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CREATING SYNERGIES BETWEEN CULTURAL POLICY AND TOURISM FOR PERMANENT AND TEMPORARY CITIZENS

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PART 1.

A REVIEW OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CULTURAL POLICIES AND TOURISM

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The previous report on The Relationship Between Culture and Tourism in Barcelona (UCLG-ICUB, 2018) identified the need to address from the perspectives of cultural policies and sustainable development the critical elements of the culture-tourism relationship, to generate meeting spaces around active participation in cultural life and promote culture in the tourist offer while reinvesting the economic gains from tourism in the sustainability of the cultural ecosystem.

The current UCLG-ICUB project on “Creating synergies between culture and tourism for permanent and temporary citizens” is one more step in this programme. In this initial report, we map out some of the basic issues that have emerged from previous analyses of the relationship between cultural policies and tourism. In particular we highlight how both cultural policies and tourism are changing in response to wider driving factors, and how this is bringing culture and tourism, and permanent and temporary citizens, closer together.

1.2 INTRODUCTION: THE CHANGING DYNAMICS OF CULTURE AND TOURISM

Culture forms a vital part of the daily life and development potential of every city. Culture feeds the creative, educational and social aspirations of residents, and also forms an increasingly important attraction for visitors and other mobile groups. The recent UNWTO report on Tourism and Culture Synergies (2018) underlines the way in which culture and tourism are increasingly entwined in terms of cultural development, identity formation, social cohesion and economic growth. Cultural tourism is estimated to account for almost 40% of all international tourism, and is a major activity in historic and creative cities such as Barcelona. Now cultural tourism is also expanding into new directions provided by the creative industries and ‘creative tourism’.

Cities are confronted with a wide range of opportunities and challenges stemming from these dynamic developments. As the spaces and administrative contexts in which culture, creativity and tourism most frequently come together, cities need to react to and increasingly direct such relationships. There is a particularly urgent need to develop constructive and proactive approaches to the relationship between culture and tourism because of the recent attention focussed on the negative impacts of rapid urban tourism growth.

In recent years, the increase in tourism flows has called into question previous growth-oriented models of tourism. Overcrowding, increased pressure on public services and amenities as well as changing civic priorities have strained relations between local and mobile populations. A growing range of cultural phenomena have become the object of tourism, expanding the previously closed system of visiting specific cultural institutions and ‘must see sights’ into an open system that includes tangible and intangible, built and mobile assets, and ultimately the daily life of the destination. The ‘local’ is no longer just the taxpayer supporting local cultural provision, but also the target of tourism consumption and the producer of the local culture sought by tourists.

The increasing synergies between culture and tourism in cities have been stimulated by changes in both fields. Cultural consumption has shifted historically from an elite pursuit to a more democratised and generalised aspect of modern leisure, and increasingly tourism. Sacco (2011) describes the shift from 'Culture 1.0', during which museums, theatres and other cultural facilities were initially supported by patronage, towards Culture 2.0, where culture became an educational and economic field, subsidised by the public sector to edify and stimulate growth and jobs, to the current state of Culture 3.0 (Table 1.1). The diversification of cultural taste under Culture 3.0, and the fragmentation of cultural production and access to new technologies and media, challenges the monolithic production of culture under Culture 2.0. Alongside educational and economic value, culture is also seen as a means of creating identity, stimulating social cohesion and supporting creativity. The evolution of cultural production and consumption has also affected the interaction between culture and tourism, from the elitism of the Grand Tour under Culture 1.0 to the growth of cultural tourism in Culture 2.0 to a much more widespread and fragmented consumption of different cultural forms under Culture 3.0 (Richards, 2015). In general terms, it might be argued that cities are seeing a shift from two separate systems of 'culture' and 'tourism' towards the integrative phenomenon of 'Cultural tourism', and are increasingly moving towards a 'Culture of tourism', in which tourism becomes one of the major modes through which increasingly mobile populations interact with the urban environment. At the same time, cultural policy is having to come to terms with an increasingly dynamic landscape within which mobility becomes a cultural challenge and an opportunity.

TABLE 1.1
PHASES OF CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE GROWTH OF CULTURAL TOURISM

PHASE	CULTURE (SACCO, 2011)	CULTURAL TOURISM (RICHARDS, 2014)
01	Culture 1.0: culture as by-product of industrial growth. Wealthy merchants and industrialists invested in culture as a means of polishing their image and/or doing good for the community.	Cultural tourism 1.0 – Grand Tour, cultural consumption by a small elite.
02	Culture 2.0: culture as industry. With industrialisation and the growth of the culture industries, culture became an economic field, invested in by the public sector to stimulate growth and jobs.	Cultural Tourism 2.0 – Mass cultural tourism, development of cultural resources as tourist attractions.
03	Culture 3.0: culture as a source of new value(s). The diversification of cultural taste, the fragmentation of cultural production and access to new technologies and media challenges the monolithic production of culture under Culture 2.0. Alongside economic value, culture is also seen as a means of creating identity, stimulating social cohesion and supporting creativity.	Cultural tourism 3.0 – Culture as a value platform for tourism (and vice versa), increasing integration of tourism and everyday life. Diversification of different types of 'tourism'.

Part 1 of the report sets the scene against which the city case studies in Part 2 are developed, focussing on cultural policies and their impact on tourism. To provide a background to the research this section sets out the state of the art in the development of the relationship between culture and tourism in cities. First it considers the major forces driving the integration of culture and tourism, such as globalisation. It then describes some of the main consequences of this integration, including growing mobility and new practices of culture and tourism production and consumption. The increased need to share the city, and in particular public spaces in the city, is then outlined, and finally some issues that arise concerning the sustainability of culture in the shared city are discussed.

1.3 DRIVERS OF INTEGRATION BETWEEN CULTURE AND TOURISM

GLOBALISATION

Globalisation has been a root cause of many significant developments in the fields of culture and tourism in recent decades. In particular, growing linkages between economies and cities have stimulated increased mobility of resources, ideas and people that have fed through into increased (multi)cultural consumption and travel and tourism. Globalisation has also been accompanied by a process of de-differentiation between previously separate fields, such as culture and economy or leisure and tourism. Globalisation has also been seen as responsible for processes of standardisation and banalisation of culture, which has in turn produced a search for local and regional identity. Much of the growth in cultural supply has been at local level, as places try to increase the quality of life to satisfy current residents and attract new ones, and as they try and distinguish themselves by emphasising the uniqueness of their culture. Building cultural identity has stimulated the growth of museums and other local, regional and national cultural institutions. These cultural assets have not only acted as a stimulus for cultural participation by the (normally) resident population, but in many cases also for tourists and other mobile citizens. Museums are often among the most frequently visited sites by residents and visitors alike. In this context many cultural institutions have had to adopt new roles, not just conserving artefacts, but also developing cultural education, interpretation and increasingly “edutainment” as well.

THE CHANGING POSITION OF CITIES

Globalisation has had many implications for the role of cities. On the one hand cities have been exposed to greater international competition, and have to work harder to maintain their profile and influence. On the other hand, there are new opportunities as well. In the past, it was mainly the capital cities that acted as the centre of national cultural life, with a largely subservient role for smaller cities. This has arguably changed as the role of the central state has waned with globalisation, allowing many smaller cities to carve out a new and independent cultural role for themselves (Richards and Duif, 2018). In Europe in particular this development has been stimulated by the growth of city networks, programmes such as the European Capital of Culture and the increased connectivity offered by budget airlines and high speed rail links.

Many former 'second cities' such as Barcelona and Milan have therefore become cultural leaders in their own right, being able to chart cultural policies that have not just local, but also national and international consequences. These cities are also beginning to recognise each other as potential partners, with cultural networks being formed well beyond the capital or 'world' cities such as London or Paris. One of the advantages of smaller cities is that they often offer a higher quality of life than larger ones, but can still offer much of the 'soft infrastructure' that can attract people. As Richard Florida (2002) has argued, cities now compete to attract the 'creative class' by developing their cultural facilities and atmosphere to appeal to mobile groups. Cities such as Barcelona, Lisbon and Amsterdam become integrated into the circuits traced by these mobile creatives. Such mobility is also marked by the rise of creative clusters, cultural events and exhibitions and cultural and creative education in these cities.

1.4 CHANGING URBAN FORMS AND GOVERNANCE STRUCTURES

At the same time that cities have changed their position in global and national space as a result of globalisation, this has also wrought changes in the nature of the urban fabric in both spatial and temporal terms.

One of the basic consequences of urban growth has been suburbanisation and an increasing challenge of articulation between city centres and peripheries. Even though European cities have generally remained more compact than their North America or Asian counterparts, there is a clear trend towards concentration of cultural facilities and the creative class in urban centres. Peripheral areas usually suffer from greater challenges of accessibility, lower population densities and correspondingly lower amenity levels. This is one region why many cities have developed cultural policies aiming to re-distribute cultural facilities and activities to outlying areas, and to create greater 'cultural proximity'.

Spatial fragmentation coupled with the disarticulation of social and personal agendas has led to new strategies aimed at developing new projects and programmes that are more flexible than the Culture 2.0 reliance on traditional cultural institutions and built structures. The range of cultural and creative resources employed now encompasses both tangible and intangible, fixed and mobile cultural assets, as UNESCO has recognised in its designation of 'intangible cultural heritage'. In particular, cities now employ a series of cultural projects and programmes to achieve their aim of improving the quality of life through culture. These can be more easily targeted, are more flexible, and often cheaper to run than facilities. This in turn has spawned a new raft of intermediaries, such as the animateur, who meet the needs of different groups by integrating facilities, projects and programmes. Many cities have seen a shift in funding models away from structural funding of cultural institutions towards more project-based funding, which has often been hastened by cuts in cultural budgets. This tendency is aggravated by the increasing costs of cultural labour, which according to Baumol's Law always increases faster than the level of cultural productivity.

The more flexible environment of Culture 3.0 is also ideal for project-based working and the development of urban programming. Events become tools for cultural development, animation and city marketing, either as one-off projects or as part of wider strategies. Events can become catalysts to integrate spatially and synchronise temporally, leading in some cases to a general 'programming of the city'. The multiplication of urban festivals, music, cultural and sporting events has been widely criticised as a process of 'festivalisation', providing superficial spectacles rather than 'serious' cultural content (Hitters, 2007). But some cities have managed to control and direct event activity into purposeful programmes that support the creation of an 'eventful city' (Richards and Palmer, 2010). The eventful city is able to programme events to reach specific and general goals, increasing benefits to all users of the city. Such broad programming approaches require an appreciation of the different types of events within the programme. In many cities large-scale 'pulsar' events are used as drivers of structural change (such as the Olympic Games or the ECOC), whereas smaller, community-based 'iterative' events support social cohesion, local identity and the basic cultural fabric of the city (Richards, 2015a). Wonderful Copenhagen also talks about the 'Smart Event City' that aims to create broader value from large events and local atmosphere and colour from smaller, recurring events.

Given the supposed advantages of event-based strategies, some commentators now position festivalization as a positive development. Wynn (2016) argues that festivals are a more effective means of supporting local cultural production and consumption than constructing sports stadia or iconic museums. However, large-scale events in particular can be just as risky as building 'white elephant' stadia. Barcelona learned this lesson the hard way with the Universal Forum of Cultures in 2004, as did Lisbon with the 1998 Expo and Copenhagen with the 2014 Eurovision Song Contest (see Section 3.2.2.2). These mega cultural events helped to develop significant areas of the city and produced billions in investment, but arguably did relatively little for local people or the culture of the city.

In order to produce significant positive effects, both physical cultural facilities and events need to be embedded in well-structured programmes (Richards and Duif, 2018). Programmes designed to involve and bring together people from different backgrounds (and therefore to valorise the diversity of urban populations) can lead to new forms of socialisation. This is evident for example in the case of Lille, where the European Capital of Culture in 2004 not only re-positioned the city as a colourful metropolis, but also spawned the multiannual Lille 3000 programme, which continues to enliven the cultural agenda to this day.

The main challenges for cultural policy under Culture 3.0 are how to articulate an increasingly fragmented field of cultural supply, how to connect with an increasingly fragmented population of citizens and build social capital, and how to move from the role of city as supplier of culture to the role of facilitator of culture. Culture has expanded, not just in terms of the widening boundaries of what constitutes 'culture', but also in terms of who might form the cultural audience(s). The traditional system of a cultural value chain in which cities could intervene at a fairly basic level to control the generation of higher levels of value is now increasingly supplanted by the development of value networks (Richards and Colombo, 2017) that link producers and consumers at all levels of value creation. The former position of the consumer as passive receptor of ready-made cultural experiences at the end of the value chain has shifted towards a value (co)-creation role. Everybody with a smartphone is now potentially a film producer. This makes it increasingly complex for cities to know how and where to intervene in order to stimulate different forms of cultural participation, or to control the public spaces of the city as new scenarios of cultural production and consumption.

In addition, cities themselves have also become embodied value chains (or value networks). The progressive sedimentation of cultural investment means that the cultural structure of the city is physically imprinted and there is a high level of path-dependency in cultural policies. Although projects and programmes seem to offer more flexibility in engaging with mobile populations, the physical reality remains that the museum, as a fixed, relatively open cultural asset, is more accessible to both residents and mobile populations than most festivals and events. This is also one of the factors that explains the enduring role of major museums as the pinnacle of cultural consumption among both sedentary and transitory populations. This underlines the fact that urban culture, however intangible or 'festivalised', needs space to happen. Creating, finding and supporting the spaces of culture becomes a major agenda for cultural policy.

Public spaces have always represented points at which the city encounters itself, and because of its openness and legibility, public space is also where residents and mobile populations are most likely encounter each other. A major issue here is the privatisation and commodification of public space (as described by Smith (2015) in the case of public parks in London), which limits the possibilities to develop practices of visibilization (Citroni and Karrholm, 2017) and therefore to stimulate dialogue and the development of trusting spaces between different groups.

A VISIT TO HYDE PARK

Smith (2015) describes the multifaceted ways in which parks, as public spaces, are used and produced by users. However, current trends towards commercialisation have the potential to erode public spaces by limiting access as well as socialising them through use. He argues that public spaces in London and other cities are becoming 'eventscares' used by commercial events to make money, promote their brands, and by cities to attract visitors, generate income and improve their image. Cities are actively staged as backdrops for events, and this impacts on the quality of public space. Smith suggests that commodification through events affects the qualities of the 'loose space' provided by parks as a space for all. London's Royal Parks are highly appreciated by users because of their accessibility, tranquillity and safety, which fit this concept of loose space well. The free use of accessible streets, squares and parks is seen as facing particular threats from commercialisation, privatisation and 'securitisation'. These trends are responsible for the exclusion of certain people or groups from public space in a neo-liberal 'selling of the city'.

However, exclusionary views are not just held by managers of public space. Extensive research conducted for The Royal Parks shows that a 35% of users wanted more events in the Parks, but at the same time 20% did not want to see more events in 'their' park. These results highlight one of the paradoxes of urban living – many people want to benefit from the animation of public space, but they prefer not to have it happening too close to where they live.

New governance structures for culture and tourism are emerging as cities seek to deal with the multiple challenges of funding, access and urban competition. Partnerships between the public and private sectors are particularly evident in the tourism field, as growth regimes emerge that

support a more direct use of public assets to support economic growth. A logic of value creation that links public space and institutions with the need to generate income (as in the case of the Royal Parks) promotes a competitive approach to greater visibility for the attraction of external resources (tourism, sponsorship). Whereas cultural policy could previously be seen as primarily attached to the public good, it now also has to consider issues of commodification, value creation and the attraction of mobile populations who also bring resources and knowledge.

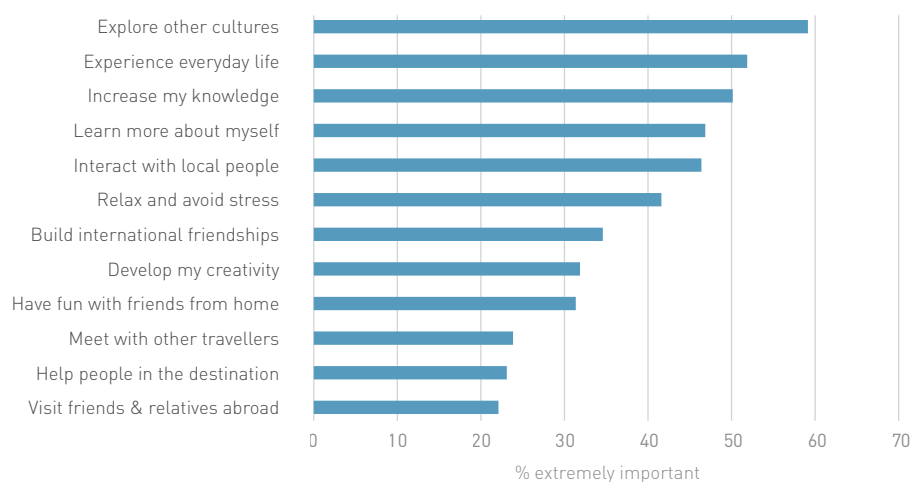
1.5 CHANGING PRACTICES OF CULTURE AND TOURISM

Globalisation has also resulted in a greater focus on popular and everyday culture alongside the high culture prioritised in the past. In Culture 3.0, the aim is facilitate local creativity and culture rather than dictate what people should be consuming. Cultural policies have therefore begun to emphasise outreach and local cultural participation, and more focus on the users of culture rather than a ready-formed cultural canon. The creation of local cultural centres and mixed use facilities such as the Westergasfabriek in Amsterdam has become a common cultural strategy. The Westergasfabriek and the surrounding park are designed to facilitate the participation and creativity of residents, and this has also caught the new mood in tourism. The latest addition to the park is the Conscious Hotel Westerpark, the creation of which is described on the website as follows:

We transformed the original, monumental building into a stunning eco-sexy, 89-room hotel. Situated in lush Westerpark, one side of the hotel overlooks the cultural grounds of Westergasfabriek (a former gas works) - a hotspot for cultural events and bustling markets - while on the other side, there's a tranquil, green park - perfect for morning walks.

Areas like the Westergasfabriek and the newly designated 'localhoods' in Copenhagen offer tourists an experience of 'everyday life' rather than the 'must-see' sights listed in the tourist guides. Contact with local people and local culture has become a more important motivation for travel than mixing with other travellers (Figure 1.1).

FIGURE 1.1:
MOTIVATIONS OF GLOBAL YOUTH TRAVELLERS (WYSE TRAVEL CONFEDERATION, 2017)



In essence, residents and tourists are increasingly converging in a search for the culture of everyday life (or the 'extraordinary everyday', as Jonas Larsen recently put it). This search is stimulated by a growing group of new cultural intermediaries and the critical infrastructure of traditional and new media, journalists, bloggers, cultural critics, gastronomic gurus, graffiti artists and architectural commentators. The locus of cultural meaning-making has moved out of the museum and into the street. This can also create a degree of competition for scarce cultural resources, particularly in those spaces where people have traditionally mingled: the public spaces of cities. Public space is at the same time under pressure from privatisation and commercialisation, particularly as public funding for culture comes under greater scrutiny.

A GRÀCIA MOMENT (17TH APRIL 2018, 9.00)

One sunny morning I make my normal stop at the baker's on Carrer Goya for a baguette. This time it is more crowded than normal. There are two pushchairs – one being guided by an Asian-looking man with a copy of the Le Routard guide to Barcelona, the other by a local mother. The man consults his guide book, and when Carmen, the assistant, turns to smile at him, he hesitantly begins in Catalan: 'sis croissants si us plau'. Carmen points: 'aquells, amb xocolata?'. 'Si, si us plau.' The little girl in the pushchair smiles, as does everybody in the bakery. A small moment of contact confounds the expectation of the tourist-resident encounter. No hostility, no aggravation from those waiting, just a simple confirmation that culture is not just consumed, but also made and remade by such contacts, thousands of times a day, in every corner of the city. The question is, how can we use the soft power of culture to improve the experience of Barcelona for everybody?

THE COMMODIFICATION OF CULTURE

The changing role of the state and the growing demand for culture has placed cultural funding systems under strain. Culture requires large investments from cities, not just in terms of buildings but also in terms of increasingly expensive labour, and at the same time public budgets are under pressure. This has produced a move towards the market in many countries, with sponsorship, merchandising and visitor-generated revenues increasingly being seen as regular income streams for culture. For cultural institutions this has meant pressure to become more market-orientated and to attract more visitors to generate more revenue. Attracting more visitors often becomes a critical success factor for cultural institutions. Some growth in visitor numbers can be created by enticing residents to visit more often, but the largest sources of visitor growth are often to be found in tourism. At the same time cultural institutions have also taken on new tasks, such as supporting the educational system, and aiding the integration of new residents.

In this context cultural tourism is often viewed as a 'good' form of tourism, because it provides economic support for the cultural facilities that cities are often keen to show to visitors. But at the same time there is also a discourse related to the commodification of culture and the museumification of cities produced by cultural tourism (very evident in the case of Rome, for

example). In seeking to attract more revenue, museums are sometimes accused of offering superficial or globalised culture that will appeal to visitors. This tends to support the development of globalised cultural brands, furthering the serial reproduction of culture in cities (Richards and Wilson, 2006).

DEVELOPING THE GLOBAL CULTURAL BRAND

The Guggenheim and the Hermitage have emerged as global arts brands (Evans, 2003) that are rapidly being replicated. The Guggenheim, driven to increase its profile and income beyond its New York base, developed subsidiary museums in Bilbao, Venice, Berlin and Las Vegas. At one stage, 60 different cities were on the list for a Guggenheim (Richards, 2000), although many of these projects never left the drawing board. Guggenheim projects currently being developed include Guadalajara and Abu Dhabi. The mix of the Guggenheim and Hermitage brands originally trialled in Las Vegas was also under consideration for Vilnius. Each of the projects presents a similar model – public sector funding of a starchitect-designed museum to boost tourism. Such facilities have a high cost, and would not be feasible without public support. This is one of the main reasons why some cities have lost their enthusiasm for the Guggenheim brand. In Helsinki, for example, it was estimated that the new museum would cost up to 140 million euros to construct, with annual running costs of 14 million euros. This was set against admission income of around 4.5 million a year. This project attracted considerable opposition from the local arts sector, which argued that the money could better be invested in arts production. Even though a revised, lower-cost project was presented, the museum was ultimately rejected by the city.

Plans for a Barcelona subsidiary of the Hermitage Museum are currently being discussed. This project is planned to open in 2019, and is projected to attract 1 million visitors a year.

The growing commodification of both culture and tourism is illustrated by the current wave of commercial acquisitions in the tours and activities sector, which is largely focussed on cities. Major companies such as TUI are buying up smaller providers of cultural experiences, such as guided tours and itineraries. In many cases, in line with the growing interest in the everyday culture of cities, it is not just the traditional cultural institutions that are commodified in this process, but local life in general. Tourism has grown from a simplified distribution chain in which culture was one of the market niches offered by the tourism industry to being integrated with the places in which people stay – experiences are now co-created by tourists, residents and cultural intermediaries (Richards, 2011).

1.6 THE GROWTH OF TOURISM IN CITIES

Florida (2002) and others have argued that cities have become increasingly attractive to the mobile creative class who choose to locate in places that offer 'atmosphere'. Although Florida's approach has been widely criticised, there is also some support for the general idea that lively cities will

tend to attract the mobile middle class. Places that are attractive to live in are also argued to be attractive to visit, and one of the clearest signs of this is the growth of urban tourism, particularly to cities viewed as 'liveable', distinctive or atmospheric.

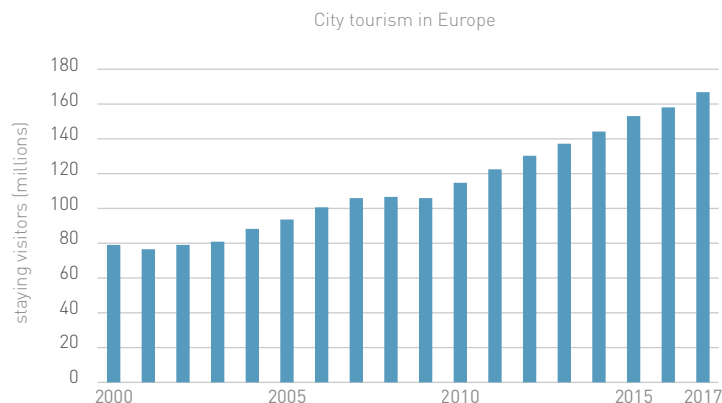
City tourism has been signalled as a major area of tourism growth and as a driver for urban cultural consumption for more than a decade (ETC/UNWTO, 2005). Various estimates indicate that city tourism in Europe and many other world regions is now growing faster than other segments of tourism (Table 1.2). According to IPK (2018) city tourism now accounts for 26% of all tourism trips, and it is growing at a rate of 16% a year annually. In Europe the growth rate is estimated to be even greater (20% per annum). Although much of the attention has been shed on the growth of international tourism, it should not be overlooked that there has also been significant growth in domestic tourism in many countries as well.

TABLE 1.2
TOURISM GROWTH IN WORLD REGIONS BY TOURISM SECTOR, JAN.– AUG. 2017 (IPK, 2018)

	GLOBAL	EUROPE	ASIA / PACIFIC	NORTH AMERICA	LATIN AMERICA
Total outbound trips	+6%	+5.5%	+5%	+7.5%	+5%
Holiday trips	+6%	+6%	+5%	+9%	+6%
City trips	+16%	+20%	+9%	+15%	+9%
Sun& beach holidays	+9%	+7%	+14%	+9%	-2%

Data reported by European cities also indicates that staying visitors have increased by around 112% between 2000 and 2017, with particularly sharp growth after 2009 (Figure 1.2). This compares with overall growth in international tourism of 71% in Europe over the same period. The slower rate of growth indicated by the data on staying visitors in registered accommodation points to two important trends: first the significant growth in day visitors in many cities and second the increase in informal accommodation capacity provided by Airbnb and similar 'collaborative economy' providers. Neither of these are accounted for in the 'official' city tourism statistics.

FIGURE 1.2
OVERNIGHT STAYS REPORTED BY A CONSISTENT SAMPLE OF EUROPEAN CITIES TO TOURISM, 2000-2017



As a result of the growing interest in local culture, the indications are that the very biggest cities are experiencing more competition from smaller cities such as Barcelona, Milan and Lyon (Richards, 2014). The city tourism data show that over the past decade smaller cities have been growing faster than larger cities. These trends are driven by a number of factors, including the growth of budget airlines (Richards and Duif, 2018).

Even though smaller cities have seen faster tourism growth in recent years, the bulk of all tourism activity is still found in bigger cities. An analysis of the relationship between city population and overnight stays indicates a very strong positive correlation ($r^2=0.798$). This means that about 80% of the variation in staying tourism can be accounted for by population size. The implication is that most tourists are also to be found in large cities (such as London and Paris), where they form a relatively small part of the overall population. Many of the negative impacts of tourism are therefore not just related to the absolute number of visitors in a city, but rather to their concentration in particular locations within the city.

