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

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Committee on Culture of UCLG

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OVERVIEW

This report results from the collaboration between the Secretariat of the UCLG Committee on Culture and the Institute of Culture of the City of Barcelona (ICUB), in the framework of the implementation of the Leading Cities Programme in Barcelona. The project aims at analysing the culture-tourism relationship from the perspectives of cultural policies and sustainable development, identifying the critical elements to be addressed locally and contributing to the reflection that this debate arouses at an international scale.

Creating synergies between cultural policy and tourism for permanent and temporary citizens, prepared by policy advisors Greg Richards and Lénia Marques, delves into the challenges defined in the previous report *The Relationship Between Culture and Tourism in Barcelona: Current Context and Challenges* (UCLG-ICUB, 2018), mapping out some of the issues that have emerged from other previous analyses as well, including case studies from five cities facing similar concerns and focusing on the driving factors which are currently bringing culture and tourism, and permanent and temporary citizens, closer together.

STRUCTURE AND CONTENTS

The structure of this report comprises two parts:

In the first part, entitled “A review of the relationship between cultural policies and tourism”, the authors introduce briefly the background to the study and set 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. Conclusions of Part 1 include a number of challenges and opportunities involved in a more positive articulation between cultural policy and more mobile populations.

The second part of the report, entitled “Culture and tourism in the city case studies”, 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: Amsterdam, Lisbon, Rome, Copenhagen and Montreal. The authors build a contextual overview of the different cities and their development in the fields of culture and tourism, undertaking an analysis of available policy documents, reports, publications and secondary data, and interviewing key actors in each of the cities, including representatives of public authorities, industry bodies, academics and researchers in the cultural and tourism fields. The contents of these interviews cover the subjects of cultural policies (cultural consumption trends, cultural facilities, cultural administration and funding), tourism policies (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.) and strategies for the future. Conclusions refine the main points of the analysis, drawing on the key issues raised in the UCLG-ICUB report on The Relationship Between Culture and Tourism in Barcelona: Current Context and Challenges.

The report also includes bibliographical references and an Appendix with a list of the interviewees.

PART 1.

A REVIEW OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CULTURAL POLICIES AND TOURISM

The analysis in this first part of the research shows that the current relationship between cultural policies and tourism is far more complex than contemporary debates about 'overtourism' would suggest. Nowadays, culture and tourism are increasingly entwined in terms of cultural development, identity formation, social cohesion and economic growth, being cultural tourism a major activity in historic and creative cities such as Barcelona, that now is also expanding into new directions provided by the creative industries and 'creative tourism'.

The increasing synergies between culture and tourism in cities have been stimulated primarily by drivers such as **globalisation**, which is one of the root causes of increased mobility of resources, ideas and people that have contributed to increased multicultural consumption, travel and tourism. Also, as a result of globalisation, cities have been exposed to greater international competition and have changed their position in global and national space, and this has led to **changing urban forms and governance structures**. There is a clear trend towards concentration of cultural facilities and the creative class in urban centres, as suburbanisation consolidates due to urban growth. New strategies aimed at developing projects and programmes to cope with the articulation between city centres and peripheries encompass more flexible cultural assets, tangible and intangible, fixed and mobile.

Creating, finding and supporting the spaces of culture become a major agenda for cultural policy. New governance structures for culture and tourism are emerging as cities seek to deal with the multiple challenges of the access to public space, considering issues of privatisation, commodification, value creation and the attraction of mobile populations. These have to do with some of the main **changing practices of culture and tourism**, related to the search for the culture of everyday life by both residents and tourists, and the move towards the market through sponsorship, merchandising and visitor-generated revenues, stimulated by a growing group of new cultural intermediaries and the critical infrastructure of media and public funding.

As a result of the growing interest in local culture, the largest cities, like London or Paris, are experiencing more competition from smaller cities such as Barcelona, Milan and Lyon; although indicators on the **growth of tourism in cities** show that most of the variation in tourism can be accounted for by population size. 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 hotspots within the city. Increasing busyness in cities as a whole has also to be taken into account: domestic tourists, day visitors and local residents, as well as international tourists, visit the main tourists' locations.

