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Ajuntament de Barcelona

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United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG)

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CULTURE AND TOURISM IN BARCELONA: CURRENT CONTEXT AND CHALLENGES
Initial Analysis and Proposals

EXECUTIVE
SUMMARY

OVERVIEW

This report has been prepared within the framework of a specific project on the relationship between culture and tourism in the city of Barcelona in the period 2017-2018, an initiative of the Institute of Culture of the City of Barcelona (ICUB) in collaboration with the Secretariat of the Committee on Culture of United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) aimed at studying the impact of tourism on the cultural system of the city and its different agents, with the purpose of identifying the components of the current debate in this field, analysing the challenges to be faced and determining the lines of action and proposals to be followed.

The agreement between ICUB and the Secretariat of the Committee on Culture of UCLG, which is in charge of cooperating to make the relationship between culture and sustainability visible through the promotion of the Agenda 21 for culture and the guide "Culture 21: Actions" in cities around the world and which is currently working on the implementation of the "Leading Cities" programme in Barcelona, responds to the need to provide this specific work with the processes of reflection that this debate arouses in the international sphere and its link with sustainable development policies.

STRUCTURE AND CONTENTS

The structure of the report, prepared by the UCLG Committee on Culture team, has an initial framework based on the commitments and actions of "Culture 21: Actions" which have a clear relationship between culture and tourism (section 1), the presentation of data and an institutional context on the role of culture in the city's tourism policies (section 2), the analysis of the key challenges identified (section 3) and the formulation of possible lines of work and proposals for policy action in this area (section 4).

The contents are based on the analysis of "Culture 21: Actions" and other bibliographical sources related to the cultural dimension of tourism, mainly in the context of Barcelona; the working document on culture and tourism in Barcelona written by Xavier Fina for a meeting of experts held on the 28th of November, 2017, and the analysis of the contributions made by the participants in that meeting. The report includes descriptions of specific cases aimed primarily at readers unfamiliar with the local context.

STRATEGIC DIAGNOSIS

The analysis of the current state of the relationship between culture and tourism in Barcelona shows the willingness of the Barcelona city government to orient the city's tourism activity towards sustainable development, with a new model of responsible tourism based on territorial balance and the pillars of Agenda 21 for culture. Currently, the pressure caused by the progressive increase in the number of visitors to the city requires a rethinking of the management of tourism activity. The *2020 Strategic Tourism Plan (PET 2020)* formulates challenges and proposes new policies with regard to its balanced and shared governance, especially considering the intrinsic relationship between tourism flows and the dynamics of the cultural system in the city.

The main proposals of the city's tourism strategy in relation to its cultural dimension are defined on the basis of three criteria already formulated in the PET 2015 and which are the foundations of the PET 2020:

1. **The Inextricable Link Between Tourism and the City**
   Tourism is a structuring element of the city that has a transversal impact on the economic, social, cultural and territorial spheres and on society as a whole. Tourism and the city build on each other: "The health of tourism activity in the city depends on the well-being of its population." Urban planning and mobility are some of the most obvious points of this confluence.

2. **A Comprehensive View of Tourism**
   Tourism is a collective issue involving all actors in the city's cultural system. It is not an isolated and independent industry, but part of a multiple and transversal reality that affects the whole of society.

3. **The New Tourist and Visitor Paradigm**
   The complexity criteria demanded by tourism make it necessary to broaden the concept of the 'tourist', considering visitors as "temporary citizens" who have usage and consumption patterns determined by their interests and the length of their stay in the city.

CHALLENGES AND LINES OF REFLECTION

The main challenges identified with regard to the relationship between culture and tourism in Barcelona relate to the contextualisation of the relationship between culture and tourism in the context of globalisation and the plurality of agents involved in it, and also to the effects of tourism on civic life, especially its cultural dimension:

- Understanding the Relationship Between Culture and Tourism Within the Context of Globalisation and its Effects.

- Recognising the Diverse and Complex Relationship Between Culture and Tourism

- Tourism as a Public Debate: The Cultural Sphere

- Effects on Structuring the Cultural Sector and its Economic Sphere

- Rights: A Talking Point

- The Cultural Life of the Tourist Population

- The Relationship Between Culture and Tourism: An Inseparable Part of Defining the City Model

Finally, the need to reformulate the relationship between tourism and culture within the framework of a broader debate on the model of the city and its development strategy is pointed out, considering four dilemmas: cultural facilities, urban and neighbourhood regeneration; decentralisation of tourism and municipal governance; city values, local narratives and tourism; and tourism and "standard" cultural policies.

WORK PROCESSES: INITIAL PROPOSAL

The possible lines of work to rethink the relationship between culture and tourism in Barcelona, especially within the framework of cultural policies, are specified in the following points:

- **Approaches to Cultural Policies and Sustainable Development, as well as Critical Elements of the Culture and Tourism Relationship.**
  It would be convenient to apply a logic that prioritises cultural rights and local sustainable development, considering issues such as the promotion of public space as a sphere of access and active participation in cultural life, reflection on the complex narratives projected by the city and how they influence visitors' expectations and practices, and the reinforcement of the city's cultural resources through the promotion of the cross-cutting nature of culture in public policies such as urban planning, education and social cohesion.

- **Fostering Reflection on the City Model from the Perspective of Cultural Production and Creation.**
  Some centres of cultural creation and production could deepen the contributions made by academic and cultural stakeholders, often from the "alternative" scene, regarding the future scenarios of the city in relation to the tourist dimension, structuring spaces for cooperation with other European cities that are also debating the model of the city they want to become.

- **Establishing Meeting Spaces for Active Participation in Cultural Life.**
  The promotion of so-called "creative tourism" or the active involvement of tourists in creative processes, which could be shared with the local population, would help to diversify the offer of cultural practices for residents and visitors to the city and could transform the perceptions of each group in relation to the other, facilitating the transmission of knowledge and the generation of new narratives around tourism.

- **Influencing Tourism Through Mediation and Promotion.**
  Supporting tourism promoters who offer innovative, diverse and attractive cultural activities could help to foster understanding with operators in the tourism sector, tackled jointly with other municipal agents involved in the definition of the tourism offer, and necessary to guide cultural practices associated with tourism flows towards diversification and decentralisation.

- **Reinvesting Economic Gains from Tourism in a Sustainable Cultural Ecosystem.**
  The fact that Barcelona's cultural resources are a decisive element in attracting tourists provides a solid argument for allocating the benefits derived from tourist visits to the city's cultural system, reinvesting this income in elements that are not very visible yet essential for the sustainability of the cultural ecosystem, such as grassroots creative initiatives, neighbourhood cultural facilities and artistic education programmes, among others.

- **Establishing New Spaces for Governance of Culture and Tourism in Barcelona and the Metropolitan Area.**
  The complexity of the interactions between public and private actors in Barcelona as well as abroad, in addition to citizens, in terms of the relationship between culture and tourism, makes it necessary to create specific spaces for dialogue, but also to strengthen the existing spaces for shared reflection and the definition of priorities. In this sense, broadening the debate at the metropolitan level by establishing spaces that favour synergies between municipalities, as well as ensuring a greater presence of the cultural sphere in the Council for Tourism and City and facilitating reflections on tourism in the Barcelona Culture Council are measures that must be considered.

The proposals and lines of work mentioned here are the result of the reflections gathered in the stages preceding the drafting of this report and the study of the available bibliography. In all these, there is a determination to integrate culture into local sustainable development following the Agenda 21 for culture and to inspire reflection processes in other cities facing similar situations, which will be shared in later phases of this specific work, initiating exchange and learning relationships on the links between culture and tourism in cities.

