



# Governing Urban Tourism

A case study of six European destinations

2.2 - Report on urban tourism governance



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Authors:	Hans Westerbeek, Ko Koens

# Table of contents

1. Introduction	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>
2. Methodology	8
2.1. Results/Findings	9
2.1.1. Problems differ per destination	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>
2.1. (Smart) governance of sustainable tourism	9
2.2. How is urban tourism currently governed, and to what extent does that governance allow for a more sustainable urban tourism?	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>

# Executive summary

Even though tourism is an important economic sector in many cities, its governance has received relatively little attention and there is a need for more insight into the decision-making and strategy-shaping processes surrounding sustainable urban tourism. This report explores the current state of governance regarding urban tourism in six European destinations: Amsterdam (The Netherlands), Belgrade (Serbia), Darmstadt (Germany), Gothenburg (Sweden), Stavanger (Norway) and Valencia (Spain). The main aim is to investigate current governance practices and the role that tourism is seen to play as part of the wider city by different stakeholders.

In this report three main issues have been highlighted that hinder the governance of tourism: 1) A lack of long-term strategy; 2) Limited stakeholder engagement; 3) Lack of clarity regarding the (im)possibilities of using technology. All three issues are related and are perceived as difficult to solve. A recurring theme throughout the interviews was the difficulty of overcoming intrinsic differences in interest among different stakeholders and the unequal distribution of power different stakeholders. Potential solutions that were mentioned to overcome this issue differ (greater stakeholder involvement, stronger government, use of technology), but none of these solutions in themselves will create working governance structures.

Findings suggest the importance for actors involved in tourism governance, to continue to engage with each other as well as debates outside of tourism. By stimulating further engagement, it may be possible for stakeholders to come together and accept solutions that will stimulate the development of urban tourism in a way that will support a long-term sustainable development of the city. Current 'smart' policy tools do not focus on this aspect of governance yet, but may be able to contribute in a significant way, for example by means of gamification or creating innovative new shared experiences.

# 1. Tourism governance and smart citizenship

Tourism forms an important revenue stream for many cities. Cities compete with other (urban) tourist destinations to attract guests). While this economic effect of urban tourism may be an attractive prospect, a pressing question is whether this development is sustainable, from economic as well as social and environmental perspectives. Previous research has convincingly shown the general need to address social and ecological challenges related to urban tourism and several case studies of urban challenges regarding urban tourism have been published (Aall et al., 2015; Wise, 2016; Koens & Postma, 2017; Russo & van der Borg, 2002). Furthermore, the question how to shape and implementing solutions to meet these challenges is a problem in its own right: There is a need for more insight into the decision-making and strategy-shaping processes surrounding sustainable urban tourism.

This report explores the current state of governance regarding urban tourism in six European destinations: Amsterdam (The Netherlands), Belgrade (Serbia), Darmstadt (Germany), Gothenburg (Sweden), Stavanger (Norway) and Valencia (Spain). The main aim is to investigate current governance practices and the role that tourism is seen to play as part of the wider city by different stakeholders.

Of particular within this report is the concept of smart citizenship, which incorporates the extent to which and ways in which citizens are able to engage with the future development of the city. The idea behind this, is that a meaningful involvement of a wide range of stakeholders will ensure that tourism is developed in a way that contributes to sustainable development of the wider city as a whole. While it is impossible to get total consensus regarding the way tourism should develop (particularly in areas overvisited areas where tourists and residents appear to compete for the same spaces), smart citizenship practices should result in a greater understanding of the development of tourism. This way of thinking is useful to help tourism develop in a way that contributes to sustainable city, one that continues to act as a good host to residents, business as well as visitors. Stakeholders may still disagree with developments, but they should at least be able to have a certain amount of understanding as to how and why tourism is developed and the tensions that need to be balanced in the development of tourism in a sustainable and resilient way.

The report uses the "Smart City Hospitality" framework (Figure 1) as a way to better appreciate these tensions that stakeholders need to balance with regards to a sustainable development of tourism.

The framework contains the people, planet and profit values that are commonly used to determine the sustainability of tourism. From a social perspective, it looks at the extent to which tourism impacts on the equity and equality both for residents within the destination, as well as for tourists visiting the destination. The natural perspective focuses on the viability of the natural environment not only on the local level but also explicitly with regards to greater environmental issues such as climate change. The economic perspective is not merely looking at on the tourism sector, but instead focuses on the extent to which the city as a whole benefits from tourism and the negative economic impacts tourism has on the city as a whole.