The pressure on particular 'hotspots' in the city is a result of the growth and concentration of tourists around particular sites, but also to an increasing busyness in cities as a whole. For example, research in Barcelona indicates that not just international tourists visit the main tourists locations, but also domestic tourists, day visitors and local residents (Richards, 2016). Unable to differentiate between these groups, or to influence their behaviour in a targeted way, many cities opt for a policy of trying to spread tourism.

1.7 THE IMPACTS OF GROWING MOBILITY ON CITIES

As the Eurostat report on Urban Europe (2016) notes:

...in keeping with many aspects of urban development, tourism is a paradox, insofar as an increasing number of tourists in some towns and cities has resulted in congestion/saturation which may damage the atmosphere and local culture that made them attractive in the first place; it should be noted that this is not limited to urban tourism. Furthermore, while tourism has the potential to generate income which may be used to redevelop/regenerate urban areas, an influx of tourists can potentially lower the quality of life for local inhabitants, for example, through: higher levels of pollution and congestion; new retail formats replacing traditional commerce; increased prices; or increased noise. Venezia (Italy) and Barcelona (Spain) are two of the most documented examples of such issues.

In responding to the growing integration of culture and tourism, much attention has been focussed on the problems linked to 'massification' (development stimulated by intensified economic activity) or the more recent term 'overtourism' (indicating the presence of tourists beyond some nominal threshold of carrying capacity). Overtourism is a fairly simplistic view of a very complex issue, which basically lays the blame for the negative aspects of tourism growth on the tourists themselves. More tourists mean more noise, litter, inappropriate behaviour and similar problems. In some cases a link is made between the marketing policies of the cities themselves and particular styles of tourism, as Nuria Benach (2016) has argued in the case of Barcelona:

Putting “Barcelona on the map” has been the promotion strategy...it seems that “being on the map” is not just desirable, but unfailingly positive for all. The question is, however, what a map is and whose interest it serves. Tourist activity commodifies daily life and needs space to satisfy its desire for expansion...

She argues that this is effectively a new form of dispossession for the residents of Barcelona. A policy of selling the city to the world essentially boils down to selling the city to tourists, and prioritising their needs over those of locals. So a basic question becomes: who should have priority in the competition for scarce urban resources?

In many cities the policy response has also been fairly simplistic: to try and limit the immediate problems caused by tourists. This often relates to the control of Airbnb and other forms of unregulated accommodation, where a lack of social control is seen as stemming from the informal nature of the operation. Other measures have been taken to limit tourist crowding at major cultural sites, such as timed entry slots at busy sites such as the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam. Measures to address the challenges of tourism growth have also been evident in many other European cities (for example Barcelona, Lisbon and Rome) which are all facing similar challenges.

At present, much of the activity aimed at addressing the problem of permanent versus temporary citizenship has been undertaken at the level of individual cities, and has focussed more on issues of spatial control and regulation rather than the implications of a shared culture. Amsterdam, for example, has imposed a limit of 60 days on accommodation lettings via collaborative economy platforms such as Airbnb, and this will be reduced to 30 days in 2019. Such regulatory approaches can provide an answer to some of the problems in the accommodation sector, but accommodation is just one element of the problem. The relationship between tourism and culture is more complex, and involves facilities used by both continuous and temporary citizens and elements of tangible, intangible, fixed and mobile culture, with varying levels of accessibility to different social groups. This dynamic cultural landscape generates questions about the ‘right to the city’ (Harvey, 2008) and within this the cultural rights of different groups within the city. The discussion on ‘overtourism’ has so far concentrated on the ‘threats to culture and heritage’ from tourism (WTTC, 2017), but little has been said about the potential of using this discussion to initiate more positive approaches.

The changing relationship between culture and tourism has also been framed largely in terms of cultural institutions reacting to a dynamic tourism market. For example the OECD (2017) suggested that local government should promote a more positive relationship between culture and tourism in terms of:

- promoting museums locally, nationally and internationally
- mobilising its various resources in order to favour the accessibility of museums to visitors and tourists
- promoting coordination between local cultural institutions in supplying integrated programs in order to lengthen the stay of the visitors
- facilitating good cooperation between museums, tourism offices and the hospitality industry in order to prevent opportunism and unfair agreements on price
- Supporting an equilibrium between the needs of local audiences and tourists

In this view, cultural institutions are seen as resources that need to be promoted and made more accessible to tourists, and suggests that somehow the needs of locals are currently privileged over those of visitors. Even though the report also recognises that museums can provide knowledge resources, they are seen as playing a less than full role in local development at present.

Previous research in Barcelona has indicated a high level of support for cultural tourism, which is generally perceived as a 'good' form of tourism in contrast to others (Richards, 2001). But the level of overcrowding at many key cultural sites has begun to reveal a less positive side to cultural tourism, and in Barcelona this led to measures such as the levying of an entry charge to part of Park Güell, while in Rome tourist buses have been banned from the historic centre.

The key questions are how can the positive synergies between culture and tourism be developed for the good of all citizens, and how can the relationship between culture and tourism be most effectively managed to provide positive outcomes for all? How can cities move from a reactive stance on tourism to a proactive facilitation of tourism and culture synergies?

INTEGRATION OF TOURISM, CULTURE AND CREATIVITY

There are many indications that policies on culture and tourism are becoming increasingly intertwined.

At national level, Iceland has recently established a department of Tourism and Creative Industries, which aims to attract tourists to the country by showcasing Icelandic creativity, for example through events such as Hönnunarmars (DesignMarch), Reykjavík Fashion Festival, Aldrei fór ég suður, EVE Fanfest and Iceland Airwaves. Iceland is also home to the Creative Iceland platform, which allows visitors to 'Book authentic cultural and creative activities offered by local experts' (<http://creativeiceland.is/>). At city level the Department of Culture and Tourism is responsible for cultural affairs and the operation of Reykjavík's cultural institutions.

Many cities are now actively trying to link tourists and locals. "Tourist in your own city" is hosted by the City of Oslo, VisitOSLO and the Museums and Attractions of Oslo.

"The purpose of this annual event is to allow all inhabitants of Oslo to get better acquainted with their city's many exciting museums and attractions, as well as familiarizing themselves with one of Europe's leading networks of public transport. We hope this way to contribute to make everyone better equipped as good ambassadors for Oslo, as well as knowledgeable hosts for friends and family who come to visit."

In Brussels holograms of 500 local people have become attractions both for residents and visitors. This programme aims to "Show off the people, not just the sights" in an effort to counter the effects of the recent terrorist attacks in the city. A "holobooth" was set up in the Mont des Arts cultural district in central Brussels. Passers-by were invited to enter the booth and have their figures captured by a camera in 360. The image was then turned into a grey, statuesque hologram and projected as a five-metre-high silhouette onto a plinth.

Increasingly the integration of culture and tourism is driven not just by policy, but by the cultural and creative sectors as well. The Designer's Guide to London (2013) also provides recommendations from people in the design sector for people interested in creativity:

"But what is it about the city that attracts all this creative talent? What do these artists do and where do they go to keep them inspired? Well, we asked London-based designers to send in their hang-out recommendations and, after an overwhelming response, we've collated the information to create this awesome designer's guide to London."

Even though there is growing evidence of integration between culture and tourism, the indications are that considerable barriers remain between these two fields, and progress is slow. The challenges include the different 'languages' of the two sectors, their relatively traditional outlooks and the relative inflexibility of public administrations. In such a dynamic field, it is hard for cultural policies or actions to keep up with developments on the ground.

1.8 SHARING THE CITY

The priority seems to be not selling the city, or re-making it for tourists, but finding new ways of sharing the city and its success. Barcelona has sought to address this through changes in the civic codes and regulation of tourist facilities and the re-visioning of 'tourists' as 'temporary citizens', thereby seeking to shift the tourist from a pure consumer into a prosumer of culture.

The Barcelona City website also provides detailed information on tourism, arguing that "Shared knowledge is an essential tool in addressing the debate on tourism in the city. In this section, data is being made available to citizens, entities, companies and administrations." The portal aims to:

make information available to the general public, and all those people interested in tourism in Barcelona, concerning the initiatives undertaken by the City Council and the decisions arising from discussions between institutions, associations and other bodies, as well as offering statistical data that will provide a more detailed picture of the state of tourism in the city.

The overall aim is twofold:

- to make tourist activities more sustainable, increasing their positive impact on the city and managing any possible negative effects.
- to facilitate the integration of visitors, by fostering the necessary coexistence with residents and preserving the values of identity and social harmony.

The aim is clearly to develop a view of a city shared between the different groups that use it, primarily to increase the quality of life of residents. The Barcelona approach can be seen as an attempt to re-vision the relationship between culture, residents and tourists, and to move to a situation in which all share a proactive and beneficial relationship. This move correlates quite well with the developing debate about the 'right to the city', which has been simmering for decades (Harvey, 2008; Shields, 2013). The basis of this debate revolves around the notion of citizenship vs consumption. In other words, whether the right to the city is conferred by the state or the market.

Lefebvre (1995) tried to reconcile these two poles through the concept of the 'Citadins' or urban dwellers, which would:

make more practical the rights of the citizen as an urban dweller (citadin) and user of multiple services. It would affirm, on the one hand, the right of users to make known their ideas on the space and time of their activities in the urban area; it would also cover the right to the use of the center, a privileged place, instead of being dispersed and stuck into ghettos (for workers, immigrants, the "marginal" and even for the "privileged"). (Lefebvre, 1995, p. 34)

A right to the city enfranchises a new citizen, who is not simply a user of the city but a participant in its creation and interpretation. The 'citadin' has stronger ties to local community than to a national political community. This local actor is often found in the figure of the activist (Grazioli, 2017). The outsider can disrupt the status quo and create new sectors that operate outside the market (such as intellectual knowledge) or which privatized an undervalued common good (e.g., an insight, resource or space). Outsiders (immigrants, ex-pats, tourists) can therefore be important creators of value, but their ability to operate is dependent on the openness of the city. An interesting illustration of the change from traditional models of citizenship in the nation-state is given by the fact that only citizens of a country can usually vote in national elections, whereas people who are (temporally) resident in a city may only participate in local politics. Being a citizen used to roughly equate to the sedentary population. But now the city dweller is in perpetual motion, and social relations tend to become international, due to physical and virtual contacts.

One of the issues, as Lefebvre (2014) suggests, is that the post-industrial growth of cities shifted the role of the city centre from that of productive (and therefore working class) space to the role of consumption space, dominated by the middle class. The modern city failed to build new social relations to link the different parts of the city together, leaving many areas marginalised socially as well as spatially. But in recent years the growth of tourism and post-industrial industries such as finance have re-valued the city centre as a productive space, where the most visible industry is tourism. The co-incidence with attractive consumption spaces with the new productive power of tourism has led to the development of interstitial productive activities related to tourism. These activities are usually dominated by the same cosmopolitan groups as those that make up the majority of city-centre tourists.

It is striking that many of the new tourism intermediaries in Barcelona are foreigners. As Arias Sans and Quaglieri Domínguez (2016:219) note for example:

The knowledge of the Italian language is indicated in more than one fifth of Airbnb listings studied in Barcelona, whilst the proportion of Italian citizens in the whole resident population is relatively marginal. Most of the foreign residents active on Airbnb tend to be white, western middle class 'ex-pats' rather than being representative of the migrant population of the city as a whole.

Much of the recent innovation around tourist transport in Barcelona has also been led by European ex-pats. This includes the creation of a large number of bike hire companies, predominantly founded by Dutch migrants, and the Cooltra scooter hire company, founded by German brothers living in the uber-cool Gràcia neighbourhood (Richards, 2016). These ex-pats bring with them specific technical skills, but they also have the communication channels necessary to reach foreign markets in the countries of origin, which is far more difficult for most spatially, culturally

and linguistically embedded locals. The new resident is also often an entrepreneur, making a living from new combinations of elements of culture that are often invisible or unknown to the longer-term residents.

One of the most evident changes in the practice has been the shifting boundaries of the 'tourist' and the 'host' or 'local'. The rise of the mobilities paradigm has underlined the shift from highly directed to much more diffuse and widespread forms of tourist movement. Whereas in the past tourists were fairly easy to identify and localise through their relatively limited range of behaviours, today the concept of the tourist is much more difficult to define. Growing numbers of people travel for a wide range of reasons which may have little to do with the idea of a 'holiday'. Many people now travel with a mix of leisure and work or study motivations, such as ERASMUS students, lifestyle entrepreneurs or 'global nomads' (Kannisto, 2014). Again, these patterns emphasise the important role of expats in providing the conduits to the local buzz, particularly in cities.

Russo and Richards (2016) note the changing position of the 'local' in respect to tourism as a result of the growing importance of performativity and creativity in tourist practices. The positioning of the city as a field of both creative production and consumption (Scott, 2010; Florida, 2002) means a fundamental shift in the way in which culture is consumed by both locals and tourists and the ways in which these groups interact. The shift in the role of the city centre from a productive to a consumption space means that new narratives and spaces should be constructed to make it consumable. The process of narrative construction and spatial transformation is most evident in the rise of events, creative clusters and themes that link the physical space of the city to easily-recognisable narratives. On the one hand, there are attempts to create narratives related to local identity, giving a feeling of belonging and cohesion to residents, but this is usually mirrored by narratives aimed at developing external distinctiveness and boosting place image. These processes are not entirely new, as the reconstruction of the Barri Gotic in Barcelona in the 1920s and 1930s attests (Ganau, 2008). But they have gained pace in recent years, particularly as the shift from Culture 2.0 to Culture 3.0 has created more diversity in the ways that cities can be culturally experienced. Narrative creation has changed from a predominantly top-down process, controlled by the local or national state, into a multidimensional top-down and bottom-up experience development process.

The fragmentation of the previous monolithic narratives of city space and identity means that the city is increasingly experienced in different ways by different groups and individuals. In the case of Krakow, for example, Pawlusiński & Kubal (2018) show how the previous focus on built heritage in the city centre is now being supplemented with 'creative tourism' experiences that draw on a wide range of different narratives, including the Jewish history of the city and the development of socialist housing estates. Marwick (2018) notes that similar processes have been kick-started in the Maltese city of Valletta through the re-framing of place and community in the European Cultural Capital for 2018. This diversification of narratives offers the possibility of shifting some visitor attention to new locations and linking these to the daily lives of residents. In this situation, there is also more possibility of residents and tourists encountering each other and developing co-creation processes.

In particular, major cities have become places where different groups of relatively mobile cosmopolitans meet with the relatively sedentary 'locals'. As Russo and Quaglieri-Domínguez (2012) have pointed out in the case of Barcelona.

It is up to the cities and regions to accommodate such diversity and nurture the social and cultural connections or 'atmospheric' elements that determine their capacity to offer a distinct and stimulating atmosphere where, according to the logic of experience marketing, ordinary activities are transformed in memorable experiences.

There is also evidence that the 'local' population is also actively involved in this reproduction of the everyday. Research in Barcelona shows that 47% of local residents have provided accommodation to friends and relatives in the past year, supplementing the more commercial spaces provided via Airbnb and the hospitality exchange possibilities of Couchsurfing. Most of these residents also act as an information source, with 98% giving recommendations about what to visit (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2015).

Even Airbnb is a proponent of the shared city. Brian Chesky, one of the founders of Airbnb recently spoke about the 'shared city'. "We are committed to enriching cities and designing the kind of world we want to live in. Together, let's build that shared world city by city." Sharing with strangers is one of the cultural practices currently being shaped by the collaborative or sharing economy. It is therefore important that cities are also actively involved in these processes.

The involvement of Airbnb in discussions about the shared city underlines the fact that the notion of sharing can be interpreted in many different ways. Essentially cities have always been spaces shared between different groups, but as space becomes more scarce, discussions about who should have priority begin to grow. This is particularly interesting in the sphere of tourism, because the 'right to the city' can also be measured against the 'right to tourism'. This is a concept promoted by the UNWTO, arguably to protect vested interests in the tourism industry (Gascón, 2016). But the right to tourism can be used to suggest that individuals exercising a certain style of mobility (tourists) have the right to consume the culture of other (relatively sedentary) populations, or elements designated as 'world heritage'. In this way the right to tourism can come to limit the cultural rights of the peoples who are visited, essentially giving mobile populations more rights than the sedentary residents.

1.9 ISSUES IN THE SHARED CITY

The idea of sharing the city is an attractive one, but it is not without its challenges. Sharing supposes a level of interaction, communication and trust between different users of the city. Agyeman and McLaren (2017) argue that whole cities can act as shared spaces, and that sharing can have positive outcomes, because:

- Humans are natural sharers
- Sharing Cities Prioritize Social Justice
- Sharing increases trust and collaboration

They see in the act of sharing cities not only a "Right to the City" and the urban commons but a right to remake them. This also implies that the act of sharing essentially eliminates the binary division between resident and visitor, between home and away.

In order to share the culture of the city and to co-create ideas about the city, there has to be a

certain degree of porosity to the urban fabric. In terms of cities, porosity refers to the spaces available for interaction. These are primarily, but not exclusively, public spaces. The balance between public space and other types of space (personal, intimate, social) is a mirror of social relations (Madanipour, 2003). The notion of public space supposes access, which can take different forms, including access to physical spaces, activities in those spaces, information about them and resources. Public space is essentially outside the control of individuals or small groups, making a supposedly equal space that all have access to.

Sennett (1977) decried the decline of public life in cities, arguing that the street was being replaced by the living room as the site of social interaction. In fact, rather than a physical decline in the use of public space, social space in cities is thriving, and that as public space becomes more crowded, the more pressure there is to control it. Various factors in recent decades have tended to increase the pressure on limited public space, including the growth of urban populations, the resurgence of inner-city areas, increased mobility and the growth of tourism. Nagel (1995) sees the boundary between public space and other types of space as important, because public space is managed through conventions, and private spaces are more free. This distinction goes to the heart of current debates about the relationships between residents and tourists. As the locus of tourist activity moves from public space (or in the context of accommodation from commercial space to the private space of the home), so the tourist is entering more intimate and 'free' areas of space, away from public convention and commercial surveillance.

So the relationship between culture and tourism in cities involves a double problematisation of space. On the one hand, the fact that tourists add to pressure on the public spaces of the city, and on the other, that the movement of tourist consumption into 'new' private and intimate spaces of residents is generating new relationalities. This process is particularly visible in the distinctive context of neighbourhoods within the city, because these provide the basis for local identities and intimacies as well as feeding the tourist desire for new experiences of the everyday. One particular problem revolves around the types of neighbourhoods that are popular with residents as well as mobile groups. The cultural dominance of the centre established under Culture 2.0 is now being strengthened by tourism and new (international) residents attracted by the culture/openness of inner city locations. On the other hand, the urban periphery is suffering from fragmentation and problems of accessibility, which also make these areas less attractive to outsiders.

In the case of Copenhagen, Szilvia Gyimóthy (2018) emphasises the role of Airbnb in strengthening such patterns. The highest densities of peer accommodation rental are located in the city centres and around major attractions, although there is also some indication of Airbnb's "beaten track" extending to residential areas. New tourism nodes are clustered around "localhoods" and reframe tourism consumption around mundane activities, leading to the commodification of everyday life. The Airbnb 'host' plays the role of making these new areas accessible to tourism consumption. In many cases, as Arias Sans and Domínguez (2016) also note in Barcelona, these intermediaries are themselves relatively mobile ex-pats, (temporary) residents who give new eyes to the sedentary and mobile populations alike. As Franquesa (2011) points out, the immobility of the 'local' is recursively produced by the mobility of the tourist. So even relatively mobile individuals, such as ex-pats, can become 'local' thanks to the fast track mobility of the tourist. These individuals are often found acting as guides to the local culture for visitors from their former home countries in cities such as Barcelona and Amsterdam.

A STROLL IN LISBON

Lisbon is a fascinating city for students of the new 'tourbanism', because the sheer pace of change has outstripped anything that even Barcelona can offer. Only a few years ago Lisbon was relatively untouched by the growth in city tourism, sheltered by higher flight prices and a severe recession that limited development. Taking a stroll in the Principe Real district of the city in May 2017 shows how much has changed in just a few years. On a Saturday morning the street market is in full swing, complete with craft beer stall and artists painting the street scene. Tourists wander between stalls selling home-made jam, dried fruit and waffles. Further down the street there is a brand new open-fronted restaurant serving sparkling wine to a group of tourists sprawling across the pavement. They have been delivered by jeeps belonging to the 'We hate Tourists' tour company. Obviously, they don't hate all tourists, because the inside of the restaurant is also crammed with them. This scene contrasts with the small, dark restaurant next door, where the menu is only in Portuguese and where the staff serve simple food to a mix of curious visitors and local pensioners. One regular guest waits patiently as the waiter puts a bright red bib carefully around his neck, making small talk as he does so. Walking down the hill towards the Avenida da Liberdade there are more signs that everyday life still survives among the tourist throng. A small park is dressed up for local festivities for Saint Anthony, patron saint of the city. A whole pig is slowly roasting over an open fire and families are eating at long tables. The smell of sardines, the traditional food of the festa, hangs in the air. A bit further on, we encounter the empty shells of old buildings being gutted for desirable residential developments, the facades staring blindly at the cranes looming overhead. Spilling onto the Avenida itself we encounter the police, busy blocking off the roads for a demonstration due to be held that afternoon. People were demonstrating about lack of jobs and growing job insecurity, which seemingly go hand in hand with the growth of new tourism models. Among the interested spectators is a file of tourist jeeps, wending their way through Lisbon in a leisurely urban safari.

This single stroll reveals the scale of the changes being wrought in Lisbon, just as in other cities. But the changes are not simply due to tourism alone. There is a heady cocktail of property speculation, gentrification, globalisation, migration and cosmopolitanism that is increasingly infusing cities across Europe. (Source: Richards, 2018).

1.10 BLENDING IN?

Is it possible to create a new notion of the shared city, where sedentary and mobile populations create and consume culture together? As Lim and Bouchon (2017) suggest:

The boundaries between tourists and residents are becoming less visible in global enclaves of consumption and production. This encounter could be called "blending of practices" and be conceptualized to understand trends affecting urban tourism..... Conventionally, tourism has been seen as a separate activity and tourists as a separate group, with particular demands and interests differing from city residents.

This idea of separation is now changing, as Richards (2016) shows in the case of Barcelona, where the tourist is in search of the local, and the local also engages in 'tourism in their own city'. But as Lim and Bouchon argue, the integration of mobile population with the local is more complex than expected.

In some cases, visitors are still perceived as "strangers" and create resentment because locals are competing for the same space. Language and culture remains strong gradients of differentiation between locals and visitors. The blending-in of residents and tourists leisurely practices echoes the quest for off-the-beaten tracks sceneries and activities... City experience is for a growing part of visitors an immersion into the residents' daily life, with the excitement of being part, or feeling like to be part of the city. Cities present discrepancies between the institutionalized tourism spaces and products and the hybrid forms of tourism practices. To conclude, it should be said that a city's quality of life for residents is likely to have the highest impact on visitors and later repeat visits rather than just attractions that will not create a high personal relationship with the city. ...

Very often the challenge is that of embedding. Embedding a diversity of people and their diverse practices in the city in such a way that collective benefits are generated. One problem is that movement and mobility are the new badges of rank in the developed world. This mobility produces interesting new challenges: for example, how do new residents feel at home in a new city? One of the potential advantages of tourism is the increasingly relational basis of tourism practices. We visit cities because of the local people and the opportunity to live like them, rather than just to look at them. In this sense, as Madanipour (2003) suggests, the theatrical metaphor of public space as a stage is weakened as the audience also begins to play a role on the stage of the city (just as they increasingly do in the theatre).

For cities, this situation places an increasing emphasis on what Richards and Delgado (2003) termed 'trusting spaces', where the users of specific spaces can come together and develop relationships of greater or lesser duration. This in turn facilitates the sharing of knowledge and skills, strengthening the practice of relationality itself. Disembedded trust (being able to trust strangers) and bridging capital enable communities to draw on a wider range of knowledge, skills and creative resources than would have been possible previously. Traditional systems of cultural production based on the face to face exchange of cultural information have been supplemented by new systems of exchange via social media and other information systems. Whereas in the past the key to developing sustainable cultural practices was to ensure that all members of the community engaged in more or less the same types of cultural practice (having enough people to build castells, or run the local festival), now places can increasingly call on a pool of 'temporary citizens' to supplement the permanent reservoir of cultural labour. The Creative Tourism Barcelona platform provides many examples of how the temporary citizens of Barcelona contribute to the cultural life of the city, such as the temporary residents who are now members of the Castellers de Gràcia.

The 'local' has been taking on the position of a collaborative marker of authenticity that is co-created between residents (including temporary residents) and visitors. This tends to shift the focus of tourism activity away from the traditional public spaces of the city towards the private and interstitial spaces of the home, the atelier or the hostel. Consumers are also becoming more skilled, and the gap between producer and consumer is narrowing. Because the consumption of

tourism increasingly involves the everyday, the types of skills required become more closely aligned to skills gained from other fields, enabling an expansion of the provision of such experiences by those with no experience of tourism. There has also been a vast increase in peer-to-peer provision of information and skill development, such that the professional gatekeeping function has become far less important. The core competence is no longer understanding of the tourist, but understanding the communities tourists come from. This has positioned ex-pats as particularly useful collaborative tourism intermediaries.

1.11 THE SUSTAINABILITY OF CULTURE

This discussion of the relationship between relatively mobile and sedentary populations in the city begins to pose important questions about the sustainability of urban cultures. As Agenda 21 for Culture states:

Cities and local spaces are a privileged setting for cultural invention which is in constant evolution, and provide the environment for creative diversity, (with) encounters amongst everything that is different and distinct (origins, visions, ages, genders, ethnic groups and social classes)....

This is an important commitment to cultural dynamics and diversity, which are necessarily linked to cultural exchange and open contacts between people of different origins. This is a process that is arguably stimulated by the growth of tourism, as it enables people from many different backgrounds to encounter cities and cultural places. At the same time, the traditional movement of tourists is a challenge for diversity, because the need to consume culture quickly and easily is a driver for simplification and the superficial presentation of cultural phenomena. Without a deeper understanding of the culture around them, mobile populations, and tourists in particular, will take away their own (fleeting) impressions, but may lack understanding of what they see. This raises questions about how they can contribute to the value and valuing of cultural assets. At the moment the measure of value is usually economic, measured in tickets sold and visitors counted. This is unlikely to reflect the diversity of cultural values embodied in these assets, and may not actively contribute to the wider sustainability of local cultural expressions.

But framed another way, the temporary citizen is also the bringer of new cultural influences and creative impulses. This is evident in many cities from the creation of street art by 'street artists in residence' and other mobile creatives who add colour and their own vision to the urban fabric.

In the final analysis, the question of sustainability revolves around the legacy that current generations of permanent and temporary citizens are able to leave for future generations. In the case of culture, this includes not just the physical legacy of museums and monuments (which to some extent can be protected from the streams of tourists) but also the living legacy of a dynamic urban culture. If cultural policies are not capable of supporting and defending the vitality, diversity and dynamism of local cultures, then the relationship between culture and tourism will not be sustainable in the long term.

