heritage and practices to such a degree that they eventually become culturally meaningless, e.g. the former slaughterhouse is converted into a swanky Michelin-starred restaurant; or the warehouse is transformed into a romantic boutique hotel. Invented authenticity emerges when faux features or materials are used to reconstruct industrial properties in order to make them appear 'authentic' for the purpose of attracting tourists. Adaptive reuse for tourism may lead to loss of architectural identity and integrity: while it indicates a fundamental shift in the commercial use of a given industrial space, tourism can cause the emergence of a culture different from that which originally occupied

a given structure. Changing from a purpose-built past to contemporary functions has the potential to create conflict between competing values as to how an industrial heritage destination should 'look' and 'feel' (Hayllar *et al*., 2008).

Additionally, the social, economic and political effects of urban gentrification come under scrutiny by local communities. In several cities worldwide, the aestheticization of the formerly industrial and the creation of cultural enclaves are all the rage. One sees that the aestheticization often means the reclamation by the middle class, and the subsequent disempowerment of the working class. Working-class people are disempowered, not only because the new jobs that are made available by these refurbished sites are rarely jobs for which they would be hired, but also because in the process of aestheticizing former industrial spaces, the history of the working-class struggle is unintentionally erased. At the same time, the romanticization of former industrial spaces as sites of cultural production promotes increasing numbers of the creative class to reoccupy these areas. The economic position of the working class is increasingly precarious, but the growing connections between the creative class and the postindustrial landscape may help to alleviate income disparity in the long run.

Nonetheless, industrial heritage tourism might be conceived of in different ways for different purposes. My argument is that the advantages of tourism outweigh its potential pitfalls and industrial heritage should be viewed as 'living heritage', which maintains a continuous link to modern industry and plays a significant role in mediating the past, present and future. Tourism is a new way of supporting living contact with industrial works of the past including efforts to revitalize various types of industrial properties, both tangible and intangible. Industrial heritage is the opposite of museumification and provides an experiential space for tourism. It increases our understanding of what tourism can be by giving tourists ways to directly experience the industrial past. The scope of industrial heritage tourism considers expanding the genre to include living industry. What is needed is a more explicit recognition of tourism as a distinctive land use and a more proactive rather than a reactive stance taken with regard to this sector. Tourism fosters the conservation of industrial heritage, revitalizes skills, fosters creativity and provides a platform for communities to present themselves confidently. Industrial heritage tourism not only consists of museums, but it is also a living landscape where it needs to be promoted. Otgaar *et al*. (2010) suggest that this type of tourism has a significant advantage over conventional types: tourists establish contact with locally made products in a living environment, and

by encouraging tourists to consume these products during their visits, the company and the local economy will benefit in the end. Living industrial heritage provides a highly effective learning experience without the formal constraints. The function of tourism in industrial facilities is to maintain and continue production, reuse or conversion as a means of economic development.

The notion of living industrial heritage has attracted critiques from tourism scholars who believe that repurposing derelict industrial structures serves to destabilize dominant cultural identities rather than expanding understanding of industrial history (Wall, 2011). There is a need for industrial heritage to be grounded within the local community in order to contain tourism's destabilizing potential and achieve substantial authentic tourist experiences (Firth, 2011). Elements of nostalgia bind memory, places and experiences, and influence communities' attitudes toward tourism development. Living industrial heritage emphasizes the elements of industrial sites and products that are living, still in use and retain relevance in the present day. The positive portrayal of industrial history and heritage, such as the reconstruction and restoration of industrial sites to their former glory, is necessary to ensure tourism development. Recreating sites and features in a manner that is authentic and historically accurate is also important to offer an informative experience for tourists and local communities alike. The use of industrial heritage is one of the strategies adopted by historical industrial cities and towns as a means of reconstructing local identity and accommodating tourism in the process of restructuring physical sites. The success in relation to interpreting industrial heritage lies between authenticity and historical accuracy. Tourism has proved to be an evocative window for examining industrial heritage as well as a powerful cultural force for identity reconfigurations.

Furthermore, the creation of living industrial heritage offers the prospect of sustainable development to enrich present and future generations. Through education, innovation, social integration and community-building, industrial heritage tourism improves the socioeconomic circumstances of former industrial centers and implements policies ensuring that experiences of the past and present can find continued use. Otgaar *et al*. (2010: 10–12) summarize from a supply side that the benefits of turning functional industrial sites into a tourist experience go beyond the number of tourists. In fact, these sites have at least six advantages: (1) industrial heritage tourism can make a substantial contribution to the marketing of products and the enhancement of brands and industrial image; (2) its factory and company tours promote positive feelings about the existing production processthe; (3) it might create opportunities to generate new sources of

revenue, such as the sale of industrial products or souvenirs; (4) it responds to the need for corporate social responsibility and civic engagement; (5) it helps attract employees interested in industry and the production process; and (6) tourism can be a way to get in touch with customers.

For industrial sites that have not been transformed and functional, one can borrow French philosopher Jacques Derrida's (1992: 14) description of the 'ruin' – 'I do not see the ruin as a negative thing. First of all, it is clearly not a thing'. According to Derrida, the ruin has an intermediary status between fiction and reality, memory and delusion, past and present. Ruins bear an undeniable ontological status and a strong transitional character. Due to the interventions of industrial heritage tourism, industrial ruins are increasingly viewed positively (Edensor, 2005) and reused for a new purpose. The Council of Europe (2011) proposes that the preservation of industrial heritage should focus on two broad goals: promoting diversity and dialogue through access to heritage in order to foster a sense of identity, collective memory and mutual understanding within and between communities; and contributing to development that is linked to territorial cohesion, lifestyles and relationships through the notion of heritage and landscape as community resources. Therefore, industrial heritage is fluid, mutable and indicative of various time periods, while its tourism marks the advent of a vibrant process of transforming tradition and 'fixed modernity' into a kind of 'liquid modernity' (Bauman, 2000: 1).

Partnership toward a common goal

Developing industrial heritage tourism faces headwinds as changes in the ownership of companies, internationalization and reorganization have undermined traditional community links (Wager, 2000). There are no longer any local industrial communities or a patriarchal industrial culture in a postmodern society. Technological revolutions and the relocation of production abroad pose new questions for stakeholders involved in developing resources for tourist consumption. Similarly, industrial heritage advocacy cannot limit itself to the conservation and restoration of factory buildings and monuments. It is critical to treat industrial heritage units as a whole connected to the landscape around them. Regional development needs cohesive agendas and programs for industrial heritage and marketing for tourism. Long-term planning for industrial heritage tourism with an integral, continuing conservation policy is essential in ensuring a quality experience for the visitor (Millar, 1989). This means that more than one articulation of industrial heritage is required for the public to understand the significance of integration with other fields. A multifaceted approach to

tourism is the best way to increase awareness about the value of industrial heritage, to nurture local pride and to create a sustainable base for new economic growth.

Tourism as part of an economic strategy is generally executed in coalition with commercial interests. Such interests often discount or are unaware of tourism's positive socioeconomic impacts upon local communities. Tensions between tourism businesses and residents can be fully expected as heritage commerce concentrates on recognizable and reproducible associations with the past. The importance of residents' involvement has been widely recognized since their quality of life is directly affected by land use and economic development and they function as a vital part of the heritage places and the determiners of historic values (Gunn & Var, 2002). Therefore, there is a demand to incorporate agendas and programs into the industrial heritage conservation and tourism development to promote cultural and economic sustainability and acknowledge complex local histories. Specific regions need to improve on the practical ways of implementing holistic industrial heritage policies. Handszuh (2011) argues that it is essential to create networks, share best practices and avoid using the same economic models in different locations. The integrated documentation and preservation of the built environment, technology and interpretation of industrial culture need a concerted effort. Otgaar (2012) elucidates that during the development of industrial heritage tourism, the interests of the public and private sectors are fundamentally different. It is appropriate to implement a common agenda in which both interests can collaborate and address their concerns through a variety of means, such as the organization of a joint event to promote industrial heritage and locally produced products, the creation of a special organization that encourages the development of industrial heritage tourism or the integration of tourism into the development of business locations. On a micro level, this implies that manufacturing plants should consider their attractiveness to visitors in the design of their buildings. On a macro level, regions should develop multifunctional zones and business parks to facilitate the marketing of tourism.

Industrial heritage is supported by a diverse and varied array of stakeholders, all of whom need to cooperate and coordinate on tourism projects. Tourism projects have also been utilized by different governments to showcase a country's industrial might, in its past and present forms, and to link it to the triumph of a specific national ideology. In the case of Taiwan, industrial heritage tourism, such as touring the salt fields, is meant to connect 'landscapes of power' (Zukin, 1993) to a historical legacy, stretching from the early colonial period

to the present era of postmodernity and cultural revival. During the process of transformation, there is a need to create synergy between key sectors involved in developing tourism as well as to stimulate public–private partnerships. Given limited budgets for tourism marketing and promotion, it is necessary to pool resources to create compelling, visible and economically sustainable tourist attractions. Mixed investment in industrial heritage tourism is recommended because public–private partnerships inspire community participation and build sites with a foreseeable future. For example, tourist destinations need to promote themselves not only as artistic venues, but also as economically viable enterprises, educational institutions and enjoyable destinations (Smith, 2007). The primary goal of tourism is to improve the image of old industrial towns and to encourage more informed types of economic activities through establishments such as convention centers and visitors bureaus, maps and informational publications, guided visits and events and promotional materials.

The production of mixed-use spaces

One very important perspective, often elided in discussions of industrial heritage tourism, is the issue of mixed-use spaces. Industrial heritage tourism cannot be fully developed unless it clusters with other socioeconomic activities. Terms, such as 'cultural districts', 'tourism corridors', 'tourism business district' and 'tourism precincts', refer to areas with a high concentration of cultural, heritage and entertainment facilities. While some industrial sites and destinations form part of the everyday urban fabric where tourists and locals share communal space for transportation, shopping and dining, others purposely stand apart from daily experience where industries are clustered outside of residential zones. Smith (2009) points out that a heritage destination must include entertainment, retailing, food and dining to form a cluster of creative industries. Both cultural and creative developments are integrated into mixed-use districts designated for office space, residential areas, hotels and recreational sites. These may be explained in terms of such factors as accessibility, land rent, planning restrictions, comparative shopping and proximity to other tourism-related phenomena.

Transforming industrial sites for new functions and connecting them with the surrounding urban tissue is one of the main tasks of urban design and planning. The study of the waterfront redevelopment in Auckland, New Zealand, demonstrates that the sheer existence of government plans involving tourism can point to issues of functionality or of potential

conflict between multiple uses in a given area. A heritage waterfront planned solely by estate developers who do not seek input from residents will fail to integrate into the larger city and will not reflect the value of industrial heritage. The redevelopment has been parallel to local economic transitions toward a creative economy, promoted via the creation of distinct geographical areas containing high concentrations of new cultural and entertainment facilities. As demonstrated in the comparative study of the LX Factory and the Westergasfabriek, while brownfields and derelict industrial complexes have been reused for commercial purposes, the processes of transforming these complexes into mixed-use neighborhoods and incorporating them into the urban structure proves to be much more complicated. The creation of mixed-use spaces at industrial and historical sites that function as viable tourist attractions requires substantial financial support and coordination. For example, designing an extensive itinerary for industrial heritage tourism may include industrial zones, railway infrastructure, engineering works, workers' housing and other features. Tourists can participate in factory tours in the morning and attend wine and olive production tours in the afternoon. They will be able to understand the process of industrialization and agriculture, and their impact on local communities. The spatiotemporal changes that accompany industrial heritage tourism often come with financial support or subsidies provided by the region, municipalities, regional associations, state heritage institutions and civil society organizations, in order to meet the costs of renovation and maintenance. Most importantly, mixed-use spaces build tourism products capable of generating employment and wealth in former industrial areas.

Stangel (2011), in his study of industrial cities in Poland, suggests that successful regeneration happens in places where the most favorable spatial and cultural conditions exist. These conditions include a strategic location, good transport infrastructure with surrounding areas, existing site amenities, as well as external factors such as a growing local economy and demand for housing and commercial space. For example, Paine Field Airport in Everett, Washington, is a typical mixed-use tourist destination for aviation and industrial heritage enthusiasts. It is located 30 miles north of Seattle, an easily accessible city with strong transportation systems. The airport boasts four major aviation collections and a diverse range of aircrafts that are being restored, collected and flown by its many tenants. It also functions as one of Boeing's largest production facilities where tourists can view 777 jets being assembled on the production line. In addition, through organizing multiple events annually, such as Aviation Day and Vintage Aircraft Weekends, the airport attracts many tourists, which in

turn raises awareness about the history and heritage of the aeronautics industry. The planes within the Flying Heritage Collection offer a museum-like environment for tourists to learn about historic flight experiences.

Understanding tourist segmentations

Industrial heritage tourism draws a distinctive group of tourists, whose activities vary from factory to ruin tours. This tourist demographic tends to be motivated by the industrial properties and products' original use, rather than by contemporary functional tourism linkages. A more general tourist approach is to appreciate industrial displays and the beauty of heritage settings. Cleere (1989) indicates that the formation of attitudes toward the past is so ill-formulated in the minds of individual tourists that it is difficult to draw any valid analytical conclusions. The one element that seems to be common to tourists involves the issue of identity or a sense of belonging to a place or a tradition. Current studies (Nyaupane & Timothy, 2010; Skjaeveland *et al*., 1996; Willis, 2009) show that older generations tend to be more physically and emotionally attached to their communities and value the deep meanings associated with industrial heritage environments. People live in multigenerational households are more likely to have developed a strong sense of place and a high level of social cohesion than these newcomers (Lund, 2002). The study of tourists visiting the salt heritage fields in Taiwan also demonstrates that learning and education are important motivations. The growing interest in interactive guides, experiential authenticity and novelty objects for souvenirs plays a vital role in emphasizing fun and modern forms of entertainment, which makes industrial heritage sites suitable for the family market (Chapman & Light, 2011).

