Place identity and place attachment of locals towards heritage in a Hungarian town Vác

Helyidentitás és helykötődés értékorientált vizsgálata Vác lakóinak körében

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The ongoing theoretical debate on the meaning of place identity, place attachment, place dependence and familiarity indicate the problems concerning the definition and the boundaries of the concepts. We investigated how place attachment and familiarity with the place are interrelated in terms of native vs. non-native residency in comparison with the sites recommended to visitors. The focus of our investigation was inhabitants' relationship to their Hungarian hometown Vác, a prestigious town rich in local values with built heritage sites. An interesting phenomenon is formed by the question referring to what places are worth showing to prestigious guests, a question referring to what people consider tourism attractions. The difference between the local perception of a place and the assumed appreciation of a visitor may add features to the study of cultural tourism, tourism anthropology and heritage interpretation.

A helyidentitás, a helykötődés, a helydependencia és a helyismeret (hely ismerete) témái körüli intenzív elméleti viták jelzik a fogalmak meghatározásának nehézségeit. Tanulmányunkban azt vizsgáltuk, hogy a helykötődés és a helyismeret (hely ismerete) milyen összefüggésben vannak egymással a tősgyökeresek és beköltözők vonatkozásában valamint a látogatóknak javasolt helyszínek függvényében.Vizsgálódásunk tárgya Vác lakóinak örökségi helyszínekben és helyi értékekben gazdag városukhoz való viszonya. Érdekes jelenség körvonalazódott a "mit mutatnának meg magas státuszú vendégeknek" kérdés kapcsán, amely tulajdonképpen arra kérdez rá, hogy a lakók milyen helyszíneket tartanak turista látványosságoknak. A vizsgált helyszíneknek a helyi lakosok általi megélése és a látogatók feltételezett preferenciái közti különbségek hasznos adalékok lehetnek mind a kulturális turizmus, mind a turizmus antropológia, mind az örökséginterpretáció kutatásához.

Keywords: place attachment, place identity, familiarity, native vs. non-native citizens, heritage, Central-European small cities. *Kulcsszavak:* helykötődés, helyismeret (hely ismerete), helyidentitás, tősgyökeres vs. beköltöző lakosok, örökség, Vác.

1. Theoretical questions concerning relations to space

Most researches on place attachment claim that emotions and bonding are accompanied by cognitive factors like knowledge, thought and belief and also go together with forms of practices like action and behaviour (LOW–ALTMAN 1992). Place attachment is a result of the interaction of humans and places through the mobilization and interplay of all these: from emotion through knowledge and belief to active participation in the form of actions and behaviour. MILLIGAN (1998), RELPH (1976) and TUAN (1980) argue that places become the target of place attachment as a result of people's interacting with the location and applying meaning and value to it. MASSEY (1995) argues space is to be seen as absolute and timeless whereas place is connected to time, hence to constructions of social relations. LŐRINCZ and her coauthors (2023) underlines the emotional attitude and well-being connected

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to the places where we used to live. Place identity as a symbolic and emotion related dimension of place attachment is continuously being shaped and formed through time (PROSHANSKY et al. 1987, HAUGE 2007). WILLIAMS and ROGGENBUCK (1989) differentiate two ways of how humans and places bond: place identity and place dependence.

The initiative conceptualization of place identity goes back to PROSHANSKY (1978) who underlined there was a cognitive relationship between the self and the physical environment "by means of a complex pattern of conscious and unconscious ideals, beliefs, preferences, feelings, values, goals, and behavioural tendencies and skills relevant to this environment" (PROSHANSKY 1978:155). Thus, the individual's identity can be both expressed and affirmed by the location or the setting. Place dependence in turn refers to what extent the setting serves and supports the goals individuals wish to achieve: STOKOLS and SHUMAKER (1981) claim the importance of a place is determined by its functionality. Holiday resorts for example have the value for those who wish to practice certain activities that can best be done at those places. The same places can mean something else to others who bond with the place because of memories and emotions irrespective of the functional values so important for others. JORGENSEN and STEDMAN (2001) argue the above-mentioned elements (place attachment, place dependence, place identity) make up a construct to be called sense of place. They add the sense of place was also composed of attitudinal factors like cognition, affect and conative component implying that while place attachment reflects the affective factor place identity is connected to the cognitive element whereas place dependence was to be linked to the conative element.