1.12 CONCLUSIONS

The picture that emerges from this first part of the research is far more complex than contemporary debates about ‘overtourism’ would suggest. As Benach (2106) argues, it is not the tourist who is the source of the problem, but their casting in the new role as urban stranger. Cities are seeing a new drawing of lines between insiders and outsiders that is catching the relatively mobile on one side of the line and relatively sedentary groups on the other. One of the major challenges for cities is to reframe the negative discourse of tourism into a more positive and proactive formulation of ‘temporary citizens’, who then also become legitimate subjects of cultural policy, rather than just tourism marketing.

The search for a more positive articulation between cultural policy and more mobile populations involves a number of challenges:

- Finding effective ways of managing public space and reconciling competing demands upon it. This is not a new challenge, but one that has been given additional urgency with the rapid growth of tourism.
- Combating the serial reproduction of culture – the conscription of cultural facilities and narratives into the articulation of cities with global markets has increased the hollowing out of cultural meaning and the proliferation of global cultural brands. These are also often seen as directly competing with local cultural production.
- Cities need to deal with the fragmentation of culture and cultural consumption, which makes it more difficult to communicate with cultural consumers, or permanent and temporary citizens.
- The fragmentation of culture has also multiplied the frames applied to culture, particularly in terms of the growth of events, cultural and creative clusters and creative platforms. There is a need to load these new temporal and spatial frames with new meanings that appeal to a wide range of potential users.
- Changing attitudes to outsiders and certain forms of mobility that can also potentially restrict mobility related to cultural production, consumption and exchange.

At the same time there are also a number of opportunities presented by the current situation:

- The rise of the sharing city, which can create new connections between people based not on ownership or economic exchange, but on other forms of relationality
- Using the growing pool of ‘temporary residents’ to provide a bridge between local and global culture, and to diversify the cultural and creative offer.
- To tap into the flow of temporary citizens to produce and consume culture.
- To position culture as a transversal tool that can help to overcome barriers and ‘silo thinking’ in the management of cities.

Mobile populations, as groups who are almost always ‘out of the box’, can stimulate cities to think about their relationships with less mobile groups as well.

PART 2.

CULTURE AND TOURISM IN THE CITY CASE STUDIES

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The review of the state of the art regarding the relationship between culture and tourism in cities presented in Part 1 of the report has given some general, largely theoretical pointers. The second part of the analysis centres on the practical experience of cities in this field. The basis of the report consists of a review of cities with a similar profile and/or challenges to Barcelona.

The reference cities for the study are:

- **Amsterdam**, in the Netherlands, which has been proactive in developing policies to stimulate cultural participation in city neighbourhoods and re-direct the flows of tourists, also by using new technologies.
- **Lisbon**, Portugal, which is a city developing extremely rapidly and provides an example of the challenges of effective planning and the need to conserve local identities in the face of globalisation.
- **Rome**, Italy, which has been plagued with many problems of civic management, which tourism only adds to. The city is dealing with the weight of its considerable heritage at the same as trying to stimulate contemporary cultural development and improve the accessibility of culture.
- **Copenhagen**, the capital of Denmark, which is developing 'Localhoods' as tourist attractions, has used noise and zoning laws to keep tourism from getting out of control, and has a strategy of getting tourists to blend in.
- **Montréal**, Quebec, in Canada was chosen as a point of comparison outside Europe. Montréal is interesting for its long history of promoting cultural tourism, the growing importance of the creative industries and new technologies and the unique position of the French language.

These cities are broadly comparable in terms of scale, their important cultural assets and the recent rapid growth of tourism. Although direct comparisons are often difficult, the cities offer a range of different perspectives on the relationship between culture and tourism that can be instructive. Including cities from northern and southern Europe gives opportunities to look at the effects of different economic and cultural contexts, as well as contrasting cities with longer experience of tourism development (especially Rome) with those with more recent experience (Copenhagen). In addition, these cities also often see each other as peers and look to each other in both culture and tourism. For example, the *Strategic Plan* for Lisbon Tourism (ATL) includes international benchmarking with 10 cities, including Amsterdam, Barcelona and Copenhagen.

In each of these cities the research team collected both primary and secondary data on the relationship between cultural policy and tourism. First, a review was undertaken of available policy documents, reports, publications and secondary data relating to cultural policy and tourism. This enabled us to build a contextual overview of the different cities and their development in the two fields. Secondly, interviews were conducted with key actors in each of the cities, including representatives of public authorities, industry bodies, academics and researchers in the cultural and tourism fields. A total of 16 interviews were conducted, either in person or via Skype or telephone (see Appendix 1 for a list of interviewees). The precise content of the interviews varied according to the background and knowledge of the respondent, but in general the following subjects were covered:

- Cultural policy – cultural policy, cultural consumption trends, cultural facilities, cultural administration and funding
- Tourism policy – tourism policy, current trends in demand and supply, context, position, administrative structure
- Linkages between culture and tourism, including governance issues
- The position of tourists in the city (as consumers and producers of culture, temporary citizens, etc)
- Strategies for the future

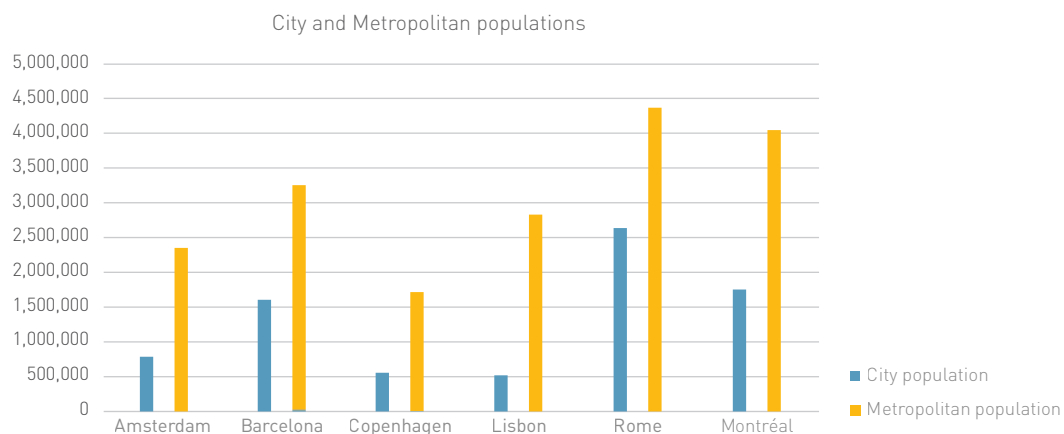
In the following section some basic comparisons are made between the case study cities, and with Barcelona.

2.2 THE CITIES IN CONTEXT

One thing that all the cities have in common is that they play an important role in both the cultural and tourism fields. They are national or regional capitals that play a pivotal role in attracting flows of investment, finance, labour, knowledge and visitors. Much of their attractiveness stems from their role as cultural hubs, with Rome positioning itself as ‘the world capital of culture’ (Roma Capitale, 2016) and Montréal seeing itself as a ‘cultural metropolis’.

In terms of size, the cities range between 500,000 and 2,500,000 inhabitants. The population of the city proper is often misleading, however, because the central municipalities tend to be surrounded by considerable satellite populations that fall outside the administrative boundaries of the city. In most of the cities the metropolitan population is two or three times bigger than the city itself. In the case of Lisbon, however, the city is a single municipality which only has 530,000 residents, but it is the heart of the Lisbon metropolitan region (18 municipalities) that houses 2.8 million people, or five times the population of the city. This means that the comparisons between the cities should be approached with a degree of caution.

FIGURE 2.1
POPULATION OF THE CASE STUDY CITIES AND THE METROPOLITAN AREAS

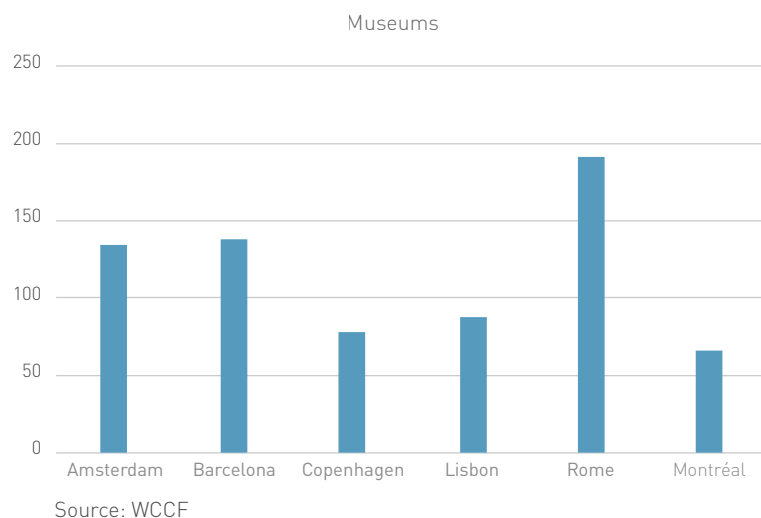


2.2.1 Culture and creativity

These large urban centres all offer a rich and varied range of cultural facilities and activities. Although it is difficult to directly compare the cultural offer because of differences in size, location and history, some sources are available that have tried to produce comparative cultural data. We have drawn on data from a number of sources, including the World Cities Culture Report 2012-2014, the European Cultural and Creative Cities Monitor (2017), Eurostat data from the database Urban Europe statistics on cities, towns and suburbs (2016), and data from the individual cities on their tourism and cultural supply and activities.

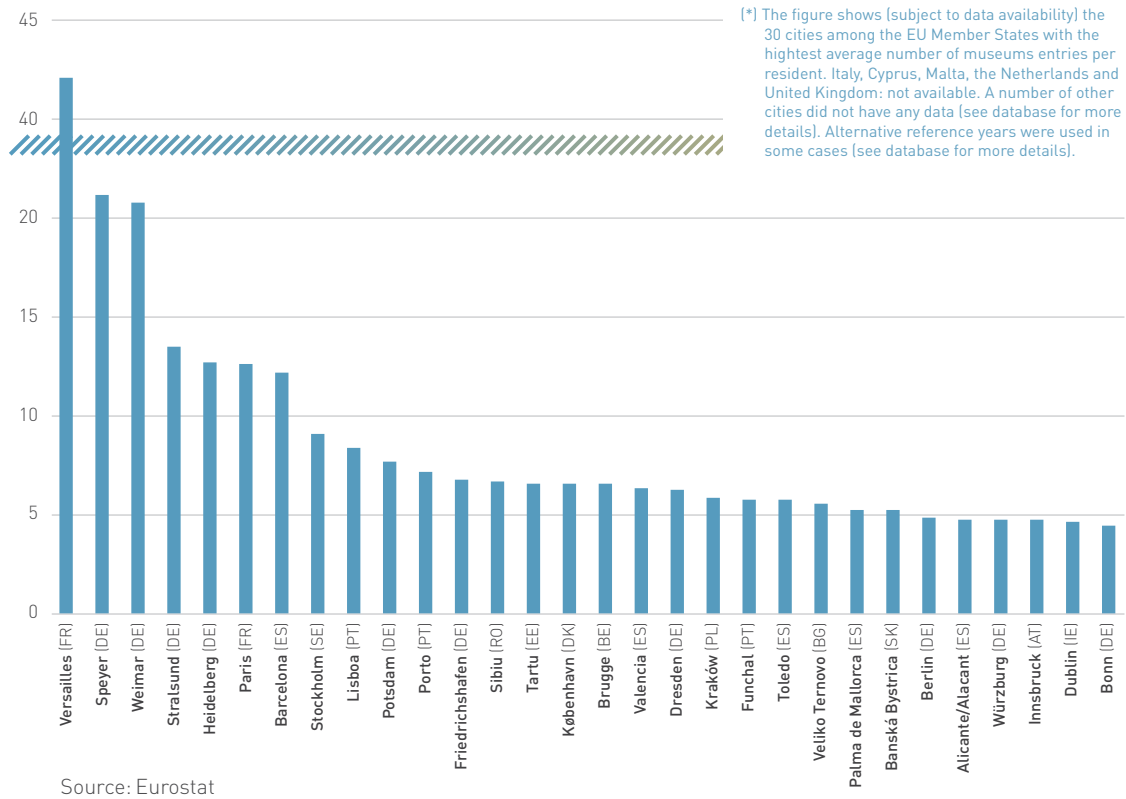
Most of the cities have a considerable built heritage and a large number of museums, often including national institutions which are not run by the city directly. Rome in particular stands out as having a rich cluster of museums. Museums are usually a key attraction for visitors as well as an essential cultural and knowledge resources for residents, and this is reflected in high visitor numbers. In Barcelona, for example, there were 7.8 million museum visitors in 2016, 73% of whom were international visitors, and a further 9% were domestic visitors from outside Barcelona (ICUB, 2015). Amsterdam had 13 million museum visitors in 2016 and Copenhagen, 3.6 million visitors.

FIGURE 2.2
NUMBER OF MUSEUMS IN CASE STUDY CITIES



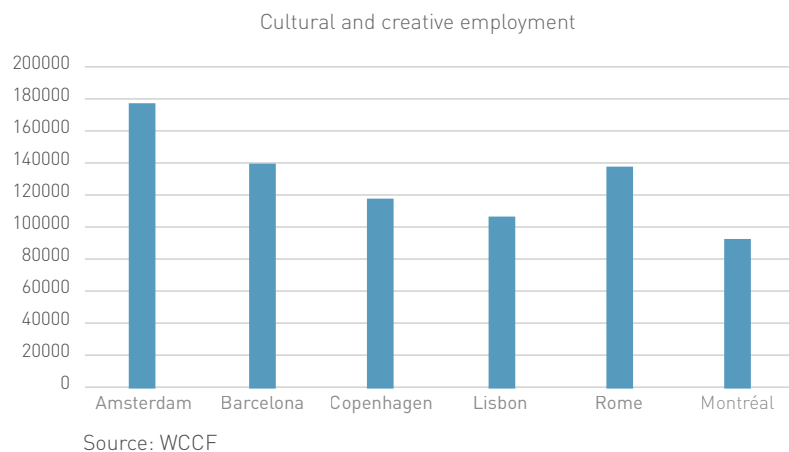
Data from Eurostat also indicate that cities such as Barcelona, Lisbon and Copenhagen have a very high level of museum visits relative to the resident population (Figure 2.3). This underlines the potential of tourism to increase cultural demand, enabling cities to support a supply of cultural facilities in excess of that which could be supported by the resident population alone.

FIGURE 2.3
AVERAGE NUMBER OF MUSEUM ENTRIES RELATIVE TO THE SIZE OF THE RESIDENT POPULATION, SELECTED CITIES, 2013 (VISITS PER RESIDENT)



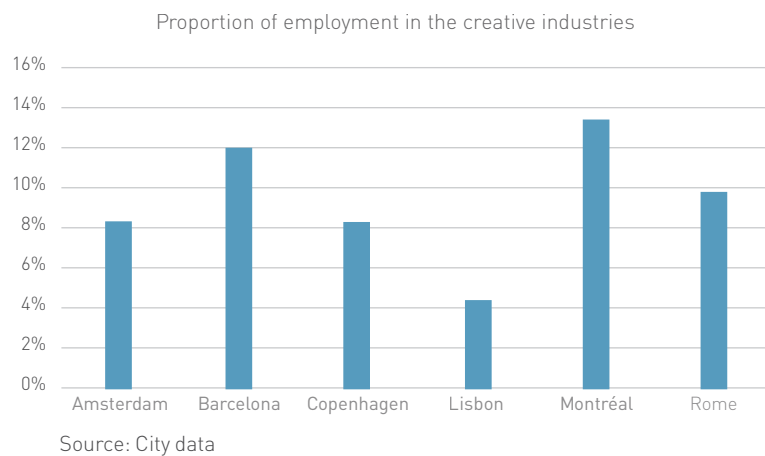
The presence of cultural institutions also has an important impact on the economy and employment. Because these figures are drawn from different sources, often employing different definitions, it is difficult to make direct comparisons between the cities. But all of the cities have a significant cultural and creative sector, employing tens of thousands of people. The cultural and creative sectors attract and generate flows of people, both as producers and consumers.

FIGURE 2.4
CULTURAL AND CREATIVE EMPLOYMENT IN THE CASE STUDY CITIES (NUMBER OF JOBS)



In general Montréal and Barcelona stand out as having a particularly high proportion of creative employment, whereas Lisbon seems to have a particularly low level. Even in Lisbon, however, creative employment in the city is higher than the national average (3.3%).

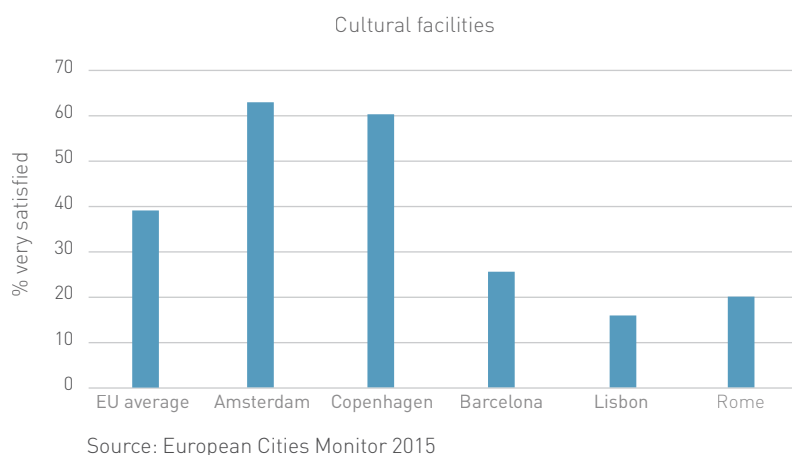
FIGURE 2.5
CREATIVE INDUSTRY EMPLOYMENT AS A PROPORTION OF THE TOTAL EMPLOYMENT IN THE CASE STUDY CITIES



2.2.2 Culture and the quality of life

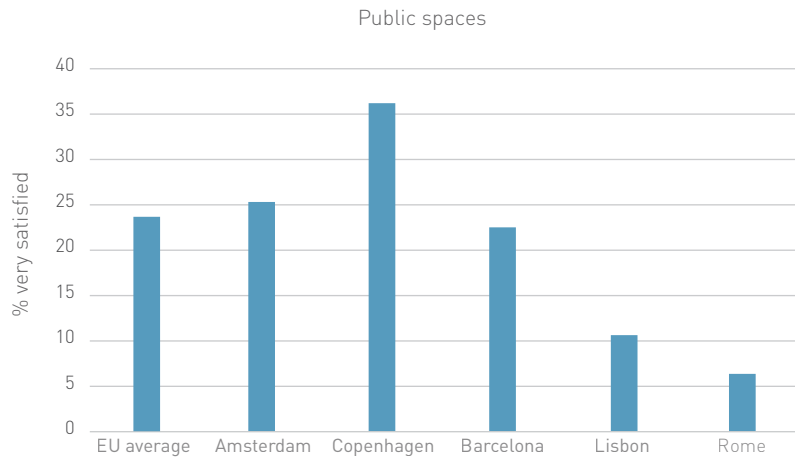
Culture is also a vital part of the overall quality of life of the cities, as illustrated by data from the 2015 report on European Cities by Eurostat. The data show that residents' overall satisfaction with life in the European case cities is significantly positively related to both the presence of cultural facilities such as concert halls, theatres, museums and libraries ($r^2=0.287$) and with the quality of public space ($r^2=0.296$). But it is evident there are significant differences between the cities in terms of access to culture and other aspects of quality of life. Satisfaction with cultural facilities in Amsterdam and Copenhagen is much higher than the EU average, whereas in southern European cities satisfaction levels are lower. There are clearly structural and cultural factors at play here, including different levels of historical and current cultural investment.

FIGURE 2.6
RESIDENT SATISFACTION WITH CULTURAL FACILITIES IN THE CASE STUDY CITIES



There are also large variations in satisfaction with public space, but in this case Barcelona is closer to Amsterdam and Copenhagen and just under the EU average.

FIGURE 2.7
SATISFACTION WITH PUBLIC SPACE IN THE CASE STUDY CITIES

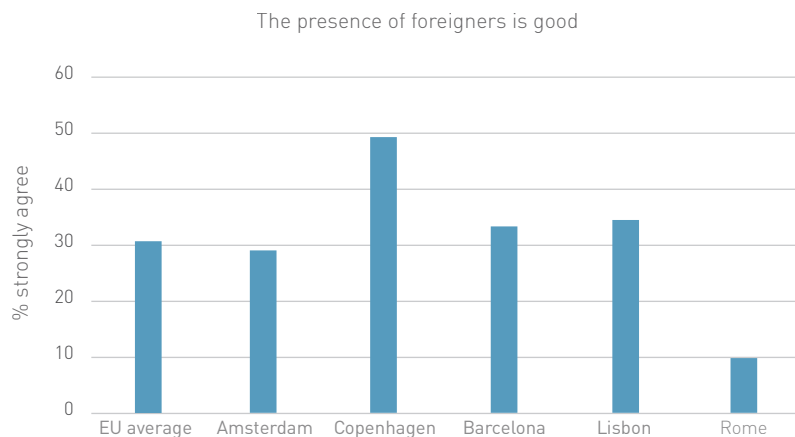


Source: European Cities Monitor 2015

2.2.3 Relationship to foreigners

One indication of the openness of a city is the acceptance of foreigners. In this regard, Copenhagen stands out as a relatively tolerant European city, with Amsterdam, Barcelona and Lisbon all being close to the EU average of 31% strongly agreeing that foreigners are good for their city. Rome, on the other hand, seems to reflect the more negative attitudes to migration that have surfaced in Italian politics in recent years.

FIGURE 2.8
AGREEMENT THAT THE PRESENCE OF FOREIGNERS IS GOOD FOR THE CITY BY CASE STUDY CITY

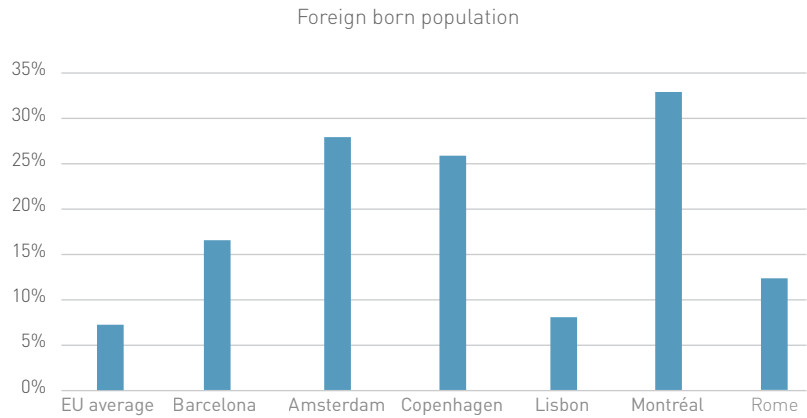


Source: European Cities Monitor 2015

There is a tendency for migrants to gravitate to larger cities, and all of the case study cities have a higher proportion of foreign-born residents than the EU average (7%). But attitudes to foreigners are not directly related to the physical presence of foreign born citizens. Copenhagen has the most positive attitude towards the presence of foreign born residents, even though 26% of the population comes from another country. Rome has less than half this proportion of foreign residents, but

the level of respondents strongly agreeing that the presence of foreigners is good for their city is around one fifth of the level in Copenhagen. Factors that may explain these differences include cultural influences, different political contexts, the speed of migration growth (particularly rapid in southern European cities such as Rome, Barcelona and Lisbon), and the source of migrant communities.

FIGURE 2.9
PROPORTION OF FOREIGN BORN RESIDENTS IN CASE STUDY CITIES

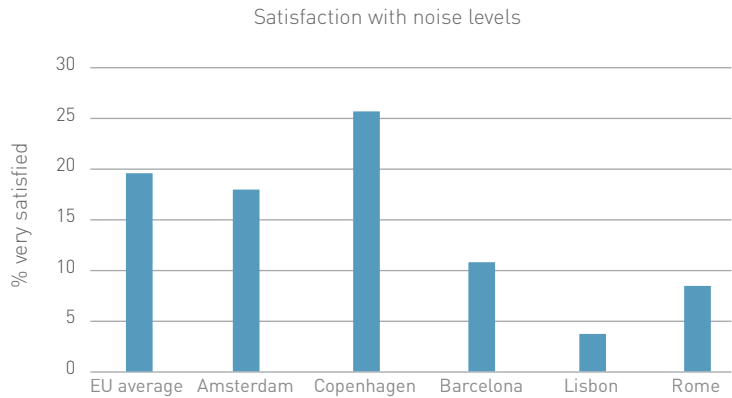


Source: European Cities Monitor 2015

2.2.4 Noise, safety and trust

Problems with noise tend to be greatest in city centres, which also attract the greatest concentrations of tourists. For example, residents of the city of Lisbon are significantly less satisfied with noise levels (45% satisfied) compared with respondents from the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (66%). Satisfaction with noise levels in these relatively busy cities tends to be low. Only Copenhagen is above the EU average, with Amsterdam just below average. Barcelona, Lisbon and Rome have much lower levels of satisfaction with noise. This is perhaps not surprising, given that 'It appears that EU cities are noisier than before, as the noisiest areas become noisier and the quieter areas become less quiet' (Raimbault & Dubois, 2005, p.339).

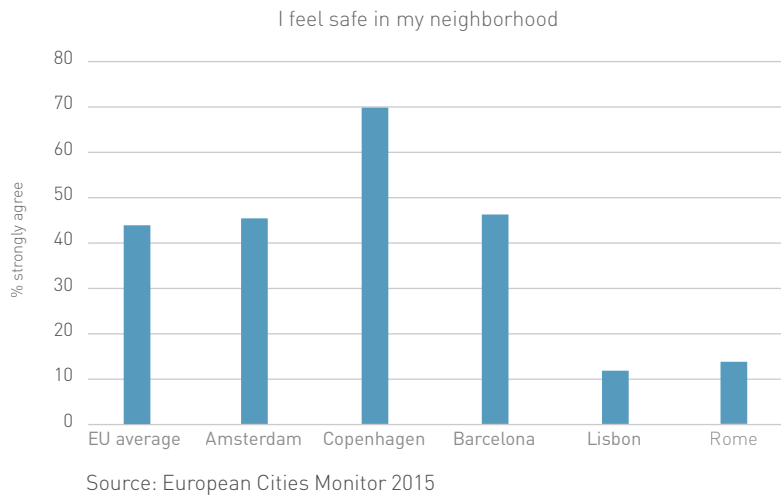
FIGURE 2.10
SATISFACTION WITH NOISE LEVELS IN CASE STUDY CITIES



Source: European Cities Monitor 2015

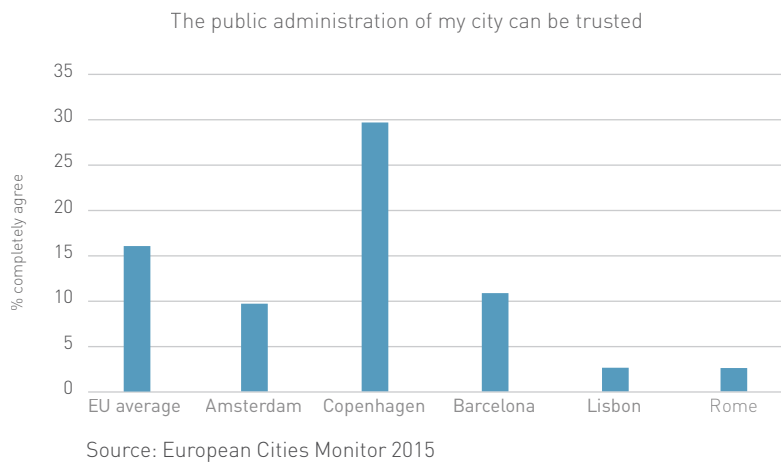
One of the issues raised by residents complaining about the growth of tourism is lack of safety. Copenhagen is the city with highest levels of people reporting they feel safe in their own neighbourhood, and Lisbon and Rome have notably lower levels.