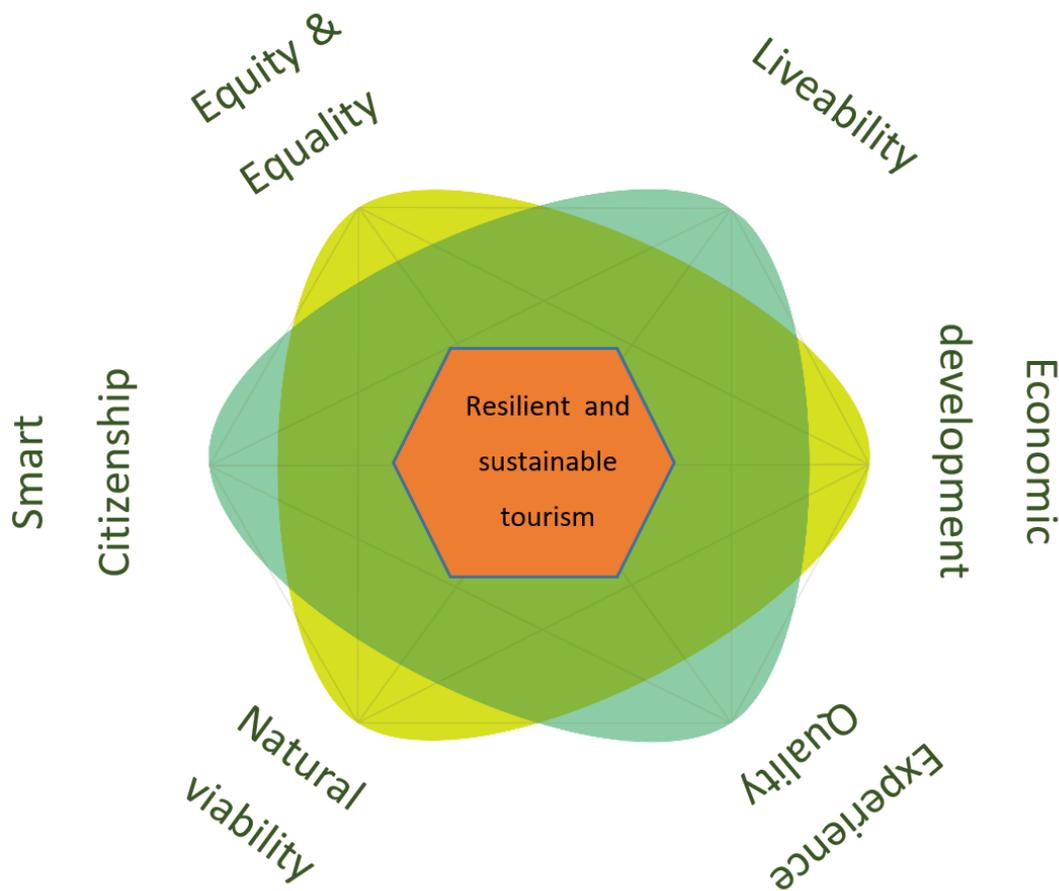


Figure 1: Smart City Hospitality Framework

While the triple-p perspective provides good insights on the sustainability of city tourism, it has been criticized for focusing predominantly on conservation. For a long-term sustainable development, it is also necessary to take into account the way in which community members and visitors think about

the future of a locality as a place to live and a tourism destination, as well as ways to achieve their desired vision (Lew et al., 2016). These elements are encapsulated more in resilience thinking and, based on such thinking, the “Smart City Hospitality” framework adds three additional values. To start with the liveability of the city as perceived by residents and other local stakeholders is examined. At the same time the experience quality of the city for visitors *and* local community members is investigated. Most importantly for this report is the value of smart citizenship.

Combining these six elements leads to a hexagonal model in which six values influence the sustainable and resilient development of city tourism and, as such need to be positive. At the same time the values also influence each other in positive or negative ways, which makes it difficult to find a positive balance between all values. In effect tensions exist between the values. For example, raising taxes on flights will benefit the natural viability, but is likely to be detrimental for the experience quality of the city (the value-for-money for certain visitors will be less), the equity among tourists as richer as economically poorer groups may no longer be able to visit, the economic development of the city due to less visitors coming (business and leisure) and possibly even the liveability as residents need to pay more to travel. In the governance of city tourism decisions are made that either reinforce or alleviate tensions, both by policymakers, businesses, residents and other interest groups. This makes it interesting to use the model for a close inspection of tourism development.