Industrial heritage tourism is tantamount to what might be called a bourgeoisification of working-class history. However, recruiting current and former craftsmen to work or volunteer at industrial tourism sites, sharing and imparting their local knowledge and practical skills, has grown popular in recent years. The presence of these workers is indicative of a broader pattern of developing interactive tourist experiences in order to facilitate deeper understandings of industrial histories. For instance, the underground coal mine in Eastern Europe allows tourists to take tours of mining pits and gives them a valuable insight into the types of conditions that workers faced (Conlin & Jolliffe, 2011). Many tourists actually live in the same region as the sites they visit; for these tourists, industrial heritage sites represent an opportunity to form a stronger bond with local history and to better understand their own heritage (Poria *et al*., 2006). The study of

industrial heritage tourism should explore how tourists perceive industrial preservation, and how their perceptions and other social factors influence their decision to visit certain sites.

Industrial heritage tourists' experiences are distinctively individual and highly contextual (Rickly-Boyd, 2009). Presenting an intensely visual experience that tourists perceive as authentic is instrumental to the success of the site, as memory processes are driven by access to and contact with past histories and induced images (Hodge, 2011). However, one of the greatest challenges of effectively applying these guidelines is avoiding standardization: the application of preconceived standards is omnipresent in tourism-related business and provides easily understandable and uniform information to tourists on sites (Diekmann et al., 2006). The implication of standardization is that quality standards secure the attractiveness and accessibility of tourism. The use of standardization has been prevalent in the last decades. It is so dominant in tourism development that industrial heritage runs the risk of becoming a generic product that is indistinguishable from location to location.

Thus, the argument here is that industrial heritage tourism ought to focus on diversity, rather than standardization. Its attractions are perceived as being noticeably different from other types of attractions. Tourism should maximize major differences in a marked degree of selectivity conditioned by the short length of stay by most tourists. Developers need to promote the diversity of industrial heritage as an economic asset and stimulate tourism entrepreneurship. Otgaar et al. (2011) document the factory tours for the Autostadt, Wolfsburg in the Volkswagen Group. Its philosophy advocates not providing a standard tour for every visitor, but bringing in some variations. This approach is reflected in the training of the professional guides: they are coached to be specialists in one area of the factory, so that interpretations will not overlap. The tours focus on the exciting moments of the production process and provide information about the social conditions of the workers. The visitor trains stop for a while at each highlight in order to provide opportunities for tourists to ask questions. In addition, there are many special tours tailored to certain types of tourists, such as members of the board of management, journalists and politicians.

Willis (2009) stresses that heritage attractions need to have an awareness of tourists' demands on site and of best practices for attracting new tourists and retaining existing ones. Both the Volkswagen factory tours and the salt fields in Taiwan reiterate that tourists are strongly interested in participatory activities and in contemporary designs, allowing for more informal and highly immersive types of experiences.

These, in turn, mean that tourists want to get a feel for distinctive industrial architecture, ambience, products and heritage. In the context of the LX Factory and the Westergasfabriek, many tourists were attracted by the artistic displays inside the factory sites and enjoyed the nostalgic feel of postindustrial settings. Bonink and Hitters (2001) propose to draw a broad and diverse range of tourists interested in industrial heritage and specifically experimental culture, such as a milieu of industrial innovation. The use of information technology and social media is necessary to bridge the gap between the space of flows and the space of places. Tourism planners ought to improve the provision of services to attract more tourists and encourage repeat visits.

When segmenting tourists, it is necessary to consider the variety of tourists interested in industrial heritage tourism. According to Stebbins (2007: 79), tourism cannot be considered a hobby; rather, it is 'serious leisure' dependent in part on the pursuit of systematic and enduring knowledge. A broad swathe of tourists engaged in 'serious leisure' may be drawn to industrial heritage tourism, from serious heritage tourists to dabblers for whom the primary motivation is not industrial heritage per se. In addition, the identity base of mass tourism vis-à-vis industrial heritage tourism is substantially different. The latter requires in-depth narratives and infrastructure in order to maintain interest and enjoy a satisfying tourist experience. Serious industrial heritage tourists demand attractions that foster the development of certain tastes (e.g. exterior design, industrial architecture), the acquisition of certain kinds of knowledge (e.g. industrial history, heritage and local culture) and the development of particular social skills (e.g. appreciation of industrial heritage and understanding of local community). Industrial heritage tourists are one of the most important market segments, and they require a good deal of effort and attention.

The growth of industrial heritage tourism as an academic discipline

The study of industrial heritage tourism, under various names, is cohering into a discipline in its own right. The remit of industrial heritage tourism is very broad but firmly centered in the contemporary society. Some theories of industrial heritage tourism are potentially interesting but limited by the rather skeletal discussions with which they are accompanied. Furthermore, present-day divisions in the field of tourism studies mirror taxonomies in the traditional disciplines responsible for the study of each category of phenomena. Industrial heritage tourism falls under 'heritage studies' and is largely undertaken by archaeologists, sociologists, urban

planners, geographers, historians and many other disciplines. Much of the socioeconomic aspects of tourism have been undertaken by human geographers who express an interest in the ways refers to the socioeconomic aspects of tourism studies. What these modes of research share in common is a fascination with the industrial past, and a yearning for a deeper understanding of heritage values. It is assumed that the past is elusive, but has a critical effect on the present and future.

The advent of research on industrial heritage tourism enriches the context of interdisciplinary collaboration and has already achieved many substantial and structural criteria for an independent academic discipline. According to Lowenthal (1999), any heritage study is a social construction, an empty box waiting to be filled with our values, beliefs and desires. Studies thus have a functional role of providing a framework for making sense of tourist attractions and phenomena. Most importantly, industrial heritage tourism serves social, cultural and political functions that vary over time and for different stakeholders. The profile needs to be clarified by researchers interested in cultural and heritage tourism.

New academic disciplines develop continually from different circumstances and for numerous purposes. During the process of development, they face the challenge of justifying their status as independent disciplines. The academic discipline of industrial heritage and the function of tourism are twin disciplines that have developed at different rates. Wager (2000: 19–20), in his studies of industrial heritage in Nordic and Baltic countries, argues that industrial heritage tourism should be seen as a professional field for training and extensive research. The goals of this field should be to (1) raise awareness of industrial heritage and change views and attitudes about it; (2) promote and develop theoretical discussion, research ideologies and practical methods for the conservation and care of industrial heritage; (3) improve the theoretical and practical skills required to conduct rigorous research; (4) form a multidisciplinary field of study that fosters communication between professions; (5) utilize existing networks, structures and organizations; and (6) develop research on industrial heritage tourism into a full-fledged academic discipline. Wager further proposes that the study of industrial heritage exhibits a strong tendency toward an interdisciplinary exchange of opinions and results. Topical studies can address a wide variety of issues, such as inventory, documentation, evaluation and classification of industrial sites for tourism; industry and economic ties; workers' housing and social issues; and tourist consumption of industrial heritage and infrastructures. Frew (2000) comments that it is somewhat paradoxical that industrial heritage tourism is derived from a position of subordination to the non-tourism activities of organizations.

However, the magnitude of the phenomenon, both in terms of the number of current and potential operations and their socioeconomic impact, makes it imperative to turn the study of industrial heritage into a fundamental discipline.

Uzzell (2009) indicates that whether heritage is 'out there' or 'in here', there is a relationship between 'it' and 'us'. Borrowing the concepts of the taxonomic, differential and systematic from Moscovici's (1972) study of social psychology, Uzzell explicates that the 'taxonomic' is concerned with investigating the nature of the variables which might account for tourist behavior. Social stimuli are seen to affect the process of perception and the formation of attitudes. The second relationship, the 'differential', classifies the subject of research to differentiate it from other groups of research. The last relationship is called systematic, which studies the interdependence of individuals and groups to a common physical and social environment. The relationship of the individual to his or her heritage is mediated through the intervention of another person or group, such as an industrial archaeologist or an urban planner. Uzzell thus claims that industrial heritage is indeed an academic discipline, as all its methods are embedded within sets of assumptions about the relationship between people, their physical environment and their past. Industrial heritage tourism is central to contemporary conceptualizations of the multidiscipline including the polyvocality and multidimensionality meaning in the postmodern society.

Therefore, this book is ostensibly about the role of the study of industrial heritage tourism and how this academic discipline stimulates demand by capitalizing on the positive attitude of actual and potential heritage tourists. It is a practical and theoretical field of study seeking to utilize industrial heritage for travel and tourism and concentrating on the investigation of consumer behavior and destination marketing. An alliance between industrial heritage and tourism results in synergistic effects that strengthen their respective standing by enhancing contributions to planning policy formation, opening new avenues for research, increasing opportunities for research funding and improving academic offerings. It is argued that industrial heritage tourism should develop as an academic discipline to better understand the complex interplay of social, cultural, economic, environmental and psychological aspects of human behaviors. Ultimately, it is a research field filled with wonderful learning experiences for all walks of life.

References

Aas, C., Ladkin, A. and Fletcher, J. (2005) Stakeholder collaboration and heritage management. *Annals of Tourism Research* 32 (1), 28–48.

Adamietz, J. (2012) Urban tourism and waterfronts: Exploring the case of the Auckland waterfront development. Master of Tourism Studies, Auckland University of Technology.

Agarwal, S. (2012) Relational spatiality and resort restructuring. *Annals of Tourism Research* 39 (1), 134–154.

Ahmad, Y. (2006) The scope and definitions of heritage: From tangible to intangible. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 12 (3), 292–300.

Aiesha, R. and Evans, G. (2007) VivaCity: Mixed-use and urban tourism. In M. Smith (ed.) *Tourism, Culture and Regeneration* (pp. 35–48). Cambridge, MA: CAB International.

Alfrey, J. and Putnam, T. (1992) *The Industrial Heritage: Managing Resources and Uses*. London: Routledge.

Alfrey, J. and Clark, C. (1993) *Landscape of Industry: Patterns of Change in The Ironbridge Gorge*. London: Routledge.

Alonso, A., O'Neill, M. and Kim, K. (2010) In search of authenticity: A case examination of the transformation of Alabama's Langdale Cotton Mill into an industrial heritage tourism attraction. *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 5 (1), 33–48.

AlSayyad, N. (2001) Prologue. In N. AlSayyad (ed.) *Consuming Tradition, Manufacturing Heritage* (pp. 1–33). New York: Routledge.

Amin, A. (2002) Spatialities of globalization. *Environment and Planning A* 34 (3), 385–399.

Andereck, K. (2005) Residents' perceptions of community tourism impacts. *Annals of Tourism Research* 32 (4), 1056–1076.

Anderson, B. (1991) *Imagined Communities*. New York: Verso.

Andersson, T. and Getz, D. (2008) Stakeholder management strategies of festivals. *Journal of Convention and Event Tourism* 9 (3), 199–220.

Andrews, W. (2010) Kojo Moe factory freaks love industry landscape. See http://www.shifteast.com/kojo-moe-factory-freaks-love-industry-landscape/ (accessed July 2014).

Antich, X. (2004) Where are the wounds? After-images and fictions of the rose of fire. In N. Enguita Mayo, L. Marzo and M. Romani (eds) *Tour-isms: The Defeat of Dissent* (pp. 76–85). Barcelona: Fundacio Tapies.

Apostolakis, A. (2003) The convergence process in heritage tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 30 (4), 795–812.

Araujo, L. and Bramwell, B. (1999) Stakeholder assessment and collaborative tourism planning: The case of Brazil's Costa Dourada Project. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 7 (3/4), 356–378.

Arnesen, R. (2006) Reuse of industrial buildings in a heritage-led regeneration project. Masters of Science, Glasgow Caledonian University.

Arnstein, S. (1969) Ladder of citizen participation. *Journal of the American Institute of Planner* 4, 216–224.

Ashmore, W. and Knapp, A. (1999) *Archaeologies of Landscape: Contemporary Perspectives*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

Ashworth, G. (1992) Heritage and tourism: An argument, two problems and three solutions. In C. Fleischer van Roojen (ed.) *Spatial Implications of Tourism* (pp. 95–104). Groningen: Geo Pers.

Ashworth, G. (1994) From history to heritage – from heritage to identity. In G. Ashworth and P. Larkham (eds) *Building a New Heritage: Tourism, Culture and Identity in the New Europe* (pp. 13–30). London: CABI.

Ashworth, G. and Larkham, P. (1994) A heritage for Europe: The need, the task, the contribution. In G. Ashworth and P. Larkham (eds) *Building a New Heritage* (pp. 1–9). London: Routledge.

Ashworth, G. and Tunbridge, J. (2000) *The Tourist-Historic City*. Amsterdam: Pergamon.

Ashworth, G. and Graham, B. (2005) *Senses of Place: Senses of Time*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Ashworth, G. and Page, S. (2011) Urban tourism research: Recent progress and current paradoxes. *Tourism Management* 32, 1–15.

Assmann, A. (2002) Beyond the archive. In B. Neville and J. Villeneuve (eds) *Waste-Site Stories* (pp. 71–84). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Atkinson, D., Cooke, S. and Spooner, D. (2002) Tales from the Riverbank: Place-marketing and maritime heritages. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 8 (1), 25–40.

