

ASSESSING LITERARY HERITAGE POLICIES IN THE CONTEXT OF CREATIVE CITIES

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ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on Creative Cities of Literature of United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and analyses how the policies and actions of the cities in this network can contribute to their cultural environment. It builds a mixed theoretical framework that looks at UNESCO's Creative Cities Network, the Educating Cities Network and the European Heritage Strategy for the 21st Century. Then, to establish a set of recommendations that assesses the management of literary heritage in creative cities of literature, we have carried out a two-phase content analysis of the participating cities' monitoring reports. In the first phase, the analysis is found on the specific criteria of cities of literature that are already part of UNESCO's Creative Cities Network. In the second phase, the analysis is based on the list of challenges and recommendations defined by the European Heritage Strategy for the 21st century. This analysis shows that the City of Literature programme as a whole is a database of best practices for developing an urban literary environment. The article presents a set of actions to enhance the cultural environment of a literary city by focusing on its use of its literary heritage.

Keywords: Creative City, Cultural Tourism, Literary Heritage, Urban Tourism.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The role of culture in an urban economy has entirely changed during the last decades. From being considered an element without the capacity to generate value for a city, it is now thought to be a key asset in revitalising a city's economy through creativity in a sustainable way (Florida, 2002; UNESCO, 2016).

At the same time, integrating culture in the inhabitants' everyday lives is essential for improving social cohesion and community self-esteem (Del Pozo, 2019). From this perspective, the value of culture is not only appreciated for its economic potential, but also for its capacity to improve values and quality of life.

Cities need to incorporate strategic policies to enhance the presence of culture in the urban environment. Only in this way could the *Stadtluft*, i.e. the urban environment – which has been linked to environmental and socioeconomic problems (Nel-lo, 2019) – again be related to values such as freedom and well-being.

This vision is the framework for UNESCO's Creative Cities Network. This network was launched in 2004 to increase cooperation between cities and to develop initiatives based upon creativity and culture. The network originates from the fact that creativity and the cultural industry are vital components for economic, social, cultural and environmentally sustainable development (UNESCO, 2004). It is composed of seven subnetworks, each

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dedicated to a certain specific cultural industry. These subnetworks are: Crafts and Folk Arts, Design, Film, Gastronomy, Media Arts, Music and Literature.

The present paper focuses on this last subnetwork, namely literature, in order to analyse how cultural policies, especially those focusing on the use of heritage, can enhance the cultural environment of a creative city. To this aim, a mixed theoretical framework has been built to examine UNESCO's Creative Cities Network, the Educating Cities Network and the European Heritage Strategy for the 21st Century.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Creativity and Culture in an Urban Context

The concentration of people in large urban centres is a trend that seems likely to continue, since it is expected that urban areas will absorb the growth of world's population (United Nations, 2019), accompanied by the growth in their economic relevance and their ability to attract visitors (World Travel & Tourism Council, 2018). This prediction poses several challenges for urban policymakers, since cities' economies can no longer rely upon factory-based industry; instead, they need to design strategies to diversify their economy and compete with other urban areas by using assets such as culture and creativity (Patricio Mulero & Rius-Ulldemolins, 2017).

Instrumentalising culture and creativity for urban development can be interpreted in different ways, as Pratt (2010) states. Following his classification, culture and creativity can be understood as (1) a civilising factor, (2) a promotional asset that uses cultural heritage to differentiate the city from other urban areas and to attract visitors, (3) an appealing factor for talent, (4) a tool for social inclusion, and (5) a new economic sector.

Beyond these different aspects of the interaction of culture, creativity and urban development, they all share the idea of harnessing the potential of culture and creativity in order to improve a city's competitiveness and its people's quality of life. Thus, an urban project based on culture and creativity needs to go beyond the commodification of culture and build an educative context to generate the desired creative urban atmosphere.

2.2 The Role of Education and Heritage in Creative Cities

"*Sapere aude*," said Immanuel Kant in 1784 when defining the core of the Enlightenment (Kant, 2019). This motto, which can be translated as "Dare to know," was based on the certainty that when human beings are able to think freely for themselves, without constrictions on their capacity to think, know and invent, a society that increasingly cares for human dignity gradually arises.

This trust in knowledge and culture as an asset used to build better societies has been a constant in human history and it is a central notion for UNESCO's Creative Cities Network. For instance, considering the objectives proposed in UNESCO's mission statement, there are four big areas in which the network expects to have an impact (UNESCO, 2004):

- To facilitate cooperation and interaction between cities with similar characteristics, goals and interests.
- To place culture and creativity at the centre of urban strategies and policies.
- To build a strong cultural industry in which creators and professionals in the cultural sector can easily produce and distribute cultural activities, goods and services. Collaboration between the public and private sector is identified as a facilitator for generating this socioeconomic context.
- To improve citizens' access to and participation in cultural life.

