

Does Cultural Tourism Alleviate Poverty?¹

For nearly thirty years now, links have been proposed between conservation of cultural heritage from one side and its positive contributions to poverty reduction from the other side. When this debate appeared, many observers focused this link on the expected effects of tourism. Tourism is supposed to create jobs and income for the benefit of poor communities, in countries hit by a low degree of development. It may yet not be said that this reduction of poverty was sustainable and others people did not fail to note that some economic benefits were often exceeded by the multiplication of costs and speculative behaviors. Today these arguments are redesigned under the slogan of *ProPoorTourim*, but with the same ambiguities. Would another perspective, more comforting, to be found in the fact that the conservation of the cultural heritage is also the way to contribute to solving one of the most acute problems of poverty, namely housing? This question deserves at least as much attention as the previous question. Many social projects took place in recent years that reflect the relevance of such a problem. Anyway the results are not yet satisfying. If we look at some comprehensive data, we see for example that the connection between cultural tourism and Human living condition is much more satisfying for developed countries than for developing countries (Table 1.) We have to consider here that this relationship is very difficult to assess: these data show that an important percentage of tourism in GDP does not generate automatically a High Human Development Index.

Table 1. Relationship between the importance of tourism and the Human Development Index

Source: UNWTO, 2007-2010 & Human Development Report, UNDP, 2006-2010

	Tourism expenditures as % of GDP	Tourism as % of services	Human Development Index
Antigua and Barbuda	41.8	83.4	Medium
Barbados	30.4	62.1	Medium
Fiji	27.3	72.7	Medium
Maldives	18.5	69.6	Medium
Samoa	17.3	63.9	Medium
Romania	13.7	77.0	Medium
Spain	4.7	56.6	High
France	2.0	36.4	High

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ISA	1.0	32.6	High
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Cultural Heritage matters. Creating new markets, jobs and housing improve the living environment. Nothing prevents therefore at this stage to consider that poor people and households may be integrated into this perspective. Let us focus more precisely on housing and living conditions in urban areas. To explain this starting point, let us start from the evolution of the land problem in a number of cities, regardless of the region of the world. The Latin American city was founded from the orthogonal layout (or checkerboard) conceptualized by Philip II. The African town was founded from traditional kingdoms that did not value individual appropriation or family property, and it was transformed by British or French colonial Administration that introduced real estate. The India city was a mixture of English administration and the caste system where areas very differentiated according to the caste or ethnicity. But whatever the type of city, globalization created here a profound change. It has induced a specific urban design considering the functions of metropolization that were expected from all of the cities. Here, metropolization means that cities have to create an interface between global and local development; and to concentrate some new service functions at the core of the cities: services for enterprises and entertainment for the active people and tourists. All of the strategic functions of the city were now located at the city Centre, which induced a deep urban planning restructuring. In this context the traditional historical sites were relatively less affected, either because they had some protection, or because their marquetry prevented the most radical projects. This then resulted in an unfavorable development: investment were few; housing in abandonment were not processed and then occupied by populations often very poor and immigrant who found a framework for survival with little comforts. But more generally, two effects resulted from that new attitude:

- The importance of the funding investment imposed at least a private public partnership for implementing such strategies, when it was not a pure privately funding strategy;

- A gentrification was a kind of logical effect of such strategies. We have to stress here a specific issue: gentrification may be defended on behalf of a better allocation of lands resources. But when many artisans or SMEs are expelled to the suburbs we see a loss of creativity since demand and supply are definitely disconnected, leaving only but the intermediaries piloting the future of business. Nowadays, many data stress the importance of this loss of traditional low/traditional activities income people. In Mexico City, the decline in the population of the Centre is a trend that started as soon as the fifties: the population has decreased by 5 to 10% between 1950 and 1960. Since 1970, the four central districts have lost a third of their population. If the earthquakes that affected the city center could explain one part of this loss, the most important part was due to the accelerated functional change that affected the city. In Quito, Ecuador, the residential use of the ground decreased in the central zone to reach that 63% of the total. According to the assistant to housing for the city of Venice, the pollution of venetians is 70 000 instead than 100,000 twenty years ago. People the first to go were the poor. As a result population was ageing too.

From Cultural Heritage Conservation To ProPoor Tourism

The main issue is therefore not only to know how to maintain a social mix in the cultural heritage area but to create opportunities to alleviate poverty in very areas too. Four elements should be considered here.

