ROMANIA AS A DESTINATION FOR CULTURAL AND HERITAGE TOURISM

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Abstract: Romania possesses a consistent heritage including cultural, historical and folkloric resources with a high potential for tourism valorization. Despite of this valuable heritage, the development of cultural tourism is still limited and more actions are needed to be undertaken for a better promotion and attraction of tourist flows in the most important cultural areas. Due to this potential and to recent massive operations of restoration and renovation of historical buildings, but also due to the improvement of services and education, Romania has succeeded to improve its supply for heritage tourism. In this paper we analyze the main issues related to the competitiveness of Romania as a cultural destination, we assess its place among other countries in Central and Eastern Europe, but also which were the recent developments on this topic. A detailed investigation has been performed regarding the main attractions and destinations for heritage tourism in Romania, including the cultural and intangible cultural heritage sites from Romania included on the UNESCO World Heritage list. Our conclusions go to the actions necessary for improving Romania's place on the market of cultural and heritage tourism, such as: improvements in the infrastructure for increasing the accessibility of the most important destinations, a more focused vision and enhanced strategy for the development and management of tourist attractions, more efficient actions for internal and international promotion, the adoption of appropriate management and marketing tools to make these objectives known, especially to international tourists etc.

Keywords: cultural tourism; heritage; Romania

JEL Classification: F63; L83; Z32.

Introduction

Tourism is one of the most important economic sectors in the world and it highly contributes to economic development (Badulescu and Bac, 2004), enhancing regional competetiveness (Leslie et al., 2016; Badulescu, Badulescu and Borma, 2014), and improving the image of a place (Sultan et al, 2021). Regarding Romania, we have high expectations from the development of tourism in general, and cultural tourism in particular, and the figures of the last 10-15 years show a continuous increase in the number of domestic and foreign tourists, as well as a diversification and increase in volume and quality of the offer of accommodation and associated services (food, transport, leisure, etc.). However, it should not be forgotten that other countries do the same, and Romania competes with them to attract as many tourists as possible, to increase the length of stay and the volume of tourist expenses.

According to the researches, maintaining the main interest in the traditional forms and destinations of tourism (coastal, mountain, spa with social valences) becomes ineffective and, somewhat, outside the trends of modern tourism, at the international level. Thus, Romania should focus on four main tourism segments, in order to obtain higher volumes of tourist traffic, increase the average length of stay and the volume of expenses of domestic and international tourists. Focusing efforts on these directions would ensure Romania not only an increase in the efficiency and importance of the tourism sector in the economy, but also an adaptation of the offer to the new trends in world tourism consumption.

In other words, cultural attractions are gaining more and more importance in the choice of destinations. According to Flash Eurobarometer 499. Attitudes of Europeans towards tourism -Report (European Union, 2021) "the cultural offer at the destination - museums, local events and experiences, festivals, gastronomy" is the most important motivation in choosing a holiday destination or tourist trip. Romania has a cultural, historical and ethno-folkloric heritage of great value, which can constitute a remarkable potential for tourism. However, the development of cultural tourism involves more than the promotion and attraction of tourist flows in certain areas and localities, or on the occasion of certain events, holidays with a cultural and recreational charge. It involves the identification, restoration and renovation of historical buildings, and in general the existing historical heritage, physical and digital accessibility, information and services, education and responsiveness, to which is added the identification, protection and promotion of local traditions, their valorization through adapted cultural products and performance.

1. The challenges of modernizing Romanian tourism

Romania offers a wide variety of tourist experiences and has considerable natural, cultural and human potential, which could ensure the relaunch of tourism and

maximize its contribution to local, regional and national economic growth. The forms of tourism currently practiced in Romania can be classified into the following categories: (1) Nature and adventure; (2) Winter sports and skiing; (3) Culture and History; (4) Health and *wellness*; (5) Sea and sun; (6) City breaks; (7) Meetings, conferences and exhibitions (*Meetings*, *Incentives*, *Conferences and Exhibition* - *MICE*), and (8) Gastronomy (Ministerul Turismului, 2018).