REPORT

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1. OVERALL CONTEXT

For some time, Barcelona has experimented with how to handle the ongoing sharp growth in the number of tourists it hosts every year. This has had an impact on the city's cultural system and its various constituent stakeholders with respect to cultural creation and planning, facility management, and public policies.

For this reason, the Institute of Culture of the City of Barcelona (ICUB) devised a specific project on the relationship between culture and tourism, to be developed between 2017 and 2018. Its aim is to identify aspects of the current debate between culture and tourism in Barcelona, analyse the challenges facing the city, and establish lines of action and further proposals.

Given the international scope of the debate and its links to sustainable development policies, ICUB submitted a proposal to the Secretariat of the Committee on Culture of United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) to jointly explore the state of this issue as it pertains to the relationship between culture and tourism in Barcelona. They also proposed a collaboration in developing a specific project for the city within the implementation the **"Leading Cities" programme**.

United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) is the world organisation created in 2004 which represents local and regional governments and defends their interests on the world stage. It currently represents 70% of the global population, and it is the association of cities with more members, and with the greatest capacity of influence before the United Nations. The World Secretariat of UCLG is based in Barcelona.

UCLG has an important cultural programme based on the Agenda 21 for Culture –approved in Barcelona in May 2004–, on the Declaration "Culture is the 4th pillar of Sustainable Development" –approved in Mexico City in November 2010–, and on the practical toolkit "Culture 21: Actions" –approved in Bilbao in March 2015.

The Committee on Culture of UCLG, a unique global platform of more than 800 cities, local governments and organisations, is in charge of cooperation aiming at strengthen the role of culture in sustainable development through a range of activities that involve peer-learning, tailor-made assessment programmes, global influence advocacy campaigns, and publications and biennial events which promote the implementation of the Agenda 21 for Culture and "Culture 21: Actions", as well as the analysis of the relationship between culture and sustainable development.

The Leading Cities of the Committee on Culture of UCLG are cities which have a solid and consistent conceptual and practical experience on the centrality of culture in sustainable cities, and that benefit from an extensive background regarding the implementation of the Agenda 21 for Culture.

Barcelona is a Leading City of the Committee on Culture of UCLG. As such, Barcelona receives annually an important support from the Committee on Culture Secretariat in areas such as "Leadership and Promotion", "Communication" and "Cooperation and Learning", as well as a range of other forms of assistances adapted to their needs and demands, and designed in cooperation with the Secretariat of the Committee.

1.1. INITIAL REFERENCE FRAMEWORK. CULTURE 21: ACTIONS

The connection between culture and tourism appears in a number of instances in the "Culture 21: Actions" guide, which helps cities involved with Agenda 21 for culture to address the link between culture and sustainable development and make it tangible. Specifically, a number of commitments included in Culture 21: Actions implicitly pertain to the relationship between culture and tourism, given that tourism traffic affects, and is affected by, the dynamics of a city's cultural system.

The commitments of "Culture 21: Actions", outlined below, are those which relate most clearly to this duality. They make up an initial approach or framework for concretising the relationship between culture and tourism in the city of Barcelona.

1. CULTURAL RIGHTS. ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP AND FULL RECOGNITION OF CULTURAL RIGHTS

This commitment prompts reflection on the coexistence of citizens and tourists in the city, and their access to and involvement in cultural life. Among the relevant actions in this regard would be:

— analysis of existing obstacles to citizens' access and participation in cultural life.

— policies and programmes to increase the number of people actively involved in cultural practices and cultural creation.

2. HERITAGE, DIVERSITY AND CREATIVITY. HERITAGE, DIVERSITY, AND CREATIVITY ARE THE FOUNDATIONS OF CULTURAL LIFE

This commitment focuses on policy development around the intrinsic values of culture. The arts and heritage are elements that shape local identity; an adequate projection of this identity, considering images and stories under criteria of diversity, must be able to allow the development of sustainable policies in relation to tourism and the enrichment of cultural expressions of citizens, instead of their simplification or distortion, which also meet the expectations of visitors.

— Policies and programs that build excellence through close contact and interaction with citizens and their initiatives.

— Policies and programs that explicitly encourage the mutual recognition of the diversity of cultural expressions and intercultural projects.

— There are policies that support the arts, with attention to different disciplines.

— There are policies regarding the protection of cultural heritage in all its dimensions, both tangible and intangible.

— Local cultural products have a significant and balanced presence within the city's overall cultural activities.

3. **CULTURE AND EDUCATION**. PROMOTE ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP THROUGH THE CONSTRUCTION OF CULTURAL CAPACITIES

This commitment highlights the role of cultural institutions and agents in culturally empowering citizens and visitors through educational programmes, in formal and informal spaces, projecting the values that are part of the collective imaginary of the city and encouraging the construction of new reflective and critical stories, also around the activity of tourism itself.

— The cultural institutions that receive public support provide educational activities for formal and informal environments, and dedicate a significant part of their budget to them.

— There are processes for sharing information about access to cultural activities and opportunities for cultural education, such as through online portals, information centres, etc.

4. **CULTURE AND ENVIRONMENT**. CULTURAL FACTORS AS ACCELERATORS OF ENVIRONMENTAL RESPONSIBILITY

This commitment entails tackling, among others, the sustainable development of tourism activity in the city, taking into account the conscious and environmentally friendly commitment to local products.

— History and culture are included in guidelines on the promotion of the production and consumption of local products.

5. **CULTURE AND ECONOMY**. CULTURAL RESPONSIBILITY IS NECESSARY FOR A SUSTAINABLE ECONOMY

This commitment highlights the economic value of tourism in relation to cultural factors. The city's tourism model will be formulated on the basis of the active involvement of the agents that make up the cultural system in order to become sustainable and balanced; the economic activity that generates the interrelationship between culture and tourism in the various spheres it comprises, such as leisure or business, must be part of the city's sustainable development strategy.

— Local economic development strategies take the cultural economy into account and work with its participants to ensure that it is a key economic sector of the city or region.

— Contributions by the public, civic, and private cultural sectors to the local economy, including their direct and indirect impact on the creation of wealth and employment, are analysed regularly.

— The value in maintaining traditional local trades and crafts (including the development of innovation, as required) is recognized.

— The local tourism model is sustainable, balanced across the region, connected to

the local communities and interactive with the cultural ecosystems.

— Corporate social responsibility programs explicitly include projects in the area of culture and engage with the cultural values of the population and local culture.

— Local business organizations, such as the chamber of commerce, have specific cultural policies and programs.

7. CULTURE, URBAN PLANNING AND PUBLIC SPACES. PLANNING CITIES AND REGIONS WITH CULTURAL AWARENESS AND MEANING

This commitment affects, among other things, the relationship between culture, urban planning and tourism. The city's spaces must be designed taking into account both the impact and the capacity of tourist and cultural factors to favour the interaction between citizens and visitors in the territory. This is a commitment with a great cross-cutting component: heritage, access to culture and education, economic development and shared knowledge are also points that are directly related to the construction of the city through this interaction between tourists and citizens.

— There is a reference guide on "cultural impact assessments"

— There are measures to promote the role of culture in the renovation of historic centres and in neighbourhood, district and regional development plans.

— New cultural infrastructures are planned as part of a broader cultural ecosystem, and their potential impact is taken into account.

— The local government explicitly considers the notion of 'landscape' in its policies, integrating both natural and cultural aspects of development.

— The local government recognizes public spaces like streets, squares, and other areas in the city, as key resources for cultural interaction and participation.

— There is a range of public spaces which, thanks to their symbolism, are considered public goods.

— There are programs to promote and manage the development and preservation of public art.

