

UNDERSTANDING AND MANAGING VISITOR PRESSURE IN URBAN TOURISM

A study to into the nature of and methods used to manage visitor pressure in six major European cities



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Executive Summary

Cities are increasingly visited by business and leisure tourists in Western Europe. The income from these visitors, both domestic and foreign, bring significant economic benefits and support the wider social and cultural development of the city and its surroundings. Nevertheless, in recent years media has started to report on a negative attitude among the local population to visitors, due to issues with overcrowding, noise and other nuisances supposedly caused by tourists. Such a negative attitude can decrease the overall hospitality of residents towards visitors and make the city a less interesting proposition for visitors. Either way these developments hinder the development of tourism in these cities, limiting growth opportunities and potentially causing disruption as protest becomes more vocal. Although it is very difficult to ascertain how and when visitor pressure becomes too high, preventing it should be a priority to city governments.

This report provides an overview of the issues related to visitor pressure, as well as ways of dealing with it in six major European cities; Amsterdam, Barcelona, Berlin, Copenhagen, Lisbon, Munich. To do so, the report aims to fulfil two main objectives.

1. Recognise the extent to which visitor pressure can be observed in the six participating cities through an investigation of the perceptions of host communities towards the visitor pressure.
2. Identify different ways of dealing with visitor pressure and examine to what extent they can be meaningfully applied to a European urban tourism context.

With regards to the first, residents are aware of the benefits of tourism to the local economy and its contribution to the social aspects of residents' quality of life. Looking at the overall perception of visitor pressure among residents, it becomes clear that the picture is rather more positive than one may be expected to believe, based on certain media reports. The perception of tourism does differ amongst residents, with those benefiting from tourism generally being more positive.

On the whole though the majority of the respondents in this research have an overall positive outlook on tourism. This does not mean they do not see the potential negative impact of visitor pressure on their city, but rather they also observe the benefits that tourism brings. With regards to positive impacts the main benefits are the positive atmosphere and possibilities that tourism brings, not just economically, but also socially through a more international vibe in a city. When it comes to negatives, residents highlight how they perceive the rising costs of living in different ways as key issues. What is also interesting, is that the issues that are experienced, are seen as different for the city as a whole and residents' own neighbourhood. This suggests that at least certain solutions need to be focused on the local level.

From the analysed data, certain critical incidences were identified as being particular issues for residents. These include tourists' uncouth behaviours, clashes between norms and values, overstretching of city infrastructure, as well as the fear to lose the city's authentic image and identity. In addition, residents perceive that parts of the current infrastructure(s) cannot cope with the visitor numbers, leading to challenges at an urban level through overcrowding, overpricing, noise and endangered security in public areas which affects the social level where the locals' daily routine is impacted to an extent that they cannot manage to maintain their usual behaviours.

The second objective deals with ways of managing visitor pressure. A total of ten different strategies and 65 methods of dealing with visitor pressure have been recognized that can help mitigate the issue (see chapter 4 and appendix 8), or provide opportunities for increasing visitor *and* resident experience. When residents are asked about these strategies, they indicate to have a preference for a positive approach to the management of visitor pressure, rather than a more repressive approach. They emphasise the need for improved infrastructure and facilities, and improved communication to residents, local businesses and visitors. The emphasis placed on communication by many respondents, both to residents and visitors suggests some of the problem may be due to misinterpretations and lack of knowledge. Destination Management Organisations seem well placed to take upon them such a role. There also appear to be opportunities to continue the development of experiences that benefit residents and visitors alike, to ensure the opportunities that the vibrancy that visitors bring can be capitalised upon. Also the increasing possibility of using smart solutions to spread visitors over the city (in time and space), has great potential, with the small caveat that technology in itself is insufficient to deal with visitor pressure and/or improve the carrying capacity of cities. Key is a smart *application* of technology, taking into account the *relations* between *hosts* and *guests* in the city.

Although city actors already know a lot about visitors' motivations, desires and movements, there is room for development on the dynamic monitoring of visitor streams and visitation through the implementation of technologies and mobile phone apps. Several cities have specific SMART working groups to develop policy on this matter, but interviewees note only few connections appear to have been made with departments and organisations that manage visitor and tourism streams. Such a connection would benefit all parties involved.

This points to the critical issue that departments and organisations managing visitor streams have difficulty in influencing other policy actors, for example in infrastructure. However, to deal effectively with visitor pressure in the future, it is important that other policy actors and stakeholders take account of the impacts of tourism, both positive and negative, while at the same time taking responsibility for a sustainable development of tourism that mitigates visitor pressure. One way to achieve on this is the creation of an

overarching plan that includes a coherent, explicit visitor pressure management strategy that is aligned with wider city development strategies. In Amsterdam this wider strategy, in combination with recent award-winning programmes dealing with visitor management, has been particularly useful in creating awareness beyond stakeholders directly involved in tourism and making policy together. Unfortunately, it may not be possible to create such a plan in different cities due to the local context and/or political pressures, but the idea of embedding visitor pressure in the wider policy context can be highly beneficial to achieve results.

As mentioned earlier, in all cities visitor activities take place in a specific local context, often in alignment with other social and economic activities that take place there. It is also paramount to take into consideration the interests of all the stakeholders involved to ensure a sustainable tourism growth. This means that there is not one way of dealing with visitor pressure. What works in one context, may be unsuitable for another. The methods and strategies in this report provide insights into potential things that cities can do and how they can work. The key is to find a way to harmonise tourism development and potential growth within the local surroundings. This will require interaction and discussion not just within tourism departments. Instead it means that policymakers of most departments and industry actors need to take joint responsibility and engage with the wider tourism development, but also a continuous dialogue with all stakeholders on this matter (industry, residents, policymakers and tourists).

Finally, four future scenarios for cities are identified, depending on the extent to which there are cultural understanding and or cultural conflicts in a city, as well as the extent to which policymaking is top-down and regulatory, or more bottom up. There is cooperation and the main strategies for dealing with visitor pressure have been related to these scenarios. Cities with great mutual understanding that are open to bottom up initiatives are expected to be suitable for most strategies, whereas cities where there is limited cultural understanding and limited central steering provide least possibilities. Discussing the strategies in the light of different scenarios allows for visitor pressure and its management strategies to be viewed in a contextual way, thus highlighting again the importance to seek strategies that fit with the city at hand as there is no one-size-fits-all strategy to deal with this issue.

1. The increasing importance of managing visitor pressure

1.1. Introduction

Cities are increasingly visited by business and leisure tourists in Western Europe. The income from these visitors, both domestic and foreign, bring significant economic benefits and support the wider social and cultural development of the city and its surroundings. Without tourist visitors, it would be impossible to maintain the current level of leisure, cultural and retail facilities that the population has often come to expect. A decrease in facilities would lead to less employment opportunities for the local population.

Nevertheless, in recent years media has started to report on a negative attitude among the local population to visitors, due to issues with overcrowding, noise and other nuisances supposedly caused by tourists. Such a negative attitude can decrease the overall hospitality of residents towards visitors and make the city a less interesting proposition for visitors. Various causes have been proposed for the seemingly more negative attitude in recent years. It is certainly true that the number of visitors to major cities in Europe has rapidly increased in the last four decades. For example, in Amsterdam with visitor numbers have increased by a factor five since 1970. In addition, an increasing number of festivals are organised in cities, which strongly increases visitor pressure at certain locations for shorter periods of time throughout the year. Also, the advent of services like AirBnB have made visitor streams more difficult to monitor and regulate, while at the same time bringing visitors to new areas where residents do not expect them. This is exacerbated by the trend that visitors now more actively seek out novel areas to visit where they can engage and interact more with the 'real' living city (Wolfram & Burnill-Maier, 2013).

Taken together such developments make it more difficult for residents to 'escape' meeting visitors, which may decrease acceptance. Alternatively residents may have become less tolerant, or feel tourists have become more rowdy and troublesome over time. Either way these developments hinder the development of tourism in these cities, limiting growth opportunities and potentially causing disruption as protest becomes more vocal. Although it is very difficult to ascertain how and when visitor pressure becomes too high, preventing it should be a priority to city governments. To ensure a successful management of issues, it is clear that solutions need to fit a local context. The attraction of cities can lie in cultural activities, its historic centre or even the visitation of a congress (e.g. WTM), nightlife or others and these different types of attractions may bring different kinds of problems. Understanding the relationship between the different stakeholders of the cities and visitors requires a prior understanding of these different stakeholders as well as the urban context in which it is embedded.

The danger of visitor 'overkill' was already recognised in 1979 by Rosenow and Pulsipher (1979). They attributed such overkill to three main factors:

1. Too many visitors, possibly aggravated by seasonality – in this case it is the absolute numbers of visitors that are seen as disturbing. This can be a perception of overcrowding in parts of the city, or the feeling that there are no pleasant spaces in the city anymore where residents can shy away from visitors.
2. Too much adverse visitor impact - here the impact of visitors is perceived negatively. This can be congestion on the roads due to buses stopping near attractions or road users who do not know the, often informal, traffic rules and thus create dangerous situations. It also entails issues like noise disturbance, rowdiness and other disturbances visitors are perceived to cause (even when it may be locals causing the disturbance).
3. Too much physical impact of the visitor economy - the physical impact of industries aimed at visitors also can cause agitation. This includes, for example, the over-proliferation of hotels or retail aimed at visitors.

In order to deal with the pressures of tourist visitation and resident complaints, it is necessary to develop urban visitation and tourism sustainably by finding new and better ways of managing the increasing visitor pressure. If visitor streams are more adequately managed, pressure can be relieved in the most visited areas, cities will be able to provide tourists with a better hospitality experience and visitation can assist development and gentrification of economically deprived regions. To achieve this, more insight on how to handle this phenomena is urgently needed.

Although often receiving most attention, it is important to realise that international tourism is but one of the usages of the city space and that the absolute number of people using this space is much higher. Not only is there a significant group of domestic and leisure visitors, but also commuters to, from and within the large cities and residents. In most cities the number of people in these groups are also growing, thus putting additional pressure on the city infrastructure and facilities.

The fact that pressure on cities' facilities and infrastructure also increases due to a rise in city residents, commuters and other local users means that management strategies targeted solely at tourists will not necessarily result in a reduction of visitor pressure. Preferable are strategies that reduce visitor pressure among residents, commuters and visitors. Of course this is not necessarily easy to achieve or even feasible, as it requires measures beyond the remit of governmental parties focusing primarily on tourism. However, it is necessary to remain aware of the wider structural (policy) context and the possibilities that could lie here to reduce visitor pressure.

Unfortunately, the phenomenon of urban tourism remains largely underexplored, both in research on urban studies as well as in tourism and little is known about how to deal with the increasing pressure of tourist visitation in this environment (Ashworth & Page, 2011). This project aims to fill this gap in knowledge and increase insights into ways of developing urban tourism in a long term environmental and social sustainable way.

1.2. Aims and objectives of the project

This report aims to provide an overview of the issues related to visitor pressure, as well as ways of dealing with it in six major European cities; Amsterdam, Barcelona, Berlin, Copenhagen, Lisbon, Munich. To do so, the report aims to fulfil two main objectives.

1. Recognise the extent to which visitor pressure can be observed in the six participating cities through an investigation of the perceptions of host communities towards the visitor pressure.
2. Identify different ways of dealing with visitor pressure and examine to what extent they can be meaningfully applied to a European urban tourism context.

The report consist of three parts. To start with the first research objective is dealt with in chapter two, by mapping the visitor pressure in the six participating cities and the kinds of issues that are most poignant at destinations. The focus of this part of the study is to find out the impact of tourism on the visitor-resident-relation to help identify the critical parameters that influence this relationship. Knowing this may help to in the development of socially sustainable tourism development and management strategies. In chapter three the focus turns towards solutions to overcoming issues dealing with visitor pressure. This includes bringing together information on solutions that are already applied, but also ways of overcoming visitor pressure from other destinations that may be useful in an urban context. Finally, the data from both parts are combined to appreciate the importance of finding a diverse set of management strategies complementary to the issues at hand in specific cities.

1.3. Methodology

The report is based on a combination of desk research, interviews, and a survey. Desk research consisted of academic and professional literature, advisory reports and newspaper articles. This provided a rich picture of background information and more detailed in insights and examples that were incorporated in the final research.

Perception of visitor pressure

Following the desk research, the perception of residents of visitor pressure in the six cities is investigated using a qualitative strategy based on the critical incident technique as a unit of analysis inspired by Professor

Albert Postma's PhD thesis about "critical encounters in the development of tourism" that questioned the mutual beneficial level of tourism development (Postma, 2013).

Third year students assessed 'critical encounters' relation to tourism and the community as perceived by the present local residents between the months of April and September 2015. The students were offered interviewing technique trainings and care was taken to ensure that the interview content and schedule was the same within the cities. More specifically this was done by providing a detailed research protocol. Also students were chosen that were proficient in the language of residents of all cities.

To fulfil the research brief and ensure a diverse sample, the data for this research was collected by means of a pre-determined semi-structured interview of the city(s) local residents where the students acquired both audio and visual data. The findings relied upon a qualitative sampling approach with students sent to the selected cities to hold semi-structure interview with 25 city residents. To ensure variation of the sample and background variables assumed to affect residents' perception of tourism, the interviewees (local residents) were randomly selected on a criterion based purposive sampling across the city with a sampling scheme and an interview content provided.

The results were compared and contrasted between the cities which enabled identification of emerging patterns on different parameters that influence visitor pressure. Further, the identified patterns were mapped within the categories to facilitate an assessment of the resident's critical encounters, emotional response, behavioural response, loyalty towards tourism and the background variables based on Postma (2013). In order to get a comparative perspective of the resident's perceptions and the general effects of visitor pressures, the identified critical encounters per city were transcribed per a set format enabling the research to determine the collective critical encounters.

Dealing with visitor pressure

To find which kind of solutions and management strategies are used, or could be used, 36 in-depth interviews were held with policymakers and representatives from industry and resident organisations. Sampling was done in coordination with the participating partners, with an emphasis on purposive sampling to ensure a wide variety of actors were heard.

To ensure similarity between the interviews, an interview guide with hot topics was created that included the nature of visitor pressure in the cities as well as experiences with different management strategies. This provided interviewers with structure, whilst allowing for the flexibility needed to customise interviews to the context and interests of the interviewee.

Interviews lasted around one hour and were held in the native tongue of the interviewee, with the exception of the interviews in Copenhagen, which were held in English. Analysis was done in three steps. First, the interviewer provided an initial analysis of each interviewee and sought similar themes among interviews. Next findings from all interviews were brought together and analysed again to create further understanding. These findings were then discussed with representatives of the participating cities to come up with clearer insights.

Quantifying the perception of tourism and the attitude towards tourism strategies

The interviews with residents and stakeholders in the cities allowed the identification of relevant parameters. By means of a survey among a representative sample of residents in all cities those parameters were quantified. Based on the outcomes of the interviews a detailed questionnaire was constructed and translated into Danish, Spanish, Catalan, Portuguese, Dutch and German (see appendix 8 for the English version of this questionnaire). The questionnaire was distributed online to a representative panel of residents in the six city centres. This service was provided by Epinion in Denmark. The response rates are listed in table 1.1.

Table 1.1 Response rates online survey

City	Respondents
Copenhagen	422
Lisbon	406
Barcelona	406
Munich	406
Berlin	514
Amsterdam	484
TOTAL	2638

The questionnaire contained questions related to:

- personal characteristics
- attachment to the city
- positive critical encounters
- negative critical encounters
- behavioural response to these encounters
- attitude towards future tourism development in the city and in the respondents' neighbourhood
- Support for strategies to deal with tourism development

Tables 1.2 to 1.5 highlight demographic and other descriptive characteristics of the sample. Table 1.2 and 1.3 shows the age of the respondents and where they work (within or outside the city). Table 1.4 reveals the respondents' attachment and identification with the city. Table 1.5 quantifies the extent to which the

respondents are related to tourism. And finally, table 1.6 shows the respondents attitude toward tourism to the city, prior to the in depth questions.

The average age in the cities is relatively comparable (table 1.2). Compared to the other cities however, the respondents in Copenhagen and Amsterdam were older. These two cities also show a relatively higher percentage of respondents working outside the city boundaries (table 1.3).

Table 1.2 Age structure of sample in different cities in % (n=2638)

	Copenhagen	Lisbon	Barcelona	Munich	Berlin	Amsterdam	Mean
Age structure of sample in different cities (%)							
15 – 34 years	21,2	44,1	42,3	44,5	41,1	28,3	36,8
35 – 54 years	36,9	38,8	44,2	39,1	38,0	30,4	37,7
55 years and older	41,9	17,1	13,5	16,4	20,9	41,3	25,5

Table 1.3 Work location of respondents in different cities in % (n=2638)

	Copenhagen	Lisbon	Barcelona	Munich	Berlin	Amsterdam	Mean
Location of work							
Inside city (%)	51.9	86.7	78.3	73.4	85.6	62.0	73.0
Outside of city (%)	48.1	13.3	21.7	26.6	14.4	38.0	27.0

If we take a look at how the respondents relate to the city (table 1.4), the data show that most respondents have lived over one year in their city. Most of them were born and raised there or moved to the city because of work or study. This latter motive is a little less important among respondents in Barcelona. Compared to the other cities the proportion of respondents who say they moved to the city because they simply like it is higher in Berlin and Munich. On the question whether they are happy to live in the city, average the respondents answer positive to very positive in all cities. Respondents in Copenhagen appear to identify less with their cities than the other respondents do. This might be correlated with the fact that a relatively large proportion of the respondents in Copenhagen moved there for work or study and a smaller proportion was born and raised there.

Table 1.4 Attachment and identification to city (n=2638)

	Copenhagen	Lisbon	Barcelona	Munich	Berlin	Amsterdam	Mean
Period of living in the city (%)							
Less than one year	1.9	4.4	8.4	5.9	7.6	5.2	5.6
One year or more	98.1	95.6	91.6	94.1	92.4	94.8	94.4
Attachment to the city (%)							
I was born and raised in the city	40.0	52.7	63.1	37.9	46.1	45.2	47.3

I moved to the city because of my work or study	37.7	32.5	17.5	47.5	31.1	29.8	32.6
I moved to the city because of family reasons	10.2	9.4	11.8	16.5	15.8	13.0	12.9
I moved to the city because I like the city	17.5	9.9	9.9	25.4	22.0	14.3	16.6
I moved to the city because it offers (affordable) housing	3.1	5.7	2.7	1.2	4.5	3.1	3.4
I moved to the city for another reason	4.3	3.7	2.2	1.7	1.6	4.5	3.0

Identification with the city (mean on 5 points scale, 1 completely disagree – 5 completely agree)

I am happy to be living in the city	4.38	4.45	4.44	4.48	4.39	4.42	4.43
I feel I am a Copenhagener/ Lisboner/ Barelonaer/ Municher/ Berliner/ Amsterdammer	3.75	4.20	4.22	4.04	4.10	4.12	4.07

Whether people work in tourism or are conscious that their income is generated by tourism could affect the way they perceive tourism. According to social exchange theory people tend to be more positive when they benefit from tourism exchanges (see e.g. Andereck, Valentine, Knopf, & Vogt, 2005; Postma, 2013; Slikker & Koens, 2015). It is therefore useful to see the extent to which people have a direct relation to tourism. Table 1.5 shows that the sample is not biased towards people closely connected to tourism (Koens & Wood, n.d.). Although compared to the other cities, in Barcelona and Lisbon more respondents work in tourism, and in Barcelona more respondents think their income is related more indirectly to tourism.

Table 1.5 Perceived relation to tourism in % (n=2638)

	Copenhagen	Lisbon	Barcelona	Munich	Berlin	Amsterdam	Mean
Working in tourism (government, marketing, industry) (%)							
Yes	3.1	10.3	11.1	3.2	6.0	8.3	7.0
No	96.0	89.2	86.7	95.8	93.6	89.0	91.7
Don't Know	0.9	0.5	2.2	1.0	0.4	2.7	1.3
Household income related to tourism							
Yes	2.8	7.9	10.1	4.4	8.0	8.3	7.0
No	94.5	90.9	86.5	93.8	89.7	88.8	90.6
Don't Know	2.6	1.2	3.4	1.7	2.3	2.9	2.4

Before the questionnaire moved into the details of positive or negative encounters with tourism, the respondents were asked to give their view on tourism (table 1.6). Results show that in all cities respondents are proud that people from different parts of the world visit their city. This appreciation is slightly less in Berlin and Munich (resp. 3.97 and 4.06) and higher in Lisbon (4.56) and Barcelona (4.38). These high scores

are striking, as they contradict the presumed discontent of the local population with tourism that is highlighted in popular media.

Table 1.6 Attitude towards tourism (n=2638)

	Copenhagen	Lisbon	Barcelona	Munich	Berlin	Amsterdam	Mean
Attitude towards tourism to city (mean on 5 points scale, 1 completely disagree – 5 completely agree)							
I am proud that people from different parts of the world visit my city	4.25	4.56	4.37	4.03	3.95	4.14	4.20
I think that my city is a hospitable city	3.76	4.49	4.38	4.19	4.05	4.04	4.14
I think people from my city are good hosts	3.62	4.30	4.12	4.10	3.87	3.83	3.96
The part of the city where I live is very touristy	2.36	3.23	3.54	2.65	3.32	2.84	2.99

In all cities respondents think that their city is hospitable and that the residents are good hosts. The opinion about hospitableness of the city is most positive in Barcelona (4.38) and Lisbon (4.49), and least positive in Copenhagen (3.76). The respondents think most positively about the residents of the city as hosts in Lisbon (4.30), Barcelona (4.12) and Munich (4.10), and least positive in Copenhagen (3.62), Amsterdam (3.83) and Berlin (3.87). Most respondents are quite neutral about the fact that they live in a tourist part of the city, especially the ones Amsterdam and Lisbon.

2. Perception of visitor pressure

Looking at visitor perceptions critical incident technique was used in all participating cities. The perception of residents' encounters can be characterised up into three categories (Postma, 2013) namely:

- **Stakeholder encounters:** General tourism stakeholders' behaviours, attitudes and influences based on personal experiences with tourism
- **Environmental encounters:** All direct encounters pertaining to tourism impacts on residents physical, economic and social setting, based on personal experiences
- **Personal encounters:** Indirect encounters of tourism and its effects on residents' quality of life on a personal scope, based on personal experiences

For each of these types of encounters, residents indicated their experience and how it affected them emotionally, behaviourally and concerning their loyalty towards tourism. Below a representation of each participating city's residents' overall perspective of the main visitor pressure. These results are entirely based on personal experiences of the city(s) residents with tourism. Contrary to the survey results reported on later in the study, these results are not representative for the population of the cities. The focus of the interviews was on negative critical encounters because it is assumed that this defines the 'limits of acceptance' of tourism development which is an important condition for sustainable tourism development. However, such perceptions have undoubtedly been influenced by media and the personal networks of the resident.

2.1. Amsterdam

- *Stakeholder Encounters*

Within Amsterdam interviewees reported on several fears regarding stakeholder encounters. For example it was feared that the city's authenticity such as the eradication of Amsterdam's canals boat houses to pave way for scaffolds for tourists. What is striking is that some of perceptions are based more on hearsay than on actual experience. For example, it was noted that Amsterdam is promoted as a nightly city, which led to visitors coming for Marihuana and prostitution. Looking at Amsterdam promotion, coming from the DMO, such promotion has not happened for many years, if at all. However, the perception remains, possibly due to promotions of certain industry actors. Another negative that was noted was that there is lack of zoning, with tour operators visiting "hofjes" with large numbers of tourists causing overcrowding, while the main disturbance from individual tourists was the ringing on residents' doors for touristic information.