## 2. Methodology: investigating perspectives on governance

This report is developed as part of the Smart City Hospitality project. Within this project a qualitative investigation based on semi-structured interviews was used to investigate multiple aspects of current urban tourism, one of which was governance. During the interviews respondents were asked to incorporate narratives and critical incidents that they deemed memorable with regards to the governance of tourism in their answers (Gremler, 2004; Beeka & Rimmington, 2011). All six destinations - Amsterdam, Belgrade, Darmstadt, Gothenburg, Stavanger, and Valencia - were visited, and in each of the destinations interviewed between 7 and 10 stakeholders were interviewed. These were selected to represent a wide range of organisations, among others Destination Marketing Organisations, Policy / decision makers (e.g., officials, politicians, strategists, urban planning), residents (e.g., resident organisations), tourism businesses (e.g., hotels, tour organisations, tour guides guides), and the culture and events sectors (e.g., museums, conventions, festivals). Participants were selected in consultation with a local contact person in the city. An overview the interviewees can be found in appendix 1.

An interview guide was used, which addressed the overall development of a destination, including positive and negative developments as well as the possible impact of governance on these development. Interviewees were asked for critical incidents and narratives that exemplified how they viewed the impact of governance in their city. Interviews were conducted in the native tongue of the interviewee, to enable interviewees to respond in their native tongue to allow them to more easily share stories, with the exception of Belgrade and Stavanger, where the interviews were held in English. The interviews took place between November 2016 and February 2017. Interviews lasted around forty-five to sixty minutes, and were held in each respective city, on location (with the exception of two interviews which were held via Skype

Interviews were recorded and transcribed (in 'clean verbatim' format, closely following the exact words of the interviewees). All transcripts were written down in English, even when the interviews were administered in another language. The transcripts were coded using a combination of deductive and inductive coding, taking the conceptual model as a starting point to define broad categories in

the data, followed by identification of emerging patterns within each category by means of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

## 3. Issues in managing urban tourism

The cities under investigation in this research differ greatly both with regards to the city characteristics, as well as the importance of tourism. As such it comes as little surprise that tourism governance differs greatly. In addition, within cities too, different stakeholders had a variety of different perspectives, depending on the type of organization they represented (e.g. government, business, residents). While this makes it more difficult to come to more general findings that give a broader perspective on tourism governance, a number of common themes can be discerned. Notably three main issues were discussed: 1. The perceived lack of long-term strategy regarding tourism; 2. An increased desire for wider stakeholder involvement; 3. The opportunities and limitations of technology with regards to stimulating more sustainable governance and decision-making processes..

### **3.1.1. Lack of long-term strategy**

Having a longer-term strategy for the development of tourism is arguably essential for moving towards (more) sustainable forms of tourism. In four of the cities there was a sense of agreement regarding the perceived strategic goals for tourism, all of which are based on tourism growth; Gothenburg and Belgrade are said to aim for getting international (sports) events into their city, Stavanger aims for expanding tourism via cruise ships, MICE, and nature, and Darmstadt aims at business and technology while at the same time expects more leisure tourism via the Mathildenhöhe area. In the most-visited destinations (Amsterdam and Valencia) however, stakeholders disagree with regards to the extent to which tourism should grow and what the focus for tourism development should be. Interviewees said their city should aim for 'quality tourists' that have limited negative impact, but could not easily define such tourists.

Still, even in cities when there was a relatively clear tourism strategy, interviewees mention the lack of a clear and universally supported strategy for dealing with tourism in a *sustainable* way or they differ on what such a strategy should be. In some cases, this was due to unfamiliarity of interviewees regarding the policy framework. However, the difficulty of creating a long-term sustainable tourism

strategy was also emphasized by those actively involved in policymaking and several reasons were given to account for the lack of continuity in strategy.

To start with, even in cities where tourism is a significant economic sector, it has proven difficult to integrate the industry into long-term structural planning. Given that tourism touches upon many different elements of city life, responsibilities regarding tourism may be split among different organizations or government departments. These may have different perspectives and priorities that make it difficult to create a joint strategy (e.g. a focus on creating a good experience quality vs. ensuring quality of the natural viability in the city). In addition, the financial budget of tourism-specific department tends to be relatively small. As tourism has historically been seen as a 'clean' and non-intrusive economic sector, it has up to now, been allowed to develop with relatively limited intervention and/or is little integrated into the wider social and political debate regarding the future development of the city as a whole. Resident and environmental representatives, as well as some policymakers and smaller businesses highlight that, the laissez-faire tactics that benefited the large and powerful actors in tourism, are a cause of the issues that are now becoming visible in tourism.

