Inaugural Lecture Dr. Ko Koens

# Reframing Urban Tourism

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# 1. Introduction

In a matter of weeks last year, discussions regarding tourism in cities changed from how to deal with overtourism to how to deal with 'no tourism'. Shortly thereafter, a great number of posts on LinkedIn, websites, and blogs highlighted how the tourism crisis that resulted from the COVID-19 pandemic could help reinvent tourism, into something more equal, inclusive, and sustainable. And so, online – at least in my personal online bubble – there seemed to be a real momentum for proper, transformative changes in (urban) tourism.

One year later, though, there is little evidence that such a transformation of global tourism is happening. While individual cities are making plans to better 'manage[1]' tourism in the future, there is also a strong drive worldwide to 'restart' tourism quickly and to 'return to normal', if only to help entrepreneurs, businesses, and destinations that have been deprived of tourism income (Becken, 2021). This focus on short-term recovery may be understandable, but I would argue that a recovery strategy should not come at the expense of achieving those long-term visions that were so prevalent at the start of the pandemic.

A failure to do so, will most likely mean a quick return to situations of overtourism, excessive carbon use, and other tourism excesses (Milano & Koens, 2021). We may even find ourselves in a situation where post-COVID urban tourism is less sustainable, as local businesses have been shut or taken over by larger, more profit-oriented companies. Moreover, we could be confronted with a tourism system that is no more capable of dealing with future global crises than the current one, thus potentially initiating a perpetuating cycle of new bankruptcies and individual suffering and misery.

So, why has change not come? It is easy to portray tourism stakeholders as conservative and unwilling to change. While, to an extent this may be true, it is an unfair assessment. Instead, I would argue that, in spite of the many visions that have been floated, there are still few ideas and strategies on 'how' to rebuild urban tourism in a sustainable and resilient way, yet these may be needed to persuade stakeholders to commit to change in these uncertain times.

This, then, is the focus of this inaugural lecture. I will take a systemic perspective to examine the current state of urban tourism and argue that a reframing of tourism is necessary in order to understand and prevent tourism excesses. I will then discuss ways to reframe tourism, the principles of designing tourism that add value to cities, and an outline for a strategy for tourism design. In doing so, I seek to provide at least some initial guidelines on how we can rebuild urban tourism in a way that is more sustainable and resilient and that contributes to a better-quality environment for all city users.

Finally, I turn to 'New Urban Tourism', which can loosely be described as 'tourism of the everyday urban life' in neighbourhoods or areas that are not (yet) on the mainstream tourism trail. I will argue that New Urban Tourism's unique focus and characteristics make it useful as a place of analysis and experimentation with regard to the place-based, co-production of tourism that can foster ideas in response to the question of 'how' to reinvent tourism as well as the opportunities and issues that come with this.

## How can we rebuild urban tourism in a sustainable and resilient way?

**BOX 1**  *Terminologies surrounding the visitor economy*

Tourism, Leisure, Hospitality and Events are outings of what can be broadly described as the visitor economy. Although they focus on the same overarching phenomenon, theoretical understanding and discourses until recently developed rather in isolation of each other (Carr, 2002). Framing the issues at hand in a distinct way has been useful, as it has led to the development of narratives that emphasize different aspects of the same phenomenon. However, it is necessary to keep in mind that in practice this distinction cannot be made.

The pandemic has provided some clear examples of this. Tourism offerings in cities have for a long time served both tourists, day-visitors and residents. As such, it should come as no surprise that, destination management organisations were quick to change the focus in their communication towards ways in which residents can enjoy and explore their city even when the activities the city had to offer had not radically changed.

Or another example, overtourism in inner cities is not an issue for the moment, but parks, as well as natural areas and forests surrounding the major cities are reporting the highest visitor pressure they have ever seen. Is this the birth of the concept of "Overleisure", or is it the result of similar underlying processes in a different contextual setting?

Whilst I deliberately do not want to start a debate on the different meanings of these terms as this would draw attention away from the actual real-life processes that I would like to discuss, I do feel the need to provide some clarity, at least for the sake of this inaugural lecture. In the first section, where I discuss the current state of tourism, I follow much of the literature by mostly using the term tourism, even when tourism activities often are also practiced by local users (even more so during the Pandemic).

In the following sections, to fit with the change of framing I suggest in the content of the inaugural lecture, I mostly use the term visitor economy to describe all activities related to tourism, leisure, hospitality and events (whilst recognising that the activities undertaken are not mere economic in nature) and seek to change the narrative to focus on place and space-based activities, experiences and visitor flows and mobilities.

This is not always possible (e.g., in the case of existing terms like 'Regenerative tourism' and 'New Urban Tourism' or the Tourism System) and there may be inaccuracies in this depiction too, but the idea is that they allow for more process-based ways of looking at the visitor economy, also in relation to the wider urban system.

We need more process-based ways of looking at the visitor economy.

# 2. Extremes and excesses of urban tourism systems

**P**rior to the pandemic, many city destinations suffered from the negative consequences of perceptions of too much tourism; something which, for lack of a better word, has become known as overtourism. When the COVID-19 pandemic struck, the tourism, leisure, hospitality, and events sectors were among the hardest hit economically. Suddenly, tourism excesses no longer were an issue. However, the lack of tourism led to entrepreneurs struggling, and city governments losing tourism taxes. It is tempting to think that the crisis in tourism caused by the pandemic was a unique event, but this is not the case.

Although the current crisis is unique because of its worldwide scale and impact, tourist-dependent destinations, particularly in the Global South, have long suffered from sudden visitor absences, due to safety and security issues, political unrest, or health risks (Koens, 2014; McKercher & Chon, 2004; Novelli et al., 2018). These issues were particularly evident in 'off-the-beaten-track' destinations where tourism transformations had led to tourism dependency. As such, it can be argued that "both overtourism and undertourism, including the current COVID-19 pandemic, are at least partially the result of underlying issues of the current tourism political economy, which increasingly results in paradoxical tourism extremes of too much or too little tourism" (Milano & Koens, 2021, pp. 7–8).

Thus, the issues that we have seen in city tourism in recent years may not be the result of poor leadership, management, or unexpected events, but rather an outcome of societal changes and the way the tourism system has been organised. Cynically, one might even use the famous saying from computer software development: "It's not a bug, it's a feature."

While it is tempting to provide an in-depth discussion about all that is right and wrong about the current tourism system (which includes activities related to the development, practice, and governance of tourism), this section is limited to a short, critical appraisal of some of the main issues that I believe hinder a more sustainable and resilient urban tourism development. As such, the section may appear to underplay positive efforts and undercurrents that run though our cities with regard to tourism.

| Issue | Tourism Related Developments | City and Societal Developments |
|---|---|---|
| Overcrowding in city's public spaces | Rise of tourist numbers; cheaper flights, increase of cruise tourism | Increase of residents and commuters; flexible work arrangements; increase of residential leisure; increase of online shopping |
| Pervasiveness of visitor impact | Rise of tourist numbers; tourists moving deeper into city in search for authentic experiences; increase of cruise tourism; tourism spreading policies | Increase of residential leisure; greater connectedness of residents due to social media; popularity of Instagram and social networks |
| Physical touristification | Rise of tourist numbers; increased dominance of large tourism businesses | Real estate speculation; city modernization; increased costs of city amenities; limitations on restrictions of urban planning |
| Residents pushed out of residential areas | Rise of tourist numbers; rise of online platforms like AirBnB; tourist desire for authentic experiences; | Real-estate speculation; increase of internet holiday booking; residential gentrification; rising costs of living; limitations on restrictions of urban planning |
| Pressure on local environment | Rise of tourist numbers; greater use of resources per tourist | Increase of residents and commuters; increase of extreme weather events. |

**TABLE 1** *Developments contributing to perceptions of overtourism*

To start, the tourism system has long had a strong focus on growth. As early as the 1970s, critical tourism scholars warned of the impact of uncontrolled tourism growth, also in cities (e.g. Boissevain, 1979; R. Butler, 1980; Pizam, 1978), and the dangers of an excessive focus on growth remain evident to this day (Milano & Koens, 2021). Indeed, it is still reflected, for example, in the overarching metrics that are used to, at least partially, determine the success of tourism, such as destination-wide tourist numbers or bed nights (McKercher, 2005). While these metrics provide seemingly objective benchmarks for destination management, they appear to equate increasing visitor numbers with success. As a result hosting cruise ships that bring thousands of people who only come for a few hours and contribute very little to the city, may appear an enticing proposition to cities, while in practice, this is not so much the case.

The critique on excessive tourism development is far from new, but this does not mean the recent rise of overtourism is coincidental. Indeed, since the mid-2000s, several tourism-related and non-tourism-related

societal changes have taken place that have made the negative impacts of tourism more visible and more intense (table 1).

So-called tourism problems can thus, at least partially, be attributed to broader city and societal developments. In fact, the two systems are inextricably intertwined and interdependent, particularly in cities where residents make increasing use of 'tourism' and 'hospitality' services (e.g. restaurants, museums, events, attractions) and where 'New Urban Tourists' seek to act more like locals. This phenomenon is not necessarily recognised and the emphasis within tourism is mostly on businesses, rather than systems, thus ignoring the fundamental societal embeddedness of tourism (Gerritsma, 2019). Hence tourism stakeholders have relatively little contact with policymakers or stakeholders from other fields who are not directly involved in tourism or social movement groups in areas that are impacted by tourism (Koens, Melissen, et al., 2021).

Due to the 'atomic' nature of the tourism system (Moratis & Melissen, 2020), stakeholders find it difficult to learn about and understand others' interests and perspectives. This is problematic, as it can lead to stereotyping and an oversimplification of a highly complex problem. In a way, this is what can be observed in media outings on overtourism, which generally frame the issue as one of pro-tourism versus anti-tourism stakeholders. Of course, in practice, the picture is far more nuanced (Boom et al., 2021). For example, it is way too simplistic to blame tourism excesses on the industry. While there are certainly unscrupulous entrepreneurs around, almost all entrepreneurs I speak to about this issue do not want tourism to destroy their city; they want the city to benefit from tourism. However, for a long time, benefitting the city was equated with growing tourism and increasing profits, also among policymakers and civil servants,[2] as can be observed in the governance of urban tourism.

Regarding overtourism and undertourism, the COVID pandemic has highlighted certain weaknesses in the way tourism has been governed. Firstly, since the late 1990s, and particularly after the economic crisis of 2008, when tourism was viewed as a possible engine for urban recovery, tourism governance has focused on accommodating economic growth and limiting governmental barriers (Russo & Scarnato, 2018). This can still be observed today, even when overarching narratives have become far more resident-focused. For example, the strategy of the Destination Management of Copenhagen was called 'the end of tourism as we know it' and hailed as a revolutionary and sustainable strategy that put residents first. It did not, however, question tourism growth. In fact, it proudly

In practice the overtourism sometimes gets equated to mass tourism. Whist this is understandable, as organised (mass) tourism activities are far more visible than so called independent 'travelers' (don't call them tourists :-), this does not mean their impact is always higher.

