

## THE ROLE OF INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE IN DIFFERENTIATION OF CULTURAL TOURISM PRODUCTS – THE CASE OF ZAGREB

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### **Abstract**

**Purpose** – The paper aims to shed light on intangible cultural heritage (ICH) resources that enable a stronger differentiation of cultural tourism products in the city of Zagreb.

**Design** – The paper identifies the existing ICH-based tourism products and systematizes them according to the UNWTO's classification; discusses current state of ICH-based tourism products in the city of Zagreb; and provides some policy recommendations for the improvement of tourism valorization of the ICH and better ICH-based tourism products' differentiation in the city of Zagreb.

**Methodology** – The study reviews the literature on heritage tourism, ICH and the practices of using ICH for tourism purposes and particularly for tourism product differentiation. The study relies on qualitative and quantitative analysis of data.

**Approach** – The sample includes safeguarded ICH elements of the city of Zagreb inscribed in the Registry of Cultural Goods of the Republic of Croatia and implemented into city ICH-based tourism products.

**Findings** – The analysis determined several most prominent elements from each UNWTO category which enable tourism product differentiation based on the characteristics of ICH of the city of Zagreb. The research results revealed that ICH serves as one of the key aspects of tourism product differentiation, which enables better market segmentation and targeting.

**Originality of the research** – The paper adds to the growing literature on heritage tourism studies, specifically in the under-researched interdisciplinary field of ICH and tourism. Additionally, it explores issues and challenges of using ICH for differentiation of cultural tourism product and for creation of the unique tourist experiences.

**Keywords** intangible cultural heritage, heritage tourism, cultural tourism, tourism product differentiation, city of Zagreb

### **INTRODUCTION**

Over the past two decades, the global tourism market has become increasingly segmented and stratified along demographic, socioeconomic, and psychographic lines, including tourists' motivation, hobbies, opinion, etc. (Poon, 1993). For that reason, the design of a distinctive, recognizable and consistent tourism product seems to become even more challenging task for tourism developers and policy makers than ever before. Today it is clearly evident that the design of competitive tourism product cannot be based on predetermined development model, which is generally applicable to certain type of destinations, but rather on innovative, unique and appealing set of tourist attractions and activities shaped by the strategy of differentiation that gives a destination a competitive advantage over the others. The strategy of differentiation is commonly used to highlight specific tourism products in order to distinguish tourism destinations between each other,

but it can be also used to make a clearer distinction between similar tourism products within the same destination.

The strategy of differentiation used in this study is widely discussed by Porter (1980) in his early work on competitive strategies. Adapted to tourism market, the strategy of differentiation is focused on creating a tourism product which must be perceived by temporary visitors as unique based on its special design, superior value and the high quality of services. These product attributes regularly cause the increase of costs at all stages of product design and distribution, which suggests the necessity of implementation of various analytical techniques for critical evaluation of the proposed tourism products. The strategy of differentiation is increasingly implemented by the emerging, e.g. large tourism destinations in the Central and Eastern Europe that possess a unique set of tourism resources, which in combination with favorable geostrategic position and affordable prices may serve as major incentives for tourists to visit them.

From tourism development perspective, "the cultural heritage is one of the most important resources upon which travel is based and appeals to many underlying motives for travel" (Timothy, 2011, 2). In that sense, cultural heritage carefully incorporated into specially designed tourism products has been recognized by many cities in Europe as a strategic factor of market differentiation and image creation. This is particularly important for capital cities whose special status, differing from the other cities, has emphasized their historical and contemporary cultural values and peculiarities. As the youngest capital city in the European Union, Zagreb has recognized local cultural heritage as a powerful set of attractions and activities that can generate significant benefits for the local economy. Despite the fact that the majority of cultural tourism products in the city of Zagreb still rely on tangible cultural heritage, this study shed some more light on the local ICH that has yet to be discovered and exploited.

This paper is organized in four main sections. Following the Introduction section, first main section introduces the relationship between cultural heritage and tourism according to previous heritage tourism studies, and positions the research on ICH according to recent developments in this field of research. This section also describes the theoretical framework and practices of using ICH for city tourism product differentiation. The second main section provides a brief insight into tourism performance and SWOT analysis of the city of Zagreb. Third section is focused on the inventory and analysis of the ICH-based tourism products in the city of Zagreb, revealing the status of the officially inscribed heritage when it comes to cultural tourism product design and development. The fourth section discusses the opportunities of ICH elements inclusion to city tourism product and provides some observations regarding tourism exploitation of the ICH resources that are still not visible to temporary visitors. This section also provides several policy recommendations for the improvement of narrowly focused cultural tourism products. The paper ends with the Conclusion section.