In recent years attention to tourism as an economic sector has increased, particularly in cities where tourism is seen to have a great impact on city-life. The clearest example of this is, of course, Amsterdam, where the narrative of overtourism has meant that tourism is now well and clearly on the map. During the 2018 municipal elections, tourism was one of the key topics and the current government has put tourism high on the agenda. Also in Amsterdam, a specific group of civil servants work on the Balanced City programme, which focuses on ensuring the liveability of the city. The balanced city programme increasingly is tasked with finding solutions for and limiting the tensions between visitors and residents. While this was appreciated by interviewees, it was noted that the number of employees working on the issue remained limited and that the solutions were staying too much within current policy boundaries, rather than helping to change existing structures, law and policy discourse surrounding tourism.

A second issue that hinders a long-term strategy for tourism, is the fact city councils and other (local) representations of stakeholders interests are typically up for elections every four or five years. These (short) election cycles may prevent long-term strategies being formed, because council members and their parties are said to focus re-election from as early as the third year of their tenure and that this limits their willingness to take difficult decisions and make clear choices with regards to the strategic

direction of their department. In addition, should the political make-up of the city council change, this can scupper new plans before they come to full fruition. Both issues make it difficult for long enough for long-term strategies to flourish. One interviewee even said jokingly that the only way to establish sustainable tourism strategies is through a benevolent dictatorship. While this is quite a radical perspective, these findings do bring into perspective the difficulties that the current political system brings. These issues have historically received relatively only limited attention in the literature, yet it is now recognized, albeit that it now is starting to be recognized as a key issue for future policy development, not just in tourism but also as a whole (Voß et al., 2009; Jacobs, 2016).

### **3.1.2. Difficulties with stakeholder involvement**

In discussing governance, interviewees mention a desire to be more involved in the policymaking with regards to tourism. Residents request, for example, that their interests and their way of living is not affected by tourism in their city or area of residence. There were even some requests - in Amsterdam - to 'raise' tourists. At a more general level, residents may ask visitors for more understanding of their perspective, ensuring that visitors realize that the city that hosts them, also hosts residents. In Amsterdam, this mostly relates to the liveability and 'peace and quiet' for residents. Another example was discussed in Valencia, where residents want visitors to understand that they have a responsibility when it comes to limiting water use, in particularly dry parts of the season.

These movements can be seen to have political consequences as well, where stakeholder involvement can be part of decision making in different ways. One interviewee from Darmstadt for example explained:

*"City politics are undergoing interesting processes at the moment. There has been another discourse with different with several interest groups about the kind of roles that the individual parties play in decision making. It was found very clearly, that decisions can only be made by elected representatives. Because these are the people that can be held responsible. [...] The aim is to involve the stakeholder groups not in order to give them decision making power, but to implement their interests and needs in decision making" (Interview D8).*

While the discourse on stakeholder involvement commonly resolves around residents and businesses engaging with policymakers, in Gothenburg a different approach is taken. Here, representatives of the city council or parliament also take board seats in some public bodies, such as the harbour. This gives policymakers greater influence on the decisions of major infrastructural players.

It is important to note that interviewees also were critical of stakeholder involvement. Even though interviewees mentioned they wanted to be more involved in policymaking, they found it difficult to identify specific ways in which they wanted to do this. While stakeholders may want to have a say in the development of tourism, they do not all want to follow through with this within the current system and invest many resources to get their voice heard. At least two business owners contended that political processes take long and that it is uncertain to what extent their input (e.g. during public meetings) will be used. Combined with a heavy workload, this made them apprehensive to invest too much time to engage with public debates debate.

A further issue is the representativeness of stakeholders. For example, interviewees rarely mentioned tourists as potential stakeholders in their city that would need to have a say. Also, with regards to the representation of residents, the case of Amsterdam provides an interesting conundrum. In Amsterdam the meetings of resident groups critical of tourism are predominantly frequented by people over 50 years of age. One interviewee claimed that one of the larger groups focusing on this issue now only accepts new members if they bring along a person under 30 years of age. Based on this, interviewees echoed the critique that public participation-based planning processes at best do not provide a representative image of residents' wishes and at worst shifts power further towards well-connected stakeholders at the expense of less powerful actors and the environment (Carr, 2012; Jamal & Camargo, 2014). This would actually result in further tensions in the city.

