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Sustainable Tourism Planning in Copenhagen

How Copenhagen uses a sustainable tourism model to create a liveable city

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Abstract

This research focuses on Copenhagen's tourism planning. Over the past decades, the number of tourists in this city have grown exponentially. This trend expects to continue, with many experts believing tourism numbers to double by 2030. Therefore, the importance of a sustainable tourism model is of utmost importance. There is a necessity to re-imagine tourism and this study investigates how the city of Copenhagen changes the narrative from attracting mass tourism, to one that focuses on liveability of the city for both residents and tourists alike.

Increased tourism is a two-fold issue, on one side it brings economic benefits into the city, while on the other side, it negatively impacts the city and its users. Using secondary data, this research analyses Wonderful Copenhagen's strategies to prevent Overtourism. This paper contributes by providing a study with which to better understand the origins of Overtourism, its implications, and predicted future perspectives in respect to the issue. It brings to light progressive and experimental tourism models that seek to create sustainable tourism.

This research found tourism planning in Copenhagen, a city not yet facing excessive tourism, has boldly taken steps towards re-imagining how tourism is marketed and dealt with. Significant effort in tackling or reversing the negative impacts of tourism has resulted in Copenhagen becoming a world leader in sustainable tourism practises and a role model for other cities to follow.

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“Overtourism is like planning a dinner party for 12 and 12,000 showing up”

(Elizabeth Becker)

1 Introduction

Cities around the globe have seen a significant increase in tourism in recent decades. This has had immense effects on many cities. According to the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), approximately 1.5 billion international tourist arrivals were recorded in 2019, representing a 4% increase over 2018 (International Tourism Highlights, 2019 Edition, 2019). This trend is expected to continue at a pace of 4-5% per year for the foreseeable future. Many cities are feeling overwhelmed by the sheer number of tourists and therefore the term “Overtourism” was introduced to describe the point when “the impact of tourism on a destination, or parts thereof, excessively influences perceived quality of life of citizens and/or quality of visitor experiences in a negative way” (ibid). In Martin’s *Tourism Planning and Tourismphobia: An Analysis of the Strategic Tourism Plan of Barcelona 2010-2015*, he addresses issues regarding shortcomings of current tourism models, identifying that “In the future, the international community will see anti-tourism manifestations and the so-called Tourismphobia as a priority” (Martin, 2018). The fear of this growing dissatisfaction with Overtourism demands attention and requires a comprehensive approach and a wide range of actions.



Figure 1: Anti tourism graffiti in Barcelona ("*Fed up with mass tourism, hotspots take away welcome mat* - *Global Times*", 2017)

In addition to increased tourism numbers, “World populations are increasingly moving from rural to urban centres, making for larger cities with greater population density than ever before. This is a global phenomenon across the spectrum of developed and developing economies. We are increasingly becoming an urban world” (Boyd, 2021). In 2015, According to The International Organization for Migration “it is estimated that around 3 million people are moving to cities every week” (ibid). This leads to the question, How can cities cope with increasing populations while also effectively promoting sustainable tourism? According to Najdeska and Rakicevik (2012), cities must focus on sustainably developing tourism in a way that gives a voice to the local community while maintaining a quality level of tourism (Najdeska and Rakicevik, 2012). Although they emphasise that “Sustainable tourism development mainly depends on the ability of the environment to ensure a stable and lasting basis for development” (ibid). Cities must rethink urban planning in order to accommodate

the additional populations with sustainability being a priority. They are facing overcrowding and some destinations simply do not have the carrying capacity to cope with the stress of increased tourism.

As international tourism numbers continue to trend upwards, cities must explore alternative methods to decrease the negative impacts that many are already facing. Inskeep states, “There is recognition that there are finite limitations to tourism development, both in terms of physical and social carrying capacity of destinations” (Inskeep, 1998). Many cities, such as Barcelona have seen a dramatic rise in tourism over the past few decades and, according to a Barcelona city council survey in 2017, many of its 1.6 million residents view tourism as the greatest threat to the city (Statistics and surveys | Tourism, 2017). This has resulted in many residents choosing to relocate to neighbourhoods outside the city due to many factors, including, but not limited to increased cost of living, overcrowding and loss of city identity (Brown, 2020). In cases such as this, it is essential that a city acknowledge that it can no longer accommodate additional tourists without impacting negatively on the city and its residents.

The nearly 32 million (Barcelona) tourists per year (Brown, 2020), forces the city to enact legislation in an attempt to reduce tourism numbers while attempting to increase the city's economic benefits from tourism. A study in 2008 conducted 252 surveys on whether a person is willing to pay an entrance fee to enter a protected area (Reynisdottir et. al, 2008). It found that 92% were willing to pay. This same study can be translated to cities as well. While Barcelona does not charge an entrance fee into the city, they have taken a separate approach altogether. Instead of penalising the tourist, their focus is instead on the industry itself. They have recently begun issuing fines to unlicensed Airbnb hosts, creating a cap on the number of new hotels being built, limiting the number of tourists at certain attractions, and are currently threatening to slash cruise ship passenger numbers and limit the city's airport expansion (Brown, 2020). Barcelona has gotten to the point where tourism numbers simply cannot grow without seriously damaging the city and its residents. Hereby recognising that, as stated by Inskeep, “[...] there are finite limitations to tourism development [...]” (Inskeep, 1998).



Figure 2: Crowded Street in Barcelona, Spain ("*Overtourism in Barcelona - Responsible Travel*", 2019)

Barcelona is not the only city experiencing an influx of “Overtourism”. Venice’s old city has a population hovering around 50,000 permanent residents yet attracts an estimated 22-30 million tourists a year (Tourist arrivals in Venice 2020 | Statista, 2021). Since the 1950s, Venice’s population has been steadily decreasing as the tourism numbers have been increasing. Today, the daily tourism population is larger than the number of residents in the city, with estimates ranging from 55,000-85,000 tourists a day, transforming the face of this historic city (International arrivals in Venice by country 2020 | Statista, 2021). As with Barcelona, many residents of Venice view tourism with hostility (Coldwell, 2017). On one hand, it brings additional economic benefits to the city, but on the other hand, many of those benefits are only seen by tourism-specific businesses. Apollo (2015) sees cities as “[A] delicate ecosystem being invaded by increasing levels of tourism activity” (Apollo, 2015) He believes that hostility towards tourism can increase if cities do not find solutions. In Venice, hostility has become more common as residents feel their city is being stripped from them (Coldwell, 2017). As Simmons states “many local and family-owned establishments are seeing a drastic decrease in profits, due to many factors, such as a decreased resident population, increased competition for real estate space, rising rent costs, among others” (Simmons, 2019).

“Venice is set to become more of a living museum than a real living city” (Eaglescliff, 2018).

To help preserve the city and limit tourism, as with Barcelona, multiple actions have taken place. From limiting the number of cruise ships, banning the creation of new hotels and introducing an access fee for tourists (Simmons, 2019). Venice is taking actions to not only preserve the city but attempting to create a liveable city once again. These imposed actions hope to create a sustainable tourism model where tourists can benefit the city without affecting the livelihoods of the residents.



Figure 3: Overcrowding in Venice, Italy ("Overtourism: Venice tries tracking tourists", 2021)

In both Barcelona and Venice, tourism numbers are increasingly impacting the everyday lives of its residents. Venice's population, for example, has decreased from nearly 200,000 in 1950 to 50,000 today (Ebhardt, 2021). Increased tourism inherently results in the increased cost of living, overcrowded public transportation, a reduction of well-paid employment, retail stores being replaced by tourist souvenir shops, and rising housing costs. In addition to affecting economic and social aspects, tourism has been shown to be detrimental to the environment as well, producing increased air, water and noise pollution. Mass tourism is changing the face of many cities and therefore must be addressed in new and innovative ways (Eaglescliff, 2018). Barcelona and Venice are just two extreme examples of what can happen if tourism is left

unregulated for too long. However, with a properly functioning tourism model, a city can benefit greatly by tourism. Through experimental and trial and error methods, cities are discovering ways to welcome tourism, while maintaining the liveability of the city, or in some cases increase it.

1.1 Copenhagen



Figure 4: Canal tourism in Nyhavn ("American Tourists flocking to Copenhagen", 2016)

Copenhagen, the Capital city of Denmark with a population of approximately 632,000 residents, has seen a rise in the number of tourists by 74% from 2008 - 2018, resulting in just over 10 million overnight visitors in 2018 (Tourism for Good, 2020). Furthermore, the number of tourists is expected to double by 2030 (ibid). Wonderful Copenhagen works with the city to promote and develop business and leisure tourism and has created a research entity called *10x Copenhagen*. Its primary focus is to gauge the “Copenhageners’ perception and experience of tourism in their daily lives” (TCI Research, 2018). The rapid growth of tourism in Copenhagen has made it necessary to re-evaluate current tourism strategies in the hopes of preventing over-tourism. In 2020, Wonderful Copenhagen published their new initiative entitled *The End of Tourism as We Know It*. In this publication, Wonderful Copenhagen outlines its visions for the future of Copenhagen tourism. The focus has shifted from economic gains and mass tourism, to creating a sense of “*Localhood*” and sustainable

tourism. While increasing tourism remains a principal goal for Wonderful Copenhagen, they have chosen to place more emphasis on the interaction between tourists and locals. The hope is that by involving both actors, tourists in Copenhagen will develop a relationship with the city and locals will no longer view tourists as nuisances and instead see them as beneficial additions to the city.

“As we strengthen the efforts to attract more visitors, we must keep in mind both the liveability of the locals and the great visitor experience. In other words, we need to facilitate the meeting between locals and visitors. If we fail to do so, we simply risk that the locals will turn against tourism – and vice versa. Looking at it like this, visitor growth in itself is not a goal. Increasing the value of visitors for all parties is”
(Tourism for Good, 2020)

Wonderful Copenhagen fully acknowledges the increased number of tourists; however, they avoid using the term over-tourism, and according to the research conducted by 10xCopenhagen, residents’ perceptions regarding tourism are near the European Union averages in most categories (TCI Research, 2018). Therefore, according to Wonderful Copenhagen’s actions, over-tourism is not deemed a problem at this current time. However, many of the responses have shown an increased intolerance towards tourism from 2018-2020 (ibid). The implications of over-tourism negatively affecting the city and its’ residents deserve to be explored further. To gain greater insight on how residents view tourism, 10xCopenhagen publishes bi-annual reports outlining the residents' opinions regarding tourism. In addition to analysing Wonderful Copenhagen and its approaches, this research aims to discover whether Copenhagen’s’ approach to tourism management is effective, how tourism is reshaping the city and if increased regulations can create a tourism model that provides sustainable tourism. In addition, it is used to discover potential problem areas, such as what residents in each district fear the most, allowing Wonderful Copenhagen to focus specifically on resolving those fears.

1.2 Research Questions

Based on the challenges described above, two research questions were formulated. These questions aim to uncover the concept of Overtourism and analyse the process of tourism planning in Copenhagen. As well as how sustainable tourism can be achieved through the

utilization of available strategies.

- 1. What implications/challenges has Overtourism placed upon cities**
- 2. How does the utilisation of Copenhagen's current tourism strategies ensure sustainable tourism growth?**

The first question will be used to uncover how tourism is viewed on a global level, as well as how cities are impacted by it. It will introduce the concept of Overtourism and provide strategies that cities use to lessen its impact.

The second question chooses to place the focus on Copenhagen. It will connect concepts such as Doxey's Irridex and The Right to City to Copenhagen's tourism planning. Strategies used by Copenhagen to create sustainable tourism will be introduced to discover how the current tourism model shapes the city along with its results.

2 Theoretical Framework

Although tourism is often seen as simply visiting a location, the United Nations World Tourism Organization defines it as “a social, cultural and economic phenomenon which entails the movement of people to countries or places outside their usual environment for personal or business/professional purposes” (UNWTO, 2008). If one were to deconstruct the UNWTO definition, tourism becomes even more complex, adding multiple variables. In this, the conceptual framework illustrates the relationships between the elements of tourism and its variables. “Both positive and negative impacts will occur when tourists interact with the local destination and its people” (Mathieson & Wall 1982, p. 20). To further understand these impacts, one must acknowledge that tourism consists of multiple complex components. A Conceptual framework is used to highlight links, as well impacts of tourism as part of a larger context, proving beneficial in understanding how these impacts occur.

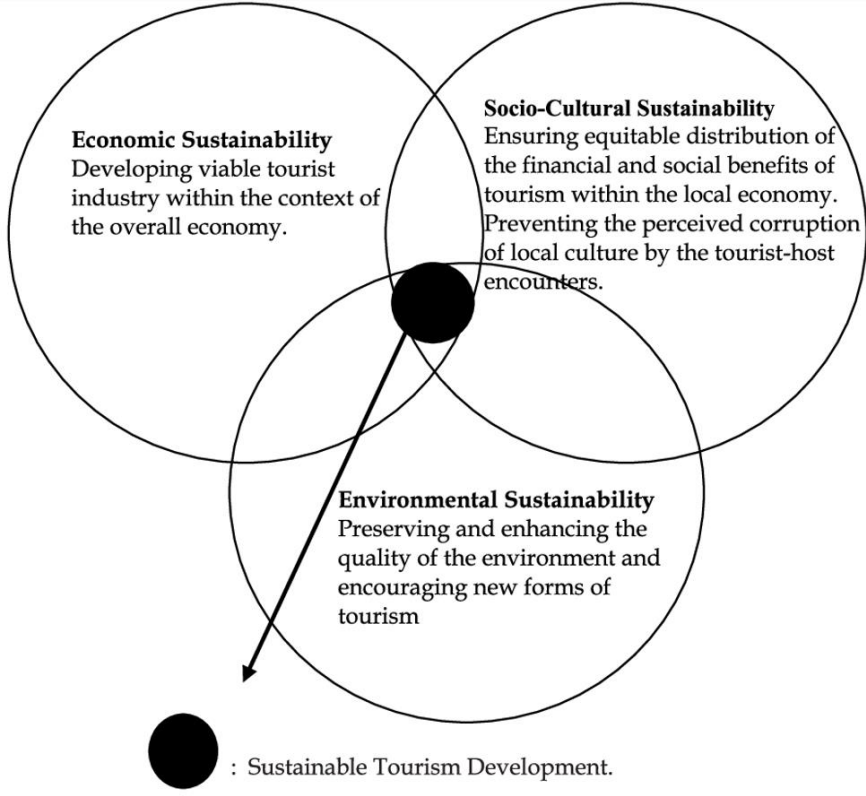


Figure 5: Sustainable Tourism Development model (Oktay, 2012)

As evident from the above figure (figure 5), the concept of sustainable tourism contains multiple variables that inevitably interact. This results in the overall impact of tourism. As shown above, Matheson and Wall believe that the affected impacts are Economic, Environmental and Social. Furthermore, these impacts must be addressed to sustainably manage tourism. In Copenhagen, there are more than 10 million overnight stays per year, with estimates further expanding that number to 16 million by 2030 (Tourism for Good, 2020). In a city of approximately 800,000 residents in the city, or 1.3 million in the combined metro area (Statistikbanken, 2021), one can see that the amount of tourism the city attracts will inevitably alter all three of Wall's affected impacts. Thus, Copenhagen must adapt a tourism plan to not only accommodate current tourism numbers, but one that plans for expansion in the future. This thesis will explore current strategies to help mitigate the phenomena of over-tourism. In addition to analysing Wonderful Copenhagen's current strategies, a view into past strategies will provide insight into how Copenhagen tourism arrived at its current state.