FIGURE 2.11
PERCEIVED NEIGHBOURHOOD SAFETY IN CASE STUDY CITIES



To implement any policies effectively, cities need to have the support and engagement of citizens. In recent years levels of trust in public administrations or the overall system of government has been declining across Europe. Overall, only 15% of EU city dwellers completely agreed that their administration can be trusted. Of the case study cities, only Copenhagen scores higher than this.

FIGURE 2.12
TRUST IN THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN CASE STUDY CITIES

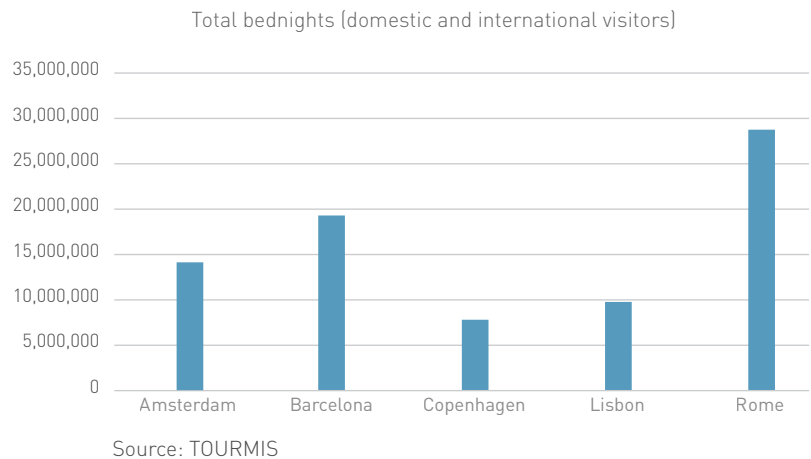


2.3 TOURISM IN THE CASE STUDY CITIES

One of the common features of all the cities is that they attract large numbers of visitors both from their national markets and abroad. Figures on tourism in European cities are generally available

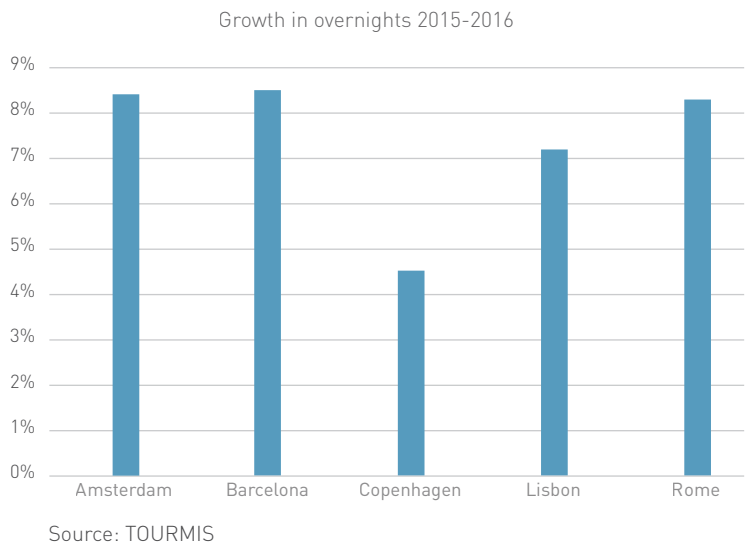
for the number of overnight stays in registered accommodation. This does not measure the impact of unregistered accommodation (including Airbnb for example), or of day visitors. Rome has by far the largest number of tourist bednights (over 28 million in 2016).

FIGURE 2.13
TOTAL BEDNIGHTS IN REGISTERED ACCOMMODATION IN EUROPEAN CITIES



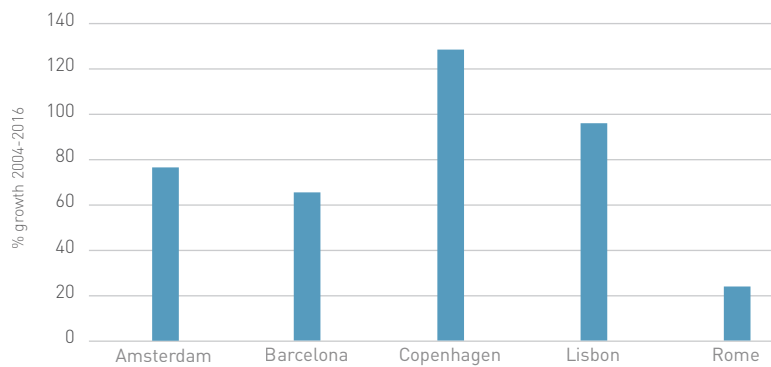
All the case study cities have experienced significant tourism growth in recent years, in line with the expansion of city tourism noted in Part 1 of the report. With the exception of Copenhagen, all the cities grew by around twice the level of growth of global tourism in 2016 (4%).

FIGURE 2.14
GROWTH IN OVERNIGHT STAYS IN THE CASE STUDY CITIES, 2015-2016



Another common factor has been the sustained levels of growth in city centre tourism in recent years. Between 2004 and 2016, overnights in Copenhagen and Lisbon more or less doubled (but starting from a lower base than the other cities), Amsterdam and Barcelona both added more than 60%, and only Rome, with a modest 20% growth, lagged behind (although this also reflects the historically higher levels of tourism in Rome).

FIGURE 2.15
CUMULATIVE TOURISM GROWTH IN THE PERIOD 2004-2016



Source: TOURMIS

In terms of international tourism, the Mastercard Global Destination Cities Index 2017 shows that all the cities have increasing numbers of international tourists, with growth between 2012 and 2016 ranging from 7% in Rome to 38% in Lisbon. It is also clear that Barcelona, Amsterdam and Rome attract much larger numbers of international tourists than Copenhagen, Lisbon and Montréal, underlying their longer history of developing international tourism.

FIGURE 2.16
INTERNATIONAL TOURISM GROWTH

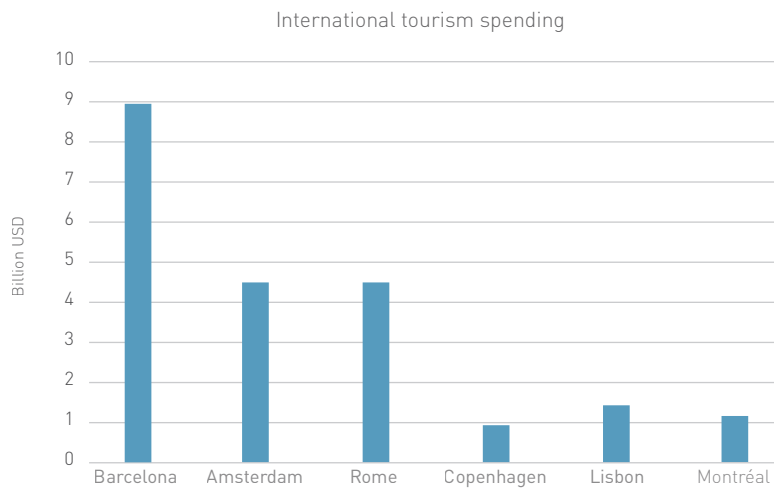


Source: Mastercard Global Destination Cities Index 2017

■ Copenhagen
 ■ Lisbon
 ■ Rome
■ Montréal
 ■ Amsterdam
 ■ Barcelona

International tourism also accounts for a significant economic impact in all of the case study cities. Again, there is a significant difference between Barcelona, Amsterdam, Rome and the other cities.

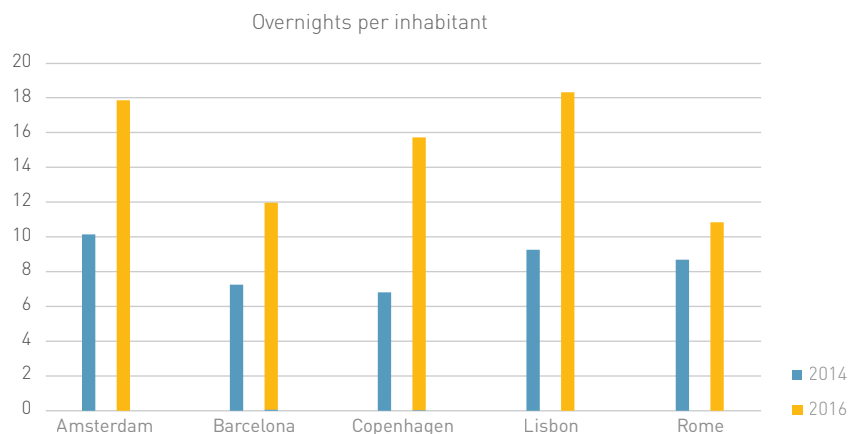
FIGURE 2.18
INTERNATIONAL TOURISM SPENDING (BILLION USD)



Source: Mastercard Global Destination Cities Index 2017

All the European cities involved in the analysis receive a large number of overnight visitors relative to their resident population. The number of overnights per inhabitant ranges from 18 in Lisbon and Amsterdam to 11 in Rome. Rapid growth in tourism combined with relatively low levels of population growth in European cities means that the number of tourist overnights recorded per inhabitant shows a sharp increase in recent years.

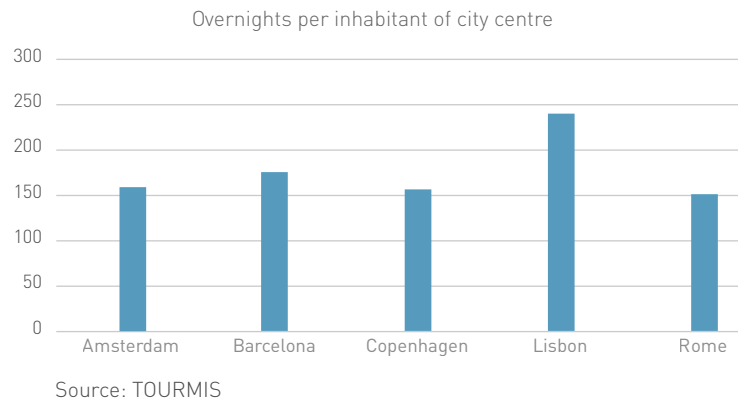
FIGURE 2.19
TOURIST OVERNIGHTS PER INHABITANT IN BASELINE EUROPEAN CITIES



Source: TOURMIS

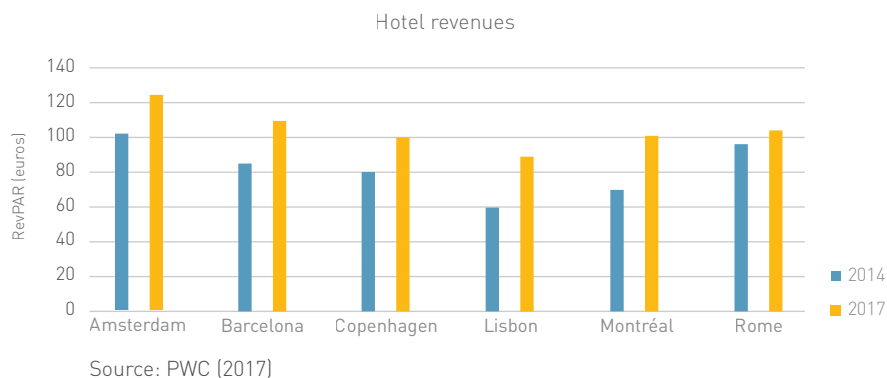
Figure 2.19 shows tourist overnights in relation to the whole city population. When we look at the ratio for the historic city centre, or area of greatest tourist concentration, we see a different picture. The tourist pressure rises to over 150 overnights per historic centre inhabitant in all cities, and in Lisbon this rises to 243 overnights per old city resident. In effect, each city-centre resident has one tourist as a neighbour at least 40% of the time – or put another way, for 40% of the year, the population of the old city is doubled. There is a remarkable consistency in these figures, which derives from the tendency of tourists to visit old city centres and the relatively small resident populations they have.

FIGURE 2.20
OVERNIGHT STAYS PER INHABITANT OF THE HISTORIC CITY CENTRE



Growth in tourism has produced significant economic gains, particularly for the hospitality industry. The average revenue generated by each available hotel room (RevPAR) in Amsterdam reached 116 euros per night in 2017, slightly ahead of Barcelona and Rome. All the cities increased their hotel revenues between 2014 and 2017, but the most dramatic growth was in Lisbon, which was only achieving 60 euros per night in 2014, but rising demand pushed RevPAR up to 90 euros in 2017, a growth of 50%.

FIGURE 2.21
REVENUE PER AVAILABLE ROOM (REVPAR) IN THE CASE STUDY CITIES 2014 AND 2017



The success of the conventional hospitality industry has also spawned new forms of 'collaborative economy' accommodation providers, such as Airbnb. In recent years these providers have added to the accommodation stock of the cities by opening private accommodation to tourist use. Airbnb listings in our case study cities have also grown, for example in Barcelona from around 12,000 in 2015 to just over 17,000 in 2018. However, recent moves by some cities to curb illegal accommodation have already begun to have an effect, with 2000 beds being closed down in Barcelona alone. The overall indications are that despite complaints from the conventional hotel industry, high tourism demand means that the growth of the sharing economy has not seriously dented hotel revenues in the case study cities.

TABLE 2.1
AIRBNB LISTINGS BY CITY

	AIRBNB LISTING	% ENTIRE HOME	RESIDENTS PER AIRBNB LISTING
Lisbon	20,493	74	26
Montréal	10,619	60	164
Amsterdam	19,171	80	41
Barcelona	17,221	40	93
Copenhagen	20,545	81	27
Rome	25,275	60	140

Source Inside Airbnb July 2018

2.4 REACTIONS TO RECENT TOURISM GROWTH

The sharp increase in city tourism in recent years has had an impact in all the European cities. Complaints from residents about the negative effects of crowding in the city centre, particularly noise, rubbish and unruly behaviour have become commonplace. Barcelona in particular has seen the growth of anti-tourism movements, usually based in neighbourhoods particularly affected, such as beachside district Barceloneta.

Incidents in Barcelona have included an assault on a tourist bus, puncturing the tyres of bikes rented by tourists, and an increasing density of anti-tourist graffiti in the city, much of it in English. Some of the more colourful slogans include: "Tourists stay at hotels: apartments are for living in", "Tourist: your luxury trip, my misery" and "Why call in tourist season if we can't shoot them?". In summer 2017 groups of residents from the beachfront neighbourhood of Barceloneta occupied the beach with banners demanding the end of tourist apartments, real estate speculation and the nuisance caused by growing tourism. One local organiser, Esther Jorquera, commented:

"The problem is speculation. Every month there are dozens of evictions of residents living in rental apartments. It is not permissible that the owners demand 1,000 euros for 30-square-meter flats. Now it seems that we are a privileged neighbourhood because we are in the centre and we have a beach and that is why we are forced to leave".

As well as grass roots activism, more organised resistance has come from civil society associations, such as the Federació d'Associacions de Veïns de Barcelona (FAVB). Growing political pressure and the election of new Mayor Ada Colau in 2015 has changed the city's tourism strategy, with more emphasis on quality rather than quantity. A moratorium on new hotel developments and short-term rentals was introduced in 2016. In 2017 the Special Tourist Accommodation Plan (PEUAT) was introduced to regulate the growth of tourist accommodation including youth hotels, collective residences with temporary accommodation and tourist apartments. It is hoped that this regulation will allow for a sustainable and responsible tourism model and will reduce the pressure on the most saturated neighbourhoods of the city.

There has also been pressure to halt changes to cultural and commercial features in the city. These include resistance to the redevelopment of the Mercat de Sant Antoni ("no es converteixi en una Boqueria 2") and objections to the opening of Casa Vicens, a Gaudi building, to tourists.

There have also been a range of actions in other European cities, including Amsterdam and Lisbon. In Amsterdam a 'roller suitcase action' was organised in 2015, with residents protesting 'No way short stay' and calling for an end to hotel expansion. A specific platform called Amsterdam in Progress was set up by tourism expert Stephen Hodes in 2017 in order to promote a more balanced approach to the relationship between residents, businesses and tourism. In response the city has produced a programme called 'The City in Balance' that sets out an analysis of the problems as well as potential solutions. Measures being taken in Amsterdam include restrictions on new accommodation, tourist-orientated shops and activities such as 'beer-bikes'.

Rome also introduced a series of measures to combat the perceived problems linked to tourism. Stricter rules and fines have been imposed for drinking on the streets at night, or paddling in public fountains, and coaches have been banned from the historic centre.

In Lisbon there seems to have been less direct anti-tourism activity, at least partly because tourism is perceived as having kept the Portuguese economy afloat during the economic crisis. However, the district of Santa Maria de Maior in Central Lisbon has become vociferous in calls for limits to tourism growth.

The platform Lisbon does not love mass tourism has identified a number of issues they would like to see tackled, including short term rentals, cruise ships, tuk-tuk taxis and other tourist transport, large tourist groups, tourist-dedicated facilities and tourist rudeness. Interestingly, the Lisbon website illustrates 'rudeness' with a photo of naked Italian tourists taken in a shop in Barceloneta. They argue that their discourse is not anti-tourism:

Inhabitants of Lisbon are not against tourism, they are perfectly aware of the benefits they earn from it but they wish for their city to keep its soul, its traditions - that it doesn't become the new Barcelona or that the old neighbourhoods become amusement parks. The consequences of mass tourism are not a fatality, but are linked to a lack of political implication and the attitude of a certain type of tourist.

The platform encourages visitors to the site to print and distribute a series of stickers illustrating the problems of tourism in Lisbon (Figure 2.22).

FIGURE 2.22
STICKERS ON THE WEBSITE LISBON DOES NOT LOVE MASS TOURISM



There have also been attempts to link civic groups in different cities together. The Federació d'Associacions de Veïns de Barcelona (FAVB) called a demonstration on May 12th 2018 against speculation and the growth of tourism called 'Barcelona is not for sale'. They also attempted involve other cities, including Madrid, Valencia, Naples and Lisbon. This is part of a wider movement against property speculation and rising rents, which has now been linked to tourism in a number of cities, including Lisbon and Amsterdam.

It seems that there are reactions from citizens to tourism and other related urban problems in all of the European case study cities. However, the reactions are not exactly the same. In Barcelona there appears to be a stronger focus on tourists, but in the other cities there are more mixed reactions to problems related to tourism, congestion, rising prices and loss of 'authenticity'.

2.5 CONCLUSIONS

This review of the case study cities shows a certain level of convergence in the position of culture and tourism, in spite of the different contexts. All of the cities have a high level of cultural provision and creative industries activity, which not only increases the quality of life for local citizens, but also makes these cities more attractive to tourists. The cities have all experienced a rapid growth in tourism, which parallels the overall increase in urban tourism worldwide. The growth of tourism is one of many forces increasing the pressure on urban facilities, including culture. At the same time, tourism has provided a source of income for businesses and cultural institutions that has helped them to resist the worst effects of the global downturn and cuts in public funding.

Although there are broad parallels between the cities, there are also important differences. There is a marked north-south divide, with cities such as Amsterdam and Copenhagen in general having a higher quality of life, supported by extensive cultural provision, public space and high levels of civic trust. In southern cities such as Lisbon and Rome, there is generally less trust in the public administration to deal with problems, bigger problems to solve and smaller budgets to tackle them. Barcelona in some ways takes on an intermediate position, probably because specific policies to develop culture and higher levels of interpersonal trust (Richards, 2007a) have produced a more collective approach than in many other cities in the south. Montréal is also in a different position to the European cities because of the North American context. In some ways, however, Montréal reflects European issues because of its cultural background and particular linguistic position. These factors have also stimulated levels of public cultural investment which are relatively high compared with other Canadian and American cities. Montréal also has a similar situation with regard to tourism as Copenhagen, with relatively recent growth still not registering so many negative impacts in these cities. In contrast Barcelona, Amsterdam and Lisbon are all marked by very rapid recent growth and emerging discussions over the tourism model in the city, which include the emergence of action groups demanding new approaches.

In spite of the different contexts of the case study cities, it is clear that they all provide interesting points of comparison with Barcelona, as well as offering different perspectives and potential pointers for the development of the relationship between cultural policy and tourism. The central question in this report is whether cultural policy explicitly addresses the challenges raised by tourism in cities. To investigate the position in the case study cities further, the following sections provide a profile of each city, including an analysis of the results of the interviews conducted with policymakers and analysts.

PART 3.

CASE STUDY CITY PROFILES

3.1 AMSTERDAM

Geographical area: **219km²**

Total population: **779.808** (Municipality) **2,349,870** (Metropolitan area)

Percentage of total national population living in the city: **14%**

Education level – percentage with degree level or higher: **42%**

GDP (PPP) million: **€89 billion**

Percentage creative industries employment: **8.3%**

3.1.1. General context and background

Amsterdam is the economic and cultural capital of the Netherlands, and has long been popular with tourists attracted both by the cityscape, the arts and culture offer and the lifestyle. The city provides a mix of high culture attractions (with the city accounting for 40% of all museum visits in the Netherlands) and popular culture, including the presence of coffee shops offering soft drugs. Recent years have seen considerable growth in the number of overnight hotel stays in the city of Amsterdam. This growth continued in 2016, with the number of hotel stays increasing by 8.4%, and 2017 growth was even stronger at 12% (15,609,000 overnight stays). ABN AMRO reports that this growth has increased the pressure on the city and that more tourists in hotels and Airbnb's slept in Amsterdam in August 2017 (790,000) than there are residents in the city. ABN AMRO also argues restrictive measures can contribute to slowing growth, but tourism will increase in the longer term, due to demand from new markets such as India and China. Not only international tourists add to the pressure on Amsterdam, however. Half the visitors to the city come from the Netherlands.

Growing user pressure has created a debate that has already led to measures to curb the growth of tourism-related businesses and to spread tourism to other parts of the country. In an interesting experiment, the city's Ombudsman also spent two months living in the Red Light District to experience the problems of city-centre crowding for himself. He concluded that: 'At night, the centre of Amsterdam is a lawless urban jungle without authority'. In an average night there are countless infringements, and the few police only deal with a part of the problem rather than tackling the issue as a whole. The problem is not just tourists, but drug dealing, violence, theft, etc. He estimates there are 2000 illegal taxis and 350 illegal boats plying the streets and canals in the centre. He contrasted the situation with an organised festival, where a specific number of security personnel have to be present to keep the crowds safe. In the city itself there are no such norms (Ombudsman Metropool Amsterdam, 2016).

THE CITY IN BALANCE – A PROGRAMME TO CONFRONT GROWING USER PRESSURE IN AMSTERDAM

The growing number of city users has prompted the Municipality of Amsterdam to develop a programme aimed at meeting the challenges this causes. The programme Stad in Balans (City in Balance) includes research on the user pressure, measures to resolve the resulting problems and experiments with different policy measures.

Between 2008 and 2014 the supply of hotel beds grew by 13,572, and more recently Airbnb has added significant new capacity, with 6,000 new units added between April 2015 and July 2016. The number of Airbnb clients rose from 575,000 in 2015 (8% of hotel arrivals) to 800,000 in 2017 (9.8% of hotel arrivals), showing that Airbnb is gaining market share. According to Amsterdam Marketing much of the increased visitor pressure also comes from domestic visitors staying overnight in the city. This growth is due to the increase in unregistered stays with friends and family and Bed and Breakfast accommodation. It might be reasonable to assume that this growth is also much less visible than the increase in international tourism. This seems to be confirmed by research with residents, who perceive the crowding in the city to stem more from international tourists (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2018a).

The growth of tourism has also been an important factor in increasing museum and attraction visits. The number of museum and attraction visitors in Amsterdam rose from 11.9 million in 2008 to 17.1 million in 2014, a growth of over 50%. This growth is partly due to increased cultural capacity. Both the Rijksmuseum and the Stedelijk Museum recently re-opened after extensive renovations and extensions. Other strongly growing attractions include the Heineken Experience, the EYE film museum, the nautical museum and the Hermitage art museum.

One of the problems linked to tourism growth has been a 'monoculture' of retail activity directed towards tourists. The number of ice cream shops grew by 460% between 2008 and 2014, cheese shops by 250%, souvenir shops by 80% and bike hire outlets by 130%. These facilities are strongly concentrated in the city centre.

Reports of problems with litter and noise have increased, as have reports of illegal accommodation rentals. Interestingly the ratio of Airbnb properties to complaints varies strongly, from 1 complaint to 7 Airbnb listings in the centre, to only 1 complaint to 24 Airbnb listings in the West District of the city. This indicates that tolerance of sharing economy accommodation varies sharply according to the composition of the host community.

Residents were also asked about their perceptions of visitor pressure on the city. For Amsterdam as a whole, 44% of residents said they thought the city was very busy, rising to 57% of those living in the city centre. Residents in the centre not only think the city is busier, but they are also less likely to agree that this busyness is a normal part of city life.

According to the report Living in Amsterdam (Gemeente Amsterdam 2018b) satisfaction with the neighbourhood increased in most parts of the city between 2007 and 2015. However, in the period 2013-2015 satisfaction fell in the Centrum-West district, where there has also been a high increase in perceived tourist pressure. Since the first survey in 2001, satisfaction with the neighbourhood has generally increased, with the average score rising from 6.9 (2001) to 7.5 in 2017. In the period 2013-2017 satisfaction fell in the Central district of the city, while other areas increased or remained static.

The increase in tourist pressure is not a wholly negative phenomenon. Although 70% of residents found the centre of the city 'unpleasantly busy', 61% also agreed that tourism increases the liveliness of the city, and 53% that tourism supports a varied range of facilities.

The increasing crowds lead to annoyance among Amsterdammers. The city survey in late 2017 (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2018) showed that 60% of residents think that the municipality does not do enough to tackle problems of overcrowding, and 13% even think that the city does nothing at all. This is also evident from the City Survey on crowds and quality of life in Amsterdam, carried out by the city's statistical office among 3883 residents. The crowds are a widely shared annoyance. 96 percent of Amsterdammers find the city fairly (41 percent) to very busy (55 percent). In particular, the group that experiences the city as very busy has grown,

compared to 44 percent of Amsterdammers in 2016. More residents complain about noise nuisance, traffic chaos, pollution and obstruction of the pavement.