- *Environmental encounters*

Due to pressure on the local infrastructure, there is a population composition where the residents feel some are informally or even illegally renting their accommodations to tourists through "sharing economy" lodging operators, which then pushes locals out of the city. The social amenities as public transportation becoming

inadequate, long queues at local attractions which end up blocking the streets and causing inconveniences to the residents and the city image changing with upcoming structures escalating to accommodate the growing visitor numbers. Residents note they have difficult visitors uncouth behaviour (public urination, overindulgence in drugs and alcohol, noise pollution, littering, rude and arrogant mannerism, tourists occupying the streets to sleep) and the lack of clear policies on public and private space for the visitors and residents.

- *Personal encounters*

With the Dutch housing of huge windows, residents reported that they feel they lose their privacy with visitors peeping and taking pictures through the windows. It was not noted however, to what extent the 'peeping in' was typical of visitors, and what type of visitors. The city overcrowding was said to put pressure on the social amenities as museums, supermarkets, public transportation, with little mention of the fact that such amenities are partially supported by visitors. Experiences with the lack of awareness and skill regarding the local biking culture and overindulgence with alcohol were described dangerous, annoying and demanding patience and adaptation from the residents.

2.2. Barcelona

- *Stakeholder Encounters*

The annual amount of tourists visiting Barcelona increased enormously during the last couple of years with tourism industry playing a major role in Spain's economy. Around 100.000 jobs entirely depend on the tourism industry with roughly 20 million Euro generated daily. Possibly as a result of this Barcelona's residents' perception of tourism on the whole is rather positive, albeit with the caveat that certain inhabitants fear that Barcelona is turning into a theme park exclusively for the use and enjoyment of tourists.

Due to the annual increasing number of visitors the urban landscape of several districts has also changed. Institutional encounters in Barcelona are embodied in political organization. The perceived absence of transparent regulations and control measures for "sharing economy" accommodation operators is perceived negatively. At the same time these operators also benefit a minority who have real-estate that they can rent out. Tour groups and cruising have enormous social, economic and physical impacts, both positive and negative. Residents highlighted that to mitigate the negative influences on their quality of life of visitor pressure whilst sustaining the benefits, the political organization of tourism may need to be better organized, regulated and mandated.

- *Environmental encounters*

These encounters are categorized according to social, economic and spatial characteristics. The tourists “weird” moments of expressing their joie de vivre mood, behaviours and attitudes lead to residents’ frustration that there are no ‘Barrios’ anymore! Below is a sum up of the identified direct critical encounters.

- Due to the increase in tourist numbers, there is Pressure on Barcelona’s infrastructure and social services with overcrowded public transportation, commercialized culture and overcrowded streets.
- Economically, in order to manage the mass numbers of tourists, accommodation and hospitality services costs have skyrocketed with locals on one hand aiming to maximize on the tourists’ higher remunerations while on the other hand inhibiting the residents’ ability to afford the same
- The residents’ quality of life is influenced by the party tourism experienced in Barcelona. In particular nudeness, noisy, over drunk and a disregard of social norms (as reported in the media) is reported.

- *Personal encounters*

The locals accept the visitors’ irritations liberally by adapting to coping strategies as finding different routes through the city in the touristic peak season where the streets are extremely crowded. It was argued that the usage of visitors of public spaces intervenes with residents’ use (e.g. usage of playgrounds) and that the city is losing its charm, also due to the rapid increase of visitors in recent years. In dealing with this challenge, residents note they are changing their consuming habits, e.g. meeting friends in restaurants of less-visited areas of the city. There was little mention of joint experiences with visitors.

2.3. Berlin

- *Stakeholder Encounters*

In order to accommodate the growing visitor numbers, social amenities and infrastructure have to be stretched leading to coping measures as upcoming illegal businesses thriving under residential apartments. Policy makers are trying to accommodate the growth of tourism by constructing new buildings which in turn cause inconveniences to the residents due to traffic blockages within the city. Due to increasing visitor numbers, there is an increment in noise and land pollutions which is said to require the attention of the policy makers

- *Environmental encounters*

The perceived image of the city as a ground for party tourism (although not necessarily marketed as such) is interfering with the authenticity of the city giving rise to underground culture, which in itself may fuel the city’s attractiveness to certain visitors. The economic benefit brought about by the visitors demand has encouraged the growth of AirBnB forcing the living costs to increase beyond some residents’ reach. Another

disturbance was the impact of visitors on infrastructure. It was noted that the large numbers of tourists coupled with underdeveloped cycle trails are causing obstruction of traffic flows.

- *Personal encounters*

The rise prices brought about by the demand of space among visitors, misbehaviours and disturbances of certain groups of tourists are most evident negative personal encounters, particularly in areas where tourism is rapidly developing and visitor numbers rise quickly. It was mentioned that this led certain residents to change their way of living by interacting less with the often-visited areas in the city towards areas with less visitors.

2.4. Copenhagen

- *Stakeholder Encounters*

On the whole residents of Copenhagen were positive about visitors. Rather than noting negative encounters, they argued for a better spread of visitors to enable all areas and stakeholders to mutually benefit. A rise of the number of visitors was argued to reduce overcrowding in major tourist areas that may be avoided by certain residents.

- *Environmental encounters*

The increase in visitor numbers, is perceived to have led to an increase of criminality, although no figures were given. Also, air and noise pollution and tourists rowdy behaviour was noted. In future this may lead to a more negative attitude among residents.

- *Personal encounters*

While the overall experience with visitors was seen in a positive light, residents do note that heavily visited areas are, at time, avoided, even when this means that the benefits of cultural exchange would not be possible.

2.5. Lisbon

- *Stakeholder Encounters*

In Lisbon it was noted that the increases of visitors is putting pressure on the infrastructure, making it difficult to adequately handle the residents and the ever growing tourism. Examples that were mentioned were increases in transportation costs, residents' alienations due to the increase of prices. Also, there were negative feelings of unfair competition with regards to the limited control of illegal mushrooming tourist apartments.

- *Environmental encounters*

Residents in Lisbon note that the increasing visitor numbers have led to greater crowding within the centre, and increased pressure on the public transport that has difficulty coping with this pressure. Another issues is the increase of noise and air pollutions with no clear barriers between local and tourists' areas. The perception among some residents is that this is, to an extent, leading to an erosion of authenticity and the experience of Portuguese culture. Overcrowded streets, aggressive tourists' behaviours, unfair price increments in hospitality services as restaurants, shops, attraction facilities as well as within the social infrastructure as public transportation are also noted, although not backed up by direct personal encounters.

- *Personal encounters*

With the growing numbers of tourists in Lisbon residents fear the local culture and social way of life may become threatened, which can lead towards annoyance towards tourism. The quality of the locals' life is argued to be negatively impacted by the price increased, which are attributed to tourism and the increase of visitors.

2.6. Munich

- *Stakeholder Encounters*

In Munich, the perception of encounters with visitors focuses on the residents experiencing infrastructure overloads. The residents feel that visitor numbers are putting pressures on the social amenities as the local transportations (MVG) unable to handle the growing numbers. The large cycling groups (tourist guided tours) with mega beach cruisers also are thought to negatively interfere with the residents' way of daily life triggering negative attitudes towards tourism. Certain residents expressed a worry regarding the fact that the city has been put forward to host the Olympic games, which residents believe will negatively interfere with the city's authenticity and local culture.

- *Environmental encounters*

When discussing environmental concerns, residents mentioned the perceived incapability of tourists to merge with the social way of life such as only biking on the designated biking areas, blocking of public spaces, tourists indecent rude behaviour, obstructing human and traffic movement due to touristic behaviours as taking pictures. This can cause frictions between the residents and the tourists.

- *Personal encounters*

Due to large visitor numbers in the centre, the inadequacy of the visitors to adapt to the local norms and values has forced the residents to change their way of living causing an effect on their quality of life. What is a specific issue in Munich is the extensive mixture of all cultures and practices. For example, it was mentioned that certain 'Arabic' visitors, take pictures of 'real' European women, without asking permission,

which is seen as highly negative. Additionally, accidents with biking, drunk and arrogant visitors also disturb residents and makes them avoid areas associated with tourism.

3. Tourism community relations as perceived by the residents

3.1. Overall perspective of residents regarding tourism

The surveys in each of the city centres provides a detailed picture of how residents view tourism, how they behave in specific circumstances and what tourism means to them in their daily lives. In this chapter the most important details will be highlighted. Details are provided in the appendices. For each city first the positive critical encounters will be listed, than the negative ones and how the respondents respond to these, and finally how respondents' experiences with tourism impact upon their attitude towards further tourism development.

The positive and negative critical encounters relate to respondents' personal experiences during the past 3 years with tourism. The question contained a long list of potential encounters. These were subdivided into direct encounters, indirect encounters and stakeholder encounters (Postma, 2013). Direct encounters, which show the direct manifestation of tourism in the living environment of the respondents, either 1) *spatially*; 2) *economically*, 3) *socially*, 4) Indirect encounters, which illustrate how tourism intervenes with the *person's life or family life*; 5) *Stakeholder encounters*, which deal with the way key stakeholders are encountered.

Below a further indication is given of the different types of encounters.

- Spatial encounters in the living environment (positive for example: more shops, restoration of traditional architecture; negative for example: obstruction of sidewalks, pollution/littering/noise)
- Economic encounters in the living environment (positive for example: increase of price level real estate, more permanent jobs; negative for example: increase of price level private or rental houses, increase of seasonal/migrant workers)
- Social encounters in the living environment (positive for example: increased liveliness, greater international touch; negative for example: change or loss of culture/lifestyle, misbehaviour of visitors)
- Personal/family encounters (positive for example: or better job, improvement of housing conditions; negative for example: waiting times in shops/facilities, violation of safety)
- Stakeholder encounters (for example: attitude of local government, attitude of tour guides – these were only measured on negative aspects)

They were measured on a 5 point scale from 1=neutral to 5=very positive/negative. In the tables in this chapter only the items are listed with a mean score of 3 or higher; the appendix contains the complete lists. The items are sorted, starting with the highest mean. If we look at all cities together the top ten of positive

and negative encounters is listed in table 3.1. See appendix 2 for a complete overview of critical encounters with their scores.

Table 3.1 Top 10 of positive and negative critical encounters in all six cities together

Top 10 of positive critical encounters		Mean
1.	greater international touch (internationalisation, different cultures in the city)	3.67
2.	more events	3.62
3.	more positive image	3.60
4.	protection of historical parts of the city	3.57
5.	restoration of traditional architecture	3.54
6.	more seasonal jobs in tourism	3.51
7.	more cultural supply (museums, cultural activities, cultural events, etc.)	3.50
8.	greater numbers of tourist accommodations (hotels/pensions/hostels/apartments/etc)	3.47
9.	more opportunities to share knowledge and culture with visitors	3.44
10.	more leisure facilities	3.41
10.	increased liveliness	3.41
Top 10 of negative critical encounters		
1.	increase of price level/affordability of rental houses	3.82
2.	increase of price level/affordability of private houses	3.73
3.	increase of price level/affordability of taxis	3.39
4.	increase of price level/affordability of shops	3.38
5.	increase of price level/affordability of restaurants and cafés	3.37
6.	increase of price level/affordability of public transportation	3.35
7.	increase of price level/affordability of leisure facilities	3.32
8.	less housing for residents	3.29
9.	overcrowding of public transportation	3.22
9.	pollution, littering, noise	3.22
10.	Overcrowding/obstruction of streets/sidewalks	3.15

In the original list the number of respondents per item was between 2013 and 2482 for the positive critical encounters and between 1934 and 2467 for the negative critical encounters

The level of agreement on positive encounters is generally higher than with the negative ones. The standard deviations show that in the category of positive critical encounters the respondents mostly agree in the social domain (across the items in this category, the standard deviation is generally the lowest), particularly in Lisbon. This suggests that these sentiments are shared in similar ways across a wide range of respondents in the respective cities. In the category of negative critical encounters respondents have most similar perspectives on items in the personal/family domain. The level of agreement is smallest in the economic domain. This means that people’s experiences and perceptions differ most strongly on this aspect.

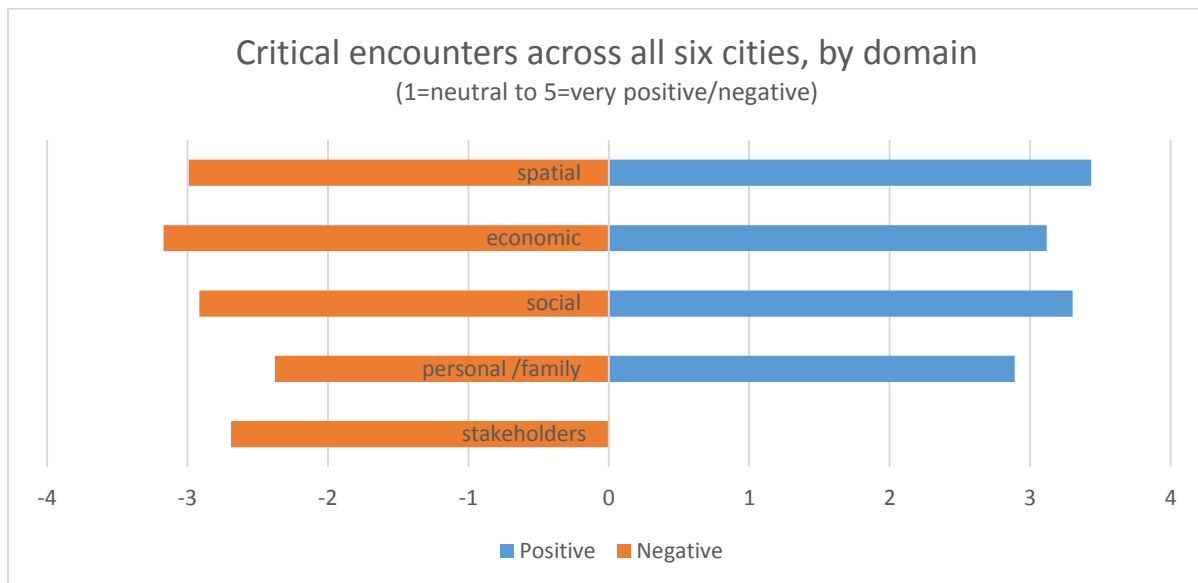
Looking at the top 10 most positive encounters, it becomes clear that tourism contributes to the livelihood, activities and image of cities. In addition, residents acknowledge the economic benefits, the protection of heritage and the increase of facilities as a result of tourism. The fact that these benefits of visitors are recognised, implies that the issue of visitor pressure in cities is much more nuanced and complex, than is

suggested in popular media. In dealing with residents, it is noteworthy to keep reminding them of these benefits and demonstrate them.

With regards to the top 10 negative encounters, the seven most important deal with price rises. In dealing with these issues, it is important to clarify how, in certain cases, price rises are not due only to increases in tourism, but also due to other causes (e.g. wider real-estate market). Alternatively, where possible, it may be useful to discuss with industry to provide discounts or special offers to residents, to mitigate this issue. Other aspects mainly deal with overcrowding and pressure on the local environment. While it is difficult to deal with these issues, regulation may be possible.

Figure 3.1 shows the balance of these critical encounter categories for all six cities together, i.c. the costs versus the benefits.

Figure 3.1 Positive and negative critical encounters by category

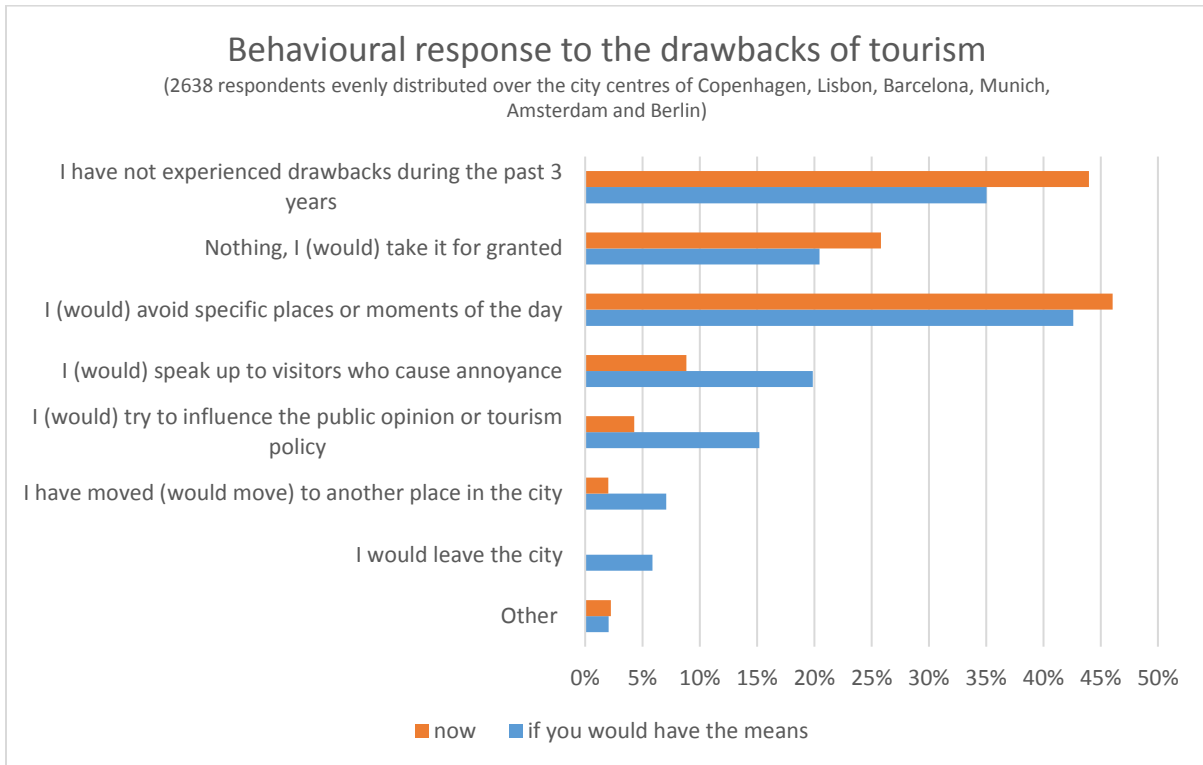


The graph in this figure shows respondents are most negative about economic and spatial encounters and most positive about spatial and social issues. Overall the positive experiences outweigh the negative experiences. The gross effect is that respondents feel a little more positive about spatial, social and personal encounters and a little bit more negative about economic impacts. Again though, this figure highlights how residents also see the benefits of tourism encounters, even when they recognised their disadvantages too.

3.2. Responses to negative critical encounters

The respondents were also asked how they responded to the negative critical encounters, i.e. the negative drawbacks of tourism (figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2 Behavioural response to the drawbacks of tourism



At total of 44% of the respondents in all cities together said they did not experience any drawbacks. The ones who did, mostly tend to avoid specific places or moments of the day (82.2%) or just take it for granted (46.1%). These are the two lowest levels in the tolerance scale as developed by Postma (2013) which is illustrated in table 3.2.

Table 3.2 Dimensions of responses towards critical encounters: irritation and tolerance scale

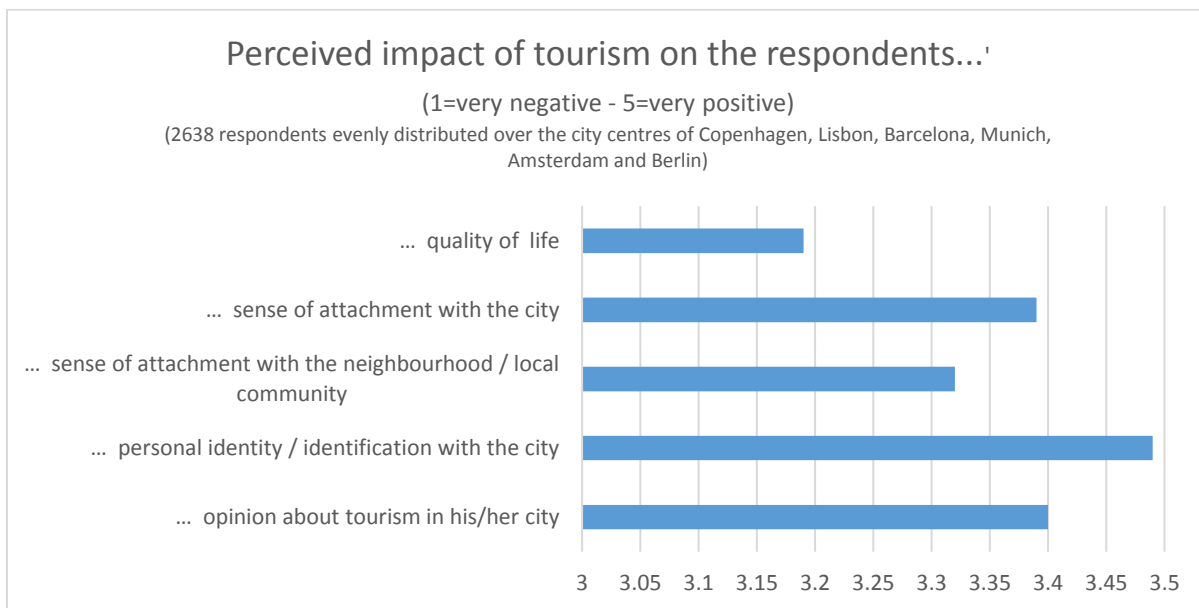
Level of emotional response (irritation level)	Level of behavioural response (tolerance level)
1. Respondent shows understanding and tones down the incident 2. Respondent is upset, surprised, taken off-guard, did not expect it	<i>Respondent tolerates it:</i> 1. Respondent accepts it (lets it happen, is used to it, accepts his/her fate, does not complain, has learned to live with it, has learned to bear it and to go on, says that it is part and parcel) 2. Respondent adapts his/her own behaviour (avoids the problem, chooses different times and/or places for the activity, moves to another village, books an earlier ferry, locks the bicycle, takes preventive measures, does not put up flags any more as they will be stolen)
--- irritation threshold ---	--- tolerance threshold ---
3. Respondent expresses (some) annoyance/irritation about what happened 4. Respondent expresses himself/herself very negatively about what happened: highly critical, calls it unacceptable, or uses rough language	<i>Respondent does not tolerate it and undertakes action to remove the cause:</i> 3. Respondent's reaction is aimed at the behaviour of the initiator of the problem with the intention of removing the direct cause (either person or organisation) 4. Respondent's reaction is aimed at influencing the institutional context, the conditions (policy and planning, future developments, general attitude of parties involved); either directed (specific plans or measures), or non-directed (public opinion)

Source: Postma, 2013

If people are asked what they would do if they have the choice and the means, their presumed behaviour changes and they become more likely to undertake action (the two higher levels on the tolerance scale). This suggests there is at least some sense of powerlessness among residents, which may be mitigated by further engagement with residents on the direction of tourism and clear communication of existing policies, particularly those where interests of tourists and visitors are both affected..