According to the National Strategy of Romania for the development of tourism for the period 2019-2030, proposed by the Ministry of Tourism in 2018 (Ministerul Turismului, 2018), after analyzing the data extracted from the Competitiveness Index in the field of tourism and travel, the resources and assets of competing countries in the region, the new development trends of tourism in the contemporary period and by putting "visitor experiences" in the foreground, it can be observed that Romania would obtain more significant benefits if it focused on four major key segments, in order to increase revenues and the average length of stay of tourists domestic but especially international tourists in Romania. These are:

- 1. Cultural heritage, cultural and historical tourism (complete with gastronomic experiences);
- 2. Nature and adventure, including ecotourism and rural tourism;
- 3. Health and *wellness*, making better use of the country's outstanding spa resources;
- 4. Meetings, Conferences and Exhibitions (*MICE*).

Of course, these proposals mean a focus on the most important sources of comparative advantage, in order to obtain a maximum efficiency of the efforts/results ratio, capitalizing on certain assets and resources specific to Romania. They do not mean overshadowing the other three segments and activities mentioned above: Sea and sun; Winter sports and skiing; City- breaks, "traditional" tourist activities (sea, sun, winter sports, etc.) or more modern, but profitable - such as city-breaks. They are imported especially for domestic tourism, at least for the fact that they represent, at the level of 2017-2020, about 80% of all trips made in Romania (Institutul National de Statistica, 2022).

2. Tourism, culture and history in Romania

Historical tourism potential comes from a multitude of resources that can favor its growth and internal recognition, but especially international, and can generate a competitive advantage (Ministerul Turismului, 2018).(World Economic Forum, 2019)

From the perspective of the competitiveness of cultural tourism (as promoted in the World Economic Forum -WEF studies), the indicators that evaluate a country's

performance include a series of UNESCO cultural objectives, a number of intangible cultural heritage objectives, but also the online demand for tourism and cultural entertainment. In WEF *The Travel & Tourism* reports *In the Competitiveness Report* d in 2017 and 2019, Romania occupied in cultural tourism (*Cultural resources & business travel*) meritorious scores, well above the average of the Balkan Region and Eastern Europe in which it is included (Table 1).

Thus, in the 2017 WEF Report, at an average of 1.7 for the region, within the aforementioned indicator, Romania occupies the second position (equal with Hungary) with a score of 2.3, out of 12 countries analyzed, being surpassed only by Poland. The positions are also maintained in the 2019 WEF Report, at a Region average of 1.8.

Table 1. The "Natural and cultural resources" component of the Travel and Tourism Competitiveness Index, for the Balkans and Eastern Europe Region

the Baixais and Eastern Europe Region								
	The Trave	l & Tourism	The Trave	l & Tourism				
	Competitiven	ess Report 2017	Competitiveness Report 2019					
Country/Region	Natural	Cultural	Natural	Cultural				
	Resources	resources and	Resources	resources and				
		business travel		business travel				
Slovenia	3.8	1.5	3.8	1.5				
Bulgaria	3.8	2.1	3.8	2.1				
Poland	3.0	2.8	3.0	2.8				
Hungary	2.6	2,3	2.6	2,3				
Slovakia	3,4	1.5	3,4	1.5				
Romania	3.0	2,3	3.0	2,3				
Montenegro	2.6	1.1	2.6	1.1				
North Macedonia	2.1	1.4	2.1	1.4				
bondage	2.0	1.7	2.0	1.7				
Albania	2.2	1.1	2.2	1.1				
Bosnia and	1.8	1.4	1.8	1.4				
Herzegovina								
Moldavia	1.6	1,2	1.6	1,2				
Average of the	2.7	1.7	2.7	1.7				
Region								

Source: (World Economic Forum, 2017) (World Economic Forum, 2019)

From the point of view of the number of UNESCO cultural objectives, Romania occupies a commendable place (position 36), in the first half of the ranking, and according to the number of objectives included in the intangible cultural heritage, Romania is in position 25. However, the positioning Romania's 80th place in terms

of online demand for cultural tourism is lower than the EU average, ahead of only a few countries in the Balkans region and Central and Eastern Europe (Ministerul Turismului, 2018).