In fact several interviewees argued for a 'stronger' government, that is more upfront as legislator and controlling power. They noted that this is the only way in which difficult decisions can be made that provide long-term benefits but have short-term disadvantages (e.g. measures to reduce climate change). Also stakeholder involvement is expected to result in watered down compromises between stakeholders with directly opposing interests that are insufficient to deal with the issues. Instead a strong government is seen as able to empower a decisive strategy for dealing with city- and tourism development. Although a strong government need not be mutually exclusive with stakeholder involvement, these findings do suggest that stakeholder involvement in itself is not sufficient for good governance.

### 3.1.3. Lack of clarity with regards to use of technology

Technology is a factor that is often looked at as a major contribution to becoming a smart(er) city and was mentioned multiple times as a solution to deal with the negative impacts of tourism and provide better stakeholder involvement. Results however, suggest that technological solutions, in themselves, will not be sufficient to ensure a more sustainable development of tourism.

Technological solutions are used increasingly to get better information and insights with regards to the impacts of tourism. This can then help to create more efficient policy solutions. An example here is the use of GPS to track visitor streams. Such information can highly useful and can help with people management. However, increased information streams can also lead to information overload among policymakers who are already very busy. In addition, there is the danger of conflicting information due to different methodologies or research designs. Furthermore, more information does not solve the problems that stem from different interests between stakeholders. For example, industry professionals may see an increase of hotel nights in an area as a good development, while a resident sees this as a worrying prospect. Issues like these cannot be solved by having more and/or better information. In the end governance is a process of making choices and decisions. Greater knowledge may help make better decisions, but in itself it is not enough.

Another way that cities sue technology, is the use of so-called citizen feedback apps that help gain feedback from residents regarding what they like or dislike from tourism. These are said to help overcome some of the limitations involved with stakeholder engagement. In each of the cities at least one form of such application is being tested or is already deployed. But, with no exceptions, none of these technologies are delivering on the promise of really engaging stakeholders such as residents in decision making. Often, the user base of these apps is small, of it is simply not known how many people use it, and how the data generated by the app actually feeds into the decision making process. These, and other, concerns, are for example voiced by a professor in Darmstadt:

*"For example, for our students, that they can actually use it, to analyse things. And that is a project that is goes into education. There is a great need for that - not so much for development, I don't believe. I am nowadays sceptical about projects that want to develop new things. The focus... By the time the new things have been developed they have often aged already. I believe it is more about finding the good things and imparting them. Because, those people that you want to involve, how can they gain from it? How can they implement it" (Interview D5).*

As such the possibilities of using technology to improve governance practices in cities should not be overestimated. It can certainly help provide more information but, in the end, governance is still a process of human interaction and decision-making where stakeholders need to find a balance between different interests. At least for the moment technology can only provide limited help with such processes.

## 4. Concluding observations

The results as presented in this report highlight multiple issues that it is not easy to effectively govern tourism. In this report a number of main issues have been highlighted. A recurring theme throughout the interviews was the difficulty of overcoming intrinsic differences in interest among different stakeholders and the unequal distribution of power different stakeholders. Potential solutions that were mentioned to overcome this issue differ (greater stakeholder involvement, stronger government, use of technology), but none of these solutions in themselves will create working governance structures.

Findings suggest the importance for actors involved in tourism governance, to continue to engage with each other as well as debates outside of tourism. As tourism is more and more seen as an integral part of city economies, both with regards to the economic profit it brings, but also with regards to its impact on other elements of the city (equity, natural viability, liveability, experience quality), its governance too should become integrated or at least aligned with the wider city governance. Indeed, practically all of these issues are not unique to tourism, or cannot be solved by looking at tourism development in isolation from the city as a whole. Whatever the source of discontent and perceived competition between liveability and experience quality, a more sustainable tourism development seems to call for close monitoring of the balance between these two (city) functions, and the needs of different stakeholders ought to be balanced carefully.