As mentioned previously, within social exchange theory, the reasoning is that there is a trade-off between positive and negative experiences with tourism: people who experience positive impacts of tourism are willing to accept and tolerate more negative implications than people who don't. This might also affect the way how respondents perceive the effect of tourism on their life. Figure 3.3 shows the perceived impacts of tourism for all the respondents across all six cities.

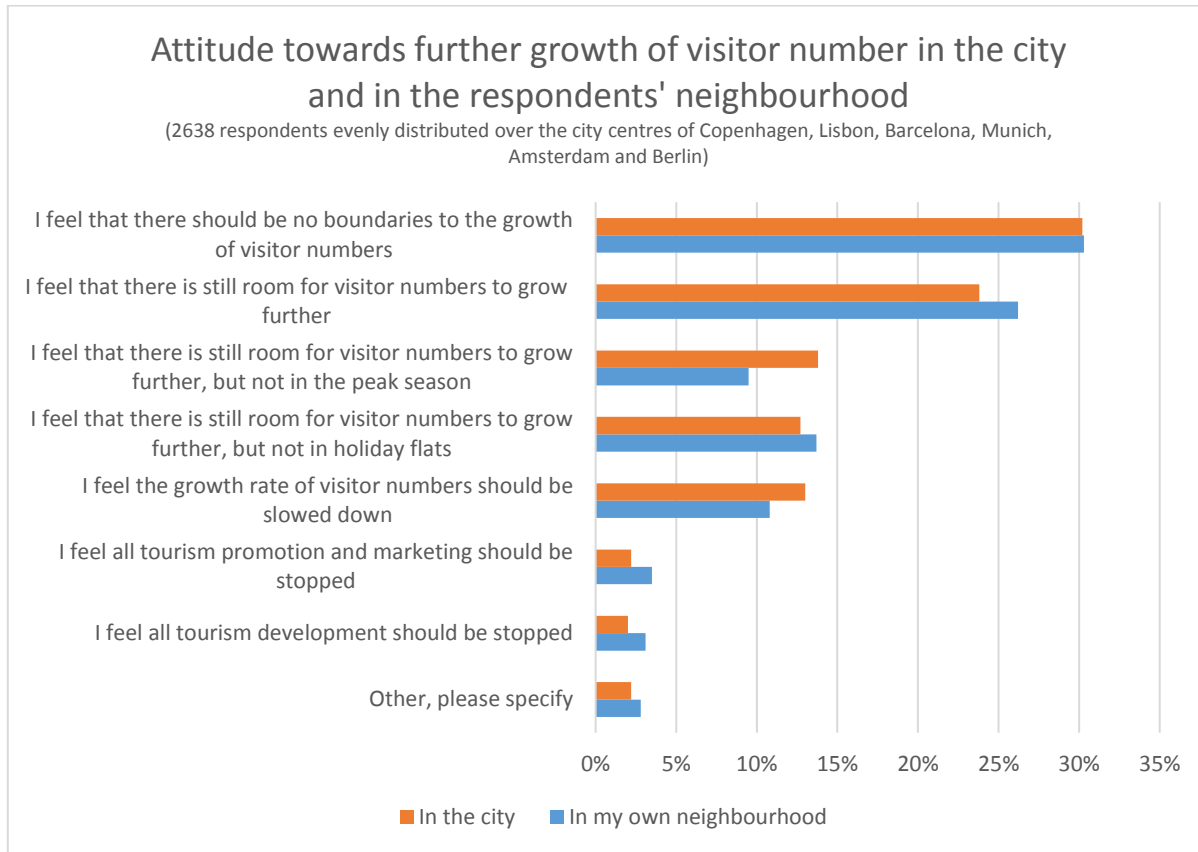
Figure 3.3 Perceived impacts of tourism



It is clear that tourism provides residents with a strong identification with and positive opinion of the city, while they also feel a stronger sense of attachment. The sense of attachment with their local neighbourhood or local community is equally positive, albeit somewhat less. While the perceived impact of tourism on the residents' quality of life is still positive, this figure is lower than with the other aspects. Based on the main perceived negative effects, this could be due to the perceived economic impact, or the stronger sense of crowdedness in cities and it is these issues that may require most attention.

Critical encounters, in particular the trade-off between positive and negative critical encounters, and the perceived impact on people's life also impact upon the attitude toward tourism. The attitude towards the growth of the number of visitors is illustrated in figure 3.4. Here the attitude towards growth of visitor numbers to the city as a whole is compared with the attitude towards growth in the respondents' own neighbourhood. The graph shows a scale from unconditional growth to a halt on the growth of visitor numbers.

Figure 3.4 Attitude towards further growth of tourism



The largest group of respondents feels that it is not necessary to put boundaries on the growth of visitors. In fact, most respondents feel that there is room for unconditional further growth (30% at city level and 30.2% at neighbourhood level). Given that around a further quarter also sees room for further throughout the year and in the entire city, this means that 54.0% at city level; 56.5% at neighbourhood level has a positive outlook on the growth of tourism. On the other hand a significant proportion thinks that further growth is possible only when this is outside the peak season (13.8% at city level; 9.5% at neighbourhood level), while another group emphasises that growth in holiday flats (such as AirBnB, homeaway etc.) needs to be restricted (12.7% at city level; 13.7% at neighbourhood level). Another significant group of respondents states that the growth should be slowed down any how (13.0% at city level; 10.8% at neighbourhood level). The attitude towards the growth of visitor numbers in the city or in the respondents' neighbourhood does not differ very much. Even in their own neighbourhood, residents are positive with regards to the growth of visitor numbers. With regards to their own neighbourhood, respondents are more hesitant when it comes to growth of visitor numbers in the peak season and the growth rate of visitor numbers.

These results further outline the complexity of the perceptions of visitor pressure. While over half of all residents do not see a particular issue with further growth of tourism, there is a significant minority, for

whom tourism growth is an issue. However, this group is not unified on where the emphasis of tourism growth or lack thereof should lie on. Interestingly, there is also a slightly different perspective between what is desirable in the city as a whole and their own neighbourhood. More people are open for visitor growth outside the peak season in the city as a whole, than they are in their home neighbourhood. At the same time conflictingly, a slightly larger number of people feel there is room for growth in holiday flats in their own neighbourhood, compared to the city as a whole. This may be because the survey was held among residents in the city centre, who are relatively accustomed to visitors in their close proximity. These differences suggest that solutions to dealing with negative sentiments require close investigation within neighbourhoods and where possible, solutions need to be sought that deal with the specific issues at hand in a specific neighbourhood. While this is unlikely to be possible with all management strategies, the same also applies to communication with residents, as it is likely to be more effective when it is more specific. In order to get such a more specific message across, it can be useful to gain cooperation from other government departments (e.g. those dealing with housing, real estate), as the issue with visitor pressure issue appears to transcend tourism alone.

The data of individual cities will be presented separately in a separate individual city document .

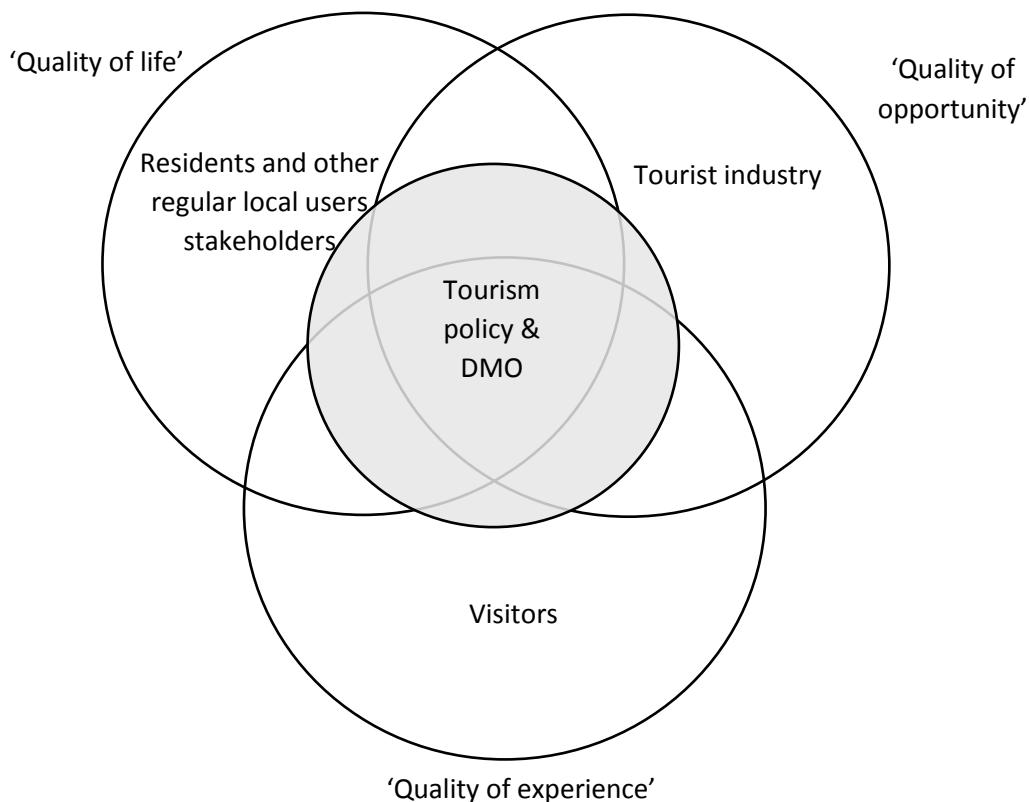
4. Dealing with visitor pressure

4.1. Context of implementing visitor pressure management strategies

4.1.1. Stakeholders involved in visitor pressure

In order to deal with visitor pressure, it is key to appreciate the different groups stakeholders that contribute and/or can help mitigate visitor pressure. Figure 4.1 provides a simplified representation of the main stakeholders involved in dealing with the issues. Management strategies commonly focus on one of the stakeholders, although they can impact more than one. At the centre of the figure are tourism policy makers and DMOs. These organisations are commonly sought to take the initiative or responsibility in dealing with visitor pressure and have the (limited) ability to implement regulations and /or seek influence the image of a city, even when other stakeholders are able to take the initiative. Tourism policy makers and DMOs therefore are at the centre of managing visitor pressure in destinations. However, all actions need to be placed within the wider city policy structure. As will be further described below, strategies need to fit within the physical context of a city and often they need to be aligned with the wider policy framework or require action or assistance of actors that do not deal directly with tourism (e.g. logistics, urban planning).

Figure 4.1 Stakeholders involved for managing visitor pressure



Based on: Postma 2003

When looking at specific measures to deal with visitor pressure four main stakeholders can be identified : residents and other regular local users, visitors, the tourism industry and policy makers including DMOs.

1. Residents and other local users of the city

This group consists of residents living in the city, those visiting the city for work or shopping on a regular basis and the organisations that represent them. In addition it entails organisations that represent the interests of the natural environment and/or cultural heritage in the city. Their predominant interest is the long-term liveability of the city for the residents and the maintenance of its buildings and heritage.

2. Domestic and international visitors

Within this group domestic and international visitors to the city can be placed. It includes leisure and business tourists who stay overnight in the city, but also visitors from the surrounding areas who come for a day visit. Due to the temporal nature of most visits, these groups are largely unorganised. Their interests have historically be represented by tourist information offices and destination marketing organisations, but increasingly these organisations take a more encompassing view as the move towards a focus on wider destination management. The predominant interest of this group is the quality of the city as a destination.

3. Industry actors related to urban leisure activities

In this group of private industry actors can be observed, such as hotels, museums, airports, cruise terminals or tour operators, but also organisations and associations representing the joint interests of these organisations. Not all industry actors need to actually be based in the city. An example is the European Tour Operator Association, which is based in London, but whose members can be found all over Europe. The predominant interest of this group is the economic prosperity and viability of the city.

4. Policymakers including DMOs

To ensure a balanced development in all segments, tourism policymakers and DMOs act as a fourth actor. They operate with all different actors and elements and often across boundaries.

These groups are not mutually exclusive. Individuals representing the interests of visitors and or industry often also are residents of the city. Also, the interests of all groups largely overlap. All rely on the city to be long-term sustainable, economically vibrant and hospitable, even when particularly short-term interests may somewhat differ.

4.1.2. Implementing management strategies

Of course the different stakeholders do not operate in a vacuum. Their actions are facilitated or inhibited by the city context and wider societal factors. In the same way, the remit of tourism policy makers and DMOs is limited, making it very difficult to initiate management strategies that require large-scale infrastructure construction (e.g. constructions of more roads), or that with other sectors (e.g. real estate market).

To implement management strategies, actors will have to take into account the wider city policy structure. Two main means to achieve this can be observed:

A first way is to set up a new city-wide strategy to strive for sustainable city development. Within this approach organisations from multiple policy departments join up with other stakeholders to make it possible to work from a more overarching perspective, where tourism and visitation is but one part of creating a long term lively sustainable city. The benefit of such an approach is that it make many different stakeholders aware of the complexities of the issue, thus creating awareness. Also, it makes it possible to create policies that integrate a wide variety of stakeholders in finding solutions, which makes is easier to create support, even for more 'radical' solutions. A disadvantage is that it requires cooperation from a wide range of political actors and other stakeholders. This makes it not only difficult to create such a strategy, but also can slow down decision-making processes, once the strategy is in place.

A second way is to seek cooperation within existing operational structures and/or organisations. Within this approach there is no formal overarching strategy. Instead policymakers and other stakeholders seek cooperation and create consensus on an individual basis. Working without an wider strategy makes it more difficult to create a joint strategy that encompasses the economic, social and environmental development in the city. However, it is easier to set up short-term cooperation and in this way can lead to more decisive actions to deal with certain aspects of visitor pressure.

4.2. Strategies for dealing with visitor pressure

By combining findings from the second part of the research and a review of the literature, a total of 65 ways/methods of dealing with visitor pressure have been identified. To provide structure and clarification, these methods have been grouped into 10 overarching strategies:

1. Spreading visitors around the city and beyond
2. Time-based rerouting
3. Regulation
4. Creating itineraries
5. Visitor segmentation
6. Make residents benefit from the visitor economy

7. Create city experiences that benefit both visitors and local residents
8. Communicating with and involving local stakeholders
9. Communicating with and involving visitors
10. Improve city infrastructure and facilities

This information is summarised in table 4.1, which includes the main strategies, different methods and the main stakeholder group(s) that these methods target.

Table 4.1: Different methods for dealing with visitor pressure

		Visitors	Residents	Industry	Wider city stakeholders
Spreading visitors around the city and beyond					
1	Moving events to less visited parts of the city and city surroundings	X	X	X	
2	Developing and promoting visitor attractions in less visited parts of the city and city surroundings (see also communication and integration with local this is essential)	X	X		
3	Improving capacity and time spent of visitor attractions			X	X
4	Improving signage to a wide variety of attractions				X
5	Create joint city identity of city <i>and</i> surroundings	X		X	
6	Implement travel card for unlimited local travel			X	X
7	Mark entire inner-city to stimulate visitation of less visited parts	X		X	
Time-based rerouting					
8	Promotion of shoulder and low season to visitors				
9	Dynamic price differentiation	X			
10	Stimulate events in shoulder and low season			X	
11	Timeslots for popular visitor attractions and/or events, possibly aided by real-time monitoring	X	X	X	
12	Use apps to create dynamic time based rerouting	X		X	
Creating itineraries					
13	Provision of information and itineraries by means of unmanned portals (digital and analogue) at city entrance and within city, brochures, internet and apps	X		X	
14	Tourist information centres (static and roaming)	X		X	
15	Combined discounts for specific low-impact itineraries	X		X	
16	City guides & books highlighting hidden treasures			X	
17	Stimulate development of guided tours through less-visited parts of city and city centre			X	
18	Virtual reality visits to famous sights	X	X	X	X
Regulation					
19	Limiting opening times of visitor attractions			X	
20	Limiting access for large groups			X	
21	Regulation of traffic in busy parts of the city			X	X
22	Ensuring car visitors use parking facilities at edge of city	X			X

23	Limiting traffic in busy parts of the city				X
24	Create specific drop-off zones for coaches in suitable spaces		X		X
25	Create pedestrian-only zones				X
26	Regulate disturbance causing visitor products		X		X
27	Charge coaches for bringing visitors (tax			X	
28	Tax accommodation in sharing economy sharing economy	X		X	
29	Limit accommodation in sharing economy through regulation	X		X	X
30	Tax visitor providers that bring many visitors (cruises, tour operator buses)			X	X
31	Limit access for a period of time to certain parts of the city	X		X	
Visitor segmentation					
32	Target visitors with limited impact for the specific city context	X			
33	Targeting repeat-visitors	X			
34	Discourage visitation of the city of certain groups of visitors	X			
35	Align with neighbouring cities to each target a specific market.	X			X
Make residents benefit from the visitor economy					
36	Financial benefits from employed involvement in visitor industry		X	X	
37	Involving local residents in new tourism products (e.g. Berlin)				
38	Improve quality and frequency of public transport due to effective marketing to visitors	X		X	
39	Give residents free entry or reduced tariffs for attractions and other facilities		X	X	
40	Giving residents the opportunity to become tourist in own city		X	X	
41	Stimulate development of impoverished neighbourhoods through visitor economy facilities		X		X
Create city experiences that benefit both visitors and local residents					
42	Develop city to fit with residents desires in mind and treating tourists as temporary residents (with similar desires - Make tourists disappear into the local)	X	X		X
43	Create space for residents at events, markets and/or visitor attractions (Integrate locally oriented products into tourist markets)	X	X	X	X
44	Integrate visitor facilities within local festivities and activities	X	X	X	
45	Creating city ambassadors for the enjoyment of residents (The Hague - also move pantomime)	X	X	X	
46	Make use of temporary 'guerrilla art' to provide fresh perspectives on the city				X
47	Prolonging opening times of visitor attractions and cafes			X	X
Improve city infrastructure and facilities					
48	Create an city-wide city plan for a well-balanced sustainable city management				X
49	Improve transport links, infrastructure and signing			X	X
50	Make public transport better suited for visitors				X
51	Set up specific transport facilities for visitors during busy periods			X	X
52	Simulate use of cycling routes and bicycle rent			X	X

53	Set up specific safe and attractive walking routes			X
54	Ensure cleaning services better fit with visitor disturbance			X
55	Guard quality of cultural heritage and attractions			X
56	Ensure cleaning regimes fit with visitor economy facilities			X

Communicating with and involving visitors

57	Creating awareness of issues of visitor pressure among visitors	X	X	
58	Educate visitors on local transport etiquette	X	X	
59	Create dynamic experiences and routes, also for created niche visitor communities	X		
60	Unite disjointed communities (e.g. by setting up local DMO or process improvements)	X	X	X

Communicating with and involving local stakeholders

61	Make positive impacts of tourism visible	X	X	
62	Organise local discussion platforms	X		
63	Do research among residents and other local stakeholders	X	X	X
64	Discuss with residents what they see as interesting attractions in potential new destinations	X	X	X
65	Communicate with residents about their own behaviour (bike parking/use of AirBnB)	X	X	

Source: Interviews with key stakeholders, based on LAGroup & RBOI, 1997

In the section below these strategies and their application by means of different methods in the participating cities are clarified, although not all methods were applied in the participating cities.

1. Spreading visitors around the city and beyond

Cities are places of constant change. Redevelopments and re-imaginings of urban areas outside of tourism can make new parts of a city attractive to tourists too. As neighbourhoods evolve and develop, new potential visitor attractions are created. At the same time visitor demands also develop as tourists more and more seek out to blend in with local fabric and its countercultures, enjoy the 'real' city and its everyday life (Maitland & Newman, 2009, p. 135). So called 'tactical tourists' deliberately look for new experiences beyond the standard tourist attractions that involve greater interaction with the living city (Wolfram & Burnill-Maier, 2013).

Return visitors too, appear likely to focus on discovering other parts of the city than the normal tourism areas. Although new hotspots in cities can be 'discovered' by tourists spontaneously, this process can be facilitated by local government and Destination Marketing Organisations through actively engaging with other (local) government departments and actors in the tourism industry. By redirecting tourists to areas that currently are receiving less tourism, or by keeping visitors longer at existing attractions that can accommodate visitors pressure on more heavily visited areas can be relieved.

As such three different layers of spreading can be observed:

1. Spreading visitors to 'new' destinations outside of the city
2. Spreading visitors to 'new' destinations within a city
3. Ensuring visitors stay longer at attractions at existing destinations/attractions

Spreading visitors to 'new' destinations outside of the city has been particularly emphasised in Amsterdam in recent years. Their project 'Visit Amsterdam, See Holland' has been highly successful and received a UNWTO Ulysses Award. The key to the success of this project lies very much in the cooperation with other actors (municipalities, province, public transport providers, the tourism and cultural sector) in the metropolitan region. By creating a joint identity for the international visitor, and marketing the region as a whole, the city has managed to add attractions to its destination portfolio and stimulate visitor spending, overnight growth visits and employment in the region. A key part of the success of the programme is the inclusion of most transport operators and the ability to offer an integrated transport card, to make it easier for visitors to use public transport. Similar cards exist and help spread visitors within the city, but the Amsterdam experience highlights the potential to use such cards to spread visitors to the wider surroundings if these hold places of interest within one-hour of travel time.

As visitors spend more time away from the city centre, this is likely to lead to a reduction of visitor pressure there. However, there are still struggles to remove physical barriers and get key actors involved whose primary interest is not dealing with visitors (e.g. the Dutch Railways). This is attributed to too strong a focus on short-term individual interests, even though such actors could benefit substantially from cooperating to help spread out visitors. This does highlight the need for long-term planning and continued discussions to convince stakeholders to become involved.

The experience of Barcelona also highlights the need of coordination and cooperation. All interviewees here agree that spreading visitors to the surrounding countryside is a good idea and that, there are still attractions in the nearby vicinity that could receive more visitors (e.g. modernism sights in Terrassa, Castelldefels, Maresme coast). Cooperation has started as Barcelona and surrounding municipalities bring together tourism boards to manage tourism. Under coordination of the Barcelona provincial government the program 'Barcelona És Molt Més' was started to promote a series of tourism attractions in the region. Contrary to Amsterdam this programme is said to attract mainly domestic tourists at the moment, although it was not clarified why this was the case. A future step could be to create a single body to oversee tourism on a metropolitan scale. However, it has not proven easy to get a coalition of actors together, due a lack of awareness and a fear of losing clients to other areas among both local authorities and tour operators.

In cities where visitor pressure is not yet as visible (Copenhagen, Lisbon, Munich) no specific programmes to spread tourists to the surroundings were mentioned to reduce visitor pressure. In Berlin, interviewees noted that the city is very much spread out, so that most spreading takes place within the city.

Spreading visitors to 'new' destinations within a city can be observed in practically all cities. In Amsterdam new areas like 'De Hallen' have come up more spontaneously, while 'Visit Amsterdam, See Holland' has actively sought to open up areas within the city as well. The relative success of this programme highlights the potential of a successful high-profile project to become more visible to other departments. The success of 'Visit Amsterdam, See Holland' has opened doors for tourism policy makers who, after much effort, now have become involved in discussion on the infrastructural development of new cycling paths to the outskirts of town and beyond.

While voices of dissent can be heard in Barcelona, the approach taken here is innovative in that there has been contact with residents in new potential destinations in the city, asking them what they see as the main attractions in their city and how they envision the development of tourism. This approach builds on the principle of 'convivencia', a convivial and friendly integration of visitors, to ensure new visitors do not become invasive within destination communities.