8. CULTURE, INFORMATION AND KNOWLEDGE. TECHNOLOGY AND ITS CONTRIBUTIONS TO PLURALITY AND CITIZENSHIP-BUILDING

This commitment motivates reflection on the evaluation of cultural policies in relation to tourism. All actors in the cultural system must have access to knowledge which guarantees active involvement in the construction and analysis of cultural and tourist activity in the city.

— There are systems that join up universities, governments and civil society to monitor, research and analyse cultural developments and their interaction with other areas of sustainable development.

9. **GOVERNANCE OF CULTURE**. TOWARDS A BALANCED AND SHARED GOVERNANCE OF LOCAL CULTURAL POLICIES

This commitment highlights the need for cultural plans that take into account, for example, the dimension of tourism in the city, considering new approaches that include different public and private entities and civil society in their elaboration, regulation and debate.

— The local government promotes cultural planning at neighbourhood or district level.

— Public projects generate permanent forums for the consultation, negotiation, and regulation of goals and methods, with the participation of all the parties involved.

These commitments from "Culture 21: Actions" can be related to the specific context of culture and tourism in Barcelona, as evidenced in documents such as the *2020 Strategic Tourism Plan*; *Tourism Statistics for Barcelona: City and Surrounding Region, 2016*; *Tourist Activity in the City of Barcelona, 2016 Poll* ; *2017 Data on the State of Tourism* (carried out by FAD's Arts and Design Festival), as well as other reports on the way the city is perceived, including the *Brand Barcelona Poll*, 2015-2016 (carried out by the Barcelona Centre of Design); the *Municipal Services Poll*, 2016, and the European Commission's *Quality of life in cities poll*, 2015.

1.2. SPECIFIC FRAMEWORK AND WORK PROCESS

The main goal of this report is to help ICUB reflect on the relationship between culture and tourism from the point of view of cultural policies and local sustainable development, as well to outline possible new approaches and measures in these areas. This reflection fits within the frameworks of the Agenda 21 for culture and Culture 21: Actions, and their implementation in Barcelona. It is simultaneously related to similar reflection processes that other cities have gone through, which could help translate this exercise to other contexts. The process could also enable Barcelona to observe similar dynamics in other cities, particularly those within Europe.

The report uses the results of various activities, including:

• The analysis of the framework of the Agenda 21 for culture and "Culture 21: Actions", particularly with regard to the links between culture and tourism;

• The analysis of reports and other literature related to the cultural aspect of tourism, primarily within the context of Barcelona;

• The working document on culture and tourism in Barcelona, written by Xavier Fina for a meeting of experts held on the 28th of November, 2017; and

• The analysis of contributions made by participants at the aforementioned meeting.

The UCLG Committee on Culture team used these to structure the document, which is made up of the initial framework (section 1), the presentation of data and an institutional

context (section 2), analysis of the key challenges (section 3), and the development of possible lines of work and proposals for policy action in this area (section 4). Included in some of the sections are descriptions of specific cases, used primarily to illustrate examples for a foreign audience.

In subsequent stages of this analysis, it will be important to identify relevant stakeholders in the areas of culture and tourism in cities that are currently engaging in the same discussion as Barcelona such as Paris, London, Rome, Lisbon, Amsterdam, or New York. The aim would be to obtain information on policies, programmes, and projects carried out in these places, and to initiate relationships for learning and exchange.

2. A STRATEGIC DIAGNOSIS OF CULTURE AND TOURISM IN BARCELONA

The current *2020 Strategic Tourism Plan* in Barcelona is founded on the criteria and commitments to tourism sustainability that the city has adopted in recent years, which were also included in the *2010-2015 Strategic Tourism Plan.* The aim of the Barcelona City Council is to steer tourist activity towards sustainable tourism development, and a new tourism model based on respect for the environment, social responsibility, and the economic sphere. This is explicitly outlined in the Charter for Sustainable Tourism, signed in collaboration with UNESCO and the Responsible Tourism Institute (RTI) in 2010, which made it possible to obtain the Biosphere World Class Destination certification the following year.

Another milestone in this area is the *2020 Vision for Responsible Tourism in Catalonia: The Barcelona Declaration (2013)* document, which positions tourism as a cross-cutting activity that involves the economic, social, regional, and cultural spheres, which are considered factors for accessibility, inclusion, and environmental sustainability. Governance over these issues is the responsibility of all the involved stakeholders in the territory, and they must also help develop new methods, beyond the conventional quantitative indicators, for evaluating the impact of tourism on the city.

With respect to responsible tourism, the "Destination Barcelona" programme aims to build a tourist destination that guarantees balanced regional development through a commitment to the four pillars of sustainable development outlined in the Agenda 21 for culture. It also seeks the ability to improve competitiveness of tourism and manage its effects. Promoting a sustainable destination also involves three key factors: marketing, local strategy, and tourist attractions and products.

Other decisive criteria for the current strategic diagnosis of tourism and culture are noted in Barcelona's *2010-2015 Strategic Tourism Plan*, and include:

a) the indispensable relationship between tourism and the city, which emphasises their mutual growth because, "the health of the city's tourist activity requires the well-being of the population";

b) the evidence that tourism is not a closed and independent industry, but that it is part of a multiple cross-cutting reality that concerns "society as a whole, and affects its economic, social, cultural, and local life";

c) broadening the concept of a tourist and visitor to be considered "temporary citizens" who represent a level of use and consumption based on their interests and their time in the city.

From these criteria, it is possible to trace the essential tourism strategies for Barcelona with respect to its cultural sphere.

2.1. THE INEXTRICABLE LINK BETWEEN TOURISM AND THE CITY

The *2020 Vision for Strategic Tourism Planning* in Barcelona and Catalonia addresses the direct relationship between tourism and Barcelona. It highlights the "desire to break the clear dichotomy between 'tourism' and the 'rest of the city'". This stance was adopted in the initial provisions of the *2015 Strategic Tourism Plan*, which presented tourism as a defining element of the city that has a cross-cutting effect on the economic, social, cultural, and territorial spheres, as well as on society overall. The plan also reaffirmed the idea of the city as a space that fosters possibilities for tourist activity.

One of the most evident convergence points for the mutual development of the city and tourism can be seen in urban planning, with regard to public policies. The analysis of the regional allocation of assets, services, and tourism use sheds light on the overcrowding of certain spaces with respect to accommodation in the districts of Ciutat Vella, Eixample, and Sant Martí. This has also affected the business and restaurant industries specialising in tourism in the city centre, the centre of the Eixample, Passeig de Gràcia, the Ramblas, Rambla de Catalunya, and the Raval areas. Furthermore, this concentration has also affected the leisure and cultural entertainment activities primarily located in the Ciutat Vella, Eixample, and Sants-Montjuïc areas.

Data on tourism accommodation and housing provided by *Data on the State of Tourism*, carried out by the Arts and Design Festival in 2017 indicate that tourist apartments make up 55% of the city's tourist accommodations. In fact, 70% of tourist accommodations throughout the city are concentrated in Ciutat Vella, the Eixample, and Sant Martí. In areas such as the Gothic Quarter and the Dreta (Right) Eixample there are 7 tourist accommodations for every 10 residents, and 67.4% of the increase in the housing stock has been geared towards meeting the tourism demand. Finally, according to the neighbourhoods, the existence of tourist homes increases rent prices between 31.3% and 50.6%, while raising the purchase price between 34.3% and 71%. With respect to environmental factors, Ciutat Vella and the Eixample saw over 60% growth in noise complaints as a result of tourist homes. Tourists in 4-star hotels use four times more water than residents, while those in 5-star hotels generate 4.3 times more waste than residents.

