
Kurt Luger

Value Creation and Visitor Management

Policy Considerations for Managing World Heritage Tourism in the City of Salzburg, Austria

1 Cultural tourism in trend

There are not many cities where culture and tourism are so closely intertwined as in the case of Salzburg. They form the essential economic factors for the city and therefore require careful strategic control. In the case of culture, this is provided by the respective valid cultural mission statements with their focal points and the medium-term financing of cultural institutions specified therein. The same applies to the long-term programme planning of the major cultural institutions, above all the Salzburg Festival. In addition, there are other private or publicly supported cultural and concert organizers. For tourism, the Tourism Concept 2017 with its strong focus on marketing had this function. With the validity horizon 2020–2025, a new concept is currently being developed that is geared to current and future challenges. Regulatory measures for visitor guidance and traffic calming are planned.

With about 10% of the global economic output and an enormous annual growth rate – in cultural tourism one speaks of about 15% and 40% of all trips contain a more or less distinct cultural component – tourism is one of the most dynamic service industries worldwide. All trends indicate that it will continue to grow. In Europe, this is most clearly visible in the needs of the growing urban middle classes in the densely populated countries of Asia, who want to get to know the attractions of European cultural cities (World Travel & Tourism Council 2019; Travelchinaguide 2019).

This development can be clearly seen in the example of Salzburg and many other destinations. In Mozart's birthplace, the number of overnight stays and day tourists has approximately doubled over the past 20 years. An initial study estimated five to six million day visitors (ÖAR Regional Consulting 2007). However, overnight stay records or the number of visitors say little about added value. Therefore, Statistik Austria operates a “tourism satellite account” that records the tourism expenditure of domestic and foreign travellers. In Austria, this amounted to around 42 billion € in 2017. The resulting direct and indirect value added effects of 32 billion € contributed 8.7% to the gross domestic product. If tourism and the leisure

industry are added together, the figure is 15.9%. The elaborate estimates give an indication of the importance of this economic sector. The calculations are mostly based on the method of gross value added of net sales, which is supplemented and extended by weightings and estimates (Fettner 2019; Statistik Austria 2019).

According to a recent macroeconomic regional study by the Gesellschaft für Angewandte Wirtschaftsforschung (Society for Applied Economic Research), Tyrolean tourism alone, with almost 50 million overnight stays in the period from May 2017 to April 2018, achieved a value added of 6.8 billion €. About 40 % of this is generated by the accommodation and catering sector and 60 % by other sectors such as trade, services, construction, manufacturing and agriculture. In total, the tourism value-added effects in these sectors will secure another 55,000 jobs (Haigner/Walkobinger 2019). Tourism in the Federal Capital Vienna generates a value added of around 3.7 billion € and guarantees around 90,000 jobs (Rottenberg 2018; City of Vienna 2019). The combined value added of the *Salzburg Festival* of classical music and *Salzburg Advent Singing* is around 200 million € annually. (Eymannsberger/Kurtz 2017; 2019). Both events are not only among the city's major image carriers, but also generate considerable economic effects that go far beyond the direct added value generated from tourism. A value creation study is currently being prepared for the federal state of Salzburg with its approx. 30 million overnight stays. Without day tourists, the value is assumed to be around 4.5 billion €. Tourism in the city of Salzburg generates a value added of around one billion €, one third of which is estimated to be assigned to the World Heritage (UNESCO Chair 2019).

A study among international tourists published in 2018 gave an insight into the motives of Salzburg visitors. According to the study, 40 % came for the historical old town and for the sightseeing/excursion destinations, 27 % came for the mixture of nature and culture, 21 % wanted to experience the historical heritage of Mozart, 17 % were attracted by the art and culture on offer in the city and 14 % by customs and traditions. 12 % each came to the city for “The Sound of Music”, for the Salzburg Festival or for the special markets. The historic city as World Heritage Site was explicitly mentioned by 10 % of the visitors as a motive, whereby several motives could be named. (TSG Tourism Salzburg, T-Mona Survey 2018).