## 1. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The academics agreed that tourism plays a prominent role in the emergence and affirmation of the concept of heritage (Gravari-Barbas, 2018) to the extent of identifying it as "a heritage producing machine" (Gravari-Barbas, 2012). Tourism utilizes heritage as a historic resource by assigning the economic value and thus contributes to the economy of the entire tourism destination. Moreover, some analysis shows that more than 80% of all trips taken include some element of cultural heritage (Timothy, 2011). The most recent data demonstrates that, in 2014, international cultural tourism arrivals accounted for 39.1% of all international tourist arrivals (UNWTO, 2018, 21). Heritage as a consumable commodity has been in focus of academic research since the 1960s, although the acknowledgment of the importance of cultural resources as recreational and educational assets occurred even earlier in the 1930s. The research topics directly related to tourism such as visitor use, museum management, conservation, interpretation and authenticity were dominantly analyzed during the 1960s and 1970s (Timothy, 2018, 177). However, heritage tourism as a mainstream field of study achieved excessive academic attention in 1990s. The 1980s and 1990s were characterized by the descriptive approach to tangible cultural heritage research thus depicting its supply and demand (Herbert, Prentice and Thomas, 1989) which afterwards evolved into more analytical research practices (Timothy, 2018, 177). On the other hand, as ICH has been ignored for a longer period of time as a heritage that needs to be protected and safeguarded (Vecco, 2010), the academic research on intangible heritage and tourism is rather scarce. Despite the growing literature on heritage tourism studies and tangible cultural heritage, the research on ICH in tourism is still in its initial phase. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) defined ICH in its Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICHC) rather recently in 2003. However, the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) claims that in the 1994 ICOMOS Nara Declaration on Authenticity played the vital role and intangible heritage in heritage management was acknowledged for the first time (UNWTO, 2012, 9). As a consequence of intangible heritage's authorization, this widened concept of cultural heritage has been included in certain national and regional legislation aimed at preserving and safeguarding cultural heritage and broadening the scope of interventions to include intangible elements (del Barrio, Devesa and Herrero, 2012, 235). Since 2003, the ICHC was followed by a number of studies on cultural diversity, capacity-building and sustainable tourism, which explicitly mentioned the intangible heritage (UNWTO, 2012). Therefore, academic research, particularly in the field of social sciences is limited as regards the relationship between ICH and tourism.

Since the adoption of the ICHC in 2003 the growing debates on the nature and the meaning of ICH have emerged in academic writings. The ICHC raised concerns in relation to its connotation and utility in European and other western contexts (Kurin 2004; van Zanten 2004; Aikawa-Faure 2009; Smith and Waterton 2009; Lähdesmäki 2016; Smith and Campbell, 2018). Furthermore, the authorization of intangible heritage by UNESCO raised issues as regards consequences of the attempts to safeguard intangible heritage, such as petrification and commodification of living cultural expressions and associated cultural values (Sears 2002, 147; Amselle 2004; van Zanten 2004, 41; Brosius and Polit 2011; Akagawa 2014; Pietrobruno 2014; Smith and Campbell, 2018) as well as political nature of intangible heritage (Logan, 2007). The

heritage discourse has been heavily criticized especially in the widespread use, within Anglophone and western contexts, of the terms "intangible value" and "tangible value" as Smith and Campbell (2018, 5) claim, being tautological and contradictory terms per se.

Nevertheless, the ICH and its categories as defined by the UNESCO need to be clearly stated for the purposes and the nature of this study. According to ICHC, an ICH is defined as "the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage" (UNESCO, 2003). ICH elements are intensely entrenched in territories and communities and, as Cominelli and Greffe (2012, 245) claim, "represent critical factors for creating new global and competitive scenarios". Such elements play important role in destination competitiveness and may serve as a tool for cultural tourism product differentiation not only globally, but locally as well.

According to the UNWTO, there are six categories of ICH which include the following:

- 1) Handicrafts and visual arts that demonstrate traditional craftsmanship;
- 2) Gastronomy and culinary practices;
- 3) Social practices, rituals and festive events;
- 4) Music and the performing arts;
- 5) Oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of intangible cultural heritage; and
- 6) Knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe (2012, 3).