1.1. PLACE IDENTITY

Place identity seems to be a flexible term intertwining with many sociological and psychological theories. Despite the extensive studies place identity is still a vague category often referring to a dim subjective category of the identification with home and neighbourhood (TWIGGER-ROSS et al. 2003, CARRUS et al. 2005, WHITE et al. 2008)

As mentioned above, the term's introduction is linked to PROSHANSKY (1978). PAASI (1986, 1991, 2001, 2002) further elaborated the concept claiming it may be useful to differentiate between place identity of place and people's place identity.

1.2. PLACE IDENTITY VS. INHABITANTS' PLACE IDENTITY

Place identity covers scientific administrative, cultural and touristic discourses covering regional features of a place that distinguish it from any other place, while inhabitants' place identity would mean how individuals and groups connect to and identify with a place. Most further contributions to the elaboration of the concept analyze either the place identity of the place or people's place identity but rarely consider both (HUIGEN-MEIJERING 2005, HAUGE 2007, GROOTE-HAARTSEN 2008). PROSHANSKY's (1978) view on place identity has been challenged several times (DIXON-DURRHEIM 2000) on the grounds that it underlined the individualistic aspect of place identity as an element of a broader self (PROSHANSKY et al. 1983). Later works suggested place identity should be above all understood as a complicated collective terrain, what is more as a platform where interpretations of communities clash and where meanings are contested on the grounds of both being and belonging (BONAIUTO et.al. 1996, DIXON-DURRHEIM 2000).

1.3. PLACE ATTACHMENT, PLACE IDENTITY, PLACE DEPENDENCE

There have been debates concerning how place attachment, place identity and place dependence are interrelated even among those who accept the three categories. WHITE and his coauthors (2017) considered place attachment as an umbrella category covering the other two as sub constructs while BLEAM (2018) suggested place identity is more than a sub-category under place attachment. HERNANDEZ and his coauthors (2010) claim you can develop place identity only after having the bond i.e. place attachment. A person could well be attached to a place without identifying with it, whereas, in turn, you can identify with a place without having an attachment they say underlining the cognitive aspect of place identity a component of self-concept and/or of a personal identity in relation to the place one belongs to (HERNÁNDEZ et al. 2010).

Furthermore, place attachment and place identity are sometimes regarded as synonyms. HAJNAL claims WARNABY and MEDWAY (2015) reflecting on this idea by saying place attachment and place identity are two different dimensions: place attachment is an individual interaction with the place whereas place identity is a community interaction (HAJNAL 2021). In this article, we are interested in what was above referred to as inhabitants' place identity.

PENG and his coauthors (2020) argue that place identity has five basic functions recognition, meaning, expressive-requirement, mediating change, as well as anxiety and defense functions. People apply identities to places partly as a result of objective considerations partly on the basis of non-tangible features such as memory for example the article suggests. Since memory is heavily loaded with emotions, we might say people's place identity has a lot of overlappings with place attachment (PENG et al. 2020).

Place identity may change several times throughout a longer period (PROSHANSKY et al. 1983, HAUGE 2007) but the length of stay seems to correlate with place attachment (VORKINN– RIESE 2001). The length of time and the number of experiences give deeper meaning to the place people identify with.

Facing the past can cause present tense recognitions concluding into the need of emotional elaboration. Emotions are born in an interaction with the place always in social and cultural context and get to elaboration by the capacity of the visitors to control and handle their emotions in relation to the site. Professionals can have an important role in handling and channeling emotions (SMITH– CAMPBELL 2015).

1.4. PLACE IDENTITY AND SOCIAL EXCHANGE THEORY VS. TOURISM

People's identity besides continuously changing seems to be influenced not only by personal convictions, perceptions, and attachments but also by assumptions of how others might see their place. How tourism effects residents' everyday lives and how citizens react to tourists are frequently examined but assumptions concerning how tourists might react to their place may be a separate question. Tourists' affective dimensions are usually considered to be far more important in the differentiation of places than evident attributes. HAJNAL (2021) refers to YUKSEL and his coauthors (2010) when underlining emotions concerning place attachment have not yet been thoroughly examined.