In July of 2015 the local government imposed a moratorium that sought to curb hotel growth by suspending licences through 2016 and 2017 until the approval of the *Special*

Urban Plan for Tourist Accommodations (PEUAT). Despite this, the data show that that the number of spaces has continued to grow across the city, the metropolitan area, and the Province of Barcelona. This can be seen in the following graph.

Figure 1: Tourists in Barcelona Hotels (City and Surrounding Region)[1]
(Index 2008=100)

Province (excl. Barcelona)
City of Barcelona
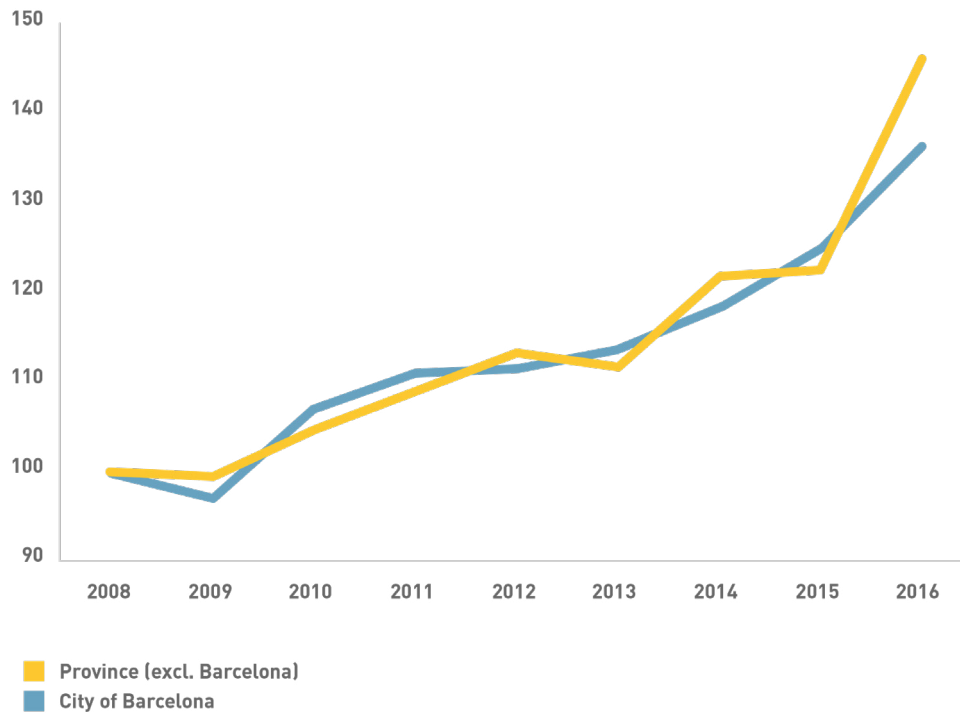
With respect to tourist mobility, the 2017 Data on the State of Tourism study found that 59% of tourists move around the city using the metro, and that tourist bus operators move over 3 million passengers every year. In considering the environmental impact of tourist movement, the data indicate that pollution around the Port of Barcelona is 14 times higher than in one such polluted area as Meridiana Avenue. Furthermore, fuel from each cruise contaminates 100 times more than car diesel, while pollution from a cruise can spread up to 400 kilometres away. Commitment to the environment is therefore another point of intersection for the mutual development of tourism and the city.

For leisure and cultural entertainment spaces that receive a higher influx of tourists, more concrete data must be gathered on the number of tourists who visit the city's main places of interest. This is because the *Tourism Statistics for Barcelona: City and Surrounding Region, 2016* gives information of visitors in general but not specifically tourists. Similarly, among these places of interest, it would be beneficial to identify the cultural offer and cultural consumption in Barcelona overall. The cultural *2015 and 2016 Cultural Indicators* from the Barcelona Institute of Culture, organised under the following 10 major groups:

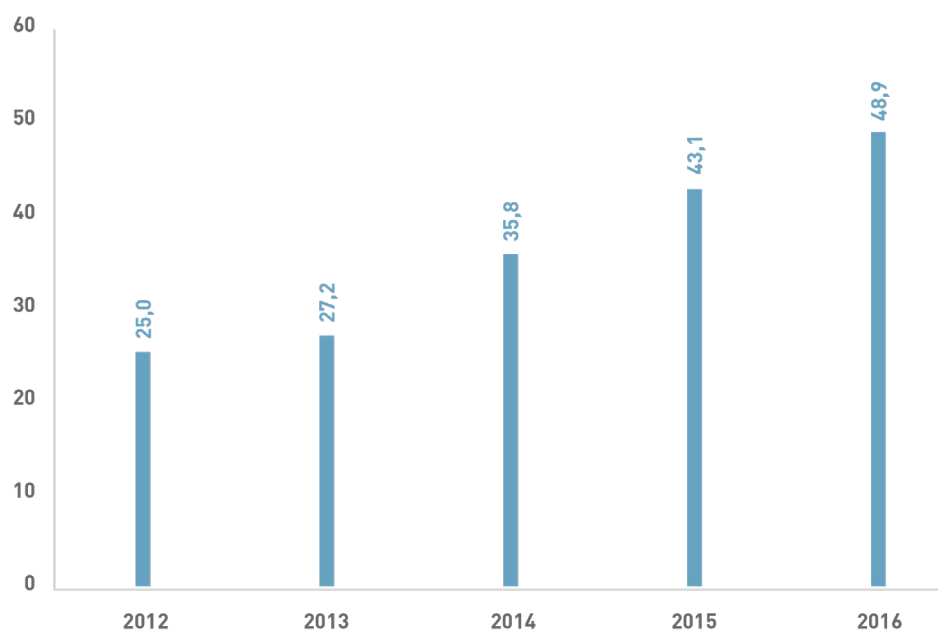1 Source: Report on Toursit Activity in Barcelona 2016

a) museums and exhibition spaces, b) archives and heritage libraries, c) performing arts spaces, d) concert spaces, e) cinemas, f) creative spaces, g) Barcelona libraries, h) community centres, i) festivals, and j) holidays.

Cultural Tourist Attractions in Barcelona
Among the main tourist attractions in Barcelona, there are a number of cultural heritage sites and cultural facilities. Some particularly noteworthy examples include the modernist period buildings such as the Sagrada Família, Parc Güell, Casa Milà ("La Pedrera"), or Casa Batlló, and other works by Antoni Gaudí. Other places are the Palau de la Música Catalana, and the Hospital de Sant Pau, and other works by Lluís Domènech i Montaner, in addition to the Picasso Museum, the Fundació Miró, and the National Art Museum of Catalonia (MNAC).

The trend to visit these places means that a regional strategy must be considered to address the pressure that tourism exerts on certain areas across the city. Such a strategy should promote coexistence between tourists and residents while favouring the welfare of the population. According to the Biannual Barometer for Barcelona, with data collected in June of 2017, tourism has become the citizens' primary concern. It increased from a rating of 0.8% in December of 2011, to 19.0% in June of 2017. This perception of tourism is reinforced by the fact that, for the first time, there are more Barcelonans who believe that the city is reaching its limit for the ability to accommodate tourists (48.9%), than those who think that the city must continue to attract visitors.

### Figure 2: Percentage of Barcelonans who think the city has reached its limit for providing tourism services[2]

2 Source: Report on Tourist Activity in Barcelona 2016

By the end of 2016, Barcelona had reached a record high of tourist activity that was above the growth of tourism worldwide. This was also due to a rebound in domestic demand, and to growth in international markets. Year after year, the city consolidates and develops its ability to attract international tourists, and this is still evident in the figure below.