Cultural heritage, both material (real estate such as buildings, monuments, constructions, or movable - collections, artifacts), and immaterial (traditions, crafts, holidays) is well represented in Romania, from a quantitative point of view. At the end of 2015, in the reports of the Ministry of Culture, 30,136 monuments are inventoried, of which 59% are architectural monuments, 32% archaeological, 6% funerary monuments, and almost 3% monuments in public space (statues, etc.). Less than a quarter (23%) are of national importance and 77.19% are of local interest (see Table 2, below).

Table 2. Number and share of material cultural heritage assets (real estate), by type of monuments and category (area) of interest

The type of monument	2013	2014	2015	Share of each category (%, in 2015)
By type:				
Archaeological monuments	9686	9687	9687	32.14%
Architectural monuments	17825	17880	17882	59.34%
Monuments located in public space	682	688	688	2.28%
Memorial and funeral monuments	1875	1884	1879	6.24%
By category of interest:				
Monuments of national interest	6871	6878	6875	22.81%
Monuments of local interest	23197	23261	23261	77.19%
Total	30068	30139	30136	100.00%

Source:(Ministerul Culturii, 2016)

According to the National Strategy for Culture and Heritage issued by the Ministry of Culture, in 2016, only 16% of all monuments are in average, good or very good condition, while 38% are in bad condition, 3% are severely damaged or collapsed,

and almost half (34%) are uninventorized from the point of view of the state of conservation (Ministerul Culturii, 2016). According to the same source, 20% of cultural heritage monuments are publicly owned (fully or partially), 46% are privately owned, and the rest did not have a clear patrimonial situation, especially due to unfinished retrocession processes, litigation, lack of data And so on In the last decade, numerous interventions and restoration works have been carried out at various objectives (5 of them are on the UNESCO list), but the number and pace of these works is considered insufficient considering the large number of degraded objectives, in critical condition, on which no -they have been doing significant work for a long time. Implicitly, a number of attractions, urban or rural, resorts and points of tourist interest have been deprived of the restoration, enhancement and promotion of monuments for tourist purposes, and in some cases, entire ensembles of non-renovated or deeply damaged heritage sites have printed an unfavorable image of some towns and tourist resorts in Romania.

Along with immovable assets, the attractiveness of an area is also achieved through movable assets and intangible heritage. Movable goods, composed, as a rule, of artefacts, museum collections, etc., were, in 2017, in a number of 46,672 items, of which about 19% are archaeological artefacts, 18% coins, 17.50% are ethnographic artefacts, 14% related to the natural sciences, 11% to the fine arts, and the rest are objects and documents related to history, science and technology, old maps and medals.

At the level of 2017 (the last with data available at the INS) there were 762 museums in Romania, up from 202 (663 units) and 2008 (667 units) (Institutul Național de Statistică, 2017). The vast majority (70%) were museums of local importance, 18% of county and regional interest, and 12% of national importance, respectively. By specialization, the largest number of museums are in the fields of ethnography and anthropology (28%), art (22%), and archeology and history (14%).

From the perspective of distribution on the national territory, 20% of the museums and public collections are concentrated in the center of Transylvania - the counties of Alba, Braşov, Covasna, Harghita, Mureş, Sibiu; 17% are in northern Moldova and Bucovina, and 15% in the counties of southern Romania. The most are, as expected, in the Municipality of Bucharest (44 units), followed by Timiş (37), Prahova (32), Suceava (30), Neamţ (28), Harghita (28), Maramureş (25), Braşov (24), Argeş (23), Cluj (22), Dâmboviţa (21), Sibiu (21), Iaşi (21), Bacău (20), Constanta (19) (Institutul Naţional de Statistică, 2017).