GU and RYAN (2008) prove how pride concerning heritage places had more impact than economic gain. This also proves that social exchange theory (SET) may be understood also in terms of personal value systems. SET presumes that the exchange of resources between groups and individuals are balanced in any situation when interaction occurs (CROPANZANO et al. 2017). Other researchers underline that landscape, cultural heritage, and social atmosphere and interpretations form a special touristic milieu (BAL 2024). In terms of tourism social interaction theory usually claims residents' reaction is mostly passive or maximum reactive. McCOOL-MARTIN (1994) claim residents showing strong attachment to their place considered tourism more positive than unattached locals. Along this argument it seems to be exciting to investigate the other side: how the alleged opinion of visitors may influence residents' place identity. However, these presumptions may be highly stereotypical concerning what heritage places tourists tend to appreciate.

In this article we are rather concerned about how residents' perceptions of and attachment to their own place might depend on how they think visitors look upon it. This may be different from how they themselves appreciate certain elements of their surroundings. In our research people response to what they like in their hometown and what they would show to others differed. Places locals think are worthy of showing to visitors is handled as the category of place dependence in our study.

2. Research methods

2.1. FIELD OF THE INVESTIGATION

The Danube Bend is a field of interest form several aspects from destination management (BODIS 2024) to school mobility (ALBERT-LÉVAI 2024). The research group of BBU (Budapest Business University) focused on place identity and covered the inhabitants of three cities of Pest County, reaching almost 900 participants (N=891) in the quantitative part of the research. The investigated cities (Vác, Göd and Fót) are all located on the East side of the river Danube, within a 50 km radius circle form the Hungarian capital city, Budapest. Vác is the biggest town among the three, with more than 33.000 inhabitants, and became more than 100 year earlier a town with the rank of city, than the neighboring settlements, Göd and Fót (received city status in 1999 and 2004, respectively), both hosting around 20.000 inhabitants (FARKAS et al. 2021).

Vác city's cultural values reflect well the colorful history of the city and incorporate in considerable proportion architectural and built heritage (40 from the 75 local values belonging to this category). The city center is situated very close to the river Danube, often named as *Heart of the Danube Bend*, with classical buildings from

the baroque era mostly dating back to the 18th century, forming a unique ambiance around the baroque main square. There are over 15 churches and important religious buildings in the city (like the Dominican Church of white gown monks, the Catholic cathedral or the Bishop's palace) and several religious statues and memorial or pilgrimage places (like the Stone-saint bridge or the Seven-chapel shrine). It is important to mention two symbolic historical monuments from the city as well, which also represent successively the change of the relation between Austria and Hungary: The Triumphal arch (Stone gate) celebrates at the end of the 18th century the renewal of the coalition between the two nations and honors the visit of the queen Maria Theresia in the city. In the opposite Monument of War of independence, from the second half of the 19th century commemorate the first important revolution of Hungarians trying to finish the cohabitation with the Austrian Empire. The Danube riverbank, the parkland or the traditional Vác's Art and Music City Festival offers highquality leisure possibilities or cultural programs to the inhabitants and visitors. The Danube-bank bicycle track, which is part of the Eurovelo route 6, and the Rowing club of the city attract several sport activities (FARKAS et al. 2021).

These monuments and built values are known also outside the city of Vác as important cultural heritage places of Hungary. The two smaller cities involved in the investigation (Göd and Fót) do not possess that richness and importance in their local heritage (FARKAS et al. 2021).

The research group collected 12 core local values in each examined settlement. These values were either mentioned in the interviews with the locals in the qualitative phase of the research or were part of the Municipal Depository of the town in question or were intended for inclusion. A criterion in the process of finalizing the values in each settlement was to maintain a balance among built heritage, natural heritage and cultural heritage (FARKAS et al. 2021).

2.2. DATA COLLECTION AND SAMPLING

The questionnaires used in the three settlements were based on the same structure and mostly contained closed multiple-choice questions. The survey contained demographic variables, the evaluation of how much inhabitants like their settlement, the evaluation of the above-mentioned 12 values and placemetry (see below) questions. The respondents could evaluate 12 local values using a seven-point scale on both how well they know the given value and their emotion towards them (*Figure 1, 2, 3*). The questionnaire contained a picture of each value, in order to minimize the potential misidentification of the values based solely on the name. The values were classified into two main groups the first containing built heritage, sports performance, agricultural/ gastronomic heritage, cultural heritage, and industrial and technical heritage, while the second one covered natural heritage, health and lifestyle-related heritage, tourism and hospitality heritage. The attachment of the respondents was measured on a positive-negative scale with two pairs of adjectives each matching the abovementioned heritage group. On the positive side either using the expression "I'm proud of it"/"I like it very much" and on the negative side "It leaves me completely cold"/"I don't like going there". In the questionnaire, a photo of the given values was provided to the respondents to avoid potential miscommunication about the given value.

