

PICTURE



Pro-active management of the Impact of Cultural Tourism upon Urban Resources and Economies

Deliverable n° D3

Deliverable title Multi-dimensional matrix gathering of impacts, methods and policy measures

Executive Summary

Task n° 1.1

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Executive Summary

As a summary to our literature study and analysis of interviews and questionnaires, a preliminary model of tourism impacts and their interaction is proposed hereunder. This model will be improved, validated and completed through extensive work during the rest of the project. Impacts are grouped into three clusters and each cluster is divided into positive and negative:

- *Impacts upon urban built heritage diversity and circulation:* In this sphere, we will find aspects related to the spatial organisation of places of living and transport within them. It is in this field that the consequences of tourism were seen as most problematic. Tourists come to visit specific heritage landmarks but how can a town open these to the public without endangering them? How can it handle car and pedestrian traffic in order to allow easy use and access but still avoid an impression of "clogging" or of a town lost to its inhabitants?
- *Impacts upon urban cultural practices and representations:* Consequences of tourism on the way people think about their town, themselves, and others, as well as the way they behave in it will be dealt with in this cluster. Tourism, because of its bringing into contact different cultures, is said to influence one's cultural practices and representations. Because tourists' interest in their town, some inhabitants might develop more pride about living in a place they previously did not think much of; or on the contrary feel they have been deprived from their town. And because it puts into contact different structures, it can lead to a change in cultural practices, ranging from a choice of leisure activities (more diversity in the offer, new sports or games or public representation opportunities) to influence on gastronomy or social organisation.
- *Impacts upon urban economies:* Impacts on the economy of a town, be it in terms of increased revenue or expenses, will be examined in this section. The economic impacts of tourism appeared to be the most mentioned and valued consequences of an afflux of people to a town. Most stated among them were the creation of job opportunities, the expenses of a town and the financial benefits of tourists' spending in a town.

The interaction of these impacts will lead to increased or decreased quality of life for the locals of a town. Of course, there exists diversity among citizens. Retailers and owners of hotels, restaurants or cafés were constantly identified as enjoying more benefits from tourism, than, for instance, local residents of protected areas. This diversity can only come to light in detailed analysis and not in a schema that, by definition, entails summarisation and globalisation.

Economic impacts are the most independent ones, only having an influence on other impacts in terms of gentrification. Cultural and urban heritage impacts are, on the contrary, heavily intertwined, thus revealing the strong political side of urban renovation. The political side of all these impacts can hardly be brought to light in a schematic way. It is not underlined in the summary matrix or accompanying text but is underlined in the deliverable.

Impacts upon urban heritage diversity

Impacts upon urban cultural practices and representations

Impacts upon urban economies

Positive:

Urban Regeneration

Diversification, rediscovery, exchange, identity, reapropriation.

More jobs and sources of revenues

Increased protection of urban landscapes
Heritage valorisation

Increased awareness of shared history
Rediscovery or keeping alive of local values and/or traditions

Creation of job opportunities
New fields for commercial activities
Tourists spend in local stores, restaurants, cafés, hotels.

Requalification of otherwise lost places of interest
Creation of new infrastructures

Diversification, multiplication and improvement in cultural offer
Benefits of cultural exchanges
Changes to urban space use
Development of short term events and animations

New sources of revenue
Multiplier effect

Public spaces better cared for

Pride of origin or residence due to increased visibility or notoriety of a town.
Increased feeling of safety resulting from better care of public realm

Attraction of enterprises by soft location effect

Negative :

Destruction, saturation, standardisation or pollution of urban landscapes

Standardisation, caricaturing, loss of authenticity, alienation, sense of invasion.

Monosectorialisation, more expenses and gentrification

Heritage erosion
Tourist pollution

Conflicts between local inhabitants and visitors

Risk of monosectorialisation and overdependence on tourism.