2.1 Environmental effects of tourism

Tourism often takes a great toll on the environment. Therefore, it should be prioritized within the tourism industry. Sustainability and tourism must coexist in order to maintain a healthy tourism sector. According to Boers & Bosch (1994), "The rapid growth of tourist activities in certain areas at a specific time is one of the reasons why tourism is affecting the environment" (Boers & Bosch 1994 pp. 19,23). Many consequences of unsustainable tourism can be seen in the form of waste disposal, water pollution, and air quality. A quick internet search will result in many online news articles praising Copenhagen's steps towards becoming a sustainable or carbon neutral city. Like many cities, Copenhagen strives to maintain a low level of environmental damage and in many cases attempts to reverse the already existing damage that a city of its size has caused. Many neighbourhoods are being overhauled to accommodate environmental aspects. One such example is the Klimakvarter or Climate Quarter (figure 6). It has been described as Copenhagen's First climate resilient neighbourhood. It was transformed from treeless streets and cement plazas to green corridors, green streets and green courtyards, all focused extensively on mitigating the effects of climate change while educating users.



Figure 6: Climate District in Østerbro Copenhagen (Tredje Natur, 2017)

Projects such as this are aimed at reducing environmental pollution, a problem accelerated by tourism. Environmental Pollution threatens many tourist destinations, Copenhagen included, because good environmental quality is often important to maintain tourists' interest in returning. Pollution can negatively affect the air, soil and water conditions, creating a less liveable or travelable city. With increased populations of both residents and tourists, automobile traffic inherently increases. Exhaust emissions cause environmental acidification, potentially harming the cultural heritage sites. "Acid precipitation is harming buildings and other monuments with historic value" (Boers & Bosch 1994 p. 23). Increased tourism can be damaging to the water as well. "Water pollution affects lakes, rivers, harbours and seas, which can lead to the swimming bans, potentially harming a destination desirability where water attractions are a key interest for tourists" (Boers & Bosch 1994 p. 24). While problems with increased pollution can affect Copenhagen as a city, it also can have detrimental effects on the Earth itself. "Pollution causes issues with smog, depletion of ozone layer and the greenhouse effect, among others" (Boers & Bosch 1994 pp. 25-26). These environmental impacts are accelerated in tourist destinations, such as Copenhagen. Overall, tourism can potentially be an environmental nightmare and it is through careful planning and innovative solutions, that Copenhagen can offset these negative impacts and create sustainable tourism.

Copenhagen has taken many steps to prevent these issues. The once polluted waterways of the city have been cleaned up to the point that they are now swimming hotspots for both residents and visitors. Public transportation is increasingly moving towards electric vehicles, with the Metro, City Busses and hybrid inner city trains all choosing this method in an attempt to lower air and noise pollutants. Inner city development has been increasingly focused on reducing the amount of vehicle traffic by closing roadways, increasing parking costs, improving cycling paths, creating noise reducing roadways and rerouting traffic. Furthermore, Copenhagen has been continuously experimenting with ways to create green neighbourhoods, often including residents in these decisions (The Capital of Sustainable Development, 2019). Overall, Copenhagen has a strong focus on environmental issues, although like most cities, there is always room for improvement.

2.2 Social effects of tourism

Quality of life changes, due to tourism, can be considered a social impact. According to Cooper (2016), regarding tourism, quality of life is altered in the following ways.

- **Tourists** – Create change in the host destination by highlighting traits such as cultural, linguistic and wealth differences. As Copenhagen attracts many foreigners, their culture is inherently absorbed by many of the locals and vice-versa. Furthermore, Wonderful Copenhagen and their new initiative of *Localhood*, intends to intertwine lives of residents and tourists even more.
- **Hosts** – Provide an experience and interact directly with tourists in the host city. Wonderful Copenhagen has become the city's official DMO, but many smaller and often volunteer organisations have been created to welcome foreign visitors to the city. Many of these organisations, such as *Dine with the Danes*, *Meet the Danes* and *Dinner with a Dane* were created with the sole intention of providing insight into the Danish people and their culture.
- **The relationship between tourists and hosts** – “This interaction helps bridge the cultural gap between societies, both experience long-term consequences when they interact” (Cooper 2016 p.101). Combining *Localhood*, *Dine with the Danes*, *Meet the Danes* and *Dinner with a Dane*, these initiatives aim to strengthen this relationship between tourists and hosts.

Impacting social and cultural changes is dependent on the type and the number of tourists. Likewise, impacts can vary dependent on the encounter itself. Contact can occur in numerous situations. “Firstly, tourists can be side by side with hosts in public areas, such as at a beach or a park. Secondly, commercial transactions often represent brief contacts. Thirdly, tourists and hosts can have face-to-face conversations” (Mathieson & Wall 1982 p. 135-137). Although contact between a host and tourist often creates an impact, it is possible to have an impact even without personal contact. A destination that regularly deals with tourism can become influenced by common attitudes of the tourist and spread this throughout the destination. “Tourism can drive locals to change their behaviour and living patterns” (Cooper 2016, p.103-106). Furthermore, depending on the type of tourist, a host destination can be influenced in several ways. Mathieson & Wall, suggest that tourists can be categorised into four groups based on the roles the tourist follows. Each category seeks specific elements of familiarity. They are as follows:

1. **The organized mass tourist** – Very little planning is done by the tourists themselves. The organizer (often an agency) creates an itinerary for the tourist to follow. These mass tourists desire familiarity. A common form of organized mass tourism is cruise ship tourism. Many are all inclusive, providing meals, beds and entertainment for the price of the ticket. Unfortunately, these all-inclusive mass tourism options provide little benefits to cities, many people spend a few hours in the city taking photos and then return to the ship for dinner and drinks.
2. **The individual mass tourist** – Similar to the organized mass tourists, an agency creates all major travel arrangements, while the tourist has little input regarding the timetable and planning. Detailed itineraries are created by an, often, private tour agency and the tourist need to make very few choices themselves. Many come to Copenhagen and visit the tourist hotspots such as Tivoli, The Little Mermaid, Nyhavn, Christiania and the inner city and spend very little time discovering alternative attractions or neighbourhoods. This category of tourist has declined over the last decades, although it is often popular with wealthier, older or family tourists.

3. **The explorer** – No agency is involved, and these tourists are free to plan their own trips. Major tourist attractions are often avoided as this tourist has a desire to be in contact with the local residents. Complete integration into a destination does not occur, but these tourists prefer novelty over familiarity. The overly touristed locations such as Tivoli and Nyhavn are often viewed from a distance, rather than entering these areas. There is flexibility in this method, allowing the tourist to experience a touch of “the drifter” as well. Although, depending on several factors, “the explorer” may choose to avoid straying from their predetermined travel choices.
4. **The drifter** – Plans are very minimal or non-existent and this tourist has full control of their visit. The desire to live with locals and immerse themselves into the local culture is of great importance. “[Drifters] normally value novelty and may avoid familiarity in destinations” (Mathieson & Wall 1982 p. 19). Often these “drifters” will spend much of their time in neighbourhoods outside of the inner city, such as Nørrebro, where much more cultural diversity is displayed and many tourists from the other categories will likely avoid. Spontaneity is common with the drifter, often deciding where to go and what to see depending on their mood.

Each group adapts to the host destination in their own ways. Both the drifter and the explorer represent early-stage tourists, adapting fully to the local conditions. On the other side of the spectrum are the organized mass tourists. “The adaptation of mass tourists is poor, and they often demand their own amenities” (Cooper 2016, p.102). Mass tourism is the most detrimental to cities in general. They often refuse to adopt local customs, ignore legalities and spend little money outside dedicated tourism focused businesses. While the explorer and the drifter often place emphasis on respecting locals and their city. However, this is merely a generalisation and does not hold true for all members of each category. Furthermore, realisation by a tourism planner that tourists are not a one-size-fits-all problem is essential in planning a sustainable tourism model.

2.3 Economic Effects

Increasing capital is an important aspect for city growth. Not only can it provide funding for improving infrastructure, but it is also responsible for the safety and general liveability of the

city's users. As tourism continues to grow, cities can benefit from the additional cash flow. However, if tourism is mismanaged or grows at a pace that the city cannot manage, tourism can have detrimental effects on a city. Therefore, a balance must be found where the benefits outweigh the negative effects of tourism. According to Mayer & Vogt (2016), "Tourism is often regarded [...] as an economic development path for structurally weak, peripheral areas, as a cure-all providing jobs and income, capital inflow and finally stopping outmigration by creating a positive socio-economic perspective for the future" (Mayer and Vogt, 2016). However, these expectations often are not met, impacting the destination negatively. Furthermore, it can be argued that to achieve true economic tourism benefits, it requires the city to be better off with tourism than without. While increased tourism naturally brings increased finances, that additional flow of cash often must be used to maintain an expected level of amenities, therefore negating the net benefits. "While the economic contribution of tourism measures the size and overall significance of the industry within an economy, *economic impact* refers to the changes in the economic contribution resulting from specific events or activities that comprise 'shocks' to the tourism system. This should not be confused with the contribution itself" (Dwyer, Forsyth and Dwyer, 2010). Contribution refers to the actual monetary value the tourists add to the destination. Although, in many tourist destinations, tourists spend little to no money. Examples can include parks, free museums or city streets. Tourists use these amenities, but do not contribute directly to them, leaving the city to maintain these attractions with funds collected outside of the tourism industry.

Economic impacts of tourism can be seen as a double-edged sword. On one hand, tourists shop, eat at restaurants and pay for transportation, while on the other hand, they visit areas that do not require entrance fees, straining attractions without contributing financially. Economic impacts can be both positive and negative to a destination. Therefore, from an economic standpoint, a destination, such as Copenhagen, must determine the value of tourism and act accordingly.

2.4 Carrying capacity

As Overtourism concerns become more widespread, one must consider the connection between Overtourism and the city's liveability. The connection is heavily influenced by a destination's carrying capacity. Mathieson and Wall (1982 p. 21) have described carrying capacity as following: "The maximum number who can use a site without unacceptable

deterioration in the physical environment and without an unacceptable decline in the quality of experience gained by visitors”. Carrying capacity can be used to measure the relationship between tourism stress on the city’s environment and the destination’s ability to tolerate it. A balance should be met to ensure the carrying capacity is not exceeded. When a destination’s carrying capacity is exceeded, its environment becomes stressed. However, carrying capacity is subjective, and different stakeholders; locals, tourists, managers, etc. can have very different views on when the environment is under pressure (Cooper 2016, p.79). Cooper describes five elements that can affect a destination’s carrying capacity:

1. **Physical** – refers to measuring the space. This is the most straightforward element of carrying capacity. It represents anything in a destination that takes up space, such as a seat on a bench, a sidewalk or road. Cities do not have infinite physical space, therefore the necessity to limit growth becomes apparent.
2. **Environmental or biological** – referring to the level of usage on the environment before harm occurs. Increased users of a city can have detrimental effects on the environment.
3. **Psychological or behavioural** – too many tourists or too few tourists can affect one's opinions of a city, as well as their behaviour towards it. A balance in numbers must be met to ensure behaviours do not become aggressive towards tourism.
4. **Social** – refers to the destination's tolerance towards tourism. Like above but affects the daily lives of the resident to a greater extent. A link to Doxey’s Irridex can be used here to view how residents feel towards increased tourism.
5. **Economic** – the point where additional economic investment becomes necessary to reduce the harm caused by excessive tourism. Tourism brings in money, but there may be a point where liveability trumps economic benefits. Furthermore, not all attractions at a destination provide economic gains.

Carrying Capacity and its impacts are affected by both the characteristics of the tourist and the destination. “The type of tourist characteristics can vary the magnitude of the influence that the visitors have on the destination and its carrying capacity” (Mathieson & Wall 1982 p. 22). Furthermore, physical space is a concern for the overall carrying capacity. In

Copenhagen, many of the most visited areas of the city are located in the inner city, thus putting immense pressure on a relatively small area. It is important for a destination to recognize their carrying capacity using these identifiers in order to prevent negative impacts.

2.5 Doxey's Irridex (interactions and involvement of locals/tourists)

In 1976, Doxey's Irridex was devised to explain the stages of interaction between tourists and hosts. According to the theory, as more tourists arrive at a destination, the attitude of the host is impacted, shifting from positive to negative. (Figure 7).

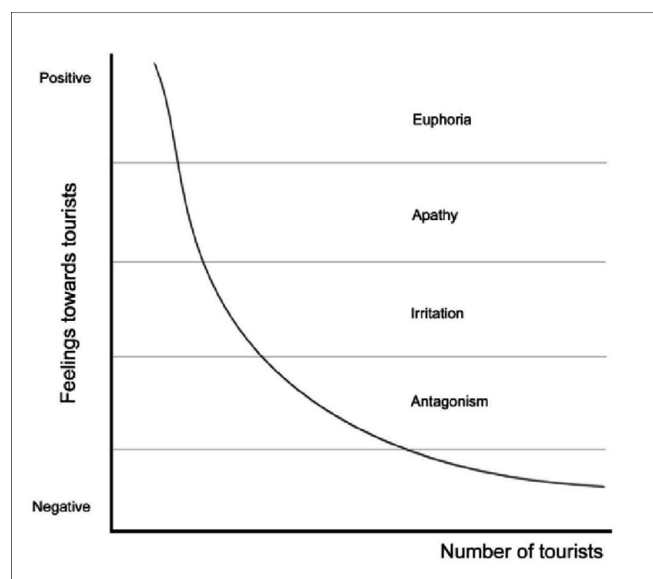


Figure 7: Doxey's Irridex scale (Sholtz, 2014)

Doxey suggests that when few tourists visit a destination, tourism is new and interesting for the host. Therefore, tourists are welcomed, providing a feeling of *Euphoria* to the residents. As this progresses into increased tourism numbers over a period of time, contact begins to become more formal. Residents lose interest in the tourist and enter the *Apathy* stage. When growth increases further with an expectation to continue to grow, locals begin to feel concerned. Fears can include increased crime rates, cost of living increases and rude or disrespectful tourists. This is when the residents enter the stage of *Irritation*. Finally, once tourism has gotten to the point where the resident becomes visually upset, they enter the

Antagonism stage. Tourism is no longer welcome, and residents begin to blame tourists for damaging the liveability of their city (Reisinger, 2009 pp. 220-221).

It would be difficult to pinpoint exactly where Copenhagen lies on Doxey's Irridex, but one can argue that to a certain degree that all four feelings are in place, depending on the location and people living or using that location. There are obvious frustrations regarding tourists using the cycling infrastructure, as respondents to 10x Copenhagen's *Resident Sentiment Index* point out (figure 16), to the point where locals can be over aggressive towards out-of-towners for failing to use the bike lanes properly. In this regard, we can say that the *irritation*, or even *antagonism* stage is activated. While in less visited areas of the city, residents interact less with tourists and therefore may view them as a welcome presence. Again, we can refer to 10x Copenhagen's research in seeing that many of the areas that see few tourists appreciate and encourage additional tourism, believing that their neighbourhood will benefit (figure 19). Avoiding the *antagonism* stage is of utmost importance for the city of Copenhagen. Development and use of effective tools to ensure tourism does not overwhelm particular areas of the city are issues that are discussed regularly within the city's tourism planning sector. It is through effective planning that Copenhagen hopes to avoid the problems that many cities struggle with while facing mass tourism.

2.6 The Right to The City

Cities are often simplified, in the fact that many people think of one as merely a crowded area with an established infrastructure. In reality, a city is much more complex. One simply cannot ignore a city's users, whether they be residents, business owners, employees or tourists. Henri Lefebvre's *The Right to the City* (1968) brings into question, Who does a city belong to? Overtourism is credited for harming landscapes, straining infrastructure and ultimately affecting a city's residents. Although, tourism can provide much needed capital into a city. This presents difficulties for city officials, on one hand the additional income can be greatly beneficial to a growing city, but on the other it could possibly impact its residents in a negative way. Lefebvre argued that urban life often is forcibly taking a backseat to capitalism, in other words cities value money more than the happiness of its residents. His argument continued; all inhabitants are entitled to use of the city. During his research, Lefebvre witnessed that social interactions were being restricted by the government and his core belief was that "use-value of space should be given priority over its economic value" (Steiger,

2011). According to Lefebvre “[people have a right to] urban life, to renewed centrality, to places of encounter and exchange, to life rhythms and time uses, enabling the full and complete usage of these moments and places” (Lefebvre, 1996; 179).