If we try a classification of the regions according to the number of museum visitors, we find that the first two regions in terms of visitors also have the largest number of museums.

3. The main cultural heritage destinations in Romania

In an attempt to establish which are the main cultural and heritage tourism destinations in Romania, in terms of popularity, a study conducted under the auspices of the Romanian Ministry of Tourism and published in 2018, inventoried the first 15 destinations, by county, according to the number of visits to museums, in 2017 (Ministerul Turismului, 2018). This ranking has been adjusted with the number of arrivals in accommodation units, also in 2017, to correlate the fact that cultural tourism is a relevant product for local, regional (county) or national and international markets, as well as with the number of museums, with the percentage of historical monuments present in these counties, castles, fortresses, etc., with the number of UNESCO objectives, etc. Of course, some cultural tourist objectives include several sub-objectives, such as, for example, the fortified churches of Transylvania, which are spread over the territory of several counties, and the number of visitors to a certain objective / museum can be made by tourists and hikers on a one-day circuit, with accommodation in another county. Another observation concerns the relevance of visits to museums, as a sufficiently suggestive indicator for the cultural motivation of tourists in a certain locality. Thus, visiting some objectives (historical city centers, heritage buildings, historical monuments in public spaces, etc.) is not actually registered (by buying a ticket, etc.) and, therefore, cannot be evaluated, quantitatively, within an indicator, but it is an important motivation in visiting some cities. Just as the consumption of some products (food, souvenirs, etc.) by some tourists in a certain city is not associated with actual visits, reflected in the overnight stay indicator.

With all these inaccuracies and observations that can be brought to this approach, we believe that it is sufficiently suggestive for the inventory of the main points (areas) of cultural-tourist attraction in Romania, useful to capture the particularities and assets of some localities and areas with a touristic vocation, but also to suggest measures to boost cultural tourism, and not only, in Romania.

In order to validate and reinterpret these data, we proceeded to update them, with the figures relating to the number of visitors to museums, and, respectively, arrivals in accommodation units in the counties of Romania, in the years 2019, 2020 and 2021. We considered that the other indicators of "synchronization", i.e. of the relevance of tourism in general, and cultural tourism in particular, in a certain region or locality have not changed in these 5-6 years, and the number of important cultural objectives,

of national relevance or the UNESCO list (so the points of interest), remained unchanged.

In Table A1 in the appendix, we presented the data for the years 2019, 2020 and 2021, and then continued the analysis and interpretation of the results, using both the perspective of the 2017 study (mentioned earlier) and the interpretation of the updated data.

After corroborating the two sets of results, we reached the following conclusions:

- The first most visited counties in the last 5-6 years, from the point of view of the objectives of cultural interest, are Braşov, the Municipality of Bucharest, Sibiu and Prahova. Counties such as Suceava, Constanța, Hunedoara, Iași compete for the 5th-6th places during this interval.
- It should be noted that these first 5-6 counties also host, in their localities, the most visited museums and sights. Thus, we mention Bran Castle the most visited tourist attraction in Romania, with over 800,000 visitors annually, followed by the Dimitrie Gusti Museum in Bucharest (Village Museum in Bucharest), the Grigore Antipa National Museum of Natural History, the "Astra" Village Museum in Sibiu, Peleş Castle from Sinaia, Corvinilor Castle from Hunedoara, etc.
- Braşov County is the most visited county in Romania from the point of view of cultural visits, and among the first 2-3 counties from the point of view of tourist arrivals (in general). The sights are remarkable Bran Castle, associated (not necessarily historically) with "Dracula"; The restored fortresses of Râşnov and Rupea, the Saxon villages, and the center of Braşov (with the well-known Black Church), etc.;
- With the richest and most diverse museums and collections, Bucharest is the cultural center of Romania, but also the most visited destination. The tourist offer of the capital is comprehensive, but the share of cultural tourists is relatively small, most of the international tourist arrivals (about 45% of the total international arrivals in accommodation units) are mainly due to business tourism;
- Sibiu is a traditional destination of cultural tourism in Romania, and the year 2007, when the city of Sibiu was the European Capital of Culture, or the year 2019, when it was the center of the European Gastronomic Region, confirmed this status. The center of the city of Sibiu is well appreciated by domestic and international tourists who come here for a longer term, as well as by tourists who come for a city break, especially in the summer months, and promotes two of the most visited museums in the country (the Bruckenthal Museum and the Astra);
- We find that, after Bucharest, as a historical region, Transylvania remains the first cultural destination (but also in general) for international tourists, attracted by the multiculturalism and diversity of rural settlements (Romanian, Hungarian,