The importance of awareness among residents is reiterated and further clarified by experiences in Berlin. In this widespread city, there are good options for spreading residents, but issues have been observed in neighbourhoods with large visitor increases in recent years (e.g. Neukoln/Kreuzberg). Issues are much less in traditional destinations where locals are already accustomed to far greater numbers of visitors. It seems that in new destinations the *relative* rise of visitor numbers causes tensions as residents' sense of place and belonging are disturbed as locally owned shops are replaced, visitors enter formerly 'residential' streets and the cost of housing increases. At the same time, one has to note that certain changes, such as rising rental prices are part of a wider trajectory of gentrification and cannot solely be attributed to the increase of visitors. To an extent visitors risk becoming a scapegoat for issues, which again reiterates the need for clear communication and the finding of joint benefits (as will be discussed later). The Berlin example can be of interest to Amsterdam and Lisbon, where new areas (de Hallen, Mouraria) are likely to see increasing visitation in the coming years. The fact that many of these 'new' destinations became popular due to wider developments (e.g. the presence of artists, trendy retail outlets), highlights a continuing need to remain aware of wider developments in the city to be able to support initiatives as they arise.

Lisbon has actively opened up the river front to people and in this way created a new destination with restaurants, museums and other attractions. In developing this area they have taken care to make it attractive not just for visitors, but also for residents. While a new development, this appears a successful

strategy. A similar approach in Cape Town has led to the V&A waterfront now being among the most popular destinations for residents and visitors alike.

In Munich the idea of spreading visitors is incipient, although visitors increasingly visit specific new attractions on the urban fringe, like the Allianz Arena or BMW world. The experience of Copenhagen reiterates the need for good transport links to new destinations such as these. Their new cruise port, located outside of the city has opened up a new area, but industry partners in particular argue for better transport links.

Ensuring visitors stay longer at attractions at existing destinations/attractions is not necessarily seen as a spreading strategy, but was mentioned in several interviews. Interviewees in Amsterdam specifically noted the need to extend opening hours for museums, while interviewees in Barcelona highlighted opportunities to improve the facilities and attractiveness of the locations where the buses terminate that bring visitors from the surrounding tourism centres. They argued that if tourists can be persuaded to spend more time at these areas, this can mitigate peaks in visitor pressure. Similarly, an extension of existing attractions, or the development of new attractions that take visitors ‘off the street’ can lead at least to a perception of less visitor pressure, given that visitors are not on the street. An issue with all these approaches is though, that they require much cooperation with others, which has proven difficult previously.

2. *Time-based rerouting*

The perception of overcrowdedness is a nuisance not just to residents, but also, to an extent, to visitors. Even though cities are already getting more crowded due to a rise in commuters and city residents, the extra disturbance caused by visitors can potentially be mitigated through time based rerouting. Having visitors better spread in time can relieve visitor pressure in busy periods and make the city more lively during more quiet times. The principle of time-based rerouting takes place on two different levels in the participating cities:

1. Rerouting of visitors during the day
2. Rerouting of visitors over the year

Rerouting of visitors during the day is experimented with, albeit that experience is limited. An example is the Welcome cards (e.g. in Berlin and other cities) and brochures, which are said to provide incentives to achieve the redirection of visitors during busy periods of the day. Whilst not a participating city, it is useful to mention that in London too, the London pass gives visitors discounts or even free entrance to museums early in the morning when it is quiet. In Barcelona, where online booking systems for key attractions are making it possible to better monitor and steer visitors over the course of the day. This will allow them to more evenly

sell tickets through timeslots and prevent queues on the street. To make such initiatives truly successful, it is essential to get different attractions to work together however, and this is proving difficult due to competition and limited communication. Such initiatives also take place during events. Initiatives to get visitor attractions to work together more can be observed, although this may improve if they would receive more support.

In Amsterdam one interviewee involved in the development of apps to accommodate rerouting during the day provided useful comments. In particular he noted the limited use of technology to achieve time-based rerouting. Apps could help steer visitors in real-time in more specific ways than is currently possible, also by using background information of users and/or creating personas. For example, visitors could receive a text message with a discount for a museum in an area where it is quieter than normal at a certain point in time. In addition, data of users whereabouts and touch points over the course of the day, which could be gathered with such apps, can provide novel insights to more effectively deal with visitor pressure. Much can be learnt here from theme parks where geo-location it is possible to determine temporal overcrowding. Should this be the case, tourists can be notified of certain benefits or incentives (e.g. a discount on food, museum entrance, transport) within a certain time frame (pushed to mobile devices) (Brown, Kappes, & Marks, 2013; Hannam, Butler, & Paris, 2014; Tussyadiah, 2012). However, before this can be achieved, particular practical issues need to be dealt with, namely the fact that a sufficient number of tourists will need to download the app, ensuring participation of other stakeholders and attractions, the creation of a reliable and free Wi-Fi network throughout the city and concerns regarding privacy.

Besides time-based rerouting during busy days, it is also possible to try what may be described as seasonal rerouting. All cities organise events and festivals during relatively quiet periods or in the shoulder season, to allow the total number of visitors to a city to increase, with relatively little disturbance to residents. It was suggested that cities could learn from yield management systems such as those used in hotels or low-cost airlines to gain more active control over visitor streams over the course of the year. Particularly as tourist travel cards and potentially traveller apps become more used, possibilities to do this are increased.

A danger with seasonal rerouting is causing excessive visitor disturbance like noise pollution and drunkenness during a short period of time that can harm perceptions throughout the year. Having said that, it is good to look at the experience of Munich. Whereas the Oktoberfest causes quite some disturbance, residents remain very much supportive. Partially this is due to it being a 'tradition' which is also enjoyed by residents. On the other hand, it is also noted that residents condone the disturbance because it is only for a limited time that is well-communicated in advance. This shows that the way events are managed also determine the extent to which they are perceived to enhance or detract social life and the structure of a

region. Negative impacts can be addressed by awareness raising among communities, community collaboration and consultation before, during and after the event.

3. Regulation

In certain cases it may simply be impossible to spread tourists out over a wider region. A particular case in point of this is Venice, where options for further growth are limited (Russo, 2002). In places like this, it may be necessary to constrain visitors numbers to ensure numbers stay within the capacity of the city. Two main options to do so can be observed in the participating cities:

1. Hard interventions: physical zoning (limiting number of people) and controlling transport options or activities
2. Soft interventions: Discriminatory tariffs and taxation

The most drastic form of regulation is by means of hard interventions that limit the possibilities of users of the city. It include regulation with regards to the number of people or coaches allowed to enter a certain place, limiting the modes of transport in enter certain regions (e.g. no cars allowed) and the complete prohibition of certain activities, or only allowing them at a certain time (e.g. stringent opening hours for bars). These are tough measure that often meets with much resistance from all stakeholders in the city and require strict enforcement to be effective. However, cities have started experimenting with such measures. Several stakeholders expect that increasingly regulation is inevitable, once visitor pressure gets excessive. A novel way to look at regulation, is to restrict certain areas of a city for a certain amount of time. Not only will this give the residents some peace and quiet during the time of the restriction, but it could also be used to make parts of the city more exclusive and thus seemingly more interesting to visit.

In cities where real estate prices are relative low, a great problem is the large number of houses that are rented out tourist apartments. The state of the real-estate market has made it financially more attractive to rent out an apartment to visitors. To deal with this, Barcelona has put a moratorium in place on the licensing of new tourist apartments and also hotels. While this measure has improved the situation somewhat, enforcement remains an issue. Interestingly, Lisbon has a similar issue with tourist accommodation pushing out local accommodation, but has chosen not to use prohibition yet. In Berlin, where real-estate is also cheap, residents also worry about being forced out, particularly in places where tourism is accompanied by gentrification. Berlin has agreed to regulate AirBnB, but this will not be until 2018 and worries were already expressed with regards to how to enforce the regulation. Also in Berlin party and nightlife tourism has been forced of Prenzlauer Berg by means of law suits. This did not necessarily solve the problem however as visitors now move to other places.

Several cities mention the difficulty of dealing with coaches and have suggested a combination of zoning and improvements in infrastructure as possible solutions. Barcelona suffers from the great numbers of buses that come from the nearby resorts and has implemented zoning here. Besides zoning an alternative (soft) solution was mentioned, namely to charge coaches that bring visitors from nearby destinations, as long as residents do not suffer from a price hike in their fares. Other forms of transport are also under scrutiny. In Amsterdam efforts to ban the beer bike have only recently succeeded, but that this was very difficult legally. Lisbon may consider zoning for tuk-tuks in the future as they are seen as a potential danger and nuisance, but there is still time as the disturbance is not that great yet. In Amsterdam the area known as '9 straatjes' has been made car-free during the weekends.

It is important to note that the disturbance of traffic is not necessarily caused by visitors. Instead, the increase of internet-shopping has drastically increased the number of delivery vehicles, which hold up traffic as they stop. Also, in areas with high numbers of cyclists, most are local and residents tend to be not too good at parking their bicycle at designated areas. Closing down parts of the city or enforcing regulation therefore equally impacts on local residents and requires wider cooperation and this may cause further issues. In Barcelona for example, the location of bus drop-off points is not perfect. However to solve this cooperation is required mobility policymakers in the city and this has until now proven difficult.

Hard interventions are not necessarily desirable or even viable, as they can harm the resident and/or visitor experience of a city. In this case soft interventions like extra taxation or entrance fees may be an option and indeed they are used in the participating cities. While such regulations are less strict, they can equally be unpopular. For example, there were strong protests when tourists started to be charged for usage of Park Guell in Barcelona. In Amsterdam AirBnB is taxed. While this does not reduce visitor pressure and disturbance in itself, it does provide funding that can potentially be used to mitigate such disturbance, albeit that this depends largely on wider spending strategies within city policy structures and, as such is by no means guaranteed. In Barcelona too, there is an active focus on using destination tax to improve public spaces. Achieving this has been a long-term process and requires political support, which many not always exist.

While regulation is a strong measure, it does serve a purpose in dealing with visitor pressure. In doing so it is important to take into account though that this strategy is likely to be perceived negatively by residents if there is a chance it will increase their possibilities or costs of living (e.g. inability to rent out AirBnB). While measures can be taken to limit these issues, these will have to be communicated very well and clearly. The importance of this is increased by the fact that many facilities are not used exclusively by tourists. Instead

they also are an integral part of the wider economy in cities. This also means that their own behaviour may need to change.

4. Creating itineraries

Within cities different itineraries can be offered to provide tourists with the kind of city experience they like. A particularly value of such itineraries is that they can be used to have visitors (and residents) move beyond the standard tourism attractions. In theory these can then be regulated to limit visitor pressure, although this does require sufficient understanding of the whereabouts of visitors throughout the day. In addition a specific pricing policy can be implemented that offers discounts on public amenities and services such as public transport for individual tourists or tour operators to further ensure tourists follow a certain trail.

All cities use this strategy through brochures, a website and signposting on the streets. This is useful, but options remain very static. Cities have not fully started using the possibilities of digital touch screen solutions at outdoor tourist information signs. One of the reasons for this is, is that replacing such information signs can require cooperation with other stakeholders, who are unwilling to change (e.g. at train stations). Also, the use of mobile phone applications and data is very much limited at the moment. The first option of visitor itineraries shown to visitors could for example focus on less crowded areas. Berlin is already active with this using their “Going Local App”, but its use in other cities is limited. To achieve more progress on this, it may be wise to seek cooperation with people involved in SMART technology within policy and elsewhere.

In several cities authors have created books to allow for visitors and residents to discover ‘unseen’ places, often using titles as ‘beat the tourist!’ to highlight the itineraries and places are new and undiscovered. This particularly caters for visitors that want to experience the ‘real’ city and can allow for a better spread of visitors. On the other hand, the charm of the new places is that they are visited only by a limited number of tourists and, therefore cannot take away the issue. On the other hand, publications such as these may help popularise certain areas where there is space for greater visitation.

5. Visitor segmentation

As visitor growth is considered a requirement by most stakeholders. the trick is to make it grow not too slow and not too fast. This can be achieved through visitor segmentation. All cities highlighted the distinction between different tourists and their impact on visitor pressure. It would therefore make sense to focus more on only less-disturbing visitors, whilst trying to limit the number of visitors that cause most disturbance. Most focus on repeat visitors and seek longer staying tourists. Also none try to attract party tourists or stag night/hen do tourists. There are some differences though. Amsterdam is starting to focus more and more on educating others and providing information to tourists rather than attracting new tourists. This is related to the high increases in visitors that the city has experienced in recent years, and the prediction that this

growth is likely to continue. Barcelona seeks to stimulate longer stays by lowering tourist tax for visitors that stay longer and start taxing cruise visitors.

Copenhagen has actively aligned itself in its strategy with other cities like Malmo and Hamburg, to ensure all cities fill a niche that they can serve well. This makes it easier for Copenhagen to fit the types of tourists they receive to the overall feel of the city and its residents. It also makes it easier to simply design facilities, as these are more likely to then automatically also fit with the needs of visitors. What is interesting in Munich, is that stakeholders mention the need to target younger visitors, given that the current visitor is relatively old, compared to other cities. This may be related to the city's image or the fact that there are very few low-cost carriers into Munich Airport. Lisbon is the most open of all cities, and stakeholders argue that the attraction of Lisbon is its diversity and openness, which also should reflect on the tourists they receive. They have noted that the new tourist apartments in the city bring in new tourists, but view this as providing opportunities, suggesting that this is not an issue yet.

There are issues with visitor segmentation though. Firstly, it takes a long time to achieve and it is impossible to control marketing output that comes from other stakeholders, particularly with the advent of social media. This makes it very difficult to shed an image and create a new one.

6. Make residents benefit from the visitor economy

The perception of visitor pressure can be mitigated by simulating residents to directly or indirectly benefit economically from tourism. This can be directly in the mainstream visitor economy (e.g. working in retail, restaurant, hotel, transport) or starting one's own small business aimed at visitors. Initiatives to stimulate work or small business ownership in the mainstream economy remained limited in the participating cities, or took place largely outside of the interviewees' organisations.

A new form in which residents have started to profit economically from tourism, is by means of activities in the sharing economy. The clear example here is AirBnB, which has opened up possibilities for hosts to become more involved by opening up their house and earn money. Other sharing opportunities now also for transport and the food sector, which may further increase opportunities for residents to economically benefit. A great disadvantage with sharing economy activities like AirBnB is though, that they are scattered all over the city, often in residential areas. This means that a flow of visitors comes into areas where they did not go before and come closer to the personal space of residents. A continuous stream of changing tourists in neighbouring houses was said to be far more intrusive than visitors walking on the streets.

Many residents benefit from tourism, but getting strong insights into stimulating this is not easy and was viewed as more the task of business development units and the market. Initiatives from the sharing economy are providing clear benefits, but are currently rather unmanaged and prohibition is proving difficult. The

challenge is to find a way that harnesses and integrates the sharing economy into the mainstream economy. This would appear to work better than prohibition. On the other hand, as discussed previously, an upkeep of existing regulation, or perhaps new regulation is required to mitigate these.

Besides financial benefits, the visitor economy also brings other non-financial gains, the costly maintenance of cultural heritage depends to an extent on visitors, while particularly public transport links benefit from the income and usage by visitors. To increase the possibilities for residents to appreciate the cultural heritage of the city, discounts can be given to residents or entrance can be made free. In doing so, a communication message can be provided highlighting the fact that visitors help support heritage and/or certain attractions. One issue that was mentioned on this matter, is that it may not always be possible due to privacy regulations to have a clear overview of who is a resident and who is not.

The project 'Visit Amsterdam, See Holland' highlights a way in which visitors can be actively used to maintain and even upgrade public transport. By rebranding bus-line 391 to 'Industrial Heritage Line' usage numbers increased to an extent that it could run more frequent, also for residents. Berlin has taken the initiative to stimulate the organisation of conferences and seminars in community buildings and schools, preferably those that have a link to the subject in one way or another. This does not just allow for direct financial benefits in a neighbourhood, but also stimulates a different form of exchange between residents and visitors. In this way it has the potential remove the distance between residents and visitors and stimulate communication between the two. Also in Berlin residents are offered the opportunity to enjoy their own city as a 'tourist' in the low season by being able to use hotels at much reduced tariffs. This helps them appreciate their city more and get a somewhat of a better understanding of how their city is experienced by visitors.

Another way in which tourism can create value for residents is by reinforcing the positive identity of an neighbourhood. At least in areas that have historically had a poor reputation, such benefits can be highly appreciated, although not always (Frenzel & Koens, 2012). For example, in Lisbon, the historically poor migrant Mouraria area, is increasingly seen as a highly interesting visitor attraction and now also is also gaining gained in status among residents. That such a development is not without danger, is exemplified by experiences from Berlin, where some formerly East-Berlin areas are increasingly becoming gentrified, also due to the relatively low real-estate prices, to the malign of its original residents. This example emphasises not only that care needs to be taken in the management of such developments, but also the close relation of the visitor economy with the wider economy and the fact that visitors may be blamed for wider structural changes in the city.

7. Create city experiences that benefit both local stakeholders and visitors

Interviewees emphasised the importance of the way in which visitors were key in creating a pleasant living environment for residents. For example the high number of retail businesses, coffee shops and restaurants that are highly appreciated by residents, could not exist without visitors from outside the city. In addition, certain parts of cities are better maintained to keep them attractive to tourists. In the participating cities it was mentioned that it remains difficult to control and stimulate a diverse retail offering that benefits locals (instead of *only* coffee shops/ice cream parlours), but that ongoing discussions with entrepreneurs and business groups have proved useful. Interviewees also noted that current benefits were not always sufficiently communicated and that more could be done to better align the benefits of residents and visitors.

However, increasingly this latter aspect has become part of visitor management strategies as cities start to actively creating experiences that benefit both visitors as well as residents and other local stakeholders, using ideas from 'city hospitality'. Copenhagen planning with regards to visitor facilities very much starts from the premise that new facilities also need to benefit residents, thus creating a natural synergy between the two. Furthermore, within the festivals that are organised in the city, there is a strong emphasis on mixing residents and visitors. Similarly, local markets also includes stalls with goods aimed at tourists and other visitors, again stimulating an exchange between the two groups. On a similar note the redevelopment of the harbour area in Lisbon was done with this dual usage (resident/visitor) in mind, while the upcoming area of Mouraria has become a hub of economic activities, also partially through tourism. The reason this works may be because these cities are not as inundated with tourists as, for example, Barcelona, but the increased understanding among visitors and residents as a result of communicating with each other, was also mentioned in other cities as a potential way to reduce visitor pressure.

Barcelona is using the destination tax to improve public spaces in its effort to reduce polarisation. The focus here is on the quality of life of residents, although visitors can benefit from the public space improvement. In other cities too visitor taxes help pay for cleaning of neighbourhoods. In Munich the 'encounter' between hosts and guests is a specific part of the visitor experience in the beergardens. Actors in Munich highlight that this interaction often is appreciated by most residents, but that the balance is highly fragile and care needs to be taken not to 'overvisit' the locals. Good communication, and finding joint solutions make it easier to learn on getting this fragile balance right. For example, the Oktoberfest now has a specific tent for residents and locals, to allow them to continue to enjoy this increasingly commercialised festivity in a way that best suits their needs. Also, disturbance in often visited areas was reduced by extending opening times in bars, so that the time in which visitors would go home was more spread out. Naturally the extended opening times also benefited residential customers. Finally, interviewees in Munich highlighted the benefits

having relatively visitor free' regions, which is thought to assist in giving residents the impression that the city is not overrun.

Achieving value-creation that goes beyond just economic value holds great further potential. By creating meaningful encounters between and improving amenities for residents and visitors, both benefit in a unique way. To achieve this cooperation is required from many actors however, and there needs to be strong means of communication.

8. Communicating with and involving local stakeholders

In all discussions on visitor pressure, as in other areas of tourism management, the importance of good communication is highlighted. Providing transparent and open communication regarding the benefits and disadvantages of visitors to residents and other local users helps create a more positive perception. Perhaps even more important is to involve residents and other local users in the decision-making process, as this can lead to ownership of the issue and may provide new solutions.

In all cities, the importance of good communication and, where possible, local involvement, is reiterated and several examples of this have already been mentioned previously. The importance of such communication gets even more important, as visitor pressure increases. For example, in Lisbon, tourism and visitors are welcomed, given that pressure is less than in other cities and tourism is one of the fastest growing parts of the economy. The importance here is too remain aware of what is going on, and show that negative perceptions are acted upon, so that residents and visitors both remain happy. In other cities negative messages already have come out in the mainstream media and newspapers. While it is often a very vocal minority that puts out such news, it is key to remain an open and transparent partner and keep the dialogue open, also with the silent majority who is more positive about visitors in the city.

With regards to community involvement, it is good to reiterate the principle of 'convivencia' as discussed in Barcelona. By discussing issues with residents on what they see as interesting sights in their area, prior to the area being promoted more, owners can take ownership and perhaps greater pride in the visitation of residents. Particularly in newly developing areas, this may stave off at least some negative perceptions. In a similar way, having an open discussion with a variety of entrepreneurs in an area makes it more likely for them to take their responsibility in dealing with the issue. In Berlin, certain local entrepreneurs are acutely aware that it is not just visitors causing disturbance and they are trying to communicate this with visitors and actively reduce this disturbance.

A whole different type of local communication can focus on clarifying where visitors will be, so that residents can stay out of those areas. This strategy is used to an extent in Munich, where residents can always find

'tourist free' zones, while in Amsterdam the 'Rode Loper area' (near the train station) are to be designed in a way that clearly designates specific leisure and visitor parts.

While communication and involvement of local users holds great potential, it is not easy. Not only is it difficult to get the right stakeholders on the table and ensure they actually represent the wider community, but it may also require leadership as, at times, harsh decisions may have to be taken

9. Communicating with and involving visitors

Through communication with visitors and involving visitors, new experiences can be created to alleviate pressure. This can be done by means of creating awareness among visitors of the local situation and local etiquette. In all cities communication with visitors is used to achieve this, for example through websites or brochures. A specific example here is the way Amsterdam tries to educate tourists via multiple communication streams on how to act as a cyclist and how to deal with cyclists. Somewhat less emphasis has been paid yet to creating awareness of the issue of visitor pressure among visitors. Possibly this is due to the risk of sending out the message that the city may be too full, which can hinder future visitors. However, there is a possibility to stimulate visitors taking their 'responsibility' and acting in a less intrusive way, as is proposed in some of the writing of the responsible tourism movement (creating better places for people to live in, and better places to visit).

Another way to use communication with visitors to reduce visitor pressure, is by providing dynamic experiences for visitors, not only to limit disturbance, but also to improve the quality of stay. A promising example of such work can be observed in Berlin. In neighbourhoods where there is a risk of disturbance pantomime players urge visitors in a friendly and entertaining way to remain quiet. Such performances can be extended to becoming entertainment for residents and visitors alike and be used to steer visitor streams as is currently done in theme parks where entertainers start to perform in quieter spaces to attract visitors here. On a city level similar initiatives are said to be undertaken in Florence. Theme parks have taken this line of thought one step further, by creating niche websites where fans of a certain theme can gather and 'buy' special cards that provide specific (joint) experiences aimed at that niche at certain places. The route can be dynamically created and thus visitors can be steered to quieter areas. For cities, this could be a way to also target local leisure visitors as well as international visitors, and continue to provide them with new experiences in less visited parts.