Firstly, the strategies must absolutely offer more safety and security, and contribute to welfare rising of the local inhabitants. As consequences of such principle two element can be stressed here:

- Facadism that is often an element of such strategy must not be an end in itself but leverage for making local inhabitants caring more about the internal habitation. In Tozeur (Tunisia) the rehabilitation of the facades with small traditional bricks first appeared as somewhat artificial, if not justified by the desire to create a setting for film shooting. In fact it was followed by a deep change in behavior of a majority population who did not hesitate to undertake at its own expense the renovation of interior spaces but especially to modify its behavior. The renovation of the facades was followed by an effort of rehabilitation of streets, of a new waste collection, evacuation of animals that used to walk there.
- Public proximity services have to be organized if we intend to make people stay in the city. The example of Bamako (Mali) is very impressing. At Bamako renovation plan ensured that space to welcome during the day very young children (from 3 years) are organized in a renovated traditional architecture. Each school now has a main building housing a library and audiovisual workshop, a courtyard annex for manual workshops, a small theatre and a *paillote* helping in the kitchen. In addition lighting and tables work in the Court can welcome adults the evening and thus intensify literacy and training programs. The materials used are traditional such *bancos* or raw mud bricks. The walls are painted them in the traditional way. These schools were redefined as the reading Centers and communal child animation.
- Another issue can be the keeping of traditional or wet markets. Many cities have disseminated malls that fit only with the level of life of relatively high income and contribute therefore to the emigration of the traditional residents, such as in a city like Djakarta.

All of these previous elements can already contribute *to build up social capital*. This is very important since a social mix creates both strong and weak links, which will be very favorable to the distillation and implementation of common strategies. But the urban planning strategies can have different effects and this has to be strictly taken into consideration. Let us consider the experience of Quito (Ecuador). In a first period of time the urban redesign of the core city was realized with NPOs and offered a substantial quantity of social housing, therefore maintaining the social mix and then a rich social capital. During a second period of time and mainly due to the increasing scarcity of financial resources, the strategy was implemented with for profit institutions, which reduces drastically the offer of social housing and reduced the quality of the social capital.

Disseminate and capitalize new skills and competencies constitutes the third pillar of such relevant strategies. This point is traditionally overlooked in strategies of renovation involving cultural heritage and fight against poverty: but it should be central. In Europe, the experience of the Glasgow Wise Group remained a reference in this field: renovation of the buildings and their environment have led to two tangible results: give qualifications in building and gardening professions to youth who had no qualifications; encourage some of these young people to become self-employed workers offering the corresponding services in other development perspectives, once completed the seminal rehabilitation programs. The issue is therefore dual: create human capital; distil entrepreneurial capabilities. This theme was widely repeated in a number of Latin American cities, inspired by the experience of schools-workshops in the eighties in Spain. This program was based on the following consideration: rehabilitation projects of cultural heritage are opportunities for delivering and adapting the professional qualification of young people. An assessment made by the OECD noted a number of positive points:

- The training effort is organized over a long period (up to three years in some cases but in the past) and progressive, the sequence of the two phases to ensure that some foundations are acquired or recalled.
- The training effort is based on the acquisition of effective professional qualification.
- Professionals, often also older skilled workers or technicians provide practical training.
- Training is given in a framework that closely resembles that of a company: it is organized around the realization of a project, of a product or service to be delivered. Training must assume the achievement of the required qualifications and meet deadlines, here brings to business logic. It is in a mixed situation: not quite in a business logic, but more than a simple logic of school

The same study also pointed out the limitations encountered in reality:

- Sometimes the field of specialization is as wide enough to allow a later conversion.
- It is always difficult to give a real qualification in a limited period of time to correct insufficient initial training.
- There is not always a forward-looking strategy on activities and jobs that might exist at the end of these programs.
- There is unfortunately little reliable statistical surveys on opportunities out of these programs, but a synthesis - this time it conducted on Spain - can be the following: The average rate of placement on three consecutive years was 58.03%, but there is a downward trend as the program continues in time; The average placement rate is significantly higher in boys than in girls: 66.36% against 46.29%; For 61.37%, young people are after employed in jobs corresponding to their specialty

Disseminating Entrepreneurial Culture through new cultural practices is an important but frequently neglected pillar. Whatever type of people, entrepreneurship is mainly the product of the environment. Social values, culture, government policies, political system, technology, economic conditions, customs, laws, etc. influence the growth of entrepreneurship. In fact, the entrepreneurship cannot be kept aloof from the changing social values, ideologies, new emerging aspirations, environmental pressures, religious beliefs, consumer wants and society needs etc. Business is a system made up of certain environmental factors which require the entrepreneur to adopt a dynamic attitude and a new strategy of their own. Entrepreneurial culture implies a set of values, norms and traits that are conducive to the growth of entrepreneurship. Cultural values deeply affect entrepreneurship and the level of economic development. Culture has something to do with the entrepreneurial process and focuses on the discovery and interpretation of opportunities, neglected by others. No entrepreneur can overlook the country's cultural heritage and values if he wants to survive and progress. He needs to function on the basis of social expectations, desires and goals. But additionally we can make a distinction between entrepreneurial culture and enterprise culture. The first one deals with the thinking in terms of new projects, social and economic problem solving; the second one deal with the aptitude to manage and finalize the implementation of such projects, mobilizing legal, human and financial resources. Very likely only but one part of the local people will incorporate the second one. But anybody can participate to the distillation and dissemination of the first one, the entrepreneurial culture. Here the use of cultural heritage can be very important since cultural practices are a way to understand how many artistes or architects have designed new solutions for new problems. In a sense, it can be said that the opportunity to benefit from cultural practices is a way to benefit from creative experiences and teachings. Then urban planning has to take this need into consideration: public arts, active cultural workshops can constitute here very good opportunities to raise the creative touch of everybody. Let us consider two modest examples. In Lomé (Togo), the public fountains are a social and symbolic value significant

since it is a place of meeting and exchanges including for women. Their renovations could therefore both maintaining their role for social capital formation and disseminate examples of what can be a creative project. It was therefore decided to better understand the social functioning of terminals fountains, and then to hold a competition of new ideas with young architects before implementing the renovation. In Medellin, the dissemination of *Parques-Librerías* has given the opportunity to many teenagers (and their parents too) the opportunity to better understand which are the challenges of creativity through the experience of artistic and literary creation.