Saxon, etc.), by the picturesque centers of medieval cities or late 19th century, of captivating myths, places and legends;

- Prahova and Suceava occupy the 4th-5th places, in terms of cultural tourism, especially through the contribution of visitors to the Peleş Castle in Sinaia, which accumulates more than half of the total number of visitors in the county, respectively, by the monasteries in Bucovina and urban sites in Suceava;
- Constanța, with a large number of summer tourists, has a good positioning in cultural terms as well, argued by the large number of visitors to the Museum Complex of Natural Sciences (in which the Aquarium and the Dolphinarium are located, and which attract about 500,000 visitors annually). Constanța County also has other remarkable cultural objectives, but they are not significant according to the number of visits recorded;
- Cultural tourism in Hunedoara County focuses on the large number of tourists attracted by the Corvinilor Castle, complemented by the smaller number of visitors to the Dacian ruins of the Sarmisegetuza Regia fortress, the Roman ruins at Ulpia Traiana and other cultural sites in Țara Hațegului. The researchers noticed that, although it is a fairly small area, but rich in monuments and cultural objectives, the area does not stand out in terms of the total number of stays (overnights). Probably, in many cases, the objectives are "achieved" during day trips in Transylvania, and the tourists stay in Sibiu, Alba Iulia, Brașov, etc (Ministerul Turismului, 2018).;
- The counties of Maramureş, Neamţ, Dâmboviţa, Vâlcea, Argeş and Caraş-Severin enter (with slight variations) in a possible Top 15; however, the objectives of cultural heritage, tangible or intangible, mainly attract the interest of domestic tourists. Seasonal traditions and wooden churches in Maramureş have a special cultural value, but they do not generate such a large number of visitors to "push" Maramureş county into the first 5-7 places at the national level;
- Mureş county has a special situation, which attracts national and international interest for cultural tourism. This county has two very important centers of attraction: Sighişoara, which registers around 100,000 annual arrivals in accommodation units, but where the number of visitors in the historic center is probably much higher, and, respectively, the citadels and fortified churches, both objectives being on the UNESCO list;
- Counties such as Iaşi, Cluj or Bihor are also in a hypothetical Top 10-15, with a large number of museum visitors. We especially note the Turda Salina in Cluj county, but also the museums and sights in the municipalities of Cluj Napoca or Iaşi, or the historical center and points of interest in Oradea, Bihor county. All these three counties perform better in terms of the total number of visitors, than in terms of cultural tourism (explained by the share of business and professional tourism in

Cluj-Napoca and Iaşi, respectively relaxation - spa, in the surroundings of Oradea Municipality).

- As a final remark, both in 2017 and in 2019 and 2020, we note that Timişoara (and Timiş county, in general) did not enter the Top 15, in terms of the number of visitors to museums and cultural heritage sites (17th places 18), even though, in terms of tourist stays, the county ranks 11-13. The designation of the municipality of Timişoara as "European Cultural Capital" in 2023 may mean a revival in this regard and may contribute decisively to a higher positioning of Timiş County and the Municipality of Timişoara on the map of cultural tourism. Of course, if the project is carried out, promoted and exploited properly.