The last block of the questionnaire contained questions inspired by the placemetry questionnaire (LIPPAI et al. 2004). Placemetry is a method measuring the attachment to the physical environment using 8 open ended questions, like how sociometry measures relationships in the social environment, uncovering the emotional hierarchy and functional distribution of units in the socio-physical environment (DÚLL et al. 2010), also showing the relationship with the locality (LIPPAI-DÚLL 2005).

In the current paper, we are showing the results of the following questions, which due to the method of data collection were turned into closed multiple-choice questions: "If the people of... could organize an event for their own entertainment, which part of the settlement do you think would be the most suitable for it? (Choose a maximum of two locations!); If you had to show a high-ranking foreign guest around, which buildings, monuments, and neighborhoods would you show him in the first place? (Choose the three that you would most like to show from the list!)" We used these questions as a tool to measure place dependence.

The sampling took place in multiple rounds between June and August of 2021, using both convenient sampling and snowball sampling methods (via specialists, mailing lists, local Facebook groups, previous interviewees). The final sample contains 891 inhabitants (420 respondents from Vác, 271 from Göd and 200 from Fót). In this study, we mainly focus on the city of Vác.

3. Results

3.1. THE DEMOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF THE RESPONDENTS

420 people took part in the Vác questionnaire survey, 321 women (76.4%) and 99 men (23.6%). The mean age is 42.01 years (\pm 15.2 years), with respondents ranging in age from 16 to 77 years.

3.2. MEASURING PLACE ATTACHMENT AND FAMILIARITY IN LOCAL VALUES

The current research focuses on the place attachment measured by the emotional attitude towards the values, built and natural heritage and the places inhabitants deem important either for organizing events for themselves or to show to high-ranking visitors. However, the overall attachment toward the cities were also measured on a seven-point Likert-scale. Despite Vác being the biggest of the analyzed cities, with the biggest amount of heritage sites it had the second highest average (5,75±1,40, min. 1, max. 7) in regard to how much inhabitants liked their cities. Göd has the highest (5,92±1,31, min. 1, max. 7), while Fót receiving the lowest scores (5,08±1,58, min. 1, max. 7)

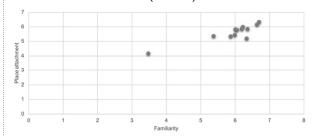
In the case of all three settlements (Vác, Göd and Fót) familiarity (how well respondents know the investigated 12 values) and the place attachment towards the values (depending on the type of value like or being proud of) showed strongly significant correlations (p < 0.001) in the 12 values (Figure 1, 2, 3).

Almost all values in all 3 examined cities are in the II. quadrant of the familiarity-place attachment matrices (Figure 1, 2, 3) showing a general appreciation and knowledge of the values among the respondents. We have to mention though that this might be a result of the data collection method where the residents interested in local issues were easier to reach out to and to collect data from.

The mean ratings for Göd and Vác display a more consistent trend, indicating a relatively consistent perception of the city's values among the population. In contrast, Fót exhibits a situation where approximately one-third of the values are rated as moderately familiar and moderately liked. Vác stands out with the highest average ratings, while the assessments of Göd and Fót display greater variability, featuring a broader range, and more pronounced individual variations in their value assessments, as evident in Figure 1, 2 and 3.

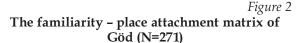
In general, it can be inferred that the perception of the values under scrutiny is quite robust within the municipalities examined. Nevertheless, there are instances where the place attachment and familiarity could be enhanced, presenting an additional challenge for public culture experts in the near future.

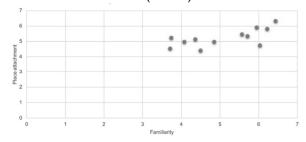
Figure 1 The familiarity – place attachment matrix of Vác (N=420)



Source: own editing

Note: The mean scores for the place attachment of the residents are plotted for each value on the vertical axis, and the mean score for familiarity of each value is plotted on the horizontal axis.