Figure 3: Growth in the number of tourists to Barcelona and worldwide[3]
(Index 2000=100)

- World
- City of Barcelona
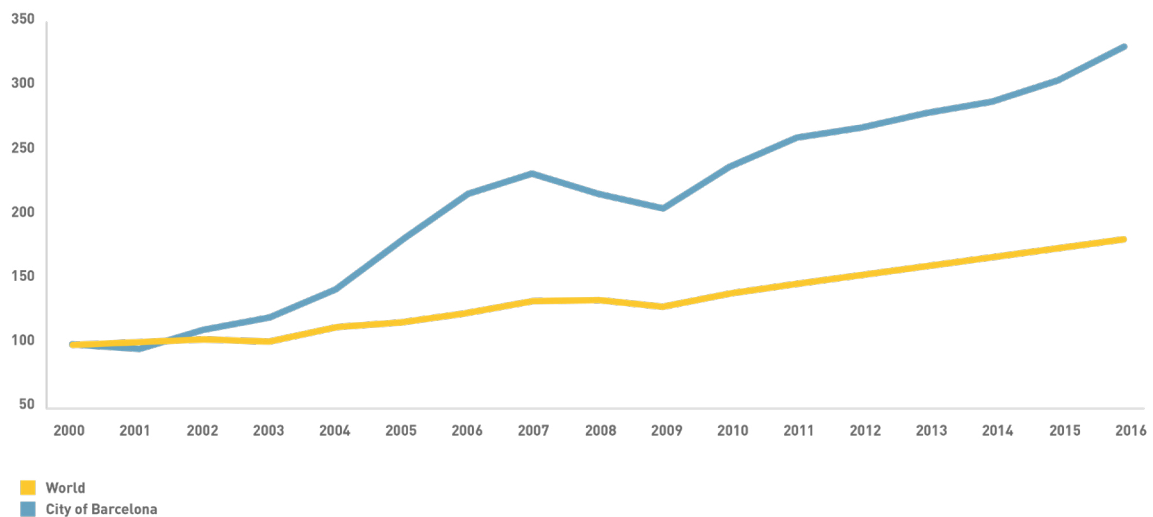
As a result, the *2020 Strategic Tourism Plan* outlines challenges around urban planning and environmental issues, such as the deconcentrating of the saturated areas in the centre of Barcelona, and the expansion of tourist flows into other neighbourhoods. This takes into account the load capacity for points of interest and redirects the local tourism promotion strategy to work with the territory's characteristics and infrastructure. Essentially, this approach extends the local scale of the destination beyond the municipal limits to three levels: the metropolitan area, provincial area, and all of Catalonia. The strategy also involves the active promotion of the population's roots to guarantee socio-demographic balance and prevent central areas from becoming exclusively for tourist use, ensuring that they do not lose the uniqueness that makes them attractive. To implement these actions, the government adopted a measure in 2013 called the "Local Deconcentrating of Tourist District Activity Plan" to establish a balanced structure for tourist attractions throughout the districts.

With respect to mobility and tourist accommodations some of the challenges that need to be addressed include the analysis and design of tourist use and mobility, so that they can be improved. Furthermore, specific practices should be implemented that are aligned with the city's mobility management guidelines, in addition to funding the conceptual coherence of PEUAT under the auspices of comprehensive tourism management. This involves designing active policies on tourist accommodations that ensure the wellbeing of both citizens and tourists, strengthens social and environmental responsibilities, and which emphasises the importance of good business practices.

3 Source: Report on Tourist Activity in Barcelona 2016

2.2. A COMPREHENSIVE VIEW OF TOURISM

The Council for Tourism and City, established on 2 May 2016, brings together a diverse group of neighbourhood, union, and cultural organisations, as well as stakeholders from the business sector, and can be seen as the outcome of an historical need made evident in both the *2015 Strategic Tourism Plan*, and the *Barcelona, Tourism, and the City* documents, namely the need to foster shared governance in this area. Tourism is considered a collective issue that involves all actors in the city's cultural system, with a comprehensive view that it includes the economic, social, cultural, and territorial spheres. Therefore, the commitment to a balanced and shared governance over local tourism policy is an essential aspect addressed by this perspective. The criterion of innovation gives momentum to new management methods which generate shared value.

The Council for Tourism and City
The Council for Tourism and City is a citizen participation body established in May of 2016 whose goal is to explore the most suitable urban model for tourism development. It is comprised of citizens' groups, associations, and political representatives. The Council adopts resolutions that are non-binding but serve as a basis for policy decision-making in the City Council. Appointing the entities and institutions that make up the Council was the result of an electoral process that was open to external proposals. The culture and sport sectors were included along with citizens and neighbourhoods, business tourism, trade and hospitality, unions, and environmental organisations, among others. Currently, the Joan Miró Foundation Council and the Association of Theatre Companies of Barcelona are the two organisations that represent the cultural sector in the Council.

Data from the *Tourist Activity in the City of Barcelona, 2016 Poll* show that 65% of tourists visit Barcelona for vacation and leisure (including cultural events), 23.4% for business-related purposes, and 11.6% for personal or other reasons. In 2016, only 1.7% visited for cultural events. In 2015, attendance at cultural events represented 2.3% of secondary tourism activity in Barcelona, which dropped to 1% in 2016.

Given the above information, it is vital that a destination's management bodies and channels rigorously adapt their tourist products and attractions to meet the city's sustainability criteria. This would encourage diversity and plurality by strengthening the different features of each district, enriching their stories, and making them attractive to visitors. It is necessary "to ensure that tourism is compatible with the heritage value of spaces, guaranteeing their social uses for communities and their dynamic value for the local economy". This can be achieved by growing the decentralising potential of a coherent and structured approach that emphasises the value of cultural attractions, leisure, commercial and gastronomic spots, and cultural and sporting events throughout the year. This must anticipate the effects of any activity in order to avoid creating destabilizing situations in different neighbourhoods, which may experience changes such as the transformation of their commercial landscapes and harm their everyday realities.

The *Brand Barcelona Poll of 2015-2016* was carried out by the Barcelona Centre of Design, by surveying directors, founders, and curators of international Design Weeks and Design

Festivals. The poll provides data showing that *cultural* falls under the ten adjectives used to define Barcelona, specifically in fifth place. The ten adjectives chosen to define the city in the polls are: *creative, dynamic, vibrant, cosmopolitan, cultural, diverse, beautiful, innovative, historical, and inspirational*. The poll also revealed that Barcelona was ranked fourth among the most creative cities in the world, behind London, New York, and Berlin. According to polls, Barcelona is "the fastest emerging creative city". Strategic sectors that stand out are, in order: tourism, leisure and culture, innovation, creativity, and design.

Specifically, strengthening links between tourist activity, local cultural and social stakeholders, as well as other economic areas like innovation, creativity, and design, is one of the objectives of the current Barcelona tourism strategy in order to generate opportunities. The value of tourism as a driver for the local economy must be made compatible with the city's regional and environmental sustainability, by "incorporating tourist activity into the local economic development strategy". The aim is to make this a part of the local production and services network to meet the needs of tourism businesses.

Information from the 2017 *Data on the State of Tourism* shows that tourism represents approximately 14% of the city's GDP. Tourist purchases represent 18% of the total turnover for the city's businesses (38% in tourist-heavy neighbourhoods, and 8% in less visited ones). On a daily average, tourists spend 60.70 euros per person on accommodations and 76.60 euros on other expenses. 45% of their spending goes to food and drink, which lends a key role to the catering sector. Furthermore, Barcelona collected over 22 million euros as a result of the tax on stays in Catalan tourist establishments, the majority of which (83%) were collected from hotels. Of those 22 million euros, the Generalitat (Government of Catalonia) returned 7.5 million to the Barcelona City Council. These figures help to illustrate the economic importance of tourism, as well as the complexity of its management.