Building upon Lefebvre’s research to add a modern aspect to it, David Harvey, in his essay *The Right to the City* published in *The New Left Review*, stated; “The right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city. It is, moreover, a common rather than an individual right since this transformation inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanization. The freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves is, I want to argue, one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights.” (Harvey, 2008; 23). To Harvey, equal rights to the city are essential, but these rights are being suppressed by capitalism. Tourism is often a prime example of this by subjecting its residents to the negative impacts of over tourism in the name of capital gains.

The goals of capitalism bring about difficulty for dissatisfied individuals or groups to create change. Users of a city are restricted by the lack of a democratic way to express their needs and wants. To truly change a city, the users of that city need to have their voices heard.

Lefebvre viewed the right of the city as a right of all residents. He felt that the city bases their decisions on Capitalism, rather than the wants of the residents. He believed that the city should accommodate all users in its city planning issues, not focus solely on profits. Lefebvre believed cities belonged to everyone, but his emphasis on the importance of these individuals in changing the city was unclear. Therefore Harvey, after witnessing much of the social struggles, injustice and inequalities globally, placed more focus on the individual’s right to change their city. One that meets their own needs, ideas and beliefs. His argument was that human rights are being stripped from the residents and that these residents need to have a much larger and more powerful voice in the city’s decisions. We can apply these theories to the struggles between the city, its residents and tourists. Wonderful Copenhagen focuses on giving a voice to each actor, in the hopes to not only provide the basic human rights they deserve, but improve cities in a sustainable manner.

2.7 Strategies and tools for sustainable tourism

Tourism is not a new concept and while many cities have greatly benefited from its increase, many others have experienced the negative effects that inherently coexist with it. To pursue those benefits while eliminating the negatives, cities have devised extensive tourism strategies. These strategies can vary dramatically depending on the location and amount of tourism in a destination. While many cities are trying to promote attractions in the hopes of increasing tourism, many others are frantically experimenting with ways to maintain or reduce the number of visitors. As one can imagine, the effective management of the tourism industry can be complicated. A balance must be achieved, whereas the negative effects do not outweigh the positive.

Barcelona, a city with a population of 1.6 million residents, averages nearly 32 million tourists each year (Brown, 2020). Of these 32 million tourists, nearly half are mere 'Day Trippers', mainly due to the large cruise ships that enter port ("Overtourism in Barcelona - Responsible Travel", 2019). These temporary guests spend little money outside tourist cafes and souvenir stalls. The tourists that do book accommodation, rarely spend more than 2 nights in the city, many using Airbnb rather than hotels (ibid). In addition to this, there is often much hostility from locals that feel that tourism has invaded an already congested city (Brown, 2020). The problems in Barcelona have led to city officials testing various methods to lessen the negative impacts to the city and its residents, such as limiting the number of tourists in certain areas, a temporary stop on licenses for tourist accommodation, or imposing fees for tourists in certain areas, while residents can enter for free. In addition to these changes, Barcelona has launched its *Strategic Plan for Tourism 2020*, shifting the focus from promotion and increasing numbers to more sustainable tourism.

Copenhagen, although heavily touristed, has not seen the same drastic effects due to tourism as Barcelona has. Although, tourist activity is steadily rising and many fear that Copenhagen may attract far more tourists that it can effectively handle in the coming years (The Local, 2019). Therefore, it must be closely monitored, and adaptations must continually happen to maintain a sustainable tourism level.

3 Methods

3.1 Design

As this research aims to investigate the impacts of over-tourism and Copenhagen's response, secondary research or "desktop" research was used. The data collected in this research is based on secondary data from various reputable sources, deeming it a suitable approach when studying phenomena. "The "secondary data" refers to a type of data, which "already exists and has been collected in the past for some purpose quite unconnected to our project" (Jackson, 1994, p. 20, cited in Zhou and Nunes, 2016). The ability to base this research on a large scope of data provides a broad understanding of the topic on hand. Additionally, due to the current Covid-19 epidemic, the scope of data available by using secondary sources far outweighs the availability of primary data. Furthermore, secondary data provides the opportunity to uncover data that has been collected over a long period of time. This will inherently provide a more thorough understanding of the phenomena of over-tourism

Although desktop research provides many advantages, it fails to allow the researcher to collect his/her own data. The accuracy of previously collected data can be difficult to evaluate (n.d.). Furthermore, the data used may be outdated and therefore not relevant to the current study. However, since over-tourism is a relatively recent term, data from secondary sources will likely be applicable in this research. Regarding the validity of secondary data, it must be noted that many sources may reflect bias or otherwise be unreliable. This research has carefully evaluated news articles, academic journals and publications to determine if the given source can be trusted. The data collected for this research has been based on secondary data, therefore it may be that their data was gathered with a different purpose in mind. This was considered in this research and only relevant, reliable sources were used.

Although tourism shares many similarities in many cities, it is difficult to make the generalization that what works in one location will work in another. Therefore, providing a clearer understanding of exactly how Copenhagen is managing its tourism sector has been made a priority rather than a comparative study of cities in similar positions. This provided an opportunity to create a descriptive case study to develop a deep understanding of Copenhagen's current tourism plan which would inherently uncover the tools and strategies that Wonderful Copenhagen is currently employing, as well as their results.

3.2 Data Collection

An initial interest in tourism planning and Scandinavia provided motivation for this research and the researcher's current location, Copenhagen, has been steadily gaining global attention as a tourist destination. This led to choosing Copenhagen and Overtourism as a field. After initial data collection, it was discovered that, although tourism is quickly growing in the city, it is not to the point of oversaturation. Therefore, to properly understand Copenhagen as a tourism destination, a variety of techniques were employed. Keywords were identified, relevant sources were found, and suitable data was processed. Document analysis and on-site (city) observation provided an initial understanding of the case, although an interview with the DMO, Wonderful Copenhagen was sought after, due to the current Covid-19 epidemic, this was not possible. Therefore, this research chose to utilize Wonderful Copenhagen's extensive reports to uncover its strategies for handling future tourism. As well as initially seeking an interview with WC, various interviews with residents and tourists were planned for, but again, because of Covid-19, the tourism industry is in an irregular time. Therefore, results are likely to differ from what is a typical tourism year. Again, utilizing Wonderful Copenhagen's reports, as well as other relevant articles, provided a deeper understanding of the tourism norm.

While searching for general information regarding tourism and its effects, many issues arose much more frequently than others, including, but not limited to, rising rent costs, decreasing permanent resident populations, demonstrations against tourism, oversaturation of short-term rentals, environmental and social decline, and Overtourism. Many of these issues were used in describing cities such as Barcelona in Spain, Venice in Italy, and Dubrovnik in Croatia. Although, as the research continued, it was discovered that tourism in Copenhagen is seen as potentially problematic as well (United Nations, 2019). This made Copenhagen tourism planning an interesting and relevant topic. It is a historic city, one that presents itself as environmentally and socially conscious, one that takes pride in the liveability of the city; therefore, the presence of an ever-expanding tourist base provides challenges that deserve to be studied.

3.3 Sampling

To test the research questions, a case was needed where tourism is commonplace, and the potential of over-tourism was present. As previously mentioned, this research chose to focus on the city of Copenhagen, due to its relatively large tourism industry that expects to continually grow. Currently, Wonderful Copenhagen does not speak specifically about over-tourism, but they acknowledge that as tourism continues to expand, the city and its people will inherently be affected (Tourism for Good, 2020). Furthermore, they address the challenges that increased tourism will have on the city if a new model of tourism is not implemented (ibid). This research chose to outline Copenhagen's current and future tourism models.

To explore the tourism industry of Copenhagen, this thesis relies heavily on the official DMO of Copenhagen, *Wonderful Copenhagen*, although media reports and existing academic articles were used as well. A primary focus of this research is based on Wonderful Copenhagen's current strategies, providing real-life examples of tourism in the city and its abilities to successfully manage them. Due to the continually evolving nature of tourism, the future plans of tourism management are essential in this research, as this would provide insight into what the city may look like while providing a full timeline that can be examined.

An initial analysis of Copenhagen tourism - including, on-site observations and document analysis - revealed that Copenhagen is a suitable case for this thesis. Its continually expanding tourism industry, willingness to modify past tourism models and unique approach to future tourism has created an interesting case. Additionally, the familiarity and location of the researcher played an important role in choosing Copenhagen for this research.

3.4 Document analysis

To fully understand the current and future state of tourism in Copenhagen, background data was essential. This was gained via document analysis, primarily the documents created by Wonderful Copenhagen, but not excluding the many journals, news articles and websites. Bowen describes document analysis as "a form of qualitative research in which documents are interpreted by the researcher to give voice and meaning around an assessment topic" (Bowen, 2009). It is valuable in terms of determining what data is credible. Through

analysing multiple documents, the research can apply triangulation. In other words, the researcher can compare multiple documents to discover a common thread, thereby ensuring credible data is collected. This is especially important since this research relies solely on second-hand data. While document analysis assists in seeking out and discovering reliable and unbiased data, it inherently limits the researcher in producing primary, or firsthand, data. In addition to this, the data collected may be incomplete, inaccurate, out of data or not match the research at hand. These are just a few challenges that document analysis presents, although with effective selection of documents, accurate and thorough research of a topic can be gained.

During this research, the documents analysed primarily came from Wonderful Copenhagen. Independent studies on news articles on tourism and tourism planning were used to further supplement this research, as well as publications from cities suffering from over-tourism. The chosen documents were interpreted using their text, as well as any visual and audio data such as promotional videos or online interviews. To interpret the data, Qualitative analysis was utilized for representations of tourism management, the author's priorities, as well as the narratives which were used in delivering these priorities. The overarching theme was identified through document analysis, while the representation of this theme (the narrative, such as which data was used to demonstrate tourism management) was uncovered using content analysis. Utilizing this method revealed an initial understanding of opinions of the actors involved in Copenhagen tourism and how the future of tourism will take shape.

Overtourism, and tourism in general, has garnered a lot of attention recently, therefore, beneficial to this research, an analysis of the media would provide a broader understanding of the current state of tourism, as well as what the future may hold. The concept of media analysis is useful in examining how concepts, such as tourism (or over-tourism), are represented in the media, thus providing an understanding of public opinion towards a concept (Pen & the Pad, 2018). Research into Overtourism revealed many relevant news articles that were deemed trustworthy. Qualitative analysis of these news articles was utilized to look for keywords that capture opinion (for example "wonderful", "concerning", "sustainable tourism" or "liveability"), thereby creating an overall impression of how a media source represents and understands the concept of tourism.

This research used general media regarding tourism to conduct its media analysis. Once found, they were analysed to discover if they portrayed tourism as positive or negative to the city and its residents, as well as its tourists. Many of these media articles were linked directly from Wonderful Copenhagen's website, leading to a possible bias in favour of the methods and motives of Wonderful Copenhagen. Therefore, additional media sources were sought after to provide a balance.

Through the use of the internet, a quick search revealed multiple media outlets reporting on global tourism, as well as tourism in Copenhagen. The initial search resulted in many news articles written in English, although when researching specific cities, such as Barcelona or Venice, many reports were written in a language native to the city. However, as both cities are quite international, finding English articles did not prove difficult. Similar results were found when researching Copenhagen's tourism industry. It was discovered that national media was written almost entirely in Danish. Due to language limitations of this researcher, only English-speaking Danish media outlets were used. This greatly reduced the amount of Danish perspective media resources available, however, it eliminates the possibility of mistranslations. Although, through document and media analysis, the chosen English news articles were deemed reliable, this researcher feels that the English articles provide the reader with an overview on how the media understands tourism in Denmark. To supplement the English-written Danish articles, international media outlets were used. As with Barcelona and Venice, Copenhagen is seen as an international city that attracts many foreign tourists and, as English is considered an international language, many global media outlets have reported on Copenhagen and its tourist scene.

Analysing various media sources provides an understanding of how tourism is perceived by the press. The opinion the Media has is spread to the public, therefore the signal they send is valuable in terms of what knowledge the reader receives. This knowledge has the potential to create a change in the public's view of tourism.

Finally, many academic articles were analysed and then applied to tourism planning, for example, Lefebvre's *The Right to the City* was used to bring in the concept of who the city belongs to and how they become stakeholders in tourism planning. Additionally, *Doxey's*

Irridex was used in combination with 10x Copenhagen's research to demonstrate the connection between excessive tourism and residents' satisfaction level.

Copenhagen, while it is well touristed, has not seen the same mass scale tourism as cities such as Barcelona or Venice. Although, increasing numbers over recent years has become worrisome. Former Lord Mayor of Copenhagen, Frank Jensen has stated many times (C40, State of Green, Smartcitiesdive) that Copenhagen is a world leader in sustainability, however tourism, if handled improperly, can pose a risk to overall sustainability, including environmental, human, social and economic. The chosen method of document/media analysis can, through concept analysis, determine if sustainability is a central concern regarding tourism.

3.5 Site Observations

While document analysis is used to gain an understanding of the tourism impact through the eyes of others, an on-site observation can provide a personal and more specific view of the issue. The on-site observation method was chosen to add increased depth to understanding tourism in Copenhagen. Unlike the detached method of document analysis, on-site observation affords the opportunity to experience a case personally (McLeod, 2015). While an increased participatory aspect to on-site observation was initially sought after, due to the current Covid-19 epidemic, it was decided against. However, placing oneself in areas where tourism is present allows the researcher to physically view the flows of tourism. In addition, it provides this thesis with the researcher's own thoughts and feelings, as well as guiding the analysis with an embodied experience (Pink & Morgan, 2013). A limitation of strictly document analysis removes the first-hand experience one can provide to the research at hand. On-site observation allows the researcher to assess whether the document and media portrayal of the case is accurate. This assists in revealing a bias that may be present in the media or academic articles, thus identifying an actor's narrative.

On-site observations may involve simply observing a site or allow the researcher to interact with the users of that said site. In this case, the city, its residents, and its tourists create the site. These observations can utilize short-term ethnography, a technique that benefits from

the detailed understanding of a traditional ethnographic study, but is implemented in a much shorter, more intense time frame (Pink & Morgan, 2013).

To extend this researcher's existing knowledge of how tourism is affecting Copenhagen, multiple tourist hotspots were explored and observed. However, the primary locations were Nyhavn and the inner-city street of Strøget. These areas are well-known locations that receive a great number of tourists. Upon visiting, it was apparent, due to the large camera-toting groups and many foreign languages spoken, that even in the current state of Covid-19, many of the visitors were not from Copenhagen.



Figure 8: Researchers own photo during the on-site observation of Nyhavn

Although these on-site observations were conducted in the early fall, a time where tourism numbers are usually lower, tourists still made use of these sites. The researcher followed Pink & Morgan's guidelines, using the embodied experience to guide the on-site analysis. For example, insights were gained into how it would feel to live, work, or travel in the chosen

areas, as well as how the tourists interact with the city and its residents. This allowed for a first-hand experience of how the city of Copenhagen accommodates tourism.

3.6 Data Analysis

Once the above methods were used to collect data, it was then descriptively analysed. A descriptive analysis's aim is to portray the data as accurately as possible. It helps “describe, show or summarize data points in a constructive way such that patterns might emerge that fulfil every condition of the data” (Rawat, 2021). This results in supplying the reader with additional meaning, which can be applied to an existing understanding. A benefit of this approach is its ability to reduce the potential bias that arises from the researcher’s findings. This technique is useful in a case such as tourism as it can provide a clearer understanding of the current and future trends of tourism in a city such as Copenhagen.