Although the category of gastronomy is not directly mentioned in the ICHC, it often appears to be a major part of cultural tourism activity in many countries and thus has been separated from the category of "Social practices" and highlighted by the UNWTO (2012, 3) as a distinct category of "Gastronomy and culinary practices". For that reason, the list of ICH categories formed by the UNWTO was chosen as the methodological framework for this research.

In spite of its important role in society and tourism development, there is still insignificant number of empirical studies related to ICH and tourism (Lopez-Guzman and Gonzalez Santa-Cruz, 2016), particularly as regards ICH and city tourism product differentiation. So far, the studies on city tourism and the ICH have covered various topics such as the analyses of tango as a tourism resource in the city of Buenos Aires, Argentina (Gómez Schettini et al., 2011), the Festival of the Courtyards in the city of Córdoba, Spain (Lopez-Guzman and Gonzalez Santa-Cruz, 2016), and the interpretative strategies for cities which highlight the value of ICH for marketing purposes based on case studies in Amsterdam, Genoa and Leipzig (Mitsche et al., 2013). Other ICH tourism topics include the Bedouin of Petra and Wadi Rum in Jordan as ICH (Bille, 2012), the Jemaa el Fna Square in Marrakech, Morocco (Schmitt, 2008), the relationship between tourism and flamenco as ICH in the region of Andalusia, Spain (Aoyama, 2009), and the effect of food experience on tourist satisfaction in Indonesia (Babolian Hendijani, 2016). The majority of the aforementioned studies are characterized by descriptive approach and analyses.

## **2. ZAGREB TOURISM PERFORMANCE – A BRIEF OVERVIEW**

According to Croatian Bureau of Statistics (CBS), in 2017, the city of Zagreb has recorded nearly 1.3 million tourist arrivals being the most visited tourism destination in Croatia, in spite of its position in the continental part of Croatia, nearly 200 kilometers away from the Adriatic coast. In the same year, Zagreb accounted for slightly less than 2.3 million overnight stays, realized in all types of commercial accommodation facilities, which made it sixth ranked destination according to total number of tourist overnight stays, after Dubrovnik (3.9 mil.), Rovinj (3.7 mil.), Poreč (3.2 mil.), Medulin (2.6 mil.) and Umag (2.3 mil.), which are the most popular Croatia's seaside tourism destinations. In both figures, the international demand held dominant shares of 84%, whilst the most important tourism generating markets for Zagreb were Germany, Italy, Bosnia and Herzegovina, United Kingdom and Spain (CBS, 2018). During the 2010s, total number of tourist arrivals in the city of Zagreb grew by 9.4% a year, while overall tourist overnight stays grew by 10.4%, annually (CBS, 2018; CBS, 2011).

From the SWOT analysis perspective, the main market strength of the city of Zagreb as a tourism destination is its status of capital and the most populated city in the country, while the main weakness can be considered the low average length of stay of tourists visiting Zagreb (1.8 overnights per arrival in 2017; CBS, 2018). The main tourism market opportunity is to integrate many available, but still unexploited tourism resources (like ICH elements), whereas the main threat is notable growth of tourism figures across Central and Eastern European capital cities such as Vienna, Budapest, Ljubljana, Bratislava, Belgrade and Sarajevo, all within the radius of up to 400 kilometers by road from Zagreb.

As stated in the Strategy of tourism development in the Republic of Croatia until 2020, the most developed and at the same time the most promising tourism products for the city of Zagreb are: 1) cultural heritage tourism, 2) business travel, 3) city break with events, and 4) medical tourism (Croatian Parliament, 2013, 35). Among these four prominent tourism products, the cultural tourism product can be considered most complex tourism product in Zagreb according to number of stakeholders involved and the complexity of their collaboration.

Therefore, the status of the most visited tourism destination in Croatia, rapidly growing number of tourists, increasing competition among cities in the proximity, as well as its highly diverse and wealthy cultural heritage, makes Zagreb a good case study for analyzing and discussing the concerns and opportunities of further city tourism development, particularly based upon ICH resources.