Communication with and involving visitors is already done in most cities and certainly is useful in limiting visitor pressure. On the other hand, its effects should not be overstated, particularly in cases that visitor pressure is largely determined by local usage. There are great future possibilities for increasing involvement of visitors and creating new experiences though, with much to be learned from theme parks and leisure in

other more controlled environments. While the city context is much more complex than these environments, there are useful insights to be gained.

10. Improve city infrastructure and facilities

Given that visitor pressure is caused not only by visitors, but also by residents and commuters and other local users, part of the solution to the issue inevitably will also include the wider city infrastructure and facilities. However, instigating this wider change is difficult. In all cities interviewees mentioned that this includes political decisions at other levels or departments, which makes it a time-consuming process to instigate any form of change. For example, the importance of good transport links infrastructure and signing, either in general, or targeted at visitors is recognised by all. However, experiences with changing this are not always good, as exemplified by the difficulties in, for example, Copenhagen, of getting visitors from the newly developed cruise boats into town. Similarly in Barcelona, dealing with the infrastructure to accommodate and direct coaches from nearby places is very difficult. Many of these discussions appear to end in the political arena, which makes it difficult to create integrated change and implementation.

Within this context the Amsterdam 'City in Balance' strategy is a positive example to explicitly relate visitors and their positive and negative impacts to wider policy. This enforces stakeholders on a higher political level to see how visitors affect the city as a whole and makes it possible to create joint benefits for residents and visitors (and communicate these effectively). This has made it possible for visitor pressure to be actively dealt with and also be incorporated from the start in big projects such as the redevelopment of the city centre due to the new North-South underground. Such an overarching programme may not be possible elsewhere though. One possible way of dealing with the wider infrastructure is by actively seeking partners and trying to gain at least some influence in larger infrastructure projects from the start. One way of doing this, is by strongly relating potential visitor attractions to local needs. Examples here can be found in Copenhagen, where the emphasis is very much on integrating visitor in the local life, or in Lisbon where the harbour area is a good example of combined use of space.

An interviewee in Berlin noted that in the Mitte part of the city, visitors are so important that they need to be considered temporary residents, similar to residents that live here year round. This means that cleaning services, for example, should be adjusted to fit with visitors' needs as much as long-term residents. Naturally, this is not an easy argument, and it can be difficult to convince others of the need. At the same time, such thinking is already often applied in the guarding of cultural heritage and attractions, which often is done by parties not directly involved with visitors.

One interviewee argued that, as a result of the success of the 'See Amsterdam, visit Holland' programme, they have now been invited to discussions on how to make new cycling lanes most usable for visitors too.

This exemplifies the importance of landmark projects and continuous innovation. Given that most policy departments and other actors dealing with visitors have a relatively small budget, compared to those dealing with infrastructure, there is a continuous need to remain visible to other partners.

On the whole the ability to improve the city infrastructure and its facilities are limited and time-constraining. Nevertheless, there is a great need to remain focused on working together with policy departments, planners and the wider industry (e.g. real-estate) to make the city infrastructure itself better suited for dealing with visitor streams.

Characteristics of different management strategies

The overarching strategies provide a wide variety of different ways to deal with visitor pressure. In table 4.2 they are contrasted on their spatial requirement, the main target group they can have an impact on, the main stakeholders that need to be involved when trying to get things done and the time scale. It is important to note that these characteristics are generalisations and that there are differences between methods within the management strategies. However, the table does highlight how not all strategies are possible in all places and/or may not work for certain actors and issues.

Table 4.2: Characteristics of management strategies

	Spatial requirements	Main target group (visitors vs. local)	Main stakeholders involvement	Time scale
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Spreading tourists 	Underdeveloped areas in or nearby city that have potential to attract visitors	Possibility to target specific visitor groups; with leisure visitors mainly repeat and longer-stayers	Industry, DMOs and wider policy stakeholders	Long-term (5-10 years)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Time-based rerouting 	No specific requirements – for dynamic re-routing a relatively close proximity of attractions is useful	Focus on leisure and business visitors rather than local users	Focus on industry stakeholders	Initial changes can
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regulation 	No clear requirements	All users of the city	Predominantly wider policy stakeholders as well as industry actors	Long-term (5-10 years)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creating itineraries 	Multiple attractions within relatively close proximity	Focus on leisure visitors	Predominantly industry stakeholders and DMOs	Dependent on scale of interventions, both short-term and long-term

• Visitor segmentation	No specific requirements	Predominantly business and leisure visitors	DMOs in combination with policy stakeholders and industry	Short-term actions possible, effect only visible after several years
• Make residents benefit	No specific requirements	Local stakeholders and visitors	Policy stakeholders, DMOs, the wider industry and residents	Dependent on scale of interventions, both short-term and long-term
• Create city experiences for residents and visitors	Space to create experiences and accommodate residents and visitors	All users of the city	Policy stakeholders, DMOs, the wider industry, residents and visitors	Mid to long-term
• Communicating with and involving local stakeholders	No specific requirements	Local stakeholders	Policy stakeholders, DMOs, the wider industry and residents	Short-term actions possible, effects not directly visible
• Communicating with and involving visitors	No specific requirements	All visitors	DMOs, policy stakeholders, industry and visitors	Short-term actions possible
• Improve wider city infrastructure and facilities	Space for improvement and/or development of infrastructure and facilities in or nearby city	All users of the city	Wider policy stakeholders, particularly in infrastructure and logistics, politicians, DMOs and industry	Long-term

4.3. Residents' attitude towards the management strategies

The survey among the residents in the six city centres made clear that there is generally a support for further growth of visitor number to the cities, both at city level and at neighbourhood level. Many do not relate this to specific conditions, although a significant number thinks that such growth is only possible outside the peak season and not in holiday flats. A proportion of 10-15% says the growth has to be slowed down (see chapter 3, figure 3.4).

In the survey the respondents were also asked for their opinion about the strategies discussed in this chapter (figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2 Residents' attitude towards visitor management strategies (all cities)

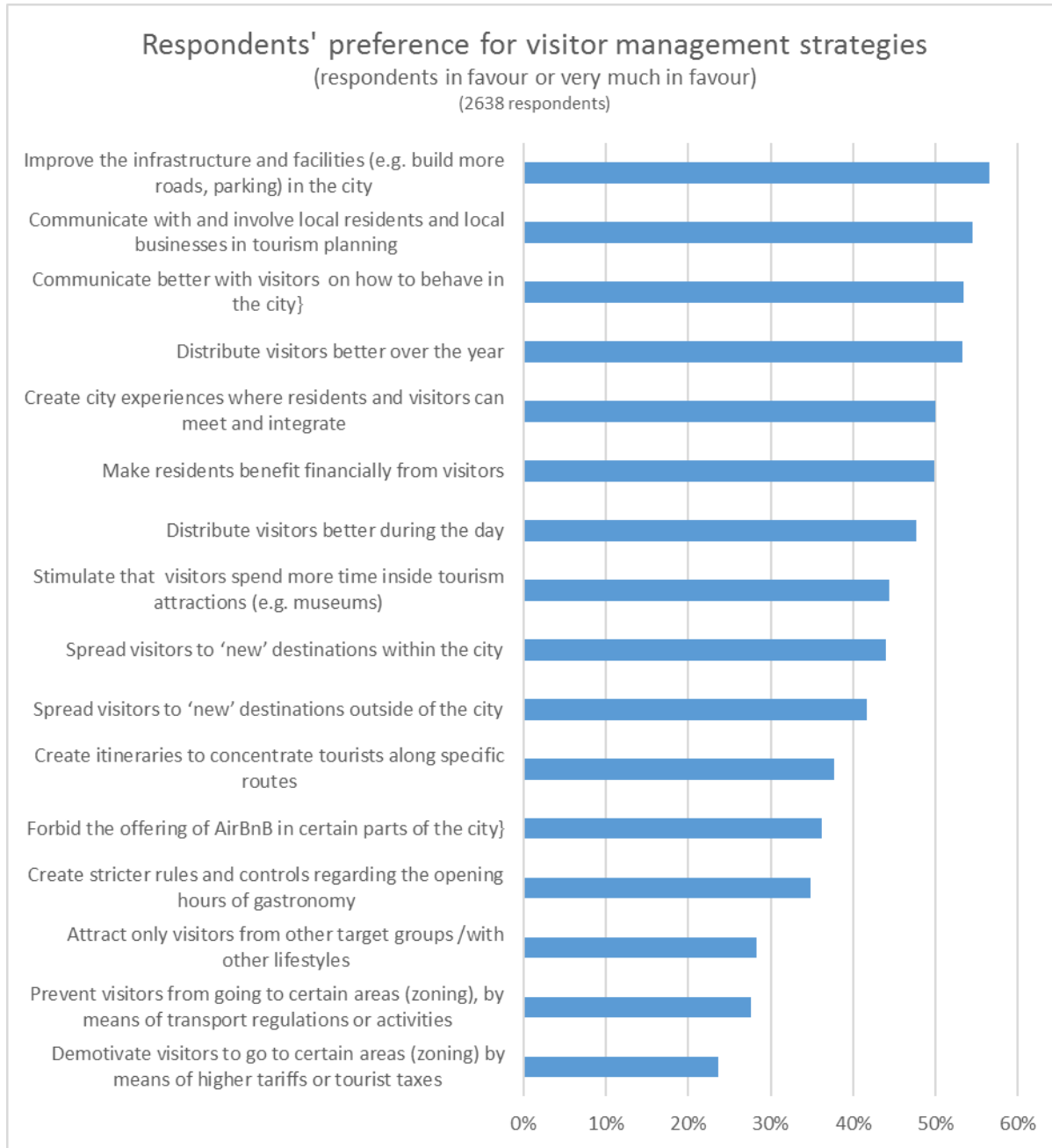


Figure 4.2 shows the respondents prefer that attention is directed at the improvement of wider infrastructure and facilities. These management strategies may not always be easy to pursue in cities, as they do not relate exclusively to tourism and will require cooperation with multiple government departments and other stakeholders. Also popular strategies are improved communication with visitors to try to get them to behave better in the cities, as well as a greater involvement of residents in local planning. A better distribution over the year is also deemed important. This means that the top four listed strategies are

directed at four key perspectives: time, space, planners and visitors. Regulatory management strategies are, on the whole, seen as less desirable, as all of them are viewed as favourable by less than 40% of the respondents.

These responses indicate that, on the whole respondents prefer a positive approach of management to visitor pressure, rather than repressive measures. The fact that residents feel a strong need for improved infrastructure and facilities, and that communication with residents and local businesses in urban planning is key, implies that to solve the perceived issue with visitor pressure, responsibility also needs to be taken by other government departments and stakeholders that may not relate directly to tourism. Both the benefits and disadvantages of tourism should be placed in a wider city perspective that goes beyond tourism alone.

The emphasis placed on communication by many respondents, both to residents and visitors suggests that the issue, to a certain extent, may be due to misinterpretation and lack of knowledge and Destination Management Organisations seem well placed to take upon them such a role. Similarly, there appears to be much room still for the further development of experiences that benefit residents too, both materially, but also immaterially (by further stimulating the positive interaction and internationalisation that tourism brings, which is already seen as an important benefit of tourism by residents). Also the increasing possibility of using smart solutions to spread visitors over the city (in time and space), has great potential, as long as it takes into account efficient ways of dealing with relations between the different stakeholders in the city .

Naturally the perspectives in different cities may differ depending on the context, as will be further highlighted in the city annexes.

5. Scenarios for 2025

In the previous chapter various strategies were discussed for dealing with visitor pressure. Whether such strategies will fit within the context of the cities of the future is not clear, because city tourism will be affected by a highly dynamic societal environment. Demographic, economic, social, technological, environmental and political developments in contemporary society will have its impact on how city tourism will evolve during the next years to come. To be future proof, strategies for dealing with visitor pressure should take anticipate the changes ahead.

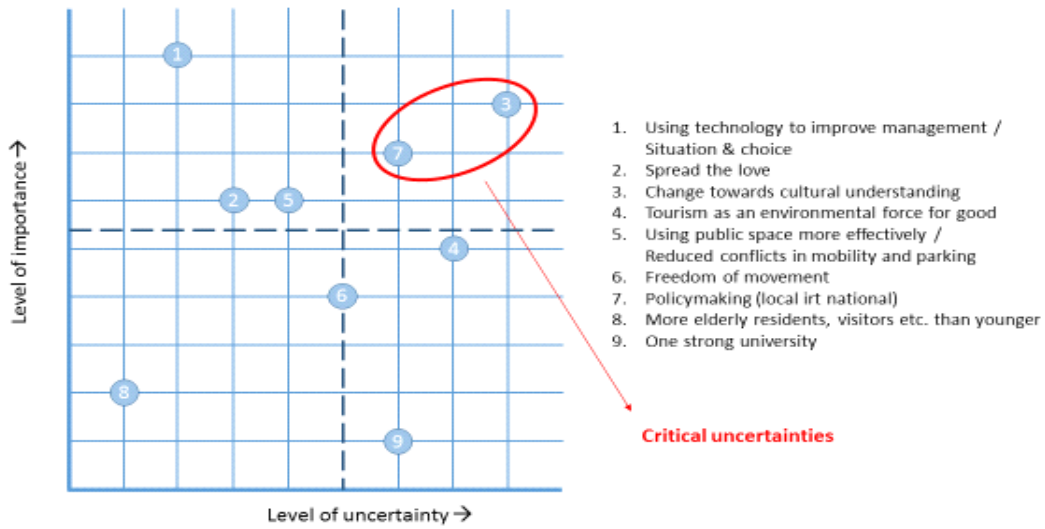
However, the direction to which such developments or the impacts thereof will unfold is not always clear, leave alone the way we could anticipate this with proper strategies. One way of approaching this challenge is to work with strategic foresight. With strategic foresight the tourism environment is mapped and analysed by the stakeholders involved. During this process knowledge and insights are shared, ideas are shared, the borders of paradigms might be stretched. Together the stakeholders try to envisage what the major developments are, which of those drive the future of city tourism, and which of those driving forces are both most important and most uncertain with regard to their outcomes. Those so called critical uncertainties and the possible directions to which they could develop, are used as a starting point to paint alternative futures to which city tourism could unfold. The hypothetical yet plausible futures can be used to 'wind tunnel' existing strategies or to develop new ones. Ideas that fit into all scenarios would be most robust and would prepare the city the best for future uncertainties.

5.1. From critical uncertainties to scenarios

In a workshop with representatives from the participating cities of Lisbon, Barcelona, Berlin, Copenhagen and Amsterdam, and a representative of ETOA, the tourism environment was mapped and analysed. The central question for the workshop session was : *“What are solutions that will relief visitor pressure to allow for a sustainable development of urban tourism in Western European cities till 2025?”* This resulted in 9 driving forces of change, of which change towards cultural understanding and 'policymaking' were identified as the two critical uncertainties, i.e. those driving forces that are both the most uncertain/unpredictable and the most important (see figure 5.1). Cultural understanding could develop into the direction of full integration (cultural exchange, tourism as a means to cultural understanding, no cultural conflicts) or a situation where cultures are separated or even disintegrated. Policymaking could develop either into a strict, centrally regulated top down process, or into a situation where policymaking is decentralised and bottom up (resident influence is stronger, more participation, more acceptance, more power to local initiatives).

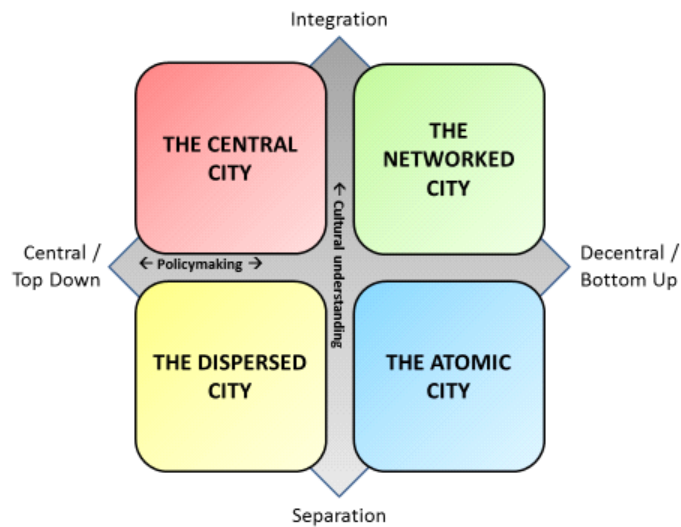
Figure 5.1 Driving forces of change and critical uncertainties for city tourism in 2025

Driving forces of change



When the different directions to which these critical uncertainties could develop are combined, four different scenarios emerge for the sustainable development of urban tourism in Western European cities. Each scenario describes the urban context DMOs will be faced with, if the critical uncertainties move in specific directions. The scenarios are labelled: The central city, the networked city, the atomic city, and the dispersed city (figure 5.2).

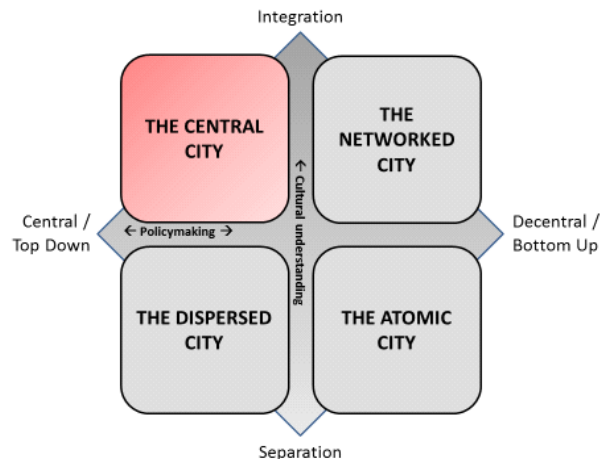
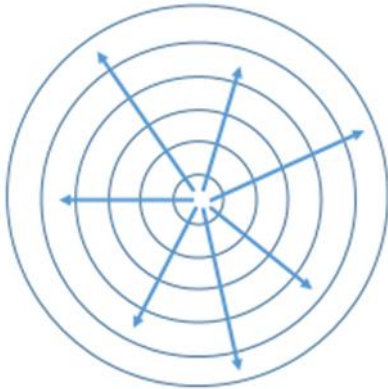
Figure 5.2 Four scenarios for the development of city tourism



5.2. Four scenarios of cities of the future

In this section the characteristics of each scenario are listed concisely. Each scenario depicts the urban setting in which tourism will evolve. The implications of each scenario for tourism are also described.

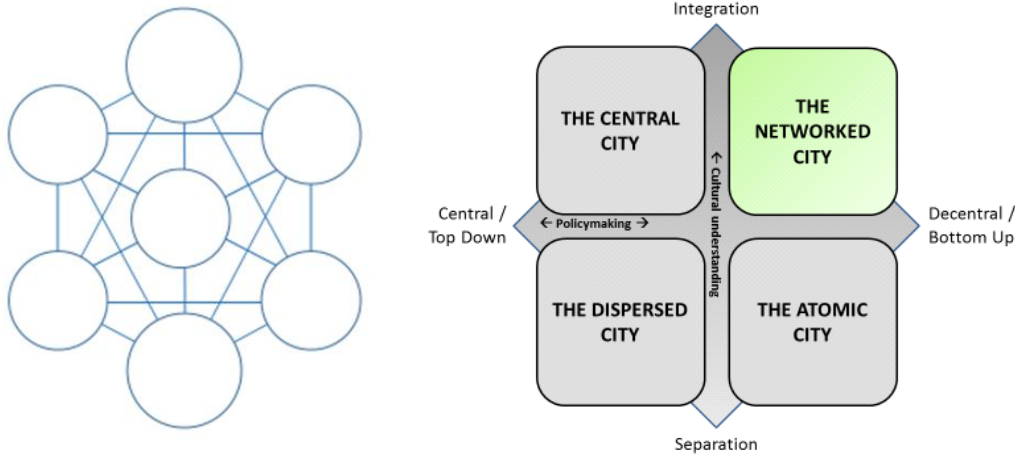
Scenario 1. The Central City



The central city is a city in which policymaking and planning is regulated centrally and top down and policy is driven from a single vision. The centralistic authorities provide the city with strict rules and regulations and with centrally managed and organised transport, which also applies to tourism and transport. Because the civil society accepts and supports the management and organisation structure of the city, there are no conflicts between different parties.

This scenario does have implications for tourism and transport. Tourism strategies benefit the entire city from a clear overarching vision on tourism in the city. This is done by either direct involvement in planning and development ('government') or by shaping coherent conditions for local initiatives (subsidies, educational courses, legal regulations, zoning plans, etc.) and coordinating and guiding these initiatives (governance). Tourism to the city is primarily regarded as an economic pillar of the economy. It is used to generate income and jobs. To get as much out of tourism as possible there is a strong commercial drive and market orientation. Everything is done to please the visitor. The product is mass touristic, well-organised, highly commoditised, coherent and 'clean'. Authenticity is staged and hospitality is standardised and impersonal. To handle the tourism flows transferia are located at the fringe of the city.

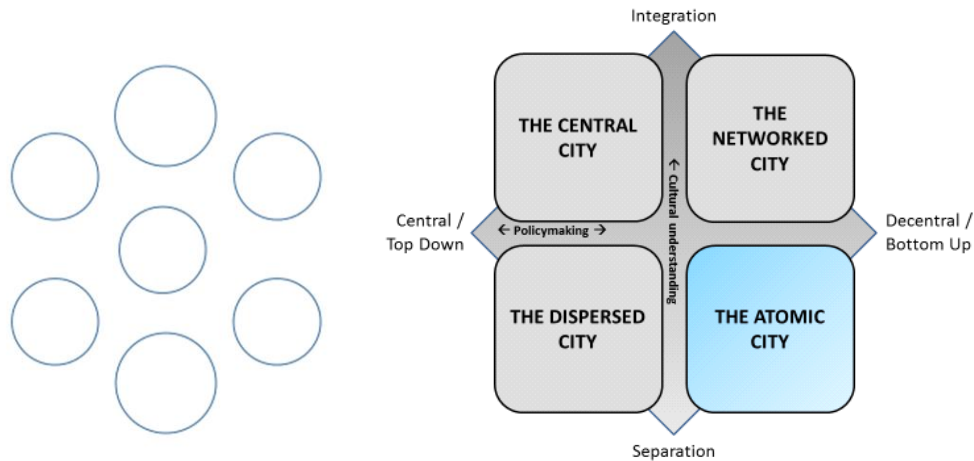
Scenario 2. The Networked City



The networked city is an urban system in which multiple cultural nodes are strongly interconnected. In each node policymaking and planning is regulated locally and bottom-up. There is a strong influence of local residents and local business on policy and planning in their own environment. Districts governments play a coordinating role between the different actors within the district, and upwards between the districts and both within and across the nodes actors try to cooperate and to share where possible. This creates both synergy at the level of the districts and across the urban system as a whole and a cooperative, harmonious and positive atmosphere, although it is difficult to implement radical solutions.

This scenario does have implications for tourism and transport. Tourism strategies are initiated by local parties at district level, debated, discussed and adjusted in order to create synergy and benefit both the district and the city as a whole. This results in an authentic and dynamic city with a huge diversity of local flavour to be discovered and experienced. It allows the city to approach tourism not as an economic means but as a means to increase cultural understanding, and to give meaning to both the residents' and the visitors' quality of life. Local actors try their best to address the visitors personally. They understand the visitors' needs and offer them genuine hospitality. Transport is co-operatively organised by different private companies. The bottom-up and co-operative approach results in a tourism 'product' that is accessible, flexible, adaptive and resilient; in which creativity flourishes, where there is room for experiments, and where innovation is ongoing.