Given the intricacies of this issue, education is one of the commitments that comprises the comprehensive view of Barcelona tourism. The *2020 Strategic Tourism Plan* proposes the adoption of informative communication and teaching strategies geared towards different audiences, which encourage critical reflection and debate among citizens and public and private organisations on the complex reality of tourism. The "Tourism in Schools" programme aims to teach the social, economic, and historical environment of tourism in the city, while explaining the history of its development, its transformative potential, and the difficulties of its management. This would help to establish a more critical understanding of current organisational structures around tourism.

Viewing Barcelona as a destination, as well as a source, for tourists means understanding that the people who live in the city are sometimes tourists themselves, while visitors are also citizens in their home countries.

2.3. THE NEW TOURIST AND VISITOR PARADIGM

The vision for the *Barcelona 2020 Strategic Tourism Plan*, as well as the *2010-2015 Strategic Tourism Plan* is particularly important given its understanding of tourists as temporary international citizens, recognised by local citizens as a visitor who enjoys the services, infrastructure, facilities, and events of a city for a period of time. Visitors and residents

alike have to coexist in Barcelona in a harmonious and friendly way, as they illustrate the stories and images that characterise the city, while remembering critical reflection.

Enabling citizens and tourists to exercise their cultural rights is essential for developing a sustainable city. Local policy in Barcelona must empower them to freely exercise their creative capacities, and to express their own cultural and foreign identities. It is vital to recognise everyone as actors involved in local cultural life, with particular attention to more vulnerable communities, and the development of their rights, freedoms, and responsibilities within the city.

As a result, it is important to ensure that the city image is valued by both tourists and citizens. The poll conducted by the European Commission, *2015 Quality of Life in Cities*, indicated that Barcelona ranked number 4 out of 79 cities polled in which people agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, "I am satisfied living in my city". Barcelona also received above-average marks compared to other European cities in 8 out of 12 areas addressed in the poll. With regards to "Education, Culture, and Sport", Barcelona received 66.8%, just below the average of 67.3% and with a slight decrease from 70% in 2013 which was observed across most cities as well. Its highest marks were given for "Cultural Institutions" (76.4%) with lower marks for sport and education facilities.

3. CHALLENGES AND REFLECTIONS

This section summarises the main reflections on the relationship between culture and tourism in Barcelona that were gathered in the first stage of the project. It is based primarily on the working document written by Xavier Fina for a meeting of experts held on the 28th of November, 2017, contributions made by participants of the meeting, and research into this field.

From this analysis, two initial observations arose with respect to contextualising the relationship between culture and tourism within the reality of globalization and the plurality of actors involved in this setting, as well as the subsequent complexity of possible responses.

a) Understanding the Relationship Between Culture and Tourism Within the Context of Globalisation and its Effects.

Current tourism trends must be viewed as constituent elements of the processes of globalisation. As such, they are directly related to, and an integral part of, the economic, social, environmental, and cultural spheres of globalisation. As will be shown here, insights into tourism and its effects on the city cannot be dissociated from parts of the city's economic model, work conditions, or access to housing, among others. With regard to policies, comprehensive approaches are needed that address the interaction between cultural activity, tourism flows, and a number of other local issues.

In addition, tourism accelerates some of the negative externalities associated with globalisation, such as climate change. Some participants in the expert meeting warned that reaction to the effects of climate change could lead to an increase in international

transportation costs, which could eventually lead to a reduction in tourism flows worldwide.

Finally, it should be noted that discussions about the impact of tourism on the city and its cultural sphere are also taking place in a number of other European cities. These include Amsterdam, Lisbon, or Paris, among others, which are experiencing a relatively comparable reality to Barcelona, and many other cities around the world, on varying scales. Part of this discussion that was started in Barcelona can be shared with other cities, along with different models and approaches.

b)   Recognising the Diverse and Complex Relationship Between Culture and Tourism

One of the findings from research and discussions held concerns the need to recognise various types and reasons behind the city's tourism. The cultural dimension of tourism is also diverse and plural, and this renders the design of responses particularly complex.

It is important to look beyond traditional stereotypical dilemmas like "mass tourism" vs. "quality tourism" (indeed, there may be some common aspects among them), and to recognise that there are other types of tourism which also involve different uses of time. For example, business travellers may have a limited time for certain cultural activities, while returning visitors may be interested in discovering something new. Furthermore, visitors with different ages, motivations, and particular interests, may vary in their level of involvement in specific cultural attractions. Recognising this diverse and complex reality requires, first, to improve tools used for analysing and understanding tourism flows. Secondly, it helps emphasise the fact that responses to the connection between culture and tourism must intervene at different levels, involve various actors, and incorporate actions based on plurality and diversity.

Apart from these two contextual observations, a number of others have arisen with respect to the effects of tourism on civic life, particularly in the cultural sphere.

c)   Tourism as a Public Debate: The Cultural Sphere

As outlined in section 2 of the report, a number of recent polls on the primary concerns of the population of Barcelona ranked tourism as one of the leading issues. There are several reasons for this. It is due to the direct or indirect effects that tourism has had on parts of the city's social and economic life. Some examples include the increase in housing prices in some districts and neighbourhoods, changes to the nature of its business environment, noise, and much more. Tourism has also directly affected cultural life in the city through the use of public space, which has seen the oversaturation and possible privatisation of spaces. These areas have lost, or it is more difficult to access, their traditional charm, including those important to the city's cultural life. Other examples are the reorientation of some events and cultural activities, towards the images and narratives that tourists may expect from Barcelona, or the potential effects on citizens' own identities when compared to visitors' expectations.

Regulating Access to Parc Güell

In 2013, measures were adopted to control access to Parc Güell, one of Antoni Gaudí's works that attracts the most number of tourists, which was free to enter up until that point. It restricted entry to the park, limiting access to 400 people every half an hour, and adding a fee. Residents from the park's surrounding neighbourhoods are exempt from paying to enter the park, as well as the rest of the population of Barcelona after registering on a website. The decision was adopted in 2013 and was criticised by a number of organisations, but it may have contributed to improved management over access to the space.

On a deeper cultural level, it is understandable that tourism and the perceptions it entails have an effect on the way the city sees itself. This can lead to more or less openness towards visitors, as well as discussions about the way the city wishes to present itself to the world. Despite only being briefly explored outside the field of anthropology, it is possible to see the cultural sector's contribution to re-imagining the city's relationship with tourism. This could be the goal for future lines of action.

d)   Effects on Structuring the Cultural Sector and its Economic Sphere

Discussions about the effects that the tourism industry has on the city's social and economic model have some specific implications as regards the organisation of the cultural sector and the status of the people working in it. It is vital to consider issues such as the outsourcing of cultural services and the working conditions of staff in the city's public cultural institutions, including some of the more recognisable tourist facilities such as MACBA.

The business model for public cultural facilities, including the level of public funding, staff structure, work conditions, and more, is independent from the city's tourism issue, but the increase in tourism flows can reinforce the perception of growing inequality and distance between tourists and services employees and their respective social and economic statuses. As will be explored below, one of the fundamental issues in this debate is the city's ability to take advantage of the economic gains made from tourism, and use them to generate a more sustainable cultural ecosystem. Among other measures, this is something that must happen in order to improve working conditions and to recognise the most fragile elements in the value chain.

e)   Rights: A Talking Point

Throughout the meeting of experts, participants debated a number of aspects linked to the area of rights, specifically as they relate to the connection between culture and tourism.