## **3. OVERVIEW OF THE PROTECTED INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE IN THE CITY OF ZAGREB**

According to Hrovatin (2013, 133), "by establishing the legal framework for valorisation, listing and devising the means of safeguarding the ICH on national and international level, a positive surrounding for the visibility and further protection of ICH has been created". As of February 2018 there were in total 160 elements of ICH inscribed

into the Registry of Cultural Goods of the Republic of Croatia (hereafter, the national Registry), while 15 of them were simultaneously inscribed on the UNESCO List of ICH (UNESCO n.d.). Some of the ICH elements are related to one specific geographic area, while other involves several regions or even the entire country (Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia n.d.). As pointed out by Hrovatin (2013), there are four main goals and positive outcomes of the inscription of ICH in the national Registry: (1) the registration of elements that still have the ability to be transferred to younger generations, the registration of elements of particular significance for the Republic of Croatia, and the registration of less recognizable elements important for the local community; (2) fulfillment of the requirements for the nomination of particular ICH element for the UNESCO lists of ICH (Representative or Need of Urgent Safeguarding); (3) the possibility of using financial support for safeguarding, promotion and further research; (4) the possibility of inclusion of ICH into various projects and planning, such as development of rural areas, cultural heritage safeguarding in general, creation of tourism product, etc.

The city of Zagreb is proud to have 16 ICH elements inscribed in the national Registry, which is 10% of the total number of inscribed elements. Only seven of them are related to the city of Zagreb, while other nine elements are related to the city of Zagreb and other regions or even the entire country. It is important to note that two elements of Zagreb's ICH are inscribed on the UNESCO's ICH Representative List, namely Gingerbread craft and Traditional manufacturing of children's wooden toys. According to UNWTO categories of ICH, the vast majority of Zagreb's ICH elements (13 out of 16) belong to the group of "Handicrafts and visual arts" that demonstrate traditional craftsmanship. Nine inscribed ICH elements are related to particular family crafts, while seven elements can be presented by more than one craftsman. The rest of Zagreb's ICH elements (3 out of 16) inscribed in the national Registry belongs to other UNWTO categories of ICH. The ICH elements of the city of Zagreb classified according to the UNWTO categories of ICH are presented in Table 1.

**Table 1: The ICH elements of the city of Zagreb classified by the UNWTO categories**

UNWTO categories of ICH	Number of elements	Share (%)
1. Handicrafts and visual arts that demonstrate traditional craftsmanship	13	81%
2. Gastronomy and culinary practices	0	/
3. Social practices, rituals and festive events	0	/
4. Music and the performing arts	1	6%
5. Oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of intangible cultural heritage	1	6%
6. Knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe	1	6%

Source: created by the authors

All these ICH elements can be observed as important and valuable heritage tourism resources which are, or can be, used for the design of various cultural tourism products, more precisely ICH-based tourism products in the city of Zagreb.

A brief description of all ICH elements related to the city of Zagreb, as well as current involvement in city tourism offer, is listed below (Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia n.d.; UNWTO, 2012; UNESCO n.d.; Zagreb Crafts n.d.):

1. *Traditional hairstyles in the Kincl hairdressing salon*; Zagreb (UNWTO category 1) – The salon was opened in 1937 in the heart of the city. Owners of the salon were family members for a long time, but today it is owned by non-family member. To date, salon has won many prizes on international hairdressers' competitions, but when it comes to tourism, this element of ICH is not included in any cultural tourism offer so far.
2. *Gingerbread craft*; North-western Croatia (UNWTO category 1) – Gingerbread handicrafts are the most recognizable symbols of the Croatian national cultural identity. They are made of groceries for cakes, shaped into moulds (mostly hearts), baked, dried and then painted. Each artisan decorates gingerbread in a specific way, often with small mirrors, details, signs and verses or messages. Today, gingerbread makers are essential participants in local festivities, events and gatherings. There are also workshops of gingerbread for locals and tourists. It is a souvenir which can be found throughout the North-western Croatia souvenir shops. Due to all mentioned, gingerbread handicrafts became an unavoidable part of cultural tourism offer in the North-western Croatia.
3. *Traditional pottery-making*; North-western Croatia (UNWTO category 1) – Although there are only few potter crafts left in the North-western Croatia, pottery represents a great potential for creating attractive cultural tourism products. Currently, there are workshops organized for local people to get involved and learn the basics about pottery, while tourists can see exhibits in museums or hear the story while on some guided tours.
4. *Traditional craftsmanship of handicrafts, jewellery and ornamental items from the horns and bones of the comb man Antun Penezić*; Zagreb (UNWTO category 1) – Antun Penezić workshop is teeming with numerous certificates and recognitions. He made a collection of displays for the Ethnographic Museum and in 2006 he took up his old passion again after a string of positive feedback. Since 2016, this original Croatian product can be found on online platform Zagreb Crafts, which makes it more visible and available to tourists.
5. *The art of reading, writing and printing Glagolitic script*; Croatia (UNWTO category 5) – As the oldest Croatian script, the Glagolitic script represents an important part of cultural tourism product through storytelling and workshops, but can also be found on different products and souvenirs (e.g. necktie). The art of reading, writing and printing (modelling) Glagolitic letters is often theme for various workshops and summer schools where domestic and international visitors can learn about the medieval Croatian culture and make a unique souvenir all by them.
6. *The art of making, repairing and servicing handwriting accessories within "Peroklinika" craft*; Zagreb (UNWTO category 1) – During the past 50 years Zagreb has had 24 crafts dedicated to sell and repair fountain pens, but today "Peroklinika" is the only such shop not only in Zagreb, but in Europe. The today's owner proudly point out the fact that Croatian souvenir, designed for the 1987 University games in Zagreb, is a replica of the first mechanical pencil invented by Croatian famous inventor Slavoljub Penkala. This pencil served as a traditional gift in many