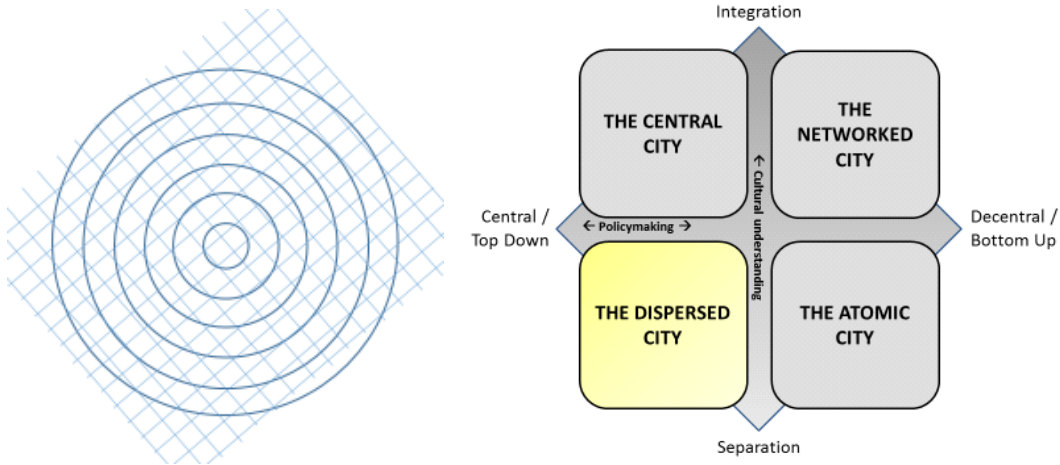
Scenario 3. The Atomic City



The atomic city represents an urban system with multiple cultural that do exist side by side without any interdependency. In each node policymaking and planning is regulated locally and bottom-up. There is a strong influence of local residents and local business on policy and planning in their own environment. Although districts governments play a coordinating role between the different actors within the district, there is a fierce competition between the nodes and there and no co-ordination across the cultural nodes in the city.

This scenario does have implications for tourism and transport. Tourism strategies are initiated by local parties at district level, debated, discussed and adjusted in order to create synergy and benefit the own district but there is no coordination that benefits the whole city. This results in a fragmented and incoherent image of the city among (aspirant) visitors and incoherent tourist infrastructure. Different transport companies battle for the tourist, and the transport connections between the districts fragmented. A visit to the city is an “voyage of discovery” both during the preparation phase (marketing and promotion) and during the actual visit. There are many surprises to discover, but tourists have to be inventive to find their way. Individually the districts see tourism not only as a source of income and generator of jobs in the competition with other districts in the city, they also try to address the visitors personally by offering them authentic experiences and genuine hospitality.

Scenario 4. The Dispersed City



The dispersed city shows a lack of central policy, plans and rules and regulations. This causes a situation of situation, where civil society feels uncontrolled and unbridled, and many different entities within society try to take control in order to ensure their own benefits. The society is very individualistic and competitive. There are continuous power struggles and only the strong tend to survive. The main priority is in safety and security.

In this scenario tourism is completely overlooked and there is no strategic thinking with regard to tourism and transport whatsoever. Tourism is undeveloped. There is a lack of hospitality due to fear for 'strangers'. This also hampers creativity and innovation. Consequently, the tourist 'product' is undiscovered, unspoiled, non-commoditised, non-commercial, and authentic. Such a situation is comparable to new virgin tourism destinations where everything has to be created from scratch. The start of a (new) life cycle means that society slowly has to introduce initiatives to become attractive to visitors and accommodate them. This might require entrepreneurial blood from elsewhere looking for business opportunities. In order to get used to the 'strangers' such businesses could also create settings where residents and visitors can meet to develop mutual trust and understanding.

5.3. Relating scenarios to visitor management strategies

The scenarios allow us to think about how the cities could evolve touristically if the critical uncertainties move in different directions. If the cities want to prepare themselves for such situations and become more future proof, it would be wise to anticipate the scenarios by choosing appropriate strategies. Each scenario will require specific strategy, yet the most robust strategies will prepare the cities for all scenarios. There are two ways in which the scenarios can be used for choosing appropriate strategic directions for the future. Either by wind-tunnelling existing strategies such as the ones discussed in the previous chapter, or by using the scenarios as a source of inspiration to develop new strategies. Because of the abundance of existing

strategies, each specified with multiple measures, this report will focus on the wind-tunnelling approach. This means that for each strategy it is judged to which extent it matches each of the four scenarios. The result of this wind-tunnelling exercise is shown in table 6.1. In this table the strategies are listed. The subtitles refer to how they were referred to in the survey among residents. The most robust strategies will be those that take all four scenarios into account. These most robust strategies are:

- Time-based rerouting (scenario 1,2 and 3)
- Regulation (scenario 1, 2 and 3)
- Visitor segmentation (scenario 1, 2 and 3)
- Communicating with and involving visitors (scenario 1, 2 and 3)
- Communicating with and involving local stakeholders (scenario 2, 3 and 4)

To develop new strategies based on the scenarios would require strategic sessions with relevant stakeholders where the opportunities of each scenarios are mapped and shared and combined to new or even innovative initiatives that prepare cities for new developments. To provide at least some indication, section 5.4 will provide some initial insights into the development of potential other measures by linking the scenarios to leisure lifestyles.

Table 5.1. Robustness of strategies for the four scenarios

		The central city	The networked city	The atomic city	The dispersed city
A	Spreading visitors around the city and beyond <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Spread visitors to new destinations outside of the city • Spread visitors to new destinations within the city 	+	+	O	-
B	Time-based rerouting <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stimulate that visitors spend more time inside tourism attractions • Distribute visitors better during the day • Distribute visitors better over the year 	+	+	+	-
C	Regulation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prevent visitors from going to certain areas by means of transport regulations or activities • Demotivate visitors from going to certain areas by means of higher tariffs or tourist taxes • Create stricter rules and controls regarding the opening hours of gastronomy • Forbid the offering of AirBnB in certain parts of the city 	+	+	+	-
D	Creating itineraries <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Create itineraries to concentrate tourists along specific routes 	+	+	O	-
E	Visitor segmentation	+	+	+	-

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Attract only visitors from other target groups / with other lifestyles 				
F	Make residents benefit from the visitor economy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> make residents benefit financially from visitors 	-	+	+	-
G	Create city experiences that benefit both visitors and local residents <ul style="list-style-type: none"> create city experiences where residents and visitors can meet and integrate 	O	+	+	O
H	Communicating with and involving visitors <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Communicate better with visitors on how to behave in the city 	+	+	+	-
I	Communicating with and involving local stakeholders <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Communicate with and involve local residents and local businesses in tourism planning 	-	+	+	+
J	Improve city infrastructure and facilities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> improve the infrastructure and facilities (e.g. build more roads, parking) in the city 	+	+	+/O	-

Note: the text at the bullet points refers to the way the strategies were operationalised into the survey among residents

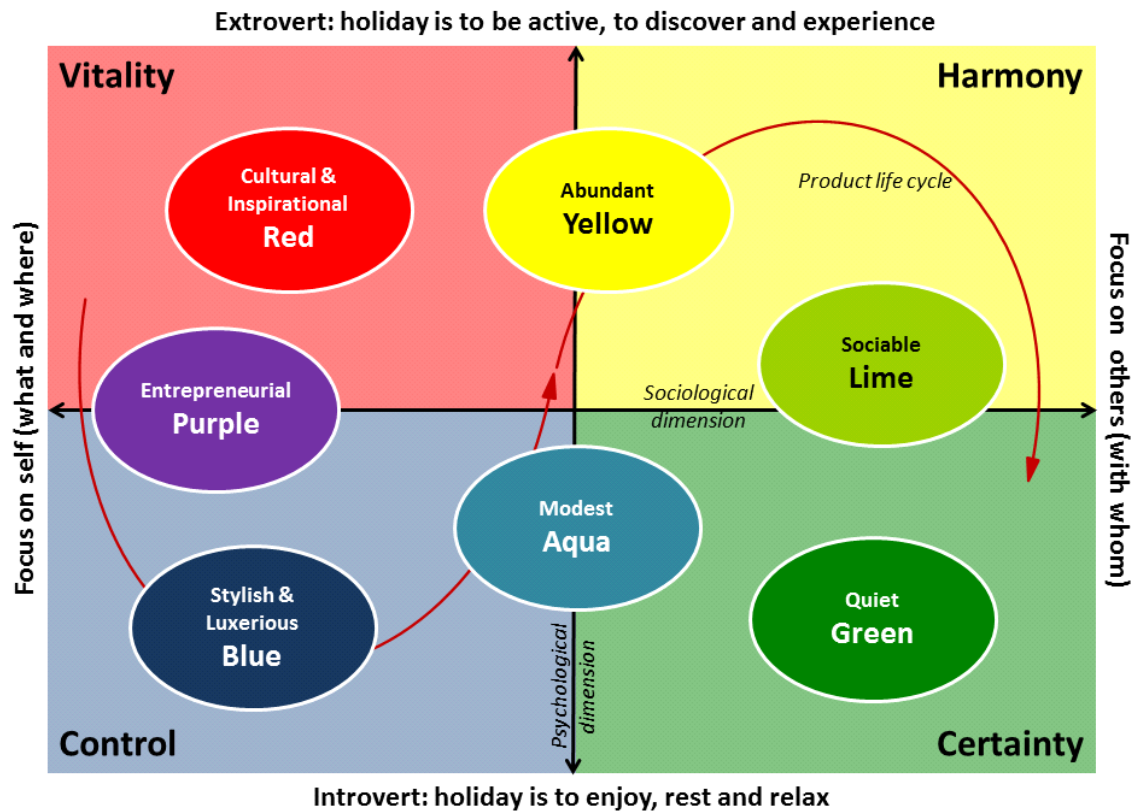
5.4. Leisure lifestyles in different scenarios

Although gaining further insights regarding novel, innovative management strategies, would require strategic sessions with relevant stakeholders where the opportunities of each scenarios are mapped and shared. However, some initial ideas may be gained by linking the scenarios to the BSR-Lifestyle model which has been developed by the Dutch hospitality industry and Smart Agent. In the context of this project the terms were translated into English and this results in the adapted model in figure 5.1.

The model consists of 2 dimensions with which recreation behaviour can be explained: a psychological and a sociological dimension. The sociological dimension (horizontal axis) describes the extent to which one is focused on him/herself (ego) or the social environment (group). The psychological dimension identifies whether a person is more extrovert or introvert towards the society. When these two dimensions are combined it results in four experience worlds. The red experience world is labelled with vitality, the yellow world with harmony, the green world with certainty, and the blue world with control. Generally, people in the red and yellow world are looking for active forms of recreation, in the blue and green world for rest and relaxation, in the red and blue world for cultural and sportive activities, and in the yellow and green world for nice VFR company.

Within the four experience world, seven lifestyles are positioned, each with their own profile, motives, communication channels, activity pattern etc. At the same time research by Smart Agent Company shows that businesses in the early stage of their life cycle are generally oriented towards the red lifestyle, and throughout their life cycle they move from the red, via the blue and the yellow to the green life styles. This implies that when a business wants to rejuvenate its product this goes hand in hand with a repositioning on the consumer market back to the red lifestyles.

Figure 5.1: BSR Lifestyle Model



Source: developed by the Dutch hospitality industry and Smart Agent.

Combining the BSR lifestyle model with the scenarios suggests that certain future cities can be expected to be more attractive to people with particular lifestyles, compared to others. The *central city* can be expected to be especially attractive to blue, yellow, lime and green leisure lifestyles. This suggests that solutions within this city type are most likely to focus on cooperative solutions, which may require central leadership. The *networked city* is expected to be mainly attractive to blue, aqua and probably the yellow leisure lifestyle groups. Solutions here again can focus on cooperative solutions, but there is more room for individual interpretations and lifestyles as well. The *atomic city*, as well as the *dispersed city* is expected to be mainly attractive to the red and purple leisure lifestyle groups. Solutions here could focus on novel experiences, which focus on individual well-being and specific individual aspects of the to-be-visited areas. It may prove difficult to create unity and coherence within these cities and as such solutions can be expected to remain more focused on the what and where dimension.

6. Conclusions and recommendations

The results indicated that city residents were evidently aware of the benefits of tourism to the local economy and the social aspects of residents' quality of life. It is important to recognise that communities are not homogenous and there always will be winners and losers in tourism and the perception of tourism differs amongst these different groups within communities. Looking at the overall perception of visitor pressure among residents though, it becomes clear that the picture is rather more positive than one may be expected to believe, based on certain media reports. The majority of the respondents in this research have an overall positive outlook on tourism. This does not mean they do not see the potential negative impact of visitor pressure on their city, but rather they also observe the benefits that tourism brings. With regards to positive impacts the main benefits are the positive atmosphere and possibilities that tourism brings, not just economically, but also socially through a more international vibe in a city. When it comes to negatives, residents highlight how they perceive the rising costs of living in different ways as key issues. What is also interesting, is that the issues that are experienced, are seen as different for the city as a whole and residents' own neighbourhood. This suggests that at least certain solutions need to be focused on the local level.

Ten different strategies and 65 methods of dealing with visitor pressure have been recognised that can help mitigate the issue, or provide opportunities for increasing visitor *and* resident experience. When residents are asked about these strategies, they indicate to have a preference for a positive approach to the management of visitor pressure, rather than a more repressive approach. They emphasise the need for improved infrastructure and facilities, and improved communication to residents, local businesses and visitors. The emphasis placed on communication by many respondents, both to residents and visitors suggests some of the problem may be due to misinterpretations and lack of knowledge. Destination Management Organisations seem well placed to take upon them such a role. There also appear to be opportunities to continue the development of experiences that benefit residents and visitors alike, to ensure the opportunities that the vibrancy that visitors bring can be capitalised upon. Also the increasing possibility of using smart solutions to spread visitors over the city (in time and space), has great potential, with the small caveat that technology in itself is insufficient to deal with visitor pressure and/or improve the carrying capacity of cities. Key is a smart *application* of technology, taking into account the *relations* between *hosts* and *guests* in the city.

Although city actors already know a lot about visitors' motivations, desires and movements, there is room for development on the dynamic monitoring of visitor streams and visitation through the implementation of technologies and mobile phone apps. Several cities have specific SMART working groups to develop policy on this matter, but interviewees note only few connections appears to have been made with departments and organisations that manage visitor and tourism streams. Such a connection would benefit all parties involved.

This points to the critical issue that departments and organisations managing visitor streams have difficulty in influencing other policy actors, for example in infrastructure. However, to deal effectively with visitor pressure in the future, it is important that other policy actors and stakeholders take account of the impacts of tourism, both positive and negative, while at the same time taking responsibility for a sustainable development of tourism that mitigates visitor pressure. One way to achieve on this is the creation of an overarching plan that includes a coherent, explicit visitor pressure management strategy that is aligned with wider city development strategies. In Amsterdam this wider strategy, in combination with recent award-winning programmes dealing with visitor management, has been particularly useful in creating awareness beyond stakeholders directly involved in tourism and making policy together. Unfortunately, it may not be possible to create such a plan in different cities due to the local context and/or political pressures, but the idea of embedding visitor pressure in the wider policy context can be highly beneficial to achieve results.

As mentioned earlier, in all cities visitor activities take place in a specific local context, often in alignment with other social and economic activities that take place there. It is also paramount to take into consideration the interests of all the stakeholders involved to ensure a sustainable tourism growth. This means that there is not one way of dealing with visitor pressure. What works in one context, may be unsuitable for another. The methods and strategies in this report provide insights into potential things that cities can do and how they can work. The key is to find a way to harmonise tourism development and potential growth within the local surroundings. This will require interaction and discussion not just within tourism departments. Instead it means that policymakers of most departments and industry actors need to take joint responsibility and engage with the wider tourism development, but also a continuous dialogue with all stakeholders on this matter (industry, residents, policymakers and tourists).

Although city actors already know a lot about visitors' motivations, desires and movements, there is room for development on the dynamic monitoring of visitor streams and visitation through the implementation of technologies and mobile phone apps. Several cities have specific SMART working groups to develop policy on this matter, but interviewees note only few connections appears to have been made with departments and organisations that manage visitor and tourism streams. Such a connection would benefit all parties involved.

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Appendix 1. Profile of interviewees

Name	City	Company
David Kat	Amsterdam	WeCity App
Eric van der Kooij	Amsterdam	Stad in Balans
Frans van der Avert	Amsterdam	Iamsterdam
Willem Koster	Amsterdam	Vereniging Amsterdam City
Remco Rienties	Amsterdam	Stadsregio Amsterdam
Germaine Princen	Amsterdam	G250 Buurttop de pijp
Nina van der Weijden	Amsterdam	Freelance author
Enric Truño	Barcelona	Independent consultant
Jordi Ficapal	Barcelona	Turisme Sant Ignasi
Jordi William Carnes	Barcelona	Turisme de Barcelona
Juanjo Casado	Barcelona	Trade Union UGT
Enrique Alcántara	Barcelona	Associació d'Apartaments Turístics de Barcelona
Robert Assl	Berlin	Senatsverwaltung fuer Wirtschaft, Technologie und Forschung
Clemens Muecke	Berlin	Bezirksamt Neukoelln
Klaus Albat	Berlin	Bezirksamt Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf
Sabine Wendt	Berlin	visitBerlin
Carsten Colmorgen	Berlin	Hotel Sofitel Kurfuerstendamm
Guido Neumann	Berlin	Friedrichstadt-Palast
Thorsten Tonnmann	Berlin	Senatsverwaltung fuer Stadtentwicklung und Umwelt
Tina Seest	Copenhagen	Tourist Office, formerly WoCo
Jens Friis Jensen	Copenhagen	Roskilde University
Mads Vestergaard Olesen	Copenhagen	Strømme Danmark A/S
Mikkel Aaro Hansen	Copenhagen	Wonderful Copenhagen
Dorthe Barsøe	Copenhagen	Tivoli A/S
Morgens Stendrup	Copenhagen	Turismens Vækstråd
Andre Barata Moura	Lisbon	Turismo de Lisboa - Visitor and Convention Bureau
Paulo Soeiro de Carvalho	Lisbon	Câmara Municipal de Lisboa
Pedro Carvalho and Manuel Alves	Lisbon	AHRESP – Associação da Hotelaria, Restauração e Similares de Portugal
Carla Salsinha	Lisbon	UACS - União de Associações do Comércio e Serviços
Filipa Bolotinha	Lisbon	Associação Renovar a Mouraria
Conny Mayer	Munich	Tourismskommission Munchen & Hotel Alliance Munich
Thomas Kube	Munich	Munich Airports
Geraldine Knudson	Munich	Director of the DMO Munich Tourism
Kurt Kapp	Munich	Referat fuer Arbeit und Wirtschaft Munchen
Jürgen Muth	Munich	Allianz Arena
Wolfgang Fischer	Munich	City Partner Munich (Retail Marketing Association)

Appendix 2. Profile of survey respondents

Response rate per city of investigation								
		Frequency	Percent					
Valid	Copenhagen	422	16,0					
	Lisbon	406	15,4					
	Barcelona	406	15,4					
	Munich	406	15,4					
	Berlin	514	19,5					
	Amsterdam	484	18,3					
	Total	2638	100,0					

Place of work								
		City of investigation						Total
		Copenhagen	Lisbon	Barcelona	Munich	Berlin	Amsterdam	
Within the city	Count	219	352	318	298	440	300	1927
	% within City	51,9%	86,7%	78,3%	73,4%	85,6%	62,0%	73,0%
Outside the city	Count	203	54	88	108	74	184	711
	% within City	48,1%	13,3%	21,7%	26,6%	14,4%	38,0%	27,0%
Total	Count	422	406	406	406	514	484	2638
	% within City	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Working in the tourism industry (government, marketing, business)								
		City of investigation						Total
		Copenhagen	Lisbon	Barcelona	Munich	Berlin	Amsterdam	
Yes	Count	13	42	45	13	31	40	184
	% within City	3,1%	10,3%	11,1%	3,2%	6,0%	8,3%	7,0%
No	Count	405	362	352	389	481	431	2420
	% within City	96,0%	89,2%	86,7%	95,8%	93,6%	89,0%	91,7%
I don't know	Count	4	2	9	4	2	13	34
	% within City	0,9%	0,5%	2,2%	1,0%	0,4%	2,7%	1,3%
Total	Count	422	406	406	406	514	484	2638
	% within City	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Relation household income to tourism								
		City of investigation						Total
		Copenhagen	Lisbon	Barcelona	Munich	Berlin	Amsterdam	
Yes	Count	12	32	41	18	41	40	184
	% within City	2,8%	7,9%	10,1%	4,4%	8,0%	8,3%	7,0%
No	Count	399	369	351	381	461	430	2391
	% within City	94,5%	90,9%	86,5%	93,8%	89,7%	88,8%	90,6%
I don't know	Count	11	5	14	7	12	14	63
	% within City	2,6%	1,2%	3,4%	1,7%	2,3%	2,9%	2,4%
Total	Count	422	406	406	406	514	484	2638
	% within City	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Gender composition								
		City of investigation						Total
		Copenhagen	Lisbon	Barcelona	Munich	Berlin	Amsterdam	
Male	Count	195	183	238	203	266	279	1364
	% within City	46,2%	45,1%	58,6%	50,0%	51,8%	57,6%	51,7%
Female	Count	227	223	168	203	248	205	1274
	% within City	53,8%	54,9%	41,4%	50,0%	48,2%	42,4%	48,3%
Total	Count	422	406	406	406	514	484	2638

	% within City	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
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		City of investigation							Total
		Copenhagen	Lisbon	Barcelona	Munich	Berlin	Amsterdam		
15 - 34	Count	85	175	160	166	199	125	910	
	% within City	21,2%	44,1%	42,3%	44,5%	41,1%	28,3%	36,8%	
35 - 54	Count	148	154	167	146	184	134	933	
	% within City	36,9%	38,8%	44,2%	39,1%	38,0%	30,4%	37,7%	
55+	Count	168	68	51	61	101	182	631	
	% within City	41,9%	17,1%	13,5%	16,4%	20,9%	41,3%	25,5%	
Total		Count	401	397	378	373	484	441	2474
		% within City	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Attachment to the city

		City of investigation							Total
		Copenhagen	Lisbon	Barcelona	Munich	Berlin	Amsterdam		
Less than a year	Count	8	18	34	24	39	25	148	
	% within City	1,9%	4,4%	8,4%	5,9%	7,6%	5,2%	5,6%	
1 year or more	Count	414	388	372	382	475	459	2490	
	% within City	98,1%	95,6%	91,6%	94,1%	92,4%	94,8%	94,4%	
Total		Count	422	406	406	406	514	484	2638
		% within City	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		City of investigation							Total
		Copenhagen	Lisbon	Barcelona	Munich	Berlin	Amsterdam		
I was born and raised in the city	Count	169	214	256	154	237	219	1249	
	% within city	40,0%	52,7%	63,1%	37,9%	46,1%	45,2%		
I moved to the city because it offers (affordable) housing	Count	13	23	11	5	23	15	90	
	% within city	3,1%	5,7%	2,7%	1,2%	4,5%	3,1%		
I moved to the city because of my work/studies	Count	159	132	71	193	160	144	859	
	% within city	37,7%	32,5%	17,5%	47,5%	31,1%	29,8%		
I moved to the city because I like the city	Count	74	40	40	103	113	69	439	
	% within city	17,5%	9,9%	9,9%	25,4%	22,0%	14,3%		
I moved to the city because of family reasons	Count	43	38	48	67	81	63	340	
	% within city	10,2%	9,4%	11,8%	16,5%	15,8%	13,0%		
I moved to the city for another reason	Count	18	15	9	7	8	22	79	
	% within city	4,3%	3,7%	2,2%	1,7%	1,6%	4,5%		
Total		Count	422	406	406	406	514	484	2638
Percentages and totals are based on respondents.									