Discovering the narratives of the documents assessed was essential to the analysis. A strong interest in how sustainability, tourism planning and liveability of the residents provided initial motivation. Furthermore, viewing how various sources use narratives regarding tourism was a central interest. This research chose to focus on Copenhagen tourism planning specifically, although much can be learned from other cities. Therefore, documents regarding cities that have experienced over-tourism have also been analysed. This allows the researcher to view potential problems with the growing tourism industry in Copenhagen. In addition to analysing documents, on-site observations were introduced. This provided a technique to examine whether the researcher’s experience of Copenhagen tourism matched the narrative of the chosen documents.

4 Analysis

4.1 Analytical Framework

As Overtourism continues to expand the globe, destinations are increasingly being affected, both positively and negatively, by it. It is through an analytical framework that this research aims to dissect the meaning of Overtourism, discover its root causes and provide solutions in managing it. This section will provide an analysis of the gathered data, allowing the reader to not only understand what Overtourism is, but what are its implications and how a destination, such as Copenhagen, use strategies to prevent it. Drawing upon Henri Lefevre's *The Right to the City* (1968) will be used to present an understanding of the city and who it belongs to. In addition, it will provide insight into how tourism is changing the face of Copenhagen and what is being done to accommodate its users. While Doxey's Irridex (1975), written by George Doxey, will add upon *The Right to the City* by highlighting the relationships between residents and tourists. These theories will link Copenhagen's current tourism model to the city, its residents and tourists to examine how the city maintains its unique blend of historical and cultural appeal while planning for the seemingly inevitable increase in tourism.

In addition to the above theories, this analysis will use news articles, journals and official publications to bring light to how cities with an already existing Overtourism issue are discovering new and innovative ways to lessen the impact of tourism. The addition of cities, primarily Barcelona and Venice, bring forth possible solutions to Copenhagen's increasing tourism. While Copenhagen's own model "*Localhood*" will highlight its current strategy in tourism planning and what effects it may have. Combining Copenhagen's *localhood* with Lefevre's *The Right to the City* and Doxey's *irridex* will provide an insight into the challenges of integrating residents and tourists into the city. While the use of two on-site observations of well-known tourist locations in Copenhagen will bring forth an element of this researcher's own embodied experience. The observations will be reported, analysed and tested against the previous two theories. Tourism planning requires strategies to ensure it does not come to a point of no return, therefore this analysis will examine the strategies and methods that require consideration in the planning practice of tourism management.

4.2 What is Overtourism?

As Overtourism is a relatively new word in the realm of tourism, there is no one defining definition. However, as tourism is becoming more common, destinations are beginning to feel increasingly stressed. This increased pressure not only stresses the city itself, but it also affects the residents, businesses, environment, and tourists. For the purpose of this research, multiple definitions will be utilized. Combining multiple definitions of Overtourism allows this research to expand the term to include many more indicators of what Overtourism means. Often, the word *Overtourism* is simply thought of as too many tourists. However, Overtourism does not end there, it is far more complicated. In the introduction, this research used the United Nations World Tourism Organisation's (UNWTO) definition "***the impact of tourism on a destination, or parts thereof, that excessively influences perceived quality of life of citizens and/or quality of visitor experiences in a negative way***" (UNWTO, 2018). The UNWTO stresses the impact that Overtourism has on the quality of life for both the citizens and tourists. Although, it can be implied that the city will inherently be affected due to decreased quality of life for the citizens and tourists. However, in UNWTO's definition, they make no mention of overcrowding or oversaturation of a destination.

In an article titled *Overtourism is a growing global problem*, Overtourism is defined as "***the excessive growth of visitors leading to overcrowding in areas where residents suffer the consequences of temporary and seasonal tourism peaks, which have enforced permanent changes to their lifestyles, access to amenities and general well-being***" (Milano et al., 2018). Here we can see that additional aspects of Overtourism are added. While the UNWTO chose to place emphasis on citizen and tourist experiences, Milano et al. chose to include the term overcrowding, but seemingly places the resident as the victim and the tourist as the intruder. Overcrowding has the effect of reducing, or even eliminating, the unique ambience of many destinations. Often local businesses are overwhelmed by the opening of typical tourism-focused businesses, such as bars and souvenir shops in popular tourist areas. With the influx of tourism in certain areas, real estate becomes competitive, and many small businesses simply cannot afford to remain and therefore are forced to close or relocate to less desirable locations. Residents feel the cost of overcrowding as well. Often areas become unaffordable to many residents due to the rising cost of living in touristic destinations (Bertocchi & Visentin, 2019). Although overcrowding is not necessarily entirely the fault of Overtourism, it

is accelerated by it and something city administrators must acknowledge. Consideration must be given to ensure the level of tourism is in line with the ability to meet its capacity (i.e., infrastructure, housing, green areas, businesses etc.).

While the first two definitions seem to simplify the term, the third: *“Overtourism is a complex phenomenon that strongly affects the liveability of a place, as well as the experiences of residents, visitors and different stakeholders who are either directly or indirectly involved with or affected by tourism”* (Bellini et al., 2016; McKinsey & Company & World Travel & Tourism Council, 2017; Milano, 2018; Postma, 2013), adds additional elements into its definition. The words “complex phenomenon” suggest that Overtourism is not simply “too many tourists”. While tourists are obviously at the root of this problem, this definition does not specifically place the blame on their shoulders. Instead, they choose to focus on the liveability and experiences of “residents, visitors and different stakeholders” being “strongly affected”. Additionally, it makes mention of “directly or indirectly” involved actors. This suggests that all aspects of an overly touristic destination are affected. Often, city infrastructure is put under enormous strain and transport, public spaces and the local economy suffer. Although, evaluating this definition, one can see that it chooses to avoid using words such as “negatively or suffer” as the previous two did. Instead, they choose the words “strongly affects”, pointing to a change in liveability, which could be positive or negative. This leads us to believe that Overtourism is not necessarily a bad thing. With increased tourism, additional finances are brought into an area, public transportation may be expanded, there are additional employment opportunities, public parks built, interactions between cultures are created and many more. This research aims to not only highlight the negative effects of Overtourism but hopes to shed light on the positive as well, thus contributing to the discussion on how residents and tourists can coexist in our cities.

4.3 Brief History of Tourism

Once one understands how Overtourism is defined, it is necessary to understand what is causing Overtourism in the first place. As seen from the above definitions, simply put, Overtourism is largely a result of too many tourists in a destination. As tourism numbers continue to increase, destinations are becoming more and more crowded. While it is easy to blame the tourists for this increase, it is often a result of poor planning and failure to develop the necessary infrastructure to adequately accommodate tourism. While Overtourism is a

relatively new term, tourism “the act and process of spending time away from home in pursuit of recreation, relaxation, and pleasure, while making use of the commercial provision of services” (Walton, 2021), has occurred, according to Walton, “[since the] beginning in western Europe in the 17th century, although it has antecedents in Classical antiquity” (ibid). Although, with the invention of the steamship and railway during the mid-19th century, tourism became available to the masses. These technological advances provided greater comfort and speed, enabling tourism to spread. Tourism continued to grow into the 20th and 21st centuries, eventually with the advent of the airplane, tourism was able to spread to areas previously not possible. One can argue that it is air travel that created the boom in mass tourism. After the Second World War, many cultural, economic, technological and political changes began taking place. The airplane became accessible to many as prices were reduced and new routes opened. In 1970 the use of Boeing 747 enabled mass tourism to expand into new destinations (Cooper 2016, p.8; Kostianen et al. 2004 p. 224). The ability to carry more passengers allowed for lower fares and package tours became affordable to many. While planes obviously made previous destinations more accessible and affordable, the development of travel agencies during the same time simplified the process of planning a holiday.

In recent decades, with the introduction of the internet, the act of taking a holiday became even simpler. Potential travellers have easy access to information that, just decades before, was not possible. Choosing a destination became as simple as a quick internet search. Even if one were not intentionally searching for their next holiday, the presence of social media and online advertisements bombard the potential tourist with photos and videos. This, coupled with increasing global wealth and more affordable travel, creates a potential problem for many worldwide destinations.

While transportation costs and media (print, broadcast and internet) are often credited for the mass tourism boom, one must look at the destinations themselves and view how they promoted tourism in their regions. As tourism became more accessible to everyone, destinations began promoting themselves as a desirable holiday location. The creation of Destination Management Organisations or DMO’s become a common occurrence. They were tasked with promoting a destination to attract tourism. Often it was to merely bring additional finances into the local economy, although today their role is often much more complex and many now focus on “finding the right balance between competing and challenging

environmental, social and economic goals such as preserving natural resources, increasing destination appeal and reputation as sustainable, fulfilling the needs of visitors and maximizing tourism's economic contributions and the well-being of local populations and public and private stakeholders” (Fourlink, 2016). However, it is undisputable that DMO’s have played a major role in what is now termed “Overtourism”. Many destinations have been affected by an excess of tourism, and as the expansion of mass tourism continues, they will no doubt be required to focus additional attention to ensure Overtourism does not occur.

4.3.1 World Effects of Tourism

While tourism planning and its effects in Copenhagen is the primary concern in this research, it is important to understand the impacts of tourism on other destinations. This will not only provide additional understanding of Overtourism and its impacts on cities, but it will also bring forth potential solutions by unveiling how those cities have faced these issues. As previously mentioned, cities such as Barcelona and Venice have seen incredible increases in tourism over the last few decades. This has led to the rapid growth of Tourismophobia where; “thousands of people took part in protests in cities such as Venice, Rome, Dubrovnik, Barcelona and Amsterdam (2017), decrying soaring rent prices, the environmental impact of the tourist industry on their cities and a general feeling of being ‘overrun’ by tourists” (Jessop, 2017). Protests are not the only way residents are expressing their dislike of tourism, many have taken to creating anti-tourism banners or painting graffiti in popular tourist locations (see images below).



Figures 9-12: Anti tourism messages in Barcelona (Jensen, 2017) (Limited, 2012) (Sanson, 2017) (NatiSythen, 2006)

In response to these resident protests against tourism, Barcelona and Venice have begun to act. In Barcelona, over 52 percent of the buildings in the Gothic Quarter contain tourist flats, resulting in an average of 16 percent annual raise in the cost of long-term flat rents (Jessop, 2017). Many tourists choose to stay in “illegal flats” such as unlicensed Airbnb housing. The city of Barcelona estimates there are over 7,000 of these unregulated rentals. (ibid). Although in 2021, the city of Barcelona has begun to impose fines to those who rent their apartments without proper licensing (McClanahan, 2021). However new figures are not available to support the claim that these numbers have declined. Barcelona continues to discover ways to support the local economy and safeguard its residents’ quality of life. Although, it remains to be seen if the city can reverse the trend of Overtourism.

4.4 Tourism Development in Copenhagen

4.4.1 How is it marketed?

Throughout the city of Copenhagen, many areas are experiencing a rapid rise in visits, while many others see very few tourists. To understand why certain areas are more attractive to tourists, it is important to investigate how Copenhagen and its official DMO, Wonderful Copenhagen, have been marketing towards tourism. Baloglu and McCleary (1999), Lobato et.

al. (2006) and Prayang (2008) claim that there are two main elements of image: the cognitive image and affective image (emotions) (Kennel, 2012). To properly understand how an image of a destination is formed, one must understand these two elements. The beliefs and information a tourist have of a destination can be described as *cognitive*, while the *affective image* is what a visitor feels about the destination. In other words, the likes and dislikes of a destination. A positive image is a critical aspect of a destination's ability to attract tourism.

Tourism in Copenhagen has always existed in one form or another, but over the past few decades the numbers of tourists have increased tremendously. Globally, the promotion of urban tourism began to gradually increase in the 1980s as a response to combat unemployment in inner-city areas (Rogerson et al., 2019). At the time, Copenhagen was largely an industrial city and jobs were rapidly declining due to deindustrialization. The city was experiencing a population decline and by the early 1990's was nearly bankrupt (Midtgaard, 2016). Several long-term development projects, such as infrastructure, culture, neighbourhood regeneration and urban development were implemented, and the changing city began to attract additional tourists (ibid). This can be partly attributed to the global tourism increase, but what specifically draws people to Copenhagen? In 1992, Wonderful Copenhagen was founded with a goal to attract more tourists to Copenhagen. Their strategy was to promote the city by highlighting specific attractions (Wonderfulcopenhagen.com, 2021). Growth was slow at first, offering growth lower than the European averages. Although, with Wonderful Copenhagen's assistance, numbers soon began to rise drastically.

Often Denmark is marketed as a "fairy-tale country", one that instils a sense of wonder and adventure. When Wonderful Copenhagen was formed, it was this fairy-tale idea that was emphasised in their marketing of the city and today it still holds true to a degree. The marketing of Copenhagen as a tourism destination has evolved into portraying the city in a more complete and complex destination. Consideration of destination image has a strong focus as of late. In 2018, Wonderful Copenhagen launched its first strategy on sustainability which "seeks to address sustainability from an environmental, social and economic perspective. 'Tourism for Good' outlines an ambition of managing tourism in a responsible way for the benefit of locals, travellers and the planet, as well as being a driver for positive change" (Tourism for Good, 2020). This campaign attracted international attention, including the UNWTO Secretary-General, Zurab Pololikashvili stating: "I commend Wonderful

Copenhagen for its new strategy for Sustainable Tourism Development 2030, which has strong links to the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. This strategy is designed to foster sustainability at local level, where both visitors and hosts can enjoy exploring, living and learning from each other”, as well as “Through its strategic commitment to a holistic approach for destination sustainability, Copenhagen will contribute to realizing the potential of the Danish tourism sector as an agent of change” (Tourism for Good, 2020).

The sustainable city was the new draw for Copenhagen. Their focus began tackling the growing overcrowding issues in many popular tourist locations, this led to promoting new destinations while eliminating others, fx. Wonderful Copenhagen no longer features Nyhavn, the most popular destination in the city, on their website or publications. In turn they now feature less touristic neighbourhoods, such as Nørrebro, to disperse tourism throughout the city. Expanding tourism without harming the city’s culture or environment, was a driving motivation factor of Wonderful Copenhagen. Meghan Wood of the International sustainable tourism initiative states “The city’s ample capacity to offer sustainable food, energy, transportation, and environmental management bodes well for this effort. Without such bold visions, overcrowding of once beautiful city centres will become the norm” (Tourism for good, 2018).

This shift towards sustainability continued with Wonderful Copenhagen unveiling their latest strategy in 2020, *Localhood*. In this, they emphasise sustainability includes the relationships between locals and tourists. Since 1992, when Wonderful Copenhagen was unveiled, it has grown from a numbers only method of attracting tourism to including aspects that will not only increase the number of tourists but do that in a way that respects the city, environment and the users of Copenhagen. Only time will tell if their methods of promoting Copenhagen will provide long-term benefits, and although their strategies will continue to evolve, their willingness to change and take chances has gained worldwide attention.

4.4.2 Marketing Impacts

While the current Covid-19 epidemic has affected tourism numbers in Copenhagen, resulting in a drop in visitations. It is expected to rebound to pre-covid numbers (Wonderful Copenhagen.com, 2021). Although, in these times of uncertainty, only time will tell. In the Pre-Covid era, tourism was rapidly increasing on a yearly basis. According to Wonderful

Copenhagen (2020), the city has seen “a 74% increase in tourists over the past decade and received 8.8 million guests (not including the 1.9 million Airbnb users) in 2018 alone, a figure that's expected to double by 2030” (Tourism for Good, 2020). If this proves true, then Copenhagen’s tourism infrastructure must continually evolve. Over the years, tourism in Copenhagen has adapted to increased tourism, but how have these adaptations affected the city? This research is primarily focused on present day and future potential of tourism in Copenhagen; therefore, the focus here will be the current tourism model of Wonderful Copenhagen. It is through analysis of this model, that we can see results, as well as future likelihoods on how tourism and tourism planning will shape the city. As previously mentioned, tourism numbers have increased dramatically over the past decades and predictions expect the trend to continue. Wonderful Copenhagen was created to attract additional tourists. Their initial strategy was to promote a selection of potential points of interest. This succeeded in bringing additional tourism into Copenhagen. However, as tourism numbers continued to expand, the city was beginning to face an overcrowding issue. This resulted in a new campaign that focused on sustainability, rather than pure numbers. During 2018, when the campaign was initiated, Wonderful Copenhagen ceased to promote overcrowded areas and focused on highlighting less touristic areas. Many of these areas were ill-prepared to see the influx of tourism. Although, the majority of Copenhagen residents see tourism as having a positive impact. In fact, in 2018, according to Wonderful Copenhagen, “A large majority of over 80 percent of Copenhageners support that their city should continue to be marketed as a destination for travellers” (Tourism for good, 2020).