The first point focuses on the co-creation of initiatives between cities in the network, while the second refers to the necessity of politicians having this framework in mind when deciding cities' strategies and policies. The third point emphasises generating an enabling environment for the cultural industry in order to enhance its economic potential. All these points are key for developing a creative city, but, to our view, the last one is essential and embraces the view of the world presented at the beginning of this section, since it focuses on involving citizens in a city's cultural atmosphere.

The fulfilment of this objective – that is, inspiring citizens with the project of nurturing their city spirit and dynamics with culture and creativity – is vital for the creative city project since unless it becomes a project shared by all the city's inhabitants, there is no impact on aspects such as inclusion or well-being (UNESCO, 2016). Cities whose project is based in culture and creativity need cultured and creative citizens who feel called to be a part of this creative environment; only in this way will the gap between a creative industry and a creative city be crossed.

In this sense, the Creative City and the Educating City movements are closely connected, since education becomes a prerequisite for enabling a creative urban environment that encourages the freedom to be creative and a shared identity among the citizens (Del Pozo, 2019). In line with this vision that highlights the role of cities as educative agents, the Educating Cities Charter, which establishes the principles of this international network of cities, develops this idea and explains that local governments must promote and build opportunities for individual growth through formal, informal and non-formal educational channels (International Association of Educating Cities, 2004). The shared values and identities, just like the closer synergies between city agents, bloom through education when different institutions collaborate to promote them within the city.

In this context, it becomes clear that organisations dedicated to the study, custody and dissemination of a city's cultural heritage play a major role in connecting citizens with the creative city project.

This view is assumed by the European Heritage Strategy for the 21st Century, which understands cultural heritage as a key factor for asserting one's identity, promoting a feeling of belonging within a community of values, and helping to increase socioeconomic development through education, employment, tourism and sustainable development (Council of Europe, 2017).

Thus, this strategy puts forward the following three challenges:

- **Social component:** The aspect is meant to foster the relationship between societies and their heritage. In this sense, strategies that introduce citizens to their heritage, such as participatory management and good governance, are vital. The social component addresses how to analyse and showcase heritage benefits for society, how to make heritage more accessible for everyone, and how to transmit values through heritage.
- **Territorial and economic development:** By understanding heritage as a resource for sustainable development, this aspect focuses on fostering the heritage sector. Tourism, local planning, new technologies and the exploration of new management modalities are key to this goal. For all of these things, the creation of a sense of identity through heritage is requisite.
- **Knowledge and education:** This challenge aims to use heritage as an educative tool, to promote research about heritage and to conduct the necessary training for those who are in contact with heritage. It also handles how heritage could aid in transmitting social know-hows through knowledge banks and networks.

The important role of heritage in society has been analysed largely by academics working in the field of heritage education. Nevertheless, two ideas must be taken into account: 1)

heritage is not objective, that is, heritage is socially formed and permanently changeable depending upon the values promoted by each community at a particular time (Fontal Merillas, 2016) and, considering this subjective nature of heritage, 2) there is no deterministic preservation or transmission of heritage. On the contrary, there is a need to enhance social sensitisation towards certain elements and expressions (Fontal Merillas, 2007).

Creative cities need to define strategies to access the heritage linked to their particular creative field and to stimulate a shared identity. It is only in this way that a specific cultural industry can go beyond its economic impact and shape the city's core personality by involving all citizens: the ones that work in that cultural industry, the ones who do not, and even the non-permanent residents who visit the city. Thus, by blending the viewpoints of the UNESCO's Creative Cities Network and the framework of the European Heritage Strategy for the 21st Century, methods for creative cities to address their heritage may be assessed, since heritage is a driving force behind the goals of creative cities.

2.3 The Complex Nature of Literary Heritage

As we have seen in the previous section, heritage valorisation is a requisite for building a truly creative city, which means not only enabling the presence and growth of a creative industry from an economic perspective, but also involving the citizenship and co-creating a shared sense of place and identity.

In order to study how cities can address the challenge of including literary heritage in the process of becoming a creative city of literature, two previous considerations will be discussed in more detail in the following sections. First, we will consider the complex nature of literary heritage; and, second, we will highlight the role that cultural tourism has in this context, since nowadays cities cannot be understood without taking into account the tourism phenomena and the continual interaction between permanent and non-permanent residents.