solemnities and official protocols at the highest level. The owner also plans to open a fountain pen museum, which would be a great opportunity to increase the visibility of this valuable element of the Croatian cultural heritage. Although the traditional fountain pen (that originates) from Croatia is already internationally recognized as a souvenir (not much as cultural artefact), its full potentials are still underutilized.

7. *Traditional manufacturing of Šestine umbrella in traditional crafts "Cerovečki"*; Zagreb (UNWTO category 1) – The Šestine umbrella is an integral part of the national costume, mainly worn at various events and festivals, and mostly used for folklore purposes. The Šestine umbrella is characterized by the red cotton canvas with multi-colored stripes, thick wooden stick and naturally curved handle made from chestnut wood. It is one of most recognizable symbols of Zagreb, often bought as a souvenir and has a great potential to be more involved in city cultural tourism products.
8. *The art of making Christmas nativity scene*; North-western Croatia (UNWTO category 1) – This ICH element is often included in mostly religious programs that take place during the Advent time and serve as a type of Christmas live decoration on main squares and/or near the churches. For instance, during the Zagreb Christmas market, which was awarded in 2018 by the European Best Destinations online poll as the best Christmas market in Europe for the third time in a row, the art of making Christmas nativity scene comes to its best expression. Despite the widespread use of this ICH element in outdoor performances during the Advent time throughout the North-western Croatia, it still does not provide direct economic effects. Therefore, it needs an upgrade to a paid tourist attraction, with optional participation of visitors.
9. *Traditional manufacturing of children's wooden toys*; North-western Croatia (UNWTO category 1) – Nowadays, traditional wooden toys, mostly shaped in whistles, horses, cars, tiny furniture, spinning dancers, jumping horses and flapping birds, are made almost in same way for more than a century. Popular among both locals and tourists, these toys are sold in parish fairs, open markets and souvenir shops across the North-western Croatia. This ICH element has a great potential to be included in interactive workshops for tourists interested in regional culture.
10. *Traditional manufacturing of paper decorations – the "Kinč"*; North-western Croatia (UNWTO category 1) – The kinč is a traditional handicraft made out of paper and wire usually formed as small Christmas tree decorations, but can be also shaped as a flower bouquet or flower wreath intended to serve as a home decoration. In the North-western Croatia it is traditionally made during the winter time, but these handicrafts are not so popular among the younger generations. Although the manufacturing of kinč is not recognized as a valuable ICH element, it can become recognizable souvenir, sold in open markets and souvenir shops, and/or presented during the Christmas market. Occasionally it could take part in some cultural workshops for visitors too.
11. *Traditional manufacturing of home decorations – the Christmas chandelier*; North-western Croatia (UNWTO category 1) – Just as kinč, a traditional manufacturing of chandeliers, a home décor for Christmas, is still not recognized as valuable ICH element, but can as a hand-crafted souvenir can be presented on the Christmas market or take part in cultural workshops where visitors can create their own and unique do-it-yourself souvenir.