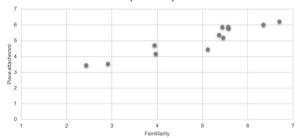


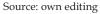


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3.3. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PLACE ATTACHMENT TOWARD LOCAL VALUES AND THE EXTENT OF RESIDENCY

In the research two groups were created based on the extent of residency in the given settlement: native and non-native locals. Even though a more precise extent of residency (5 categories ranging from less than 5 years to more than 31 years) was measured during the research, the high number of categories both in the grouping variable and in the answers made it impossible to present valid data analysis in our sample. In the case of Vác a pattern emerged in the answers. There were no significant differences between native and non-native respondents in the place attachment towards the values (ranging between t(415)=-0.504, p>0,05 and t(418)=1.543, p>0,05), except for the Monument of War of independence where native respondents showed more intense positive emotions (t(417)=2.094, p<0,05). In the familiarity of all values, significant differences (ranging between t(308)=5.598, p<0,001 and t(413)=2.053, p<0,05) were present the native respondents always giving higher scores.

Table 1

The native (nat.) and non-native (non nat.) respondents' place choices for high-ranking (High) guests and perceived to be liked by many people (people's choice- PCh) in the city of Vác with significant differences (df (1,420) in choices and ranking the first 10 in people's choice and in high-ranking. The average emotional attitude on a 7-grade scale and the ranking based on the averages.

Places in Vác	Place att. aver.	Place att. rank		Ranking				not n	nentioned	p value	khi²
				based on mentioning	mentioned						
					all	nat	non-nat	nat	non-nat		
Danube riverbank	6,34	1.	PCh	2.	280	143	137	72	68	p>0.05	0.005
			High	2.	217	109	108	106	97	p>0.05	0.166
Triumphal arch (Stone gate)	6,16	2.	PCh	3.	165	87	78	128	127	p>0.05	0.257
			High	3.	164	98	68	117	137	p<0.01	6.762
Parkland	5,99	3.	High	7.	45	29	16	186	189	p>0.05	3.543
Seven-chapel shrine	5,85	4.	High	6.	48	22	26	193	179	p>0.05	0.622
Stone-saint bridge	5,85	5.	PCh	9.	23	9	14	206	191	p>0.05	1.416
			High		15	2	13	213	192	p<0.001	8.923
Baroque main square	5,83	6.	PCh	1.	307	154	153	61	52	p>0.05	0.487
			High	1.	305	153	152	62	53	p>0.05	0.470
Church of white gown monks (Dominican church)	5,79	7.	PCh	6.	65	37	28	178	177	p>0.05	1.011
			High		35	13	22	202	183	p<0.1	3.016
Danube-bank bicycle track	5,46	8.	PCh	8.	45	19	26	196	179	p>0.05	1.622
Bishop's palace	5,38	9.	High	5.	63	30	33	185	172	p>0.05	0.378
Monument of War	5,36	10.	High		6	2	4	213	201	p>0.05	0.777
of independence											
Vac's Art and Music City Festival	5,22	11.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
City's Rowing club	4,18	12.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cathedral			PCh	4.	126	103	123	112	82	p<0.05	6.174
			High	4.	151	124	127	91	78	p>0.05	0.798
Liget lake			PCh	5.	104	57	47	158	158	p>0.05	0.724
Naszály hill			PCh	7.	57	36	21	179	184	p<0.1	3.780
Spiky tower			PCh	10.	7	6	1	209	204	p<0.1	3.396
			High		3	1	2	214	203	p>0.05	0.386
Floodplain nature trail			High	9.	25	13	12	202	193	p>0.05	0.007
Castle wall			High	10.	16	9	7	206	198	p>0.05	0.170
Prison			High		14	9	5	206	200	p>0.05	0,994
Calvary hill			High		14	11	3	204	202	p<0.05	4.346
Music pavilion			High		11	6	5	209	200	p>0.05	0.051
Ferry port			High		8	3	5	212	200	p>0.05	0.612
Piarist church			High		5	3	2	212	203	p>0.05	0.157

Source: own editing

3.4. THE CONNECTION BETWEEN THE EXTENT OF RESIDENCY AND PLACEMETRY RESULTS

In this chapter we focus on two placemetry questions: one that focuses on the locations that respondents would show to a high-ranking foreign guest while the other targets locations that "many people like" (referred to as people's choice in *Table 1* on Vác).