The concept of literary heritage is complex due to its double nature (intangible and tangible) and because it touches on many different disciplines such as literature studies, philology, conservation, cultural heritage management, etc. (Arcos-Pumarola, Llonch-Molina, Osácar Marzal, 2019). Each of these perspectives has a different understanding of literary heritage. In this way, literary heritage may be understood as the manuscripts of renowned literary works, the intangible ideas and worldviews contained within the literary works, the language used by the writers, the literary canon, and the landscape and tangible elements linked to writers or literary works.

This last definition of literary heritage allows us to identify material elements and spaces as points of interest that, through valorisation and interpretation, become mediums for transmitting the intangible aspects related to this particular heritage. In this sense, heritage interpretation uses these spaces as symbols to explain the work of writers and to evoke the cultural landscape generated by their literary works.

2.4 The Tourist in the Creative City

Cities are no longer closed spaces that isolate residents from a dangerous world beyond (Del Pozo, 2019). On the contrary, globalisation, the evolution of transportation and the growth of tourism have transformed cities into meeting spaces where people from around the world coexist. In this context, culture and tourism have a close relationship, since culture is a dominant factor in attracting urban tourism (Richards, 2001), which is a type of tourism in constant growth (Henriques, 2008). Creative city initiatives must appeal to both permanent residents and non-permanent residents, that is, tourists. This is especially relevant because, as the case of Barcelona shows (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2015), tourism poses challenges

to the city from a physical perspective (for instance, overcrowding of certain touristic areas), from a sociological perspective due to the social tensions and conflicts that can arise, and from a cultural perspective through a loss of identity and the trivialisation of the city. As a result, World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) has suggested a new approach to heritage and cultural tourism in order to deal with the challenges of current urban tourism (UNWTO, 2018)

Thus, involving the citizenship in a creative city project and sensitising inhabitants towards heritage are required to integrate tourists into planning initiatives and actions as a particular type of (temporary) resident. The idea of a tourist as a temporary resident is an appealing concept (although with no ethical or juridical correlation) that can foster more inclusive forms of tourism in contemporary urban destinations (Goodwin, 2016), such as the shift from mass cultural tourism to creative tourism in which the interaction between visitors and residents is taken into account (Sano, 2016).

3. OVERVIEW OF UNESCO CREATIVE CITIES OF LITERATURE

The subnetwork of the “City of Literature” in UNESCO’s Creative Cities Network is composed by 28 cities in 2019: Durban in Africa; Montevideo, Seattle, Iowa City and Québec City in the Americas; Baghdad and Bucheon in Asia; Óbidos, Barcelona, Granada, Milan, Ljubljana, Heidelberg, Prague, Krakow, Lviv, Utrecht, Norwich, Nottingham, Manchester, Edinburgh, Dublin, Tartu, Lillehammer, Reykjavík and Ulyanovsk in Europe and Melbourne and Dunedin in Oceania.

All these urban centres have different relationships to literature and the literary industry and they have developed their strategies within the context of the network differently, either focusing on valorising their literary heritage, strengthening their literary industry or attracting literary events (Patricio Mulero & Rius-Ulldemolins, 2017).

Table 1 gives the context of each city, focusing on their population, economic status and the current situation of the tourism industry of the country in which they belong. We consider country data, since the different sizes of the cities hinder the gathering of comparable economic data and the importance of the tourism sector of each city. Nevertheless, by using country data the disparity of the economic and tourist realities can already be identified. We can see that, even when the network is composed mainly of middle-sized European cities, the situation of each city is totally divergent and, therefore, the challenges of promoting the literary industry and capitalising upon their literary heritage should be addressed individually.

Table 1. List of UNESCO Creative Cities of Literature

City	Country	Year Joined	Population (millions)	International tourists' arrivals into the country in 2017 - UNWTO (millions)	GDP per capita - World Bank (USD)
Baghdad	Iraq	2015	7.21	n.d.	5878
Barcelona*	Spain	2015	1.61	81.786	30523.9
Bucheon	South Korea	2017	0.84	13.336	31362.8
Dublin*	Ireland	2010	0.54	10.388	77449.7
Dunedin	New Zealand	2014	0.12	3.555	41966
Durban*	South Africa	2017	0.59	10.285	6339.6
Edinburgh	United Kingdom	2004	0.48	37.651	42491.4