The thematically broad leitmotif of culture, music, churches, sound of music and world heritage architecture, which follows the basic principle of storytelling, promises an unmistakable experience and – as previous and current satisfaction studies show – will be experienced very positively (Working Group Salzburg Tourism 2017). The main route, also known as the “Street of Ants”, leads millions of visitors through the pearls of the old town (Keul/Kühberger 1996) and up to the fortress, the most visited sight in Austria after Schönbrunn Palace and its surrounding gardens in Vienna.

2 World Heritage – destinations of longing and desire

As in Venice, Florence and many other world heritage sites that are highly attractive to tourists, Salzburg's tourism is characterized by the hunt for sights to experience the world heritage. However, the high quality of what is on offer should be matched by a appreciative approach that guarantees it due attention: From seeing to interpreting to opening up and understanding – this requires a communication appropriate to the high value of the symbolic figures of remembrance in the form of specific architecture or the cityscape, i.e. heritage communication instead of heritage marketing. A quick walk through in a group on standard routes in connection with a fleeting consumption of images and the obligatory “selfie” certainly does not achieve this and does not generate a sufficiently emotional, experiential or identifying experience. A two or three-hour round tour through the 17th and 18th centuries – souvenir shopping included – certainly does not do justice to the unique ensemble and its historical significance (Hoffmann 2008; Eherer 2013).

Cultural tourism is generally understood to be a culturally motivated journey, which means that an interest in culture can be assumed among travellers. True cultural tourists visit a culturally significant place explicitly for the purpose of viewing works of art, architecture or to participate in a cultural event such as a festival. The cultural dimension is clearly at the centre of the journey. Tourists who spend two weeks on a Mediterranean beach, however, are also eager to catch a glimpse of the ruins of Carthage or Knossos, or they come from one of the Salzkammergut lakes or from an Alpine wellness oasis for a sightseeing tour to the festival city. Such a culturally motivated visit to the World Heritage District makes them casual cultural tourists, especially since they are primarily entertainment-oriented and in this case hardly strive for distinction (Steinecke 2007). The same is true for winter sports enthusiasts who come to the city from their ski resort for a bad weather day to take in the baroque architectural ensemble, power shopping and the atmosphere of a coffee house. In any case, the segment of explicit or casual cultural tourists is growing continuously and therefore cultural tourism is also the focus of attention of the travel industry for economic reasons – valorisation of culture also in terms of observable living environments or traditions (Richards 2018).

The World Heritage Site “Historic City of Salzburg” is undoubtedly interlocked with tourism. For a good 150 years, the city has been one of the top international destinations for cultural tourism. Culture in all its forms and productions is the trademark of this city, it shapes the typical “habitus of the city” (Lindner 2003), which has long since become a “cultural experience” (Brandner/Luger/Mörth 1994) and can also score points in the popular-cultural segment with the Sound of Music tourism (Kammerhofer-Aggermann/Keul 2000; Luger 1994). It is currently visited by an estimated six to seven million day tourists every year and, with 1.8 million overnight guests, has 3.1 million registered overnight stays, plus 360,000 overnight stays in Airbnb accommodation. This represents a doubling compared to

2002 and is accompanied by an increase in the occupancy rate of city hotels (2018: 292 days) as well as a much higher traffic load on the entire road network. Around 15,000 hotel beds are currently available, further hotels are under construction or planned, and there is also an enormous supply of beds in the neighbouring communities outside the city, which is often used by bus tourists who then visit the city as day tourists (TSG information dated 29.4.2019).

Although Salzburg is already known worldwide and branded as the birthplace of Mozart, the Salzburg Festival and in the popular genre with “The Sound of Music”, the award given by the UNESCO World Heritage Committee in December 1996 to belong to the heritage of mankind is another quality feature and seal of approval. While the marketing of music – the classical music of the various festivals and the genius loci Mozart as well as the popular music of the film “The Sound of Music” – in the context of cultural-touristic offers and merchandizing hardly seems to be surpassable, there are so far no explicit tourist offers that would do justice to the World Heritage Site under this label of its extraordinary importance (UNESCO Chair 2012, 2019).

3 Carrying capacity and visitor management

This provokes the question of how many tourists the World Heritage Site can accommodate without damaging the quality of the experience or the facility itself. The fear that everyone will find what they are looking for at the same time, thereby destroying or impairing the experience, cannot be dismissed in the summer peak season and in the pre-Christmas period.