The results of this study seemingly show that tourism planning in the city is on the right track. However, to gain a better understanding, 10X Copenhagen, a research group managed by Wonderful Copenhagen, created a *Resident Sentiment Index* in December 2017. This study has conducted 1076 online questionnaires, requiring 6-8 minutes, with residents between the ages of 18 and +65 of Copenhagen, focusing on the resident’s perception of tourism and tourists.

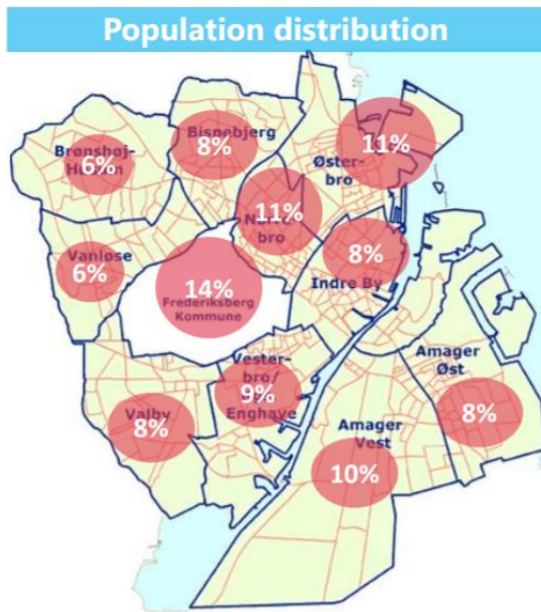


Figure 13: Age distribution of respondents (TCI Research, 2017)

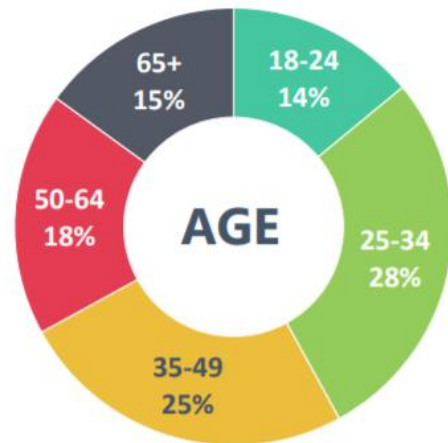


Figure 14: Age distribution of respondents (TCI Research, 2017)

The results were then benchmarked from 3300+ online questionnaires from 13 cities across Europe. This assisted in highlighting possible problem areas in Copenhagen. Interviewees were spread throughout the city and were 53% female and 48% male. The index makes no mention of income level or ethnicity. Below you can see the results from the questionnaires (Figure 14).

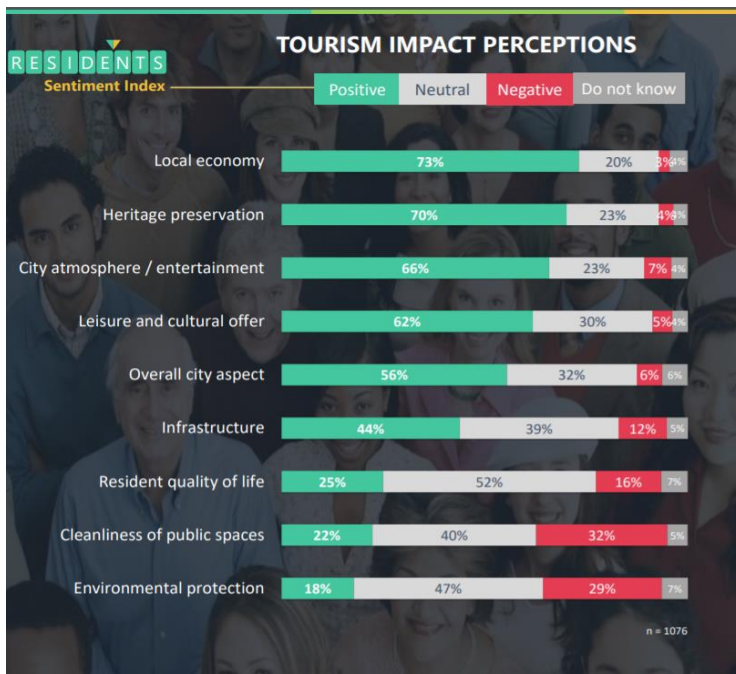


Figure 15: Overall results from the Resident Sentiment Index (TCI Research, 2017)

9

A focus on the environmental impact of tourism is required

Copenhagen residents **recognize a positive tourism impact** on economy, city atmosphere and activities, while the impact of tourism on their quality of life remains acceptable.

However, **a concern is expressed about the environmental impact that tourism generates**, in terms of both natural protection and cleanliness.

Definitions

- Overall city aspect** - The general aspect of the town
- Heritage preservation** - The preservation and showcasing of the historical heritage
- Local economy** - The local economy
- Resident quality of life** - The quality of life for residents
- Environmental protection** - Protection of the environment and natural sites
- Cleanliness of public spaces** - The cleanliness of public spaces
- Leisure and cultural offer** - The cultural activities and leisure on offer
- City atmosphere / entertainment** - The atmosphere and entertainment in the town
- Infrastructure** - The infrastructure (transport, sporting equipment, cultural features...)

TCI Research
Tourism Competitive Intelligence

The results, as displayed above, show that many residents view tourism as creating a positive impact in many categories. However, in the categories: Resident quality of life, Cleanliness of public spaces and Environmental protection, one can see that the number of residents that view these categories as having a positive impact lower dramatically, while the number of residents viewing these categories as having a negative impact rise. This is useful in seeing what residents view as problematic and shows areas where improvement must be focused. While the *Tourism Impact perceptions* show how residents view tourism using broad categories, to fully understand the residents’ views on tourism, additional data is needed. Therefore, 10x asked the respondents to rate the problems that tourism is causing in the city of Copenhagen. The results are displayed in the following image (Figure 16).

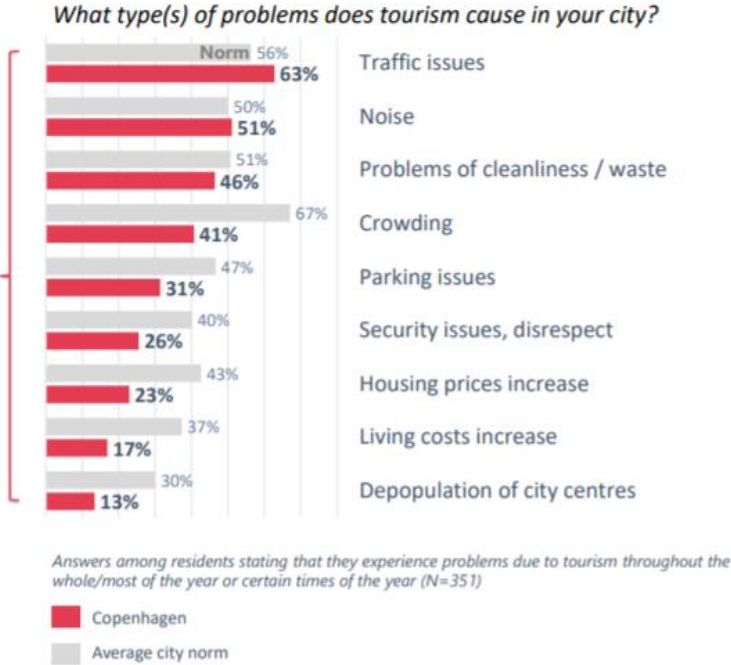


Figure 16: Qualifying the problems caused by tourism (TCI Research, 2017)

Regarding the above image (Image 16), one can see that 63% of respondents view traffic issues as a problem caused by tourism in Copenhagen. While there is no differentiating between what type of traffic, they feel is a concern, this can be interpreted as a combination of pedestrian, bike, public transport and private vehicle. This “guess” was based on Copenhagen’s reputation as a bike city and as we can see in a further question that allowed for the respondents to answer an open-ended suggestion, the number one priority for

improving the development of tourism is “education on bicycle culture for tourists” (figure 17). Additionally, concerns regarding traffic issues in Copenhagen, benchmarked against other cities, show that a higher percentage of respondents view traffic as an important issue that must be addressed. Traffic issues may well be a bicycle issue, but to disregard other means of traffic would be a mistake. Copenhagen is built, as many other historic cities, with narrow and indirect roads. Refusing to rebuild Copenhagen into a modern car friendly city has allowed the city to keep its liveable city appeal. As a Copenhagen city planner in the 60s and 70s, Søren Elle states: “We were lucky that Copenhagen was poor after the second world war,” Elle says. Rather than intelligent foresight, or a difference in the mindset of those in power, he suggests the Danish capital’s avoidance of major carriageways is down to good fortune. “We thought we were unlucky and very poor. We were actually lucky, but still very poor” (how Copenhagen rejected 1960s modernist 'utopia', 2016). Nonetheless, one might wonder if these highways that were planned to split the city would have changed the minds of the respondents in the 10x Copenhagen resident sentiment index. “Five decades on, Copenhagen continues to retain its historic housing stock, strong bicycle culture and extensive pedestrianised zone” (Guardian, 2016).

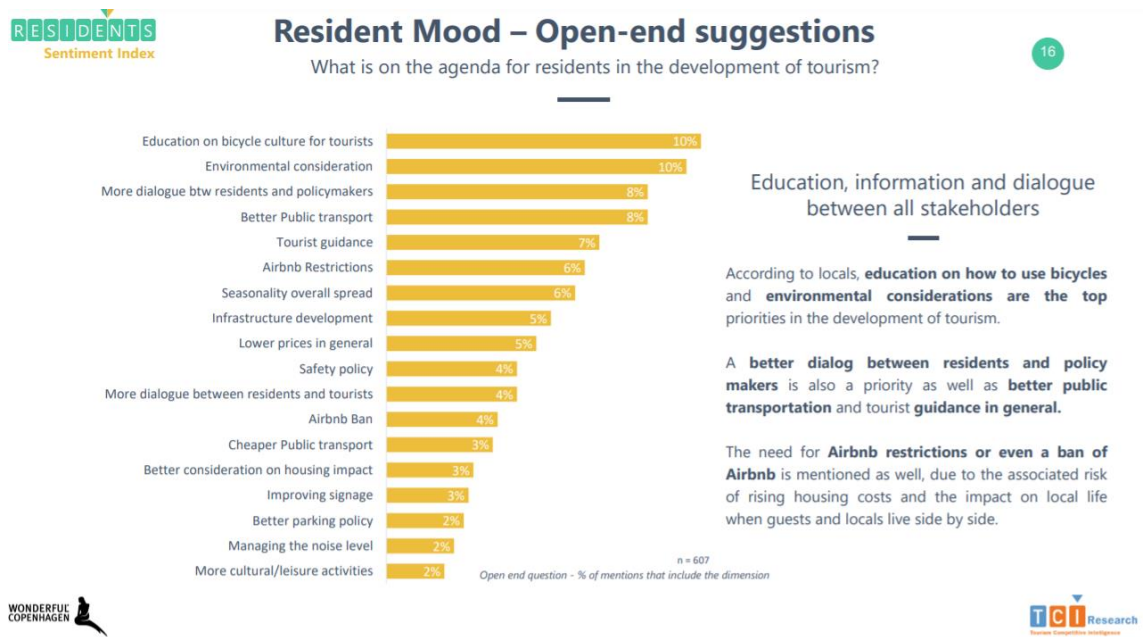


Figure 17: Open ended suggestions for improving tourism development (TCI Research, 2017)

Other notables that many residents view as problematic are noise, cleanliness and crowding, presenting them as potential areas where Wonderful Copenhagen must work with the city and its residents to find solutions. Although, the results of the index show many positives as well. We can see that 73% of respondents feel that tourism provides a positive economic impact, while an additional 20% are neither positive nor negative. Similarly, when asked “What types of problems does tourism cause in your city? (Copenhagen)”, categories such as *Depopulation of City Centres, Living Cost Increases, Housing Cost Increases and Security Issues/Disrespect*, all polled under 26%. Furthermore, all categories except *Traffic Issues and noise*, scored well above European averages, indicating that overall, the residents of Copenhagen view tourism positively. These results seemingly indicate that Overtourism is not currently an issue in Copenhagen in the eyes of the residents. It is, however, important to look at the *Overall Tourism Sentiment Index* as this supplies an overall impression on how residents feel about tourism in Copenhagen. The *overall tourism sentiment index* is the difference in percentage of local respondents who feel that tourism generates more positive consequences than negative consequences and the percentage of respondents who feel the opposite is the case. Here we can see that 60% of respondents feel that tourism is more positive than negative, with a further 23% feeling that it is more neutral than negative and finally only 8% of respondents feel that tourism provides more negative consequences than positive (figure 18). This results in a tourism sentiment index of 52%, which is 5% higher than the average European city used in the analysis.

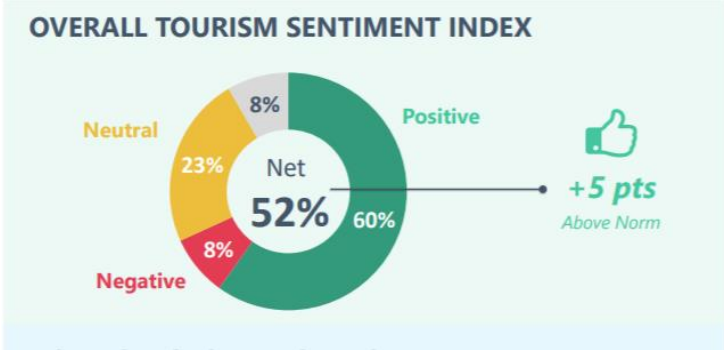


Figure 18: Does tourism provide positive or negative consequences to Copenhagen (TCI Research, 2017)

Analysing these results, one would get the impression that the city planners of Copenhagen are doing quite well in listening to the residents, however, when asked if respondents felt that

the city listened to their concerns, only 42% answered yes (TCI Research, 2017). Considering Wonderful Copenhagen has recently introduced their new tourism strategy, *Localhood*, placing a primary focus on building relationships between residents and tourists, this could pose a potential problem. If residents feel their concerns are not being listened to, they may be unwilling to voluntarily engage tourists.

One can make an argument that it is nearly 4 years since this sentiment index was created and tourism in Copenhagen is different today than it was in 2017. However, this study gives us a great amount of insight into the feelings of the residents regarding tourism. It can, therefore, provide valuable data to Wonderful Copenhagen in their quest to make a city where tourists and residents can coexist on a level of happiness, acceptance, engagement and growth. The future of Copenhagen tourism planning requires inputs from residents, tourists, officials and city planners to effectively avoid the problems that many other over touristed cities experience. It is through initiatives such as this, problematic areas can be identified in tourism before they become too large to overcome.

4.5 Feelings towards tourism in Copenhagen

4.5.1 Doxey's Irritation Index (Irridex) (1975)

In recent years, with the rapid expansion of tourists, interaction between residents and tourists is bound to happen. According to Doxey's irritation index, or Irridex, there is a natural progression of how residents feel towards tourists. He suggests that as the number of visitors increases at a given destination, residents pass through a sequence of emotions and reactions. Doxey identified four main stages in relationships between host community and guest, beginning with "euphoria", or excitement and welcoming to tourism, and ultimately settling on "antagonism", or open expression of frustration or anger.