Auckland City Council (1996) *Viaduct Basin Update*. Auckland: Auckland City Council.

Auckland City Council (2006) *Draft Wynyard Point Concept Vision*. Auckland: Auckland City Council.

Auckland Harbour Board (1973) Waitemata Harbour Study: Preliminary Report on Fill. Auckland Harbour Board, NZ.

Auckland Harbour Edge Investigation Committee (1989) *Auckland Harbour Edge Investigation Committee Report*. Auckland: Auckland Harbour Edge Investigation Committee.

Auckland Regional Council and Auckland City Council (1991) *Joint Harbour Edge Study Interim Report*. Auckland: Auckland Regional Council and Auckland City Council.

Auckland Regional Council and Auckland City Council (2005) Auckland Waterfront 2040. Auckland Regional Council and Auckland City Council.

Auckland Waterfront Development Agency (2010) Our role in Auckland's waterfront. See http://www.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/Plans/LongTermPlan/VolumeFive/section_ 1341871326338.html (accessed July 2014).

Auge, M. (2009) *Non-Places: An Introduction to Supermodernity*. London: Verso.

Bærenholdt, J., Haldrup, M., Larsen, J. and Urry, J. (2004) *Performing Tourist Places*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Bain, A. (2003) Constructing contemporary artistic identities in Toronto neighborhoods. *The Canadian Geographer* 47 (3), 303–317.

Balibrea, M. (2004) Urbanism, culture and the post-industrial city: Challenging the "Barcelona Model". In T. Marshall (ed.) *Transforming Barcelona* (pp. 205–224). London: Routledge.

Ball, R. (2000) Industrial heritage tourism as a force for the regeneration of coalfield communities: A feasibility-desirability analysis. In M. Robinson, N. Evans, P. Long, R. Sharpley and J. Swarbrooke (eds) *Tourism and Heritage Relationships: Global, National and Local Perspectives* (pp. 17–34). Sunderland: Business Education Publishers.

Ballesteros, E. and Ramirez, M. (2007) Identity and community – Reflections on the development of mining heritage tourism in Southern Spain. *Tourism Management* 28 (3), 677–687.

Barber, A. and Hall, S. (2008) Birmingham: Whose urban renaissance? Regeneration as a response to economic restructuring. *Policy Studies* 29 (3), 281–292.

Barker, M., Page, S. and Meyer, D. (2001) Evaluating the impact of the 2000 America's Cup on Auckland, New Zealand. *Event Management* 7 (2), 79–92.

Bauman, Z. (2000) *Liquid Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity.

Bazin, C. (1995) Industrial heritage in the tourism process in France. In M. Lanfant, J. Allcock and E. Bruner (eds) *International Tourism: Identity and Change* (pp. 112–126). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Beaudet, G. and Lundgren, J. (1996) Industrial heritage. *Teoros* 15 (2), 57–65.

Becker, C. and George, B. (2011) Rapid rail transit and tourism development in the United States. *Tourism Geographies* 13 (3), 381–397.

Beeho, A. and Prentice, R. (1995) Evaluating the experiences and benefits gained by tourists visiting a socio-industrial heritage museum: An application of ASEB grid analysis to Blists Hill open-air museum, the Ironbridge Gorge museum, United Kingdom. *Museum Management and Curatorship* 14 (3), 229–251.

Bell, D. (1973) *The Coming of the Post-Industrial Society: A Venture in Social Forecasting*. New York: Basic Books.

Benhamou, F. (2003) Heritage. In R. Towse (ed.) *A Handbook of Cultural Economics* (pp. 255–262). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Benito Del Pozo, P. and Gonzalez, P. (2012) Industrial heritage and place identity in Spain: From monuments to landscapes. *The Geographical Review* 102 (4), 446–464.

Benjamin, W. (2002) *The Arcades Project*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bergeron, G. (1996) *Le Patrimoine Industriel, un Nouveau Territoire*. Paris: Liris.

Bergman, R. (1988, October 19) The clash on Clybourn Avenue, Los Angeles Times. See http://articles.latimes.com/1988-10-19/business/fi-3652_1_manufacturing-district (accessed July 2014).

Besculides, A., Lee, M. and McCormick, P. (2002) Residents' perceptions of the cultural benefits of tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 29 (2), 303–319.

Bhabha, H. (2004) *The Location of Culture*. New York: Routledge.

Binelli, M. (2012, November 9) How Detroit became the world capital of staring at abandoned old buildings. *The New York Times*.

Binney, M., Machin, F. and Powell, K. (1990) *Bright Future: The Re-Use of Industrial Buildings*. London: SAVE Britain's Heritage.

Bodurow, C. (2003) A vehicle for conserving and interpreting our recent industrial heritage. *The George Wright Forum* 20 (2), 68–88.

Bonink, C. and Hitters, E. (2001) Creative industries as milieux of innovation: The Westergasfabriek Amsterdam. In G. Richards (ed.) *Cultural Attractions and European Tourism* (pp. 227–240). Wallingford: CABI publishing.

Boym, S. (2001) *The Future of Nostalgia*. New York: Basic Books.

Bramwell, B. and Rawding, L. (1996) Tourism marketing images of industrial cities. *Annals of Tourism Research* 23, 201–221.

Bramwell, B. and Sharman, A. (1999) Collaboration in local tourism policymaking. *Annals of Tourism Research* 26 (2), 392–415.

Brenner, N. (2004) *New State Spaces: Urban Governance and the Rescaling of Statehood*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brenner, N. and Theodore, N. (2002) *Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe*. London: Blackwell.

Brown, G. (2006) Mapping landscape values and development preferences: A method for tourism and residential development planning. *International Journal of Tourism Research* 8, 101–113.

Buchanan, R. (1972) *Industrial Archaeology in Britain*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Bullen, P. and Love, P. (2010) The rhetoric of adaptive reuse or reality of demolition: Views from the field. *Cities* 27, 215–224.

Burgers, J. (2000) Urban landscapes on public space in the post-industrial city. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 15 (2), 145–164.

Caffyn, A. and Lutz, J. (1999) Developing the heritage tourism product in multi-ethnic cities. *Tourism Management* 20, 213–221.

Cameron, C. (2000) Emergent industrial history: The politics of selection. *Museum Anthropology* 25 (3), 58–73.

Cameron, C. and Gatewood, J. (2000) Excursions into the un-remembered past: What people want from visits to historical sites. *The Public Historian* 22 (3), 107–127.

Cameron, F. and Mengler, S. (2013) Authorising the unauthorised: Liquidity, complexity and the heritage-tourist in the era of social media. In R. Staiff, R. Bushell and S. Watson (eds) *Heritage and Tourism* (pp. 45–62). London: Routledge.

Campagnol, G. (2011) Industrial archaeology and Brazilian industrial heritage. *Preservation Education and Research* 4, 1–18.

Canclini, N. (1995) *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Cantell, S. (2005) The adaptive reuse of historic industrial buildings: Regulation barriers, best practices and case studies. Unpublished master's thesis, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.

Casetti, F. (1998) *Inside the Gaze: The Fiction Film and its Spectator*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Casey, E. (1997) *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Cass, G. and Jahrig, S. (1998) Heritage tourism: Montana's hottest travel trend. *Montana Business Quarterly* 36, 8–18.

Cassia, P. (1999) Tradition, tourism and memory in Malta. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 5 (2), 247–263.

Caton, K. and Santos, C. (2007) Heritage tourism on Route 66: Deconstructing nostalgia. *Journal of Travel Research* 45 (4), 371–386.

Caves, R. (2000) *Creative Industries: Contract between Art and Commerce*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Cayford, J. (2009) How sad is Princes Wharf (Part 1 and 2)? See http://joelcayford. blogspot.com/2009/02/how-sad-is-princes-wharf.html (accessed July 2014).

Cerleux, A., Merciu, F. and Merciu, G. (2012) Models of technical and industrial heritage re-use in Romania. *Procedia Environmental Sciences* 14, 216–225.

Chang, T. and Huang, S. (2011) Reclaiming the city: Waterfront development in Singapore. *Urban Studies* 48 (10), 2085–2100.

Chapman, A. and Light, D. (2011) The "heritagisation" of the British seaside resort: The rise of the "old penny arcade". *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 6 (3), 209–226.

Che, D. (2011) Developing a heritage tourism attraction in a working salt mine. In M. Conlin and L. Jolliffe (eds) *Mining Heritage and Tourism: A Global Synthesis* (pp. 84–96). New York: Routledge.

Chen, C. and Chen, P. (2010) Resident attitudes toward heritage tourism development. *Tourism Geographies* 12 (4), 525–545.

Cheng, J. (2014) Visitors to Buffalo, NY, find beauty in decay. *Wall Street Journal*. See http:// online.wsj.com/articles/visitors-to-buffalo-n-y-find-beauty-in-decay-1403231726 (accessed July 2014).

Chevalier, M. (1994) Heritage and economic tourism in France. *Acta-Geographica* 97, 17–31.

Chhabra, D. (2012) A present-centered dissonant heritage management model. *Annals of Tourism Research* 39 (3), 1701–1705.

Chhabra, D., Healy, R. and Sills, E. (2003) Staged authenticity and heritage tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 30 (3), 702–719.

Cho, M. and Shin, S. (2014) Conservation or economization? Industrial heritage conservation in Incheon, Korea. *Habitat International* 41, 69–76.

Choay, F. (2001) *The Invention of the Historic Monument*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Clark, K. (2001) *Informed Conservation: Understanding Historic Buildings and Their Landscapes for Conservation*. London: English Heritage.

Cleere, H. (1989) Introduction: The rationale of archaeological heritage management. In H. Cleere (ed.) *Archaeological Heritage Management in the Modern World* (pp. 1–17). London: Unqin Hyman Ltd.

Clemens, P. (2012) *Punching Out: One Year in a Closing Auto Plant*. New York: Anchor Books.

Cohen, E. (1988) Authenticity and commoditization in tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 15 (3), 371–386.

Cohen, E. and Cohen, S. (2012) Current sociological theories and issues in tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 39 (4), 2177–2202.

Cole, D. (2004) Exploring the sustainability of mining heritage tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 12 (6), 480–494.

Coleman, S. and Crang, M. (2002) *Tourism: Between Place and Performance*. New York: Berghahn.

Collaton, E. and Bartsch, C. (1996) Industrial site reuse and urban redevelopment: An overview. *Cityscape: A Journal of Policy Development and Research* 2 (3), 17–61.

Conesa, H., Schulin, R. and Nowack, B. (2008) Mining landscape: A cultural tourist opportunity or an environmental problem? *Ecological Economics* 64, 690–700.

Conlin, M. and Jolliffe, L. (2011) *Mining Heritage and Tourism: A Global Synthesis*. London: Routledge.

Conlin, M. and Bird, G. (2014) Introduction. In M. Conlin and G. Bird (eds) *Railway Heritage and Tourism* (pp. 3–16). Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Connell, J. (2007) Medical tourism: Sea, sun, sand and…surgery. *Tourism Management* 27 (6), 1093–1100.

Connell, J. and Gibson, C. (2004) World music: Deterritorializing place and identity. *Progress in Human Geography* 28 (3), 342–361.

Connerton, P. (2008) Seven types of forgetting. *Memory Studies* 1 (1), 59–71.

Conran, M. (2006) Commentary: Beyond authenticity: Exploring intimacy in the touristic encounter in Thailand. *Tourism Geographies* 8 (3), 274–285.

Conzen, M. (1969) *Alnwick, Northumberland: A Study in Town-Plan Analysis* (2nd edn). London: Institute of British Geographer.

Cooke, P. (1995) Introduction. In P. Cooke (ed.) *The Rise of the Rustbelt* (pp. 1–19). London: UCL Press.

Cooper, M. (1993) Access to the waterfront: Transformations of meaning on the Toronto lakeshore. In R. Rotenburg and G. McDonogh (eds) *The Cultural Meaning of Urban Space* (pp. 157–171). Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.

Copeland, B. (1991) Tourism, welfare and de-industrialization in a small open economy. *Economica* 58 (232), 515–529.

Cormack, G. (2009) *The Auckland Waterfront Case Study*. Auckland: Committee for Auckland.

Corsane, G. (2004) Issues in heritage, museums and galleries. In G. Corsane (ed.) *Heritage, Museums and Galleries: An Introductory Reader* (pp. 1–14). New York: Routledge.

Cosgrove, D. (1998) *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

Cossons, N. (2011) Saving the age of industry. *Conservation Bulletin: Saving the Age of Industry* 67, 3–6.

Costa, P. (2013) The importance of gatekeeping processes and reputation building in the sustainability of creative milieus: Evidence from case studies in Lisbon, Barcelona and Sao Paulo. In L. Lazzeretti (ed.) *Creative Industries and Innovation in Europe* (pp. 286–306). New York: Routledge.

Cozen, M. (2009) How cities internalize their former urban fringes. *Urban Morphology* 13, 29–54.

Cracolici, M. and Nijkamp, P. (2009) The attractiveness and competitiveness of tourist destinations: A study of southern Italian regions. *Tourism Management* 30 (3), 336–344.

Craig-Smith, S. (1995) The role of tourism in inner-harbor redevelopment: A multinational perspective. In S. Craig-Smith and M. Fagence (eds) *Recreation and Tourism as a Catalyst for Urban Waterfront Redevelopment: An International Survey* (pp. 16–35). Westport, CT: Praeger.

Crang, M. (2000) Urban morphology and the shaping of the transmissible city. *City* 4 (3), 303–315.

Crowley, B. (2013) The surprising job of typewriter repairman: CNN News. See http://money.cnn.com/video/technology/2013/03/29/t-typewriter-repairman.cnnmoney/ (accessed July 2014).