Culture as a tourist experience is an enormous growth market, which has recently led to the phenomenon of overtourism in many places. This refers to a state in which the number of tourists overtakes the local conditions and is detrimental to both tourists and locals. The limits of resilience or the resilience of a place or a region are then reached or exceeded, the tourism attitude of the population and the tourist experience develop negatively and tourism becomes the opposite of sustainability (Goodwin 2017).

The latest “European City Tourism Study 2018 – Protecting your City from Overtourism”, commissioned by the Austrian Hotel Association (Roland Berger 2018), provides an overview of crowded and prospering tourism cities. The core of the study is the creation of a matrix to create a benchmark on the topic of overtourism. The criteria for this are the survey of tourism density and value creation, with RevPAR, the revenue per available room, being used as an indicator. This is calculated by dividing the net logistic turnover by the sum of available rooms and the lower it is, the lower the added value.

According to expert opinion, the price of rooms in Austria is below the value that corresponds to the quality offered in an international comparison. This has a negative impact on this study, as Salzburg falls into the “mass trap” category, with

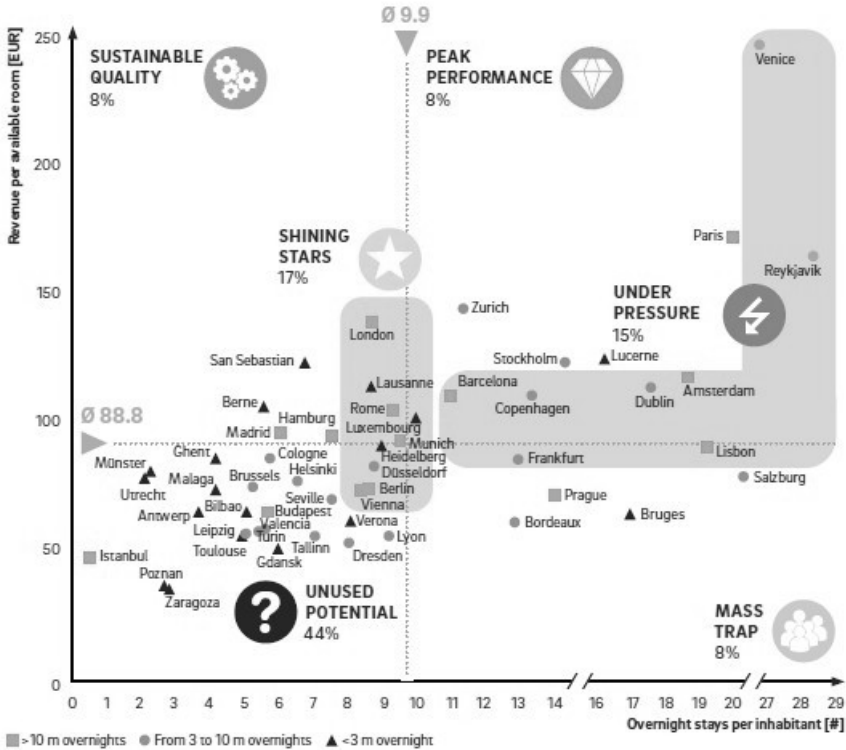
cities such as Bordeaux, Bruges and Prague, because the number of visitors is very high, but the return per room is comparatively low. Cities such as Amsterdam, Barcelona, Dublin, Frankfurt, Lisbon, Reykjavik and also Venice are described as “under pressure”. “Shining stars” would therefore be cities such as Berlin, Heidelberg, London, Lausanne, Munich, Rome and Vienna, Lucerne, Paris, Stockholm and Zurich, which rank among “peak performers”. Bern, Hamburg, Madrid and San Sebastian are named as cities with sustainability quality. A large number of cities also examined show unused potential – among them are Istanbul, Helsinki, Dresden, Cologne, Budapest, Brussels, Verona and Lyon.