Organised tour groups and mass tourism may cause more disturbance in city centres and near famous attractions. Because they travel in larger groups they are more likely to block pavements, roads and visibly alter the city, which indeed can be very problematic. However, tourism disturbance in 'newly developing tourism areas' can be attributed largely to tourists looking for more 'authentic' off-the -beaten-track experiences.

boasted that the city acted as a key driver for realizing the national growth target of a third more tourism bed nights by 2025 (Wonderful Copenhagen, 2017).

I want to stress that this point of critique should not be seen as a condemnation of the Copenhagen strategy, which was one of the first to introduce concepts such as localhood and still is among the most very progressive tourism strategies today. Instead, the fact that even in such a progressive strategy, growth was not very much questioned, illustrates the endemic nature and power of the growth narrative in tourism.

Traditionally, there has been more support for taking action against overtourism in the cities most affected by the phenomenon. But here, too, measures largely remain limited to adapting current tourism practices to mitigate and 'manage' negative effects in order to achieve a more sustainable form of tourism, sometimes with 'Smart' technological solutions (Peeters et al., 2019; UNWTO, 2018). Such efforts are criticised for being too 'effect-oriented' and failing to take into account the underlying systemic issues, many of which are social in nature (Koens, Melissen, et al., 2021).

A related critique of current governance practices is that insufficient account is taken of the fact that issues are commonly highly localised and time specific[3] (Haywood, 1986). The key to arriving at meaningful solutions is contextualised insights and an understanding of the positive

role that that tourism can play in a place. At the same time, it is important to take notice of tourism demand (i.e. the interests of potential visitors). For example, there is little point in promoting or developing creative tourism products if most visitors are only interested in the landmarks (Ashley & Goodwin, 2007; Beritelli et al., 2015).

A final point deals with the politics of urban tourism governance. When we look at how urban tourism is governed, it is clear that, prior to the overtourism debate, for years tourism had been presented in a depoliticised way, as an uncontroversial, positive form of economic production (Russo & Scarnato, 2018). Recent protests and actions by social movements have led governments to acknowledge the issues with tourism and engage more with residents and other city stakeholders. The tone of the discussion regarding urban tourism may have changed from unbridled optimism to critical appraisal but this has still not resulted in significant changes.

Consequently, critical scholars have argued that responses to overtourism can often be characterised by a "consensualising discourse on 'sustainable tourism' that obscures inequalities of resources and power, and stifles alternative voices and approaches." At the same time, however, they also recognise developments that point to an openness to new approaches in certain localities (Novy & Colomb, 2019, p. 359). To support these localities, it is necessary to "shift the question from 'how to protect the city from tourism' into 'how do we compose the city along with tourism', and thus eschewing a logic of dualism (tourists vs locals)" in the production of urban spaces and places (Arias-Sans & Russo, 2016, p. 248).

This short discussion has highlighted some issues with the current tourism system. To solve these issues, it may be tempting to look for quick technological solutions or attribute blame for negative tourism impacts to individual stakeholders, visitor groups, or behaviours. However, this is insufficient when it is the system that is flawed.

To move beyond the issues of the current tourism system, and take a positive step towards new ways of thinking with regards to the production of tourism places, I argue it is necessary to first take a step back to look what tourism actually is and could be. The following section seeks to do this and provides three ways of reframing that can support a different way of developing tourism.



**BOX 3** *The difficulty of taking responsiblity*

In seeking to make sustainable tourism operational, it has been argued that all stakeholders need to take responsibility.

This sounds attractive but in practice, but there is a danger of that such discourses lead to the a depolitization of tourism, when it means 'off-loading' responsibility on the individual end-user (the visitor) who is supposed to (be able to) choose a sustainable option.

There are many options for booking holidays online, however, and only a very few people would take the time and make the effort to measure up all options, look for independent reviews or investigate the quality of the hundred or so different eco-labels that exist. Let alone when visitors are at a destination and they are offered a tour.

Nearly all companies say they support local communities in their brochures, and very few visitors will want to waste time to learn which ones are also ethical in practice and which ones are window dressing. Even if visitors as a fellow traveller, how reliable is this information when the tourism and hospitality industry is built on keeping up appearances?

Of course, there are ethical travel agents that can act more or less as a one-stop shop where someone would just look into all the options for you to ensure you have a great time and you have an ethical holiday. These may be more expensive though, and even then, you have to do a bit of homework. For example, a well-known website offering responsible travel experiences has in its portfolio heli-skiing trips, even when they themselves argue against these kinds of experiences on the same website.

Impact assessment is messy and complicated, and there are no hard metrics to measure all environmental and social impacts.

I spent 7 years looking at township tourism and about the same time studying overtourism in European cities. In both cases, I could only go as far as provide estimated guess as to the local impact that different companies have. To expect that individual tourists will be able to make the 'right' choices, therefore, simply is not realistic.

Superkillen Copenhagen, a square that celebrates the diversity of cultures in the surrounding neighbourhood



Mouraria, Lisbon, a neighbourhood undergoing touristic gentrification?



Prenzlauer Berg district, Berlin, a popular place for both local city users and visitors



OCBC Skyway, Singapore, a 'green' space in the city for all city users

Seoullo 7017, Seoul, conversion of a motorway overpass to create an engaging experience



Machines de L'ille, Nantes, an artistic, touristic and cultural project in the former shipyards



Small scale tango festival Rotterdam, enjoying a green space with the 'tourist' attraction the Markthal in the background



Langa Township, Cape Town, Guga S'Thebe, a combined tourist and community centre

We cannot continue to ignore the complexity of the contex-dependent and localised nature of tourism impacts.

# 3. Reframing sustainable urban tourism

### 3.1. Revaluing tourism as an integral part of society

If we think about where we want tourism to go, it may be useful to reflect on the following question: What is the point of tourism?

Many people will answer this question along the lines that tourism is good for our mental health, that it allows us to relax, or provides us with rewarding experiences, some of which may even be transformative for our lives. And, indeed, research indicates that tourism contributes to our well-being and happiness, even when these effects are often short-lived (McCabe & Johnson, 2013; Nawijn, 2011). However, such discussions relate to the symbolic value of tourism to the individual and not to its value for destinations. The emphasis, also in the tourism literature, on the symbolic value of tourism is problematic, as it has obfuscated debates regarding the spatial and economic processes that co-determine the value of tourism to destinations (Young & Markham, 2020).

When we ask why destinations want tourism and what they seek to gain from it, the most frequent argument is that it brings financial benefits, either through direct tourism spending, tourism suppliers, or taxes. Indeed, tourism is regularly argued to be the $x^{th}$ most important economic sector in the world.[4]

However, focusing on the economic value of tourism is not without problems. Firstly, it is important to appreciate that financial benefits in tourism are not evenly distributed within a city. Commonly, a small number of stakeholders, many of whom are not local to the city or the areas that are visited, gain the most. Residents do not see any direct gains, even if they work in tourism, as many jobs remain low-paid, low-quality, and highly precarious – issues that are exacerbated by an emphasis on financial gain (Walmsley et al., 2021). If it is jobs we want, then that is a different goal; one that requires addressing certain imbalances in the current tourism system.

Secondly, it is important to realise the consequences of this kind economistic thinking with regard to tourism. Viewing financial benefits as the most important reason for tourism implies that, in a tourism context, cities act as basic building blocks for experiences that accommodate and incentivise spending by (preferably increasing numbers of) tourists. If that is the main goal, one could argue that, in a globalising world, cities are becoming commodities (Young & Markham, 2020). In such a situation, it is not strange that entrepreneurs focus on growth and profit-maximisation, and that visitors act as consumers rather than guests.

Such a perspective may be acceptable for destinations where there are few alternative sources of income. However, cities have long been dynamic hubs of innovation, industry and wealth creation, so that not necessarily the problem here. This suggests it has been a political choice to emphasise the economic role of tourism in cities, just as it has been a political choice to treat tourism as an economic sector (Milano & Koens, 2021). However, the visitor economy is NOT just an economic sector whose impacts need to be 'managed'; it is an integral part of city life and the city system and should be treated as such. If we look at tourism through such a lens, this can help us implement tourism in a positive way, to look for solutions for the city of the future (Duineveld & Koens, 2019). In this context, tourism can be used to set in motion urban societal transitions that transcend tourism and create benefits for all city users, also those who have no relationship to tourism at all (Koens, Melissen, et al., 2021).

In this light, we can return to the 'why' question and ask what wider societal relevance tourism has. The answers to these questions provide information that can be used to come up with solutions that allow tourism to contribute to a 'better city', rather than merely try to mitigate or manage negative impacts.

A closer look at the potential contribution of tourism reveals opportunities. To give some examples: From an environmental perspective, tourism can support climate adaptation within cities by supporting the development of green spaces in densely urbanised areas. This will not only help lower inner-city temperatures, but also increase the quality of place for residents, or create awareness for issues relating to the circular economy. In addition, tourism can contribute to a cleaner city, as garbage is collected more often (or visitors are stimulated to pick litter). It can also stimulate the development of sustainability initiatives like electric bike-, moped- or car rental, or ferries. From a social perspective, tourism can be used to maintain infrastructure, public transport, and other facilities, to economically support local projects or NGOs. In the Global South, tourism has been discussed as a force that can stimulate equality, by 'giving a voice to' and 'making visible' people in economically

impoverished areas who were previously ignored by local elites (Koens, 2014). These areas may lack high-profile attractions, but they still manage to draw increasing numbers of visitors, presumably seeking a more 'authentic' experience. This has helped build confidence among entrepreneurs, given people who do not have the income to travel the possibility to 'engage with people from elsewhere', and led to greater interest from local authorities (Frenzel et al., 2015; Frenzel & Koens, 2012). While this theme gets less attention in the Global North, there has been a discussion within the New Urban Tourism literature that tourism can bring about convivial relationships or even friendships between like-minded locals and visitors, while adding vibrancy and excitement to a space (Frisch et al., 2019; Maitland & Newman, 2008). Moreover, it can be used to maintain cultural traditions, strengthen community bonds, and help celebrate diversity, also through festivals and leisure-oriented activities.

Another potential role for tourism and the wider creative industries in a post-COVID world lies in their ability to connect people (Koens & Gerritsma, 2021). Given the lack of interaction and contact that we have had in the past lockdown year, we must be cautious about expecting interhuman connections to be re-established in the same way as prior to the pandemic. We may have to accept that certain people will find it difficult to engage and will stay inside more, while others may only intermingle with people within their own bubble. Tourism may help with, what my colleague Joke Hermes called "Building Bridges in a Bubble Society,"[5] which could be highly beneficial.[6]

Tourism may also be used to experiment with ways in which different groups use city spaces. Tourism can be seen as a micro-cosmos of urban societies, but one where tensions between different groups of city users are visible in plain sight. Through experimentation, tourism may be able to provide policymakers with greater insights regarding possibilities for interventions that mitigate such tensions and develop spaces and places where different groups can come together (Duineveld & Koens, 2019).