12. *Traditional manufacturing and repairing watches of watchmaker craft "Lebarović"*; Zagreb (UNWTO category 1) – The legendary watch making and repair shop was found back in 1947. Today, the shop owned by Lebarović family is responsible for punctual ticking of more than 300 clocks installed all over Croatia. Besides maintaining the installed clocks, watchmaker craft can produce all kinds of custom made clocks which are assembled out of locally produced parts. Still, the most recognizable are blue colored 14-sided sphere clocks which adorn Zagreb large squares. Although this ICH is not included in any specific cultural tourism product, it serves as one the main symbols of Zagreb and definitely deserves to be promoted as a valuable souvenir worth buying while visiting Zagreb.
13. *Traditional manufacturing of caps and hats "Šeširi Škrgatić"*; Zagreb (UNWTO category 1) – As the oldest cap and hat manufacturer in the region, this family-run workshop has numerous recognitions for their hand made products. They also have web shop and Instagram profile, which makes them more visible to international visitors looking for high quality traditional handmade caps and hats.
14. *Traditional manufacturing of hats from different parts of Croatia – crafts "Cahun"*; Zagreb (UNWTO category 1) – First workshop and store was opened in 1935, when people were greeted by removing his hat and bowed. It was a sign of respect, mutual knowledge and understanding. Cahun hats are made of felt fine rabbit hair. Still not recognized among tourists, this element has potential to become a part of cultural tourism product, especially in a segment of original souvenirs.
15. *The art of falconry*; Croatia (UNWTO category 6) – This primary hunting, but also nature-protecting and educational activity is inherent, and thus more developed in rural areas, but sometimes it can be very useful in urban settings for dispelling excessive bird species or clearing the airport area from all birds that can endanger air traffic. Although there are some falconry enthusiasts in the city of Zagreb, this ICH element cannot be easily included in some cultural tourism product of Zagreb.
16. *Art of playing tamburitza in the Farkaš musical system*; Continental Croatia (UNWTO category 4) – This musical art is not typical symbol of Zagreb, but as a valuable intangible heritage it exists throughout the continental part of Croatia. Although this traditional skill is not recognized as an important part of Croatian cultural identity, particularly not among international visitors, the art of playing tamburitza often serves as accompanying part of national folk dance performances and other traditional cultural.

All 16 briefly described ICH elements can be classified into four groups due to their involvement in cultural tourism products, particularly ICH-based tourism products. The classification of the ICH elements according to the engagement in cultural tourism product is presented in Table 2.

**Table 2: The classification of ICH elements according to the engagement in cultural tourism product**

Degrees of engagement	Elements from the List
Highly engaged elements	2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 16
Marginally engaged elements	6, 12, 13, 14
Unrecognized elements with significant potential	1, 4, 8, 10, 11
Elements with low potential	15

Source: created by the authors

Elements highly involved in tourism and recognized among tourists are elements such as gingerbread craft; traditional pottery-making; the art of reading, writing and printing Glagolitic script; traditional manufacturing of children's wooden toys; and the art of playing tamburitza in the Farkaš musical system.

Elements that are marginally involved in tourism activity, but have potential to be transformed into valuable ICH-based tourism products are the art of making, repairing and servicing handwriting accessories within "Peroklinika" crafts; Traditional manufacturing and repairing watches of watchmaker crafts "Lebarović"; Traditional manufacturing of caps and hats "Šeširi Škrgatić"; and Traditional hats manufacturing from different parts of Croatia – crafts "Cahun".

Furthermore, elements that are still not recognized as a part of cultural tourism offer, but should be involved in a wider cultural context are the following: Traditional hairstyles in the Kincl hairdressing salon; Traditional craftsmanship of handcrafts, jewellery and ornamental items from the horns and bones of the comb man Antun Penezić; The art of making Christmas nativity scene; Traditional manufacturing of Christmas tree decorations and chandelier.

Finally, only one element with low potential to become a part of cultural tourism product, and thus ICH-based tourism product in the city of Zagreb is the art of falconry.

Although it is not on the list of ICH elements directly related to Zagreb or its cultural identity, there is one more ICH element that deserves to be mentioned due to its involvement in gourmet tourism offer. The preparation of traditional pastry filled with cottage cheese, sour cream and eggs, locally called "(zagorski) štrukli", is widely recognized as a must-taste gastronomic delight and symbol of Zagreb's cuisine.