Xavier Fina's original document echoed some aspects already present in Barcelona's tourism planning tools, and detailed in section 2. He proposed recognising tourists as, "citizens who are subjects of rights". In this sense, he suggested that, "in a global world, in a world where we demand the globalisation of rights, there is no space for a hierarchy that turns tourists into second class citizens". Rather, it is necessary to strengthen concepts like the "new international citizen", and simultaneously see tourists as "the city's temporary citizens". In translating this understanding of rights to policy, it would become clear that the tourist population, diverse and the subject of rights just like other

citizens, would require more than specific policies, but rather cultural policies as diverse and varied as the entire local population. The only differences would be tourists' transient presence in the city.

Various presentations carried out throughout the meeting raised doubts about these statements. Although the analogy may be thought-provoking, the temporary presence of tourists in the city does not automatically make them the same subjects of rights as the local population.

It is understandable that the city's tourism, especially when experienced through its most negative effects, highlights a tension between certain rights. As Saida Palou explained, this puts the "right to tourism", or mobility and leisure, against the "right to the city", and the ability to affect the shape of urban spaces and guarantee its public nature within the context of growing privatization.[4] It can be said that this tension also has repercussions on the way cultural policies are understood, in which some are geared towards visitors while others seek to allow residents to "co-create" the city. In either case, it important to find a middle ground.

f)   The Cultural Life of the Tourist Population

Discussion of the cultural aspect of tourism flows demands an understanding and analysis of the cultural practices that tourists experience during their stay. Aside from the aforementioned diversity of tourist audiences, which makes it difficult to generalise, there is evidence that a small number of heritage sites, such as the Sagrada Família, Parc Güell, La Pedrera, the Gothic Quarter, the Picasso Museum, and many others, welcome a large number of people who visit the city every year. This seems as though tourists make very limited use of the city's culture, both conceptually and in terms of area. Indeed, there are many other facilities and places of cultural interest showcasing different aesthetics, sectors, and historical moments that tourists do not visit, or at least do not visit on a large scale. However, on the other hand, this has a very visible impact on public spaces, partly because tourists generally spend a lot of time in the streets.

The ArticketBCN Initiative
One of the main projects established to promote tourism for cultural facilities is Articket. This "brand name" brings together six of Barcelona's largest facilities: the Picasso Museum, the Joan Miró Foundation, the National Art Museum of Catalonia (MNAC), the Antoni Tàpies Foundation, the Barcelona Museum of Contemporary Art (MACBA), and the Barcelona Centre of Contemporary Culture (CCCB). For some years, these centres have offered a combined pass to visitors, and have also carried out other joint activities including conferences and campaigns, among others.

According to Xavier Fina, the concentration of tourism may demand new ways to diversify programmes geared towards visitors. Up until now there have been a few cases where this process has been successful, such as the promotion of MACBA and MNAC in recent

4 Saida Palou, at FAD Barcelona (2017), "2. Visitors: Impact and Volume", video from the #abecedariturístic series, available here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wH0UFyx0v8g

decades. However, it has not led to drastic transformation, and has become a part of the current model, thereby stabilising it further. Fina suggests that it is crucial to develop further by transforming both image and practice. He says, "if we see a Barcelona that is diverse, innovative, alternative; a Barcelona that transcends its overall image, then strategies are needed to make this visible to others and to incorporate it into tourists' habits".

Fina and other experts who participated in the meeting emphasised the importance of influencing tour operators, given their role as mediators and facilitators in the flow of tourists and the city's image. Ultimately, the aim would be to create an image of the city's cultural life that is more faithful to the cultural reality of Barcelona, while at the same time diversifying visitors' tours and cultural experiences, and recognising their own diversity.

One approach to facilitate this transition, also noted by Fina, would be to strengthen the internationalisation of the cultural sector. This would address the diversity of the city's inhabitants and facilitate the development of a city that attracts both residents and visitors alike. Fina writes that, "a cultural offer that is considered from an international perspective responds to the city's cultural logic, and to the city model, and highlights the diversity of permanent and temporary citizens."

g)   The Relationship Between Culture and Tourism: An Inseparable Part of Defining the City Model

Finally, a number of observations note the need to rethink the relationship between tourism and culture within a broader discussion of the city model. This comes from the understanding that the city's tourism model is based on development criteria adopted by the city, which are subsequently reinforced. As noted by some participants, there is a circular relationship between how the city is defined through tourist expectations and their activities while they are in the city.

There are a number of issues on which Barcelona must define its goals as a city and the subsequent implications on the cultural environment. These include the following:

(i)   **Cultural Facilities: Urban and Neighbourhood Regeneration.** At certain points in time, cultural initiatives and facilities have been a key part of urban revitalisation and regeneration strategies, which have also had repercussions on tourism flows. The Raval neighbourhood is a good example of this, with the notable establishment throughout the 1990s of the CCCB and MACBA, as well as a number of cultural projects and companies that were subsequently incorporated into the area's cultural environment. For some years however, the relationship among cultural development, urban regeneration, and the attractiveness of the territory has become unbalanced, causing unwanted effects on local development. This includes the eviction of some residents due to the increase in housing prices, and the excessive oversaturation of public spaces from tourism flows which has also transformed the way facilities and cultural activities are perceived and valued by the public. Therefore, it is necessary to rethink the relationship between cultural action and urban development. This involves establishing new priorities for preferred types of cultural activities, types of citizen participation, and the dissemination of cultural activity, among others.

Culture: Urban Regeneration and Tourism
Barcelona's urban renewal project throughout the 1980s and 1990s had a primary focus in the Raval neighbourhood. One of the strategies involved establishing large cultural facilities, such as the Barcelona Museum of Contemporary Art (MACBA) and the Barcelona Centre of Contemporary Culture (CCCB). This facilitated the flow of both the local and tourist populations. Combined with other social and urban development interventions, this has helped to make the area more accessible. In this neighbourhood, as well as in other areas of the city, there has been an increase in housing prices, partly due to tourist attractions in the city centre and throughout the city. This led to part of the housing stock being used for tourism purposes. As a result, citizen perceptions of the connections among cultural facilities, urban regeneration, and neighbourhoods have been transformed.

(ii) **Decentralisation of Tourism and Municipal Governance.** Given trends in tourism flows, which concentrate in certain places and neighbourhoods across the city, there is a clear need to expand and diversify tourist areas. This has become common in the city's tourism management, and has specific implications on the cultural sphere. It is necessary to move towards decentralising the cultural tourism points of interest, but this cannot be dissociated from the more general need to rethink cultural life for the metropolitan area and for residents. In this respect, Xavier Fina says that, "finding new points of interest, centralities, is a cultural challenge for the city. Doing this with a metropolitan perspective, is necessary. The city model is what develops the city image. (...) [It is vital] to work on emphasising the value of spaces that are regularly underestimated." Aside from the reality within the city, there is a marked need to incorporate this perspective into tourism across all of Catalonia, and to favour balanced distribution dynamics for tourism flows in Barcelona, and for the cultural sector. Ultimately, outlining different approaches to the relationship between culture and tourism in Barcelona, the metropolitan area, and Catalonia, involves establishing appropriate governance models with the participation of various public administrations and other involved actors.

The Decentralisation of Tourism: The Case of Turó de la Rovira
For some years, Barcelona has made efforts to offer new attractions to visitors in order to reduce the tourist density in the city centre and at traditional sights, while also benefiting other neighbourhoods through the positive effects of tourism. A good example of this is the recovery and inauguration of a heritage space in Turó de la Rovira, which also offers a natural lookout over the city with history dating back to the defence of Barcelona during the Civil War. There is also an interpretation centre that is part of the Barcelona City History Museum (MUHBA) network. The natural, cultural, and tourism value of this space has led to a significant growth in visits in recent years. Throughout the November 2017 workshop, a number of observations were made on this issue. On the one hand, the goal of attracting tourists to the city's surrounding areas has been successful. On the other, there has been a significant increase in noise and dirtiness in the area.