Identification with the city

(scale: 1=completely disagree to 5=completely agree)

		Copenhagen	Lisbon	Barcelona	Munich	Berlin	Amsterdam	Total
I am happy to be living in the city	Mean	4,38	4,45	4,44	4,48	4,39	4,42	4,43
	StDev	0,940	0,903	0,977	0,973	0,940	0,992	0,955
I feel I am a Berliner/ Amsterdammer/ Lisboner/ Copenhagener/ Barcelonaer / etc	Mean	3,75	4,20	4,22	4,04	4,10	4,12	4,07
	StDev	1,238	1,169	1,140	1,183	1,122	1,114	1,168

Appendix 3. Overview of critical encounters

Positive critical encounters experienced by the respondents (during the past 3 years)

(scale: 1=neutral to 5=very positive)

		Amsterda	Barcelo	Berli	Copenhag	Lisbo	Muni	Tot
		m	na	n	en	n	ch	al
		Mn	Mn	Mn	Mn	Mn	Mn	Mn
		N	N	N	N	N	N	N
		StDv	StDv	StDv	StDv	StDv	StDv	StDv
SPATIAL	... better infrastructure (roads, sidewalks, parking facilities, etc.)	3,14 439 1,214	3,64 397 1,225	2,97 468 1,322	2,76 301 1,278	3,57 403 1,145	3,18 379 1,342	3,22 2387 1,289
	... more shops	3,18 447 1,221	3,74 395 1,169	3,35 485 1,28	2,96 323 1,251	3,67 401 1,103	3,29 384 1,253	3,38 2435 1,241
	... more events	3,32 453 1,175	4,01 400 1,082	3,51 487 1,268	3,38 354 1,146	4,12 398 0,984	3,45 382 1,241	3,62 2474 1,197
	... more leisure facilities	3,33 446 1,191	3,81 388 1,154	3,15 475 1,335	3,14 315 1,229	3,79 395 1,024	3,27 376 1,277	3,41 2395 1,239
	... protection of historical parts of the city	3,57 443 1,248	3,87 388 1,25	3,43 466 1,325	3,33 338 1,281	3,73 402 1,109	3,48 368 1,3	3,57 2405 1,266
	... restoration of traditional architecture	3,55 438 1,229	3,84 385 1,21	3,45 462 1,318	3,25 321 1,23	3,61 399 1,151	3,54 362 1,246	3,54 2367 1,244
ECONOMIC	... more permanent jobs in tourism	3,21 350 1,255	3,78 383 1,225	3,36 417 1,266	3,05 190 1,379	3,45 353 1,137	3,36 320 1,262	3,4 2013 1,262
	... more seasonal jobs in tourism	3,3 364 1,176	3,84 387 1,149	3,46 430 1,23	3,21 221 1,313	3,64 357 1,079	3,48 324 1,187	3,51 2083 1,199
	... more jobs outside tourism	3,18 352 1,234	3,5 383 1,278	3,15 419 1,239	2,84 217 1,346	3,02 369 1,198	3,22 330 1,208	3,17 2070 1,258
	... economic development of my neighbourhood	3,15 424 1,225	3,54 385 1,248	3,01 473 1,363	2,81 268 1,358	2,96 391 1,22	2,98 372 1,371	3,09 2313 1,314
	... greater numbers of tourist accommodations (hotels/ pensions/ hostels/ apartments/ etc.)	3,08 432 1,303	3,71 388 1,255	3,39 470 1,291	3,3 266 1,277	3,82 389 1,068	3,5 358 1,199	3,47 2303 1,261
	... increase of price level of real estate	3,02 404 1,36	2,78 390 1,34	2,65 464 1,44	2,76 293 1,344	2,95 378 1,249	2,63 377 1,489	2,8 2306 1,382
... wealth of residents	3,01 387 1,321	3,06 383 1,322	2,65 470 1,33	2,82 276 1,234	2,56 385 1,196	3,08 377 1,312	2,85 2278 1,306	
SOCIAL	... increased liveliness	3,11 458 1,25	3,65 394 1,206	3,46 489 1,338	3,49 344 1,17	3,38 404 1,209	3,4 393 1,236	3,41 2482 1,251
	... better liveability/living conditions	2,84 437 1,273	3,39 391 1,244	2,92 489 1,3	2,69 267 1,253	3,11 402 1,178	3,14 391 1,245	3,03 2377 1,269
	... more cultural supply (museums, cultural activities, cultural events, etc.)	3,39 449 1,167	3,71 393 1,184	3,36 482 1,253	3,22 323 1,19	3,88 400 1,057	3,45 385 1,192	3,5 2432 1,196

	... greater international touch (internationalisation, different cultures in the city)	3,45 455 1,201	3,94 390 1,093	3,74 490 1,217	3,45 345 1,151	3,8 402 1,074	3,6 394 1,205	3,67 2476 1,174
	... more positive image	3,43 456 1,208	3,96 393 1,131	3,4 484 1,307	3,43 334 1,2	3,86 403 0,998	3,54 387 1,156	3,6 2457 1,195
	... growth of the population	2,85 438 1,324	3,51 390 1,268	3,1 482 1,346	2,91 302 1,313	3,12 391 1,197	3,01 390 1,396	3,08 2393 1,326
	... change in the composition of the population (age, gender, ethnicity)	3,17 447 1,33	3,53 389 1,259	3,06 481 1,315	2,83 287 1,297	3,27 395 1,171	3,01 380 1,322	3,16 2379 1,3
	... improvement/revitalisation of social and cultural life	3,28 443 1,251	3,69 392 1,157	3,12 481 1,266	2,99 301 1,159	3,56 403 1,125	3,12 381 1,281	3,3 2401 1,236
	... increase of community's pride	2,98 417 1,319	3,63 384 1,239	2,89 475 1,312	3,01 305 1,3	3,41 396 1,222	3,02 378 1,315	3,15 2355 1,312
	... better understanding of other people (decrease in prejudice, stereotypes)	2,97 439 1,329	3,59 389 1,254	3,1 482 1,304	2,83 303 1,323	3,5 399 1,173	3,21 389 1,298	3,2 2401 1,306
	... revitalisation of local arts, crafts and cultural events	3,23 437 1,28	3,72 385 1,209	3,23 462 1,288	2,87 281 1,225	3,66 400 1,117	3,18 367 1,274	3,33 2332 1,266
	... more opportunities to share knowledge and culture with visitors	3,23 435 1,316	3,99 391 1,113	3,3 472 1,293	2,98 279 1,236	3,72 398 1,076	3,31 369 1,28	3,44 2344 1,266
PERSONAL/FAMILY	... a nicer / better job	2,54 328 1,446	3,2 368 1,424	2,56 425 1,465	2,38 226 1,406	2,56 362 1,337	2,53 363 1,418	2,65 2072 1,441
	... improvement of my educational level	2,59 347 1,43	3,21 374 1,395	2,57 423 1,402	2,25 216 1,408	2,7 386 1,396	2,6 360 1,429	2,68 2106 1,434
	... improvement of my language skills	2,76 379 1,39	3,58 378 1,276	2,89 451 1,423	2,53 255 1,357	3,05 394 1,335	2,9 374 1,412	2,97 2231 1,401
	... improvement of the family income	2,47 358 1,433	3,08 368 1,423	2,45 451 1,429	2,17 224 1,364	2,38 388 1,323	2,5 379 1,441	2,53 2168 1,429
	... improvement of my housing conditions	2,54 368 1,416	3,09 368 1,436	2,42 457 1,418	2,12 220 1,381	2,53 392 1,345	2,39 379 1,453	2,54 2184 1,436
	... improvement of my understanding of other people/visitors	2,71 400 1,374	3,56 385 1,245	3,07 479 1,399	2,77 291 1,32	3,23 394 1,321	3,05 384 1,334	3,08 2333 1,364
	... improvement of my attitude towards other people/visitors (politeness, social etiquette)	2,83 415 1,41	3,57 391 1,258	3,09 478 1,413	2,79 299 1,389	3,32 401 1,3	3,14 384 1,361	3,13 2368 1,381
	... greater personal pride of the city	2,99 425 1,361	3,65 387 1,306	2,92 475 1,468	3,03 323 1,347	3,68 405 1,221	3,04 386 1,489	3,21 2401 1,407
	... more pleasant contacts with visitors	2,88 407 1,4	3,58 380 1,267	3,18 477 1,381	2,8 294 1,305	3,46 399 1,261	3,21 384 1,317	3,2 2341 1,353

Negative critical encounters experienced by the respondents (during the past 3 years)

(scale: 1=neutral to 5=very positive)

	Amsterdam	Barcelona	Berlin	Copenhagen	Lisbon	Munich	Total
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SPATIAL	... overcrowding/obstruction of streets/sidewalks	3,28 450 1,317	3,39 392 1,31	3,17 492 1,359	2,76 337 1,354	3,11 397 1,24	3,11 393 1,327	3,15 2461 1,33
	... overcrowding of shops/restaurants/leisure facilities	2,87 447 1,282	3,18 392 1,253	2,96 489 1,285	2,39 313 1,238	2,81 400 1,172	3,03 392 1,282	2,89 2433 1,274
	... overcrowding of public transportation	3,18 444 1,342	3,35 391 1,3	3,51 485 1,296	2,75 331 1,406	3,06 386 1,264	3,34 395 1,305	3,22 2432 1,337
	... change of appearance of the neighbourhood; loss of authenticity	2,88 430 1,406	3,11 384 1,354	2,77 480 1,355	2,26 237 1,318	2,68 392 1,257	2,62 385 1,417	2,75 2308 1,373
	... pollution, littering, noise	3,37 453 1,356	3,61 387 1,281	3,24 487 1,342	3,05 333 1,462	3,04 396 1,273	2,94 391 1,323	3,22 2447 1,356
	... tourists on bicycles/Segways	3,45 457 1,381	3,1 392 1,377	2,97 482 1,368	2,75 363 1,362	2,54 388 1,292	2,59 385 1,29	2,92 2467 1,384
	... a loss of diversity on the highstreet	3,12 433 1,414	3,12 381 1,356	2,85 469 1,356	2,52 293 1,401	2,58 393 1,249	2,73 381 1,368	2,84 2350 1,375
ECONOMIC	... increase of price level/affordability of public transportation	3,3 422 1,491	3,6 381 1,41	3,34 481 1,407	3,14 302 1,541	3,1 380 1,404	3,57 391 1,399	3,35 2357 1,449
	... increase of price level/affordability of taxis	3,61 377 1,41	3,65 371 1,333	3,32 433 1,385	3 266 1,49	3,2 363 1,374	3,45 337 1,351	3,39 2147 1,402
	... increase of price level/affordability of rental houses	3,87 405 1,307	3,83 377 1,29	4,04 481 1,223	3,25 255 1,563	3,57 368 1,24	4,07 390 1,248	3,82 2276 1,322
	... increase of price level/affordability of private houses	3,63 401 1,405	3,75 374 1,315	4,04 471 1,202	2,96 248 1,554	3,51 355 1,29	4,12 381 1,243	3,73 2230 1,366
	... increase of price level/affordability of shops	3,38 429 1,378	3,76 386 1,272	3,39 479 1,246	2,95 297 1,424	3,21 394 1,241	3,48 388 1,256	3,38 2373 1,318
	... increase of price level/affordability of leisure facilities	3,41 418 1,353	3,73 383 1,265	3,3 461 1,287	2,78 254 1,475	3,14 390 1,283	3,36 380 1,245	3,32 2286 1,335
	... increase of price level/affordability of restaurants and cafés	3,45 437 1,31	3,76 384 1,289	3,27 484 1,261	2,96 304 1,369	3,26 398 1,29	3,47 387 1,235	3,37 2394 1,308
	... decrease of permanent jobs	3,32 349 1,501	3,71 368 1,328	3,04 409 1,45	2,56 197 1,526	3,06 354 1,384	2,76 333 1,473	3,12 2010 1,479
	... decrease of seasonal jobs	2,99 335 1,44	3,38 366 1,383	2,64 380 1,404	2,39 197 1,479	2,7 354 1,363	2,57 302 1,381	2,82 1934 1,438
	... increase of seasonal/migrant workers	3,06 345 1,429	3,32 370 1,399	2,61 381 1,333	2,87 238 1,501	2,86 358 1,303	2,49 303 1,339	2,88 1995 1,405
	... increase of tourist accommodations (such as hotels, hostels, B&B, holiday flats, etc.)	2,98 428 1,444	3,15 378 1,376	2,89 451 1,382	2,02 240 1,203	2,71 390 1,311	2,55 348 1,288	2,77 2235 1,385
	... increase of businesses	2,54 398 1,353	2,83 378 1,357	2,53 424 1,337	2,16 255 1,287	2,32 382 1,205	2,47 339 1,335	2,49 2176 1,328
	... big events causing peak moments of crowding	3,04 427 1,434	3,32 385 1,388	2,88 463 1,328	2,69 284 1,406	2,64 386 1,264	2,95 377 1,314	2,93 2322 1,372
	SOCIAL	... change/loss of culture/lifestyle/local customs	2,77 414 1,425	3,01 382 1,365	2,65 468 1,387	2,18 231 1,285	2,5 389 1,228	2,61 378 1,361

	... commercialisation of residents' hospitality	2,98 419 1,317	3,18 380 1,266	2,71 464 1,32	2,32 234 1,288	2,65 390 1,204	2,76 380 1,29	2,8 2267 1,304
	... attitude of visitors (e.g. arrogant, indecent, brutal, dissatisfied, complaining, disrespectful, unfriendly, intolerant)	3,13 428 1,406	3,36 382 1,33	2,86 485 1,329	2,21 256 1,225	2,48 385 1,252	2,72 385 1,33	2,83 2321 1,367
	... misbehaviour of visitors (e.g. noise, throwing up, drunk)	3,35 437 1,355	3,67 390 1,27	3,17 483 1,336	2,25 254 1,309	2,64 383 1,272	2,92 382 1,328	3,06 2329 1,382
	... less housing for residents	3,61 425 1,414	3,32 377 1,403	3,61 471 1,359	2,59 236 1,542	2,77 380 1,433	3,49 375 1,444	3,29 2264 1,471
STAKEHOLDERS	... attitude/tourism plans of the government	2,96 390 1,37	3,03 375 1,343	2,75 441 1,325	2,21 224 1,321	2,78 381 1,262	2,44 347 1,265	2,74 2158 1,34
	... attitude/plans of tourism marketing or tourism promotion organisations (e.g. choice of target groups)	2,78 382 1,332	2,93 366 1,292	2,67 433 1,253	2,11 219 1,234	2,56 377 1,193	2,45 331 1,233	2,62 2108 1,279
	... attitude of tour operators (e.g. buses)	3,02 383 1,341	2,93 371 1,329	2,75 446 1,272	2,39 249 1,246	2,71 371 1,247	2,52 349 1,258	2,74 2169 1,3
	... attitude of tour guides (e.g. group size)	2,9 383 1,364	2,86 367 1,35	2,69 439 1,268	2,2 227 1,227	2,53 350 1,198	2,4 340 1,212	2,63 2106 1,295
	... attitude of taxi drivers	3,41 394 1,368	3,12 362 1,304	2,72 433 1,313	2,4 236 1,369	3,41 380 1,329	2,59 340 1,311	2,98 2145 1,382
	... attitude of owners/managers of tourist accommodations (such as hotels, hostels, B&B, holiday flats, etc.)	2,85 364 1,311	2,92 360 1,355	2,62 417 1,286	1,89 181 1,095	2,66 363 1,208	2,35 322 1,22	2,61 2007 1,295
	... attitude of other residents towards visitors (e.g. pushy behaviour, aggressive behaviour)	2,81 391 1,336	3,09 375 1,305	2,62 456 1,297	2,13 232 1,2	2,48 372 1,201	2,44 360 1,248	2,63 2186 1,3
	PERSONAL/FAMILY	... obstruction of my daily schedule/planning	2,18 359 1,311	2,7 363 1,373	2,46 472 1,346	2,06 242 1,211	2,3 378 1,298	2,24 383 1,22
... waiting time in shops/facilities		2,44 405 1,308	2,89 365 1,293	2,61 484 1,28	2,17 260 1,198	2,5 394 1,265	2,55 388 1,231	2,54 2296 1,281
... it frequently takes me extra time to go to work		2,43 347 1,365	2,79 349 1,373	2,54 451 1,347	2,04 219 1,267	2,4 384 1,365	2,46 370 1,355	2,47 2120 1,364
... my privacy is frequently violated/infringed		2,42 360 1,402	2,78 341 1,408	2,28 467 1,32	1,89 192 1,246	2,08 373 1,212	2,09 372 1,217	2,28 2105 1,332
... my safety/comfort is frequently violated		2,4 376 1,388	2,82 353 1,45	2,61 484 1,396	1,87 206 1,151	2,12 376 1,265	2,52 382 1,322	2,44 2177 1,375
... my family life is frequently infringed		2,2 327 1,343	2,64 339 1,418	2,09 462 1,293	1,72 191 1,102	1,95 372 1,173	1,94 366 1,164	2,11 2057 1,29
... my social and cultural life is frequently infringed		2,37 362 1,346	2,72 344 1,386	2,29 471 1,314	1,75 199 1,122	2,03 377 1,18	2,17 371 1,236	2,25 2124 1,305

	... I experience unfair competition on the accommodation market	2,69 341 1,446	2,92 311 1,421	2,59 420 1,431	2,46 206 1,522	2,64 354 1,416	2,42 331 1,34	2,63 1963 1,431
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Appendix 4. Behavioural responses to negative critical encounters

During the past 3 years

	Amsterdam	Barcelona	Berlin	Copenhagen	Lisbon	Munich	Total
	Mn N StDv	Mn N StDv	Mn N StDv	Mn N StDv	Mn N StDv	Mn N StDv	Mn N StDv
I have not experienced drawbacks during the past 3 years	0,4 484 0,491	0,37 406 0,485	0,33 514 0,47	0,61 422 0,488	0,53 406 0,499	0,42 406 0,494	0,44 2638 0,496
Nothing, I take it for granted	0,32 484 0,465	0,18 406 0,382	0,28 514 0,451	0,23 422 0,424	0,2 406 0,404	0,32 406 0,465	0,26 2638 0,438
I avoid specific places or moments of the day	0,45 484 0,498	0,51 406 0,501	0,55 514 0,498	0,34 422 0,474	0,4 406 0,49	0,5 406 0,501	0,46 2638 0,499
I speak up to visitors who cause annoyance	0,13 484 0,335	0,08 406 0,277	0,11 514 0,309	0,06 422 0,236	0,04 406 0,201	0,1 406 0,298	0,09 2638 0,284
I try to influence the public opinion or tourism policy (newspapers articles, petitions, demonstrations, etc.)	0,04 484 0,204	0,08 406 0,266	0,04 514 0,194	0,01 422 0,108	0,06 406 0,236	0,03 406 0,17	0,04 2638 0,203
I have moved to another place in the city	0,02 484 0,128	0,02 406 0,147	0,03 514 0,157	0,01 422 0,108	0,02 406 0,147	0,02 406 0,147	0,02 2638 0,14
Other, please specify	0,03 484 0,173	0,01 406 0,11	0,03 514 0,168	0,03 422 0,16	0,01 406 0,086	0,02 406 0,155	0,02 2638 0,148

If respondent would have the choice and the means

	Amsterdam	Barcelona	Berlin	Copenhagen	Lisbon	Munich	Total
I have not experienced drawbacks during the past 3 years	0,32 484 0,469	0,24 406 0,43	0,25 514 0,435	0,55 422 0,498	0,42 406 0,494	0,34 406 0,474	0,35 2638 0,477
Nothing, I would take it for granted	0,25 484 0,435	0,12 406 0,326	0,23 514 0,423	0,2 422 0,402	0,15 406 0,36	0,25 406 0,434	0,2 2638 0,404
I would avoid specific places or moments of the day	0,44 484 0,497	0,39 406 0,488	0,53 514 0,5	0,34 422 0,473	0,36 406 0,48	0,48 406 0,5	0,43 2638 0,495
I would speak up to visitors who cause annoyance	0,25 484 0,431	0,24 406 0,425	0,2 514 0,404	0,13 422 0,34	0,16 406 0,365	0,21 406 0,406	0,2 2638 0,399
I would try to affect the tourism policy or the public opinion	0,12 484 0,33	0,26 406 0,437	0,12 514 0,33	0,08 422 0,276	0,23 406 0,421	0,11 406 0,314	0,15 2638 0,359
I would move to another place in the city	0,07 484 0,263	0,07 406 0,254	0,1 514 0,299	0,04 422 0,202	0,06 406 0,236	0,07 406 0,262	0,07 2638 0,257
I would leave the city	0,06 484 0,241	0,04 406 0,189	0,09 514 0,289	0,06 422 0,241	0,02 406 0,155	0,07 406 0,249	0,06 2638 0,235
Other, please specify	0,02 484 0,128	0,02 406 0,13	0,03 514 0,157	0,03 422 0,16	0,02 406 0,139	0,02 406 0,13	0,02 2638 0,142

Appendix 5. Impact on domains of life

The impact of tourism on the respondents' life (during the past 3 years)

(scale: 1=very negatively to 5=very positively)

	Amsterdam	Barcelona	Berlin	Copenhagen	Lisbon	Munich	Total
	Mean N StDev	Mean N StDev	Mean N StDev	Mean N StDev	Mean N StDev	Mean N StDev	Mean N StDev
... quality of your life?	3,18 455 0,879	3,3 393 1,002	3,1 500 0,857	3,17 373 0,602	3,26 404 0,747	3,14 394 0,906	3,19 2519 0,847
... sense of attachment with the city	3,34 465 1,002	3,56 391 1,075	3,24 501 1,063	3,29 375 0,783	3,6 403 0,868	3,37 397 0,998	3,39 2532 0,984
... sense of attachment with the neighbourhood/ local community?	3,29 462 0,952	3,45 394 1,06	3,2 496 0,989	3,26 373 0,741	3,45 402 0,823	3,3 395 0,918	3,32 2522 0,929
... personal identity as being a Amsterdammer, Barcelonaer, Berliner, Copenhagener, Lisboner, Municher?	3,55 468 1,016	3,61 390 1,062	3,36 500 1,057	3,31 371 0,8	3,66 403 0,909	3,45 393 0,957	3,49 2525 0,985
... yor opinion about tourism to the city	3,16 470 1,101	3,52 392 1,164	3,22 495 1,06	3,47 382 0,898	3,72 404 0,996	3,41 392 0,974	3,4 2535 1,056
... opinion about visitors to the your city?	3,22 469 1,042	3,43 390 1,113	3,21 498 1,083	3,45 383 0,89	3,74 404 0,917	3,33 388 0,964	3,38 2532 1,025