Degradation or destruction of urban landscapes

Creation of monofunctional spaces

Loss of community spirit
Changes to urban space use

Augmentation of real estate prices
Price increase of commodities in general

Traffic, congestion and parking issue

Local alienation, feeling of loss of town

Globalisation and standardisation of architecture
Prettification and petrification of urban spaces

Obliteration of alternative histories
Loss or theatricalisation of local values and/or customs
Adverse stereotyping

Increased expenses for a town

Impacts Upon Built Heritage Diversity and Circulation

Experts and literature identify this cluster as one of the area where most problems can rise, mainly in terms of congestion but also of damage to heritage. The deterioration of heritage is the most usually evoked impact of tourism upon material assets and the cultural heritage. An overexploitation of heritage creates a risk of physical destruction. It is often deplored that heritage is seen as a “mine” to be exploited for tourism. However, the importance of this threat is much debated as some argue that only a few sites suffer from it, while many others are simply fighting to attract more tourists. Besides, tourism can lead to an increased awareness of heritage and a subsequent protection and valorisation. Traffic clearly appears as problematic with increased tourist flows but some also see it as an opportunity for towns to develop sustainable traffic plans. Assessment, planning and carrying capacities might be some keywords allowing to answer to these challenges successfully.

| Impacts Upon Built Heritage Diversity and Circulation | |
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| Increased protection of urban landscapes | On the one hand, tourist interest in buildings and landscapes within a town foster a desire to, and a realisation of the need to protect. On the other hand, tourist's spending provides a source of revenue to do so. |
| Better maintenance of public spaces | In order to provide tourists with a sense of safety and security, public spaces are often better cared for. They can be cleaned more often, provided with better lighting, etc. |
| Heritage valorisation | In order to attract tourist and market a town, its heritage is valorised. Boards can be put throughout the city to explain the significance of heritage, or direct towards thematic paths. Streets in tourist areas also tend to be cleaned more often and actions such as putting flowers at windows, etc. are encouraged. |
| Creation of new infrastructures | The pressure of tourism can lead to the production of new infrastructures. They can be sports hall, concert halls; tourist office buildings, kiosks or chalets; or they can be related to transport. New motorways, bus or train lines can be created to facilitate access to some specific towns or sites. |
| Re-qualification of otherwise lost places of interest | Minor sites or sites not directly considered as heritage can be given life, significance or be saved from destruction thanks to tourism. Industrial sites can avoid being demolished through re-conversion into cultural, arts centres, activity halls or through inclusion in trails such as 'industrial heritage.' Small museums or buildings normally not related to tourism (houses, breweries, ateliers, etc.) can be brought into light thanks to a thematic path. |
| Reorganisation of public spaces | In order to please tourists and make their stay enjoyable and movements easy, public spaces sometimes have to be re-organised according to tourist preoccupations. Terraces to lounge and have a drink can be created on town squares and historic centres can be turned into pedestrian zones. The local |

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| Reorganisation of public spaces | In order to please tourists and make their stay enjoyable and movements easy, public spaces sometimes have to be re-organised according to tourist preoccupations. Terraces to lounge and have a drink can be created on town squares and historic centres can be turned into pedestrian zones. The local population can react positively or negatively towards these changes, often in function of their degree of involvement in the procedure and their personal interests. |
| Degradation or destruction of urban landscapes | Without proper sensitivity to sustainability on the tourists' side or of supervision on the side of the visited, buildings, monuments or places of interests can suffer degradation or destruction. Tourists' propensity to ruin a site seems to vary greatly from country to country. |
| Heritage erosion | Yet, voluntary degradation only constitutes the tip of the iceberg, as very often, the sheer number of tourists and their side nuisances (pollution, erosion of soils, noise, etc.) suffice to damage heritage. |
| Traffic, congestion and parking issues. | The more famous a town, the more people want to visit it. If this sounds good in economic terms, towns are not always ready to accommodate ten times as many visitors a day as local residents. Especially historic towns, full of narrow streets and sometimes circled by walls. |
| Prettification and petrification of urban spaces | The poor, derelict sides of a town tend to be erased in favour of the rich, pretty sides of it. The aim is to produce an image that will attract tourists, and make them want to come and stay. This can however lead to an eradication of whole groups of activities, result in freezing the heritage and compromise the continuity of the urban environment. |
| Globalisation and standardisation of architecture, loss of diversity | A call for prettiness and for answering tourist's interests can lead to a globalisation and standardisation of architecture. Instead of regional differences, buildings start to be built with the same materials and methods all over the world and the same branches can be found inside them, offering the same products or services. |
| Creation of monofunctional spaces | An excessive development of tourism to the detriment of other types of economic development can lead to whole areas from town being devoted solely to tourism, thus putting in danger the diversity of the town and creating bubbles in which |