While efforts are undertaken to achieve this, there is still work to do to achieve such a balance. As some of the interests here may never be brought together, it would seem that to come to workable solutions, a consensus based solution may always work. Instead, the emphasis may need to be on a respectful acknowledgement of one another's perspective and a willingness to reflect upon one's own perspective. Current 'smart' policy tools do not focus on this aspect of governance yet, but may be able to contribute in a significant way, for example by means of gamification or creating innovative new shared experiences. By stimulating further engagement, it may be possible for stakeholders to come together and accept solutions that will stimulate the development of urban tourism in a way that will support a long-term sustainable development of the city.

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# Appendix 1: Interview partners

City	Name	Function/affiliation
Amsterdam	Axel Rürger	Director Van Gogh Museum / Member museumpleinoverleg
Amsterdam	Ger Baron	Chief Technology Officer Amsterdam
Amsterdam	Hester Schölvinck	Major player in the cultural sector
Amsterdam	Isabelle Blekxtoon	Chairperson resident organisation WIJ Amsterdam
Amsterdam	Joyce van den Berg & Marijke Godschalk	Urban Planning Amsterdam
Amsterdam	Marcel Berendsen	Hotel Manager
Amsterdam	Mirik Milan	Night Mayor of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	Sergio Segers	Tours & Tickets
Amsterdam	Walther Ploos van Amstel	Academic, resident, entrepreneur
Belgrade	[unknown]	Belgrade Fortress
Belgrade	[unknown]	Nikola Tesla Museum
Belgrade	Georgi Genov	Director of HORES (Business association of hotel and restaurant industry - Serbia)
Belgrade	Group interview with city officials	Multiple city officials and stakeholders
Belgrade	Interview with two journalists	TV & Newspaper journalist
Belgrade	Milica Marković	General manager Saint Ten Hotel
Belgrade	Stevan Milutinović	Sales manager Hotel Moskva
Darmstadt	[unknown]	Retailer at copy shop / photographer in the city center
Darmstadt	Agnes Allig & Anja Herdel	Marketing Director of Darmstadt Tourism
Darmstadt	Andre Schulz	Director of the Welcome Hotel Darmstadt
Darmstadt	Christoph Rawe	Director Maritim Konferenzhotel
Darmstadt	Florian Holzbrecher	Leitung Marketing & Sales SV Darmstadt
Darmstadt	Gerhard Gerl	Tour Guide and Citizen
Darmstadt	John Lewis	Member of Darmstadt's Marketing Advisory Board, former CEO of Telespacio VEGA
Darmstadt	Martin Knöll	TU Darmstadt junior professor health games
Darmstadt	Philipp Gutbrod	Director of the Institut Mathildenhöhe Darmstadt
Darmstadt	Uwe Vetterlein	CEO from IHK Darmstadt Rhein Main Neckar
Gothenburg	Birgitta Bergelind & Filip Eklund	Christmas Göteborg & Culture festival Göteborg
Gothenburg	Helen Stiernstrand	Long-time resident, member of environmental party (Miljöpartiet), board member of harbour
Gothenburg	Henrik Jutbring	Director of Development G&C and Phd researcher social marketing for destinations
Gothenburg	Katarina Thorstensson	Sustainability Strategist at Go:teborg & co
Gothenburg	Lennart Johansson	Director Gothenburg Convention Buro, Goteborg & Co
Gothenburg	Niklas Wahlberg	CEO Lindholmen Science Park
Gothenburg	Ossian Stiernstrand	Researcher and strategist at Go:teborg & co
Gothenburg	Peter Berggren	Director of the Enterprise and Industry Portfolio at Göteborgs Stadshus AB
Gothenburg	Petra Lofas	Sustainability manager Svenska Massan & Gothia Towers
Stavanger	Åsa Grahn	Resident interests (uni of Stavanger)
Stavanger	Cornelius Middelthon	Business/entrepreneur – independent accommodation
Stavanger	Elin Ravndal Bell	Business/entrepreneur – culture
Stavanger	Ellen Frisvold	Visitor interests (manager leisure marketing)
Stavanger	Frode Fjeldsbø	Policy/decision maker in Gjesdal municipality - politician