Despite the crowds, Amsterdammers are increasingly happy to live in Amsterdam. In 2017 the average score for the statement 'I am happy that I live in Amsterdam' scored 8.1 on a 10 point scale, an increase compared with 2016. Residents also indicate they are highly likely to stay in the city for another five to ten years (8.02). The attractiveness of the city fell slightly, but still scored 7.6, while residents' pride in Amsterdam scored 7.7, slightly less than a year earlier (7.9).

3.1.2. Linkages between culture and tourism

Amsterdam is the cultural gateway to the Netherlands. The Van Gogh Museum attracted 2.3 million visitors in 2017, and the Rijksmuseum 2.2 million. A large proportion of visitors to the major museums in Amsterdam come from abroad. Amsterdam Marketing emphasises that culture provides much of the content for the city as a whole.

Content is key – not content for tourists, but for residents. This can then be used to develop stories and create added value. But it also depends on knowing the audience for culture. The role of Amsterdam Marketing has therefore been changing, more policymaking, or placemaking. What is important is not just to develop the cultural supply, but to embed culture in place, not just for tourists, but also for (new) residents.

Part of the 'content' many visitors come to enjoy includes the informal and alternative culture of the city. But Stephen Hodes noted that the 'avant garde' culture, including the gay scene and coffee shops, is losing importance relative to global brands, which include elements such as the Hermitage Museum.

The relationship of the cultural institutions to tourism and international residents varies. For example, the Concertgebouw Concert Hall does no international marketing, even though the experience is very accessible for tourists. In contrast Tonneelgroep Amsterdam has performances with English subtitles every week. This also points to the important role of culture in attracting and retaining international residents, or 'talent', which is an important part of the work of Amsterdam Marketing.

3.1.2.1 POLICIES

The current Culture Plan 2017-2020 for the City of Amsterdam focuses mainly on:

- Cultural education: acquainting people at a young age with art and culture
- Talent development: incubators for artists and entrepreneurs, affordable workplaces.
- Art in the neighbourhood: spreading both cultural institutions and people throughout the city.
- The world as a playing field: maintaining the high level of cultural provision to be visible internationally

The Plan aims to increase linkages and networking to strengthen and integrate the cultural sector. Given the importance of culture, an additional 7.5 million euros is being invested and new initiatives are being developed to develop cultural education and a system of neighbourhood cultural centres (Buurthuizen).

The policy of developing more facilities and activities in the (outlying) neighbourhoods of Amsterdam also matches the policies of Amsterdam Marketing, which also wants to generate more visits to the neighbourhoods. This requires the right product, and therefore also cultural development. Cultural development is a conduit for directing people to new areas, but this also involves mobility issues. For example, the Singer Laren Museum (30 km from Amsterdam) and Muiden Castle (17km) are interesting cultural attractions, but they are relatively difficult for visitors to access. The city also emphasises the development of more cultural programming in the neighbourhoods. This caters for people in the vicinity, but it is also a means of attracting people from outside Amsterdam to augment the local audience. For example, a new Rialto cinema with 3 screens has been opened at the Free University of Amsterdam in the south of the city, and there are plans for another cinema in the Zuidas complex, a rapidly developing 'edge city' for Amsterdam.

Amsterdam is therefore moving towards the idea of a multipolar (meerpolaire) city. Instead of concentrating cultural facilities in the city centre, the policy tries to set out an integrated cultural vision for the city as a whole, with the City of Amsterdam as the heart of the Metropolitan Region. The longer-term aim is to integrate arts and culture into the spatial planning process for the region as a whole. Viewing Amsterdam as a metropolitan area is now part of both culture and tourism policy. As a recent OECD (2017a) report notes, the city needs to increase population density in order to accommodate an estimated 70,000 new dwellings between now and 2040. This will mean transforming mono-functional areas into mixed use ones; enhancing regional transportation and increase the number of links between nodes; increasing the quality of public space through high design standards; and allocating more space to walking and biking.

The cultural policy specifically recognises the pressure of foreign visitors on a small number of cultural institutions and locations in the city centre, and therefore calls for more spreading of tourists to other cultural institutions, other areas of the city and the wider Metropolitan Region of Amsterdam. The role of culture in attracting and integrating international professionals is also underlined:

For many international professionals participation in the cultural life of Amsterdam is a good way to make contact with local and international networks in the city and to connect with the lifeworld of Amsterdammers. But almost half of these international residents are not reached by the cultural sector in Amsterdam.

This group presents an important potential market for the cultural sector, which is under pressure due to reduced public funding and sponsorship. There are also specific measures related to culture and tourism in the Culture Plan, which pays attention to the issue of creating a 'City in Balance'.

Over the years tourism policy in Amsterdam has shifted from trying to attract larger numbers of visitors towards targeting specific groups that provide a better fit with the experiences and culture of the city.

3.1.2.2 GOVERNANCE

One interesting aspect of governance in the Dutch context is that although there are elections every four years, city Mayors are formally appointed by the King. Although an apparently

undemocratic and untransparent system, it has the virtue of providing a level of stability that is lacking in many other places (Richards and Duif, 2018).

As the OECD (2017a) emphasises, effective metropolitan governance is critical to Amsterdam's success. The Municipality of Amsterdam is increasingly working with the surrounding metropolitan region on planning, including in the fields of culture and tourism. The Amsterdam Metropolitan Region has undertaken a number of studies, including an analysis of the feasibility of developing major new attractions outside Amsterdam. One of the aims for the future is to spread visitors over the region more evenly in time and space. In spite of this, their Strategic Agenda for Tourism admits that they currently do little to promote culture in the region to visitors.

Cultural and tourism policy for the City of Amsterdam are the responsibility of the Municipality, which consults with a wide range of local stakeholders on these issues. The City maintains an arms-length funding system for the major institutions through the Amsterdam Arts Council and the Amsterdam Arts Fund. Reductions in public funding for the arts and culture have over the years placed more emphasis on cultural entrepreneurship and the need for institutions to generate their own sources of income. This in turn has led to more consideration of the economic and social roles of culture, and the links between culture and tourism. Amsterdam Marketing has become a more important partner not just in terms of increasing visitors (local and international) to the museums, but also with responsibility for the cultural agenda, increasing cultural participation and 'content' in the city.

Conversations about culture between Amsterdam Marketing and the city usually revolve around cultural participation. But there are also touchpoints concerning international cultural affairs, the positioning of the city, strengthening the cultural sector, international connectivity and the positioning of the neighbourhoods.

There is also involvement of the private sector in cultural and tourism policy issues. One notable example is the 'Night Mayor' model for protecting nightlife, which originated in Amsterdam and which has been copied by cities around the world.

There are also many informal groups that exert pressure on cultural and tourism policy, including the Friends of the Amsterdam City Centre (Vrienden van de Amsterdamse Binnenstad). The VVAB warns of the danger of turning the city centre into a theme park where tourist services replace the residential function. The think tank Amsterdam in Progress has successfully lobbied to re-locate the Amsterdam Cruise Terminal further away from the city centre.

The main body involved with tourism outside the Municipality is Amsterdam Marketing, an independent organisation that works with 1100 partners in the tourism sector to market and brand Amsterdam. They generate 70% of their own income and get 30% from the city. The main contact point with the city is Economic Affairs, but the cooperation is now broadening to include culture and other departments. The cultural role of Amsterdam Marketing has been increased by taking on responsibility for the cultural agenda of the city. Amsterdam Marketing aims not just at visitors but also at residents and businesses. For inhabitants, the main aim is building pride in the city and cultural participation. In terms of visitors, it is not so much about attracting more numbers, but the right type of visitor.

Amsterdam Marketing's goal is to execute the city marketing for the Amsterdam

Metropolitan Area as an integrated activity, whereby we focus on national and international residents, businesses, visitors and influential figures. City marketing is an essential step in strengthening the economic position of the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area. This not only has a positive influence on the city's public image internationally but also for local residents, boosting their sense of civic pride and appreciation. To achieve this, we work together with public and private organisations, cultural institutions and universities.

As the strategic plan 2016-2020 states: "Amsterdam Marketing aims to make a continuing positive contribution to the (economic) growth and employment in the metropolitan region. An attractive metropole for (international) residents, visitors and businesses. We want not only to maintain this position, but to strengthen and develop it, with particular attention for liveability through spreading visitors and activity in the city and the metropolitan region."

A change in the way in which the marketing of the city is viewed has been marked by discussions about removing the iconic 'I Amsterdam' signs from the city. These are very popular with tourists as a backdrop for photos and selfies. But they have been criticised by the new left-wing city administration as being too egotistical, and not fitting with the vision the city wants to present of itself.

3.1.3. Measures and projects

A number of recent measures have been aimed at spreading tourism and cultural participation and reducing problems of overcrowding in the city centre. Amsterdam is also trying to channel the (future) social discontent related to tourism. A hotel building stop was introduced, the maximum annual rent duration for Airbnb apartments was shortened, the so-called 'beer bicycles' were banned in the busiest parts of the city, as well as the opening of 'tourist shops'. Amsterdam Marketing also launched the Enjoy & Respect campaign in May 2018, which "brings home the message to Dutch and British people aged 18-34 that offensive behaviour will not be tolerated in Amsterdam. This target group frequently visit Amsterdam at weekends to party, drink, go on pub crawls and hold bachelor parties." The website goes on to say "A conscious choice has been made for a positive, creative approach and for freedom of choice. Values that are important for the city of Amsterdam. We show the strength of Amsterdam, the city where you can enjoy your freedom, as long as you respect the city and its residents." The target group will be contacted via social media as soon as they enter key areas such as the Red Light District and reminded about the campaign. Amsterdam Marketing also provides tips on its website about how to avoid crowds at tourist sites and in the city in general, such as visiting museums at night or travelling by bike.

Measures to promote the spread of tourism include a differential tourism tax. The central districts charge 6% of the nightly accommodation price, whereas outlying districts only charge 4%. Cities outside Amsterdam are also beginning to adjust their tourism policies in line with the growing tourist pressure. For example, Zaanstad, 12 km from Amsterdam, is now considering moves to increase accessibility from Amsterdam as well as opening a new museum in the city centre to cater for Amsterdam's tourist 'overspill'. The city also hopes to attract visitors from Amsterdam with a major Monet exhibition in 2021. To generate more funds from the expected increase in tourism Zaanstad is also considering increasing the tourist tax to 7 euros per night.

The Balance in the City report also suggests a change in the role of Amsterdam Marketing, currently responsible for marketing the city to residents and visitors, into a 'knowledge institute' for cultural promotion, congresses and spreading tourism. The reality is that Amsterdam Marketing already does much to try and spread tourism. This also seems to be working to some extent. The regional collaboration 'Visit Amsterdam, See Holland' aims to highlight interesting regional destinations for international visitors. In 2011 the proportion of tourists visiting the metropolitan region rose by 23% compared with 2008. More recent figures from the NBTC show that Amsterdam's share of international tourism has fallen slightly, from 38.3% in 2012 to 36.5% in 2015 (NBTC 2016). However this slight shift in tourism flows is unlikely to do much to address the user pressure in Amsterdam.

To reduce the pressure on public space at busy locations such as Museumplein, Leidseplein and Dam Square, visitor flows to other parts of the city and to locations outside the city are being stimulated. The Cultural Department will work together with cultural institutions and Amsterdam Marketing to better develop the cultural offer outside the centre. The recent neighbourhood campaign of Amsterdam Marketing pays much attention to the supply of art and culture, and cultural attractions feature prominently in their publication Amsterdam Neighbourhood Guide.

One successful measure to promote the development of the cultural sector in Amsterdam has been the provision of ateliers and incubator spaces (broedplaatsen) for young creative talent. Cultural incubators are now being developed by the Municipality outside Amsterdam, where there is more space. They have the power to use land for new development, and 2% of the development budget is reserved for art space. The International Art Talent Programme also aims to attract top artistic talent to the city through collaboration between Bureau Broedplaatsen (BBp) and the Amsterdam Arts Fund (AFK). Ten international artists from different disciplines receive living and working space for a year as well as a development budget.

A multipolar model for culture will also be developed, with an emphasis on local cultural centres. In 2014 the Municipality developed a focus on 22 areas Amsterdam, with the aim of increasing liveability. The districts will develop cultural centres according to their own needs, and four larger centres will be developed with a specific linking function. De Meervaart (Nieuw-West), Podium Mozaiek (West), het Bijlmer Parktheater (Zuidoost) and de Tolhuistuin (Noord) provide broad, accessible programming, aimed at local residents but also with a citywide function. The aim is to create links between residents and supply, between neighbourhoods and the city, and between talent and professionals.

In addition to the cultural centres, the municipality also wants to spread festivals and events, promote the local cultural offer across the whole city, stimulate the movement of programming from the city centre to the neighbourhoods, stimulate city-wide collaboration between venues and companies and develop new museum activities outside the centre. One specific strategy is to develop new, unique programmes in the periphery. In districts such as Amsterdam West there are unique stories, such as that told by museum 't Schip. Amsterdam Noord is also taking on its own identity. For example there is now investment in Noord, with the central music venue Paradiso opening a new stage at the Tolhuis. This not just provides a new venue outside the centre, but also links Paradiso to avant-garde culture in Amsterdam. The '24 Hour' programme has also been designed to open up the Districts for residents and visitors. A different District is open for 24 hours for all, putting the spotlight on one district in the outskirts each time.

Work with the neighbourhoods revolves around doing things selectively – not mass marketing but curation and packaging. The overall aim is to get more repeat visitors to go to 11 selected neighbourhoods outside the centre. These were selected on the basis of offering content that matches visitors' motivations. The selection is also based on dialogue with the districts about their needs. For example, the district Nieuw West was eventually not included in the programme. The Director of the District said they wanted more international tourists, ostensibly to put the district on the map. But in the final analysis what the District needed was to first be on the map with locals. Cultural and tourism policymakers feel it is important to build content and local relevance, which means there is a need to invest in the cultural fabric not just for residents, but also to meet the needs of tourists.

There are 2 main marketing campaigns for the neighbourhoods:

- 1) A Neighbourhood campaign for domestic and international visitors
- 2) An international campaign 'See Amsterdam, Visit Holland' to highlight 33 municipalities outside the city. Research shows that 25% of international visitors also visit the outskirts of the city.

The average international visitor stays 3.9 nights, which is relatively long, and this provides opportunities for persuading them to visit attractions outside Amsterdam. For example the City Card provides an add-on for the region, including museums and public transport.

In order to address the relative lack of connection between international residents and the cultural institutions in the city, the Expatcenter developed the programme We Are Public. International professionals were offered a trial membership that allowed them to try the offer of 25 arts and cultural institutions in the city.

The city of Amsterdam has been involved in many other experiments related to urban development, including specific projects related to culture and tourism. A growing number of experiments have been funded in the context of the City in Balance programme, rising from 16 in 2015 to 34 in 2016. Besides the municipality, entrepreneurs, cultural institutions and civic organisations have been involved in these experiments. Experiments in 2016 included restrictions on coach parking, using local volunteers to welcome and guide visitors, new transport links and cultural attractions. The City, Amsterdam Marketing and 10 museums also experimented with publishing waiting times for museums on the Internet. Visitors could see how long the queues were at major cultural sites. This museum queues pilot attracted 50,000 users in 3 months. 70% said they were influenced by the information, and 50% changed their behaviour by visiting at a different time. The results of this three-month pilot showed that the information was seen as highly valuable, so work is proceeding on the development of a permanent system. The municipality considers it one of their great tasks to make sure Amsterdam remains a liveable city for its inhabitants, despite the growing number of visitors.

There is also increasing linkage between local, regional and national tourism policy. The national tourist board is coordinating a national programme with support from the national government to spread tourism. The policy focus has shifted from absolute to sustainable growth, placing more emphasis on high yield segments such as cultural tourism and business tourism. As part of this programme the Holland City project was developed, which presents the Netherlands as a metropolis with short distances between major sights. Visitors are approached on the basis

of their interests (e.g. Van Gogh) or specific themes, such as Hieronymus Bosch in 2016, and Mondriaan and Dutch Design in 2017.

The private sector is also developing new content for residents and tourists outside the centre. For example the Volkshotel provides: A place where locals and travellers gather to eat, drink, work, sleep and play.”

An important condition for the success of programmes designed to spread tourism is accessibility. There have been attempts to improve public transport for tourists (direct bus to Zaanse Schans) and to offer attractive combi-tickets. Holland Travel Ticket is a national day ticket for train, bus, tram and metro. The popular off-peak version costs € 39 for one day. Many regional initiatives have also been developed, such as the Amsterdam and Region Travel Ticket (e.g. de Zaanse Schans, Volendam en Zandvoort).

Further development of the City in Balance programme includes four strategic lines of action:

1. Making the city bigger
2. Using the city more smartly
3. Doing things differently
4. Doing things together

The team responsible for this programme is based in the local government and has a capacity of 6-7 Full Time Equivalent staff. But citizens will also be asked to take responsibility for these actions, in terms of small behavioural changes that can produce a more hospitable climate for all, co-creation and citizen initiatives.

Research has also been undertaken to monitor residents' perceptions of the effectiveness of the programme to date. This shows that residents are generally not satisfied with the efforts of the municipality. Half (50%) believe that the municipality does not have enough commitment to combatting overcrowding. Residents in the Centre district in particular are negative (66%) about the efforts of the municipality, and only 17% think that the municipality does enough to involve citizens in the policy.

The vast majority (61%) of respondents think it is good to spread visitors and tourists more over the whole city. Residents in the Centrum district are considerably more positive about this proposed measure (74% agree). But people are less positive about the expected effect of the policy. Only 22% expect that crowding in the inner city will be reduced as a result. In addition, 39% would consider spreading to be a bad policy if this leads to more visitors in their own neighbourhood.

The panel is positive about the choice to limit the growth of the number of hotels in the city. 72% of the panel indicates (completely) agree with the chosen course. Residents are also positive about proposals to reduce the number of events in the city. Residents also suggested a number of other potential solutions, including less accommodation in the city, spreading visitors to other cities in the Netherlands, reducing marketing and attracting different types of visitors, restrictions on tourist shops, longer opening hours for attractions and museums, and spreading of events.

3.1.4. Vision of the city and strategies for the future

The Cultural Department of Amsterdam is now mapping trends to 2040 in order to anticipate policy issues. One trend is towards more visitors or city users. One respondent also commented on both cultural and tourism policy: “The problem is that both tourism and culture play the numbers game. They want to have more visitors, even if that means more problems. They don’t think about quality, only quantity. We need to rethink numbers in terms of the quality of experience.” Until there is an integrated approach to managing city users as a whole, it is likely that the growth will continue.

The fact that almost everybody is expecting more visitors in future means there is a growing debate about spreading tourism and the effects of this. The city council has investigated the possibilities of establishing new or existing (top) museums or subsidiaries of Amsterdam museums on the outskirts of the city. The idea is to develop a major attraction so that the cultural flow of visitors in the city can be partially shifted. The city districts and project agency responsible for developing the Zuidas area have discussed potential locations and suitable (international) partners. Museums such as the Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam, the Amsterdam Museum and FOAM already have concrete plans for activities in other parts of the city.

With more people wanting to be in the city, demand for housing will rise, increasing the challenge of dealing with the current housing shortage. The expectation is that the city will grow to just over one million residents in 2040. This is likely to lead to regional growth rather than just growth in the city of Amsterdam. The OECD (2017a) notes ‘If housing demand cannot be adequately met in Amsterdam, there is a risk that house and private rental prices will rise to such an extent that many residents will no longer be able to afford to live there.’ These trends in turn will strengthen the concept of Amsterdam as Metropolis, which will mean new challenges in terms of transport and access to culture, but which will also present new opportunities for cultural institutions seeking new audiences.

The City in Balance programme makes use of future scenarios. On the basis of projected numbers of residents and visitors to 2025, four scenarios are presented: Global Giant, European Renewal, International Alliances and Local for Local. In the growth-orientated Global Giant scenario tourism in the city is forecast to grow to 23.6 million visitors, compared with only 18.1 million under the more sustainability-orientated Local for Local scenario. The real question, however, is how much control the city has over numbers, and how much of that control it is willing to exercise. Amsterdam in Progress suggests that the only effective mechanism to reduce visitor pressure is increased pricing.

3.1.5 Conclusion

Amsterdam has monitored the problem of crowding in the city centre for a long time, and has identified multiple challenges that contribute to conflicts between different user groups. These data are now being used to develop and monitor the City in Balance programme, which includes a wide range of measures to encourage harmonious use of the city. But Amsterdam also has a future-orientated view that takes in the metropolitan challenge as a whole, and is starting to think about using the limited space of the city more intensively, more smartly and more collaboratively to ensure liveability.

The stakeholders in Amsterdam generally view the relationship between culture and tourism as a complex problem, covering many areas of urban policy. The Ombudsman, who spent time living in the city centre to experience the problems for himself, has pointed out that the crowding in the city centre is not a tourism problem, but a complex mix of generic urban issues. Although Amsterdam has a lot of data to help it deal with these issues, it is challenging to design adequate solutions. For example, data indicate that the 'objective' problems of the city centre seem less critical than the perceptions of city centre residents. But the perceptions of residents not surprisingly tend to drive policymaking.

Amsterdam recognises the need for an integrated approach to these issues, and is monitoring a wide range of indicators to try and guide policy and action. The City in Balance programme includes a mix of experiments, monitoring, applications of new technologies, and new forms of collaboration between culture and tourism. But there is also a realisation that these issues need to be dealt with on a bigger scale. In general terms, the city envisages making itself bigger, moving towards being a Metropolitan region in which the tourist stream can spread and become relatively manageable. But this is also a cultural choice – will the residents and visitors in Amsterdam be happy with the shift from the cosy city to the metropolis?

3.2 COPENHAGEN

Geographical area: **86.4km²**

Total population: **779.808** (Municipality) **2,349,870** (Metropolitan area)

Percentage of total national population living in the city: **14%**

Education level – percentage with degree level or higher: **42%**

GDP (PPP): **€89 billion**

Percentage creative industries employment: **8.3%**

3.2.1. General context and background

In recent years Copenhagen has established itself as a 'cool' Scandinavian capital, with a relaxed cosmopolitan lifestyle and international cultural institutions. Part of the growing attractiveness of the city lies in its recent internationalisation and compolitanisation, also as a result of recent increases in migration and tourism.

Copenhagen distinguishes itself as being "Denmark's 'only real metropolis', with demographic and economic diversity that make it unique in the Danish context....Copenhagen's competitiveness is dependent on a pragmatic and economically driven pro-migration policy, allied to a set of social policy interventions that enable poorer migrants to 'integrate' more effectively into Danish society." (Raco, 2018).

Tourism has not yet grown to levels seen in the other case study cities, but it is increasing fast. Because tourism is not on the scale seen in the other cities, it is not yet a massive issue. Wonderful Copenhagen, the Destination Marketing and Development organisation for the city, argues:

Our stakeholders do not perceive mass tourism as an urgent and prioritized problem, but instead prefer continued efforts to attract more visitors. Our locals similarly welcome the prospect of more visitors (96%), although 7% are hesitant to see more visitors during peak season or accommodated in holiday flats (9.5%).

Copenhagen locals are also willing ambassadors, and are proud of the city and their neighbourhoods. Almost half (46%) feel very or somewhat responsible for providing visitors with a positive experience, while 17% feel only a limited or no responsibility. This level of support has enabled the city to develop an innovative 'localhood' concept, with growing emphasis on promoting local communities and neighbourhoods outside the city centre.

3.2.2. Linkages between culture and tourism

The city recently produced a new Culture and Leisure Policy, which specifically links culture, leisure and tourism. The value of linking culture and leisure lies in making the city more attractive for residents and to meet the competition from other cities. Becoming more international means having a new focus, a new view of culture and having to use English as a means of communicating with new residents and tourists.

The internationalisation of the city provides opportunities for cultural institutions, as new non-Danish residents provide new markets for culture. Copenhagen already has International House, a public-private partnership for receiving and retaining international talent, providing a one-stop entry point to the city. At the same time, the association culture of Denmark provides integration strategies for the new residents. By forming sports and cultural associations (such as an Indian cricket club), newcomers can be more quickly and effectively included in local cultural and social life. The creation of special associations does not mean segregation in the context of Copenhagen. Institutions across the city are having to deal with new groups and new ways of working. There is still much work needed to make all institutions more open, for example, by providing information in English.

But the policies and actions of the city are gradually adapting to new needs. One example is that there are now far more events in public space, providing places for people to meet. The food market Torvehallerne “promotes diversity and allows foreigners to meet Danes” The reviews of the food market on Tripadvisor underline this social role:

Torvehallerne: Totally trendy food market, and one of my favourite destinations in Copenhagen. A must see for tourists. Lots of local flavour. Perfect place for Smørrebrød and beer. Great place to connect with friends. Lots of patio seats for a warm afternoon. Highly recommend for visitors and locals alike.

The city is also seeing the emergence of informal international groupings and ERASMUS student communities are forming. The city is now actively communicating with different groups (such as Romanians in Denmark) via Facebook to see what their needs and challenges are. This underlines that social media can be useful not only for communicating with temporary communities (as happens in Amsterdam) but also as a way of understanding their wants and needs.

Wonderful Copenhagen also tries to link groups such as business travellers to culture.

The majority of our stakeholders clearly find the attraction of conferences and meetings most important among Wonderful Copenhagen’s existing core business areas. Only cultural institutions see this as significantly less important, demonstrating the necessity of breaking down and working across traditional visitor segmentation to enable cultural institutions to gain more value from our destination’s many business travellers.

3.2.2.1 POLICIES

The Culture and Leisure Policy for the period 2016-2019 starts from the premise that to maintain the attractiveness and active cultural life of the city, culture and leisure must meet contemporary challenges. Copenhagen sees itself as an ‘experiment-seeking and diverse city that furthermore acknowledges its own distinctive character.’

The policy provides a vision, a set of guiding principles and a series of action areas. The vision is for Copenhagen to be an attractive city, offering quality of life and a sense of ‘edge’. To achieve this, it needs to offer ‘sublime cultural experiences’ as well as underground culture. The vision positions citizens as an asset in the development of the city, whose needs must be reflected in the framework the city offers. “Copenhagen must also retain its big-city buzz and remain a place that offers a diverse palette of culture and leisure facilities. This is how Denmark reaches out to the rest of Scandinavia, Europe and the world.”

The guiding principles for the policy are:

1. Inherent value of culture
2. Democracy
3. Quality
4. Freedom of expression
5. Decentralisation
6. Inclusiveness and equal access

There is also specific attention for visitors in the policy:

The ambition is that tourists not only visit Copenhagen due to its shopping opportunities or classic tourist attractions; they should also experience the more rough-edged and vibrant aspect of Copenhagen's city life. Copenhagen is to convey to tourists its classic attractions as well as its more offbeat culture. The diversity of the city is to become more visible to the world. This means that the city's culture and leisure institutions should to a greater extent contribute to the development of new tourism offerings.