From ProPoor Tourism To Community Based Tourism

Interventions on cultural heritage, rehabilitation and poverty necessarily change according to the level of poverty. Indeed, things may not be the same when the occupants are poor but partly inserted in the mainstream; and the very living informally on the margins of society, having generally not paid jobs but still holding for historical reasons location in older sets. For these people it is necessary to design both housing and social inclusion strategy while they have no resources to achieve neither one nor the other.

Analyzing the relationship between cultural heritage rehabilitation and reduction of poverty is a complex subject. One thing however was very clear: a social mix is always desirable in the heart of the cultural heritage landscape, not only because it is often unfairly deporting people who live at the cost of many efforts but because this can be a source of economic and social creativity:

- A source of economic creativity because the diversity of populations expands the prospects for markets;
- A source of social creativity because the social mix increases the social capital in strong (or intra groups) links and weak (or inter groups) links.

Of course, this does not mean maintaining exactly the same composition of the population since things can evolve. Moreover conserving everything is a concept alien to city evolution. How then can strategies for the rehabilitation of cultural heritage lead to raising the standard of living of the poor in reintegrating them in sustainable activities and life conditions?

Considering a place rather than a simple location. A recent debate inspired by the theories of Schleicher is considering 'helping the poor but not the places', thus neglecting the collective quality that can be associated with a place. But help poor people not poor places is not a sustainable approach. For us, there is a difference between a location or a point in a space and a place or a locus characterized by a set of opportunities links and animations to be permanently maintained. This means, therefore, that a retrofit should be first intended to enrich and support a social milieu.

Considering governance and not only government. The cultural heritage landscape as a district is a common good, being produced and consumed collectively by a number of actors: firms, households, public services, Local Governments, NPOs, etc. This means that its management will be effective only if it involves all these actors in a coherent manner, and that we have to move from normative urban planning to a negotiation-based approach. This also means that local governments must show a high efficiency and high efficacy in order to potentialize the stakeholder initiatives. This implies that the local government has to build a corporate identity of the city administration, and to reduce the resource needs (of time, energy, air, solid, water, etc.). Finally, this means that the principles of decentralization and subsidiarity must be respected to empower local actors. The links with central governments must not be ignored since cities must indeed be opened to the flow of ideas and people.

Organizing a fine management of land issues. This point was already mentioned. It is essential because it involves property rights allocation, as the presentation on the development of tourism and the attractiveness of small cultural cities in the East of the Georgia has shown. Here we should take into consideration the variety of poverty situations that can be found in cities - such as Mumbai - and therefore the variety of responses to be made. For a long time the working city brought together formal and informal workers living in two types of homes: the *Chawls*, buildings of several floors often constructed in great depth from a fairly narrow facade defining collective and private spaces for the benefit of workers paying rent; and *slums* often made of *street booths* with people who had no defined professional status. Therefore the rehabilitation of the Chawls is a strategy that has to be combined with street slums upgrading). Controlling the speculative movements of the real assets prices is here central. In addition the maintenance or not of some populations depends not only on the real-asset price but also on the supply of utilities. The fact that the conditions of life and activity of a part of these populations are informal encourages caution: tailored strategies must take into account these social groups cultures. Finally, it should be relevant here to combine public and private efforts. In the case of Tozeur (Tunisia), the controversial strategy of *facadisme* - mainly organized at the initiative of the local government - was enriched because it was followed by incentives for leveraging the internal restoration of the houses, which involved private efforts. In a more general vision, our group stressed the leveraging effect of housing conservation and adaptive reuse, with tailored financial tools, such as microcredit, making sure it is for investment and not consumption.

Very likely all of these trends contribute to a new vision of proPoor tourism that can be named as Community Based Tourism. Table 2 shows the themes of Community based tourism that encompass the themes of proPoor tourism.

Table 2. From ProPoor Tourism To Community Based Tourism

ProPoor Tourism	Community Based Tourism
Tourism Structures and Facilities privately owned	Tourism Structures and Facilities directly or indirectly managed by the community
Mainstream Management Style	Management style based on local culture
Market Approach	Holistic approach
Short Term	Long Term
Preferentially Large Scale	Preferentially Low Scale
Facilitation	Participation
Private entrepreneurship	Private and collective entrepreneurship

Cultural Heritage as an opportunity	Cultural Heritage as a common good
Top Down	Bottom Up

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