Crump, J. (1999) What cannot be seen will not be heard: The production of landscape in Moline, Illinois. *Ecumene* 6 (3), 247–317.

Daher, R. (2005) Urban regeneration/heritage tourism endeavors: The case of salt, Jordan 'local actors, international donors, and the State'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 11 (4), 289–308.

Dahm, H. (2002) The ALAS sites: Description, problems, and results. Paper presented at the Salt and Salinas as Natural Resources and Alternative Poles for Local Development. University of Aegean, Greece.

Daly, M. and Malone, P. (1996) Sydney: The economic and political roots of Darling Harbour. In P. Malone (ed.) *City, Capital and Water* (pp. 90–109). New York: Routledge.

Datzer, R., Seidel, A. and Baum, C. (2010) *Potenziale der Industriekultur in Brandenburg*. Koln: ift Freizeit und Tourismusberatung.

Davis, F. (1979) *Yearning for Yesterday: A Sociology of Nostalgia*. New York: Free Press.

Davis, P. (1999) *Ecomuseums: A Sense of Place*. Leicester: Cassell Academic.

De Cauter, L. (1993) The panoramic ecstasy: On world exhibitions and the disintegration of experience. *Theory, Culture and Society* 10 (4), 1–23.

De la Torre, M. (2002) *Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage: Research Report*. Los Angeles, CA: The Getty Conservation Institute.

Deacon, H. (2004) Intangible heritage in conservation management planning: The case of Robben Island. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 10 (3), 309–319.

Deleuze, G. and Guattari, F. (2009) *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. New York: Penguin Classics.

Derrida, J. (1980) *Writing and Difference*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Derrida, J. (1992) Force of law. In D. Cornell, M. Rosenfeld and D. Carlson (eds) *Deconstruction and the Possibility of Justice* (pp. 10–27). London: Routledge.

Desfor, G. and Jorgensen, J. (2004) Flexible urban governance: The case of Copenhagen's recent waterfront development. *European Planning Studies* 12 (4), 479–496.

Dickens, C. (1889) *A Thousand Gems from Dickens: Comprising a Careful Selection of His Best Writings*. London: G.W. Dillingham.

Dickinson, J. (2001) Monuments of tomorrow: Industrial ruins at the millennium. In K. Gotham (ed.) *Research in Urban Sociology, Vol. 6: Critical Perspectives on Urban Redevelopment* (pp. 33–74). London: Elsevier.

Diekmann, A., Maulet, G. and Queriat, S. (2006) Caves in Belgium: Standardization or diversification. In M. Smith and M. Robinson (eds) *Cultural Tourism in a Changing World* (pp. 271–289). Clevedon: Channel View Publications.

Dodd, T. (1998) Influences on search behavior of industrial tourists. *Journal of Hospitality and Leisure Marketing* 5 (2/3), 77–94.

Donald, J. (1999) *Imagining the Modern City*. London: The Athlone Press.

Doorne, S. (1998) Power, participation and perception: An insider's perspective on the politics of the Wellington waterfront redevelopment. *Current Issues in Tourism* 1 (2), 129–166.

Doorne, S., Ateljevic, I. and Bai, Z. (2003) Representing identities through tourism: Encounters of ethnic minorities in Dali, Yunnan Province, People's Republic of China. *International Journal of Tourism Research* 5 (1), 1–11.

Du Cros, H., Lee, Y., Lung, D. and Distefano, L. (2007) Economic growth and cultural identity. In H. Du Cros and Y. Lee (eds) *Cultural Heritage Management in China: Preserving the Cities of the Pearl River Delta* (pp. 85–116). Manchester, VT: Hudson Hills Press.

Duncan, J. (1990) *The City as Text: The Politics of Landscape Interpretation in the Kandyan Kingdom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dwyer, L., Forsyth, P. and Spurr, R. (2005) Estimating the impacts of special events on an economy. *Journal of Travel Research* 43 (4), 351–359.

Edensor, T. (2000) Performing tourism, staging tourism: (Re)producing tourist space and practice. *Annals of Tourism Research* 27, 322–344.

Edensor, T. (2005) *Industrial Ruins: Space, Aesthetics and Materiality*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Edson, G. (2004) Heritage: Pride or passion, product or service? *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 10 (4), 333–348.

Edwards, J. and Llurdes i Coit, J. (1996) Mines and quarries: Industrial heritage tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 23, 341–363.

Eisenhut, K. (2008) A critical evaluation of local government influence on waterfront development: A case study of Auckland and Melbourne. Unpublished master thesis, University of Auckland.

Ellison, L., Sayce, S. and Smith, J. (2007) Socially responsible property investment: Quantifying the relationship between sustainability and investment property worth. *Journal of Property Research* 24 (3), 191–219.

English Heritage (2011) Industrial heritage at risk revealed. See http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/about/news/industrial-heritage-at-risk-revealed/ (accessed July 2014).

European Commission Communication (2011) Europe, the World's No. 1 Tourist Destination – a New Political Framework for Tourism in Europe. Prepared for The European Union.

Evans, G. (2005) Measure for measure: Evaluating the evidence of culture's contribution to regeneration. *Urban Studies* 42 (5/6), 959–984.

Fagence, M. (1995) City waterfront redevelopment for leisure, recreation, and tourism: Some common themes. In S. Craig-Smith and M. Fagence (eds) *Recreation and Tourism as a Catalyst for Urban Waterfront Redevelopment: An International Survey* (pp. 135–156). Westport, CT: Praeger.

Fahim, K. (2008, October 29) Preserving New York's industrial past. *The New York Times*. See http://cityroom.blogs.nytimes.com/2008/10/29/preserving-new-yorks-industrial-past/?_php=true&_type=blogs&_r=0 (accessed July 2014).

Falconer, K. and Young, C. (2011) Industrial world heritage sites: A shift to cultural landscapes? *Conservation Bulletin: Saving the Age of Industry* 67, 47–48.

Falk, N. (2000) New uses for old industrial buildings. In M. Stratton (ed.) *Industrial Buildings: Conservation and Regeneration* (pp. 89–102). New York: E & FN Spon.

Falser, M. (2001) *Industrial Heritage Analysis: World Heritage List and Tentative List*. Prepared for the UNESCO World Heritage Centre.

Faulkner, P. (1978) A philosophy for the preservation of our historic heritage. *Journal of Royal Society of Arts* 126 (July), 452.

Ferry, E. and Limbert, M. (2008) *Timely Assets: The Politics of Resources and Their Temporalities*. Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press.

Finley, C. (2004) Authenticating dungeons, whitewashing castles: The former sites of the slave trade on the Ghanaian coast. In D. Lasansky and B. McLaren (eds) *Architecture and Tourism: Perception, Performance and Pace* (pp. 109–128) London: Berg.

Firth, T. (2011) Tourism as a means to industrial heritage conservation: Achilles heel or saving grace? *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 6 (1), 45–62.

Fischer, W. (1997) Rust busters: Putting idle industrial sites back to work. *Public Management* 79 (2), 18–29.

Fjellman, S. (1992) *Vinyl Leaves and Walt Disney World America*. Boulder, CO: Westview.

Fleming, D. (1997) Regeneration game. *Museum Journal* 97 (4), 32–33.

Flew, T. (2012) *The Creative Industries: Culture and Policy*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Florida, R. (2002) *The Rise of Creative Class*. New York: Basic Books.

Formica, S. and Uysal, M. (2006) Destination attractiveness based on supply and demand evaluations: An analytical framework. *Journal of Travel Research* 44 (4), 418–430.

Foucault, M. (1984) Space, knowledge and power. In P. Rabinow (ed.) *The Foucault Reader* (pp. 239–256). London: Penguin.

Foucault, M. (1990) *Les Mots et les Choses: Une Archeologie des Sciences Humaines*. Paris: Gallimard.

Freeman, A. (1990) Lessons from Lowell. *Historic Preservation* 42 (6), 9–18.

Frenchman, D. (2001) Narrative places and new practice of urban design. In L. Vale and J. Sam Bass Warner (eds) *Imaging the City: Continuing Struggles and New Directions* (pp. 257–282). New Brunswick, NJ: CUPR/Transaction.

Frew, E. (2000) Industrial tourism: A conceptual and empirical analysis. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Victoria University of Technology.

Frew, E. (2011) Transforming working mines into tourist attractions: Conceptual and practical considerations. In M. Conlin and L. Jolliffe (eds) *Mining Heritage and Tourism: A Global Synthesis* (pp. 72–83). New York: Routledge.

Galland, D. and Hansen, C. (2012) The roles of planning in waterfront redevelopment: From plan-led and market-driven styles to hybrid planning? *Planning Practice and Research* 27 (2), 203–225.

Ganz, C. (2012) *The 1933 Chicago World's Fair: A Century of Progress*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Gao, B., Zhang, H. and Decosta, P. (2012) Phantasmal destination: A post-modernist perspective. *Annals of Tourism Research* 39 (1), 197–220.

Garrod, B. and Fyall, A. (2001) Heritage tourism: A question of definition. *Annals of Tourism Research* 28 (4), 1049–1052.

Gatz, D. (1994) Residents' attitude towards tourism. *Tourism Management* 15 (4), 247–258.

Gelbman, A. (2007) Tourism in industry in the post-industrial city. In P. Duhamel and R. Knafou (eds) *Les Mondes Urbains du Tourisme (Urban Worlds of Tourism)* (pp. 151–162). Paris: Belin, coll. Mappemonde.

Geoghegan, P. (2012) Albania watches impassively as bunkers become bunk-beds. *The Guardian News*. See http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/sep/26/albania-communist-bunkers-become-tourist-beds (accessed July 2014).

Getz, D. (2008) Event tourism: Definition, evolution, and research. *Tourism Management* 29 (3), 403–428.

Getz, D. (2012) *Event Studies: Theory, Research and Policy for Planned Events*. London: Routledge.

Gilbert, E. (1949) The growth of Brighton. *The Geographical Journal* 114 (1/3), 30–52.

Gilloch, G. (1997) *Myth and Metropolis: Walter Benjamin and the City*. Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers.

Goldblatt, J. (2005) *Special Events: Event Leadership For a New World*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

Gonzalez, M. (2008) Intangible heritage tourism and identity. *Tourism Management* 29 (4), 807–810.

Goodall, B. (1994) Industrial heritage and tourism. *Built Environment* 19, 93–104.

Goodall, G. and Beech, J. (2006) The management of heritage and cultural tourism. In J. Beech and S. Chadwick (eds) *The Business of Tourism Management* (pp. 485–505). Harlow: Prentice Hall.

Goodey, B. (1994) Spreading the benefits of heritage visitor quarters. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 1 (1), 18–29.

Gordon, D. (1999) Implementing urban waterfront redevelopment in a historic context: A case study of the Boston Naval Shipyard. *Ocean and Coastal Management* 42, 909–931.

Gospodini, A. (2001) Urban design, urban space morphology, urban tourism: An emerging new paradigm concerning their relationship. *European Planning Studies* 9 (7), 925–934.

Gospodini, A. (2004) Urban morphology and place identity in European cities: Built heritage and innovative design. *Journal of Urban Design* 9 (2), 225–248.

Gotham, K. (2002) Marketing Mardi Gras: Commodification, spectacle and the political economy of tourism in New Orleans. *Urban Studies* 39 (10), 1735–1756.

Gotham, K. (2005) Tourism gentrification: The case of New Orleans' Vieux Carre (French Quarter). *Urban Studies* 42 (7), 1099–1121.

Gotham, K. (2007) *Authentic New Orleans: Tourism, Culture, and Race in the Big Easy*. New York: New York University Press.

Gottdiener, M. (2001) *The Theming of America: American Dreams, Media Fantasies, and Themed Environments*. Oxford: Westview Press.

Goulding, C. (2000) The commodification of the past, postmodern pastiche, and the search for authentic experiences at contemporary heritage attractions. *European Journal of Marketing* 34 (7), 835–853.

Goulding, C. (2001) Romancing the past: Heritage visiting and nostalgic consumer. *Psychology and Marketing* 18 (6), 565–592.

Gouthro, M. and Palmer, C. (2011) Pilgrimage in heritage tourism: Finding meaning and identity in the industrial past. In M. Conlin and L. Jolliffe (eds) *Mining Heritage and Tourism* (pp. 33–43). New York: Routledge.

Graham, B. (1994) The search for the common ground: Estyn Evans's Ireland. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 19 (2), 183–201.

Graham, B., Ashworth, G. and Tunbridge, J. (2000) *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture and Economy*. London: Arnold.

Graham, B., Ashworth, G. and Tunbridge, J. (2004) The uses and abuses of heritage. In G. Corsane (ed.) *Heritage, Museums and Galleries: An Introductory Reader* (pp. 28–40). New York: Routledge.

Graham, B. and Howard, P. (2008) Introduction: Heritage and identity. In B. Graham and P. Howard (eds) *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (pp. 1–18). Aldershot: Ashgate.

Gravereau, S. (2012) LX Factory dans le quartier d'Alcantara a Lisbonne. Paper presented at the De la friche industrielle au lieu culturel, Sotteville-les-Rouen, France.

Gray, B. (1989) *Collaboration Finding Common Ground for Multi-party Problems*. San Francisco, CA: Josey Bass.

Gray, B. (2000) The role of the entrepreneur: Seeing the opportunity and ensuring success. In M. Stratton (ed.) *Industrial Buildings: Conservation and Regeneration* (pp. 103–116). New York: E & FN Spon.