At present, much of the activity aimed at addressing the **impacts of growing mobility on cities** related to the gradual integration of culture and tourism has focussed more on issues of spatial control and regulation rather than the implications of a shared culture. But the relationship between tourism and culture is more complex and dynamic, 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 discussion has the potential to initiate more positive approaches, moving from the relatively traditional outlooks of the two sectors and the relative inflexibility of public administrations to new

ways of **sharing the city** and its success. Barcelona has sought to develop a view of a city in which residents and tourists share a proactive and beneficial relationship. This move correlates with the developing debate about the 'right to the city', which revolves around the notion of citizenship vs consumption. A right to the city enfranchises a new citizen or 'citadin' (Lefebvre, 1995) who is not simply a user of the city but a participant in its creation and interpretation.

Sharing the city may refer to the urban commons and the right to remake them, implying the dissolution of the traditional division between resident and visitor. In order to share the culture of the city and to co-create ideas there have to be spaces available for interaction. So **issues in the shared city** are primarily, but not exclusively, public spaces. In fact, the relationship between culture and tourism in cities involves a double problematisation of space. On the one hand, tourists add pressure on the public spaces of the city, and on the other, the movement of tourist consumption into 'new' private and intimate spaces of residents is generating new relationalities. Thus new tourism nodes are clustered around 'localhoods' and reframe tourism consumption around mundane activities, leading to the commodification of everyday life.

For the time being, **blending in** sedentary and mobile populations is more complex than expected. Very often the challenge is that of embedding a diversity of people and their diverse practices in the city in such a way that collective benefits are generated. This situation places an increasing emphasis on 'trusting spaces', where relationships of greater or lesser duration can be developed. This tends to shift the focus of tourism activity away from the traditional public spaces of the city towards private and interstitial spaces while positioning ex-pats as particularly useful collaborative tourism intermediaries.

This discussion of the relationship between relatively mobile and sedentary populations in the city begins to pose important questions about the **sustainability of culture**. As the 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." 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, and may not actively contribute to the wider sustainability of local cultural expressions, which include the living legacy of a dynamic urban culture developed by permanent and temporary citizens.

TOWARDS A NEW ARTICULATION

The complexity of the debate on culture and tourism hinges on reframing the negative discourse of tourism into a more positive and proactive formulation of 'temporary citizens', who then also become legitimate subjects of cultural policy. 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.
- Combating the serial reproduction of culture derived from the conscription of

cultural facilities and narratives into the articulation of cities with global markets, often seen as directly competing with local cultural production.

- Dealing with the fragmentation of culture and cultural consumption.
- Loading the new temporal and spatial frames applied to culture, particularly in terms of the growth of events, cultural and creative clusters and creative platforms 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.

Opportunities stemming from dynamic developments involving culture, creativity and tourism also imply:

- Sharing the city as a means to create new connections between people based on forms of relationality other than ownership or economic exchange.
- Using the growing pool of 'temporary residents' to provide a bridge between local and global culture, and to diversify the cultural and creative offer.
- Tapping into the flow of temporary citizens to produce and consume culture.
- Positioning culture as a transversal tool that can help to overcome barriers and 'silo thinking' in the management of cities.

PART 2.

CULTURE AND TOURISM IN THE CITY CASE STUDIES

The basis of this second part of the report consists of a review of cities with a similar profile and/or challenges to Barcelona, regardless of their various cultural, economic, political and geographic contexts. Some basic comparisons are made between the case study cities and Barcelona, based on primary and secondary data obtained from available policy documents and interviews conducted with key actors in each of the cities, regarding the subjects of cultural and tourism policies, linkages between culture and tourism and the position of tourists in the city.

CULTURE AND TOURISM IN THE CITY CASE STUDIES

The reference cities for the study are:

1. **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.
2. **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.
3. **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.
4. **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.
5. **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, which has spawned new forms of 'collaborative economy' accommodation providers, such as Airbnb. Putting **the cities in context**, the following comparisons can be made: all five cities play an important role in both the cultural and tourism field; most of them have a considerable built heritage and a large number of museums, which are usually a key attraction for visitors as well as essential cultural and knowledge resources for residents; in most of the cities the cultural and creative sectors attract and generate flows of people, both as producers and consumers; culture is also a vital part of the overall quality of life of the cities but there are significant differences between the cities in terms of access to culture due to structural factors; levels of openness of the cities, related to the acceptance of foreigners, differ from one city to another; and city centres attract the greatest concentrations of tourists and present the highest percentages of residents less satisfied with noise levels.

In regard to the **reactions to the recent tourism growth**, in all the European cities complaints from residents about the negative effects of crowding in the city centre have become commonplace, despite the fact that tourism has provided a source of income for businesses and cultural institutions during the crisis. Barcelona in particular has seen the growth of grass roots activism against tourism, usually based in those neighbourhoods that have been particularly affected. Growing political pressure and the election of new Mayor Ada Colau in 2015 have changed the city's tourism strategy, with more emphasis on quality rather than quantity, including a regulation of the growth of tourist accommodation.