## 3.2. Changing from a person-based to a role-based perspective

The current way of framing tourism is limiting if we want to develop tourism in a more systemic way. To start with, the distinction between different kinds of tourists – based on the characteristics of the tourist (e.g. demographic characteristics or business vs. leisure tourist), or on the

One of the most intriguing experiences I have ever had with regards to the role of tourism in cities, was at the United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development (Habitat III), in Quito in 2016. I was lucky enough to be invited by UNWTO to speak at this massive bicentennial conference (around 30.000 participants). The conference essentially focused on sustainable urban development and UNWTO felt it was important to put forward the value of tourism for on this matter. The session was a great success, the room was packed and many people even had to stand. This suggests that the topic of tourism in is one of interest to urban planners.

However, of the hundreds of sessions that took place over a 5-day period, the session that I presented at was the only one that addressed tourism. To an extent, tourism was mentioned in a number of sessions dealing with cultural heritage, but on the whole tourism was largely ignored. This surprised me. Although the term overtourism had not been popularised yet, the impact of tourism in many a world city could already be observed. This really made me aware of how little attention stakeholders who are not directly involved with tourism give to it.

This also served as a counterbalance to an earlier observation I made in several cities, where tourism stakeholders focused mostly on tourism as an economic sector, rather than as a societal force. To be fair, things do seem to be changing on both sides following the overtourism and COVID-19 debates. However, even though awareness appears to be increasing, this does not automatically mean that changes will happen in practices. That also depends on time and financial resources as well as the ability to join new networks and make new associations.

presumed goal of the visit and associated type of behaviour (e.g. stag nights, cultural tourists) – is restricting and of limited use when designing sustainable urban tourism. The main problem with such person-based distinctions is that they presuppose that people act in a one-dimensional way and that one type (cultural tourists) is more desirable than the other (stag party). Consequently, merely discouraging certain types of tourism is unlikely to impact on issues related to overtourism. In practice, people do not stick to one role and their behaviour changes all the time depending on the local context and the purpose of their activity. A similar issue relates to the dualistic perspective of tourists versus residents. Whereas thirty years ago, an argument might have been made for tourists and residents moving and behaving differently, this is no longer the case as, behaviour-

ally, these groups have become more congruent. New Urban Tourism exemplifies this, as such tourists deliberately seek out alternatives for historically popular visitor attractions with a view to seeing more 'real' and 'authentic' places. The sharp increase in online, short-term rental services has furthered the integration of visitors into the daily life of local, long-term residents. It is now much easier to find overnight accommodation in residential areas, away from official hotels or Bed and Breakfasts.

At the same time, cities and their residents have become increasingly diverse and multifaceted (Dukes & Musterd, 2012). More nationalities and cultures permanently reside in cities than thirty years ago, while an increasing number now choose to live in the city for a shorter period of time. Not only have international student numbers increased, but also the number of people coming to cities for a set period for work (e.g. a five-year contract in a different city) has risen in a globalising world, while so-called digital nomads take their work with them as they travel around the world and become temporary residents for several months before they move to a new location. Moreover, the behavioural patterns of residents have also changed. Due to greater flexibility with regard to working, long-term residents have started to engage more in leisure activities during traditional working hours, or have even started to perform work-related activities in café that were previously mostly used for leisure, but which have now become so-called third spaces.

Such developments highlight that whereas, historically, it might have been possible to distinguish between visitors and hosts, the visitor economy is now so ingrained in everyday life that this is no longer the case. If we accept that the tourism system is an integral part of the wider city system, it becomes impossible to differentiate between 'host' and 'visitors'. In fact, different city stakeholders – indigenous residents, commuters, day-trippers, business and leisure visitors, immigrants, and so on, all are jointly responsible for creating the unique city environment that plays host to them all (Smith & Zátori, 2016). As such, all are hosts and all are guests, to a greater or lesser extent, depending on the role they play at a certain place at a certain point in time. This nuance is often missing in policymaking and among tourism stakeholders, however. The emphasis has long been on creating experiences that allow 'tourists' or 'day-visitors' to 'consume' the city and its resources, while residents are not served as well as they could by the visitor economy (Paton et al., 2016).

Rather than talk about visitors and residents, it is more useful to talk about city users (R. Gerritsma, 2019). These city users can have different roles depending on their context and activity (Biddle, 1986). To give an idea of what these roles could entail, Table 2 provides an indication of different roles that people can play, as well the mobility patterns that can be expected with these roles. This perspective means that people can and do perform multiple roles in a day, or even simultaneously. For example, a person who lives on the north side of a city will act as a resident there and generally go out for errands or to visit friends. However, it is very likely that, if they go to the south of the city, their behaviour and role will fit that of a visitor. During their travel from one place to the other, this person's role has gradually changed, depending on familiarity with the context and the people who live there, the physical attributes of a space, and how inviting the space is for visitors (e.g. are there facilities for visitors, or are these purely aimed at local users?), and even their own personal mood.

Taking a role-based perspective allows for a different way of looking at people's behaviour, as well as ways for designing and developing places to fit with particular experiences. Rather than designing for specific people or personas, this makes it possible to design places to fit with certain roles, possibly with the aim of stimulating certain kinds of behaviours when people perform that role. To be able to actively do this in the context of the visitor economy, it may be useful to reframe tourism in another way, namely as a set of experiences that form visitor flows.

| Role stakeholder performs | Expected mobility patterns |
| --- | --- |
| Shopper | With intent, to and from shop |
| Sporting | Activity-based |
| Commuter | With intent, along fixed routes |
| Visitor | Exploring and pottering |
| Worker | Mostly limited and functional |
| Relaxer | Hanging out at fixed spot |
| Traveller | Context-dependent |
| Resident | Locally based |

**TABLE 2**  *Possible roles of city users*

## 3.3. From 'tourism' to visitor flows and experiences

Disclaimer: The text in this section is taken from a journal article recently published open access in Annals of Tourism Research (Koens, Smit & Melissen, 2021). Please refer to this original journal article if you would like to use information from this section.

Current management perspectives on the visitor economy are often destination-based, with a focus on tourism and/or day visitors. Examples include interventions spreading from visitors to other places, setting a maximum of overnight stays in short-term-rental services or apps to minimise queues. Reports on strategies to deal with overtourism contain many destination management solutions that have proved successful in a particular destination, with the implicit suggestion that such solutions may be transferred to other locations (Peeters et al., 2019; UNWTO, 2018, 2019; WTTC, 2017). As mentioned earlier, this ignores the inherent complexity, context-dependent, and localised nature of tourism impacts (Koens et.al., 2021). Rather than being treated as a single entity, a destination must be recognised as a geographically clustered blend of experiences (McKercher, 2005).

When performing a visitor role, people (or tour operators or professional guides) mix and match these experiences to create what Beritelli et al. (2015) termed visitor flows. Visitor flows can be defined as flows comprising different sequences of activities that visitors, or local users looking for a leisure experience, engage in. In more practical terms, a visitor flow roughly equates to a half- or full-day programme. This can be part of a longer trip, but need not be (Beritelli et al., 2020).

The number and types of activities in a visitor flow depends on visitors' wishes, as well as the number of activities that can be enjoyed within a certain geographical space (Beritelli, 2019, p. 2; Stienmetz et al., 2020). The great potential number of experiences that visitors can have in cities mean that visitors and other city users can demand very different types of visitor flows at different points in time. For example, they engage in activities that allow them to act as 'desirable' cultural, high-quality visitors during the daytime (e.g. visit museums, galleries), but a few hours later they may actively seek out the nightlife or other transgressive activities that local city users disapprove of (Eldridge & Smith, 2019).

Demand for tourist experiences is dynamic and depends on changing preferences among visitors, as well as local offerings and the competi-
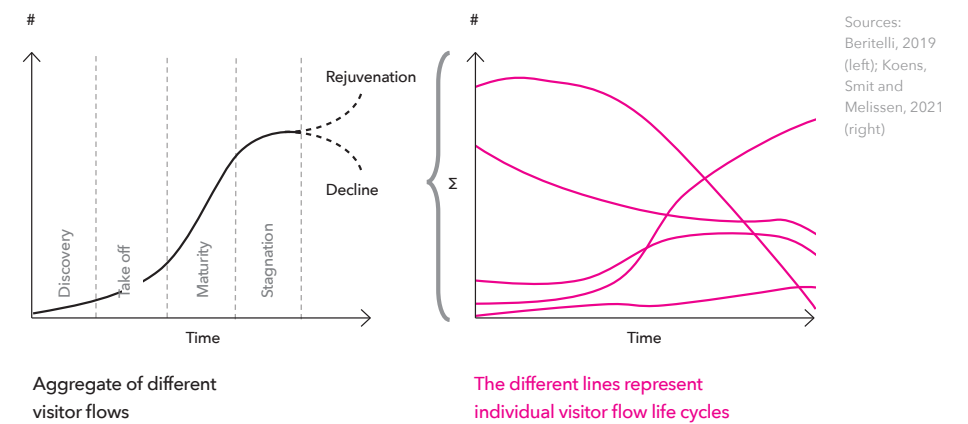
**FIGURE 1** *Tourism area life cycle (left) versus interconnected life cycles of visitor flows*

tion between local suppliers. Some key attractions have been part of multiple flows for hundreds of years (e.g. the Pantheon), while others have only recently started to attract visitors (e.g. suburban neighbourhoods, townships). Due to changes in demand and supply, flows commonly do not last forever, but instead follow a specific life-cycle pattern. The Tourism Area Life Cycle can be seen as the amalgamation of many different visitor flows within one city destination (Figure 1) (Beritelli, 2019, p. 2).