Granada	Spain	2014	0.23	81.786	30523.9
Heidelberg	Germany	2014	0.15	37.452	48195.6
Iowa City	United States	2008	0.07	76.941	62641
Krakow	Poland	2013	0.76	18.4	15424
Lillehammer	Norway	2017	0.02	6.252	81807.2
Ljubljana	Slovenia	2015	0.27	3.586	26234
Lviv	Ukraine	2015	0.72	14.23	3095.2
Manchester	United Kingdom	2017	0.51	37.651	42491.4
Melbourne	Australia	2008	4.44	8.815	57305.3
Milan	Italy	2017	1.35	58.253	34318.4
Montevideo	Uruguay	2015	1.38	3.674	17278
Norwich	United Kingdom	2012	0.13	37.651	42491.4
Nottingham	United Kingdom	2015	0.28	37.651	42491.4
Óbidos	Portugal	2015	0.01	21.2	23145.7
Prague*	Czech Republic	2014	1.28	n.d.	22973.1
Québec City	Canada	2017	0.54	20.798	46124.7
Reykjavík	Iceland	2011	0.12	2.224	73191.1
Seattle	United States	2017	0.72	76.941	62641
Tartu	Estonia	2015	0.09	3.245	22927.7
Ulyanovsk	Russia	2015	0.62	24.39	11288.9
Utrecht	Netherlands	2017	0.35	17.924	52879.4

Source: UNESCO Cities of Literature (2019), UN (2019), UNWTO (2018) & World Bank (2019)

The cities marked with an asterisk (*) are included in the 2018 City Travel & Tourism Impact report from the World Travel and Tourism Council (2018), which analyses the current and expected relevance of the tourism and travel (T&T) sector in the economies of the selected cities. According to the report, the T&T sector in Barcelona, Dublin, Durban and Prague is expected to increase in the next few years, which confirms the need to take into account a tourist perspective when analysing the actions of creative cities.

Cities in bold type are included in the Cultural and Creative Cities Monitor, which gathers data about three dimensions (cultural vibrancy, a creative economy and an enabling environment) to assess the performance of these cities in revitalising their economy through creative industries (European Commission, 2017). This tool provides an interesting insight for some of the creative cities of literature into their relationship to the creative economy, even though it is restricted to the European context and does not identify the concrete heritage policies of the cities.

4. OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

After considering the context of the Creative Cities of Literature in the previous section, we can state that all of these cities share common goals, that is, to receive international recognition as cities of literature, to improve their literary industry and their economic and social development, to share their know-how with other cities, and to generate a literary-

related cultural offer and environment for residents and visitors (The Creative Cities Network, n.d.).

Thus, each city in the network can leverage a common set of recommendations to promote their heritage and to identify possible actions to enhance the literary environment of the city. A shared set of recommendations to address heritage actions and policies in creative cities is needed, since there is a lack of agreement in how to manage this area. Proof of this lack is that indices associated with urban spaces that focus on cultural topics are still sparse (Henriques & Moreira, 2019).

In order to establish a set of recommendations to assess the management of the literary heritage in creative cities of literature, we have carried out a two-phase content analysis of the monitoring reports of participating cities. In the first phase, this analysis uses specific criteria from the subnetwork of cities of literature already provided by UNESCO's Creative Cities Network. This allows us to classify the cities' actions concerning the different dimensions that UNESCO defines as assets for literary creative cities.

In the second phase, the analysis is based on the list of challenges and recommendations defined by the European Heritage Strategy for the 21st century. Thus, the actions related to literary heritage are classified following the criteria given by this document and the use of literary heritage by creative cities of literature is assessed.

The monitoring report is a document that each participating city has to publish 4 years after joining the network. These reports are public on the website of UNESCO's Creative Cities Network (The Creative Cities Network, 2018). In this document, cities share their policies in order to promote the exchange of ideas between the members of the network. In our analysis, the monitoring reports of 11 cities are considered (Dunedin, Granada, Heidelberg, Prague, Dublin, Krakow, Norwich, Reykjavík, Iowa City, Melbourne and Edinburgh), since these places have been in the Creative Cities of Literature network for at least 4 years and have therefore published the monitoring report. As we can see in Table 2, the experiences and actions from the 14-year period from 2004 to 2018 have been gathered.

Table 2. List of UNESCO's Creative Cities of Literature that have published a monitoring report between 2004 to 2019

City	Period reviewed in the monitoring report
Dunedin	2014-2018
Granada	2014-2018
Heidelberg	2014-2018
Prague	2014-2018
Dublin	2010-2017
Krakow	2013-2017
Norwich	2012-2017
Reykjavík	2011-2017
Iowa City	2008-2016
Melbourne	2008-2016
Edinburgh	2004-2016

Source: UNESCO's Creative Cities Network Website (2019)

It is worth mentioning that the monitoring report does not give us an exhaustive account of all the literary activities of the city; instead, it highlights the ones that were promoted and considered relevant by the City of Literature programme of each participating city. In

this way, our analysis is based upon the selection made by each city about their own literary activities.