#### **4. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS**

In order to improve tourism valorization of the available ICH and enhance the competitiveness of the city of Zagreb on the international cultural tourism market, number and diversity of inscribed ICH elements in the national Registry should be significantly improved. As the analysis in the previous section revealed, there is a substantial misbalance of using certain categories of ICH elements in Zagreb cultural tourism offer according to the UNWTO classification of ICH. Although it can be regarded as evolutionary, the current content of ICH-based tourism products shows

weaknesses in terms of their diversity, recognition and differentiation from the same type of products among the cities in the region. Additionally, a lack of internal differentiation among Zagreb's cultural tourism products do also exists, which in turn complicate market segmentation for product designers, and diminish the visibility and recognition of specific products by the visitors.

In the context of differentiation strategy, the current ICH-based cultural tourism products in the city of Zagreb need a thorough revision and redesign towards more dynamic and attractive products that would support tourists' active participation and interaction during the consumption. To begin with, all current products should be carefully revised, recreated and promoted as customized special tourist packages and thematic routes that visitors can identify with, led by their interests, motivation, time and financial capacities. On account of currently inscribed ICH elements in the national Registry, one of opportunities is to create the "Routes of Zagreb traditional crafts" which would enable creating special cultural tourist products that fits within the timeframe of two, three or more hours walking tours with storytelling and shopping directly from traditional artisans. The next step in redesign process would be the inclusion of more interactive and participative activities for tourists to encourage a creative component of tourist experience. This primarily means tourist's active participation in some of creative cultural activities that may include real situations in which tourist can use traditional tools and materials to produce their own hand-made souvenir.

The overview and analysis shown above reveals several important facts that may serve as policy recommendations for tourism product developers, cultural institutions and tourism destination stakeholders:

- The cultural heritage suitable for tourism product development should be officially safeguarded at local, national and/or international level in order to preserve their value and authenticity, but also to protect these resources from tourism over-exploitation.
- All valuable cultural resources (including their inheritors) intended for tourism exploitation should be collected and listed in a special register according to their characteristics, assessed values and capacities, which would further on allow tourism product designers to do an easy search according to their needs.
- The intangible and tangible cultural resources valuable for tourism destination product design are interrelated, so the success of their tourism exploitation depends on their joint appearance on the market.
- The ICH-based tourism products are very difficult to design and promote, and thus require an active participation of local cultural experts and other members of the local community (e.g. artisans, artists, inheritors, etc.) who can advise destination management and product designers on true historical value of each ICH element.
- Nowadays, only those ICH elements with their stories published online and integrated into thematic web based platforms (e.g. Traditional Craftsmanship of Zagreb: [www.zagrebcrafts.hr](http://www.zagrebcrafts.hr)) are far more likely to become recognized by visitors, promoted via social networks and more exposed to the market.

- The integration of any ICH element into destination's cultural tourism product must be done with special care in order to avoid domination of one category of elements over the others, which is, in some cases, difficult to manage.
- Carefully selected and effectively managed ICH elements should support brand building, differentiation and positioning of a tourism destination on the cultural tourism market.

## CONCLUSION

Among all specialized tourism products, cultural tourism seems to be one of the most intriguing and complex areas of academic research and product design. The content analysis and the level of visibility of ICH-based tourism products suggest that Zagreb should improve its strategy of differentiation by stronger inclusion of ICH resources in its tourism offer. In many cases, the ICH has proved to be an excellent differentiation factor which can significantly increase the level of visitors' satisfaction and improve their overall experience of stay in a destination. In this study 16 ICH elements inscribed into the Registry of Cultural Goods of the Republic of Croatia were analyzed and categorized by their involvement in Zagreb's overall tourism offer. Six of them are already involved and bring some benefits to the local economy, while eight of them show more or less good potentials for tourism valorization. The domination of the inscribed ICH elements that belong to the category of "Handicrafts and visual arts that demonstrate traditional craftsmanship" in Zagreb's cultural tourism products, implies a modest level of integration of the ICH elements in other categories. This indicates a need to make stronger effort in inscribing more ICH elements into the Registry and gradually redesign and upgrade the existing cultural tourism products in Zagreb in a way that they should be more interactive and participative for visitors. These improvements would result in higher quality of tourist experience, increase the level of their overall satisfaction, and finally increase daily tourist expenditure in the destination.

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