It is risky to base success on a single visitor flow. During the COVID-19 pandemic, destinations and businesses that relied heavily on international visitor flows suffered more than those that were also part of domestic or local visitor flows. However, even in 'normal' times, destinations must be able to adapt to, anticipate, and respond to ever-changing pressures (Hartman, 2020). Such systems require both a diverse range of well-connected tourism and non-tourism stakeholders to work together to offer a variety of tourism experiences (Hartman, 2018). Having a rich portfolio of visitor flows is one way to create more adaptive and resilient tourism systems.
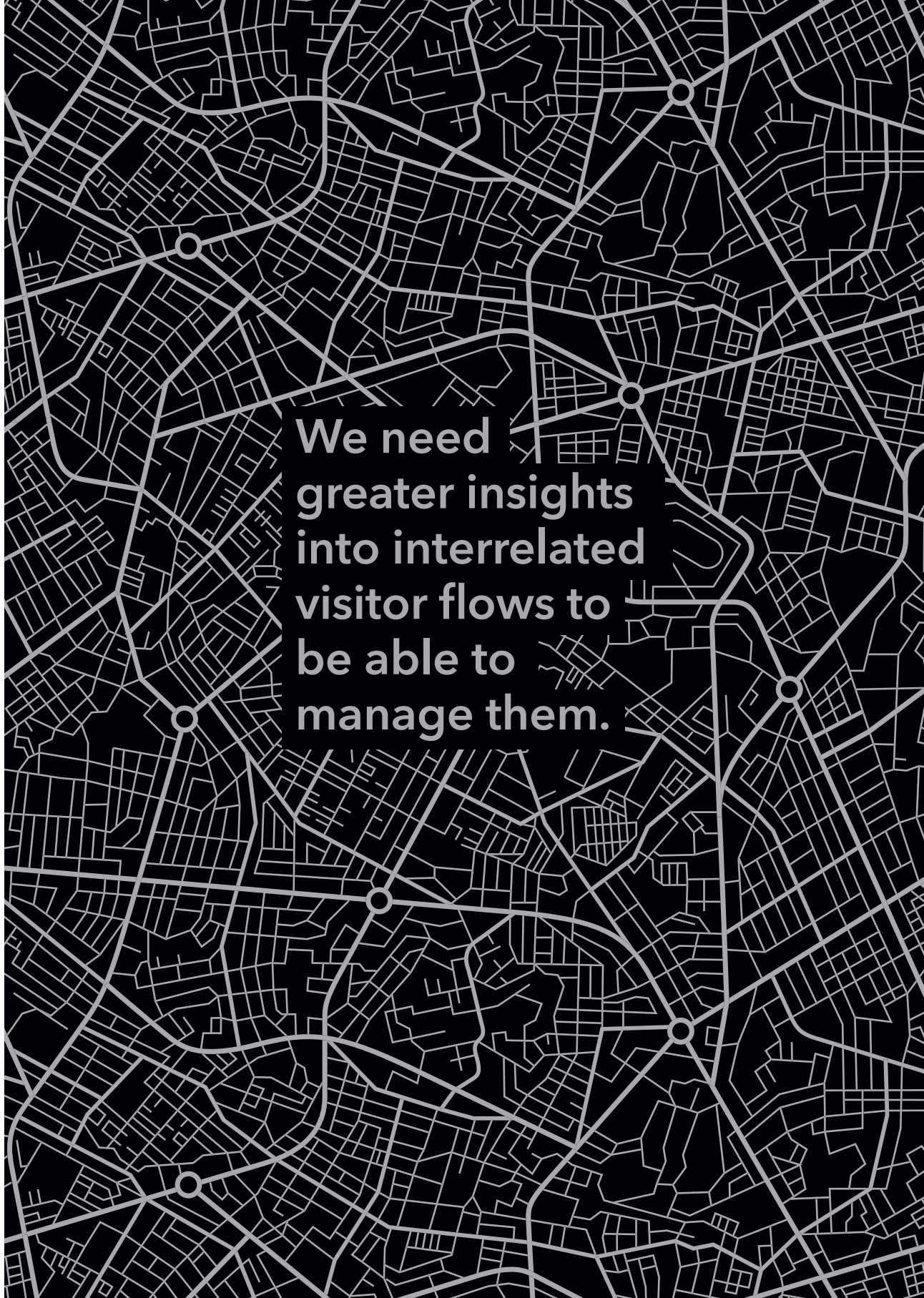
Strategic use of visitor flows could also increase the benefits that tourism can bring to places, such as maintaining services or public infrastructure,

keeping shops open, or increasing liveability in a place by enriching experiences for local city users (UNWTO, 2018). Visitor flows also directly relate to potential conflicts and opportunities in neighbourhoods, also in relation to other flows (Cruz-Milán, 2019).

Greater insights into and control over interrelated visitor flows could provide a practical way forward in terms of deliberately influencing the resilience of a destination as a whole. While it is impossible for a single entity to manage tourism development on a destination level, knowledge of different visitor flows and their life-cycle positions help assess the health of supply-and-demand networks in a destination (Tremblay, 1998). By combining insights into different visitor flows, it also becomes possible to assess the dynamics that drive flows in a destination portfolio, including current strengths and weaknesses of visitors flows in relation to the perceived needs of the destination and what stakeholders in the destina-tion want to showcase (Beritelli et al., 2019; Beritelli et al., 2020).

Such information is useful when developing new products and attracting visitors that contribute to the quality of the destination. The Saint Gallen Destination Management Framework (Beritelli et al., 2015) sets out to do this by identifying and synthesising different visitors flows to appreciate destination management through a new holistic lens by bringing together system experts, processes and tasks for different visitor flows and look at commonalties, interdependencies and differences. Recently, Koens, Smit and Melissen (2021) introduced the Tourism Destination Design Roadmap (TDDR), which brings some of the logic of consumer electronics design to visitor flows. It highlights how, for an individual visitor flow, a value proposition portfolio brings together experience needs and wishes of certain types of visitors with specific activities, attractions and support resources. Subsequently the TDDR outlines a way to strategically design new value proposition portfolios that are not only desirable for visitors but contribute to the overall quality of place of an area.

Models such as these provides useful insights for looking at practical ways to influence the development of a destination (Beritelli et al, 2015). The emphasis on nurturing an ecosystem of different visitors, activities and visitor flows that consist of a combination of visitor activities, allows for more flexible and a more diverse range of responses. In this setting, management would not entail trying to control tourism, but rather leading or steering visitors though intervening in a complex ecosystem of exchange relationships (Beritelli et al., 2020, p. 10).
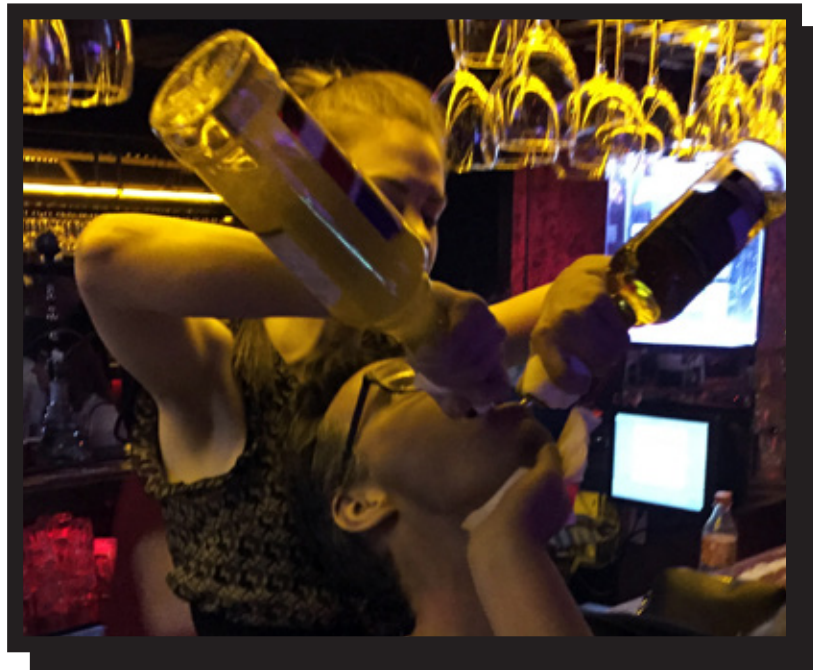
**We need greater insights into interrelated visitor flows to be able to manage them.**
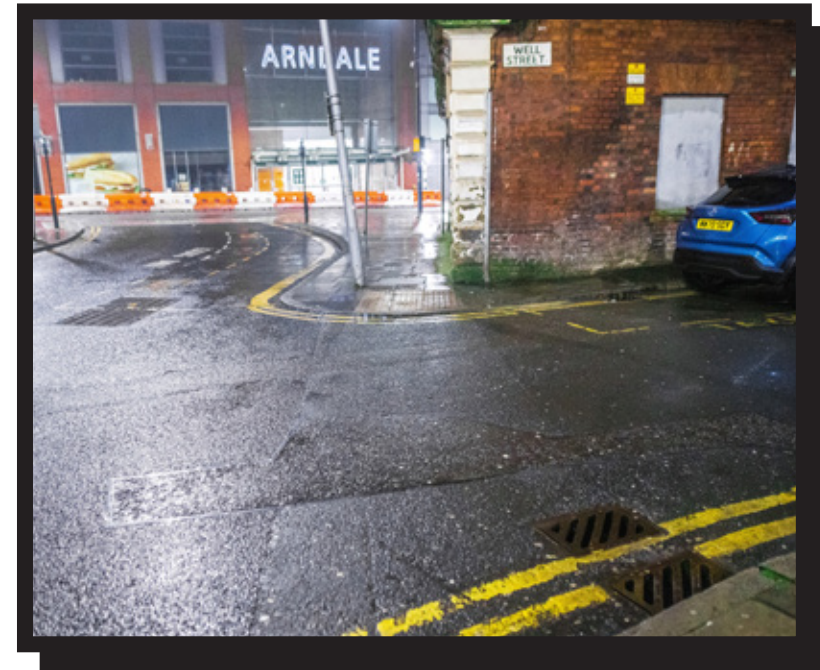
Cultural tourists by day…



Overcrowding and disturbance of public city spaces are undesirable and not just caused by tourists



… party tourists by night



Yet, empty streets may give a sense of insecurity, which also is not desirable

International students; are they residents or are they visitors?



Capital One Café, where a bank also acts as a place of hospitality



Visitors and daily city users celebrate the 30th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin wall together



Blue City in Rotterdam, an old swimming pool re-used to as a conference location

# 4. Urban Tourism as a force for regeneration

**W**hile it is useful to address certain ways in which tourism needs to be reframed to set in motion processes that can develop urban tourism as part of a sustainable and resilient city, this does not necessarily address the issue of how to actually achieve change. In this section, concepts from the regenesis movement and regenerative tourism are used to provide insights regarding this how question, by first outlining and envisioning what such a form of tourism could entail and moving from this vision towards a process-based strategy.

## 4.1. A vision of regenerative urban tourism

The concept of regenerative travel and tourism provides a useful systemic perspective to use as a starting point for a process-based approach, including principles to support the development of a more sustainable and resilient urban tourism. It is compatible with the reframing of tourism as discussed in the earlier parts of this inaugural lecture and, in a way, provides ideas for a paradigmatic reframing of what tourism entails.

Regenerative design is a process-based systems approach to design, in which the regenerative part focuses on restoring or revitalising existing systems in ways that are resilient and equitable (Mang & Reed, 2020). Several authors have started to discuss regenerative tourism and what this could entail. While it is impossible to credit all people who work on the concept, the following website is a useful starting point, with reference to many of the leading figures for this kind of thinking: https://www.regenerativetourism.com. Based on their work a discussion on how regenerative principles can support urban tourism development is presented below, starting with the basic, underlying characteristics of regenerative urban tourism (based on: Andersson, 2019; Cave & Dredge, 2020; Koens, Melissen, et al., 2021; Pollock, 2019a):

**1.** It is based on a systemic and holistic perspective, with an interdependent rather than an atomic view of tourism. It embraces a wide range of stakeholders, from within and outside of tourism, who work on different levels and may operate in different sectors.

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**BOX 5** *Not another one?! Terminology for a better kind of tourism*

OOver the past 40 years or so the quest for a more a more beneficial kind of tourism has seen the rise (and fall in some cases) of a variety of terms:
• Ecotourism
• Sustainable Tourism
• Pro-Poor Tourism
• Responsible Tourism
• Responsustable tourism
• Fair Tourism
• Green Tourism
• Ethical Tourism
• Volunteer tourism
• Social Tourism
• Hopeful Tourism
• Smart Tourism
• Low-carbon Tourism
• Resilient Tourism
• Peace Through Tourism
• New Urban Tourism
• Accessible Tourism
• Circular Tourism
• Inclusive Tourism
• Conscious Tourism
• Valuable Tourism
• Transformative Tourism
• Philanthrotourism
• Regenerative Tourism

These words provide different lenses to look at a similar issue and, as such there is merit in all terms. At the same time, there is a danger that popularizing a term can become a goal in itself, thus drawing attention away from its content. Terms can be co-opted or misinterpreted unless reported on in a transparent way. It is easy to embrace the rhetoric of a term without understanding what it means in practice also in relation to policy (Scheyvens, 2007).