In the case of Vác very few significant differences were shown regarding native and non-native respondents in mentioning or not mentioning places to show to high-ranking guests (3 from the 18 mentioned locations) or fellow citizens (3 from the 10 mentioned locations). Table 1 is synthetizing the results of 2 different measurement's tool: the 2nd and 3rd columns are presenting the relative positions of the analyzed values withing the 12 investigated values for familiarity and place attachment (Figure 1, 2, 3). The other columns are representing the data taken from the placemetry questions.

In the different rankings based on the participant's answers, the baroque main square seems to present important difference, regarding its positioning. When it was chosen from the list of the 12 investigated value of the town, this corner of the city earned only the 6th place, but when it comes from personal choice or high-ranked place of the city to shown to guests, it jumps to the 1st place in the mental representations of local habitants (See Table 1).

The Danube riverbank and the Triumphal arch, in contrast, are always, independently from the measurement tool as top-rated local values by the locals. (See Table 1)

The Liget-Parkland is showing an opposite appreciation in local mentality than the baroque main square: it occupies the privileged 3rd place amongst the 12 investigated values of familiarity and place attachment, but when it comes to personal attachment choice for prestige places it falls back to the 7th place on the local value's list. Background phenomenon, not present in the quantitative survey, but explored later by interviews, gave explanation on that reason, which was the neglected character of the surroundings which pull back the use and appreciation of that place (See Table 1). The proudness of the inhabitants linked to that local value, does not prevent them showing that place to guests arriving at Vác.

In the case of the Cathedral the significant difference might be caused by the relatively fewer non-native participants, not to mention the location as a place that many people would like.

4. Findings and summary

To sum up we can state based on the data gathering that the built heritage sites seem to be estimated higher by the inhabitants compared to other kinds of local heritage. Interestingly, in the city of Vác, which has more historic monuments and churches than the neighboring towns, the place attachment of local inhabitants is stronger (Figure 1, 2, 3).

When it comes to the consequences about inhabitant views between the native and nonnative inhabitants it appears that the differences are present only in small number of cases which are related to natural heritage places in Göd, built heritage places in Fót, and mostly to built heritage places in the city of Vác. The most respected values are churches and cathedrals of the city centers. The central-peripheric position of the local values belonging to the same category (let it be religious site, historic site or natural heritage) is decisive for its popularity and its prestige.

reflects This attitude the provincial perspective of the inhabitants of a medium sized town, playing also the role the center of the department: the flagship values are close to the heart of the city (baroque main square), and heritage sites are becoming less important when we move further away from the cultural hub of the baroque main square (see results in Table 1). In Vác all local values but one, namely the Danube riverbank showed a significant difference between native and non-native respondents regarding place attachment as an outstanding site for both target group.

The analysis shown above is based on the distinction between native and non-native citizens of the given settlements. We must emphasize though the arbitrary distinction of these groups, with non-native groups also including respondents living in the city from 5-31 years. The future investigation in the field could further develop the difference of the personal attachment and the presumed importance linked to the values based on their assumed prestige.

The findings of the study are of local importance; further research might reveal to what extent our findings are generalizable for European countries. The most appreciated heritage sites are indubitably the built ones. In smaller towns we can also measure the double identity of inhabitants: the non-native ones seem to be much more attached to local values than the native participants. HERNÁNDEZ and his coauthors (2010) claim that identity and attachment go together in case of the natives whereas people coming from other places seem to give lower scores for identity than for attachment which means you can easily be attached without strongly identifying with the place.

We decided to use the concepts emotional attitude and familiarity as relatively neutral terms in the theoretical place-identity debate to see what personal relations to a place can be differentiated. In case of the historic city of Vác the perception of the city and its locations and monuments is different when considering the usage of the space let it be for representative functions (highranking choices) or for more personal, informal usage (people's choices), the extent of residence playing a higher role in the former evaluation. The different perception and appreciation of a place may be a clue to how people think about visitors' aspects against their own. Such an approach may add to why locals' interpretation towards visitors may be a valuable element in heritage interpretation.

Further investigation may cover how tourists' impressions correlate with what profiles inhabitants claim to determine the famous locations of their hometowns and whether places loved and frequently used by locals overlap with what they consider 'touristic places' and what tourists actually love. Since Vác is a historic bishopry religious factors of identification (and how they relate to national feeling) may also be interesting aspects to examine.

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