4. UNESCO World Heritage in the framework of cultural tourism in Romania

Romania has two natural sites, seven cultural heritage tourist sites and seven intangible heritage sites inscribed on the UNESCO list (see Table 3 below). To these are added a number of 8 objectives, considered proposals for inclusion on this list. It is noted that many of these objectives (already on the list, or proposed) are relatively evenly distributed throughout the country, in various regions and urban and rural areas, with varying particularities and characteristics. They represent major centers of tourist interest in the regions where they are located, especially important for domestic tourism.

Table 3. Natural, cultural and intangible cultural heritage sites from Romania included on the UNESCO World Heritage list

Tierrage list						
A. Natural sites inscribed on	The Danube Delta					
the UNESCO World Heritage	• The secular and virgin beech forests of the					
List	Carpathians (and other regions of Europe)					
B. Cultural sites on the	The churches of Moldova					
UNESCO World Heritage List:	Horezu Monastery					
	• Villages with fortified churches in					
	Transylvania					
	 Dacian fortresses in Orăștiei Mountains 					
	The Historical Center of Sighisoara					
	Wooden churches from Maramureş					
	Roșia Montană cultural mining landscape					
B1. Proposals for listing	Neamt Monastery					
	Byzantine and post-Byzantine churches in					
	Curtea de Argeș					
	The monumental complex from Târgu Jiu					
	• The rock ensemble from Basarabi					
	• The Church of the Three Hierarchs from Iasi					

	"Culele" from Oltenia					
	• Densus Church					
	• The historical core of the city of Alba Iulia					
C. Objectives of the Intangible	The gag ritual					
Cultural Heritage of Romania	• play the doina					
registered on the UNESCO list	 Ceramics from Horezu 					
	• The male choir carol					
	• Ticus virgin (virgin game)					
	• The craft of traditional carpets (traditional					
	techniques of making bark in Romania and the					
	Republic of Moldova)					
	Mărțișorul (traditional practices associated					
	with March 1st)					

Source: (Ministerul Culturii. Institutul Națonal al Patrimoniului, 2022),(UNESCO, 2022)

However, most of them do not attract a number of visitors at the level of their cultural-historical value, especially if we compare them with other, more "popular touristic" objectives such as Bran, Peleş, Corvinilor Castles, or a series of museums in Bucharest, which do not are included in these lists, but attract a larger number of visitors than many of the UNESCO cultural heritage sites. Beyond the symbolic value or notoriety of some of these objectives on the UNESCO list, capable of fueling tourist interest, we can also mention other factors that condition the flow of tourists to them: access and infrastructure possibilities, inadequate promotion, inadequate administration of tourist attractions and the lack of development of associated products that would attract a diversity of categories of tourists, inclusion in tourist packages, supplementing and diversifying facilities and facilities for visiting and staying, etc.

The rich resources of the cultural heritage constitute the necessary premises for the development of cultural tourism. However, it is equally important that these tourist attractions are ready to receive domestic and international tourists, in terms of accessibility, infrastructure, signage, management and hotel capacity, as well as in terms of availability, quantity and the quality of information and promotion in different languages of international circulation, but also their inclusion in diverse and complex tourism products, the quality of facilities and other activities available in addition to the objective.

Beyond the tourist attractions of tangible heritage, Romania has a set of rich, varied and unique cultural traditions, such as a great diversity of rituals, celebrations, events and cultural products, some of which are included in UNESCO's list of world intangible cultural heritage (see Table 3, above).

Most of them are well known and attractive to domestic tourists and constitute real impulses in tourist consumption such as those associated with legal and religious holidays, when rural destinations with well-preserved traditions (Maramureş, Bucovina) are "rediscovered annually" and become centers of interest in short-term travel. They are relatively unknown to international tourists, and a first step could be their development within the diaspora - Romanians who return home for the holidays and who could bring with them groups of people from the countries they emigrated to (Ministerul Turismului, 2018).