It is also important to take into account that the actions and initiatives included in the monitoring reports are restricted to those that are promoted or organised by the City of Literature departments. In these documents (and hence, in our analysis), some of the renowned literary activities that take place in the cities may not appear in the results, since they are not included in the monitoring reports. This is the case, for instance, of Dublin's Bloomsday, which was celebrated long before the beginning of UNESCO's Creative Cities of Literature.

The content analysis has been performed with the following objectives: 1) to identify the actions implemented by UNESCO's Creative Cities of Literature that take into account UNESCO's criteria for a City of Literature, and 2) to identify the best practices and opportunities that value the literary heritage of a city while incorporating prospects for tourism.

5. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

5.1 Analysis of the Actions Performed by UNESCO's Cities of Literature

In order to define the characteristics that shape a City of Literature, UNESCO establishes seven criteria:

- The quality, quantity and diversity of editorial initiatives and publishing houses;
- The quality and quantity of educational programmes focusing on domestic or foreign literature in primary and secondary schools as well as universities;
- The environments in which literature, drama and/or poetry play an integral role;
- The city's experience in hosting literary events and festivals aimed at promoting domestic and foreign literature;
- Libraries, bookstores and public or private cultural centres dedicated to the preservation, promotion and dissemination of domestic and foreign literature;
- An active effort by the publishing sector to translate literary works from diverse national languages and from foreign literature;
- An active involvement of different medias, including new medias, in promoting literature and strengthening the market for literary products.

Table 3 presents a summary of the identified actions undertaken by UNESCO's Cities of Literature through a content analysis of the aforementioned monitoring reports and their relationship to the characteristics of literary cities as defined by UNESCO.

Table 3. Relationship between the policies implemented by UNESCO's Cities of Literature and the criteria suggested by UNESCO

UNESCO's City of Literature Criteria	Actions undertaken by participating cities
Quality, quantity and diversity of editorial initiatives and publishing houses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Residential and mentoring programmes for writers. • Awards to showcase local or emerging writers or publishing houses. • Publication of literary works. • Creation of hubs or facilitator spaces to promote innovation and interaction between literary industry stakeholders. • Financial support for emerging initiatives. • Events to foster the professional development of certain literary communities.

<p>Quality and quantity of educational programmes focusing on domestic or foreign literature in primary and secondary schools as well as universities</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Encouragement of reading that 1) involves different actors or institutions, 2) develops educational programmes within formal institutions, or 3) or uses non-formal education. • Integration of young people in a City of Literature Development Plan. • Encouragement of higher educational students' relationships with literary stakeholders and research. • Active participation of a City of Literature department in educational institutions. • Organisation of educational activities in non-formal education. • Use of literature in schools to tackle holistic topics.
<p>Environments in which literature, drama and/or poetry play an integral role</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Showcasing literature in public spaces. • Encouragement of a book-sharing culture through events or small libraries in public spaces. • Literary landscape – identifying and valorising literary places in the city by using literary mapping or creating literary trails. • Promotion of literary tourism as a city strategy. • Using technology to allow e-book renting in public spaces. • Showcasing the links of the city to literary works. • Support for awards that link literature with society. • Support for local initiatives related to literature.
<p>Experience in hosting literary events and festivals aimed at promoting domestic and foreign literature</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Celebration of literary-related events, some of which are more related to industry, education, creativity or promotion. They include different activities such as workshops, readings, roundtables, meetings and educative activities according to the planned objectives and the target audience. • Commemoration of heritage authors and works. • Financial support for any literary or arts related event. • Organisation of book fairs and attendance at international fairs in order to promote the local publishing sector.
<p>Libraries, bookstores and public or private cultural centres dedicated to the preservation, promotion and dissemination of domestic and foreign literature</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maintaining the collections of local libraries – purchasing works for local libraries or donating local books to international libraries. • Libraries as a centres for cultural projects, as well as workshops, courses, exhibitions, etc. • Foster local bookshops through promotional or financial incentives. • Raise awareness of local heritage writers in local bookshops. • Foster synergies between bookshops and cultural organisations. • Creation of new literary centres and collaboration with existing ones. • Analysis of users' engagement in literary centres.
<p>Active effort by the publishing sector to translate literary works from diverse national languages and from foreign literature</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Workshops to foster collaboration between writers of different languages. • Events to showcase the translators' task and translated books.
<p>Active involvement of different medias, including new medias, in promoting literature and strengthening the market for literary products</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collaboration with the film industry in the form of financial support or new productions in different formats to raise the awareness of literature. • Video interviews with authors. • Use of social networks in different formats to promote literature. • Involvement of newspapers in publishing award-winning authors' work. • Use of city spaces to raise awareness of the City of Literature project.