Greffe, X. (2004) Is heritage an asset or a liability? *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 5, 301–309.

Griffin, T. and Hayllar, B. (2006) Historic waterfronts as tourism precincts: An experiential perspective. *Tourism and Hospitality Research* 7 (1), 3–16.

Griffin, T., Hayllar, B. and Edwards, D. (2008) Places and people: A precinct typology. In B. Hayllar, T. Griffin and D. Edwards (eds) *City Spaces – Tourist Places: Urban Tourism Precincts* (pp. 39–61). Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Griffioen, J. (2009, August) Something, something, something, Detroit. *VICE Magazine*.

Gross, L. (2000) *The Course of Industrial Decline: The Boott Cotton Mills of Lowell, Massachusetts*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Gruber, R. (2009, July 29) A road trip through a revolution, mine by mine and factory by factory. *The New York Times*. See http://www.nytimes.com/2009/07/30/travel/30iht-gruber.html (accessed July 2014).

Grunenberg, C. (1999) Unsolved mysteries: Gothic tales from Frankenstein to the hair-eating doll. In C. Grunenberg (ed.) *Gothic: Transmutations of Horror in Late Twentieth-Century Art* (pp. 160–212). Boston, MA: MIT Press.

Gu, K. (2010) Exploring the fringe-belt concept in Auckland: An urban morphological idea and planning practice. *New Zealand Geographer* 66, 44–60.

Gu, K. (2014) Morphological processes, planning and market realities: Reshaping the urban waterfront in Auckland and Wellington. In P. Larkham and M.P. Conzen (eds) *Shapers of Urban Form: Explorations in Morphological Agency* (pp. 268–284). London: Routledge.

Gunn, C. and Var, T. (2002) *Tourism Planning: Basics, Concepts, Cases*. New York: Routledge.

Gursoy, D. and Rutherford, D. (2004) Host attitude toward tourism: An improved structural model. *Annals of Tourism Research* 31, 171–181.

Gwyn, D. (2001) The industrial town in Gwynedd. *Landscape History* 23 (1), 71–89.

Haan, D. (2011) European route of industrial heritage. *Conservation Bulletin: Saving the Age of Industry* 67 (Autumn), 50–51.

Halewood, C. and Hannam, K. (2001) Viking heritage tourism: Authenticity and commodification. *Annals of Tourism Research* 28 (3), 565–580.

Hall, C.M. (2009) Coastal tourism planning and policy in New Zealand. In R. Dowling and C. Pforr (eds) *Coastal Tourism Development* (pp. 120–134). New York: Cognizant Communication Corporation.

Hall, C.M. and Selwood, J. (1995) Event tourism and the creation of a postindustrial portscape: The case of Fremantle and the 1987 America's Cup. In S. Craig-Smith and M. Fagence (eds) *Recreation and Tourism as a Catalyst for Urban Waterfront Redevelopment: An International Survey* (pp. 105–114). Westport, CT: Praeger.

Hall, C.M., Sharples, L., Mitchell, R., Macionis, N. and Cambourne, B. (2003) *Food Tourism Around the World: Development, Management and Markets*. Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann.

Handszuh, H. (2011) Report on the outcome of the seminar on industrial heritage in tourism policies for sustainable development. Survey on Industrial Heritage in the European National Tourism Policies.

Hannam, K., Sheller, M. and Urry, J. (2006) Editorial: Mobilities, immobilities and moorings. *Mobilities* 1 (1), 1–22.

Harris, F. (1989) From the industrial revolution to the heritage industry. *Geographical Magazine* 1, 38–42.

Harris, J. and Williams, R. (2011) Re: 'Regenerate': The art and architecture of a mixed metaphor. In J. Harris and R. Williams (eds) *Regenerating Culture and Society: Architecture, Art and Urban Style within the Global Politics of City-Branding* (pp. 11–30). Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Hartog, F. (2005) *Le temoin et l'historien In Evidence de l'histoire* (pp. 191–214). Paris: Editions de l'EHESS.

Harvey, D. (1989) *The Condition of Postmodernity*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Harvey, D. (2000) Landscape organization, identity and change; territoriality and hagiography in Medieval West Cornwall. *Landscape Research* 25 (2), 201–212.

Harvey, D. (2002) The art of rent: Globalization, monopoly and commodification of culture. *Socialist Register* 38, 93–110.

Harvey, D. (2014) *Seventeen Contradictions and the End of Capitalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harvie, C. (2002) Engineer's holiday: LTC Rolt, industrial heritage and tourism. In H. Berghoff, B. Korte, R. Schneider and C. Harvie (eds) *The Making of Modern Tourism* (pp. 203–222). Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Haywood, M. (1988) Responsible and responsive planning in the community. *Tourism Management* 105–118.

Healey, P. (2004) The treatment of space and place in the new strategic spatial planning in Europe. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 28 (1), 45–67.

Herbert, D. (2001) Literary places, tourism and the heritage experience. *Annals of Tourism Research* 28 (2), 312–333.

Hernandez i Marti, G. (2006) The deterritorialization of cultural heritage in a globalized modernity. *Transfer: Journal of Contemporary Culture* November, 91–106.

Hewison, R. (1987) *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline*. London: Methuen.

High, S. and Lewis, D. (2007) *Corporate Wasteland: The Landscape and Memory of Deindustrialization*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Hillman, J. (1998) *The Thought of the Heart and the Soul of the World*. Quebec: Spring.

Hitchcock, M., King, V. and Parnwell, M. (1993) *Tourism in Southeast Asia*. London: Routledge.

Hobsbawm, E. (2012) Introduction: Inventing traditions. In E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds) *The Invention of Tradition* (pp. 1–14). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hodge, C. (2011) A new model for memory work: Nostalgic discourse at a historic home. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 17 (2), 116–135.

Hollinshead, K. (1999) Tourism as public culture: Horne's ideological commentary on the legerdemain of tourism. *International Journal of Tourism Research* 1, 267–292.

Hollinshead, K. (2005) Tourism as the consciousness industry: Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and the mediative authority of tourism. *Tourism Analysis* 10 (3), 301–329.

Hooper-Greenhill, E. (1999) Education, communication and interpretation: Towards a critical pedagogy in museums. In E. Hooper-Greenhill (ed.) *The Educational Role of the Museum* (2nd edn; pp. 3–27). London: Routledge.

Hospers, G. (2002) Industrial heritage tourism and regional restructuring in the European Union. *European Planning Studies* 10, 398–404.

Hough, M. (2001) Preface. In N. Kirkwood (ed.) *Manufactured Sites: Rethinking the Post-Industrial Landscape* (pp. 5–7). London: Spon Press.

Howard, P. (2002) The eco-museum: Innovation that risks the future. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 8 (1), 63–72.

Hoyle, B., Pinder, D. and Husain, M. (1988) *Revitalizing the Waterfront: International Dimensions of Dockland Redevelopment*. London: Belhaven Press.

Hudson, K. (1963) *Industrial Archaeology: An Introduction*. London: John Baker.

Hudson, K. (1979) *World Industrial Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hughes, G. (1998) Tourism and the semiological realization of space. In G. Ringer (ed.) *Destinations: Cultural Landscapes of Tourism* (pp. 17–33). London: Routledge.

Hutton, T. (2006) Spatiality, built form, and creative industry development in the inner city. *Environment and Planning A* 38, 1819–1841.

Hutton, T. (2009) Trajectories of the new economy: Regeneration and dislocation in the inner city. *Urban Studies* 45 (5/6), 987–1001.

Inda, J. and Rosaldo, R. (2002) Introduction: World in motion. In J. Inda and R. Rosaldo (eds) *The Anthropology of Globalization* (pp. 1–34). Oxford: Blackwell.

Iverson, T. and Cusack, T. (2000) The causes of welfare state expansion: Deindustrialization or globalization? *World Politics* 52 (3), 313–349.

Jacobs, J. (1961) *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Random House.

Jacques, D. (1995) The rise of cultural landscapes. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 1, 91–101.

Jamal, T. and Getz, D. (1995) Collaboration theory and community tourism planning. *Annals of Tourism Research* 22, 186–204.

Jamal, T. and Getz, D. (1999) Community roundtable for tourism related conflicts: The dialectics of consensus and progress structures. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 7, 290–313.

Jameson, F. (2001) *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Jamieson, W. (2006) Interpretation and tourism. In W. Jamieson (ed.) *Community Destination Management in Developing Economies* (pp. 85–102). New York: The Haworth Hospitality Press.

Jansen-Verbeke, M. (1995) A regional development model for industrial heritage tourism. In M. Robinson, N. Evans and P. Callagher (eds) *Tourism and Culture: Managing Culture Resources For the Tourist* (pp. 209–221). Sunderland: The Center for Travel & Tourism and Business Education Publishers.

Jansen-Verbeke, M. (1997) Industrial heritage: A nexus for sustainable tourism development. *Tourism Geographies* 1 (1), 70–85.

Jansen-Verbeke, M. and Lievois, E. (1999) Analysing heritage resources for urban tourism in European cities. In R. Butler and D. Pearce (eds) *Contemporary Issues in Tourism Development* (pp. 81–107). London: Routledge.

Jauhiainen, J. (1995) Waterfront redevelopment and urban policy: The case of Barcelona, Cardiff and Genoa. *European Planning Studies* 3 (1), 3–23.

Jayne, M. (2006) *Cities and Consumption*. New York: Routledge.

Jimenez, A. (2003) On space as a capacity. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 9 (1), 137–153.

Jobey, L. (2014, January 10) David Lynch and the factory archive. *Financial Times*. See http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/2/4735a6ee-77ff-11e3-afc5-00144feabdc0. html#slide0 (accessed July 2014).

Jokilehto, J. (1999) *A History of Architectural Conservation*. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Jolliffe, L. (2013) Connecting sugar heritage and tourism. In L. Jolliffe (ed.) *Sugar Heritage and Tourism in Transition* (pp. 3–22). Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Jones, A. (2007) On the water's edge: Developing cultural regeneration paradigms for urban waterfronts. In M. Smith (ed.) *Tourism, Culture and Regeneration* (pp. 143–150). Wallingford: CABI.

Jones, C. and Munday, M. (2001) Blaenavon and United Nations World Heritage Site status: Is conservation of industrial heritage a road to local economic development? *Regional Studies* 36 (6), 585–590.

Jurowski, C., Uysal, M. and Williams, D. (1995) Theoretical analysis of host community resident reactions to tourism. *Journal of Travel Research* 36 (2), 3–11.

Kansteiner, W. (2002) Finding meaning in memory: A methodological critique of collective memory studies. *History and Theory* 41, 179–197.

Kao, Y., Huang, L. and Wu, C. (2008) Effects of theatrical elements on experimental quality and loyalty intentions for theme parks. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research* 163–174.

Kavaratzis, M. and Ashworth, G. (2005) City branding: An effective assertion of identity or a transitory marketing trick? *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 96 (5), 506–514.

Kearney, M. (1995) The local and the global: The anthropology of globalization and transnationalism. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24, 547–565.

Kelsey, J. (1995) *The New Zealand Experiment: A World Model for Structural Adjustment*. Auckland, NZ: Auckland University Press.

Kerstetter, D., Confer, J. and Bricker, K. (1998) Industrial heritage attractions: Types and tourists. *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing* 7 (2), 91–104.

Kidd, J. (2011) Performing the knowing archive: Heritage performance and authenticity. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 17 (1), 22–35.

Kim, D. and Perdue, R. (2011) The influence of image on destination attractiveness. *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing* 28 (3), 225–239.

Kim, H. (1998) Perceived attractiveness of Korean destinations. *Annals of Tourism Research* 25 (2), 340–361.

Kim, H. and Jamal, T. (2007) Touristic quest for existential authenticity. *Annals of Tourism Research* 34, 181–201.

Kincaid, D. (2002) *Adapting Buildings for Changing Uses*. London: Spon Press.

Kipfer, S. and Keil, R. (2002) Planning Inc? planning the competitive city in the New Toronto. *Antipode* 34 (2), 227–264.

Kirkwood, N. (2001) Manufactured sites: Integrating technology and design in reclaimed landscapes. In N. Kirkwood (ed.) *Manufactured Sites: Rethinking the Post-Industrial Landscapes* (pp. 17–35). London: Spon Press.

Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, B. (1998) *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums and Heritage.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (2004) Intangible heritage as metacultural production. *Museum International* 56 (1–2), 52–65.

Koekebakker, O. (2004) *Westergasfabriek Culture Park: Transformation of a Former Industrial Site in Amsterdam.* Amsterdam: NAI Publisher.

Kohn, M. (2010) Toronto's distillery district: Consumption and nostalgia in a post-industrial landscape. *Globalizations* 7 (3), 359–369.

Koolhaas, R. (2002) Junkspace. October 100, 175–190.

Koselleck, R. (1990) *Le futur passe (The Past Future).* (J. Hoock and M. Hoock, trans.) Paris: Editions de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales.

Kotler, P., Haider, D. and Rein, I. (1993) *Marketing Places: Attracting Investment, Industry, and Tourism to Cities, Nations, and States.* New York: The Free Press.

Krausse, G. (1998) Waterfront festivals: A spectator analysis of event tourism in three New England cities. *Festival Management and Event Tourism* 5 (4), 171–184.

Krejcisz, C. (2012) The craft of conversion: Enhancing New Zealand's industrial heritage through adaptive reuse. Unpublished master thesis of architecture, Victoria University of Wellington.

Krolikowski, C. and Brown, G. (2008) The structure and form of urban tourism precincts: Setting the stage for tourist performances. In B. Hayllar, T. Griffin and D. Edwards (eds) *City Spaces – Tourist Places: Urban Tourism Precincts* (pp. 127–149). Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Krueger, R. (1994) *Focus Groups: A Practical Guide for Applied Research.* London: Sage Publications.