Leisure associations, clubs and societies and public education are seen as a driving force in the development of new culture and leisure offerings and opportunities. There is also 'a special obligation to embrace new and emerging initiatives and ensure that they enjoy the freedom of artistic expression to offer citizens new, creative cultural experiences and furthermore to ensure that the cultural "food chain" is maintained.'

The policy therefore encompasses a number of emerging perspectives on culture and tourism, ways of seeing and using culture as a gateway to the city and Danish society, as the 'humus' in which new relationships and innovation can thrive, as a source of well-being and distinction. Culture and leisure activities are viewed as transversal policy areas that thrive on cooperation with other municipal departments and initiatives, such as 'Enjoy life, Copenhagen' and 'Community Copenhagen'.

Wonderful Copenhagen is the destination development and marketing organisation responsible for tourism strategy. In their recent strategic re-visioning, they launched the idea of the 'end of tourism' as we know it, to be replaced by the concept of localhood, positioning Copenhagen as:

A future destination where human relations are the focal point, where the differentiation between destination and home of locals is one and the same. A destination, where locals and visitors not only co-exist, but interact around shared experiences of localhood. ... In short, our vision is... LOCALHOOD FOR EVERYONE. We bid farewell to an era of tourism as an isolated industry bubble of culture and leisure experts. We need to see the Airbus 380 with 615 passengers as a large group of individuals or microsegments, each with his or her own motivations, culture and way of relating to others.

The Copenhagen strategy is also based on storytelling, with five "strategic core stories" for the city based on the themes of Design and architecture, Gastronomy, Sustainability, A pocket-sized fairy tale and Tolerance and diversity. The storyline of the new strategy fits closely to the cultural vision of the city, and has also generated considerable attention as a new way of presenting and marketing the city. One aim is to avoid seeing tourism as a separate silo, or industry.

But the role of Wonderful Copenhagen in terms of culture is also changing. Historically, there has been a difficult relationship between tourism and culture. Culture was taken for granted as a resource, and people thought there was a natural relationship between tourism and culture. There were a lot of joint projects, but no real common sense of purpose. So Wonderful Copenhagen began to think more deeply about cultural tourism – not all tourists are interested in culture, and not all tourists are cultural tourists. The cultural institutions were strong in their own fields and proud of what they do. This meant they saw tourists as a threat, a sign of Disneyfication. This produced a natural clash between culture and tourism. Wonderful Copenhagen started new projects designed to change the relationship between tourism and culture – such as developing a Tourism + Culture Lab, and running experiments.

A number of recent policy initiatives are also related to the perceived side effects of tourism growth:

- 1) Degrowth – Restrictions on new development.
- 2) Taxation – Local taxes on sharing economy rentals, entry fees for public areas.
- 3) Localhoods – Branding neighbourhoods and thematic routes beyond the downtown.
- 4) Dispersion by ‘nudging’ – Incentives to tourists and tour operators to visit off season.

3.2.2.2 GOVERNANCE

The main bodies responsible for the governance of culture and tourism are the City of Copenhagen, the Capital Region of Copenhagen and Wonderful Copenhagen. The policy of the Capital Region is a policy for business and growth for the period 2015-2020. This includes a strong element of internationalisation, with a strong role for International House as a hub for ‘international citizens’. Services offered include help to find jobs and job match, introduction to cultural- and leisure offers, events and help to the establishment of social and professional networks for students, employees and accompanying spouses. In terms of tourism the target is a 5% yearly growth in the number of tourists in Copenhagen:

The Capital Region of Denmark, in co-operation with tourism industry players, will develop a tourist destination featuring products of high quality, excellent service and accessibility to experiences by: — Attracting more tourists by developing new tourist products and hosting more conferences.

However, the regional policy only talks about culture in terms of major cultural events.

One of the most significant recent shifts in governance and policy orientation came about as a result of a spectacular failure of growth-orientated branding strategies. Wonderful Copenhagen until recently pursued a policy of marketing the city to generate growth, including staging major events. One such event, the Eurovision Song Contest of 2014, was expected to generate considerable tourism gains as well as media coverage, but ended up being the start of a new strategic direction for tourism. The Eurovision organisers from Copenhagen spent a total of 112 million Danish kroner (15 million euro) on the contest; three times more than what was expected. This was largely because the host broadcaster, after considering several bids from cities and venues across Denmark (Copenhagen, Herning, Horsens, and Fredericia), chose the B&W Hallerne (a former shipyard) in Copenhagen as the host venue. This cost 91 million kroner to refurbish, more than four times the forecast budget. The Song Contest left a deficit of 58

million kroner (over 7 million euro). The loss had to be covered by Copenhagen Council, the Capital Region (Region Hovedstaden), Wonderful Copenhagen and the property company that owned the site.

The Director of Wonderful Copenhagen was replaced by an appointee from the Ministry of Planning, who brought in budget discipline. This resulted in a reorganisation of Wonderful Copenhagen and a 'beheading' of the organisation. Wonderful Copenhagen re-structured their policy around the concept of "localhood", where the traveller is seen as a temporary local. The new localhood strategy was introduced in 2017 with the striking title "The end of tourism as we know it". This replaced the previous strategy based on growth and hotel development.

There is broad local support for the new approach: the majority of ideas proposed by locals, as part of an open strategy process, concern the delivery of a positive experience of localhood specifically – gaining more access to local recommendations or easier access to experiencing local lifestyle.

3.2.3. Measures and projects

Localhoods have been established on the tourist map of Copenhagen, although it is too early to tell if this strategy has had a real effect in generating new tourism flows. But Wonderful Copenhagen argues that people in the city are still proud that tourists come to see how they live, or that people want to live like them. A number of local guides are also offering ways to get off the tourist 'beaten track' through alternative tours. But there are already some signs that tourist pressure is having an effect. There are now 'quiet zones' in residential areas where tourist guides and groups are requested to keep their noise down. The idea is that tourists should blend in with the Danish way of life, not the other way around.

TOURISM + CULTURE LAB

Tourism + Culture Lab is a development project that aims to increase the attractiveness of Greater Copenhagen as a cultural destination and to attract new, culturally motivated international guests. The Tourism + Culture Lab is designed to examine the relationship between culture and tourism to improve the nature of the cultural experience and increase cultural consumption by tourists. The project is run by Wonderful Copenhagen and co-financed by the Capital Region. It has four tracks:

Competence: courses and workshops that address the most important challenges in internationalization

Innovation: experiments are testing new initiatives at an individual cultural institution or event

Inspiration: through developing best practice cases from Denmark and abroad

Knowledge: Knowledge sharing between the tourism and culture sectors

Members of the project include many cultural institutions in Copenhagen and the wider region. The already shows encouraging results. In 2015 and 2016, Nikolaj Kunsthal had on average about 50,000 visitors, and according to the national user survey from 2014, 36 percent are foreign visitors. However, in the spring of 2017 the art gallery experienced a significant increase in the proportion of foreign visitors (estimated at 60-70 percent). The Cisterns have experienced increased success after re-positioning themselves from being the Museum of Glass Art to an art space hosting internationally renowned artists who either play along with or counteract the context of the space.

Wonderful Copenhagen has supported the cultural institutions in benefitting from tourism. The main issues are how to create visibility, and grow revenue from international tourists (domestic tourism is not an issue for Copenhagen, because the market is relatively small). There is an increasing focus on locals, but not as a specific market segment.

Marketing is also shifting towards cultural attractions and experiences in the Greater Copenhagen Area, and linking the different sites together. The City Card links cultural institutions with free admission to 86 attractions, and free transport in the Copenhagen region. The prime message is - see more. pay less. Each adult card can include two children under the age of 10 for free. A card for 72 hours costs 93 euros. The City Card also provides data, which can also be generated through an app. The partners can find out how people are using and experiencing the city, and this feeds into potential Artificial Intelligence solutions.

3.2.4. Vision of the City and Strategies for the Future

The vision in the Culture and Leisure Strategy already gives some strong pointers towards the future development of the relationship between culture and tourism. In essence, there is no difference between the different groups of city users, rather the culture and liveability of the city needs to be developed for the benefit of all.

This requires taking a new approach to developing and marketing the city. One of the major challenges will be linking the City of Copenhagen with Greater Copenhagen, which will also mean thinking about the identity of the city and the region. In developing the new identity and image of metropolitan Copenhagen, interviewees felt it was important to start from the needs of the city itself, rather than worrying about what visitors want. The new metropolitan dimension, just as in Amsterdam, provides new opportunities as well. For example, promoting Greater Copenhagen provides opportunities to link with places outside the city, and to deal with pressures on the centre of the city, such as housing. Some international visitors want to live outside the city, so there is room to steer them.

The respondents in Copenhagen also see a future with more tourists, and they see culture as one means of dealing with growing tourist pressure. Cultural experiences tie together the local communities and make them more resilient. They also link residents and tourists together through the stories that are told about the city. Bringing different groups in the city together also provides new opportunities. Previous marketing strategies have tended to target ex-pats and the creative class, but now there is a general discussion about how to integrate migrant communities. The ambition to spread tourism to the localhoods is a challenge, because in some areas there is 'nothing to see' (a lack of content), and therefore there is a need to create a personality for each neighbourhood (as Amsterdam has done). Buzzing and diverse Nørrebro could become the Harlem or Brooklyn of Copenhagen, but what will other neighbourhoods do?

In the final analysis, the key question is: What would Copenhagen look like in 20-30 years without tourists? The consensus seems to be that it would be a poorer place to live, economically, culturally and socially. The value of the tourist is therefore to increase the liveability of the city. But it should not reach the 'tipping point' where tourism begins to negatively impact on liveability. The city wants tourism to grow, but not at any cost.

As the Localhood strategy states: We succeed when

Locals recognize the value of our visitors! When locals actively advocate for the value added by visitors to our urban diversity, cultural consumption and pride in our hometown.

3.2.5. Conclusions

The relatively recent growth of tourism in Copenhagen means that the issues surrounding mobility are still relatively small compared with the other European cities studied. Copenhagen prides itself on being an open, tolerant city, even in opposition to national policies. The relatively small scale of the city is a positive characteristic that has been used in positioning and marketing the city, although there are now moves to create more links with the wider metropolitan region. The positioning as a 'pocket-sized capital' has been strengthened by the failure of previous marketing policies based on large scale events. This has stimulated the development of new policies positioning the 'localhoods' of Copenhagen as interesting new places to visit. The challenge in future, however, will be making sure that the content to engage visitors is also in place there.

3.3 LISBON

Geographical area: **84km²**

City population: **509, 312**

Metropolitan population: **2,807,165**

International students 2015: **15,581**

GDP: **€64 billion**

3.3.1. General context and background

Lisbon is the culturally vibrant capital of Portugal, where tradition and modernity meet. The centre of Lisbon has several historical neighbourhoods where built heritage is as important as the intangible heritage related to tradition, popular culture and local lifestyles. As in many other cities, Lisbon has seen a lot of change in terms of urban, geographical and cultural development. But the pace of change in Lisbon has perhaps been even more dramatic than in most other cities.

Severely hit by the economic recession in 2008, Portugal developed different strategies to try to overcome the crisis. Measures were put in place to attract foreign investment and the role of the tourism industry as a leading sector of the Portuguese economy was reinforced. Lisbon, as the capital city, is highly accessible, and the crisis increased the perception that it is a cheap destination. Lisbon has only begun to internationalise and receive mass tourism relatively recently, and therefore also retains lot of its 'authentic' character. Besides holiday tourists, Lisbon has also become popular among Erasmus students, artists, digital nomads and creative population in general.

Although the Lisbon Metropolitan area has 2.8 million inhabitants, accounting for nearly a third of the population living in Continental Portugal, the city of Lisbon itself has a population of only 530,000. In Lisbon's historic centre, there are just over 50.000 people in a very small area. With a total of 9,717,718 overnights in 2016 there is a high ratio of tourist overnights to residents (18 overnights per resident). The rapid increase in tourism and inward investment is transforming the urban landscape.

The popularity of the city, and the influx of foreign capital encouraged by government policy has exacerbated the housing problem. Liberalisation of rental laws has also stimulated gentrification and led to evictions and the disappearance of centuries-old cultural businesses in the centre. One interviewee commented:

In the crisis years, Lisbon took a position on the arts. Civic support allowed many artists to survive, and there was an explosion of creativity. Now they can't live here anymore. This is not just an effect of tourism, but many see it as such. Evictions are a big issue.

However, people in Lisbon are open and in general have a positive attitude to tourism, which is also explained because a large part of the population earns their income directly or indirectly from the tourism industry. Rather than an "either...or" attitude towards the tourists and residents debate, the general feeling is that solutions that integrate both can be reached.

The challenge is how to manage this highly complex situation; keeping what is particular and unique to the city, and at the same time, becoming a modern metropolis, capable of attracting foreign investment and talent. The new cultural strategy published in 2017 provides a very thorough analysis of the challenges, and poses the question as to what extent can culture – in its different expressions and forms – be put to use and contribute to development and social cohesion, ensuring a healthy cultural life for the city?

The challenges of rethinking culture include (Municipality of Lisbon, 2017):

- (i) working with the overload and massification of some areas, in particular in the historical center of the city;
- (ii) dealing with the consequences of the economic and financial crisis and the worsening problems of mobility;
- (iii) facing the challenges of technological and organizational change in cultural activities;
- (iv) dealing with the dynamics of recomposition of the metropolis that Lisbon polarizes;
- (v) managing and mobilizing the new dynamics of participation in the city;
- (vi) dealing with the development of new forms of cultural mediation;
- (vii) articulating with the development of the creative economy; and
- (viii) dealing with changes in the governance of the city.

3.3.2. Linkages between culture and tourism

In the Vision 2027 for Lisbon, the city is positioned as an Open Capital:

a central and cosmopolitan city with an international vocation; city lived daily and experienced by all, city of transits and crossings, between cultures, between spaces between times; city of memories and contemporaneity; which promotes the conditions for cultural expression and for the development of creativity, and modernizing and adapting functioning of its institutions to assume its place in the contemporary world.

Growing flows of people in the city are a direct consequence of this openness to the world, which has also helped to make the city particularly attractive to tourists. The Lisbon Cultural Strategy (2017) specifically mentions the ‘explosion of city tourism and city use’ as a major challenge. One of the reasons given for the growth in tourism is “the so-called tourism of ‘Emotional consumption’: human scales, neighbourhoods, sympathy and autochthonous tolerance, Mediterranean culture, bohemia, the sun and the beaches, gastronomy.”

However, the speed of development has been very abrupt, with growing pressures on urban life, and one of the highest ratios of tourists to residents in Europe. The strong flows of tourists and new non-permanent city users, as well as the influx of new population groups (Erasmus students and the like; foreign communities, skilled young adults from the peripheries in search of a more urban, cosmopolitan experience, artists, etc.) has indelibly marked many parts of the city over the years.

In particular the mix of influxes of new residents, tourists and investors has pushed housing prices inexorably upwards. António Machado, president of the Rental Association in Lisbon, commented:

We have seen a transformation of housing from residences for families to short-term rentals...private houses rented out for tourism that, in some areas, caused rent price to rise by 30-40 % over the last few years, which is practically unbearable for local Portuguese people. (Mancini and Gomes, 2017)

In 2016 the average rent in Lisbon was €830, an increase of 23% in comparison to 2015. As the average gross salary is €914, locals are progressively pushed out to the suburbs as housing in the city centre becomes unaffordable. Not surprisingly, many artists can also no longer afford to live in the city. However increased tourism has also directly affected the cultural sector in terms of attracting new artists from elsewhere, and in broadening the market for culture in the city.

The growing mobility in the city supports the intensification of cultural and recreational practices outdoors, motivated by the search for spaces of live music, live acts or dj sets. The internationalization of Lisbon is not only generated by the success of Portuguese artists in international circuits, but also the growing attractiveness of the city with international artists, who can also contribute to visibility at international level.

The cultural policy also pays attention to nightlife, often a contentious area in cities. The presence of a vibrant nightlife scene is one factor helping to make the city more popular with tourists as well as many domestic consumers. The aims in relation to nightlife include:

- support for the production of nocturnal cultural events (distinguishing cultural spaces from those who only dedicate themselves the sale of alcohol);
- implementation of compensatory mechanisms for negative externalities associated with nocturnal animation (noise and urban hygiene, for example);
- promotion of greater and better dissemination of cultural events across the city.

There has also been a major growth in events and festivals, which stems both from a desire to reach a wider public through cultural democratization and the animation of localities in the summer season. These measures are mainly aimed at residents, but can also attract tourism. There have been concerns about the proliferation of events and festivals in the city and the tendency towards oversupply and festivalisation. These trends are causing the city to think about strategies for events, including timing, location and decentralisation. The proliferation of events also produces a potential divide between more local, community-based events and a more globalised commercial offer, which is also the product usually promoted to tourists. The cultural strategy warns against the dangers of 'artificialization', or the 'emptying of the identities' of the city of Lisbon. Commercialisation can lead to a lack of community participation and a loss of memory.

But the growth of tourism has various effects in the neighbourhoods of the city. In the centre, for example, research by Castela (2018) with locals identifies some advantages of tourist presence:

"The neighbourhood is more beautiful because they have done many works. Now you're safe. A few years ago, it was all dark and there was no security in the streets",

Raquel, 33 years.

"I talk a lot to them, in the middle of the street or when I'm at the window, by gestures, of course. We take pictures, laugh and joke. They keep me company. I no longer have neighbours to talk to", **Miquelina**, 79 years.

"I like it when those big groups come. I show them the way we live. It's my neighbourhood and I'm proud of it", **Anabela**, 50 years.

But there are others who also see problems:

“There should be more control. There are garbage bags everywhere. Most of the time it is people who live here and clean tourists houses who do not respect the schedule to put away the garbage. Tourists do what they see others doing”, Carlos, 58 years.

“We have to set limits. We have to stop and think. We must create rules. Tourism urgently needs rules. If not, any day the neighbourhood is just tourists”, Carla, 39 years.

This shows that there are positive and negative aspects of tourism growth for the residents of the centre of Lisbon, but it clearly indicates that there is potential for developing constructive contacts between residents and visitors.

3.3.2.1 POLICIES

The municipal cultural offer is based on a series of venues, facilities and events managed by the city. The new cultural strategy (Municipality of Lisbon, 2017) for the city includes five strategic axes:

- Promotion of the experience of cultural enjoyment
- Promotion of cultural expression
- Appreciation and reinforcement of the image and the collective memory of the city
- Regulation of induced external effects of cultural activities in the city
- Mobilizing the cosmopolitan potential of the metropolitan territory of Lisbon

In particular the reinforcement of the collective memory of the city emphasised as a means of “rooting and defending the right to the city for residents, transitory residents and tourists.” The cultural strategy is particularly holistic and integrative, as emphasised by its attention to issues related to tourism in the context of culture.

These include a number of specific objectives, such as ameliorating the effects of tourism, which will be pursued through: Decentralising the cultural offer from the historic centre to the periphery; Regulation and taxation to achieve a balance between residents and visitors and; Measures to avoid monofunctional uses of urban space.

There is also attention paid to the externalities of cultural activities, which will be tackled by:

- Compensatory mechanisms for externalities caused by cultural activities (eg disturbance, noise, mobility and parking problems resulting from cultural events in public spaces)
- Channelling of part of the budget from the tourist tax to culture
- Promoting the internalisation of costs associated with large events (e.g. cleaning)

There is also mention of the need to avoid “dichotomies and simplified ideas about the phenomena of transformation and revitalization (e.g. tourism and gentrification debates)”.

EGEAC (Empresa de Gestão de Equipamentos e Animação Cultural) is a company established by the City to run many of its cultural spaces. In recent years, the income generated by EGEAC has grown dramatically, largely as a result of the entry charge levied on the São Jorge Castle. Most of the visitors are tourists, and the income they generate is used by EGEAC to subsidise its other activities, most of which are directed at residents.

EGEAC was one of the few organisations interviewed in the current study that mentioned having specific target groups. Although they provide culture for all, specific target groups include:

- Senior citizens (who have different needs, such as wanting information on paper, and who have the potential to fulfil a teaching role)
- Younger generation (encouraging participation with cool programming)
- Accessibility (e.g. commuters – a non-obvious group – but also a mobile population)

There is a general feeling that there are sufficient cultural venues in the centre of the city, including theatres, cinemas, museums, libraries, and exhibition spaces. So the emphasis lies on developing facilities for local communities (for example using libraries) and in particular spreading culture to the outskirts of the city. In doing so, links with the metropolitan area and with mobile populations is important. Because the city itself is relatively small, it lacks the critical needed to support a wide cultural offer. Therefore, tourism is also seen as a means of supporting a more diverse range of facilities and activities.

3.3.2.2 GOVERNANCE

The traditional cultural institutions (municipal museums, monuments and theatres) are run by the cultural department of the city. But a number of cultural spaces and activities are run by EGEAC, which is a public company (SA). The city gives a grant to EGEAC which is around 30-40% of their operating budget. EGEAC takes care of the programming and runs the venues. This is unusual in Portugal, because normally cultural venues get 80% subsidy or more. According to the law, for such an arm's length construction the grant given by the public sector cannot be more than 50% of the budget. EGEAC can also be able to attract sponsorship and earn income to make up the rest of the budget. The income generated by EGEAC rose from €9.8 million in 2013 to 15.7 million in 2016.

Lisbon Tourism is also active in adding cultural experiences to the city. In 2012 it opened the Lisbon Story Centre: "an innovative space dedicated to the history of the Portuguese capital" that "transports visitors on a fascinating journey through time". It is designed to appeal to international and domestic tourists as well as locals. Lisbon Tourism says it wants to reach people – tourists are not the only target. But tourists are also looking for something genuine.

The governance of culture in Lisbon is now becoming more complicated because there are now 24 districts with new powers, who are just finding their feet in terms of organising events and running facilities. The districts often lack trained staff or expertise, although they do have better knowledge of the neighbourhood. The new structure creates more issues of coordination, as well as potentially differing opinions on how to do things. For example the central district of Santa Maria do Maior has taken an almost anti-tourist stance.

In the past there were no formal links between culture and tourism. Now EGEAC is represented on the Board of Lisbon Tourism, so there is closer contact. But there are also differences. Tourism Lisbon remarked that although the cultural sector is struggling (for money, for audiences), it is difficult to get a response. The organisation of culture is seen as a problem, because the tourism sector wants more information on the available cultural content.

3.3.3. Measures and projects

A fund has been created to use the revenues generated by the tourism tax to improve the experience of tourists and quality of life of the people of Lisbon. Measures underway include improvements to the Ajuda National Palace and the Jewish Museum of Lisbon, an exhibition of the Crown Jewels, as well as the *Lojas Com História* (Shops with History) programme.

The Lojas Com História policy was launched in response to numerous closures of specialist stores and old local businesses in February 2015. It seeks to preserve and conserve establishments with cultural heritage or particular significance, by giving rent protection for 5-10 years (and this principle has also been extended to cultural associations). By July 2016, 64 businesses, from restaurants to pastry shops, had received the label, and 19 additional shops were recognized in March 2017. In this way, the city of Lisbon can protect, help, and enhance traditional businesses and protect them from real estate speculation. This was seen by João Seixas (a Professor of Geography at the New University of Lisbon and founder of the Devagar bookshop) as a way of avoiding the museumification of the city centre. Other measures to try and support the identity of the city include a programme to re-animate the tradition of making thrones for Saint Anthony (who now has his own museum in a former church, generating 600,000 visits a year) and the revival of popular marches.

The city is working on the Roman theatre, and there are plans to build a digital itinerary of Roman Lisbon. The Fado Museum was opened in 2011 (providing a link with the World Heritage status for Fado). At the Monument to the Discoveries (where 92% of the visitors are tourists) the Municipality funded a basement exhibition on themes like racism and slavery, which also attract local audiences.

The city and EGEAC give support to many festivals that also attract tourists. EGEAC runs Lisboa na Rua, a major festival that moves around the different neighbourhoods outside the centre, including areas with migrants. The festival is for residents, but also new residents and visitors. There is information provided on the programming on the website in English. This leads people to events outside the city centre in “a program that is outdoor, free and suitable for all. We will keep on searching new places where you can enjoy cultural activities, other than the city centre.” For example an opera performance was staged in the suburb of Olivais in 2017, where the Gulbenkian Choir performed *Carmina Burana* in a field. The expected audience was 5,000, but 17,000 people (including many local residents) turned up.

EGEAC is also proud of the Sardines Contest, which was created in 2011. This gives local residents the chance to make their own sardine design, and there are around 5,000 entries for the contest each year. The event became a way of appropriating the sardine as a symbol for the city, and also as a souvenir for tourists. In 2019 the theme will be Save the Sardine (because the government is banning sardine fishing as a sustainability measure).

EGEAC is working on an integrated ticketing system, which they hope will help tourists to encounter new cultural experiences in other parts of the city. This is also supported by the development of new maps. Ideas are already emerging of trying to spread tourism. As Tourism Lisbon noted: “Outside the city centre we are working to spread tourism to relieve pressure and bring tourists to new areas. But it takes a lot of time. There is no perfect solution, the situation needs to be managed. It is a general urban problem.”

In order to tackle the housing crisis for artists, the city has developed 50 artists' studios. Artists get financial and non-financial support (spaces, logistics, promotion) from the Municipality to help them continue working in the city.

The entry fees imposed at São Jorge Castle have generated revenues, but action has also been taken to avoid feelings of ill-will among residents. Entry to the Castle is free for locals, so they don't feel excluded. EGEAC is also using locals as castle guides and programming in the castle is available in Portuguese for locals.

The activities taken in terms of protecting the identity of the city have to be balanced against attempts to establish Lisbon as "a cosmopolitan city, a contemporary city, a creative city and an inter-cultural city". A fine balance is needed to encourage a contemporary cosmopolitanism which does not come at the expense of long-standing local needs.

So the city has concentrated on developing cultural spaces (such as the Carpintarias de São Lázaro or Gaivotas), and the revitalisation of the city's library network, the Museum of "Aljube" and the redevelopment of the Lisbon Museum. There are also new cultural spaces emerging in the city, such as the MAAT - Museum of Art, Architecture and Technology in Belém. This iconic building has attracted significant visitor flows to a peripheral area of the city, and 25% of visitors are international tourists. Such actions also help to support the cultural lives of local citizens, and culture is continually used to promote participatory and conscientious citizenship to give people an active role in shaping wider urban policy and the future of Lisbon more generally.

Becoming cosmopolitan also means more international engagement, such as the city's involvement in the programme of Pilot cities led by UCLG's Agenda 21 for culture.

3.3.4. Vision of the City and Strategies for the Future

The rapid increase in international investment and tourism has created a need for mechanisms to deal with the increased use of the city. At the moment there is a great concentration of culture and tourist flows in the confined area of the city centre. There is a need to create new focal points for culture and tourism in the city and to spread activities and events across the metropolitan area.