Indeed, research in the context of sustainable urbanization found that terms with different meanings were used interchangeably by policy makers, planners and developers (De Jong et al., 2015).

Such misinterpretations and misunderstandings may lead to the loss of the unique contribution of the term and make it little more than 'old wine in new bottles', further entrenching existing economic and social structures, and inequalities (Scheyvens, 2007). One could argue that this has happened in tourism, given that, in spite of all these terms, tourism extremes and excesses still impact our cities in ways not too dissimilar to those described in the 1970s and 1980s (Milano & Koens, 2021).

To transform tourism into a 'force for good', may therefore not require a new term but rather a clear understanding of the principles and processes underlying tourism development and its wider in (urban) systems.

As such, while I use the term regenerative tourism to credit the authors who have furthered this thinking and allow readers to appreciate it in its context, I am most interested in the processes underlying the thinking on regenerative tourism, as I fear that the term itself, as many others before it, may become diluted and lose some of its unique, radical aspects.

**2.** It views tourism as being in service to the city system. The aim is to allow tourism to create societal value for cities, or parts thereof, also in light of the development of other (economic) activities, to ensure the development of diversified urban economies.

**3.** It is based on the principles of using tourism to improve destinations (and help them to thrive) as well as replenishing and restoring them, thus moving, in principle, beyond current sustainable or responsible tourism practices.

**4.** It starts from a perspective of reflection, inclusiveness and collaboration. This includes listening to the other and reflecting on different perspectives and viewpoints to understand a problem, rather than jumping in to try and 'fix' it. It is ok here to have "dignified disagreements" as this stimulates "divergent thinking patterns" and opens up new spaces of thinking (Koens, Melissen, et al.,2021, p. 4). Pollock (2019a) describes this as "acknowledging differences and common ground while aligning around a shared purpose and set of values."

**5.** It emphasises the need to constantly revalue tourism by asking what tourism can contribute to a specific area or neighbourhood, to ensure activities and experiences fit with local needs and sentiments. The option of not choosing to develop tourism is also a possible outcome of such a question.

**6.** It requires new metrics for success that are not merely quantitative and based on economic principles, but that also include qualitative indicators, for example with regards to quality of place (including the broader environment), quality of life, quality of work, quality of experience, equality, engagement of different stakeholders. Such metrics should be holistic and can be qualitative in nature, which may make them more expensive and less suitable for benchmarking.

These basic principles align well with many of the 're-invented' tourism ideas and thoughts that have emerged in recent years.[7] They also appear to fit well with 'New Urban Tourism' activities, due to its emphasis on collaboration, giving local stakeholders collective ownership over what they want to share, and allowing for new creative tourism experiences that have arisen out of local interests. To appreciate how such a vision would differ from other perspectives on sustainable tourism, also with an eye to how this would impact on current and future design of tourism, Figure 2 contains potential trajectories of urban tourism design.
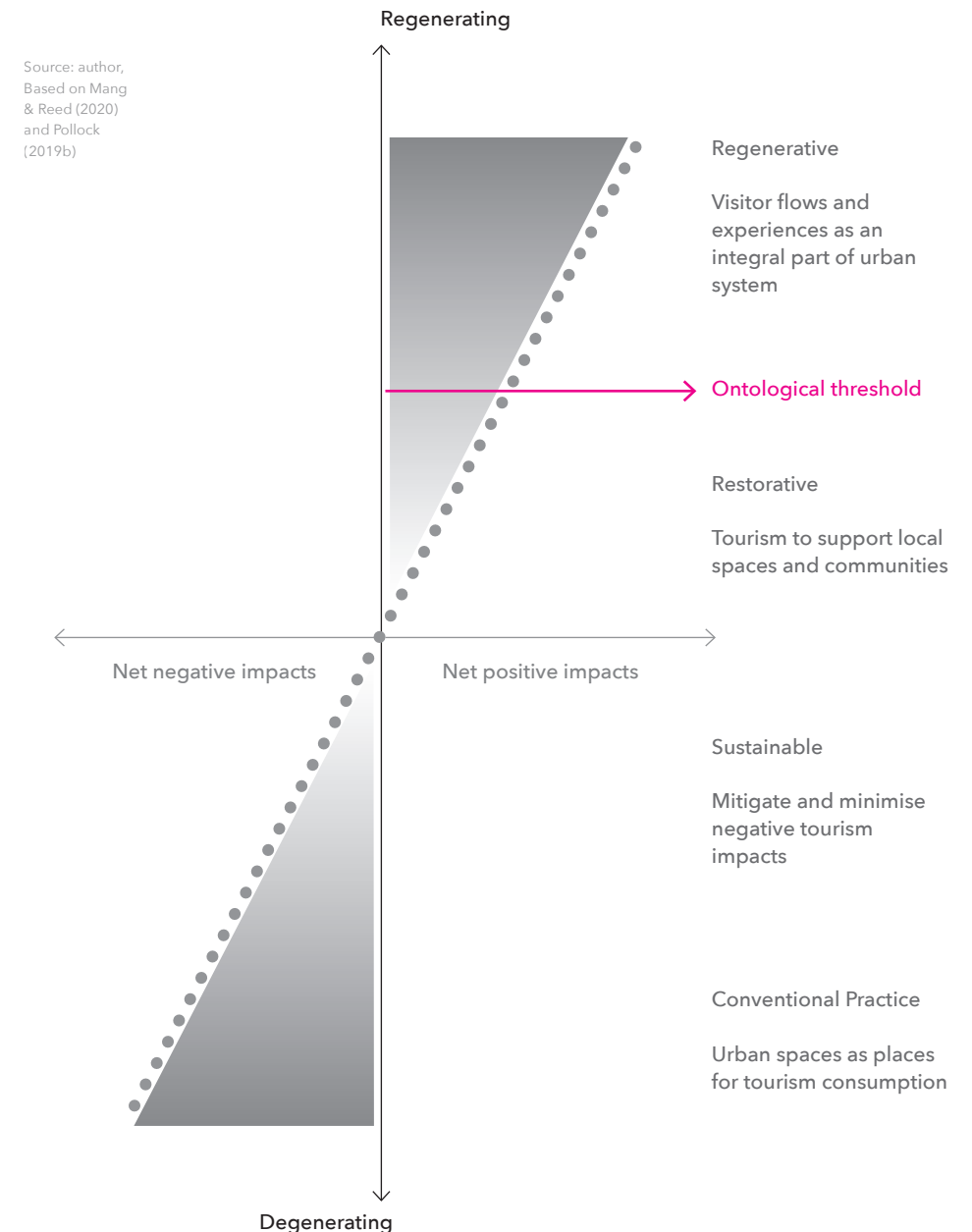
Source: author, Based on Mang & Reed (2020) and Pollock (2019b)



Regenerating

Regenerative

Visitor flows and experiences as an integral part of urban system

Ontological threshold

Restorative

Tourism to support local spaces and communities

Net negative impacts — Net positive impacts

Sustainable

Mitigate and minimise negative tourism impacts

Conventional Practice

Urban spaces as places for tourism consumption

Degenerating

**FIGURE 2** *Trajectories of Urban Tourism System Design*

Historically, conventional practice in tourism has focused on providing the best possible experiences to tourists. City spaces and neighbourhoods are thus there to help facilitate these experiences. The idea that this may lead to perceived overcrowding, disturbances, and tourism monocultures is either not considered at all, not considered problematic, or seen as less important than customer satisfaction and economic growth. While such thinking has become heavily criticised in recent years as part of the overtourism discourse, it can still be observed, particularly in cities where tourism has relatively limited impacts.

A second perspective is that of sustainable tourism, which appreciates that tourism has significant impacts and that cities need to undertake action to reduce or mitigate these consequences. Currently, this is the most common perspective. It has led to a range of policy designs and business models that aim to 'protect' the resources of the city, expand the number of tourism activities to reduce pressure in frequently visited areas, or give back something to the city to compensate for negative impacts. A flaw within the thinking on sustainable development is that it is commonly based on the premise of balancing social, environmental, and economic development (i.e. the triple bottom line). However, as powerfully argued by Butler (2015, p. 76): "If sustainable development and tourism has a triple bottom line, then one of those lines is economics and it cannot be ignored in favour of either or both environmental or social/cultural pressures, any more than the economic argument can be allowed to take precedence over other viewpoints."

In other words, the most that sustainable tourism can achieve is mitigation and minimisation of negative impacts on a local or regional scale (also with an eye to the impact of travel on climate change). In addition, the question of what we are actually trying to sustain is rarely asked with respect to sustainable development. More often than not, the answer to this question appears to be to continue with business as usual. For these reasons, sustainable tourism is of limited use when seeking to create positive social, cultural, and environmental impacts through tourism.

Restorative and regenerative tourism perspectives take societal, environmental, and cultural value as their starting point, as part of the development of experiences through both co-creation and production. Rather than minimising negative impacts of tourism activities, the explicit objective becomes the maximisation of positive impacts. To achieve this, it is useful or maybe even necessary to move beyond the realm of tourism. For example, issues in a neighbourhood may relate to a lack of green

spaces, facilities or services, an overrun infrastructure, a lack of social cohesion or housing, a sense of unsafeness and insecurity, etc. If you can develop visitor flows and experiences that alleviate or help to solve one or more of these issues, this can lead to a net-positive impact.

The restorative perspective limits itself here to using tourism to support local communities and improving the quality of particular spaces in the city. In essence, the underlying idea is to make tourism subservient to specific needs in a particular part of the city. Examples include visitor-giving schemes, Fairbnb, or using income from tourism activities to support cultural or social projects. It is important to take into account here that what constitutes a positive impact and how to achieve such an impact really depends on the place in question. There is a tendency in tourism to romanticise the presumed 'authenticity' of places and small-scale, locally owned tourism developments, but this may not be what is most suited to a certain place. For example, in city centres with very few residents, where people feel unsafe at night, the development of night-life venues aimed at mass tourists, including those dreaded stag parties, may actually be positive.

Within the conventional, sustainable, and restorative perspectives, stakeholders remain to a greater or lesser extent within the existing socio-economic tourism system. Industry stakeholders are engaged with Corporate Social Responsibility strategies and sustainable business models, while policymakers may seek to maximise tourism benefits, their underlying remit and premise does not change. As argued by Melissen (2016, pp. 14–15), this means that "many societal ethical entrepreneurial initiatives" struggle "to move beyond the status of a niche player," and those that do become more successful have (had to) make "concessions to their original mission and objectives with respect to creating societal value." As such, one might wonder to what extent such perspectives can lead to large-scale transformative changes.