Source: Own Elaboration (2019)

As seen in Table 3, all of the dimensions set by UNESCO have been addressed in some way by the Cities of Literature's actions. Considered as a whole, this subnetwork is able to suggest policies and actions to foster their literary dimensions. This analysis validates the objective of the Creative Cities Network, that is, the collaboration and idea exchange between participating cities to improve the creative industry and the environment of these cities. Nevertheless, our analysis revealed that not all the cities address every particular dimension. This fact could be justified by the different characteristics of each city, which

lead cities to focus on particular aspects of the City of Literature programme. However, it also shows that knowledge exchange between cities is essential, since each one has room for improvement in enhancing their use of literature in the creative urban context.

If we take into account the individual actions of the analysed cities, we find outstanding individual initiatives in each of the UNESCO criteria. For instance, in order to promote editorial initiatives, Reykjavík established the Grassroots Support, an informal fund to encourage bottom-up innovation in publishing (Reykjavík, 2017). Most of the cities also adopted the Writers in Residence Programme to foster literary creation.

Many initiatives have been carried out by the cities to encourage young readers through education, the second dimension. Reykjavík used games or fictional characters (Reykjavík, 2017), while Dublin created holistic projects (Dublin, 2017). Dunedin's close collaboration with University of Otago is also a good example (Dunedin, 2018).

In relation to the third topic, that is, creating an urban environment where literature plays an integral role, Edinburgh is an indispensable role model. Its broad campaign to place literature in the urban space through its "Words on the Street" programme and its integral approach to generate literary tourism by offering tools, training and funds to incorporate private business in this strategy have produced numerous literary tourism products (Edinburgh, 2017). The actions of Krakow (2017), Prague (2018), Granada (2018), Dunedin (2018) and Reykjavík (2017) to make their literary urban landscape more visible (the last two cities used new technological methods) and the installation of small libraries around different cities to foster a book-sharing culture (Dunedin, 2018; Heidelberg, 2018; Iowa City, 2016; Prague, 2018) are effective strategies to engage citizens with literature. Dublin's "One City One Book" project (2017) and Krakow's "ReadPL!" (2017) are additional projects in the same vein.

Events have been a priority for most participating cities. Their focus varies depending on a city's assets or goals. Therefore, some of them are more about industry – Dublin Book Festival –, education – the Children's Literature Festival in Prague –, creativity – Drop the Mic in Reykjavík – or promotion – the Norwich Crime Writing Festival, which focuses on tourism – (Dublin, 2017; Norwich, 2017; Prague, 2018; Reykjavík, 2017). These events include different activities such as workshops, readings, roundtables, meetings and educative activities according to their planned objectives and the target audience. Heidelberg stands out for its work in commemorating heritage authors and their works – for instance, "LUTHER 500" – (Heidelberg, 2018). Most of the cities have also either organised a book fair or attended international fairs in order to promote the local publishing sector.

Libraries, bookshops and cultural centres are the next dimension that a City of Literature should take into account. Most of the cities promoted cultural events that took place in libraries. In addition, Prague's (2018) focus on opening its municipal library to the world through technology is a remarkable project to foster reading and to promote the conception of the library as a dissemination centre. Granada's (2018) work with local bookshops – creating a bookshop map, allowing them to use the City of Literature logo and creating special furniture for them to showcase the local literary heritage – and Krakow's (2017) financial incentives are also good strategies to foster these local businesses and align them with the City of Literature strategies. Finally, Reykjavík (2017) and Norwich (2017) have built new literary centres, which among other things, will incorporate exhibitions to disseminate aspects of the local literary heritage. Dunedin's (2018) efforts to analyse users' engagement with its literary centres is also worth mentioning, since in most cases, there is no evidence of users' satisfaction with their experience in this context.

Some Cities of Literature, such as Heidelberg (2018) and Reykjavík (2017), have tried to promote the translation of literary works by the publishing sector through workshops with writers and other events.

Finally, Cities of Literature have leveraged the synergy between the film industry and literature to raise awareness of literary works, either in form of financial support for new productions, as in Krakow (2017), or by producing videos in different formats. Prague (2018), Krakow (2017) and Dublin (2017) have also fostered audio-visual material on social networks that is related to literature. Dublin (2017) has used newspapers to disseminate literary material.