In Amsterdam, in response to the anti-tourism pressure from civil society, the city has produced a programme called "The City in Balance" that sets out an analysis of the problems as well as potential solutions, including restrictions on new accommodation, tourist-orientated shops and activities such as 'beer-bikes'. In Rome, 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 platform "Lisbon does not love mass tourism" is very active drawing attention to the problems of tourism in the city.

CASE STUDY CITY PROFILES

To investigate whether cultural policy explicitly addresses the challenges raised by tourism in cities, this chapter provides a profile of each city, including an analysis of the results of the interviews conducted with policymakers and analysts, which contains the following sections: 'General context and background', 'Linkages between culture and tourism', 'Policies', 'Governance', 'Measures and projects', and 'Vision of the City and Strategies for the Future'.

Regarding the cities considered, these are the principal conclusions of the analysis:

Amsterdam has monitored the problem of crowding in the city centre for a long time, now being used to develop the City in Balance programme. The relationship between culture and tourism is perceived as a complex problem, though, covering many areas of urban policy, so the future-orientated strategy recognises the need of an integrated approach that takes in the metropolitan challenge as a whole.

In **Copenhagen** issues surrounding mobility are still relatively small compared with the other European cities studied. Copenhagen has marketed itself as a pocket-sized capital proud of being an open and tolerant city. New policies position 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.

Lisbon is suffering now from the consequences of a successful international marketing strategy. Although tourism essentially saved the economy during the crisis and increased investment helped to upgrade the deteriorated urban fabric of the city centre, the negative externalities reveal that the ratio

of tourists to residents of the historic city centre is the highest of all the case study cities, and the supply of culture is divided between the tourists and the centre, and the residents and the periphery.

Montréal has a relatively low level of tourism flows, compared to other cities studied.

Just as in Europe, though, tourism is growing and having a significant impact on the production and consumption of culture in the city, but this is being used to bind the different parts of the metropolitan region together, rather than dealing with the negative externalities of tourism.

One of the biggest challenges of **Rome** 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 governance challenge in future.

REFLECTING ON THE EXPERIENCE OF BARCELONA

In order to gather feedback on this report, taking a step further on the collaboration between UCLG and ICUB, on 15 October 2018 a meeting was arranged by the UCLG Committee on Culture and ICUB with stakeholders from the cultural and tourism sectors in Barcelona, including leading cultural institutions in the city, representatives of the public administration and civic organisations. The participants expressed general support for the findings and conclusions of the research, while a number of suggestions were made for areas that might require additional attention:

- Space has to be considered as another relevant element in the relationship between culture and tourism. The territorial dimension is considered essential to address an integrated approach to the challenges currently facing cities such as Barcelona, taking into account the city centre, the periphery and new centralities.
- Access and visibility for all civic actors has to be ensured to avoid the globalisation and commercialisation of culture in the shift towards the 'city as platform'.
- More transversal and horizontal forms of governance are needed, which can get away from the 'silos' that currently separate different policy fields, involving also issues of mobility, access and equity.
- A more sophisticated approach to patterns of cultural consumption, shifting from marketing into knowledge organisation, may be key to develop 'a tourism for culture', rather than developing culture for tourists.
- Networks of cities, such as that provided by UCLG, could be a useful frame from which to address the relationship between culture and tourism.

Also on 15 October, in the context of the first Biennial of Thought of Barcelona, a public presentation was held at the Mercat de Sant Antoni. Consultant Greg Richards and the Deputy Mayor for Culture at the Municipality of Lisbon, Catarina Vaz Vinto, participated in the presentation and the debate, facilitated by the coordinator of UCLG Culture Committee Jordi Pascual.

CONCLUSIONS

To allow a better comparison with the situation in Barcelona, the conclusions of this report draw on the key issues raised in the UCLG-ICUB previous report on *The Relationship Between Culture and Tourism in Barcelona: Current Context and Challenges*.