Dealing with the metropolitan scale of the city also raises issues of sustainability. There is a need to make local cultural production sustainable, but this requires projects that are adapted to the expanding scale of the city. In the future, for example, this will mean paying more attention to the needs of youth and schools.

Lisbon is also becoming more cosmopolitan. There is a growing number of tourists and also ERASMUS students in the city. This is opening up the cultural system to new influences and supporting innovation, but at the same time commodification of culture is threatening local identities. There is a desire to conserve the culture and identity of the city, and this is reflected in programmes such as Lojas Com História. But in the future attention will have to be paid to contemporary cultural production as well. Lisbon used to be cool and attractive to artists because it was cheap. But now rising prices mean that artists can no longer afford to live in the centre, and the cost of mounting festivals has doubled.

The new cultural policy calls for a cultural planning approach for the city, and there is a need for continuity in policies and practices. In the future the city wants to establish a cultural observatory that can measure and monitor the progress of the cultural planning process.

3.3.5. Conclusions

The tourism issue is in some ways more acute in Lisbon than in the other case study cities because of temporal and spatial factors. The speed of development in recent years has been much more rapid than in the other cities, and the level of concentration of development in the city centre is much more intense. The ratio of tourists to residents of the historic city centre, for example, is the highest of all the case study cities.

In spite of this, most residents are still positive about tourism, as an economic lifeline, or as animation for the city centre. It could also be that anti-tourist feelings have not had as much time to mature as in other cities. But the recent economic crisis also played a strong role. Tourism essentially saved the economy, and people still remember that.

A few years ago most of the buildings in the historic centre were in need of renovation. Increased investment has helped to upgrade the urban fabric, but that has also stimulated an increase in housing prices. The international marketing of the city to investors and tourists has been very successful, but is now beginning to reveal negative externalities. As João Seixas remarked: "Lisbon was not prepared for success. We planned well for generating tourism, but not for dealing with the consequences."

There is currently a divided cultural supply for tourists and residents. Tourists can access mass commercial (globalized) culture, residents need local stories. These stories are also important for the identity and authenticity of the city. The supply of culture is also divided between the centre and the periphery. Spreading more culture to the outskirts of Lisbon is perceived as being more important than spreading tourism, because the assumption is that where culture is, tourists will also follow.

3.4 MONTRÉAL

Geographical area: **624 km²**

City population: **1,741,000**

Metropolitan population: **4,027,000**

Total national population living in the city: **5.6%**

Education level - with degree level or higher: **35.17%**

GDP (PPP): **€76 billion**

Creative industries employment: **13.4%**

3.4.1. General context and background

Montréal stands out from other great North American cities for its built, landscape, natural and intangible heritage, which have been integrated to meet its development needs. Montréal has positioned itself as a leader among the world's great cities with regard to the issue of living together, which is also reflected in the city's cultural policy.

Montréal is recognized as a global hub of the cultural and creative industries of video gaming, digital arts, augmented and immersive virtual reality, computer-generated special effects, and technical production and post-production services for film and television. In the 2007-2017 Action Plan for culture the city sought to position itself as a Cultural Metropolis.

Montréal is the fourth-largest Francophone city in the world, but it also houses Québec's largest English-speaking population (13.2%), and sizeable immigrant communities from non-French speaking countries (33% of all residents are foreign-born). While Montréal's French heritage gives it a distinctive character, developing a coherent response to social and cultural issues can be a fraught process when cultural identity is also bound up with language.

In response to these challenges, the city aims to become a 'cultural mediator,' focusing upon widening and democratising access to culture. In contrast to many other world cities, it is increasing funding for the arts: its grant to Conseil des Arts de Montréal, the city's independent arts council, has increased by 5% every year since 2009.

3.4.2. Linkages between culture and tourism

Montréal has long sought to position itself through culture and tourism (Kadri and Khomsi, 2017). Over the years the focus of marketing has shifted from the historic city centre to the broader role of Montréal as a cultural metropolis. This shift began with the 1967 EXPO, which helped to put the city on the global map and attracted over 50 million visits.

In spite of the broad concept of the cultural metropolis, just as in other cities, most tourists still visit the centre of the city, with Vieux-Montréal attracting 84% of visitors and Centre-ville de Montréal 83% (Tourisme Montréal, 2016). The principle strengths of Montréal include the cityscape and atmosphere, a wide range of activities, events and festivals and the bilingual nature of the city. There is a high level of satisfaction with the cultural offer, such as events (96% satisfaction rate among visitors), arts and culture (97%). There is also a strong link between tourism and cultural employment, with 25% of cultural jobs directly linked to tourism.

Tourisme Montréal's 2015 report showed that festivals attracted 7,5 million visits, cultural attractions 9 million visits, scenic arts over 3 million visits and museums 7 million visits. In 2012, almost 26% of tourists participated in at least one cultural activity. Culture also sites play a major role in the decision to visit the city (Table 2.2).

TABLE 2.2
IMPORTANCE OF CULTURAL ELEMENTS IN DECISION TO VISIT MONTRÉAL

Cultural form	%
Museums and historic sites	35%
Events and festivals	33%
Cultural performances	29%
Contemporary creation (digital arts, visual art, music, design)	19%

This underlines the important role of culture in attracting tourism, a fact that is reflected in the development of a specific cultural tourism policy.

3.4.2.1 POLICIES

In 2007 the City of Montréal came together with Culture Montréal (an independent organisation acting as the Regional Cultural Council), the Board of Trade of Metropolitan Montréal, and the government of Québec and Canada to create a comprehensive Action Plan for cultural development over the next decade.

The Action Plan included significant investment in Montréal's major cultural district, the Quartier des Spectacles. This square kilometre is home to over 80 cultural venues with 28,000 seats in 30 performance spaces, 450 cultural organisations and 7000 jobs related to culture. It includes the Place des Arts – Canada's leading cultural complex with six different concert and theatre halls – and the Place des Festivals, a key public space to host the city's major festivals.

The cultural policy for the period 2017-2022 is Montréal, Cultural Metropolis, subtitled Combining Creativity And The Citizen Cultural Experience In The Age Of Digital Technology And Diversity. It sees culture as one of the foundations of the identity, dynamism and distinctiveness of Montréal. Culture is viewed in a broad sense, to include the cultural industries and new technologies. The policy also highlights digital culture, which it sees as aligned with Montréal's ambition to be a leader among smart and digital cities, using new technologies to serve citizens. There is also a desire to integrate culture with other metropolitan development priorities.

In Montréal's cultural policy a model of partnership is important. The municipality is committed to an integrated and cross-cutting vision of cultural development, working with other municipal departments, Tourism Montréal and other private sector organisations and through close cooperation with the districts of the city. The city wants to encourage a cross-cutting approach, including Promoting cultural and creative entrepreneurship; Using digital technology to enhance citizen cultural experience and; Living together, which is embodied in the cultural quarters of Montréal.

Cultural development is seen as crosscutting. The Montréal cultural experience is based on bringing people together, stimulating creativity, innovation, dissemination and the export of cultural works.

It also stimulates outreach to publicise the quality, creativity and diversity of cultural products “to strengthen Montréal’s distinctive brand as a creator of value and collective pride.”

The main priorities at Tourisme Montréal include developing new tourism markets and strengthening international ties; promoting Montréal’s authentic and creative urban character; personalizing the visitor’s experience; and helping to develop the city’s tourism infrastructure, including “cultural neighbourhoods.”

The municipal administration is very proactive in developing cultural tourism and collaborates closely with Tourisme Montréal and the ministère de la Culture et des Communications du Québec. This cooperation led to the production, in 2010, of a first Cultural Tourism Development Plan, which was very successful and was renewed for the 2014-2017 period. At the beginning of August 2018 there was a further renewal of the cultural tourism partnership for another 3 years. Montréal is the only case study city that has a specific cultural tourism policy, which is largely due to the high level of collaboration between cultural and tourism organisations. The city and the ministry contribute financially to the programme, and Tourisme Montréal contributes with human resources.

3.4.2.2 GOVERNANCE

The City of Montréal is responsible for cultural policy, and works in collaboration with Culture Montréal, but it also maintains close links with the Government of Quebec, with which it runs joint funding programmes. The city also has 19 districts (arrondissements) with some responsibility for local culture and tourism activities. The Municipality runs a network of local Maisons de la culture, which provide cultural services in the different neighbourhoods of the city.

Funding for arts organisations in Montréal is distributed by the arm’s-length Montréal Arts Council. This distributed CAD11.6 million in 2015, spread over 434 different organisations. Although a few major organisations do get substantial grants, this points to the overall fragmentation of the arts scene. The Arts Council offers a number of specific funding programmes, such as residency programmes to artists from various disciplines.

Tourisme Montréal is a non-profit destination marketing and development organisation that was founded in 1919. It has representatives of the cultural sector on its board. Its activities include three main areas: Marketing and promotion, hospitality and product development. There is close collaboration between culture and tourism at city level, and now moves are being made to give the districts more scope to develop activities at neighbourhood level. Interestingly the creative industries are being dealt with by Tourisme Montréal, which produced a report on this sector in 2014. The collaboration between the culture and tourism sectors in Montréal is mainly based on joint activities, particularly related to cultural tourism. However, Culture Montréal (a non-profit organisation) is more focused on residents and their relationship to culture. Their main goal is to help the districts to link culture with local communities.

3.4.3. Measures and projects

Various actions to link cultural policy and tourism are evident at different administrative levels. At city level, the main actions stem from the Cultural Tourism Plan, which has included the production of the following promotional tools:

- More than 100 Works of Public Art in Montréal, brought together through 5 thematic routes and a public art map;
- The Guide to Creative Montréal, with 10 tours through the City's cutting-edge arts scene;
- Art public Montréal, a website that to showcase 1,000 works located throughout the city;
- Passeport MTL culture, bringing together 31 partners, which saves its users money on a wide range of popular cultural activities, as well as including integrated travel passes.

The Société de transport de Montréal (STM), Tourisme Montréal and the Bureau du taxi de Montréal supported the creation of *La Vitrine culturelle*, which has become the central information showcase both for tourists and for locals. The Ville de Montréal is also working on the development of the Montréal à pied (MAP) pedestrian signs project, which will meet the need frequently expressed by cultural organizations and the public for better identification of the locations of public and private cultural and heritage attractions. The first MAP terminals will be installed in 2018 in Old Montréal and deployed citywide in the years ahead.

Montréal actively supports the presence in the city of creators, artists and craftspeople to enhance the quality of life of its citizens. To this end, the City offers a variety of subsidy programs for artists and cultural workers, as well as outreach activities to showcase local creative works through its dissemination network. Artère is a one-stop portal that brings together practical information for Montréal's emerging artists. It provides information on funding opportunities, venues, legal issues and training to tips on management and promotion. The site includes such practical tools as an events calendar, grant schedule, bulletin board and directory of artists.

Art Public Montréal's objective is to increase awareness of Montréal as an international public art destination. It brings together the owners of public artworks installed on the territory of Montréal with the metropolis's influential stakeholders. The aim is to disseminate Montréal's extensive public art collection. This collection will eventually include more than 1,000 accessible public artworks, both outdoors and indoors. The works are permanent and installed in common public areas. Public artworks are found in places used either in passing or for meeting, such as public squares and parks, metro stations, cultural venues, educational institutions, government buildings, the headquarters and branches of companies, health care centres and even in sports and community facilities. Includes mural art - In 2016, the Ville de Montréal created a Mural Arts Program designed to beautify Montréal's public spaces through the production of outdoor murals that are visible, creative and relate to their surrounding environment.

The *Guide to Creative Montréal*, published in 2013, offers visitors the opportunity to immerse themselves in the creative scenes of the 19 districts of the city.

The Guide to Creative Montréal offers ten self-guided tours through Montréal's buzzing arts scene to help you discover the city's vigorous creative side. These carefully crafted itineraries help you see the city on foot, discovering or rediscovering neighbourhoods and public spaces where art expresses itself in all its forms. You'll enjoy events, visit galleries and concert halls, meet artists, and make all kinds of unexpected discoveries. Digital arts, visual arts, performing arts, music, and design are all on offer in each tour.

However, it seems that the guide itself has had relatively little impact. One reason may be that visitors are increasingly using social as a more accessible and up-to-date source of information on activities and attractions in the different districts of the city.

Some of the city districts currently have plans to do something with tourism (although it seems not much is happening at the moment). The districts have organized consultation meetings with the community and artists to try and find out what is important for them. The implementation of cultural neighbourhoods throughout the city is seen as a unique opportunity to strengthen the provision of local cultural services while continuing efforts to democratize arts and culture for the montréalais. In some neighbourhoods, attitudes to tourism are changing as a result of Airbnb. But basically people still want visitors, even though they don't always understand how tourism works. The big question is what do tourists want? In many cases they want to learn about and explore the 'local' (taking self-guided tours of neighbourhoods, for example).

One project that is in development is the creation of "quartiers culturels", part of the Montréal métropole culturelle 2007-2017 plan. This concept was developed according to the principles of cultural sustainability enshrined in Agenda 21 for Culture. The aim is to develop greater cultural proximity throughout the city to encourage cultural participation and increase the quality of life. A kit is being developed to help to valorise the neighbourhoods and to stimulate new projects. The evaluation of culture in each neighbourhood will also feed into decisions on the possibilities for and the shape of future tourism-related developments. Residents seem to be open to the initiative, particularly as it is aimed at visitors who are interested more in experiences and being in touch with the locals.

3.4.4. Vision of the city and strategies for the future

Investing in cultural neighbourhoods and cultural proximity is a key part of developing the cultural metropolis. The idea is to strengthen the cultural fabric of the city for the benefit of all, making the different areas of the city attractive to live in as well as to visit. In the future:

the visitation experience must provide the feeling of being immersed in an intense and omnipresent urban cultural life. Visitors wandering through the various Montréal neighborhoods must feel the presence of culture in all its forms, whether it be the quality of the urban environment around the major attractions, or the range of diverse and complementary experiences available throughout a day or a stay. (Tourisme Montréal, 2010)

As Montréal continues to develop as a cultural metropolis, there is also likely to be more attention paid to the role of contemporary creative activities in attracting and developing tourism. The report on Tourism and Contemporary Creativity (Tourisme Montréal, 2014) argues that the city is now attracting 'les touristes de la création actuelle 2.0' who are looking for 'cutting edge' culture. The report identifies Digital Arts, Visual Arts, Performing Arts, Music and Design as five sectors that link many current events and venues in Montréal and which are also likely to appeal to the new wave of 'creative tourists' (Richards and Raymond, 2000).

The shift towards contemporary creativity has important implications in terms of linkages with new technologies and social media. It will be important for the city to stay abreast of the latest trends and learn from best practices, while striving to innovate and maintain its distinctiveness in order to differentiate itself in a crowded tourism market. One important part of this will be attracting new audiences to support cultural institutions which often flourish, but which are also very fragile. At the same time there is also a desire to increase the implication of residents and visitors in the consumption and production (or co-creation) of culture: "A culture where every montréalais, whatever their origin is, can not only assist, but participate, take action." (Interview).

3.4.5. Conclusion

Montréal has a number of parallels with the European cities analysed in this report, but also a number of important differences. Just as in Europe, tourism is growing and having a significant impact on the production and consumption of culture in the city. Montréal is also seeking effective ways to use culture to bind the different parts of the metropolitan region together. The cultural metropolis programme shows a commitment to using culture as a transversal and transformational element to this end.

The emphasis on partnership is more evident than in Europe, perhaps because of the differences in cultural funding approaches in Europe and North America. Even though Montréal, as a Francophone city, is closer to the European model than most other North American cities, there is still a much greater willingness to involve the private sector, and evidence of structural public-private partnerships that can support interesting initiatives. One sign of this is the cultural tourism programme, which is set to continue for further three years.

Another major difference in Montréal is the relatively low level of tourism flows. With a much smaller domestic market and with international travel being relatively expensive, it is difficult for the city to achieve the same volumes of business that cities such as Barcelona or Amsterdam have. This means that there is relatively little negative reaction to tourism growth at present (although there are already some irritations about Airbnb). So moves to spread tourism are much more related to ideas about diffusing culture throughout the city rather than any idea of dealing with the negative externalities of tourism.

The recent renewal of the cultural tourism programme points to a desire to continue the successful model of partnership which has delivered considerable benefits over the past decade.

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3.5 ROME

Geographical area: **5,363km²**

City population: **2,627,000**

Metropolitan population: **4,340,000**

Percentage of total national population living in the city: **7.1%**

GDP (PPP): **€140 billion**

Creative industries employment: **9.8%**

3.5.1. General context and background

Rome is the vibrant and cultural capital of Italy, but in many senses the city is hostage to its great history. Rome, in common with many other capitals, has a large number of national as well as local cultural institutions, and has the additional weight of immense heritage resources that need to be maintained. There have been recent additions to the contemporary cultural supply in Rome, including the UNESCO Creative City of Film and the MAXXI National Museum of the 21st Century Arts, a museum of contemporary art and architecture designed by Zaha Hadid.

Rome has been suffering for many years with financial and administrative problems, which have also negatively affected the external image of the city. Tourism growth in Rome is the slowest of all the case study cities, and culture appears undervalued and underutilised: “Culture in Rome is not prioritised as it should be. The level of appreciation and interaction of culture with other sectors of urban development is low. Different sectors still operate in silos.” (Lucio Argano, Director, Rome Film Festival). Dealing with such problems is not easy in a city where levels of trust in the public administration are among the lowest in Europe (see Figure 2.12).

The election of the Five Star administration in 2016 introduced a number of changes in policy and intentions for the future. For example, the city’s bid for the 2024 Olympic Games was dropped, with the incoming mayor refusing to saddle the city with further debt and white elephant facilities.

Rome is also at the forefront of Italy’s migration debate, as many of the country’s 180,000 asylum seekers and refugees are located in or near Rome. The new Mayor has taken a tough stance on migrants, saying “We can’t afford new arrivals.” But Rome has already become a multi-ethnic and multicultural city and will need to find ways of addressing these issues in future.

The streams of mobile populations (migrants, tourists, students) add further pressure to an already overburdened urban infrastructure. Transport is a major issue in a city where new developments are restricted by the weight of history, and geographic and social fragmentation make connecting the different parts of the city difficult. This fragmentation also limits the potential of tourism, as most visitors only visit the city centre, and the opportunity to exploit the value of the whole city is being missed. According to the WCCF (2015): “Rome is a city in flux and its powerful heritage no longer adequately expresses its identity”.

3.5.2. Linkages between culture and tourism

Culture and tourism have been inextricably linked in Rome since antiquity, and this bond was strengthened by the rise of the Grand Tour in the 18th century. As the WCCF report (2015) notes:

“Rome appears to have an almost limitless appeal to tourists, and it is in the visitor economy that most of the opportunities for the city exist. Most existing tourism activity is concentrated in the city centre, leaving much of potential value relatively undiscovered.”

The concentration of tourism in the centre is a major issue for the city, because it implies additional stress on services there, and a considerable imbalance between the centre and the periphery. One of the major challenges of the Municipality is to try and spread the supply and consumption of culture more evenly over the relatively large expanse of the city. There is also a feeling that the city has in the past paid too much attention to tourism and built heritage at the expense of other aspects of culture. The new Vice Mayor for Culture, Luca Bergamo, commented in a recent interview:

To imagine that the heritage of Rome is simply a tool at the service of tourism means giving an interpretation of the city as a museum. The same thing that happens in Venice. But this kills the development of Rome and kills the development of the country. On the contrary, this uniqueness of Rome is something on which to build a new social contract, a model of different development, in which even the indirect economic exploitation of this presence is not derived from the fact that the consumption of the good is sold as an object that enriches the use of people's free time, but it is an opportunity to build around this immense heritage the context of a rich, contemporary cultural life.

Taking a new approach to culture is also seen as a potential means of avoiding tensions between tourists and residents. The idea is that if citizens feel they have good access to culture and other resources, they will also accept tourism more. At the moment, locals often think tourists get more than they do, so the idea is to promote living together by increasing the cultural possibilities for citizens.

3.5.2.1 POLICIES

Cultural policy in Rome is aimed at breaking down the divisions between the centre and the whole, between the past and the present. This requires a certain repositioning of the city, because Rome is uncertain of how it wishes to be seen, by the world or by itself. (WCCF, 2015)

The new Five Star administration was elected in 2016, and has set about re-organising the governance. For example, the large and small theatres were previously separated in terms of administration, but they are now administered together. There has also been some re-organisation of museums, under a new vision dedicated to contemporary and future issues to help citizens deal with new challenges.

The right to culture is seen as fundamental to developing a critical and informed citizenship and to social progress. The cultural policy frames cultural value in social rather than in monetary terms, and stresses the need to move from an uncoordinated to an integrated cultural system for the city. It stresses the need for intercultural dialogue to cope with the changing population of Rome, and will encourage the institutions to adhere to the UNESCO Declaration on Cultural Diversity.

The policy also stresses the need to open up new cultural spaces, and 39 libraries are now being re-purposed as culture hubs, serving the neighbourhoods and forging links with other cultural institutions. There is also an important role for science, which is viewed as a facet of culture – “Culture in Rome must mean also Science for all.”

In general terms, the aim is to reverse the decline in funding that has affected the cultural sector in recent years:

The cultural life of the Capital will again be for the benefit of those who live in Rome, not only as an audience, but also through active participation. In this way the millions of tourists who visit Rome will also be guaranteed an increase in the quality and variety of the cultural offer, a more balanced distribution during the year, more reasons for extending their presence stay and, hopefully, a greater desire to live and invest in Rome, world capital of culture (Roma Capitale, 2016).

The current tourism policy recognises that tourist interest in the city has declined in recent years, leading also to a falling length of stay. This indicates that the developments in cultural policy, which aim to improve the cultural content of the city, should also have a direct impact on tourism and the experience of tourists as well.

The new tourism policy also envisages a number of new measures to reduce the evasion of tourist tax, improvements in transport, promotion of business tourism, the establishment of a convention bureau and collaboration with tour operators to promote themed routes and the 'hidden corners of Rome'.

One sign of this new approach is a push to develop tourism in the suburbs, in the 'hidden corners' of the city, but this will be a challenge. Alessia Mariotti, a cultural tourism expert from the University of Bologna, is sceptical about developing tourism in the suburbs of art cities such as Rome, which have no developed tourist offer. "You can do tourist promotion and communication after you have created a tourism product. Otherwise there will be no results."

3.5.2.2 GOVERNANCE

Two municipal departments are involved in the governance of tourism: firstly the Department of Cultural Activities, which covers museums, heritage and cultural participation, and secondly the Department of Tourism. The Department of Cultural Activities is responsible for the development of the right to cultural participation. The main targets include temporary and permanent residents because of dynamic nature of the city. The aim is to bring culture and heritage into the lives of all citizens. One major problem is that 67% of the city area is green, but it is spread out from the centre, and so has problems of access. Mobility is poor, people often do not go to the centre to use cultural facilities there, and cannot easily travel between different peripheral neighbourhoods. So the focus of the Cultural Activities Department is on protecting citizens and their rights to access culture, and trying to balance the previous emphasis on tourism. Priorities in culture have changed with the change in political control of the city to the Five Star Movement. As Luca Bergamo remarked, the previous emphasis on linking tourism and commercial culture was not good, because: "the tourism economy does not create distribution, does not spread knowledge and, focusing the focus on a few places in the city, tends to stress them." So there is a new focus on inclusion rather than using culture to develop tourism.

From the point of view of tourism, a regional discussion forum has been established with all the municipalities in the Lazio region in order to coordinate tourism policy on a broader scale. There is a recognition that new governance models are needed to ensure the sustainability of culture and tourism. Specific aims include increasing the number of long-haul visitors to stimulate

longer stays and the development of thematic routes aimed at different market segments. The overall aim is to give the visitor a unique experience and turn them into 'ambassadors' for Rome.

The governance of culture and tourism is complex because the metropolitan area has 15 sub-municipalities, each with its own local office for culture, but with no powers for tourism. Each neighbourhood also has its own Commission for Tourism and a Commission for Culture. This is a complex structure encompassing different levels and districts. The city is therefore a complex network, which needs to be effectively managed.

3.5.3. Measures and projects

At the moment, the Tourism Department has more possibilities for communication with potential audiences, because it is a more established department. The new Cultural Department is still a work in progress.

Tourism is pressurising the city centre, so there is a desire to use cultural policy to transform the surroundings and use of spaces in the city, for example, for the development of new cultural hubs serving the neighbourhoods and forging links with other cultural institutions. There are no specific target groups defined for cultural policy. Rather the city is trying to meet the needs of all permanent and temporary residents. One issue is that residents of Rome have very low levels of trust both in their neighbours and the public administration (See Figure 2.13). Culture is therefore seen as a tool to build social capital and trust.

One specific action that relates to both residents and visitors is the development of cultural programming. The city is now programming through 3 seasons:

Spring = Science (which is seen as part of culture)

Summer = cultural activities, largely open air

Autumn = Contemporary production

The overall approach to developing events has also changed from a reliance on large scale spectacular events to more accessible events. For example, since 2016 the New Year's Eve celebrations have been changed from one mega concert in Circus Maximus with big star musicians to a more devolved event. The main focus shifted further in 2017 with the invitation of the Catalan cultural group Fura de Bous, whose performances present no language barrier for tourists. Smaller events were also organised in other parts of the city to reduce the concentration on the centre. The event also carries on into the next day to provide more informal activity, with areas of the centre being traffic free and live shows being staged all day. This provides a chance for people to mingle, build contacts, and meet each other. This is part of a process of opening up the city for all.

Another example of providing more access to culture is a new card for entry to Rome museums. At a cost of 5 euros the card provides free access to a wide range of museums for residents, students and temporary citizens. The young are seen as an important target group for this programme, because they add liveliness to the cultural scene. Therefore, there are measures to promote youth participation, particularly in the Science season. This includes the development of cultural programmes for schools as well. Another initiative from the Tourism Department is also to try and de-seasonalise tourist flows by offering free access to museums during less busy

times of year. They are also planning to spotlight new elements of culture, such as futurism in the Flaminio neighbourhood, suburban street art and modern architecture.

The city has also begun a conversation with Google Arts and Culture – trying to inject more contemporary and everyday culture into the content of tourist experiences rather than relying on the normal heritage attractions. An observatory is also being developed to evaluate participation and non-participation in cultural life and the relationship between culture and well-being. The city is also experimenting with new forms of cultural decision-making, such as a two month public consultation process for the development of guidelines for the management contract for a renovated cinema.

Recent issues of overcrowding and the growth of Airbnb have introduced a new discourse around tourism, which has led to a number of measures designed to control externalities. The tourist tax will also be applied to apartments or rooms in private homes, which are increasingly rented through online platforms such as Airbnb or Homeaway. Each guest will have to pay € 3.50 a day for a maximum of 10 consecutive days, as is already the case for bed and breakfast, rooms for rent, holiday homes. Tourist buses have also been banned from the city centre of Rome. The Tourist Department has also launched the #EnjoyRespectRoma video campaign, which aims to encourage appropriate behaviour by visitors.