5.2 A Heritage Approach to Assess the Actions Undertaken by UNESCO's Cities of Literature

As we have seen before, heritage is central to cities that aspire to go beyond the structuring of a strong creative industry and aim to create a creative environment that integrates residents and visitors. In the following section, we examine the actions undertaken by UNESCO's Cities of Literature that are closely related to the three challenges (social component, territorial and economic development, and knowledge and education) and the subsequent recommendations set by the European Heritage Strategy for the 21st Century.

There are some actions that enhance more than one dimension; however, we have distinguished between the most relevant dimensions fostered by a policy and consider the definition and recommendations included within each dimension.

5.2.1 Social Component

We can identify some actions undertaken by the Cities of Literature that are especially relevant to its current or potential usefulness in fostering a society by using its heritage. For instance, literature has been used as common ground for intercultural dialogue in Prague (2018) and Melbourne (2016). The Czech capital's Book Club is targeted primarily at the foreign language community living in Prague. In this way, this community is integrated into Czech culture through reading and joint discussions. Melbourne's initiatives aim to enhance the relationship between indigenous or migrant communities and the Australian publishing sector.

Participating cities have tackled accessibility to literary heritage by carrying out projects focused on increasing the visibility of the urban literary landscape. Thus, cities like Reykjavík (2017), which used literary signs, benches and a 4-language app, or Dunedin (2018), which created urban art and an app about literary heritage, have allowed residents and visitors to perceive the literary heritage of the city in innovative, interactive and multidisciplinary ways. The Reykjavík experience is also interesting for its methodology of identifying literary points of interest, since citizens are responsible for this task in the framework of the "Better Districts" project, which enhanced public participation in deliberative democracy and democratic decision-making and showed that heritage can also transmit democratic values.

We have identified other examples of participatory governance and support for bottom-up initiatives in the analysed cities. For example, the Grassroots financial support in Reykjavík (2017) and a promotion to enable the literary creative environment through the Literary Salon in Edinburgh (2017) (a monthly gathering aimed at fostering a sense of community and generating opportunities) are good models of programmes that involve the community in capitalising on literary heritage. The involvement of numerous stakeholders and the educational community is remarkable in Dunedin's Literature Collaboration Group, which invites the participation of the educational community in the management of the City of Literature programme (Dunedin, 2018), as is the partnership with bookshops (that is, private sector) in Granada (2018) that raises awareness of heritage writers such as Lorca by using Lorca boxes at these businesses.

Dublin's project, "One City One Book", is a good example for creating a sense of identity. This project is led by public libraries and promotes the reading of one book connected with the city. It is nurtured by many initiatives such as literary walking tours, discussions, events, etc., which generates a sense of community and enhances access to a particular literary heritage (Dublin, 2017).

Finally, literary events are an appropriate context for gathering multiple literary initiatives, some of them dedicated to fostering literary heritage awareness and the participation of various target audiences. Some examples are the Children's Literature Festival in Prague (2018) or the Norwich Crime Writing Festival, which aims to attract cultural tourists interested in Norwich's literary environment (Norwich, 2017).

5.2.2 Territorial and Economic Development

In these policies, a tourism-focused approach, that is, developing the link between tourism and territorial development and appealing to every person in a territory even when they are non-permanent residents, is vital.

Among all the Cities of Literature, the one that stands out for its integral and holistic approach is Edinburgh (2017) with its Literary Tourism Initiative. This project in Scotland's capital aimed to develop a city strategy to foster this type of cultural tourism. This strategy included a guide for local businesses to identify their opportunities in literary tourism and a literary tourism innovation fund to help reduce the initial risk of setting up new quality literary tourism experiences and products. The outcomes of this project were numerous new products for residents and non-permanent residents that showcase Edinburgh's literary heritage while also generating job opportunities in different areas.

Some of the cities have established joint efforts with the heritage sector to promote cultural heritage as a resource. The role of literary heritage centres as catalysts for creating a literary environment has been adopted by some cities, which either created new literary centres like Gröndal's Writer's House in Reykjavík (2017) or the National Centre for Writing in Norwich (2017), or collaborated with existing literary heritage centres as Granada (2018) did with the Centro Federico García Lorca.

As the previous section noted, the use of cultural products such as literary trails or heritage-focused apps is vital for making heritage accessible (Dunedin, 2018; Edinburgh, 2017; Reykjavík, 2017).