Stavanger	Inger Tone Ødegård	Business/entrepreneur - chamber of commerce
Stavanger	Johannes Apon	Business/entrepreneur – nature (guide)
Stavanger	John Petter Hernes	Policy/decision maker Stavanger municipality - politician
Stavanger	Knut Espen Misje	Business/entrepreneur – food and restaurant
Stavanger	Laila Neverdahl	Business/entrepreneur – large chain accommodation
Stavanger	Per Morten Haarr	Visitor interests (business tourism, congress manager)
Stavanger	Sindre Bøe	Resident interests (uni of Stavanger/journalist)
Stavanger	Tone Grindland	Policy/decision maker/implementer in Stavanger municipality - administration
Stavanger	Wenche Hansen	Visitor interests (group organizer/guide)
Valencia	Bosco Dies Jambrino	Fundacio Assut
Valencia	Celsa Monrós	Climate-KIC Spain
Valencia	Ernesto Faybel and others	Two urban planners at DG Urbanismo Ayto
Valencia	Gregorio Garcia Mesanat	Director master direccion y planificacion del turismo
Valencia	Joachim (Ximo) Sola Martinez	President of the 'Unión Hotelera Valencia'
Valencia	Jordi Peris Blanes	Concejal de participacion, derechos e innovacion democratica
Valencia	Maria José Broseta Serrano	Presidenta Federacion asociaciones de vecinos
Valencia	Matias & Lucia	Environmentalists at L'Albufera Lake
Valencia	Prof. Dr. Amparo Sancho Pérez	Professor at Instituto de Economia
Valencia	Rafael Company Peris	R&D Project Manager at Valencia Port
Valencia	Rafael Mossi	Camera de Comercio
Valencia	Sandra Gomez	Vice mayor Valencia / Concejat Turismo

*Table A-1: Interview partners*

# Appendix 2: Interview protocol

## Introduction

This protocol describes the set-up and procedure for interviews to be conducted in all six SCITHOS cities within the context of the information gathering stage of WP2. All interviews are semi-structured and combine direct questions with associative and metaphorical projection techniques as well as the critical incident technique. All interviews will be recorded and transcribed. The transcriptions will be analysed using a qualitative, phenomenological approach.

Overall, the approach to the interviews is to invoke narratives from the respondents with respect to their perspective on urban tourism and sustainable development within the context of their “own” city. More precisely: These interviews are conducted with the goal of obtaining as diverse perspectives as possible on the topic of city development, the role of tourism in that development, stakeholders and decision makers in that development, and their relations and attitudes towards each other.

Within each of the participating cities (Amsterdam, Belgrade, Darmstadt, Gothenburg, Stavanger, and Valencia), we aim to obtain diverse perspectives on the topics at hand. To that approach, we conduct interviews with the following general ‘types of stakeholders’ or groups within the cities:

1. Policy makers / decision makers / policy implementers: as diverse a range as possible of actors within the city that directly or indirectly influence policies with respect to urban tourism.
2. Interview partners that know/speak for the residents in the city (e.g. members of representative organisations, local journalists): as diverse a range as possible of actors that know “the voice” of residents within the city. Note that journalists may not ‘be’ the residents of the city, they ought to know their stories and experiences.
3. Business owners / entrepreneurs (in and outside of tourism): as diverse a range as possible of actors that speak “the voice” of businesses within the city.
4. A fourth stakeholder group, speaking from the perspective of the visitors may be harder to interview. To that end, we interview people working for (regional) destination marketing organizations – which are also our project partners and main contacts in the cities.

Note that the term ‘city’ may be a flexible one in the above, especially in the case of Stavanger we need to be careful, because our project partner is not the city of Stavanger, but the region of Stavanger.

The interviews consist of an introduction, three stages (which all include a component of associative and metaphorical project), and a(n) closure/end.

- Introduction: About the project, the topics of the interview, consent, and recording.
  - Stage 1 – SWOT-like analysis of the city
    - 1a - Direct questions + critical incidents: Past and present strengths and weaknesses of the city, future threats and opportunities, sustainable development of the city.
    - 1b - Using analogies to characterize the city's development.
  - Stage 2 – The role of tourism in the city development
    - 2a - Direct questions + critical incidents: Reflection on the role of tourism in <CITY>.
    - 2b - Using analogies to characterize the city's tourism, now and in the past and future.
  - Stage 3 – Stakeholders and decision makers (Duration: approx. 30 min.)
    - 3a – Drawing the stakeholder map + critical incidents: Mapping the stakeholders and their relations related to tourism in <CITY>.
    - 3b - Using analogies to characterize some stakeholders and their relations.
- End of the interview, including request for other interesting interview partners, and interesting places to visit in the city.

It may not always be possible or desirable to use the analogies/metaphors or to draw a stakeholder map. As long as the issues they relate to (stakeholders, their relations and critical incidents) are dealt with, this is sufficient.