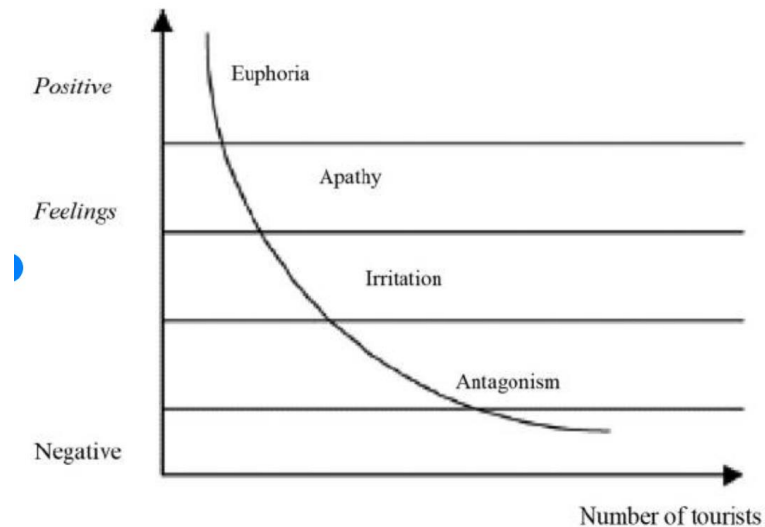


Figure 19: Doxey's Irridex Index - Irridex (Sholtz, 2014)

To understand Doxey's Irridex, one must understand what each stage represents. Therefore, a brief explanation of each stage will be provided below:

- Euphoria - Visitors are welcome and there is little to no tourism planning
- Apathy - Visitors are taken for granted. Interest by the locals is reducing and contact becomes more formal
- Irritation/Annoyance - Saturation is approaching and the local population begin to have misgivings. Planners attempt to control these via increasing infrastructure rather than limiting this tourism growth.
- Antagonism - Open expression of irritation by locals and planning is remedial yet promotion is increased to offset the deteriorating reputation of the destination.

Although, the assumption is, as tourism becomes more commonplace in a destination, residents will inherently become more annoyed. This, however, assumes a city is homogeneous and everyone will become hostile towards tourism. This is not often the case. Many residents will continue to welcome additional tourism, while others will protest it. However, this irrindex provides a simplistic view on general feelings towards tourism in any given location. Analysing the responses in 10x Copenhagen's *Resident Sentiment Index* will uncover what stage the residents of Copenhagen are at. Although tourism in Copenhagen is not a recent trend, it has seen rapid growth over the past few decades. Furthermore, many neighbourhoods of Copenhagen have only just begun to become visited by tourists. In these

cases, according to Doxey, the residents should be in the first stage, Euphoria. While many areas, such as Nyhavn or the City-centre, will fall into later stages, possibly settling at irritation or antagonism. To see if this proves true, this research refers to the 10x Copenhagen Resident Sentiment Index. According to the image below (figure 20), the Indre By (Inner City or City Centre), poses the greatest risk of residents rejecting tourism. The inner city contains areas such as Strøget, Nyhavn, Rådhuspladsen, Tivoli, Christiansborg Palace, Amalienborg and is home to many museums. Since Wonderful Copenhagen began promoting tourism in Copenhagen, they have focused primarily on attracting tourism to this area.

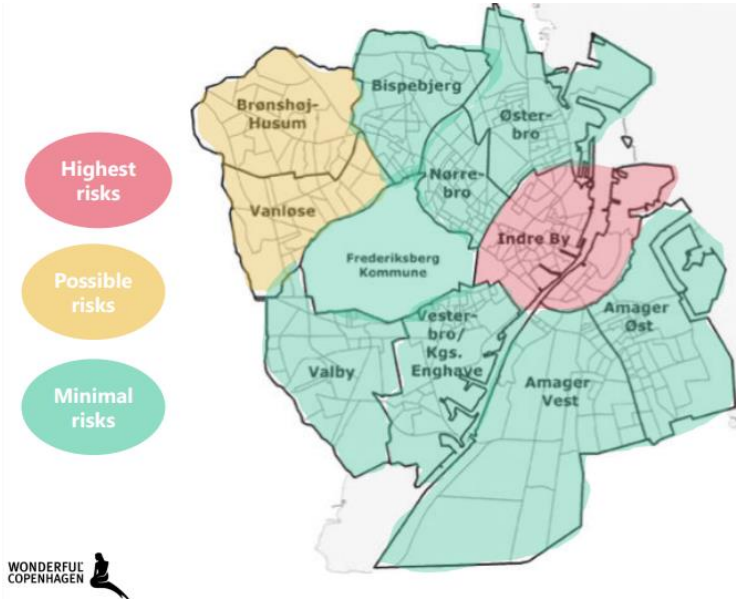


Figure 20: Tentative risk evaluation based on a combined gap analysis of the overall tourism impact sentiment, Tourismophobia and Tourism growth support levels. (TCI Research, 2017)

It was not until recently that they have shifted their tourism model to include areas outside the inner city. Although this image shows that residents may have tensions regarding tourism, we would need additional data to understand their concerns. Unfortunately, limited data was collected specifically about resident/tourist relations, although the data available allows us to see what problems tourism causes to the inner city. Traffic Issues, Noise and Cleanliness were all considered very problematic inside the city centre. Respondents listed these categories as problematic due to tourism at 66%, 58% and 55% respectively (figure 21).

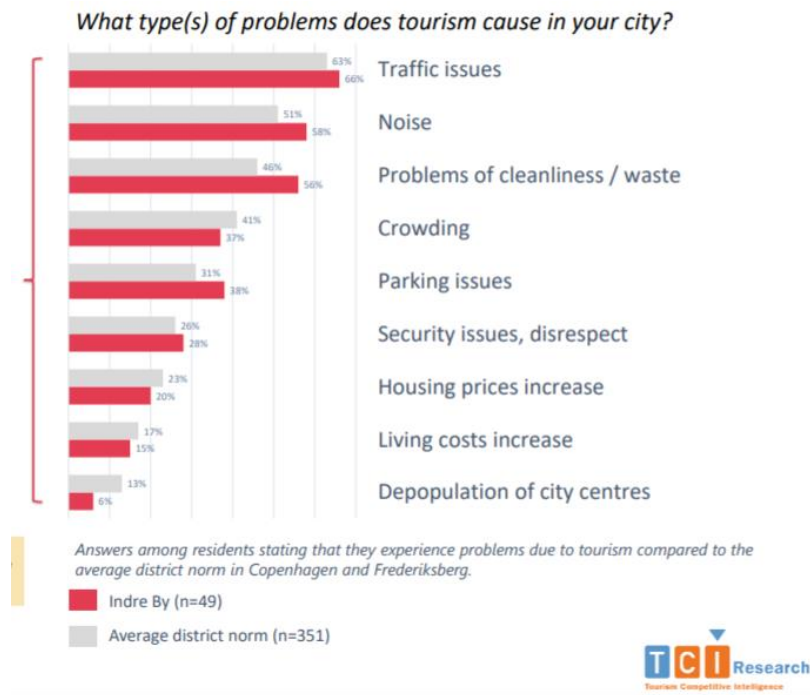


Figure 21: Ranking issues in regard to tourism (TCI Research, 2017)

These numbers all prove to be higher than the rest of Copenhagen. This, however, does not directly answer the question on where the residents are placed on Doxey's Irridex. Furthermore, many of the categories show that a greater percentage of inner-city respondents believe tourism is problematic, while these same categories are considered less problematic in bordering neighbourhoods. This is in line with Doxey's Irridex, showing that with a long history of tourism, irritation with tourism will increase. With regards to the "minimal risk" areas shown on figure 19, these are generally areas that have only recently become destinations for tourists. This too is in line with the irrindex, showing that residents have not yet reached the point of Annoyance or Antagonism. Finally, Brønshøj-Husum and Vanløse have been placed as a possible risk neighbourhood by 10x Copenhagen and the response from residents. The area sees little tourism and is not promoted by Wonderful Copenhagen, however according to the responses of the residents, tourism growth is not supported at such a high level as many other neighbourhoods.

Without a long-term study, answering if residents do indeed follow Doxey's Irridex, simply cannot be answered. However, combining the Resident Sentiment Index and Doxey's Irridex, we can see that, generally, neighbourhoods in Copenhagen that have a relatively new

experience hosting tourists, seem to be in the earlier stages of Doxey's Irridex, while the inner city and its long history with tourism, is in the later stages. Areas such as Brønshøj-Husum and Vanløse must be considered outliers. They receive very little tourism, however, according to the responses from 10x, residents are fearful of potential tourism and often display signs of Tourismophobia, placing these neighbourhoods in possible risk of becoming reluctant towards tourism growth. While there may be many factors involved that are responsible for these area's residents being fearful of tourism, data is not available to provide concrete answers. A possible explanation is given by the journal; *Economic and Social Impact of Tourism on a Small Town: Peterborough New Hampshire* written by Tomoko Tsundoda and Samuel Mendlinger. In it, the authors explain that class makeup often influences the opinions on tourism for the residents. They state that wealthier residents are more open to tourism, believing that economic benefits will improve the area. This may apply to Vanløse, an area with plenty of cheaper housing options, but Brønshøj is an area known for many expensive houses. Therefore, there must be another reason this area is opposed to tourism. Tsundoda and Mendlinger, further elaborate that reasons for opposing tourism may arise when areas develop a "degree of community cohesiveness and/or local patriotism" (Tsundoda and Mendlinger, 2009). The general class structure of Brønshøj/Husum consists of many upper-class residences and a community cohesiveness may have been formed. These are just a sample of possible reasons why these neighbourhoods do not fall in line with Doxey's Irridex and without additional research cannot be proven.

Although Doxey's Irridex attempts to explain the natural progression of residents' feelings towards tourism. It is largely based on conjecture, meaning detailed empirical data is excluded. Furthermore, it assumes that a community is homogenous and that everyone living in that community will go through the same process of Euphoria to Antagonism. However, often different sections of the community will have vastly different opinions on tourism. For example, entrepreneurs or unemployed residents may feel vastly different than the average resident, as they may place economic gain and additional employment options over peacefulness. Or, as in the example with Brønshøj/Husum, the Irridex fails to consider wealth or community cohesion. It does, however, provide a simplistic and telling factor in tourism development, that as tourism grows, people's perception of tourism will inherently shift.

4.5.2 The Right to the City

4.5.2.1 Conflicts between residents and tourists

Generally, a city will have a government responsible for economic growth, maintaining order, providing a satisfactory standard of living and general upkeep. Rapid financial or physical growth, while common, does not need to be the goal of the city, although financial growth is often a motivating factor in governing. Cities often rely on commercial areas to bring additional capital to further improve infrastructure and standard of living. Copenhagen is viewed as a city with beautiful architecture, historic sites, friendly street culture, happy residents and much more. Tourism has always been present in the city, but with the advent of the DMO it is quickly becoming a city in threat of Overtourism. This, however, does not discourage Copenhagen from growing their tourism base. Although, as tourism grows, Copenhagen actively experiments with new and innovative ways to hold on to its uniqueness while striving to become a global city. “It is not just a small number of powerful cities and metropolitan areas that aspire to become a global city, [...] but potentially any large-sized city [...] willing to devise strategies of urban boosterism and entrepreneurialism at an international level is entitled to compete for this recognition” (Rossi & Vanolo, 2012, p38).



Figure 22: Hostility towards tourists, but open arms towards refugees in Palma, Mallorca (Couzens, 2018)

As previously mentioned, Wonderful Copenhagen was founded primarily to attract additional tourism into the city. Although, publications regarding their exact model for increasing tourism were not located. However, according to their own website, they emphasise that a shift from attracting mass tourism at all costs has been replaced by a sustainable tourism model, one that includes opinions and views of all parties involved (Wonderfulcopenhagen.com, 2021). According to Lefebvre and Harvey, a city belongs to all users, and although their descriptions differ slightly, they both agree that cities need to change in the way they make decisions. Doxey's Irridex shows us that as tourism expands, residents become increasingly reluctant to accept tourism, even becoming visibly angry at the changing atmosphere in a city. However, what Doxey's Irridex lacks, is the tourist's point of view. Tourists are users of a city as well, often, in cities such as Venice, outnumbering the residents. In 2018, Copenhagen saw over 10 million overnight visitors (Tourism for Good, 2020). This averages out to more than 27 thousand visitors per day, not factoring in seasonal differences. During the summer months, tourism numbers are vastly higher, while much lower in the winter months. While many residents feel that Copenhagen is their city and feel that tourists lower their quality of life, many more welcome tourists and its benefits to the city.

From a financial standpoint, according to Wonderful Copenhagen, the city brings in more than 51 billion kroner from tourism per year. Although much of that brings little benefit to the city, instead it goes to many internationally owned hotels and cruise ships (Biro, 2020). According to Anne-Mette Hjalager, a professor at Syd Dansk Universitet (SDU); "There are leakages that are out of our control. Some of the big hotels are owned by international companies", as well as "We know too little about how much economic benefit we really derive from cruise ships: they too are owned by foreigners and are often all-inclusive. The claim is that cruise ship tourists spend a lot of money on shopping in Copenhagen, but I have my doubts. They don't eat out, for example – maybe they buy a cup of coffee in the city, or an ice cream, but then they go back to the ship to take advantage of the all-inclusive deal they paid for. And there are also a lot of shops on the ship itself" (Biro, 2020). Additionally, the estimated 60,000 jobs created by the tourism industry in Copenhagen, are seasonal and end up being filled by a large percentage of foreigners. (Ibid). Based on the above, one may wonder how the residents are truly benefiting from tourism. We may also question the motives of the tourism industry, are users of the city being considered in tourism planning? To answer these

questions, input from users must be analysed. A breakdown of the effects of tourism on each party will provide insight.

4.5.2.2 The resident's city

Lefebvre was adamant that the right of the city belongs to everyone who uses it. The residents, as shown by the research from 10x Copenhagen, largely see tourism as beneficial to the city. However, we do see that in areas such as the inner city, Brønshøj/Husum and Vanløse Tourismophobia is present. The inner city sees the largest amount of tourism, and according to Doxey's Irridex, this is to be expected. However, Brønshøj/Husum and Vanløse see much less tourism, but still regard tourism as a possible risk to their livelihoods. The most comprehensive study on residents of Copenhagen that we have available to this date is the 10x Resident Sentiment Index. Breaking down the residents' feelings towards tourism brings light to potential problems in tourism planning. As one respondent stated when faced with the question, What should be put into place to improve the development of tourism? they responded with; "City council meetings for residents [are needed] so that they will be heard, will be included and can take part or be involved on what measures the council and regional authorities intend to take on the city tourism policy. So that residents can share their experiences and ideas" (10x Copenhagen, 2018). While this is merely one response, 8% of all open-ended questions resulted in the respondent mentioning that better dialogue between residents and policy makers is needed. This was the third most popular response, behind *Education on Bicycle culture* and *environmental considerations*. Lefebvre realised that capitalism was the primary driver behind city planning, its users having little say as to what they desire. Nearly 1 out of 10 Copenhageners feel that tourism planning (a responsibility of the city), does not involve the residents as it should. "The right to the city gives all residents of the city the opportunity to influence the future of their city, and the right to live in the neighbourhood where they live" (Perkumiene and Pranskuniene, 2019). It is often argued that it is a fundamental human right to carry out one's daily life, however Overtourism limits their rights to do so. When cities place focus on tourism attraction rather, it impacts residents. As cities modernize to accommodate tourists, residents are faced with increasing rent, higher food costs and overcrowded public spaces among others. The concept of the right to the city is strongly rooted in the ability of individuals organising, getting noticed and demanding change. If the residents of Copenhagen take a stand against tourism, as has happened in many

other cities, tourism planning will inevitably change. In 2020, Wonderful Copenhagen began their *Localhood* campaign, focusing on creating a relationship between locals and tourists, in the hope of finding a solution to resident/visitor disputes.