Kurlansky, M. (2003) *Salt: A World History.* New York: Penguin Books.

Kyle, G., Mowen, A. and Tarrant, M. (2004) Linking place preferences with place meaning: An examination of the relationship between place motivation and place attachment. *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 24 (4), 439–454.

Lane, B., Kastenholz, E., Lima, J. and Majewsjki, J. (2013) *Industrial Heritage and Agri/Rural Tourism in Europe.* Brussels: Europe Parliament.

Langston, C., Wong, F., Hui, E. and Shen, L. (2007) Strategic assessment of building adaptive reuse opportunities in Hong Kong. *Building and Environment* 43 (10), 1709–1718.

Larner, W. and Craig, D. (2005) After neoliberalism? Community activism and local partnerships in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Antipode* 37 (3), 402–424.

Lasansky, M. and McLaren, B. (2004) *Architecture and Tourism: Perception, Performance and Place.* New York: Berg Publishers.

Law, C. (1996) *Tourism in Major Cities.* London: International Thomson Business Press.

Lazzeretti, L. (2013) Cultural and creative industries: An introduction. In L. Lazzeretti (ed.) *Creative Industries and Innovation in Europe* (pp. 1–20). New York: Routledge.

Leary, T. and Sholes, E. (2000) Authenticity of place and voice: Examples of industrial heritage preservation and interpretation in the US and Europe. *The Public Historian* 22 (3), 49–66.

Lee, C., Ou, W. and Huang, H. (2009) A study of destination attractiveness through domestic visitors' perspectives: The case of Taiwan's hot springs tourism sector. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research* 14 (1), 17–38.

Lees, L., Slater, T. and Wyly, E. (2007) *Gentrification.* New York: Routledge.

Lefebvre, H. (1991) *The Production of Space.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Legget, J. (2011) Mining and mining museum on New Zealand's North Island: Rich veins of dissent. In M. Conlin and L. Jolliffe (eds) *Mining Heritage and Tourism* (pp. 57–71). New York: Routledge.

Lenzerini, F. (2011) Intangible cultural heritage: The living culture of peoples. *European Journal of International Law* 22 (1), 101–120.

Levy, B.-H. (2007) *American Vertigo: Traveling America in the Footsteps of Tocqueville*. New York: Random House.

Lewis, N., Larner, W. and Le Heron, R. (2008) The New Zealand designer fashion industry: Making industries and co-constituting political projects. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 33, 42–59.

Ley, D. (1994) Gentrification and the politics of the new middle class. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 12, 53–74.

Little, B. (2009) Public archaeology in the United States in the early twenty first century. In J. Carman and M. Sorensen (eds) *Heritage Studies: Methods and Approaches* (pp. 29–51). New York: Routldege.

Littler, J. and Naidoo, R. (2005) *The Politics of Heritage: The Legacies of 'Race'*. New York: Routledge.

Liu, A. (2013) Transforming Taiwan's sugar refineries for leisure and tourism. In L. Jolliffe (ed.) *Sugar Heritage and Tourism in Transition* (pp. 143–158). Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Liu, J. and Wall, G. (2009) Resort morphology research: History and future perspectives. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research* 14 (4), 339–350.

Llurdes i Coit, J. (2001) Heritage tourism and textile "model villages": The case of River Park, Barcelona, Spain. *Tourism Recreation Research* 26 (1), 65–71.

Loulanski, T. (2006) Revising the concept for cultural heritage: The argument for a functional approach. *International Journal of Cultural Property* 13 (2), 207–233.

Loures, L. (2008) Industrial heritage: The past in the future of the city. *WSEAS Transactions on Environment and Development* 4, 687–696.

Loures, L., Horta, D., Santos, A. and Panagopoulos, T. (2006) Strategies to reclaim derelict industrial areas. *WSEAS Transactions on Environment and Development* 2 (5), 599–604.

Loures, L., Heuer, T., Horta, D., Santos, R. and Silva, S. (2008) Multifunctional clusters in post-industrial landscapes: Rising from what's left. *WSEAS Transactions on Environment and Development* 4 (8), 619–628.

Loures, L., Burley, J. and Panagopoulos, T. (2011) Postindustrial landscape redevelopment: Addressing the past, envisioning the future. *International Journal of Energy and Environment* 5 (5), 714–724.

Lowenthal, D. (1999) *The Past is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lucchini, F. (2012) La fabrique des lieux: reapproprier des lieux par la culture. Paper presented at the De la friche industrielle au lieu culturel, Sotteville-les-Rouen, France.

Lukas, T. (2000) Industrial heritage in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania on the threshold of the year 2000. In H. Wager (ed.) *Industrial Heritage in the Nordic and Baltic Countries: Seminar on Cooperation in Strategies, Research and Training* (pp. 30–34). Copenhagen: Nordic Council of Ministers.

Lund, H. (2002) Pedestrian environments and sense of community. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 21, 301–312.

LX Factory (2011) LX Factory brochure.

Lynch, K. (1960) *The Image of the City*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Lynch, K. (1972) *What Time Is This Place?* Cambridge: MIT Press.

Lyth, P. (2006) Selling history in an age of industrial decline: Heritage tourism in Robin Hood County. Paper presented at the XIV International Economic History Congress, Helsinki.

MacCannell, D. (1989) *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York: Schocken Books.

Macdonald, S. (2006) Undesirable heritage: Fascist material culture and historical consciousness in Nuremberg. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 12 (1), 9–28.

MacNulty, R. (1985) Revitalizing industrial cities through cultural tourism. *International Journal of Environmental Studies* 25, 225–228.

Mader, T. (2003) *Produzierende Betriebe als touristische Attraktionen im Ruhrgebiet: Grundlagen, Erscheinungsformen, Probleme*. Hamburg: Diplomica.

Mallen, C. and Adams, L. (2008) *Sport, Recreation and Tourism Event Management: Theoretical and Practical Dimensions*. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Malone, P. (1996) Introduction. In P. Malone (ed.) *City, Capital and Water* (pp. 1–14). New York: Routledge.

Marcon, A., Preuilh, P. and Ksouri, S. (2000) *Tourisme de decouverte economique et visites d'entreprises*. Paris: Conseil National du Tourisme.

Market Economics (2003) The Economic Impact of the 2003 America's Cup Defence. Prepared for Ministry of Tourism, New Zealand.

Marshall, R. (2001) *Waterfronts in Post-industrial Cities*. London: E & F Spon.

Martinez, A. (2008) Conservation and restoration in built heritage: A Western European perspective. In B. Graham and P. Howard (eds) *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (pp. 245–266). Burlington, VT: Ashgate.

Massey, D. (1993) Power geometry and a progressive sense of place. In J. Bird, B. Curtis, T. Putnam, G. Robertson and L. Tickner (eds) *Mapping the Futures: Local Cultures, Global Change* (pp. 59–69). London: Routledge.

Mathews, N. (2012) Public values and perceptions of industrial heritage in the Keweenaw Peninsula, Michigan. Unpublished master's thesis of science, Michigan Technological University.

Mathews, V. (2008) Artcetera: Narrativizing gentrification in Yorkville, Toronto. *Urban Studies* 45 (13), 2849–2876.

Mathews, V. (2010) Place differentiation: Redeveloping the Distillery District, Toronto. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto.

McBoyle, G. (1996) Green tourism and Scottish distilleries. *Tourism Management* 17 (4), 255–263.

McCarthy, J. (1998) Waterfront regeneration: Recent practice in Dundee. *European Planning Studies* 6 (6), 731–736.

McCarthy, J. (2004) Tourism-related waterfront development in historic cities: Malta's Cottonera Project. *International Planning Studies* 9 (1), 43–64.

McClean, R. (1997) *Te Whanganui-A-Tara Forshores Reclamations Report*. Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal.

McIntosh, A. and Prentice, R. (1999) Affirming authenticity: Consuming cultural heritage. *Annals of Tourism Research* 26 (3), 589–612.

McKercher, B. (2001) Attitudes to a non-viable community-owned heritage tourist attraction. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 9 (1), 29–43.

McKinnon, J. (2002) Future of Jeep House museum is questionable. *The Toledo Blade*. See http://www.toledoblade.com/local/2002/06/25/Future-of-Jeep-House-museum-is-questionable.html (accessed July 2014).

McLean, F. and Cooke, S. (1999) Museums and cultural identity: Shaping the image of nations. In M. Fladmark (ed.) *Heritage and Museums: Shaping National Identity* (pp. 147–160). Shaftesbury: Donhead.

Meethan, K. (1996) Consuming (in) the civilized city. *Annals of Tourism Research* 23 (2), 322–340.

Miles, M. and Huberman, A. (1994) *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Source Book* (2nd edn). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Millar, S. (1989) Heritage management for heritage tourism. *Tourism Management* 10 (1), 9–14.

Misiura, S. (2006) *Heritage Marketing*. Oxford: Elsevier.

Mitchell, C. (2013) Creative destruction or creative enhancement? Understanding the transformation of rural spaces. *Journal of Rural Studies* 32, 375–387.

Mitchell, M. and Orwig, R. (2002) Consumer experience tourism and brand bonding. *The Journal of Product and Brand Management* 11 (1), 30–41.

Mitchneck, B. (1998) The heritage industry Russian style: The case of Yaroslavl. *Urban Affairs Review* 34 (September), 28–52.

Molz, J. (2012) *Travel Connections: Tourism, Technology and Togetherness in a Mobile World*. New York: Routledge.

Mommaas, H. (2004) Cultural clusters and the post-industrial city: Towards the remapping of urban cultural policy. *Urban Studies* 41 (3), 507–532.

Mooney-Melvin, P. (1991) Harnessing the romance of the past: Preservation, tourism and history. *The Public Historian* 13, 35–48.

Moreno, J. and Littrell, M. (2001) Negotiating tradition: Tourism retailers in Guatemala. *Annals of Tourism Research* 28 (3), 659–685.

Morrison, I. (2011) Inspiring our future by investing in our past. *Conservation Bulletin: Saving the Age of Industry* 67, 52–53.

Moudon, A. (1997) Urban morphology as an emerging interdisciplinary field. *Urban Morphology* 1, 3–10.

Moulaert, F., Rodriguez, A. and Swyngedouw, E. (2005) *The Globalized City: Economic Restructuring and Social Polarization in European Cities*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Munjeri, D. (2004) Tangible and intangible heritage: From difference to convergence. *Museum International* 56 (1–2), 12–20.

Munoz Vinas, S. (2005) *Contemporary Theory of Conservation*. Oxford: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann.

Murayama, M. and Parker, G. (2007) Sustainable leisure and tourism space development in post-industrial cities: The case of Odaiba, Tokyo, Japan. In M. Smith (ed.) *Tourism, Culture and Regeneration* (pp. 69–84). Cambridge, MA: CAB International.

Murphy, L. (2008) Third-wave gentrification in New Zealand: The case of Auckland. *Urban Studies* 45 (12), 2521–2540.

Murphy, P. (1985) *Tourism: A Community Approach*. New York and London: Methuen.

Murphy, P., Pritchard, M. and Smith, B. (2000) The destination product and its impact on traveller perceptions. *Tourism Management* 21 (1), 43–52.

Nasser, N. (2003) Planning for urban heritage places: Reconciling conservation, tourism, and sustainable development. *Journal of Planning Literature* 17 (4), 467–479.

Navarro, Z. (2006) In search of a cultural interpretation of power: The contribution of Pierre Bourdieu. *IDS Bulletin* 37 (6), 11–22.

New York City Economic Development Corporation (2014) *The High Line*. See http://www.nycedc.com/project/high-line (accessed July 2014).

Nicholas, L., Thapa, B. and Ko, Y. (2009) Residents' perspectives of a world heritage site: The Pitons Management Area, St. Lucia. *Annals of Tourism Research* 26 (3), 390–412.

Nora, P. (2011) Foreword. In H. Anheier and Y. Isar (eds) *Heritage, Memory and Identity* (pp. xi–xii). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Nuryanti, W. (1996) Heritage and postmodern tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 23 (2), 249–260.

Nyaupane, G. and Timothy, D. (2010) Heritage awareness and appreciation among community residents: Perspectives from Arizona, USA. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 16, 227–241.

Nyseth, T. and Sognnaes, J. (2013) Preservation of old towns in Norway: Heritage discourses, community processes and the new cultural economy. *Cities* 31, 69–75.

O'Dell, T. (2005) Experience-scapes. In T. O'Dell and P. Billing (eds) *Experience-scapes: Tourism, Culture and Economy* (pp. 1–31). Copenhagen: Copenhagen Business School Press.

Ohio Urban Revitalization (2000) *Policy Agency and Task Force Report*. Columbus, OH: Prepared for State of Ohio.

Oglethorpe, M. (2011) The International Committee on the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage. *Conservation Bulletin: Saving the Age of Industry* 67 (Autumn), 49–50.

Oglethorpe, M. (1987) Tourism and industrial Scotland. *Tourism Management* 8 (3), 268–271.

Ooi, C. (2002) *Cultural Tourism and Tourism Cultures: The Business of Mediating Experiences in Copenhagen and Singapore*. Copenhagen: Copenhagen Business School Press.

Oram, R. (2007) The Resource Management Act: Now and in the future. Paper presented at the Beyond the RMA: An in-depth exploration of the Resource Management Act 1991, Auckland, New Zealand

Orams, M. and Brons, A. (1999) Potential impacts of a major sport/tourism event: The America's Cup 2000, Auckland, New Zealand. *Visions in Leisure and Business* 18 (1), 14–28.