1. APPROACHES TO CULTURAL POLICIES AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

The relationship between cultural policy and tourism is extremely complex and multidimensional and requires integrated policy approaches, in order to move away from urban policies developed in 'silos'. In this regard, the role of culture as a transversal element of urban policy needs to be established more firmly to be considered 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:

- The traditional concept of tourism, considered as an economic activity directed towards consumers, entails a much complex understanding in qualitative terms. 'Tourists' are no longer viewed just as the superficial consumers of urban culture, but important actors on the urban scene travelling for leisure but also for work, education and personal development. 'Temporary citizens' or 'citadins' seem to be more adequate concepts than the old categories of tourist. Besides, involving all residents in decision-making over the use and management of urban space 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, and especially of culture sustainability. As the 'fourth pillar of sustainability' (Agenda 21 for Culture), culture can positively transform tourism and provide the potential for future development.

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. 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, extending the urban area and creating new centralities. But it also raises considerable challenges in terms of accessibility and resources, and 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.

Thus new models of urban cultural policy need to analyse the ways 'peripherality' affects the revitalisation and dynamism of the cultural system of the city as a whole, considering aspects such as cultural proximity and decentralisation. The potential to develop new cultural hubs in peripheral areas of the city are new opportunities for urban regeneration and new forms of access to culture for residents and visitors.

In the re-thinking of the city model, producing culture at night is also a specific emerging issue in some of the cities studied like Lisbon. Amsterdam has undertaken actions to deal with the negative externalities; this suggests there may be potential for cultural and tourism facilities to work collaboratively to tackle the potential externalities caused by their operations. Also, city festivals are emerging as fora for urban reflection and experimental environments for cities to try out new ideas in urban management and social innovation.

3. ESTABLISHING MEETING SPACES FOR ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN CULTURAL LIFE

There is the need to preserve and create public space, since it provides the possibility to assess similarities and differences between the users of the city. For this purpose, some options are:

- Moving institutions and events into new areas of the city, as Barcelona has done for many years. Lisbon and Amsterdam have also opted for this kind of decentralisation measures through cultural programmes and events.
- Conserving existing cultural spaces in the face of globalisation and property speculation within the frame of structured, city-wide programmes, fostering local cultural life, identity and social cohesion.
- Boosting 'creative tourism' or tourism designed to provide experiences linked to local culture and creativity through active involvement of locals and tourists. This has been developed in Barcelona and it is also evident to some extent in Lisbon and Montréal; since this is a niche market, though, it will not address problems of mass tourism.

4. INFLUENCING TOURISM THROUGH MEDIATION AND PROMOTION

In the past, strategies for influencing tourists to act sustainably have been oriented towards communication. At present, extensive use of social media to target groups is being made, and promotional messages on the values of the city are also used in cities such as Copenhagen. The approach in most cities like Barcelona seems to be a combination of regulation and more subtle mechanisms such as space design and management. Mediation also allows local cultural intermediaries who interact with tourists, and local residents themselves, to act as ambassadors and educators.

5. REINVESTING ECONOMIC GAINS FROM TOURISM IN A SUSTAINABLE CULTURAL ECOSYSTEM

As cultural resources are important in attracting tourists, reinvesting the benefits derived from tourist visits in the city's cultural ecosystem, helping to increase sustainability of grassroots creative initiatives and artistic education programmes is quite reasonable. Some interesting examples of re-investment in culture can be found in Lisbon, where a public company established by the Municipality runs many cultural spaces in a more flexible and commercial way.

The Trevi Fountain in Rome and the Park Güell in Barcelona are other examples which prove that there are clearly discussions to be had in cities about earmarking these sorts of revenues for culture. 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.

Tourist taxes also generate revenues, although one of the major issues with them is how they are levied. Besides, they usually go back into dealing with the externalities of tourism or attracting more tourists and rather less goes back into culture.

6. ESTABLISHING NEW SPACES FOR GOVERNANCE OF CULTURE AND TOURISM

The complex relationships between public and private actors make it desirable to create specific spaces for dialogue and to strengthen the existing ones. Opportunities in the current development frameworks of all the cities considered 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.

Cities should consider extending measures to facilitate accessibility (such as city cards) to cover a range of mobile groups, and 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. This dialogue should 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. Moves in this direction are evident to some extent in all the case study cities.

7. WAYS FORWARD?

The relationship between culture and tourism is complex, and involves many areas of urban life and municipal policy. 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 tourism can be an interesting asset in these analyses, by providing resources to support local culture.

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. In this regard, almost all of the cities emphasise the importance of knowledge, as a guide for policy, as a means of identifying and valorising the cultural expressions in the city and as a stimulus for cultural involvement and participation by all users of the city. This also means developing a new storyline for the city which both fits the needs of residents and matches the expectations of visitors.

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