The regenerative perspective goes further and views the tourism system as an integral part of broader (urban) systems. As such, it departs from a holistic and systemic starting point, in which all stakeholders are interconnected and interdependent, in contrast to the atomic perspective that defines current tourism practices (Koens, Melissen, et al., 2021). To achieve this requires an ontological transformation or paradigm shift – a change of perception and intention towards the role and function of tourism in (urban) societies (Devitt et al., 2012; Pollock, 2019a). Such a paradigm shift means "it is no longer a question of tweaking an

BOX 6  *Reinventing tourism?*

In Amsterdam the annual Reinvent Tourism festival provides a showcase of ideas, thoughts and provocations as to what a 'reinvented' tourism may constitute. The festival is organized by the Reinvent Tourism Movement and can be seen as a bottom-up initiative that reaches out to tourism and beyond.

The goal of Reinvent tourism is to make tourism a force for good and help create new products and practices with a positive impact. Whilst many of the ideas are not necessarily focused on regenerating places as such, they do stimulate a positive notion of what a different kind of tourism can do for local communities. In this way they help people to move beyond the binary pro-against tourism thinking that is still quite common, also due to the overtourism debate.

https://www.reinventtourism.com

Source: author

| | Traditional perspective | Regenerative perspective |
|---|---|---|
| Starting point | Providing high-quality visitor experiences | Providing high-quality spaces for all city users |
| Relationship with society | Tourism as an independent sector | Tourism as an integral part of urban systems |
| Broad focus | Focus on people | Focus on all city life as well as urban structures |
| Perspective on sustainability | Mitigate and minimise negative impacts | Provide positive impacts and improving cities |
| Main value sought | Economic value | Societal and environmental value |
| Way of production | Produced by tourism stakeholders | Urban co-production by city users, visitors, and tourism stakeholders |
| System view | Atomic view | Systemic and holistic perspective |
| Role of city | Spaces for (sustainable) consumption | Hosts of different city users |
| Role of visitor | Consumer | Guest |
| Metric for success | Visitor numbers, bed nights, income | Quality of place, quality of environment, quality of life, quality of experience |
| Smart input | SMART tools and solutions | SMART citizenship |
| Long-term perspective | Growth | Growth only when needed, degrowth when not |
| Tourism recovery | Supply-led and market focused | Focused on needs of local spaces |
| Distribution | Managerial and reductionist | Collaborative and messy |
| Ordering | Channelled approach (distributive) | Networked approach, with multi-stakeholder ownership |

**TABLE 3**  *Different perspectives on tourism*

unchanged system to include 'them' in 'our' system, but re-thinking the system," so that it will be inherently inclusive for all city users and support an intimate process of personal emancipation for the individual (Collin & Gerritsma, 2018, p. 20).

Consequently, it may be necessary to reframe the way we look at the visitor economy. A greater focus on the "development of inclusive and sustainable models of places and practises" (Gerritsma, 2019, p. 144), also by means of (visitor) flow and experience design, allows for a different framing that is more suitable for bringing together the interests and behaviours of all city users and stakeholders (i.e. local users, visitors, industry, policymakers). Such a perspective emphasises the power of collective efforts where different stakeholders can contribute to societal value and/or experiences through their own unique perspective, rather than emphasising individual responsibility for acting. This also implies working with the natural and built environment and developing it in a way that allows all kinds of city life (including non-human) to flourish, rather than seeking to exploit or subdue it for specific purposes (Pollock, 2019a).

Incidentally, a similar argument for a paradigm shift can be observed in the thinking on planning and urban design, where the concept of place-making shifts thinking from a sectoral and silo-based focus on buildings

**Having a vision is not enough, we need to think about how to achieve the vision too.**

and the macro urban form, to a broad-based, open-ended approach centred on public space, human activity, and local knowledge and operating as a community of practice (Courage, 2021, p. 3). To further the thinking on future urban regenerative tourism design, it would be interesting to engage with this body of literature. Linking with such urban planning literature can contribute to insights with regard to how to use the assets, inspiration, and potential of local communities to create high-quality public spaces that contribute to health, happiness, and well-being (Gerritsma et al., 2020).

### 4.2. From vision to strategy

Regenerative tourism implies a radical departure from conventional or even sustainable practices that tourism stakeholders are currently used to. Table 3 contains some of the potential changes that such a perspective would bring. The table presents some extensive changes, which are to be expected with the crossing of an ontological threshold. As such, it provides an indication as to why – in spite of all the rhetoric of a re-invented tourism that has been posited in academic papers, media, and social networks – actual changes in practice have currently remained rather elusive.

Such comprehensive changes will not come about easily and will likely face opposition from or be ridiculed by (powerful) stakeholders embedded in and profiting from the organisation of the current tourism system, while it may paralyse other, well-intentioned tourism stakeholders. This shift may even be characterised as anti-tourism or completely unrealistic in times when the tourism sector is already suffering, not unlike what has happened with the degrowth[8] movement (Jim Butcher, 2020).

This would set in motion a self-fulfilling prophecy of failure, as, under such circumstances, a "paradigm shift with regards to the political economy of tourism and a systemic change of the tourism industry after the pandemic is unlikely" (Milano & Koens, 2021). In other words, having a vision alone is not enough. What is needed is a clear and coherent strategy that can help move stakeholders beyond an imagined vision, dream, or projection by giving them an idea of how to achieve it (e.g. through place-based approaches, learning by doing, continuous evolution, etc.).
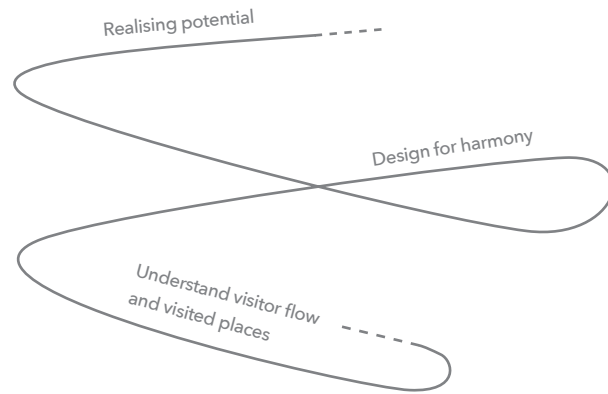
Realising potential

Design for harmony

Understand visitor flow
and visited places

**FIGURE 3** *Phases of place-based regenerative design*

## 4.3. A process-based regenerative approach

Strategies are always context-dependent and never work out exactly as planned. Rather than grand master plans, strategies may best be conceptualised as "productive fictions that require constant adaptation. They never entirely work out as expected or hoped for, yet these productive fictions are necessary and effective parts of planning and steering efforts" (Assche et al., 2020, p. 695).

In this inaugural lecture, therefore, an outline is provided of processes to support the development of strategies that could lead to regenerative visitor flows and experiences. So, how to achieve this? The basic process, as used in regenerative processes in other sectors, is fairly simple. Figure 3 describes three overlapping and cyclical phases (understand place, design for harmony, co-evolution)**9** that more or less coincide with three developmental processes that "are key to creating and sustaining the holism required to make this an evolutionary spiral, growing systemic capacity" over time (Mang & Reed, 2012, p. 31).

The first phase sets out to build a complete understanding of a visitor flow, the places that it visits, and their unique dynamics, limitations, and potential. At least three perspectives must be considered here. The first and most obvious is the visitor economy perspective, which includes policymakers, Destination Management Organisations, and

stakeholders from the tourism, leisure, and events industries. Their understanding could include an appreciation of what the main attractions are, what facilities exist or are missing (e.g. food outlets), how easily a place can be visited, (e.g. infrastructure and public transport), how safe the place is, whether green spaces are suitable for creating experiences, etc. Not all elements need to be in place, but it is useful to be aware of what is there and what is missing.

A second perspective is that of local city users. This could include the kinds of places that they want to showcase, where they would like visitors to come, and which places they would prefer to leave for local use. It also includes non-tourism related issues or opportunities. For example, it could include poor quality of housing, lack of green spaces, pollution, high crime rates, limited infrastructure of public transport, an ageing population, negative associations with the neighbourhood, limited work opportunities, little space for leisure and entertainment, etc. A third perspective is that of stakeholders involved with the physical space and built environment, given that a thorough understanding of the planning and governance system, as well as formal and informal institutional relationships, is required (Van Assche et al., 2013).

This includes policymakers dealing with infrastructure, and urban planners, but also real-estate developers and retail representatives, and stakeholders representing the natural environment. Creating an integral understanding that considers these different perspectives will be resource-intensive, given that the visitor economy impacts on and is impacted by many different stakeholders. In addition, people can have different roles, so their perspective may change depending on the situation.

However, it is important to try to provide an (as extensive as possible) overview of the situation. If the understanding of a place remains a topic discussed only within a limited number of meetings or workshops, mostly attended by the 'usual suspects', it is likely to lead to upset and discontent further on in the process. Based on her experience of running the Urban Leisure and Tourism Lab Amsterdam, my colleague Roos Gerritsma has devised a set of socio-spatial roadmaps for design that make it possible to sense, experience, and analyse a place in different ways throughout the year (Gerritsma, 2021).

The second phase seeks to bring together the myriad interests and ambitions that city dwellers and other stakeholders may have and define

At Inholland University of Applied Sciences we seek to integrate our education and research in Urban Living Labs. We have two labs specifically aimed at tourism and leisure. The Urban Leisure and Tourism Lab Amsterdam is one of the most long-standing Urban Tourism Living Labs in the world, while the Urban Leisure and Tourism Lab Rotterdam is one of the newest, as it was founded in 2020. Together with residents, non-profit organizations, Destination Management Organisations, industry and municipal partners, we week to create, market and produce (hyper) local place-based value. We do this in the form of (among other) events, tours, shop concepts and (temporary) meeting places. Inclusiveness and sustainability are always starting points in our designs.

Due to the long-term commitment of Inholland and the relations with their partners, the labs are very well suited to further the ideas as laid out in this inaugural lecture. They provide a platform that can be used to experiment with governance interventions, including those aimed at co-creation, but also to work towards new business models, learn more about the societal value of tourism, stimulate engagement of social movements, work towards other local innovations, etc., all in collaboration with local stakeholders.

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distinctive elements where the visitor economy can contribute. This entails bringing stakeholders together around a shared vision of what a place may aspire to be and how visitor flows can contribute to this. This vision should be bold, positive, and forward thinking (i.e. it should be focused on creating better places, rather than on mitigating negative impacts). To encourage people to step out of their comfort zones and contemplate different ways of seeing the world, concepts such as World-making (Catungal, 2019) or serious gaming (Koens, Klijs, et al., 2020) can be used. Alternatively, reframing processes can be used where stakeholders start with sensemaking and subsequently work towards designing a frame for future activities (Stompff et al., 2016).

Once a vision or set of future framings have emerged, they should be developed into locally attuned strategies for the development of visitor flows that fit this vision. To do this, it is useful to create a portfolio of

existing and future value propositions that can be developed to fit with the strategies and ideas for visitor flows, for example using design road-mapping (Koens, Smit, et al., 2021). This two-step process is important, as people will have different, possibly mutually exclusive, interests. It is far easier to agree with each other on a higher abstract level regarding an overarching vision of what their place could look like, than it is to agree on specific actions. Once stakeholders agree upon a joint vision, they can use this as a basis for joint reflections on how to achieve such a vision. Co-producing places in such a collaborative way is increasingly recognised in the tourism literature as useful for designing spaces in a long-term, sustainable way (e.g. Collin & Gerritsma, 2018; Koens, Melissen, et al., 2021; Liburd et al., 2020; Phi & Dredge, 2019b, 2019a; Smit et al., 2020).