There have also been measures introduced to control flows of visitors around the Trevi Fountain, where a fight recently broke out between tourists vying to take a selfie. Government officials have considered controlling the flow of tourists by making them pass by the fountain single file, without stopping. This has already been tried on a temporary basis. The popularity of the Trevi fountain introduces an interesting footnote in the debate about the economic link between tourism and culture. Tradition has it that if visitors want to return to Rome one day, they should throw a coin over their left shoulder into the fountain. The large number of visitors now means that about €4000 a day is collected from the fountain and given to charity. But there is now a discussion about whether the money raised should be invested in culture.

3.5.4. Vision of the city and strategies for the future

In terms of the future of the city, the respondents emphasized the importance of improving the cultural offer of the city, to include other parts of the city and new target groups. This means increasing cultural participation, which in turn means improving access to culture. In a fragmented city such as Rome, there are big challenges to overcome regarding both physical access to the different parts of the metropolis, but also overcoming entrenched attitudes and mistrust.

The future priorities for the new administration are therefore to spread culture and cultural participation throughout the city and the metropolitan area. There is a need to develop new hubs and to make culture more accessible, as the library development programme is attempting to do. The city is also trying to apply new technologies to the problems, working with private partners to develop 5G and IT applications to provide better information and accessibility. The hope is that new technology can help the city to develop new experiences to benefit tourists and residents.

There is also a desire to develop culture as a transversal area of policy for the metropolitan area, as culture may help people to overcome some of the fragmentation built up over the years. In this sense, culture is viewed as a form of software for creating the urban future of Rome.

For the Tourism Department one important future target is quality tourism, particularly business tourists and conference visitors. This is seen as an important economic sector, although it is also recognised that business visitors can also benefit from the cultural offer of the city.

3.5.5. Conclusions

For Rome, one of the biggest challenges is its position as a leading tourist city, well endowed with culture and heritage. The concentration of cultural resources in the historic centre makes it difficult to develop new initiatives elsewhere, and at the same time the tourist concentration in the centre means that locals do not connect with the city centre as they should. These issues are now being tackled with a new positioning of the city, and an emphasis on contemporary and mobile culture. However, spreading cultural initiatives to the relatively fragmented metropolitan area will remain a major challenge in future. In order to confront this challenge, major issues of governance will also need to be addressed.

PART 4.

REFLECTING THE EXPERIENCE OF BARCELONA

On 15 October 2018 a meeting was arranged by the UCLG and the ICUB with stakeholders from the cultural and tourism sectors in Barcelona. This aimed to gather feedback on the report, and the findings from other cities. Representatives of 17 organisations attended the meeting, including leading cultural institutions in the city, representatives of the public administration (Ajuntament de Barcelona, Diputació de Barcelona) and civic organisations. Copies of the draft of this report were distributed prior to the meeting to allow attendees to read and comment on it. The meeting was introduced with presentations on this report and the report produced by the UCLG and ICUB on the relationship between tourism and culture in Barcelona (see UCLG-ICUB, 2018).

The discussion of the draft report indicated that there was general support for the findings and conclusions of the research. A number of suggestions were made for areas that might require additional attention. These included the need to think about culture and tourism not as a dyad, but as a triad: culture, tourism and space. The territorial dimension is considered important to provide a basis for developing an integrated approach to the challenges currently facing cities such as Barcelona. It is also important to try and overcome the conceptual and spatial division between the city centre and the periphery, and to think about how new centralities can emerge through the development of culture, tourism and the orgware and hardware of the city.

Concern was expressed by the participants about the globalisation and commercialisation of culture. This can make it hard for non-commercial and local cultural products and experiences to gain visibility. In the shift towards the 'city as platform', therefore, it is important to try and maintain a level playing field that ensures access and visibility for all civic actors. In this context, thought might also be given to reserving a virtual space for culture to ensure a free flow of cultural information to all city users. Platforms could be developed under the management of the Municipality to ensure impartiality, and provision could be made for a 'percentage for culture' in the virtual space of the platform.

These ideas led to a discussion of governance models for culture and tourism. The general feeling was that more transversal and horizontal forms of governance are needed, which can get away from the 'silos' that currently separate different policy fields. In the past, tourism has been strongly guided by the tourism sector, rather than being influenced by the needs of other sectors, including culture. There is also a need to link different levels of government together more effectively, so that different public actors work towards the same ends. More reflection is needed in a situation in which tourism is moving from being marketed to being managed. This leads to new policy questions, such as how cultural policies can actually influence tourism and tourism policy? In Barcelona and other major cities the question of management not only affects culture and tourism, but also issues of mobility, access and equity.

All of these new developments need to be underpinned by an improvement in our knowledge of the interactions between culture and tourism in cities. New technologies provide opportunities to monitor the production and consumption of culture by different groups in the city in real time. This information can be turned into knowledge that is of vital importance for cultural institutions seeking new opportunities and publics. In this context it is notable

that Amsterdam is considering measures to transform the marketing organisation for the city into a knowledge organisation. Developing a more sophisticated approach to patterns of cultural consumption might help to address the problems encountered by many cultural organisations in Barcelona – that the majority of tourists do not engage with the cultural offer, particularly in terms of theatres and other artistic events. By identifying more closely the interests of tourists, new residents and foreign born citizens, there is a greater chance of increasing levels of engagement. In developing a more strategic approach to the relationship between tourism and culture, this might also help to develop ‘a tourism for culture’, rather than the traditional approach of developing culture for tourists.

It was also felt that the relationship between culture and tourism was an issue that could usefully be considered by a network of cities, such as that provided by the UCLG.

PART 5.

CONCLUSIONS

In such a wide-ranging study, it is extremely challenging to draw together general conclusions about the experience of cities operating in very different cultural, economic, political and geographic contexts. In refining the main points of our analysis, we have decided to use the key issues raised in the UCLG-ICUB report on *The Relationship Between Culture and Tourism in Barcelona: Current Context and Challenges*. This will also allow a better comparison with the situation in Barcelona.

5.1 APPROACHES TO CULTURAL POLICIES AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

One theme that is clearly reflected in all of the case study cities is the fact that the relationship between cultural policy and tourism is extremely complex and multidimensional, which requires integrated policy approaches. Some cities have already moved in the direction of integrated culture and tourism policies (such as Copenhagen, for example), but others still have a lot of work to do in this area. A major challenge is the fact that urban policies in general have tended to develop in 'silos' with little communication or coordination between different policy areas. The basic problem seems to be a lack of recognition or legitimacy. Tourism can generally claim legitimacy on economic grounds, but culture has a more all-encompassing and less focussed claim. The role of culture as a transversal element of urban policy needs to be established more firmly before it is seen by increasing numbers of stakeholders as a legitimate tool for tackling the externalities of tourism, as well as other city challenges.

A key aspect of this debate is how culture and tourism are framed within urban discourses. In a more traditional view of these fields, culture is related to the quality of life, expression and identity of citizens, whereas tourism is an economic activity directed towards consumers. The current analysis has shown, however, that the picture is much more complex than this. In particular the people traditionally viewed as 'tourists' are no longer just the superficial consumers of urban culture they might once have been. Increasingly, they can also be important actors on the urban scene, staying for a shorter or longer period of time, not just for leisure but also for work, education and personal development. In this sense, tourists can be important urban actors, not just in quantitative terms (as the current 'overtourism' debate would suggest), but also in qualitative terms. Growing numbers of 'tourists' have a keen interest in local life and lifestyles, and they want to 'live like a local' (Russo and Richards, 2016). Many are already becoming temporary or permanent citizens, spending extended periods living in urban communities while studying, working or co-working. Some are no longer tourists in the traditional sense of moving in a linear fashion between a single origin and destination, but they constitute a cosmopolitan nomad tribe that shifts between urban centres in search of experiences and economic opportunities. These nomads can also become important new cultural intermediaries in these cities, often providing the link between tourists and the cultures they settle in.

In this situation, the old categories of resident and tourist become less useful. Just as resident populations show high levels of diversity, so do the mobile groups that join them temporarily. Thinking about the 'right to the city' purely in terms of traditional citizenship therefore becomes

problematic. There are different options in re-framing the debate. One is to adopt the concept of 'temporary citizens' instead of tourists, as Barcelona has already done for many years. As temporary citizens visitors should have the same basic cultural rights as residents. But exercising the right to culture also implies a duty to sustaining that culture. This may be self-evident for residents, because there is a clear stake in maintaining the quality of life of the area you live in, but what stake do visitors have, beyond a self-developed sense of responsibility? Operationalising the concept of temporary citizens still requires some work. Another option could be to take up Lefebvre's concept of the 'Citadin' as the user of urban space, irrespective of legal citizenship, which would also put sedentary and mobile populations on the same conceptual footing.

Whatever the approach, there is a need to gain support from the population as a whole. This is important because there is some evidence of an emerging gap between citizens and policymakers in terms of the perception of the relationship between tourism and the city. Almost without exception policymakers have a positive view of the relationship between tourism and culture whereas some groups of residents have a more pessimistic outlook, viewing tourism as a force that is destroying local culture and identity. Many residents also perceive the city as doing relatively little to address the problems related to tourism. There are also gaps emerging between residents in different parts of the city, with residents in the centre being much more negative about tourism than residents in other parts of the city. Some cities seem to be doing more than others in trying to involve residents in decision-making over the use and management of urban space, which is one potential means of changing perceptions as well as offering concrete solutions to identified problems.

The relationship between cultural policies and tourism is also an issue of sustainability. In the current debates on 'overtourism' much has been said about the sustainability of tourism. In fact, the issue in the cities is not so much the sustainability of tourism, but of culture. Ensuring the sustainability of the culture on which all users of the city depend is an essential task for all cities. Without the living culture of the city as the 'fourth pillar of sustainability' (Agenda 21 for Culture), the quality of life of locals will plummet, and the attractiveness of the cities as places to visit will decline. The discourse should not be about sustainable or responsible tourism (terms which are often used for greenwashing conventional models of tourism), but rather the ability of culture to absorb and even positively transform tourism. As Stone (2018) reflected following a stay in Lisbon:

Maybe what it should really be about is "sustainable culture." How do we sustain cultures without letting tourists overrun them? How do we preserve customs and traditions without them being tainted by foreign investment and the gentrification of cities? How do we offer the opportunity to experience new parts of the world without altering them forever? How do we preserve history for future generations?

This also seems to be the attitude of most of the cities. Take care of culture, and the tourists will come. Because for many visitors, what they want to see is exactly the cultural life and creativity of the places they are visiting. But it is also important to realise that it is not just a question of preserving culture – there also needs to be room for culture to develop and evolve and provide the potential for future development as well.

5.2. REFLECTING ON THE MODEL OF THE CITY FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF CULTURE

The model of the contemporary city, and particularly the rising popularity of city centre and inner city spaces with residents and visitors alike, lies at the heart of debates on culture and tourism. Tourists flock to city centres as sites of sedimented culture and built heritage and as generators of ludic experiences and 'good crowding'. Residents are also attracted to the lively ambiance of the centre, even if they often want the liveliness to stop at 10pm. Cultural policy has also tended to add to the crowding of the centre, often locating facilities and events there because it is the most accessible place for all at the level of the city.

In the case study cities this is now beginning to change. Firstly, many of the cities are now starting to think about the metropolitan area of the city, and not just the central municipality. Metropolitan thinking changes the relationship between centre and periphery, extending the urban area and creating new centralities. But it also raises considerable challenges in terms of accessibility and resources. New strategies should be found to develop cultural hubs in the periphery and encourage greater cultural participation in areas where engagement has traditionally been low. Some creative solutions are being developed, such as the use of libraries as new cultural hubs in Lisbon and Rome, or the creation of *Maisons de la culture* in Montréal. These developments also fit with a concept of cultural proximity, driven by a desire to bring culture to citizens, but also as an expression of devolving power. This is matched by governance changes in some cities such as Lisbon and Montréal, where city districts are learning to deal with new powers and responsibilities. It will be interesting to see what effect such developments have on the more traditional and centralised programmes for engaging with citizens. It will be difficult to manage the kinds of services currently centrally organised (such as the Vitrine Culturelle in Montréal or International House in Copenhagen) if they become more localised. The application of new technologies might help in this respect, but this will ameliorate the division between centre and periphery rather than resolving the issue. This underlines the need not just to tackle the centre-periphery dimension of cultural policy, but also to do this as part of an integrated approach to urban culture.

New models of urban cultural policy should also recognise that peripherality is not just a spatial issue. There are neglected groups and spaces in the city centre as well as on the outskirts. And for some of these groups maintaining a peripheral position relative to mainstream society is an essential survival mechanism. In this regard the position of 'alternative' culture in cities is interesting. The alternative cultural scene in Rome provides a good example of how the underground culture of the city helps to revitalise and dynamise the cultural system of the city as a whole. The cultural 'underground' as it was dubbed by Cohendet et al. (2010) is an essential source of new ideas and innovation that can feed into the 'middleground' of mainstream cultural production and experiences for residents and visitors alike. One of the challenges for the underground culture is that locations in the inner city that might have been viewed as unattractive and peripheral a few years ago are now seen as prime real estate. This leads to an unstable existence for many emerging artists, who are also being priced out of the city centre through rising rents. Many of the cities recognise this problem, and are developing programmes to provide space and support. However, the realities of the property market combined with a desire to spread culture to the outskirts means that the cultural peripherality of these artists is likely to be compounded with spatial marginalisation in the future.

The problems of culture in the centre of the city might, however, also provide new opportunities. The potential to develop new cultural hubs in peripheral areas of the city, such as the plans to move museums to Amsterdam's Zuid As, may provide new forms of access to culture for residents and visitors. This requires some careful thinking about the relationship between the cultural offer in the city centre and in more peripheral locations. Ideally, these new cultural hubs should have the potential to act as tourist attractions in their own right, stimulating visitors to travel to new areas of the city. The current tendency for existing cultural institutions to look for opportunities to establish subsidiary operations in popular cities might offer the potential for opening new facilities that also have an established reputation and significant audience. For example, the plans for a Hermitage in Barcelona could provide a new pole for cultural tourism in the city, but rather than adding a million visitors to the already overcrowded port area (<http://www.hermitagebcn.com/es/>), it might be worth considering using this development as a regeneration opportunity for an area with relatively few visitors or cultural facilities.

There is also a specific emerging issue in some of the cities with regard to nightlife, which attracts residents and visitors alike. Producing culture at night is an essential aspect of many urban scenes, but it also leads to negative externalities that have to be managed. Specific attention has been paid to this in the cultural strategy of Lisbon, but Amsterdam has gone furthest in concrete management actions with the appointment of a 'night Mayor'. This is an interesting model because it is a private sector initiative – basically the cultural producers recognising and trying to deal with the externalities of their own activities. This of course makes it a popular option for cities with limited budgets, and the idea is rapidly spreading around Europe and North America. The interesting point in terms of the current report is that it suggests that there may be potential for other cultural and tourism facilities to work collaboratively to tackle the potential externalities caused by their operations.

In re-thinking the model of the city, it is interesting that city festivals are emerging as a widespread forum for urban reflection. Examples include the 'We Make the City Festival' in Amsterdam and the 'Thinking Biennale. Open City' in Barcelona. Not only do events provide a space for thinking about the city, but it has even been suggested that festivals, as 'mini-cities' in their own right, could serve as experimental environments for cities to try out new ideas in urban management and social innovation.

5.3. ESTABLISHING MEETING SPACES FOR ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN CULTURAL LIFE

Public space is vital to civic life, as the arena in which the users of the city encounter one another and assess similarities and differences. Cities are struggling to preserve public space in the face of increasing commercialisation and commodification. Dwindling public resources mean that the private sector is often enlisted as a partner in managing public space, often turning it into a semi-private sphere. As well as defending existing public space, there is a need to create new ones. Particularly where metropolitan expansion is integrating outskirts with a relative lack of public space into the city, strategies need to be found.

One option is to move institutions and events into new areas of the city. This is a strategy that has been employed in Barcelona for many years, with La Mercè taking in new spaces in the city on an annual basis (Richards, 2007b). In Lisbon and Amsterdam there has been a deliberate attempt to highlight new areas of the city through cultural programmes and events. In Amsterdam, new cultural hubs have been established that give a new centrality to formerly peripheral areas. In Lisbon there is also a growing awareness of the need to decentralise in order to support the more deprived areas of the city.

Conserving existing cultural spaces in the face of globalisation and property speculation is also crucial. In Barcelona, the struggle to preserve the La Violeta cultural centre in Gràcia is a good example of how grass roots action combined with public sector support can work. However, there is also a need for more structured, city-wide programmes. The Shops with History (Lojas com História) programme in Lisbon is a good example of an intervention that helps to conserve spaces that are at the same time essential for local cultural life, identity and social cohesion, and which are also of interest for visitors and international citizens. Essentially, the programme recognises the need to intervene in the property market in order to protect these cultural spaces from the pressures of globalisation. In Lisbon national legislation regarding support for cultural associations has been applied in a similar way.

One form of tourism that is based on meetings between locals and visitors is creative tourism (Richards and Raymond, 2000), or tourism designed to provide experiences linked to local culture and creativity through active involvement of locals and tourists. This has been formally developed in Barcelona through Creative Tourism Barcelona (part of the international Creative Tourism Network), and it is also evident to some extent in Lisbon and Montréal (Delisle, forthcoming). As the UCLG-ICUB (2018) report remarks:

The promotion of so-called “creative tourism” or the active involvement of tourists in creative processes, which could be shared with the local population, would help to diversify the offer of cultural practices for residents and visitors to the city and could transform the perceptions of each group in relation to the other, facilitating the transmission of knowledge and the generation of new narratives around tourism.

Creative tourism can provide a cultural space in which visitors and locals can interact around shared interests, rather than each having to play out the respective roles of ‘hosts’ and ‘guests’. Importantly, creative tourism becomes a means by which the creativity of visitors can be tapped by the city. But it has to be recognised that this is a niche market, which will not address the problems of mass tourism.

5.4 INFLUENCING TOURISM THROUGH MEDIATION AND PROMOTION

A crucial issue is how city users can be influenced to act sustainably. In the past, a lot of emphasis has been placed on communicating with visitors to make sure they follow rules and regulations. This trend is continuing in the case study cities, although in new forms. In Amsterdam, for example, extensive use is being made of social media to try and target groups (young people from particular countries) with messages about appropriate behaviour.

Ideally of course, citizens (whether permanent or temporary) should be self-regulating. Traditionally social control helped to keep things in order, but as a recent report on Amsterdam suggests (Ombudsman, 2016), in some areas, at certain times, social control is absent. In Copenhagen, where the volume of tourism is lower, attempts are being made to get the tourists to 'fit in' with local culture, through the introduction of noise free zones and through promotional messages. Promoting the values of the city, both to visits and residents, is an important task of the municipal authorities.

For the time being, the approach in most cities seems to be a combination of regulation (mainly telling people what they cannot do) and more subtle 'nudging' through the design of space or messages via different media. An interesting example is the way in which the former 'hard squares' (places dures) in Barcelona are being made softer. In the Plaça del Sol, for example, children's play facilities have been installed in an attempt to reduce the space available for night-time drinking (as well as providing more play space for children, of course), and the steps around the square that once served as convenient informal seating have been filled with flower boxes. At the same time the cleaning regime for open spaces in the city centre has been changed, with spaces being hosed down earlier in the evening to prevent people gathering late at night.

In terms of mediation there is a role for local cultural intermediaries who interact with tourists, and for local residents themselves, to act as ambassadors and educators. They should be introducing newcomers to the culture and norms of the area they are visiting, as well as pointing out the places of interest. Perhaps there is also a role to be found for the new centres of cultural proximity in this regard.

5.5 REINVESTING ECONOMIC GAINS FROM TOURISM IN A SUSTAINABLE CULTURAL ECOSYSTEM

As cultural resources are important in attracting tourists, there is an argument for reinvesting the benefits derived from tourist visits in the city's cultural ecosystem, helping to increase sustainability of all aspects of culture, including grassroots creative initiatives, neighbourhood cultural facilities and artistic education programmes.

In the current study, some interesting examples of re-investment in culture have been identified. The model developed in Lisbon, where many cultural spaces are run by a public company established by the Municipality is an interesting one. It allows EGEAC to act more flexibly and commercially, generating income from tourists visiting these spaces which can then be invested in other parts of the cultural system. Similar discussions are developing around the considerable sums collected from the Trevi Fountain in Rome. Barcelona is already re-investing some of the revenue from Park Güell in culture, but there is no clear or transparent agreement about the size or destination of this investment. There are clearly discussions to be had in cities about earmarking these sorts of revenues for culture. The importance of culture for attracting people to the city in the first place could provide a basis for such discussions. Given that data from the UNWTO (2018) show that 40% of global tourism is cultural tourism, this might be one base measure for the proportion of tourist revenue that should be returned to the cultural system. But

in some cities, like Barcelona, it might be argued that culture plays an even more important role. Arguing for a 'percentage for culture' in tourism-related revenue streams might provide support in the same way that 'One percent for Art' schemes do in many physical development projects.

Tourist taxes are also now widespread in the cities, and some of the revenue generated goes back into dealing with the externalities of tourism (such as cleaning) or attracting more tourists through marketing activities – rather less goes back into culture. One of the major issues with tourist taxes is that they are usually levied on formal tourist accommodation, where the money is easy to collect. This means that the hotels complain about unfair competition from informal operators such as Airbnb, who often pay no tax. This situation is being remedied in a number of cities by collecting the tax through Airbnb, but there is still room to be more creative in the application of such schemes. In Amsterdam, for example, the application of differential tax between the centre and periphery of the city is one tool to encourage the spreading of tourism.

5.6 ESTABLISHING NEW SPACES FOR GOVERNANCE OF CULTURE AND TOURISM

The complex relationships between public and private actors makes it desirable to create specific spaces for dialogue, and to strengthen the role of existing spaces for shared reflection. These spaces should favour synergies between municipalities (e.g. in terms of provision of cultural services), as well as ensuring a higher profile for culture in the dialogue about tourism.

There are a number of opportunities in the current development frameworks of all the cities considered. These include the shift towards metropolitan governance, bringing new spaces into the ambit of the city, and bringing new user groups to underused spaces in the neighbourhoods and the periphery. Taking advantage of these opportunities requires action in the sphere of accessibility and content development.

Cities should consider extending measures to facilitate accessibility (such as city cards) to cover a range of mobile groups. This will in essence mean creating more flexible formats, since the current measures are largely aimed at either residents or tourists, not both. The desire to spread culture to the periphery has to be matched by providing more transport access to new spaces. Increasing access will inevitably mean establishing new areas of dialogue between different levels of administration as culture spreads towards the whole metropolitan region. This will also mean creating new areas of understanding, as the experience with cultural development and tourism is different in the core city and in the periphery.

Cities should also consider opening a dialogue with residents and mobile groups, not only to establish their needs in relation to new cultural spaces, but also to enable them to input their ideas in the co-creation of cultural and tourism policy. Moves in this direction are already evident in some of the case study cities, but it is desirable to have a more structured approach.

The development of a new dialogue is essential at a moment when a number of cities are at or near the 'tipping point' with respect to the relationship between residents and visitors. The solution to these problems should also be based on new models of the city and urban

governance, which particularly take into account the relationship between the core city, the peripheral neighbourhoods and the wider metropolitan region. At the moment the dialogue is primarily limited to the opportunities provided for areas outside the city centre in receiving the 'overspill' of tourism. This dialogue should include many other issues, including the differential cultural needs of centre and periphery, the role of all mobile groups in linking these two areas (not just tourists) and new models of representation and governance. Moves in this direction are evident to some extent in all the case study cities. Montréal already has an established platform for dialogue through its long-running Cultural Tourism Programme, in Lisbon a representative from EGEAC sits on the Board of Tourism Lisbon, and in Amsterdam there is close collaboration between the Municipality and Amsterdam Marketing. In the future such dialogue may also shift to the metropolitan level, bringing the city closer to the surrounding regions that may be able to help in finding more integrated approaches to the challenges of cultural and tourism development.

5.7 WAYS FORWARD?

The findings that emerge from this report provide some important pointers for the future development of the relationship between cultural policy and tourism.

It is clear that the relationship between culture and tourism is a complex one, which involves many areas of urban life and municipal policy. Culture provides an important transversal and integrating arena for this relationship, providing a gateway to the city and local cultures, accessing citizens and visitors as valuable assets in building a diverse, sustainable future. Culture is important, but it is not a panacea. Ultimately, the solution for problems such as speculation and rising prices lie in areas of economic policy, even though the issues involved may be framed in cultural terms. The basic challenge that cities and their citizens have to face is resolving the tension between the opportunities offered by increasing globalisation and mobility, and the essential support provided by embedding in the local context. Priority should be given to maintaining diversity, supporting the links between heritage and contemporary culture, and avoiding the development of an urban 'monoculture'. Tourism can be an interesting asset in these analysis, not only by introducing diversity, but also by providing resources to support local culture. This will imply the development of new ways of feeding resources from tourism towards culture.

If culture is to play a role in shaping tourism in a positive way, then it is important that the current political and governance 'silos' of culture and tourism should become more integrated. Developing an integrated approach to culture and tourism will require collaboration across the culture-tourism divide, between culture, tourism and other areas of cultural, social and economic activity, and integration at different geographical scales. The most pressing need is to integrate the cities with their surrounding regions, but there should also be alignment with national and international initiatives. There is also scope for groups of cities to develop coordinated approaches to common problems, as has already been done in the case of issues related to the collaborative economy.

Facing such challenges also requires developing new forms of knowledge about the city. Information about the relationship between the city and its metropolitan region, between the

different parts of the city, and different groups of people within the city can be extremely valuable. This is why almost all of the cities emphasise the importance of knowledge, as a guide for policy, as a means of identifying and valorizing the cultural expressions in the city and as a stimulus for cultural involvement and participation by all users of the city. In a situation in which many cities are re-thinking their marketing and development strategies, a shift from city marketing to placemaking and knowledge generation seems appropriate. Rather than simply 'selling' the city as a product, more emphasis should be put on making the city a more liveable place for all. This is also reflected in moves in some cities towards turning their marketing organisations into knowledge institutions. In this way, efforts can put into improving the city by applying the knowledge generated by residents and visitors, rather than simply attracting people to the city.

As the experience of some cities shows, this also means developing a new storyline for the city. One that fits the needs of residents as well as appealing to people outside the city. The new stories of the city should be based on the culture and way of life of locals, which visitors also find attractive. This also helps to align the expectations of the visitors with the reality of the city. In effect, the relationship between culture and tourism can be shifted from providing 'culture for tourists' to attracting 'tourists for culture' who can help to support the cultural ecosystem of the city. In this way, the city can concentrate on being the place it wants to be, rather than becoming the place that caters to the needs of visitors.

PART 6.

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