Appendix 6. Attitude towards tourism and tourism growth

(scale: 1=very negatively to 5=very positively)

	Amsterdam	Barcelona	Berlin	Copenhagen	Lisbon	Munich	Total
	Mean N StDev	Mean N StDev	Mean N StDev	Mean N StDev	Mean N StDev	Mean N StDev	Mean N StDev
... your opinion about tourism to the city	3,16 470 1,101	3,52 392 1,164	3,22 495 1,06	3,47 382 0,898	3,72 404 0,996	3,41 392 0,974	3,4 2535 1,056
... opinion about visitors to the your city?	3,22 469 1,042	3,43 390 1,113	3,21 498 1,083	3,45 383 0,89	3,74 404 0,917	3,33 388 0,964	3,38 2532 1,025

Opinion about further growth of visitor numbers to the city									
			City of investigation						Total
			Copenhagen	Lisbon	Barcelona	Munich	Berlin	Amsterdam	
I feel that there should be no boundaries to the growth of visitor number in the city	Count		141	114	105	142	164	130	796
	% within		33,4%	28,1%	25,9%	35,0%	31,9%	26,9%	30,2%
I feel that there is still room for visitor numbers to grow further in the city	Count		191	139	98	59	68	74	629
	% within		45,3%	34,2%	24,1%	14,5%	13,2%	15,3%	23,8%
I feel that there is still room for visitor numbers to grow further in the city, but not in the peak season	Count		31	60	66	58	64	85	364
	% within		7,3%	14,8%	16,3%	14,3%	12,5%	17,6%	13,8%
I feel that there is still room for visitor numbers to grow further in the city, but not in holiday flats	Count		40	34	50	40	109	63	336
	% within		9,5%	8,4%	12,3%	9,9%	21,2%	13,0%	12,7%
I feel the growth rate of visitor numbers in the city should be slowed down	Count		7	47	68	72	70	80	344
	% within		1,7%	11,6%	16,7%	17,7%	13,6%	16,5%	13,0%
I feel all tourism promotion and marketing for the city should be stopped	Count		2	2	9	14	16	15	58
	% within		0,5%	0,5%	2,2%	3,4%	3,1%	3,1%	2,2%
I feel all tourism development in the city should be stopped	Count		2	2	6	11	15	16	52
	% within		0,5%	0,5%	1,5%	2,7%	2,9%	3,3%	2,0%
Others, please specify	Count		8	8	4	10	8	21	59
	% within		1,9%	2,0%	1,0%	2,5%	1,6%	4,3%	2,2%
Total	Count		422	406	406	406	514	484	2638
	% within		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Opinion about further growth of visitor number to the respondents' neighbourhood									
			City of investigation						Total
			Copenhagen	Lisbon	Barcelona	Munich	Berlin	Amsterdam	
I feel that there should be no boundaries to the growth of visitor number in my neighbourhood	Count		151	118	85	148	156	142	800
	% within City		35,8%	29,1%	20,9%	36,5%	30,4%	29,3%	30,3%
I feel that there is still room for visitor numbers to grow further in my neighbourhood	Count		189	162	116	54	64	105	690
	% within City		44,8%	39,9%	28,6%	13,3%	12,5%	21,7%	26,2%
I feel that there is still room for visitor numbers to grow further in my neighbourhood, but not in the peak season	Count		25	29	60	45	49	43	251
	% within City		5,9%	7,1%	14,8%	11,1%	9,5%	8,9%	9,5%

I feel that there is still room for visitor numbers to grow further in my neighbourhood, but not in holiday flats	Count	31	37	58	44	113	79	362
	% within City	7,3%	9,1%	14,3%	10,8%	22,0%	16,3%	13,7%
I feel the growth rate of visitor numbers in my neighbourhood should be slowed down	Count	11	36	47	71	72	49	286
	% within City	2,6%	8,9%	11,6%	17,5%	14,0%	10,1%	10,8%
I feel all tourism promotion and marketing for my neighbourhood should be stopped	Count	3	7	17	13	30	22	92
	% within City	0,7%	1,7%	4,2%	3,2%	5,8%	4,5%	3,5%
I feel all tourism development in my neighbourhood should be stopped	Count	5	4	15	20	19	20	83
	% within City	1,2%	1,0%	3,7%	4,9%	3,7%	4,1%	3,1%
Others, please specify	Count	7	13	8	11	11	24	74
	% within City	1,7%	3,2%	2,0%	2,7%	2,1%	5,0%	2,8%
Total	Count	422	406	406	406	514	484	2638
	% within City	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Appendix 7. Respondents' support for visitor management strategies

(scale: 1=very much against to 5=very much in favour)

	Amsterdam	Barcelona	Berlin	Copenhagen	Lisbon	Munich	Total
	Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
	StDev	StDev	StDev	StDev	StDev	StDev	StDev
Spread visitors to 'new' destinations outside of the city	3,63 441 1,094	3,17 382 1,323	3,24 462 1,264	3,06 328 1,104	3,6 392 1,188	3,39 366 1,162	3,36 2371 1,211
Spread visitors to 'new' destinations within the city	3,61 435 1,033	3,45 382 1,171	3,3 465 1,137	3,26 324 1,035	3,75 391 1,009	3,29 371 1,048	3,45 2368 1,09
Stimulate that visitors spend more time inside tourism attractions (e.g. museums)	3,47 424 0,96	3,45 382 1,104	3,58 467 1,05	3,37 307 1,016	3,56 393 1,121	3,61 370 0,942	3,51 2343 1,037
Distribute visitors better during the day	3,64 430 0,979	3,76 382 1,063	3,56 459 1,067	3,26 296 1,075	3,68 384 1,028	3,76 369 1,039	3,62 2320 1,051
Distribute visitors better over the year	3,8 438 0,998	3,84 385 1,088	3,57 466 1,109	3,38 323 1,107	3,79 392 1,107	3,79 377 1,035	3,7 2381 1,084
Prevent visitors from going to certain areas (zoning), by means of transport regulations or activities	3,14 425 1,184	2,97 383 1,325	2,92 459 1,328	1,8 337 1,115	2,78 381 1,31	3,08 355 1,301	2,81 2340 1,335
Demotivate visitors to go to certain areas (zoning) by means of higher tariffs or tourist taxes	2,89 436 1,289	2,67 385 1,406	2,7 462 1,393	1,72 348 1,077	2,59 389 1,272	2,61 360 1,308	2,56 2380 1,349
Create itineraries to concentrate tourists along specific routes	3,45 439 1,125	3,34 376 1,263	3,25 469 1,181	2,23 338 1,273	3,21 390 1,21	3,36 371 1,133	3,16 2383 1,255
Attract only visitors from other target groups /with other lifestyles	2,85 423 1,221	3,07 382 1,332	2,68 451 1,343	1,88 331 1,169	3,67 391 1,055	2,76 361 1,262	2,84 2339 1,338
Make residents benefit financially from visitors	3,55 435 1,081	3,95 387 1,058	3,68 471 1,153	3,13 328 1,209	3,88 392 1,092	3,58 379 1,151	3,64 2392 1,15
Create city experiences where residents and visitors can meet and integrate	3,35 419 1,055	3,64 382 1,075	3,57 465 1,083	3,72 351 1,086	4,11 392 0,896	3,54 372 1,067	3,65 2381 1,071
Communicate with and involve local residents and local businesses in tourism planning	3,68 432 0,991	3,76 385 1,062	3,61 464 1,112	3,75 342 1,035	4,14 396 0,914	3,58 367 0,969	3,75 2386 1,034
Communicate better with visitors on how to behave in the city	3,8 442 1,035	3,96 387 1,087	3,66 469 1,064	3,49 349 1,066	3,79 390 1,033	3,58 369 1,063	3,72 2406 1,067
Improve the infrastructure and facilities (e.g. build more roads, parking) in the city	3,5 448 1,195	3,92 384 1,056	3,73 466 1,214	3,6 351 1,228	4,21 397 0,924	3,75 377 1,145	3,78 2423 1,156
Create stricter rules and controls regarding the opening hours of gastronomy	3,16 444 1,286	3,54 379 1,213	2,94 464 1,398	2,37 326 1,248	3,31 395 1,265	2,95 378 1,286	3,06 2386 1,332
Forbid the offering of AirBnB in certain parts of the city	3,35 422 1,349	3,51 377 1,311	3,36 453 1,405	2,63 307 1,434	2,84 350 1,381	3,11 348 1,338	3,16 2257 1,4

Appendix 8. Mismatch overview between management strategies and scenarios

		Central city	Networked city	Atomic city	Dispersed city
Spreading visitors around the city and beyond		+	+	O	-
1	Moving events to less visited parts of the city and city surroundings	X			
2	Developing and promoting visitor attractions in less visited parts of the city and city surroundings (see also communication and integration with local this is essential)		X	X	
3	Improving capacity and time spent of visitor attractions		X	X	
4	Improving signage to a wide variety of attractions	X	X		
5	Create joint city identity of city <i>and</i> surroundings	X	X		
6	Implement travel card for unlimited local travel	X	X		
7	Mark entire inner-city to stimulate visitation of less visited parts	X	X	X	
Time-based rerouting		+	+	+	-
8	Promotion of shoulder and low season to visitors	X	X	X	
9	Dynamic price differentiation	X	X	X	
10	Stimulate events in shoulder and low season	X	X	X	
11	Timeslots for popular visitor attractions and/or events	X	X	X	
12	Use apps to create dynamic time based rerouting	X	X		
Creating itineraries		+	+	O	-
13	Provision of information and itineraries by means of unmanned portals (digital and analogue) at city entrance and within city, brochures, internet and apps	X	X		
14	Tourist information centres (static and roaming)	X	X	X	
15	Combined discounts for specific low-impact itineraries	X	X		
16	City guides & books highlighting hidden treasures	X	X		
17	Stimulate development of guided tours through less-visited parts of city and city centre	X	X	X	
18	Virtual reality visits to famous sights	X	X	X	
Regulation		+	+	+	-
19	Limiting opening times of visitor attractions	X	X	X	
20	Limiting access for large groups	X	X	X	
21	Regulation of traffic in busy parts of the city	X	X	X	
22	Ensuring car visitors use parking facilities at edge of city	X	X		
23	Limiting traffic in busy parts of the city	X	X	X	
24	Create specific drop-off zones for coaches in suitable spaces	X	X	X	
25	Create pedestrian-only zones	X	X	X	X
26	Regulate disturbance causing visitor products	X	X	X	
27	Charge coaches for bringing visitors (tax	X	X	X	
28	Tax accommodation in sharing economy sharing economy	X	X	X	
29	Limit accommodation in sharing economy through regulation	X	X	X	
30	Tax visitor providers that bring many visitors (cruises, tour operator buses)	X	X	X	
31	Limit access to certain parts of the city for a set period of time	X		X	
Visitor segmentation		+	+	+	-
32	Target visitors with limited impact for the specific city context	X	X	X	
33	Targeting repeat-visitors	X	X	X	
34	Discourage visitation of the city of certain groups of visitors	X	X	X	

35	Align with neighbouring cities to each target a specific market.	X			
	Make residents benefit from the visitor economy	-	+	+	-
36	Financial benefits from employed involvement in visitor industry		X	X	X
37	Involving local residents in new tourism products		X	X	
38	Improve quality and frequency of public transport due to effective marketing to visitors	X	X		
39	Give residents free entry or reduced tariffs for attractions and other facilities	X	X	X	
40	Giving residents the opportunity to become tourist in own city		X	X	
41	Stimulate development of impoverished neighbourhoods through visitor economy facilities		X	X	X
	Create city experiences that benefit both visitors and local residents	O	+	+	O
42	Develop city to fit with residents desires in mind and treating tourists as temporary residents (with similar desires - Make tourists disappear into the local)	X	X	X	X
43	Create space for residents at events, markets and/or visitor attractions (Integrate locally oriented products into tourist markets)		X	X	X
44	Integrate visitor facilities within local festivities and activities		X	X	X
45	Creating city ambassadors for the enjoyment of residents (The Hague - also move pantomime)		X	X	X
46	Make use of temporary 'guerrilla art' to provide fresh perspectives on the city	X	X	X	X
47	Prolonging opening times of visitor attractions and cafes	X	X	X	
	Improve city infrastructure and facilities	+	+	+/O	-
48	Create an city-wide city plan for a well-balanced sustainable city management	X			
49	Improve transport links, infrastructure and signing	X	X		
50	Make public transport better suited for visitors	X	X		
51	Set up specific transport facilities for visitors during busy periods	X	X		
52	Simulate use of cycling routes and bicycle rent	X	X	X	
53	Set up specific safe and attractive walking routes	X	X	X	
54	Ensure cleaning services better fit with visitor disturbance	X	X	X	
55	Guard quality of cultural heritage and attractions	X	X	X	
56	Ensure cleaning regimes fit with visitor economy facilities	X	X	X	
	Communicating with and involving visitors	+	+	+	-
57	Creating awareness of issues of visitor pressure among visitors	X	X	X	
58	Educate visitors on local transport etiquette	X	X	X	
59	Create dynamic experiences and routes, also for created niche visitor communities	X	X	X	
60	Unite disjointed communities (e.g. by setting up DMO or process improvements)				X
	Communicating with and involving local stakeholders	-	+	+	+
61	Make positive impacts of tourism visible		X	X	X
62	Organise local discussion platforms		X	X	X
63	Do research among residents and other local stakeholders		X	X	X
64	Discuss with residents what they see as interesting attractions in potential new destinations		X	X	X
65	Communicate with residents about their own behaviour (bike parking/use of AirBnB)		X	X	X

Appendix 9. English version of the questionnaire used in all cities

City of investigation

- (_1) Copenhagen
- (_2) Lisbon
- (_3) Barcelona
- (_4) Munich
- (_5) Berlin
- (_6) Amsterdam

Intro

Dear resident of {#city} .Currently, TV and other media pay a lot of attention to residents’ feelings about visitors in cities across Europe. We want to know more about the situation in {#city} because this can help the city to guide visitors in a better way. Therefore, we would like to know from you how you feel about tourism in {#city} and about your personal experiences. For a good understanding, we will also ask you a few general questions about your relation with the city. We hope that you are willing to give an answer to all the questions. This will take about 10-15 minutes.

For how long have you lived in the city?

- (_1) Less than a year
- (_2) 1 year or more, please insert numbers of years

What is your connection to {#city}? (Please tick all that apply)

- (_1) I was born and raised here
- (_2) I moved here because {#city} offers (affordable) housing
- (_3) I moved here because of my work/studies
- (_4) I moved here because I like {#city}
- (_5) I moved here because of family reasons
- (_6) Other, please specify

Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Completely disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Agree	Completely agree	Don't know
I am happy to be living in {#city}						
I feel I am a {#q_citizen}						

What are the first 2 words that come up if you think of visitors in your city?

- (_1) Word 1
- (_2) Word 2

Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Completely disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Agree	Completely agree	Don't know
I am proud that people from different parts of the world visit my city						
The part of {#city} where I live is very touristy						
I think that {#city} is a hospitable city						
I think people from {#city} are good hosts						

During the past 3 years, how positive did you personally experience the following impacts of tourism in {#city} in terms of spatial living environment (By spatial living environment, we mean things like infrastructure, city space, facilities in the city ect.)

	1 - Neutral	2	3	4	5 - Very positive	6 - I did not experience this/ I don't know
... better infrastructure (roads, sidewalks, parking facilities, etc.)						
... more shops						
... more events						
... more leisure facilities						
... protection of historical parts of the city						
... restoration of traditional architecture						

During the past 3 years, how positive did you personally experience the following impacts of tourism in {#city} in terms of economic living environment

	1 - Neutral	2	3	4	5 - Very positive	6 - I did not experience this/ I don't know
... more permanent jobs in tourism						
... more seasonal jobs in tourism						
... more jobs outside tourism						
... economic development of my neighbourhood						
... greater numbers of tourist accommodations (hotels/ pensions/ hostels/ apartments/ etc)						
... increase of price level of real estate						
... wealth of residents						

During the past 3 years, how positive did you personally experience the following impacts of tourism in {#city} in terms of social living environment

	1 - Neutral	2	3	4	5 - Very positive	6 - I did not experience this/ I don't know
... increased liveliness						
... better liveability/living conditions						
... more cultural supply (museums, cultural activities, cultural events, etc.)						
... greater international touch (internationalisation, different cultures in the city)						
... more positive image						
... growth of the population						
... change in the composition of the population (age, gender, ethnicity)						
... improvement/revitalisation of social and cultural life						
... increase of community's pride						
... better understanding of other people (decrease in prejudice, stereotypes)						
... revitalisation of local arts, crafts and cultural events						
... more opportunities to share knowledge and culture with visitors						

During the past 3 years, how positive did you personally experience the following impacts of tourism in {#city} in terms of your personal or family life

	1 - Neutral	2	3	4	5 - Very positive	6 - I did not experience this/ I don't know
... a nicer / better job						
... improvement of my educational level						
... improvement of my language skills						
... improvement of the family income						
... improvement of my housing conditions						
... improvement of my understanding of other people/visitors						
... improvement of my attitude towards other people/visitors (politeness, social etiquette)						
... greater personal pride of the city						
... more pleasant contacts with visitors						

During the past 3 years, how negative did you personally experience the following impacts of tourism in {#city} in terms of spatial living environment (by spatial living environment, we mean things like infrastructure, city space, facilities in the city ect.)

	1 - Neutral	2	3	4	5 - Very negative	6 - I did not experience this/ I don't know
... overcrowding/obstruction of streets/sidewalks						

During the past 3 years, how negative did you personally experience the following impacts of tourism in {#city} with regard to tourism stakeholders? (by stakeholders, we mean persons/companies/organisations which have an interest in tourism)

	1 - Neutral	2	3	4	5 - Very negative	6 - I did not experience this/ I don't know
... attitude/tourism plans of the government						
... attitude/plans of tourism marketing or tourism promotion organisations (e.g. choice of target groups)						
... attitude of tour operators (e.g. buses)						
... attitude of tour guides (e.g. group size)						
... attitude of taxi drivers						
... attitude of owners/managers of tourist accommodations (such as hotels, hostels, B&B, holiday flats, etc.)						
... attitude of other residents towards visitors n(e.g. pushy behaviour, aggressive behaviour)						

During the past 3 years, how negative did you personally experience the following impacts of tourism in {#city} in terms of your personal or family life

	1 - Neutral	2	3	4	5 - Very negative	6 - I did not experience this/ I don't know
... obstruction of my daily schedule/planning						
... waiting time in shops/facilities						
... it frequently takes me extra time to go to work						
... my privacy is frequently violated/infringed						
... my safety/comfort is frequently violated						
... my family life is frequently infringed						
... my social and cultural life is frequently infringed						
... I experience unfair competition on the accommodation market						

During the past 3 years, how did tourism affect...?

	1 - Very negatively	2	3 - Neutral	4	5 - Very positively	6 - I don't know
... the quality of your life?						
... your sense of attachment with the city?						
... your sense of attachment with the neighbourhood/ local community?						
... your personal identity as being a {#q_citizen}?						
... your opinion about tourism in {#city}?						
... your opinion about visitors in {#city}?						

How do you deal with the drawbacks of tourism? (Please tick all that apply)

- (_1) I have not experienced drawbacks during the past 3 years
- (_2) Nothing, I take it for granted
- (_3) I avoid specific places or moments of the day
- (_4) I speak up to visitors who cause annoyance
- (_5) I try to influence the public opinion or tourism policy (newspapers articles, petitions, demonstrations, etc.)
- (_6) I have moved to another place in the city
- (_7) Other, please specify

What would you do against the drawbacks of tourism if you had the choice and the means? (Please tick all that apply)

- (_1) I have not experienced drawbacks during the past 3 years
- (_2) Nothing, I would take it for granted
- (_3) I would avoid specific places or moments of the day
- (_4) I would speak up to visitors who cause annoyance
- (_5) I would try to affect the tourism policy or the public opinion
- (_6) I would move to another place in the city
- (_7) I would leave the city
- (_8) Others, please specify

Overall, what is your opinion about further growth of the number of visitors to {#city} in the future? (Please tick all that apply)

- (_1) I feel that there should be no boundaries to the growth of visitor number in {#city}
- (_2) I feel that there is still room for visitor numbers to grow further in {#city}
- (_3) I feel that there is still room for visitor numbers to grow further in {#city} but not in the peak season
- (_4) I feel that there is still room for visitor numbers to grow further in {#city} but not in holiday flats (such as AirBnB)
- (_5) I feel the growth rate of visitor numbers in {#city} should be slowed down
- (_6) I feel all tourism promotion and marketing for {#city} should be stopped
- (_7) I feel all tourism development in {#city} should be stopped
- (_8) Others, please specify

Overall, what is your opinion about further growth of the number of visitors to your neighbourhood in the future? (Please tick all that apply)

- (_1) I feel that there should be no boundaries to the growth of visitor numbers in my neighbourhood
- (_2) I feel that there is still room for visitor numbers to grow further in my neighbourhood
- (_3) I feel that there is still room for visitor numbers to grow further in my neighbourhood but not in the peak season

- (_4) I feel that there is still room for visitor numbers to grow further in my neighbourhood but not in holiday flats (such as AirBnB)
- (_5) I feel the growth rate of visitor numbers in my neighbourhood should be slowed down
- (_6) I feel all tourism promotion and marketing for my neighbourhood should be stopped
- (_7) I feel all tourism development in my neighbourhood should be stopped
- (_8) Others, please specify

Various solutions have been proposed to deal with visitors. Please indicate to what extent you are in favour of the following "solutions".

	1 - Very much against	2	3	4	5 - Very much in favour	6 - Don't know
Spread visitors to 'new' destinations outside of {#city}						
Spread visitors to 'new' destinations within {#city}						
Stimulate that visitors spend more time inside tourism attractions (e.g. museums)						
Distribute visitors better during the day						
Distribute visitors better over the year						
Prevent visitors from going to certain areas (zoning), by means of transport regulations or activities						
Demotivate visitors to go to certain areas (zoning) by means of higher tariffs or tourist taxes						
Create itineraries to concentrate tourists along specific routes						
Attract only visitors from other target groups /with other lifestyles						
Make residents benefit financially from visitors						
Create city experiences where residents and visitors can meet and integrate						
Communicate with and involve local residents and local businesses in tourism planning						
Communicate better with visitors on how to behave in {#city}						
Improve the infrastructure and facilities (e.g. build more roads, parking) in {#city}						
Create stricter rules and controls regarding the opening hours of gastronomy						
Forbid the offering of AirBnB in certain parts of {#city}						

In what area of the city do you live? Please enter post code:

Is your place of work located in the city?

- (_1) Yes
- (_2) No

What is the postcode of your working place?

Do you work in the tourism business? (government, marketing, business)

- (_1) Yes
- (_2) No

- (_3) Don't know

Is your household income related to tourism?

- (_1) Yes
- (_2) No
- (_3) Don't know

What is your gender?

- (_1) Male
- (_2) Female

How old are you?

- (_1) Please insert your age
- (_2) Decline to answer

Thank you very much for your willingness to answer these questions. With your insights you help your city!