Orbasli, A. (2000) *Tourists in Historic Towns: Urban Conservation and Heritage Management*. London: E & FN Spon.

Orsman, B. (2012, November 20) Bright idea upsets officials. *New Zealand Herald*. See http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10848638 (accessed July 2014).

Otgaar, A. (2012) Towards a common agenda for the development of industrial tourism. *Tourism Management Perspective* 4, 86–91.

Otgaar, A., Berger, C., Feng, R. and Van den Berg, L. (2010) *Industrial Tourism: Opportunities for City and Enterprise*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Paasi, A. (1986) The institutionalization of regions: A theoretical framework for understanding the emergence of regions and constitution of regional identity. *Fennia: International Journal of Geography* 164 (1), 105–146.

Page, M. and Mason, R. (2004) *Giving Preservation a History: Histories of Historic Preservation in the United States*. New York: Routledge.

Page, S. (1995) *Urban Tourism*. London: Routledge.

Page, S. (2002) Visitor safety in urban tourism environments: The case of Auckland, New Zealand. *Cities* 19 (4), 273–282.

Palmer, C. (1999) Tourism and symbols of identity. *Tourism Management* 20 (3), 313–321.

Pappalepore, I., Maitland, R. and Smith, A. (2014) Prosuming creative urban areas. Evidence from East London. *Annals of Tourism Research* 44, 227–240.

Park, H. (2010) Heritage tourism: Emotional journeys into nationhood. *Annals of Tourism Research* 37 (1) 116–135.

Park, H. (2014) *Heritage Tourism*. New York: Routledge.

Parker, M. (1998) Nostalgia and mass culture – McDonaldization and cultural elitism. In M. Alfino, S. Caputo and R. Wynyard (eds) *McDonaldization Revisited: Critical Essays of Consumer Culture* (pp. 1–19). Westport, CT: Praeger.

Pearce, D. (1995) *Tourism Today: A Geographical Analysis* (2nd edn). New York: Longman Group Limited.

Pendlebury, J. (2009) *Preservation in the Age of Consensus*. London: Routledge.

Pine, J. and Gilmore, J. (2011) *The Experience Economy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Business Review Press.

Pomian, K. (2007) *Der Ursprung des Museums: Vom Sammeln*. Wagenbach: Auflage.

Popescu, G. (2010) Deterritorialization and reterritorialization. In B. Warf (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Geography* (pp. 723–725). New York: Sage publication.

Poria, Y., Butler, R. and Airey, D. (2001) Clarifying heritage tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 28 (4), 1047–1049.

Poria, Y., Butler, R. and Airey, D. (2003) The core of heritage tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 30 (1), 238–254.

Poria, Y., Butler, R. and Airey, D. (2004) Links between tourists, heritage and reasons for visiting heritage sites. *Journal of Travel Research* 43 (1), 19–28.

Poria, Y., Reichel, A. and Biran, A. (2006) Heritage site perceptions and motivations to visit. *Journal of Travel Research* 44 (3), 318–326.

Poria, Y., Biran, A. and Reichel, A. (2009) Visitors' preferences for interpretation at heritage sites. *Journal of Travel Research* 48 (1), 92–105.

Porter, L. and Barber, A. (2006) The meaning of place and state-led gentrification in Birmingham's Eastside. *City* 10 (2), 215–234.

Porter, T. (1987) *A Sesquicentennial History*. Toledo: Toledo Sesquicentennial Commission.

Povoledo, E. (2011, June 3) Murano pursues a Renaissance. *The New York Times*. See http://www.nytimes.com/2011/06/04/business/global/04murano.html?pagewanted=all (accessed July 2014).

Pratt, A. and Jeffcutt, P. (2009) Creativity, innovation and the cultural economy: Snake oil for the twenty-first century. In A. Pratt and P. Jeffcutt (eds) *Creativity, Innovation and the Cultural Economy* (pp. 1–20). New York: Routledge.

Prentice, R. (1993) *Tourism and Heritage Attractions*. London: Routledge.

Prentice, R. (1997) Cultural and landscape tourism: Facilitating meaning. In S. Wahab and J. Pigram (eds) *Tourism, Development and Growth: The Challenge of Sustainability* (pp. 199–209). London: Routledge.

Prentice, R. (1998) Tourism as experience: The case of heritage parks. *Annals of Tourism Research* 25 (1), 1–24.

Pretes, M. (2002) Touring mines and mining tourists. *Annals of Tourism Research* 29, 439–456.

Preucel, R. and Mrozowski, S. (2010) *Contemporary Archaeology in Theory: The New Pragmatism*. Chichester: Blackwell Publishing.

Purnell, N. (2012) Exploring Thailand's taste for nostalgia. *Wall Street Journal*. See http://blogs.wsj.com/scene/2012/08/02/thailands-taste-for-nostalgia (accessed July 2014).

Rautenberg, M. (2012) Industrial heritage, regeneration of cities and public policies in the 1990s: Elements of a French/British comparison. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 18 (5), 513–525.

Ray, C. (1998) Culture, intellectual property and territorial rural development. *Sociologia Ruralis* 38 (3), 3–20.

Razzu, G. (2005) Urban redevelopment, cultural heritage, poverty and redistribution: The case of Old Accra and Adawso house. *Habitat International* 29, 399–419.

Reed, M. (1999) Collaborative tourism planning as adaptive experiments in emergent tourism settings. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 7 (3/4), 331–355.

Relph, E. (2008) *Place and Placelessness*. London: Pion.

Ren, L., Shih, L. and McKercher, B. (2014) Revitalization of industrial buildings into hotels: Anatomy of a policy failure. *International Journal of Hospitality Management* 42, 32–38.

Revill, G. (1994) Promoting the Forest of Dean: Art, ecology and the industrial landscape. In J. Gold and S. Ward (eds) *Place Promotion: The Use of Publicity and Marketing to Sell Towns and Regions* (pp. 233–245). Chichester: Wiley.

Richards, G. (2001) The experience industry and the creation of attractions. In G. Richards (ed.) *Cultural Attractions and European Tourism* (pp. 55–70). New York: CABI publishing.

Richards, G. (2011) Creativity and tourism: The state of the art. *Annals of Tourism Research* 38 (4), 1225–1253.

Richards, G. and Wilson, J. (2006) Developing creativity in tourist experiences: A solution to the serial reproduction of culture? *Tourism Management* 27, 1209–1223.

Richards, G. and Wilson, J. (2007) *Tourism, Creativity and Development*. London: Routledge.

Rickly-Boyd, J. (2009) The tourist narrative. *Tourist Studies* 9 (3), 259–280.

Ricoeur, P. (2004) *Memory, History, Forgetting*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Rifkin, J. (2011) *The Third Industrial Revolution: How Lateral Power is Transforming Energy, the Economy, and the World*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Ritzer, G. and Liska, A. (1997) "McDisneyization" and "Post-Tourism": Complementary perspectives on contemporary tourism. In C. Rojek and J. Urry (eds) *Touring Cultures: Transformations in Travel and Theory* (pp. 96–109). London: Routledge.

Roberts, P. (2000) The evolution, definition and purpose of urban regeneration. In P. Roberts and H. Sykes (eds) *Urban Regeneration* (pp. 9–36). London: Sage.

Robinson, M. (1999) Collaboration and cultural consent: Refocusing sustainable tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 7 (3/4), 379–397.

Robinson, P., Luck, M. and Smith, S. (2013) *Tourism*. Cambridge, MA: CAB International.

Rofel, L. (1997) Rethinking modernity: Space and factory discipline in China. In A. Gupta and J. Ferguson (eds) *Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology* (pp. 155–178). Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Rojas, E. (2000) *Old Cities, New Assets*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press.

Rojek, C. (1995) *Decentring Leisure: Rethinking Leisure Theory*. London: Sage.

Rojek, C. (1998) Cybertourism and the phantasmagoria of place. In G. Ringer (ed.) *Destinations: Cultural Landscapes of Tourism* (pp. 33–48). London: Routledge.

Root, D. (1996) *Cannibal Culture: Arts, Appropriation, and the Commodification of Difference*. Boulder, CO: Westview.

Royal Commission on Auckland Governance (2009) Report of the Royal Commission Auckland, NZ. See http://www.royalcommission.govt.nz (accessed July 2014).

Rudd, M. and Davis, J. (1998) Industrial heritage tourism at the Bingham Cooper Mine. *Journal of Travel Research* 36 (3), 85–89.

Ruggles, D. and Silverman, H. (2009) From tangible to intangible heritage. In D. Ruggles and H. Silverman (eds) *Intangible Heritage Embodied* (pp. 1–14). New York: Springer.

Ruijgrok, E. (2006) The three economic values of cultural heritage: A case study in the Netherlands. *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 7, 206–213.

Ryan, C. (2002) Equity, management, power sharing and sustainability – issues of the "new tourism". *Tourism Management* 23 (1), 17–26.

Rypkema, D. (2008) *Economic Contributions of Heritage Resources: Heritage and Beyond*. Paris: Council of Europe Publishing.

Saarinen, J. (1998) The social construction of tourist destinations: The process of transformation of the Saariselka tourism region in Finnish Lapland. In G. Ringer (ed.) *Destinations: Cultural Landscapes of Tourism* (pp. 154–173). London: Routledge.

Sacco, P. and Segre, G. (2009) Creativity, cultural investment and local development: A new theoretical framework for endogenous growth. *Advances in Spatial Science* 3, 281–294.

Sairinen, R. and Kumpulainen, S. (2006) Assessing social impacts in urban waterfront regeneration. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review* 26, 120–135.

Samilton, T. (2013) All aboard! Real-life Polar Express chugs through Michigan. NPR Radio. See http://www.npr.org/2013/12/16/251643965/all-aboard-real-life-polar-express-chugs-through-michigan (accessed July 2014).

Samuel, R. (1994) *Theatres of Memory*. London: Verso.

Sauer, C. (1925) The morphology of landscape. *University of California Publications in Geography* 2 (2), 19–53.

Sauri-Pujol, D. and Llurdes i Coit, J. (1995) Embellishing nature: The case of the salt mountain project of Cardona, Catalonia, Spain. *Geoforum* 26 (1), 35–48.

Schofield, H. (2013, October 14) Reclaiming Paris's River Seine quayside, BBC News. See http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-24520146 (accessed July 2014).

Schofield, P. (1996) Cinematographic images of a city. *Tourism Management* 17 (5), 333–340.

Schofield, P. (2004) Health tourism in the Kyrgyz Republic: The Soviet salt mine experience. In T. Singh (ed.) *New Horizons in Tourism: Strange Experiences and Stranger Practices* (pp. 135–146). London: CAB International.

Schouten, F. (1995) Heritage as historical reality. In D. Herbert (ed.) *Heritage, Tourism and Society* (pp. 21–31). London: Mansell Publishing.

Searle, G. and Byrne, J. (2002) Selective memories, sanitised futures: Constructing visions of future place in Sydney. *Urban Policy and Research* 20 (1), 7–25.

Semuels, A. (2013) Detroit's abandoned buildings draw tourists instead of developers. *Los Angeles Times*. See http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-detroit-ruin-tours-20131226,0,7211471,full.story#axzz2u48kxgzo (accessed July 2014).

Shackel, P., Smith, L. and Campbell, G. (2011) Labour's heritage. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 17 (4), 291–300.

Shepherd, R. (2006) UNESCO and the politics of cultural heritage in Tibet. *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 36 (2), 243–257.

Shifflet Associates (1999) Pennsylvania Heritage Tourism Study. Prepared for The Pennsylvania Department of Conservation and Natural Resources.

Sieber, R. (1993) Public access on the urban waterfront: A question of vision. In R. Rotenburg and G. McDonogh (eds) *The Cultural Meaning of Urban Space* (pp. 173–193). Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.

Sieverts, T. (2003) *Cities Without Cities: An Interpretation of the Zwischenstadt*. London: Spon Press.

Skjaeveland, O., Garling, T. and Maeland, J. (1996) A multidimensional measure of neighboring. *American Journal of Community Psychology* 24, 413–435.

Smith, L. (2006) *Use of Heritage*. London: Routledge.

Smith, M. (2007) Towards a cultural planning approach to regeneration. In M. Smith (ed.) *Tourism, Culture and Regeneration* (pp. 1–11). Cambridge, MA: CABI.

Smith, M. (2009) *Issues in Cultural Tourism Studies*. London: Routledge.

Sorkin, M. (1992) *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space*. New York: Hill and Wang.

Soyez, D. (1986) Industrietourismus. *Erdkunde* 40 (2), 105–111.

Soyez, D. (1989) Zur Anziehungskraft industrieller Produktionsstätten auf externe Besucher: Das Beispiel Villeroy & Boch in Mettlach, Saar. In D. Soyez (ed.) *Das Saarland: Beharrung und Wandel in einem peripheren Grenzraum* (pp. 269–290). Saarbrücken: Selbstverlag des Geographischen Instituts der Universität des Saarlandes.

Soyez, D. (2013) Our past are in foreign countries – and their pasts are in ours: The challenge of transnationalising industrial heritage. Paper presented at the Tourism and the Shifting Values of Cultural Heritage, Taipei, Taiwan.

Spector, J. (2010) From dockyard to esplanade: Leveraging industrial heritage in waterfront redevelopment. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Pennsylvania.

Spirou, C. (2011) *Urban Tourism and Urban Change: Cities in a Global Economy*. New York: Routledge.