Allowing stakeholders to come up with solutions to overcome issues as well as with ideas to stimulate tourism benefits, should allow for better place-based tourism development that aligns with local sentiments, also by means of urban living labs or placemaking (Gerritsma, 2019; Gerritsma et al., 2020). It is unlikely that there will be consensus regarding the actions that need to be undertaken, so it is crucial to focus on helping stakeholders to understand other peoples' perspectives, as well as the importance of collaboration, if the imagined future is to be achieved. There is a risk here that powerful stakeholders will seek to push through their own ideas. It is therefore key to set up the process in such a way to limit the possibilities for this to happen, for example by creating awareness, intersubjective understanding, and empathy for the other (Dredge, 2020).

Within the context of tourism, up to now, the concept of empathy has mostly been applied to stimulate an understanding between tourists and residents (Tucker, 2016; Zamanillo Tamborrel & Cheer, 2019). In other contexts, though, methods and tools are being developed that could also further the development of tourism visitor flows and experiences in a more empathic way. More specifically, empathy and co-design can contribute to developing meaningful alternative visions and futures, by bringing together coalitions of quadruple helix stakeholders (government, industry, residents, academia) to come to deep understandings of each other and opportunities for change (Smeenk, 2019).

The third phase unfolds from the work of the previous two phases. It entails the efforts to develop visitor flows and place-based experiences, informed by the previous two phases. Preferably, different stakeholders

Much emphasis in urban tourism design, at least partially relates to processes of co-creation, participation and/or co-production. A key problem here in my experience is that it is difficult to get stakeholders to work together.

Within the SCITHOS project we made a serious game to bring stakeholders together and stimulate discussions and reflections on tourism. By creating a 'safe' environment, it became possible for stakeholders to talk more openly about their perspective on tourism development and the issues they faced.

The experience of playing the game was fun and engaging. At the same time, it is useful to appreciate that such interventions in themselves do not constitute change (they are but a drop in the ocean) and that interventions are highly contextualized. For example, speaking one's mind in front of senior stakeholders is relatively

commonplace in the Netherlands but this is not necessarily the case elsewhere.

To make the game work therefore required flexibility and inventiveness of the moderator and others involved in running the session as participants were not always ready or willing to engage in (critical) reflections on tourism development, or because certain people dominated the discussion, thus drowning out other voices.

As such, it is key to be aware of the limitations of co-creative techniques. Particularly when stakeholders have different levels of experience, there are great differences in power or when decision-making structures are very much top-down oriented, it is not a given that co-creative techniques will be bring the insights and benefits that they are intended to bring.



work together to create such value propositions and the subsequent experiences, facilities, structures, platforms, groups, events, or whatever is deemed necessary. This collaborative process can help further a culture of mutual trust, understanding, and commitment that can form the basis for a next cycle of design. Of course, on paper, it is easy to say that all stakeholders are set to benefit from the desirable future visitor flows that result from this process. In practice, this will not necessarily be the case. Whatever is set in motion can have unintended consequences in the longer run. The obvious example here is (tourism) gentrification processes, which may be very desirable for some but can lead to displacement or people moving away because they no longer feel 'at home' in the changed environment or cannot find or afford basic services. As such, what may appear a good solution at one point may become a bad one at a later point in time.

These issues underline the political nature of this whole process. In the end, choices will have to be made regarding the development of cities or neighbourhoods. Throughout the process, it is therefore essential that stakeholders are aware of themselves, and the other, and to create a place where everybody can take ownership and leadership over the process. This will allow for of creative ideas and solutions that can inspire others (Tholke, 2021).

Of course, all of this counts for little if decisions benefiting particular stakeholders are taken on an apparently spurious basis, or if the the governance system is such that individuals are unable or unwilling to stick their neck out, out of fear of retribution should a decision or intervention turn out to not work out as planned. If participatory processes become little more than tokenistic forms of engagement, this can alienate local communities and other stakeholders (Horgan & Dimitrijević, 2021; Knippenberg et al., 2020).

To prevent choices from having long-term detrimental impacts on collaborative efforts, transparency and clarity in communication is crucial. This starts with expectation-management throughout the process. Once a joint vision has been agreed upon, it is key to show how all actions, efforts, or interventions are supposed to help realise the imagined future, while stakeholders must be accountable for living up to their commitments.

We need to see tourism not as an economic sector, but as a societal force.

# 5. New Urban Tourism as a canvas for reframing tourism

**T**he suggestions for initiating a new form of tourism and tourism development, as described above, are difficult to achieve. It entails crossing an ontological threshold with regard to the role of tourism in our urban societies, as well as a process-based reframing of the way tourism is co-produced and designed. It is therefore useful to maintain our current focus to better appreciate how a specific place can be developed using such a process-based tourism approach in practice. The limitations and opportunities encapsulated in New Urban Tourism lend themselves particularly well to investigating, experimenting with, and designing more regenerative tourism practices.

The focus on day-to-day encounters and interactions and urban co-creation, means New Urban Tourism is, by definition, place-based and co-produced. In addition, New Urban Tourism is mostly practiced by visitors who have already visited a city once before. Their previous knowledge of the city and their desire to blend in further blurs the distinction between visitors and local city users, as their behaviour will be more aligned than in traditional urban tourism settings. In theory, this should make it easier to focus on the social processes underlying tourism development, and instigate experimental interventions where different stakeholders co-design vibrant local qualities and experiences in order to stimulate sustainable and inclusive urban tourism, leisure practices, and governance (Koens, Gerritsma, et al., 2020). In practice, however, this may not be easy, as will be elaborated in the following section.

## 5.1. New Urban Tourism as places of spontaneous co-production

The concept of New Urban Tourism was introduced by Roche (1994) and had been floating around for several years in the tourism literature. However, it has started to gain ground in recent years, as increasing numbers of visitors began to look beyond the 'standard' tourism attractions, seeking new places of interest that were more 'authentic' and 'local'. The increase in New Urban Tourism in the Global North has been caused, at least in part, by increased mobility opportunities, such as cheap flights, which have led to the 'routinisation' of travel and 'repeat

tourism' to certain destinations (Colomb et al., 2016; Larsen, 2019). While no set definition for New Urban Tourism exists, it has been described as "tourism of the everyday urban life" (Füller & Michel, 2014). As such, it includes "practices that move beyond the long-established tourism precincts and must-see (often historical) sights." Instead, new urban tourists have a particular desire to visit "heterogeneous tourist" places, where visitors blend in with local city users (Larsen, 2019, p. 30). Such characteristics are similar to tourism practices in economically impoverished urban areas in the Global South (i.e. slum tourism) and insights from this more controversial type of tourism could further the development of New Urban Tourism in the Global North.

In recent years, the increasing relevance of New Urban Tourism for modern tourism practices in the Global North has led to several works further developing the concept (Duignan & Pappalepore, 2021; Frisch et al., 2019; Stors, 2020; Su et al., 2020). Stors et al. (2019, p. 8) provide a useful theorisation on the dimensions of New Urban Tourism. They "put forward three dimensions along which the emergent phenomena of new urban tourism can be analysed and discussed: (a) [off-the-beaten-track] encounters and contact zones, (b) the extraordinary mundane, and (c) urban co-production."

As mentioned earlier, a central element of New Urban Tourism is that encounters take place in contact zones, which are perceived as being 'off the beaten track' or outside the standard tourism bubble. It holds the promise of a more 'authentic' and positive city experience, and is contrasted with mass tourism and its negative associations (Stors et al., 2019). Digital technology has been criticised for opening up off-the-beaten-track contact zones.

This impact is most visible in the form of short-term rental services such as Airbnb, which claims to provide the opportunity to 'live like a local' (Guttentag, 2015). However, websites like TripAdvisor have also been influential, as a means to rapidly share insights on new 'trendy' places. Social media platforms like Instagram, Tik Tok, YouTube, and Facebook have exacerbated this unorganised, bottom-up knowledge sharing of new areas. These platforms have also made it easier for entrepreneurs to

set up guerrilla marketing campaigns. Indeed, Destination Marketing and Management Organisations increasingly use these platforms, for example by paying influencers to promote specific areas. Further digitisation of cities, for example through digital twinning projects, or AR and VR experiences may lead to new (online) contact zones[10] where the roles of resident and visitor become even more fluid and interchangeable. [11]

The emphasis on the extraordinarily mundane with New Urban Tourism is grounded in the observation that everyday life and tourism cannot be viewed as separate spheres, and that it has become increasingly complex to define what is a 'local' and what is a 'tourist'. New Urban Tourism is unique in that it allows for visitors to try and play the role of residents, just as it allows local city users to perform the role of 'tourist', either through encounters with visitors from elsewhere, because they are discovering new areas or activities on their own, or because they are showing family or friends around (Larsen, 2008). This "reciprocal transgression" (Pappalepore et al., 2010) aligns with viewing being a tourist, resident, or commuter, etc. as roles that people perform at a certain point in time, rather than a fixed identity.

While all tourists co-produce the urban spaces they visit, together with all users that form the urban fabric, the impact of new urban tourists is particularly visible as they actively seek to engage with local life rather than staying in a tourism bubble. New Urban Tourism activities represent a unique type of tourism that is less an economic activity that takes place outside of normal everyday life, and more "integral to wider processes of economic and political development processes and even constitutive of everyday life" (Hannam et al., 2014, p. 172).

Moreover, because New Urban Tourism commonly takes place in newly developing areas that are not specifically set up for visitation, co-production processes and subsequent impacts of tourism are more evident than in more established tourism areas.

Taken together, these characteristics mean that, in a way, New Urban Tourism is very much in line with regenerative urban tourism design. However, certain neighbourhoods where New Urban Tourism is practiced have become known as specific places of discontent in the over-tourism discourse (Colomb et al., 2016; Ferreira et al., 2019; Milano, 2018). It can be argued that this is due to rapid place-change in these

**BOX 9** *Engaging with living communities*

During my PhD I spent several months at a time in a township in South Africa.

Inevitably, I started to feel a bit attached to the place as I started to know my way around, acquaint (to a very limited extent) a local baker who made excellent sugar-coated buns and could say hi to several people I had got to know.

Still, I was of course just as much a visitor as the people who came on a half day tour and I was made acutely of this by certain local residents who noted that I was paid to be there and always had the ability to leave, while it was their home. They did not mind helping me, and I tried to think along with support them, but I could not help but feel that, even when with the best interests at heart, our relationships were unequally skewed to benefit the person of privilege.

In a way this point to a wider issue when engaging as an academic with local communities and professionals – the knowledge we gain from talking with people and doing research does not necessarily have direct value for the people we engage with, while our designs and interventions also may be too abstract, experimental or limited to be perceived as useful.

At the same time, success in our academic system increasingly depends on writing academic papers (publish or perish) that are commonly of little interest beyond academic circles (Melissen and Koens, 2016).

There are no easy solutions for this this issue, but it is an issue that requires continuous attention, particularly when working in neighbourhoods and places that people consider home.