Impacts upon urban cultural practices and representations

This group of consequences constitutes the sphere where opinions on impacts prove most mitigated, as the same occurrence can be interpreted in different ways according to its intensity, context or a person's set of values or opinions. This also constitutes a field where relations of power can have a field game. For instance, does the look of a stranger threaten? What are the relationships between tourists and hosts? And within the host communities, who decides on what needs to be valorised, how and according to what criteria? Cultural tourism is not a simple activity of seeing and visiting. The choices made in order to render a place more beautiful are made by some people according to specific criteria. Desires and decisions are run not only by the Market, but also informed by specific contemporary discourses concerned with human alterity. Cultural tourism is a planned activity structured by the specific desires of the tourist in an alien setting constructed by authorities, by a group of people, usually a specific class of people, that is, experts, political, administrative authorities, cultural associations, in charge (in power?) of formatting the place to be visited. Cultural tourism can participate in the formatting, through the reckoning of the imagined look of the other to be seduced, of one self. The schematic form of this matrix renders it hard to bring out how formatting or imposition procedures can work here, but they are commented upon in the extended version of the deliverable.

| Impacts upon urban cultural practices and representations | |
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| Diversification, multiplication and improvement in cultural offer | Intangible attractions such as festivals, shows, plays, etc. become increasingly important in order to attract and retain cultural tourists, so that they become more and more common in cities. Thanks to the numbers of tourists visiting, they are also more likely to be profitable so that towns are less reluctant to invest in them. |
| Rediscovery or keeping alive of local values and/or traditions | Thanks to tourist interest in the exotic, the different, and the host's culture in general, people can be made aware of their local values or traditions. Specific crafts, traditional feast or legends, local gastronomy can for example be brought into light. |
| Pride of origin or residence due to increased visibility or notoriety of a town. | The more tourists visit a town, the more famous it becomes, and the more famous it becomes, the more proud people are of being from there. Visibility can lead to notoriety that can lead to pride and a sense of identity. |
| Increased awareness of common history, development of the notion of identity. | The explanation of the significance of heritage made for tourists and a recurrent reinterpretation of history fosters sense of common history, thus leading to a strong sense of identity. |
| Obliteration of alternative histories | A common sense of identity and reinterpretation of history among these lines can sometimes lead to the obliteration of alternative histories, or the experience of groups such as women or ethnic minorities. |
| Adverse stereotyping | Sometimes, however, tourism can lead to a bad image of a |

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| | town, by way of word and mouth or generalisation of some experiences. It can for instance be said that people are unfriendly, stupid, that it is not safe, boring, etc., thus leading to a loss of opportunities. On the other hand, locals can also develop stereotyping regarding tourists, for instance along nationality lines, etc. |
| Benefits of cultural exchanges | Tourism is by definition an encounter between different cultures. Tourists arrive with their own habits, thus showing that difference exists to local residents. If contacts happen freely and without one culture being more valued than the other, this can lead to cultural enrichment. |
| Loss or theatricalisation of local values and/or customs | The danger, however, lies in the imposition of cultural values upon a fragile culture and in the total disappearance of some local cultures. Or in a staging up of traditions, in representing something that does not (or no longer) mean anything, just in order to please tourist's search of exoticism. |
| Loss of community spirit | The increased pressure of tourists in specific areas or the disturbance created by the contact with different culture and various modes of adapting to it can lead to a loss of community spirit. |
| Changes to urban space use | Increase tourist pressure can lead locals to move away from certain squares, parks, and streets. The increased feeling of safety resulting from better maintenance and care can on the contrary lead to a re-investment of previously abandoned zones. |
| Local alienation, feeling of loss of town | When tourists are overtly present and most of the town's activities or businesses cater to them, locals sometimes develop a feeling of alienation, a feeling that the town no longer belongs to them. This proves detrimental to a town because they will no longer care for it. |
| Conflicts between local inhabitants and visitors | A sense of alienation of being deprived from one's town or the feeling that one has to adapt to specific requirements or values can lead to resentment and rejection of tourists by locals, thus seriously damaging the atmosphere of a town. |

Impacts upon Urban Economies

According to interviews and literature, tourism benefits most urban economies. Increase in commodity and real estate prices was however, often deemed negative. The extent of the impacts here will depend on the type of equilibrium reached.