Staiff, R., Watson, S. and Bushell, R. (2013) Introduction – place, encounter, engagement: Context and themes. In R. Staiff, S. Watson and R. Bushell (eds) *Heritage and Tourism: Place, Encounter, Engagement* (pp. 1–24). New York: Routledge.

Stangel, M. (2011) Transformation of derelict areas into mixed-use urban neighbourhoods: Case studies in the Polish cities. In M. Schrenk, V. Popovich and P. Zeile (eds) *Change for Stability: Lifecycles of Cities and Regions presented at the CORP 2011 Proceedings/Tagungsband* (pp. 1047–1052). Essen Marketing: Poland.

Stanton, C. (2006) *The Lowell Experiment: Public History in a Postindustrial City*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

Stebbins, R. (2007) *Serious Leisure: A Perspective for Our Time*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

Steinberg, F. (1996) Conservation and rehabilitation of urban heritage in developing countries. *Habitat International* 20 (3), 463–475.

Steinecke, A. (2001) Industrieerlebniswelten: zwischen Heritage und Markt: Konzepte-Modelle-Trends. In H. Hinterhuber, H. Pechlaner and K. Matzler (eds) *Industrie Erlebnis Welten: vom Standort zur Destination* (pp. 85–101). Berlin: Erich Schmidt.

Strain, E. (2003) *Public Places, Private Journeys*. Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Strangleman, T. (2013) "Smokestack nostalgia", "ruin porn" or working-class obituary: The role and meaning of deindustrial representation. *International Labor and Working-Class History* 84, 23–37.

Strangleman, T., Rhodes, J. and Linkon, S. (2013) Introduction to crumbling cultures: Deindustrialization, class, and memory. *International Labor and Working-Class History* 84 (1), 7–22.

Stratton, M. (2000) Reviving industrial buildings. In M. Stratton (ed.) *Industrial Buildings: Conservation and Regeneration* (pp. 8–29). New York: E & FN Spon.

Strauss, C. and Lord, B. (2001) Economic impacts of a heritage tourism system. *Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services* 8 (4), 199–204.

Stuart, I. (2011) Is industrial heritage greater than or equal to the heritage of the industrial revolution? Prepared for the JCIS Consulting.

Stynes, D. and Sun, Y. (2004) *Lackawanna Valley National Heritage Area Visitor Survey and Economic Impact Analysis*. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press.

Summerby-Murray, R. (2002) Interpreting deindustrialised landscapes of Atlantic Canada: Memory and industrial heritage in Sackville, New Brunswick. *The Canadian Geographer* 46 (1), 48–62.

Sylvers, E. (2011, March 21) In a fading industrial past, a chance for a rich future. *The New York Times*. See http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/19/business/global/22museum.html?pagewanted=all (accessed July 2014).

Taggart, F. (2000) Regeneration through heritage: Combining commercial skills and community interests. In M. Stratton (ed.) *Industrial Buildings: Conservation and Regeneration* (pp. 74–88). New York: E & FN Spon.

The Council of Europe (2011) European Tourism Day – Industrial Heritage. Prepared for the European Commission.

Thompson, M. (1979) *Rubbish Theory: The Creation and Destruction of Value*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

TICCIH (2003) The Nizhny Tagil Charter for the Industrial Heritage. See www.international.icomos.org/18thapril/.../nizhny-tagil-charter-e.pdf

Tiesdell, S., Oc, T. and Heath, T. (1996) *Revitalizing Historic Urban Quarters*. Oxford: Architectural Press.

Timothy, D. (2007) *The Heritage, Tourist Experience* (Vol. 2). Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Timothy, D. (2011) *Cultural Heritage and Tourism: An Introduction*. Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Timothy, D. and Boyd, S. (2003) *Heritage Tourism*. London: Prentice Hall.

Toledo Blade (2003) A Smile that is Missing a Lot of Teeth. *The Toledo Blade*. See http://www.toledoblade.com/local/2003/02/05/Group-strives-to-spruce-up-city.html (accessed July 2014).

Trigg, D. (2006) *The Aesthetics of Decay: Nothingness, Nostalgia, and the Absence of Reason*. New York: Peter Lang International Academic Publishers.

Tsai, L. (2013) *The Salt Industry in the Greater Tainan*. Tainan: Ministry of Culture, Tainan Municipality.

Tunbridge, J. (2001) Ottawa's byward market: A festive bone of contention? *The Canadian Geographer* 45 (3), 356–370.

Tunbridge, J. and Ashworth, G. (1996) *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict.* London: Belhaven Press.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) (2013) Report. See http://whc.unesco.org/sites/industrial.htm (accessed July 2014).

Urry, J. (1995) *Consuming Places*. London: Routledge.

Urry, J. (2002) *The Tourist Gaze* (2nd edn). London: Sage Publications.

Uzzell, D. (2009) Where is the discipline in heritage studies? A view from environmental psychology. In M. Sorensen and J. Carman (eds) *Heritage Studies: Methods and Approaches* (pp. 326–333). London: Routledge.

Uzzell, D. and Ballantyne, R. (2008) Heritage that hurts: Interpretation in a postmodern world. In G. Fairclough, R. Harrison, J. Jameson and J. Schofield (eds) *The Heritage Reader* (pp. 502–513). London: MIT Press.

Vallega, A. (2001) Urban waterfront facing integrated coastal management. *Ocean and Coastal Management* 44 (5/6), 379–410.

Vance, J. (1990) *The Continuing City: Urban Morphology in Western Civilization*. Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press.

Vargas-Sanchez, A. (2011) Book review for industrial tourism: Opportunities for city and enterprise. *Annals of Tourism Research* 38, 1193–1211.

Vargas-Sanchez, A., Plaza-Mejia, M. and Porras-Bueno, N. (2009) Understanding residents' attitudes toward the development of industrial tourism in a former mining community. *Journal of Travel Research* 47 (3), 373–387.

Vargas-Sanchez, A., Porras-Bueno, N. and Plaza-Mejia, M. (2013) Clustering industrial heritage tourists: Motivations for visiting a mining site. In R. Staiff, R. Bushell and S. Watson (eds) *Heritage and Tourism: Place, Encounter, Engagement* (pp. 274–296). New York: Routledge.

Vecco, M. (2010) A definition of cultural heritage: From the tangible to the intangible. *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 11, 321–324.

Vicario, L. and Monje, P. (2003) Another "Guggenheim Effect"? The generation of a potentially gentrifiable neighborhood in Bilbo. *Urban Studies* 40, 2383–2400.

Vidal, F. (2014) Urban transformation and diffusion of tourist practices: Visiting Alcântara at the turn of the twentieth century. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 12 (2), 118–132.

Viollet-le-Duc, E. (1987) *Viollet-le-Duc 1814–1879 – Lectures on Architecture* (B. Bucknall, trans.; Vol. 1–2). London: Constable.

Vodenska, M., Popova, N. and Mitkova-Todorova. (2002) Development of Salinas and Salt Production Based Tourism. Pomorie, Bulgaria. Sustainable Regional Development of Salinas and Salt Production Based Tourism. See http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=3&ved=0CCoQFjAC&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.aegean.gr%2Falas%2Finterr%2FStudy_tourism_final.doc&ei=ukvYVIamKebjsASjzYHQDg&usg=AFQjCNGvLaST3A0F3tP892NqGYD5xWWA_A&sig2=MDCTzEnQQ9G5JSUX8p8OhQ&bvm=bv.85464276,d.cWc.

Voicu, C. (2012) Travelling cultures between deterritorialization and reterritorialization: A sense of exile. *International Journal of Cross-Cultural Studies and Environmental Communication* 1, 69–80.

Wager, H. (2000) Strategies: Currents in the care of industrial heritage in the Baltic and Nordic countries. In H. Wager (ed.) *Industrial Heritage in the Nordic and Baltic Countries: Seminar on Cooperation in Strategies, Research and Training* (pp. 15–22). Copenhagen, Denmark: Nordic Council of Ministers.

Wall, K. (2011) A sliver of the true fort: Imagining Fort Edmonton, 1911–2011. *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 6 (2), 109–128.

Walsh, K. (1992) *The Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Post-modern World*. London: Routledge.

Wang, J. (2009) 'Art in capital', shaping distinctiveness in a culture-led urban regeneration project in Red Town, Shanghai. *Cities* 26, 318–330.

Wanhill, S. (2000) Mines – A tourist attraction: Coal mining in industrial South Wales. *Journal of Travel Research* 39 (August), 60–69.

Warren, J., Worthington, J. and Taylor, S. (1998) *Context: New Buildings in Historic Settings*. London: Architectural Press.

Waterfront Auckland (2011) A brand new identity for a bold new waterfront. Prepared for the Auckland Council, New Zealand

Watson, S. and Waterton, E. (2010) Introduction: A visual heritage. In E. Waterton and S. Watson (eds) *Culture, Heritage and Representation: Perspectives on Visuality and the Past* (pp. 1–18). Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

Weaver, D. (2011) Contemporary tourism heritage as heritage tourism: Evidence from Las Vegas and Gold Coast. *Annals of Tourism Research* 38 (1), 249–267.

White, N. and White, P. (2007) Home and away: Tourists in a connected world. *Annals of Tourism Research* 34 (1), 88–104.

White, P. (2011) Industrial heritage – A different challenge? *Conservation Bulletin: Saving the Age of Industry* 67, 23–25.

Whitehand, J. (1992) Recent advances in urban morphology. *Urban Studies* 29 (3 & 4), 619–636.

Whitehand, J. and Gu, K. (2010) Conserving urban landscape heritage: A geographical approach. *Procedia Social and Behavioral Sciences* 2, 6948–6953.

Wilkey, P. (2000) Public/private partnerships to renew the industrial landscape. *Public Works Management and Policy* 4 (3), 248–255.

Williams, M. (2008) The economic impact of the Ffestiniog and Welsh Highland Railways on Gwynedd. Unpublished PhD thesis, Prifysgol Bangor.

Willim, R. (2005) Looking with new eyes at the old factory: On the rise of industrial cool. In T. O'Dell and P. Billing (eds) *Experience-scapes: Tourism, Culture, and Economy* (pp. 36–48). Copenhagen: Copenhagen Business School Press.

Willis, K. (2009) Assessing visitor preferences in the management of archaeological and heritage attractions: A case study of Hadrian's Roman Wall. *International Journal of Tourism Research* 11 (5), 487–505.

Wilson, J. and Kelling, G. (1989, February) Making neighborhoods safe. *Atlantic Monthly*.

Wood, R. (2004) Cruise ships: Deterritorialized destinations. In L. Lumsdon and S. Page (eds) *Tourism and Transport* (pp. 133–146). Oxford: Elsevier.

Wood, R. and Handley, J. (1999) Urban waterfront regeneration in the Mersey Basin, North West England. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management* 42 (4), 565–580.

Xie, P. (2003) Managing aboriginal tourism in Hainan, China: Government perspectives. *Annals of Leisure Research* 6 (3), 278–299.

Xie, P. (2006) Developing industrial heritage tourism: A case study of the proposed jeep museum in Toledo, Ohio. *Tourism Management* 27 (6), 1321–1330.

Xie, P. (2011) *Authenticating Ethnic Tourism*. Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Xie, P. (2013) Creative class and tourism development. *Tourism Tribune* 28 (3), 3–4.

Xie, P. and Lane, B. (2006) A life cycle model for aboriginal arts performance in tourism: Perspectives on authenticity. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 14 (6), 545–561.

Xie, P. and Gu, K. (2011) Urban morphology and tourism planning: Exploring the city of wall in Pingyao, China. *Journal of China Tourism Research* 7 (2), 229–242.

Xie, P., Wu, T. and Hsieh, H. (2012) Tourists' perception of authenticity in aboriginal souvenirs. *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing* 29 (5), 485–500.

Xie, P., Chandra, V. and Gu, K. (2013) Morphological changes of coastal tourism: A case study of Denarau Island, Fiji. *Tourism Management Perspectives* 5 (1), 75–83.

Xiong, P. (2009) New opportunities from old foundations: 798 art zone a case of industrial heritage tourism. Unpublished master's thesis of environmental studies, University of Waterloo.

Yang, L. and Wall, G. (2009) Authenticity in ethnic tourism: Domestic tourists' perspective. *Current Issues in Tourism* 12 (3), 235–254.

Yung, E. and Chan, E. (2012) Implementation challenges to the adaptive reuse of heritage buildings: Towards the goals of sustainable, low carbon cities. *Habitat International* 36, 352–361.

Yunjianan Tourism Bureau (2011) *Taiwan and Salt.* Tainan, Taiwan: Transportation Bureau.

Zander, R. and Zander, B. (2002) *The Art of Possibility: Transforming Professional and Personal Life*. New York: Penguin Books.

Zarrilli, L. and Brito, M. (2013) Lisbon experience, mobility, quality of life and tourist image: A survey. *GeoJournal of Tourism and Geosites* 12 (2), 203–213.

Zhang, H. and Lei, S. (2012) A structural model of residents' intention to participate in ecotourism: The case of a wetland community. *Tourism Management* 33 (4), 916–925.

Zhou, Y. (2013) Brewing up a campus: An industrial heritage redevelopment in Newmarket. Unpublished bachelor of planning thesis, The University of Auckland.

Zuidhof, V. (2009) The adaptive reuse process of the industrial heritage of the former Rotterdam dry-dock company. Unpublished master's thesis, Erasmus University.

Zukin, S. (1993) *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Zukin, S. (1995) *The Cultures of Cities*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Zwart, R. (2007) *Industrial Heritage in Bratislava Built Heritage Conservation and Development Programme 2007–2008*. Svaty Jur: Academia Istropolitana Nova.

Index