**BOX 10** *The importance of understanding local needs*

For any kind of tourism intervention, it is key to understand the local context, as failure to do so can have strong detrimental impacts. This was exemplified by what I observed in the South African townships, where government had made it a goal to stimulate entrepreneurialism and put various support programs were in place to achieve this.

An example included a programme that helped entrepreneurs set up a business – the more businesses were started, the better. The programme was so 'succesful' that it led to a massive oversupply of guides and small township tour operators. This created a situation of hyper competition, which severely limited possibilities for burgeoning entrepreneurs to grow their business. Probably as a result of this, many businesses failed, while others dependent for their business on a small number of privileged entrepreneurs. Another support programme was meant to help small existing businesses grow. In this case 'success' was defined as the number of

businesses that reached a certain turn-over rate. This led to a situation where support was focused on businesses that already were growing rapidly and were nearly certain to reach the desired threshold anyway, at the expense of other businesses where support could have made the difference between growth and decline.

The benefits of such programmes for the local community were thus very limited or even non-existing. At the same time critical community members argued that the first scheme was a government ploy to stimulate registered self-employment and thus reduce official unemployment figures, while the second scheme was alleged to be all about supporting 'those with friends in high places'. Whilst it is more likely the effects were unintended and caused by a lack of understanding of the issues on the ground , such perceptions can increase distrust between and a sense of powerlessness among stakeholders, thus making cooperation more and more difficult.



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areas, from residential functions to those aimed more at visitors. This may be because the focus of tourism development in these areas has insufficiently considered the perspective of city users, compared to the visitor perspective. One may wonder whether there has actually been a meaningful form of co-production in these cases, or whether tourism development has taken place without the necessary attention paid to the local context, including power relations between visitors, the tourism industry (including Airbnb), and local city users.

## 5.2. The future of New Urban Tourism

City governments may be keen to stimulate the development of 'new tourism places', but it is important to remember that "bringing together so many heterogeneous actors carries with it constant potential for conflict" (Stors et al., 2019, p. 11). Indeed, even relatively low tourist numbers[12] can set in motion a place-change in these neighbourhoods, or even tourism-driven gentrification and displacement of original residents (Colomb et al., 2016; Füller & Michel, 2014; McKercher et al., 2015). Such processes are certainly not an inherent characteristic of New Urban Tourism, but they have been observed in multiple European cities (Koens et al., 2018).

The process-based regenerative approach, as discussed in this booklet, may help to mitigate some of the issues that have been observed previously in New Urban Tourism. At the very least, it represents a more deliberate and reflective way of developing New Urban Tourism destinations than has already been seen. Although, little work has been done on deliberately designing New Urban Tourism to support sustainability or equity in tourism development, its characteristics may mean it has a leading role to play in developing a different perspective on the development and design of urban tourism, one that starts from a more holistic systemic and united perspective.

This could provide insights into how to cross the ontological barrier that has held back sustainable urban tourism development to date. For example, by looking at ways that enterprises can operate outside the 'profit and growth economy' and 'business as usual' norms, in the same way as is already done in certain parts of the Global South (Cave & Dredge, 2020); or, the development of new narratives around sustainable development that challenge orthodoxies that limit social

innovation, or new value metrics that assess success in tourism based on societal values.

New Urban Tourism may provide answers to important questions regarding the various and conflicting ways of co-inhabiting in a city based on disparate practices and intentions and design solutions to deal with these (Stock, 2019, p. 54).

Examples of such design and research questions include: how do you create shared imaginaries between different city users? Is it possible to design New Urban Tourism visitor flows in a way that benefits all local city users? How do you stimulate empathy for the 'other'? What role do local city users see for the visitor economy? What can be mutual beneficial? What different kinds of values can tourism have? What kind of opportunities do different groups of city users see for the visitor economy?

If visitors are seeking to act like locals and co-create spaces, how can they be engaged to contribute to the local area? How can visitors be integrated into urban spaces, and under what conditions? To what extent do different visitor flows have different impacts and in what ways can positive impacts be stimulated? If there is a distrust of the visitor economy, what are effective strategies to degrow tourism? At a local community level, how do we prevent short-term-rental services from disturbing local relations? What kinds of regulations are effective when the behaviour patterns of visitors and residents are so similar? What kinds of annoyances do 'the other' bring and how can you overcome these?

It should be self-evident that great care must be taken when getting involved in these matters, as many New Urban Tourism destinations are, fundamentally, residential areas. For researchers and consultants, even those that are highly engaged, their involvement is commonly part of their (well-paid) job.

For local stakeholders, however, much more is at risk. Whether it is a fear of displacement as a result of tourism gentrification, future loss of livelihood opportunities, the degrading  of communal qualities of place or other issues, these have long-term impacts on the lives of many people. Merely having good intentions is therefore not enough – the road to hell is paved with them. Instead, careful expectation management before

and during any kind of intervention is necessary, as well as being aware of the time and effort that this demands of local stakeholders (Duineveld & Dix, 2011).

At the same time, and on a more hopeful note, if New Urban Tourism can help find answers to some of these questions, it may bear some similarities to the concept of New Urbanism in the urban planning literature. Just as New Urbanism exposed certain underlying principles of (predominantly American) planning and has led to experimentation with alternative ways of planning[13] (Garde, 2020), so New Urban Tourism can provide an alternative way to look at processes intrinsic to the production of tourism.

Perhaps more importantly, it may also support the development of new ways of thinking and acting, or other interventions that allow the visitor economy to contribute to the well-being of all city users.

We need a
strategy that
can help move
stakeholders
beyond an
imagined vision.

# 6. Reframing Urban Tourism: a research agenda

In view of all that we know about urban tourism, as well as the perspectives presented in this inaugural lecture, there are several ideas and topics that must be addressed in a future research agenda for (New) Urban Tourism and that I will seek to engage with in the coming years:

**1.**
Re-value the visitor economy for cities and urban areas along the lines as discussed in this inaugural lecture. In other words, wat social, environmental or cultural value can tourism bring to a city, or parts thereof? Such work could also lead into new metrics for success in the visitor economy, as well as the development of new business models and other forms of community-oriented value creation.

**2.**
Create a better understanding of regenerative processes and ways of designing regenerative visitor flows and experiences. This includes how to design joint imaginaries (e.g. worldmaking), but also how to bring people together, stimulate deep reflection and empathy, as well as designing experiences, creating new sustainable business models, and learning how to scale-up regenerative practices that stimulate transitions in the wider city system.

**3.**
Move beyond simplifying dualities like overtourism vs. undertourism, mass-tourism vs. niche tourism, leisure tourism vs. business tourism, resident vs. tourist, pro-tourism vs. anti-tourism, business vs. locals etc. As mentioned earlier in this inaugural lecture, tourism represents a microcosmos of urban societies, including all of its complexities and it requires conceptualisations that do justice to these complexities.

**4.**
Build stronger links with the wider urban planning literature, for example the New Urban Agenda, as well as Sustainable Development Goal 11 (Sustainable Cities), if only to further embed thinking on the visitor economy in strategies on city development. The literature on place-making may be a particularly useful entry point here. It fits well with the reframing of tourism as suggested in this lecture, but also features additional insights that can be incorporated into the urban tourism literature and may be of particular significance for New Urban Tourism.

**5.**
Engage with the political dimension of tourism production and governance, to better understand why and how interventions are (not) supported. This includes participatory planning practices, co-creation, tourism design and the role of social movements. Questions regarding power relations, access to information or resources, equality, in- and exclusiveness, (perceptions of) disempowerment, equality, quality of work, etc. are key to understanding why initiatives fail or are not scaled-up and therefore must always be considered when analysing and designing a new visitor economy.

**6.**
Look at the full range of tourist activities and areas that can be found in replace with: Appreciate the importance of localness and the interaction between different city users. Of course, New Urban Tourism, requires attention as it may act either as a reference point for wider regenerative tourism development or negative developments related to overtourism. However, cultural tourism, festivals and events, which are so typical of urban visitor economies all blend tourism and leisure.

**7.**
Focus less on best practice and more on processes and learning experiences. Good practices can be interesting and useful for motivating and engaging people. However, they are also difficult to implement in other local contexts and do relatively little to stimulate learning. Given that we learn most from our mistakes, it may be just as, if not more, interesting to also focus on worst practices. So let us celebrate our glorious failures just as much as the glorified successes we all push in our publications and social media posts.

With this in mind, and to bring this inaugural lecture to an end, I would like to reiterate the need to focus on the question *how* we can collectively design urban tourism in a way that benefits all city users. After all, we all make the city together.

# 7. Acknowledgements

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I am pretty convinced I have forgotten someone, so apologies to whomever that may be!

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## Let's create a better urban tourism together!

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# 9. Notes

**1**

I deliberately use scare quotes here as I am not convinced tourism can be 'managed', given that it is impossible to know and control many of the variables that impact tourism and that tourism impacts. At the same time, I appreciate that this is a commonly used term and that 'managing' tourism impacts may be the best or only way that stakeholders feel they have to steer tourism developments.

**2**

An exasperated entrepreneur I once spoke with succinctly summarised this issue when (s)he said: "We gave them what they wanted. We worked so hard to increase tourism numbers and tourism income and we were good at it. But now, suddenly, are the bogeyman."

**3**

My colleague Roos Gerritsma uses the term 'hyperlocal' to describe this phenomenon, which encapsulates this local nature well.

**4**

Feel free to fill in any number you like here, as a comparison between different economic sectors with completely different financial structures is nigh on impossible – suffice to say, much money goes around in tourism.

**5**

PAKHUIS DE ZWIJGER MEETING - https://www.inholland.nl/nieuws/bruggen-slaan-in-de-bubbelsamenleving/ (livecast op 9 maart, nieuwsbericht op Insite op 19 maart).

**6**

The great irony is, of course, that within the current tourism system the vast majority of tourists deliberately stay within their own 'bubble' and have very limited interaction with local communities, even when they argue they want to see 'the other side' of societies (Koens, 2014).

**7**

I appreciate that the number of ideas, thoughts, and provocations regarding future urban tourism development is much broader than described in this inaugural lecture. Indeed, it would be interesting to provide a clear characterisation of different visions and ideas (e.g. resilient urban tourism, transformative tourism, hopeful tourism etc.) and analyse their underlying similarities and differences (as far as I know, no such paper has been written yet). To do this would go beyond the scope of this inaugural lecture. If anyone is interested in working with me on such a paper, please feel free to contact me!

**8**

The degrowth concept is far more nuanced than the name suggests and is more about seeking economic diversification strategies and reshaping the social and economic fabric of contemporary societies to support a resilient tourism sector.

**9**

The Amsterdam Urban Leisure and Tourism Lab (www.tourismlab.nl) uses a strategy that is not dissimilar, in that it starts with local knowledge, moves on to local value creation, and then local impact.

**10**

While digital cities and communities were already experimented with during the initial days of the internet, future technologies may provide for more comprehensive and inclusive experiences.

**11**

The COVID-19 pandemic may also spur on further digitisation of tourism encounters.

**12**

It is useful to note that this includes city residents who performed a tourist role in these areas.

**13**

Even if, at first sight, it is most recognisable in 'faux romantic' architecture.

We all make
the city together