It is also relevant to study the positive impacts of these policies in showcasing the return of investment from heritage. The experience of Dunedin (2018) is important since this city uses its literary app to analyse the engagement of visitors and residents to the city's literary initiatives, as mentioned above.

In the Creative Cities of Literature Network, there are helpful examples on how to use heritage to create a distinctive character for a region. Heidelberg (2018), for instance, uses its literary anniversaries to showcase heritage writers related to the city, its history and identity (Martin Buber, Ossip Mandelstam or Martin Luther, among others).

The use of literary art in public spaces helps this aim. As Georgescu Paquin (2019) states, art in public spaces contributes to placemaking and collective cohesion and gives new meaning to the city. This is confirmed by the responses to the "enLIGHTen" campaign in Edinburgh. The goal of this project was to link heritage buildings with the texts of writers from the Scottish Enlightenment period through projection mapping. According to a later survey, more than 90% of respondents said that the campaign added value and interest to the city as a destination and almost 80% were more aware of the Scottish Enlightenment and Edinburgh's literary history as a result (Edinburgh, 2017).

5.2.3 Knowledge and Education

Cities of Literature have actively involved the educational system and educative initiatives in their vision. Most of the cities work closely with schools to promote literacy in young children. Good examples of this practices are the Oskar Mobile Library in Prague (2018) and the world created around Sleipnir in Reykjavík (2017).

Even when these initiatives are not necessarily related to heritage, the promotion of reading and the awareness of local literary works are a prerequisite for encouraging young people's relationship with literary heritage. However, encouraging reading is not be limited to schools as the experiences in prisons (the Reading Lessons project) and hospitals (the Second Life of the Book project) in Krakow (2017) and the app "Let's read! A national game of reading" in Reykjavík (2017) show.

Research and higher education also play a role in identifying the needs of the heritage sector and strategies for citizens to approach literary heritage. In this particular area, the city of Dunedin and the University of Otago are to be commented for their efforts in integrating university students with literary stakeholders through practicums or doctoral scholarships (Dunedin, 2018).

Non-formal education has also been present in most of the Cities of Literature's programmes in the form of book clubs, literature readings in plain language in Heidelberg (2018), writing workshops, events and educational programmes at literary heritage centres.

Nevertheless, we have not identified initiatives for job training opportunities related to literary heritage. This could be considered problematic, since it is a relevant recommendation from the European Heritage Strategy for the 21st Century and it is a prerequisite for having a high-quality literary heritage offering, since, as Leitão (2018) states, the role of professionals involved in literary heritage and tourism is of vital importance in providing a significant and memorable experience.

6. CONCLUSION

The analysis presented in the previous section shows that the City of Literature programme and initiatives considered as a whole are a database of best practices to develop an urban literary environment; our analysis presents a set of actions to enhance each dimension of a City of Literature according to UNESCO's definition.

In this sense, and considering the global experience of the network as a whole, the initial period (2004-2018) of UNESCO's Creative Cities of Literature programme is a satisfactory example of how to foster a creative industry and how to promote activities that involve citizens in this creative environment.

However, if we consider each city individually, there is still room for improvement, since, as demonstrated in section 5.1, a considerable number of initiatives were only undertaken by particular cities. Therefore, they are just individual examples of how to use literature and literary heritage in a city context.

We have also seen that the experience of the analysed cities addresses the challenges of the European Heritage Strategy for the 21st Century. In this way, we identified a series of valuable actions to valorise, showcase and transmit literary heritage to residents and non-residents.

The international scope of the network promotes collaboration between cities and creates strategies to transmit literary heritage to visitors with different cultural backgrounds, which is one of the challenges of globalised cultural tourism.

Nevertheless, there are still some recommendations of the European Heritage Strategy for the 21st Century that could be integrated into the vision of the analysed cities. As we

have already mentioned, the need for training for professionals and non-professionals that work with literary heritage could improve its transmission to the public.

The present work has offered a first insight into the prolific relationship that could be established between the creative industry, tourism and heritage by identifying a set of practices that could be adopted by any destination aiming to foster this relationship.

Future lines of research could be directed towards the analysis of the programmes and activities of UNESCO's new Creative Cities of Literature or to continue tracking the activities of the sample analysed here. Another way to broaden this research would be to go beyond the monitoring reports and include in the study other initiatives carried out by other city agents, since, as we mentioned in the methodology section, the monitoring report does not include certain activities that are vital for the literary identity of destinations because they are limited to the actions carried out by the City of Literature departments. Other interesting lines of research would be to study the outcomes of the actions presented in this paper and identify new initiatives in the same line or incorporate literary destinations into this analysis that, even if they are not members of this network, may enrich the present analysis.

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