“The key idea is that tourism is not a goal in itself; tourism is a means to a sustainable end – a reality where tourism contributes positively to society, to building better cities and destinations for locals and visitors alike and where tourism is a driver of positive change (Tourism for Change, 2020)

4.5.2.3 The tourist’s city

Often when one is asked who a city belongs to, the answer is commonly the people who live there. Tourists are often seen as a nuisance or intruder into the lives of the residents. Although according to many international human rights publications, freedom of movement is a basic human right. In 1948, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), consisting of 30 "basic rights and fundamental freedoms" and affirming their universal character as inherent, inalienable, and applicable to all human beings" (UDHR, 1948). Under Article 13 of this declaration, “everyone has the right to free movement and residence within the borders of a country.” and “Everyone is also guaranteed the right to leave any country and to return to his country” (Ibid). While tourists are not explicitly mentioned in the UDHR, the use of the word “everyone” naturally implies tourists as well. If this is the case, then tourists who visit Copenhagen become users of the city and therefore become part of its fabric and should be able to, through democratic methods, change the city to their liking just as residents can. Problems arise when a city, such as Venice, becomes oversaturated with tourism to the point where tourists outnumber residents. As mentioned, several times throughout this thesis, Copenhagen tourism is quickly expanding and the National Tourism Strategy predicts a 60 percent growth in tourism until 2025 (Tourism for good, 2020). This increase poses a threat to residents' livelihoods, but if Copenhagen were to restrict the number of tourists into the city, then according to many human rights declarations, rights will be stricken from the tourists. Tourism and tourists in general provide many benefits to cities, such as Copenhagen, but at what cost to the residents? They have become large enough to influence legislation and reshape neighbourhoods through pure numbers. Copenhagen must weigh the pros and cons of tourism to keep the impact low, but economic figures high. Tourism is commonly credited for resident mass-exoduses,

although this has not been the case in Copenhagen. However, the cost of living in high touristic areas may well have increased due to tourism gentrification. “During this process of tourist gentrification, which often takes place in residential neighbourhoods; living, business and workspaces become consumption spaces for tourists, in the shape of hotels, restaurants, trendy cafes, art galleries, and souvenir boutiques” (Chan et al. 2016). In the context of tourism, the relationship between the rights of tourists and the resident’s right to live where they please are related to the concept of freedom of movement. In relation to tourist’s rights, Copenhagen must put greater emphasis on responsible tourism and the optimisation of tourism benefits, rather than simply focusing on growth and a great step forward is the *Localhood* initiative.

As we can see, both the residents and tourists of Copenhagen feel they have a right to the city. On one hand the residents often feel that Copenhagen is their city, and they should not be pushed out or overlooked, however on the other hand, tourists feel that it is their right to visit destinations outside of their own homes. Both these views are legitimate and can be claimed as basic human rights as outlined by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Wonderful Copenhagen must ensure that both parties feel they are entitled to use the city and its resources in a way that does not harm the other party.

4.6 Tourism Strategies of Wonderful Copenhagen

Tourism promotion in Copenhagen is done through the DMO Wonderful Copenhagen. Since their founding in 1992, their strategies for attracting tourism have evolved from simply attracting more tourism with no input from residents to today's strategy of sustainable tourism, where residents, tourists, business owners and the city are included in planning. The desire to create a liveable city where all users can not only coexist but benefit mutually has developed into the idea of creating a sense of *localhood*. Liveability, in terms of city users is apparent in their strategies. Here, this research will discuss Wonderful Copenhagen’s *Localhood* and *Tourism For Good* strategies to evaluate their techniques to secure a liveable city for its users.

TOWARDS A NEW BEGINNING OF LOCALHOOD



Figure22: Localhood. (The end of tourism as we know it, 2020)

4.6.1 Localhood

The creation of a *localhood* in Copenhagen has been on the agenda since a 2020 strategy publication created by Wonderful Copenhagen (The End of Tourism as We Know It, 2020). In this, they stress that tourism needs to be viewed differently than it has in the past. Within this frame, Wonderful Copenhagen believes that a change must occur, shifting from mass tourism, the perfect photo and site-specific tourism to building a relationship between tourists, locals and the city. They believe that with the estimated 3.9% growth in tourism per year, tourism must be integrated into the city, rather than tolerated (ibid). Tourists must no longer be seen as a nuisance to Copenhagen. Instead, the hope is that they will become part of the city, benefiting residents, businesses and city development. Furthermore, residents must change their perspective on tourism and see tourists as beneficial, rather than detrimental to their livelihoods. Achievement of this shift, as proposed by Wonderful Copenhagen, must involve the city, including residents, local businesses, private and public services and governmental organisations, not to mention the tourists themselves. Stating, “The biggest threat to the DMO (Destination Management Organisation) today is not the end of tourism, but rather our resistance to change along with it” (TEOTAWKI, 2020). Wonderful Copenhagen understands that tourism is undergoing a shift, and without proper measures, Copenhagen will be unprepared. Learning from both past mistakes, as well as cities in a similar position, Copenhagen has been on the forefront of reimagining how tourism can be transformed into a positive. To outline the steps needed for this vision to succeed, they have

created 8 road signs or key movements that will allow tourism to continue to flourish, while reducing harm to the city and its residents. The 8 road signs can be described as:

1. *The experience of a temporary localhood.*

Many cities experience mass tourism, but often this results in more negatives than positives. Such examples would be all inclusive cruise ship tourism, where thousands of passengers disembark the ship, spend a few hours wandering around the city taking photos and then return to the ship for the free dinner. While the goal of Localhood does not aim to reduce cruise ship tourism, it does encourage visitors to experience the city. This refers to creating experiences, rather than creating photo books. Ideally, travellers would wish to absorb themselves into the city, getting their hands dirty and experiencing a true and authentic Copenhagen.

2. *Locals are the Destination.*

Commonly, tourists visit new destinations based on history, nature or culture. Wonderful Copenhagen wishes to market the city as much more than historic buildings and tourist attractions. The current shift stresses that tourist hotspots, such as the little mermaid, offer no personal or emotional connection for many travellers. Instead, they believe that an authentic experience lies within interactions with locals. In this way the culture of Copenhagen becomes the focus. Although, without proper communication with the residents of Copenhagen, they become merely an attraction themselves. To facilitate relations between residents and tourists, 10x Copenhagen has been entrusted to discover the wants and needs of residents. Additionally, many grassroots organisations have been created with the focus of creating connections with locals and tourists. Furthermore, departing from site specific tourism allows for showcasing the uniqueness of a Copenhagener.

3. *Branding is all about relations.*

With current technology, branding is more important than ever. Visiting a tour agency and receiving a brochure highlighting the “must-see sites” of a city are ending. Today the branding of a city is gained largely by speaking to or reading what others have experienced. Therefore, the relationships tourists have, whether from websites or speaking to friends or family, affects the tourist’s overall experience. DMO’s, like

Wonderful Copenhagen, still have a place in the branding of a city, but in today's climate of increasingly tech savvy tourists, media, whether online or print, is more important than ever. Therefore, ensuring the media portrays Copenhagen in a positive light is central to the developments of Wonderful Copenhagen.

4. *From Marketing to Enabling.*

As the marketing of Copenhagen has shifted from mass tourism to *localhood*, the DMO's role evolves as well. The goal of Localhood is to provide tourists an experience, rather than a photo opportunity. Although Localhood is a concept created by Wonderful Copenhagen, this trend already exists globally. As tourists continually aim to have an experience, rather than a photo, the DMO must adapt. The focus needs to spotlight experiences while strategically telling a story that assists in creating the localhood that many seek. Copenhagen is known for its fairy tale history, which connects on a personal level with many visitors, but aside from that many travellers have little knowledge of the residents themselves. Therefore, shifting the focus in a way that highlights the lives of Copenhagen's residents opens many new possibilities. Wonderful Copenhagen has begun to promote grass-roots organisations such as *Meet a Dane* and *Dine with the Danes*, both include being invited into a Danish home to share a meal while discussing Danish culture, history and whatever else the guest would like to know.

5. *A traveller is all kinds of human.*

Branding must shift from the one-size-fits-all tourism promotion that is often the standard, to accepting that each individual is traveling for his/her own specific reason. The promotion of standard tourism must cease, allowing for increased flexibility in tourism. This is apparent in Wonderful Copenhagen's Localhood initiative. Although the discontinuation of promoting certain sites has begun, Wonderful Copenhagen remains committed to highlighting the city's historic and unique attractions, while adding the additional aspect of localhood. Creating opportunities for a wide variety of tourists not only makes Copenhagen more attractive to potential visitors, but it can also help disperse travels to less visited areas, reducing overcrowding.

6. *Global urban Travellers.*

The increase of urban growth brings increasingly wealthy travellers to Copenhagen putting immense pressure on the city to “ensure that visitor growth does not come at the expense of the destination's local quality and liveability” (TEOTAWKI, 2020). Herein, Copenhagen must maintain its image, while at the same time prepare for an influx of wealthy urban travellers. The cost to visit Copenhagen is already higher than many other European cities and could potentially increase if Copenhagen chooses to focus on developing in a way that accommodates wealthier travellers.

7. *Digital is yesterday's question; new data is today's.*

With today's technology, DMOs can easily and accurately measure visitors' behaviour, tourism trends and new business potential. This can greatly benefit the tourism industry, allowing it to mature into a sustainable future. “As a consequence of digitalization, everyone and everything today generates new data” (Tourism for Good, 2020). With passive data collection, the use of digital big data can greatly assist in tourism planning.

8. *Agility to change and fail fast.*

DMOs must be prepared to change with the current trends of tourism. As tourism shifts, DMOs need to shift as well. “In today's digital economy, the players – big and small – have access to enter the market, making innovation an increasingly open process between many different participants across industries, e.g., travel and tech, travel and urban planning, travel and data analytics” (Tourism for Good, 2020). It is necessary for Wonderful Copenhagen to identify these changes while also remaining connected to the public sector. As tourism evolves, the Wonderful Copenhagen's KPI's must look beyond simply counting overnight stays, they must adapt to see the greater value creation within the tourism economy.

Realising current trends and adapting to the travellers of the future is paramount, and the role of the DMO must be shifted to accommodate this change. The future of branding focuses on people, rather than only sites. It realises travellers come for different reasons and must adapt to that. Furthermore, as wealthier travellers continue to choose Copenhagen as a destination, tourism planning must accommodate these tourists while acknowledging budget travel as an option that many prefer. The primary focal point of Wonderful Copenhagen is human

relations and “where the differentiation between destination and home of locals is one and the same. A destination, where locals and visitors not only co-exist, but interact around shared experiences of localhood (Teotwaki, 2020).

During this researcher’s own on-site observations in both Nyhavn and the Inner City street of Strøget, it was clear that a divide between tourists and residents is present. This is especially prevalent in Nyhavn, where tourists outnumbered the locals by this researcher’s estimation; 3 to 1. Separation between the locals and tourists was obvious in many cases, such as who eats at specific restaurants or sits/stands in a certain area. This observation provided an explanation as to why Wonderful Copenhagen no longer promotes Nyhavn as a destination. Although there are several nice restaurants, great views and beautiful buildings, many residents seem to avoid Nyhavn due to the sheer number of tourists in the area. If sustainable tourism is to be achieved, areas such as Nyhavn need to become a shared space, one that accommodates the tourist while not excluding the resident. As with Nyhavn, Strøget receives a great amount of tourism. However, unlike Nyhavn, tourists are less distinguishable from residents. Nyhavn is filled with people taking photographs and admiring the area, Strøget lacks this. Cameras are less visible, and the flow of pedestrian traffic is continuous. Although Strøget is extremely busy, it is a shared space between locals and tourists. Along the street, which runs from Rådhuspladsen to Kongens Nytorv, a distance of 1.1 kilometres, there are 7 tourist souvenir shops, indicating this is a highly popular tourist location. On the street there was a mix of Danish and several other languages, although interaction between these groups seemed non-existent. According to 10x Copenhagen’s research, the inner city, which includes both Nyhavn and Strøget, are at the highest risk of residents developing negative feelings towards tourism, and therefore are not promoted by Wonderful Copenhagen anymore.



Figure 24

: The popular city centre walking street - Strøget ("Strøget, Copenhagen", 2019)



Figure 25: Nyhavn in Central Copenhagen (Peter, 2017)

Sustainable tourism is central to Wonderful Copenhagen, and spending just over an hour at these two sites has shown this researcher that many changes must be made to achieve this goal. Although tourists do in fact visit the restaurants at Nyhavn, they primarily cater to tourists, noticeable by their English language menus out front of each restaurant. While the hotdog vendor on the street is swamped with only Danish speaking customers. The

dismantling of this divide between residents and tourists is central to the concept of localhood. While on Strøget, most pedestrians with shopping bags were Danish speakers. It would seem that tourists visit the area, but spend little money at the many stores lining the street. The concept of localhood hopes to not only encourage tourists to visit less popular sections of the city, but it also encourages tourists to frequent local establishments or make purchases where the locals shop. Although many of the stores on Strøget and restaurants in Nyhavn are owned by non-Danish companies, Wonderful Copenhagen promotes international shopping tourism as a way to benefit the city.

4.6.2 Tourism for Good

“Sustainable growth is considered the only relevant kind of growth!” (Tourism for Good, 2020).

In addition to *Localhood*, Wonderful Copenhagen has a strong focus on sustainable tourism, stating in their Tourism for Good report, “Wonderful Copenhagen’s ambition for 2030 is that tourism in Greater Copenhagen positively impacts local and global sustainable development” (ibid). They acknowledge that tourism will continue to grow, and this will put immense pressure on climate change. According to a research article posted in Nature.com, tourism-related activity accounts for 8% of global carbon emissions (Lenzen et al., 2018), and this figure is set to rise as tourism continues to expand. Therefore, by aligning their (Wonderful Copenhagen) goals with the UN’s Sustainable Development Goals (SDG’s), with an overarching mission to achieve goal 8, *Decent work and economic growth*. Within this SDG goal 8, the promotion of beneficial and sustainable tourism is outlined as “By 2030, devise and implement policies to promote sustainable tourism that creates jobs and promotes local culture and products” (United Nations, 2015). “A journey to Copenhagen should be inspirational to travellers from around the world with solutions on sustainable living in a metropolitan city. The long-term ambition is to make tourism part of the solution, instead of the problem” (Tourism for Good, 2020). To help create sustainable tourism in Copenhagen, Wonderful Copenhagen outlines 4 focus areas.

1. Broadening Tourism – SDG’s 8, 9 and 11

A desire to reduce overcrowding by dispersing tourists throughout the city. This will benefit areas where tourism alienates locals due to excessive amounts of tourists, as

well as areas that are under-touristed and see little to no benefit from the tourism industry. The belief is that tourism should have a positive impact on urban development in all areas of Copenhagen.

Wonderful Copenhagen promotes areas outside the inner city to broaden the use of Copenhagen. As tourism evolves, Wonderful Copenhagen believes that many visitors would welcome experiences outside the inner city. “The city centre, its neighbourhoods and the countryside are not opposites but may be connected to create a richer and more holistic tourism experience” (Tourism for Good, 2020)

In order to achieve a solid sustainable tourism base outside the inner city, potential destinations must be used in a way that will benefit both locals and tourists. While focusing on Localhood, Wonderful Copenhagen wishes for tourists to experience the city as a temporary local. To succeed, future facilities must be created for the benefit of locals and tourists alike, creating a potential interaction between both parties.