In partial equilibrium (i.e., assuming that price do not respond to increased demand - the crucial assumption here is the existence of idle capacity, that can be activated before prices start to increase), increased expenditure by tourist increases local production (and income). Because of the multiplier effect the final increase is bigger than the initial increase (estimate average at a bit less than the double). The issue here is that of leakages: how much of the additional demand is not satisfied by local supply: the larger the share of demand satisfied by imports, the smaller the final impact. The relationships of the tourism sector with the rest of the local economy are therefore crucial. The additional income brings with it additional jobs: directly, in the tourism sector and indirectly in the sectors serving the tourism sector.

In equilibrium (after prices adjust to equalise demand and supply), the initial impact is smaller. The theoretical result is that the benefits of tourisms are capitalised in higher prices of non-tradable sectors (hotels, restaurants, houses, prices of goods produced locally). The benefits accrue to the immobile factors (e.g., land) employed the non-tradable sector (which is able to charge higher prices). Empirical evidence (CGE models) confirms this result: in general equilibrium the final effect is smaller than in partial equilibrium (as the initial increase in local demand results both in higher quantity and higher prices).

There is a distributional issue, as tourism leads to contraction of the traded sector (e.g., manufacturing) and real return of all other factor decrease.

Dynamically, the question is: is the specialisation in tourism (relative for example to a specialisation in innovative activities) harmful for growth? i.e., is a region relatively specialised in tourism going to grow slower than others, faster and what type of development does it entail?

| Impacts upon Urban Economies | |
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| Creation of job opportunities | People are needed in order to accommodate the flows of tourists, may it be in order to host them, feed them; give them services. It seems that job creation and job quality varies from country to country, but the tourism sector is usually labour-intensive, high-skill intensive, with a part-time or seasonal basis. It employs relatively more women but with men holding the top positions. |
| New fields for commercial activities | Small and Medium towns never really regarded tourism as a source of income till the 1990's. The conversion from industry-related or agriculture-related economies into an economy of services based on tourism opens new possibilities for ventures. |
| Tourist spending. | During a trip, tourists spend on various grounds. First to pay for the entrance of different "places of interest," thus giving money to the owners of these sites. Very often, they also spend on accommodation, food and drink, thus also contributing to the welfare of these entrepreneurs. |
| New sources of revenue | Through parking revenues, possible tourist taxes, entrances to buildings, sale of information, hiring of guides or selling of local products, for instance, sources of revenue can be found |

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| | for the municipality, without having local citizens pay for more taxes. |
| The tourism multiplier | The firms and shops that enjoy through tourism activity an increase of their revenue also contribute to the increase of revenue of their suppliers, and the suppliers of their suppliers... Contrary to what happens in rural areas, these suppliers are often located in the city, especially if it is big; therefore the increase of revenue spreads in different sectors. Furthermore, the employees of tourism enterprises live within the city, and spend there most part of their wages and salaries; they therefore also contribute to the local wealth. This is known as the tourism multiplier. |
| Attraction of new enterprises | When a city has, for tourism development purposes, undergone a significant regeneration, it becomes far more attractive to enterprises looking for a new location: this argument of "attractive city" is particularly efficient for the executives to accept to move in the new place. This increased attractiveness of a place is sometimes called "soft location factor" in order to differentiate from hard economic facts. |
| Risk of monosectorialisation and overdependence on tourism. | In some places, tourism has become the main, if not only industry. This can prove dangerous as a town thus becomes overtly dependent on tourism stakeholders and is left with very little margin to negotiate, and for instance discuss tour operators' conditions. Economists all stress the need of diversity of sectors in order to enjoy a healthy economy. |
| Increased expenses for a town | Towns often need to spend more on cleaning, garbage collection, lighting, renovation, etc. in order to please the tourists. Information services, marketing services and people in charge of tourism can sometimes weigh heavily on a town's budget. |
| Augmentation of real estate prices | Large tourist flows and high profitability of city centres locations lead to an increase of real estate prices, leading to the moving out of poorer populations of the towns and creating feelings of resentment against tourists. |
| Price increase of commodities in general | Being on holiday, tourists seem to be less careful about their money than locals. Flows often go in majority from strong currency countries to low currency counties, so that businesses with higher prices for tourists quickly appear in tourist areas, thus creating segregation between tourists and locals and eventually leading to desertification or tourist appropriation of these zones. This phenomenon, together with increase of prices of real estate, often leads to the setting of an area or quarter within the city where only wealthy people can live, creating a sort of ghetto or <i>gentrification</i> . |