(iii) **City Values, Local Narratives, and Tourism.** As outlined above, a two-way relationship can be established between the cultural image associated with a city, and the expectations and habits of visitors. The former is based on both objective and "created" aspects, established by citizens and other stakeholders with the ability to influence their city's images and narratives. Given this, transforming the link between tourism and culture in Barcelona may require this type of approach. It involves a complicated process which raises a number of questions. For example, striving towards a diverse and innovative city means defining which kinds of diversity or innovation to favour. As Nicolás Barbieri asked during the meeting, "Can the Roquetes neighbourhood community strategy be a party of an alternative and innovative Barcelona?" Other questions arise on who has the capacity to outline the values and images that define the city. Aside from the practical impossibility of forming a consensus on a single idea, these also present new issues beyond the scope of tourism and culture that warrants an in-depth discussion with a number of stakeholders.

Sitesize: Popular Tourism Agency
Within the context of a social debate on tourism and its impact on the city, the artist group Sitesize launched a project called "Popular Tourism Agency". The initiative seeks to "imagine a different kind of emotional and economic relationship" with the landscape and the city that should be supported through different kinds of tourism and landscaping. The Agency offers visits, tours, and stories without mediation in a number of areas around the city. These are primarily geared towards the local population, and avoid the most recognisable and typical spots. The project has received support from ICUB and from the Department of the Culture of the Government of Catalonia.

(iv) **Tourism and "Standard" Cultural Policies.** Finally, a direct relationship can be made between "standard" cultural policies, those that address the general population, and cultural activities that Barcelona makes available to the tourist public. In fact, there is overlap in spaces and activities where residents and tourists both access culture. These include museums, some neighbourhoods, some festivals, and others. Additionally, some of the priority areas detailed in cultural policies can be more or less geared towards attracting short-stay visitors to the city, such as through support for festivals, celebrations in public spaces, internationally-recognised figures, and for the integration of culture and education. These can attract more foreign audiences while taking some of the focus away from the neighbourhood's cultural facilities. Decisions adopted in the city's cultural policy can, in some form, drive the cultural habits of tourists. The observations and proposals that will be detailed in the next section take this approach. Their goal is to address the issue of culture and tourism in Barcelona from the perspective of cultural policies.

Cultural Facilities and Local Use

Aside from the cultural facilities and heritage spaces that attract most of the tourist population, the November 2017 workshop of experts served as a reminder that a significant part of the city's cultural fabric is used mainly by Barcelona's resident population. This includes, among others, the over 40 libraries for which about 50% of the population has a library card, 52 civic centres that act as local cultural centres for the city's neighbourhoods, and a number of associative spaces, schools, or neighbourhood groups that frequently organise cultural activities. It should also be noted that some of the city's larger cultural facilities, such as the CCCB (public facility), or CaixaForum and CosmoCaixa centres, both owned by La Caixa bank and focused on arts and science, respectively, have mostly local visitors.

4. WORK PROCESSES: INITIAL PROPOSAL

Based on previous observations, and those in the bibliography, as well as the Agenda 21 for culture's vision of integrating culture into local sustainable development approaches, this section develops possible lines of work to rethink the relationship between culture and tourism in Barcelona, especially from a cultural policy perspective. These proposals must be evaluated in conjunction with ICUB, and may inspire the identification and analysis of similar benchmarks in other cities, with a view to a second stage.

a) **Approaches to Cultural Policies and Sustainable Development, as well as Critical Elements of the Culture and Tourism Relationship.** Generally, from the outset it is important to consider the need to address some of the main critical elements of culture and tourism from the perspective of cultural policies. In line with the approaches of Agenda 21 for culture and Culture 21: Actions, responding to this should prioritise respect for cultural rights, and promote sustainable development at the local level. It would therefore seem appropriate to address and promote public space as an environment for access and active participation in cultural life. It also seems vital to consider on the image a city projects, and the degree of diversity and complexity that it reflects, insofar as this image can influence the expectations and habits of visitors. More generally, strengthening the framework of cultural policies to generate more access opportunities, and a greater focus on cultural aspects in all public policies, such as urban planning, education, and social cohesion, among others, help promote the city's cultural resources in a context of increasing tension.

b) **Fostering Reflection on the City Model from the Perspective of Cultural Production and Creation.** General observations on the "model" or "type" of city that Barcelona wants to become, specifically as a tourist destination, have inspired contributions by some academic and cultural agents, often with alternative, less institutional,

viewpoints. Surely there is room for further reflection. One example would be to invite some cultural production and creation centres to use their programmes and initiatives to address both future scenarios for the city, as well as the relationship between culture, tourism, and sustainable development. Given the presence of similar discussions in other cities, such a process could generate interest abroad. It could also be structured as a space for cooperation with other European cities.

c) **Establishing Meeting Spaces for Active Participation in Cultural Life.** In recent years, proposals related to "creative tourism" have garnered more attention on an international scale. Among others, these approaches promote tourists' active involvement in creative processes, such as workshops, courses, and much more. On the one hand, there is a willingness to diversify the cultural practices that are accessible to tourists. However, there is a clear need to transform the local populations' perception of tourists, while also changing tourists understanding of local culture. As a result, it may be advantageous to favour spaces for cultural and creative participation, or "co-creation". While these deviate from Barcelona's most stereotypical cultural elements, they foster mutual understanding and create new images and narratives, thereby helping to prove the value of other possible forms of tourism.

d) **Influencing Tourism Through Mediation and Promotion.** Given the desire to diversify and decentralise cultural practices associated with heavy tourism flows, and their direct dependence upon operators in the sector, it seems vital to seek out ways to influence the city's tourism promotion and mediation, as well as build partnerships and agreements. This line of action should be pursued hand in hand with other municipal actors that are involved in defining the tourism environment. It could include support for tourism promoters that favour new cultural activities. It could also involve the promotion of a more diverse cultural offer and city image to attract visitors.

e) **Reinvesting Economic Gains from Tourism in a Sustainable Cultural Ecosystem.** As mentioned above, tourism contributes a substantial amount to Barcelona's economy every year. Part of this translates to municipal revenue, which comes from ticket entry to facilities and activities, public transportation, and tourist tax, among others. Due to the fact that cultural resources are a crucial element in the city's touristic appeal, some arguments suggest that the revenue taken from the tourism sector should contribute to the sustainability of the city's cultural system. Up until now, some initiatives have been aimed at using income from the tourist tax to reinvest in cultural activities, but they have primarily been geared towards the cultural offer for tourists. In order to prioritise sustainability, the more vulnerable, less visible, yet vital parts of the cultural ecosystem should be prioritised, too. These include areas such as grassroots creative initiatives, neighbourhood cultural facilities, arts education programmes, or professional networks and informal organisations.

f) **Establishing New Spaces for Governance of Culture and Tourism in Barcelona and the Metropolitan Area.** As this report has shown, numerous public and private

actors from Barcelona and abroad, as well as citizens, play a role in defining the relationship between culture and tourism in the city. The complexity of this relationship and the fact that decisions affecting it are made in different political spheres, with varying perspectives, make it necessary to promote shared spaces for reflection and the joint definition of priorities. This could help establish specific spaces for dialogue, but it could also ensure a greater level of cultural reflection linked to sustainable development at higher levels where discussions on tourism and the city take place. Here, this occurs through the Council for Tourism and City. Likewise, assessing tourism and its implications for culture could be favoured by the Barcelona Culture Council. Finally, given the desire to broaden the discussion on culture and tourism at the metropolitan level, the possibility of establishing a space for reflection shared by different municipalities in the metropolitan area could be considered. Such a space would promote synergies, making it possible to incorporate more cultural referents into tourism management, and to help coordinate responses.

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