“Thus, the goal is not fewer visitors, but that they make broader use of the destination” (Tourism for Good, 2020).

2. *Tourism Choice Matters - SDG's 6, 7, 11, 12 and 14*

Tourism consumption and behaviour can have negative impacts if managed improperly. Globally, tourism is partly to blame for the degradation of the Earth, social issues, over consumption of natural resources and climate change to name a few. Creating sustainable tourism is simply not possible unless consumption and behaviour changes. Wonderful Copenhagen believes that to achieve this change, three things must happen.

First, many of the current products and experiences available do not take sustainability into consideration. Oftentimes, the tourism sector values profits over sustainability. Wonderful Copenhagen pledges to work within this sector to “support and encourage the tourism sector to develop sustainable tourism products and infrastructure” (Tourism for Good, 2020). The belief is that all tourism related businesses should act in a responsible manner to promote sustainability.

Second, Long term sustainability is central to Wonderful Copenhagen's strategy. Therefore, they have stated that they must "create coherence between international marketing targeting potential travellers, travellers' behaviour and consumption during their visit and sustainable destination development. There must be greater coherence between the segments we choose to attract and the destination" (Tourism for Good, 2020).

Finally, Wonderful Copenhagen is adamant about portraying Copenhagen as a sustainable destination. They pledge to not only continue this narrative but expand and strengthen it. According to their own Tourism for Good publication, Wonderful Copenhagen must achieve this through prioritising communication. Sustainable choices are often available to tourists, but are not readily visible. Therefore, these choices must be highlighted and promoted, as well as creating new sustainable choices by discovering what tourists want or need.

"If tourism consumption and behaviour are managed responsibly, we will lower the negative environmental, social and economic impacts of tourism" (Tourism for Good, 2020).

3. Partnerships for Good - SDG's 11, 12 and 17

Central to Wonderful Copenhagen's sustainability plans are partnerships. These partnerships allow Wonderful Copenhagen to gather information in order to build a sustainable tourism industry. They focus on three separate but overlapping perspectives to build and grow these partnerships.

Beginning with making sustainable choices, Wonderful Copenhagen is committed to ensuring the tourism industry makes sustainable choices. This begins with identifying the positive and negative impacts of tourism in Copenhagen. This includes gathering data, such as 10x Copenhagen's report, and determining what needs to be done.

Second, Wonderful Copenhagen states that "this knowledge should be activated in Wonderful Copenhagen's unique position between public sector, private sector and civil society" (Tourism for Good, 2020). Furthermore, this knowledge (data) will be used to form collaborations with these sectors to promote sustainable tourism.

Lastly, using major events already existing in Copenhagen where sustainability is a theme, Wonderful Copenhagen wishes to build collaborations to include a theme of sustainable tourism. Furthermore, Wonderful Copenhagen will actively work with the city of Copenhagen to attract additional events such as these, making Copenhagen an attractive host city for major events on sustainability.

“If Wonderful Copenhagen collects, activates and distributes knowledge about sustainability in partnerships and events, it will contribute to sustainable destination development” (Tourism for Good, 2020).

4. Leading by Example - SDG’s 6, 7 and 12

“Wonderful Copenhagen, as an organisation, consumes resources on account of its daily operation and procurement” (Tourism for Good, 2020).

Wonderful Copenhagen believes that a DMO, such as themselves, must “practise what they preach”. In other words, if Wonderful Copenhagen is concerned with creating sustainable tourism, then they themselves need to lead by example. The responsibility of sustainability does not lie solely in the hands of the tourist. To further explain Leading by Example, they have outlined three factors that they must improve.

First, Wonderful Copenhagen must ensure that they operate in the most sustainable way possible. This includes its office, transport habits and the events organised by Wonderful Copenhagen. The negative environmental impacts regarding Wonderful Copenhagen must be reduced or eliminated.

Next, the office culture created among Wonderful Copenhagen must naturally incorporate “sustainability in projects, partnerships, collaborations, campaigns, events, recruitment and other activities initiated” (Tourism for Good, 2020).

Finally, creating sustainability targets and reports will help to gauge whether Wonderful Copenhagen’s strategies are succeeding or need to be modified further.

In addition to ensuring they (Wonderful Copenhagen) operate sustainably, they also strive to do it in a way that others can duplicate. In other words, Wonderful

Copenhagen wishes to be seen as a sustainable tourism role model for cities across the globe.

Sustainable Development Goal 8, while seen as important by Wonderful Copenhagen, is not the only SDG they strive to meet. Within these 4 focus areas outlined above, Wonderful Copenhagen identifies 8 of the 17 goals as either high impact or some impact to the pursuit of sustainable tourism (figure 26).



Figure 26: Rating impact levels of the SDGs on tourism planning (Tourism for Good, 2020)

These SDG’s, “adopted by all United Nations Member States in 2015, provide a shared blueprint for peace and prosperity for people and the planet, now and into the future” (United Nations, 2015). Wonderful Copenhagen has devised a plan to tackle unsustainable tourism by means of meeting or exceeding 8 of these 17 SDG’s. The ultimate goal of the *Tourism for Good* action plan is to become a world leader in the promotion of sustainable tourism by creating partnerships, empowering locals and visitors and expanding tourism in line with the UN SDG’s.

4.6.3 Summary of tourism strategies and impacts

Wonderful Copenhagen’s overall tourism strategy is that of sustainable tourism. In this, they use the introduce the concept of *Localhood* to illustrate its impacts on the users of the city.

Tourism, as previously mentioned can have a dire impact on a city's infrastructure, its people, the environment and the tourist experience. By being committed to ensuring sustainable tourism is practised, liveability can be achieved. The concepts outlined in the *Tourism for Good* and *Localhood* publications have provided a framework for the future of tourism in Copenhagen. It is apparent that there is consideration for all users of the city. Understanding that economic factors are not the only goal of tourism has led Wonderful Copenhagen on a path to creating sustainable tourism. There is focus on all three of the UNWTO's considerations for tourism, Social, Economic and Environment. As mentioned several times throughout this research, Copenhagen's increasing tourism numbers are concerning, but with proper tourism planning and implementation of effective strategies a sustainable model for sustainable tourism can be produced.

Wonderful Copenhagen strives to create a city where all users can share the city in a way that benefits everyone. Although this utopian dream is improbable, through their willingness to take chances, fail and evolve, Wonderful Copenhagen chooses to lead by example in the quest for sustainable tourism.

While Wonderful Copenhagen's strategies are focused on sustainable tourism, not all of Copenhagen's users will be satisfied. Examining Lefebvre's, *The Right to the City* shows us that residents deserve a voice in the city. There will always be varying opinions on how tourism planning should be dealt with in Copenhagen. However, working with data collection organisations, such as 10x Copenhagen, allows Wonderful Copenhagen act in accordance with the majority, ensuring the voice of the largest and most powerful is represented. If this is the case, then Doxey's Irridex may or may not prove true. On one hand, tourism is expected to continue to grow, irritating the locals, but on the other hand if Wonderful Copenhagen ensures this growth is sustainable, involving local's views and opinions while also facilitating meetings between locals and tourists, then opinions of the locals may shift more favourably towards tourism.

5 Discussion and Future Research

This research relied almost entirely on secondary data. While this proved effective and resulted in providing a thorough understanding of tourism planning in Copenhagen, interviews, surveys and other primary data collection techniques were initially sought after. Unfortunately, as this was research based on document analysis, many issues that were initially a concern were excluded due to being unable to collect primary data. However, this researcher believes a complete overview of tourism planning in Copenhagen has been covered.

Furthermore, due to time constraints and Covid-19, making a more complete study on Overtourism proved difficult. As this thesis was written in three months, it was decided that Wonderful Copenhagen's tourism strategies would be the primary data to be analysed. The limited data used affected the results of the study, but provided insights into the strategies of Wonderful Copenhagen in their pursuit of sustainable tourism. The thesis only focused on a few of the impacts of tourism, primarily in Copenhagen. However, this thesis can be perceived as an overview of the topic, as many cities around the globe face similar issues. If possible, this research would have expanded the concept of *The Right to the City*, showing how it connects to Wonderful Copenhagen's sustainable tourism and localhood concepts. Again, unfortunately, time constraints were at play, and therefore it was only touched upon briefly.

Results of Wonderful Copenhagen's current strategies requires a long-term study. The current strategies are only a year old and therefore there is uncertainty if they will succeed. Future research (a year or two out) could include resident and tourist interviews, additional observations, and talks with business owners (tourist shops and non tourist shops) to evaluate the success or failure of these strategies. Furthermore, Copenhagen is not the only city to have a sustainable tourism strategy. I would be interesting to examine an existing strategy from another city to see what has worked and what has not.

6 Conclusion

As tourism continues to grow, many cities are experiencing great challenges. Some even to the point where a drastic re-imagining of tourism must occur. This thesis used two cities fitting this description, Barcelona, Spain and Venice, Italy. Both these cities have experienced enormous growth of tourism in recent decades, so much that hostility towards tourists is commonplace. It is impractical to outlaw tourism completely, as this would not only violate basic human rights, but tourism can add extreme value to a city. Therefore, the concept of sustainable tourism has entered the vocabulary of many cities across the globe. To effectively create sustainable tourism is not a simple task. Cooperation with government officials, city planners, residents, businesses, and tourists must occur.

In 2019, Wonderful Copenhagen unveiled its latest tourism strategy. One that pledges to meet or exceed the many of the UN's Sustainable Development Goals of 2030. Focusing on tourism growth in a sustainable manner not only ensures revenue will continue to enter the economy, but has tremendous effect on the environment, the city and its people. Central to this strategy was the importance of marketing. Wonderful Copenhagen ceased promoting sites with high rates of visitors and began to highlight alternate areas instead, essentially spreading tourism benefits to neighbourhoods outside the city centre. Furthermore, the realization that the actions of the tourist can greatly alleviate many negative impacts of tourism, Wonderful Copenhagen introduced their concept of *Localhood*. Essentially re-labelling tourists as temporary locals. Their goal being that photos will be replaced with experiences. Encouraging locals and tourists to interact benefits both parties, helping tourists understand the city and its culture while giving the locals the chance to promote the Danish way of life and their city. It is through initiatives such as these that can eliminate many of the negative impacts of tourism, while contributing positively to the city and its users.

This thesis brings to light the importance of tourism planning. Lefebvre argues that a city belongs to its users. In the case of tourism, these users are primarily the locals and tourists. Copenhagen, striving to become a world leader in sustainability, views tourism planning as an important step in reaching this goal. While sustainability is often seen as an environmental issue, Wonderful Copenhagen places great emphasis on social sustainability, focusing strongly on creating interactions between the city's users and the city itself. Travelling, as well

as discovering new cultures and experiences is an opportunity that more people than ever have the ability to do. Therefore, cities, such as Copenhagen devise sustainable tourism plans that provide benefits for all parties involved. Tourism should not negatively affect its surroundings, but instead, it needs to ensure the continuance of sensible travel patterns in consideration for future generations.

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8 Appendix

8.1 On-site Observations

Here I provide a brief on-site observation of both Nyhavn and Strøget. In addition to these texts, I also took bullet point notes of my observations. These are not included in the following descriptions of the two areas. I felt that a brief write-up of what I observed will give the reader an idea of these areas. My notes, however, are nearly unreadable by anyone besides myself.

8.1.1 Nyhavn

I arrived at Nyhavn shortly after 1300 on a Saturday. The weather was 11 degrees and sunny. There was light wind, but not enough to cause discomfort. I came to Nyhavn on a bike and parked it at a bike rack nearby. I quickly looked at the other bikes and noticed that many were from hotels, indicating that tourists were likely nearby. My goal for today's visit was to observe the area in the hopes of understanding how this part of the city is impacted by tourism. The weather was nice, and it was around lunchtime, so this may have affected the amount of use here. I began my observation of Nyhavn from the large maritime anchor near the road. There were several people taking photos of it. I took a few photos as well. I then walked farther into Nyhavn and was directly in front of Strømme canal tours. There were approximately 25-30 people waiting in line to purchase tickets. On both sides of the boat dock were two underground toilets and their roofs were flat and concrete. On both these roofs stood many people taking photos, of each other, the buildings and boats. I then decided to sit and observe people for about 10 minutes. I noticed that the majority of people were in groups of two or more, many of them with kids. Although there were many large groups of 10 or more people, that spoke languages other than Danish. During my time sitting, I observed 2 rolling suitcases, 3 strollers and 3 dogs, although these could belong to residents or tourists. I did, however, see 2 groups of people looking at paper maps (from wonderful Copenhagen), These are most likely tourists. After my sit, I decided to walk around a bit. My intent was to get close enough to the people either sitting down in restaurant or walking and listen to see if they were speaking Danish or some other language. During this walk, I also looked at the menu card of 3 restaurants and 2 or the 3 were in English only. When I was listening to people, I did not take count of Danish vs. non-Danish, but I would guess that there was more non-Danish spoken than Danish by quite a bit. A final thing I did was to walk from one end (near

Kongens Nytorv) to the other end (where the restaurants stop) and count how many people I see taking photos. It took me 4 minutes 35 seconds to walk from one end to the other (382 meters)

The beauty of the area has an obvious reason for its attraction. Nyhavn is well taken care of, with plenty of large trashcans (with trash going underground). The ground was fairly clean, although there was a little bit of trash on it.

8.1.2 Strøget

I entered the street of Strøget from Kongens Nytorv. My first thought was that there were a lot of people, and everyone seemed to be trying to get somewhere. It was different than Nyhavn, where people moved slower and took photos are stopped to talk and take in the sights. Strøget is a busy shopping street in the centre of Copenhagen. Many of the people here were speaking Danish, but I also heard quite a bit of other languages spoken. Cameras were not as prevalent as they were at Nyhavn. The same can be said for groups, most of the people entering Strøget were either by themselves or with one or two other people. I walked from Nyhavn to Strøget, passing through Kongens Nytorv, a large plaza that was recently restored. Many of the people that left Nyhavn at the same time as me, walked directly over to Strøget. Although I observed a lot of people exiting the metro station or Magasin (large shopping centre) and then walking to the street. Within 10 meters of entering the street, there was a money exchange on one side and a tourist souvenir shop on the other. Both establishments had people using them, but they were not busy. As I walked further down the crowds got a little more dispersed, until I reached the first road crossing. Here there was a large crowd waiting to cross the street on both sides. I heard a lot of languages being spoken, probably more foreign language than Danish, but a lot of people were not speaking at all, so I don't know the makeup of Danish vs Visitor. After crossing the street, I heard a couple mention that they wanted to take some photos and they turned around and headed back towards Kongens Nytorv. I did not follow... Observing the people, I would say about 20-30% of them had shopping bags. This made me think that a lot of people come here to shop, but then again, a lot of people might just come here to check out one of the longest walking streets in the world. Continuing, there was not much to observe. People were mainly walking, some were going into and coming out of stores, but the majority were walking at a fast past. Although

there were a lot of slow walkers. I got to the large Stork fountain where the street got much wider and opened into Amagertorv and Højbro Plads plazas. There were a lot of people standing around and talking and a few taking photos, but not many. Here there was also a bike lane that splits the two plazas and a cycle taxi parking spot. Although there were no bike taxis there, I am unsure if this is due to covid-19 and the decrease in tourism or some other factor, but in the past years when I visited the area, there were always bike taxis parked there.

As I walked further the street got narrow again and became very crowded. There is a metro station at Højbro Plads and another popular walking street (Købemagsgade leads to the most popular metro/train station in Copenhagen) that intersects at Amagertorv. So, I assumed that this is where a lot of people enter Strøget. Once I got to Gammel Torv there was another street that was used for vehicle traffic. I crossed it and continued to Rådhuspladsen. Between Gammel Torv and Rådhuspladsen was where the majority of the souvenir shops were located.

The whole street of Strøget was approximate 1.1 kilometres.