Conclusions

We have approached the relationship between tourism and the cultural potential in Romania from two perspectives. On the one hand, we make a presentation of the main objectives and destinations, and on the other, we analyze the potential and competitiveness of cultural-urban destinations, both from a domestic and international point of view. Implicitly, we want to identify those measures and strategies that must be followed in order for Romania to make urban cultural tourism (and not only) one of the most important points of attraction, adapting to the new trends in European and world tourist circulation.

The cultural, historical and ethno-folkloric heritage of Romania can constitute a particularly valuable resource for tourism, and especially for cultural tourism. However, its development requires more than the promotion and attraction of tourist flows in certain areas and localities or on the occasion of festive events or contexts with a cultural and leisure load. It must consider the identification, restoration, rehabilitation and renovation of historic and heritage buildings and sites, the provision of physical and digital accessibility, information and services. Also, enhancing cultural tourism requires actions in the field of non-material heritage, i.e. identifying, protecting and valuing (promoting) local traditions, including them in adapted and performing cultural products.

Although most tourist attractions have a basic infrastructure capable of receiving visitors and supporting the attractiveness of cultural tourism in the area, improvements are needed to become truly attractive to visitors. Beyond the measures taken at the local level, general measures are also needed, a better vision for the development and management of tourist attractions, for internal and international promotion, the adoption of appropriate management and marketing tools to make these objectives known, especially to international tourists.

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Appendix Table A1. The number of visitors to museums and, respectively, the number of arrivals in accommodation units, in the years 2019, 2020 and 2021, for the first 15 counties in Romania (thousands of people)

	The year 2019			The year 2020			The year 2021					
No. crt.	Coun ty	Visit ors to mus eum s and publ ic colle ctio ns	Number of arrival s in accommodati on units	Ra nk in nu mb er of arr ival s	Coun ty	Visit ors to mus eum s and publ ic colle ctio ns	Numbe r of arrival s in accom modati on units	Ra nk in nu mb er of arr ival s	Cou nty	Visit ors to mus eum s and publ ic colle ctio ns	Numbe r of arrival s in accom modati on units	Ra nk in nu mb er of arr ival s
1	Brașo v	2630	1422	1	Brașo v	1040	725	2	Bras ov	1857	1029	2
2	Buch arest muni cipali ty	2288	2039	2	Buch arest muni cipali ty	838	560	3	The city of Buch arest	1355	905	3
3	Sibiu	1673	576	7	Sibiu	683	263	6	Sibiu	899	430	4
4	Praho va	985	586	6	Praho va	478	313	4	Prah ova	609	427	5
5	Const ant	901	1381	3	Hune doara	405	72	26	Cons tant	623	1269	1
6	Suce ava	827	466	8	Const ant	391	1005	1	Cluj	325	409	7
7	IASI	794	342	12	IASI	354	144	14	Suce ava	410	406	8
8	Germ an	662	265	15	Germ an	353	149	12	Iasi	557	235	11
9	Hune doara	644	194	21	Dam bovit a	298	72	25	Ger man	332	210	13
10	Mure s	625	599	5	Mure s	283	244	9	Mur es	441	357	10
11	Bihor	603	541	8	Suce ava	279	254	8	Biho r	465	425	6
12	Dam bovit a	526	122	25	Bihor	273	265	5	Walt z	277	373	9
13	Cluj	480	671	4	Galat i	229	52	31	Timi s	61	193	15
14	dale	470	423	10	Mara mure s	218	133	15	Mara mure s	255	217	12
15	Mara mure s	423	276	13	Caras - Sever in	202	145	13	Cara s- Seve rin	195	193	14

Source: (Institutul Național de Statistică, 2022), (Institutul Național de Statistică, 2022)