Since the result is based on only two parameters, the findings of this study must be put into perspective. Firstly, the price of rooms in small Austrian towns – to which Salzburg belongs despite its festivals and cosmopolitanism – is actually in the lower segment by international comparison. The price level in Switzerland is double or triple that of Vienna or Salzburg, and the number of tourists in Bern or Zurich is far from reaching the same level as in Vienna or Salzburg. According to industry experts, however, the RevPAR of many Salzburg hotels is higher than the average value of 88.80 € assumed in this study for the 52 cities examined, and even tops the list in an Austrian comparison. Secondly, the study does not take into account the size of the city in relation to the tourist zone – which the authors themselves admit is a weakness (Preveden/Mirkovic et al. 2019). Small, monocentric tourism centres are under much greater pressure. Some districts in Amsterdam and Barcelona are exposed to similar pressures as the historical old town of Salzburg, but the area surrounding the tourist centres is much larger and the flows of visitors are spread over a larger area. Thirdly, day tourism is not taken into account and fourthly, the density of tourism in Venice – especially if day visitors are included – is probably much higher than in Salzburg, but due to the demand situation, room prices have reached an exorbitant level. The extremely negative consequences of the incomparably higher burden of tourism are expressed in other problems, such as a lack of housing and overpriced rents, emigration, the eroding community and the endangered ecology.

According to this study, Swiss cities would be the most successful, because the number of tourists is still within limits and hotel prices are very high. However, Switzerland is one of the most expensive travel countries in Europe, which is a problem for both travellers and the hotel industry. Not least because of the high exchange rate of the Swiss franc, which has pushed Swiss tourism among European guests back to the level of the 1960s, the Swiss tourism industry has been complaining for years about insufficient demand from other European countries and about the sub-optimal utilisation of hotel capacity (Tourism Research Centre 2015/16). This example shows that studies with results, focused only at economic value creation, need a more comprehensive evaluation in a larger context.

B: A tale of 52 cities

Our focus cities mapped and clustered



Source: Roland Berger: European City Tourism Study 2018 – Protecting your City from Overtourism, study commissioned by the Austrian Hotel Association. Munich 2018.

4 When the “red line” is crossed

In the recent literature on mass tourism and, more recently, on overtourism and overcrowding, there is widespread consensus that this is a state of affairs in a tourism destination that corresponds to a “perceived excess” of tourism (Pechlaner/Eckert/Olbrich 2018). Exceeding the “critical threshold” has accompanied the scientific discussion in the context of carrying capacity for many years as a dispositive, whereby it is decisive who determines the definition of the carrying capacity of a destination and with which indicators. The extent of the tourist infrastructure and its utilisation is one aspect, the traffic load or the use of the mobility infrastructure is another. Thirdly, there is the view of the local population, whose room to move is impaired by the mass of visitors. Their attitude towards tourism depends on the benefits they derive from the situation and whether their living conditions are negatively affected due to crowding, – and whether tolerance of the per-

ceived acceptable changes reaches its limits (tolerable rate of growth). Finally, visitor satisfaction is also an indicator of the extent to which tourists' wishes are satisfied, because endless queues and other inconveniences or restrictions caused by other tourists can have a major impact on the travel experience.

For the planning of sustainable tourism development, reference can be made to the Carrying Capacity Value Stretch Model (Mansfeld/Jonas 2006), which determines a level of tolerance with regard to an expectation level based on a current situation. If a "red line" is crossed in relation to the current level, the mood among the population will develop negatively. Salzburg's citizens, for example, are used to the large number of tourists in the Historic City and accept the central lanes full of visitors during the peak season, as well as overflowing garbage containers, occupied parking lots and coffee houses, but they find it disturbing when large groups of tourists block the way to the Old Town even in the low season or already in the early summer morning. If this unpleasant experience of density becomes a permanent state of affairs, public discontent is aroused. The aim of control must therefore be to manage visitors properly and not to overstretch the level of tolerance.

In order to maintain the acceptance of tourism among the local population or to shape it positively for future development, tourism policy and destination management can lay down the primary measures to be taken. But also the tour operators, civil society, above all the Old Town Business & Tourism Association and the "Stadtverein" (a civil society association aiming at a good preservation status of the historic city), which recently published a "White Paper for the City of Salzburg", calling for measures to curb tourism and preserve the World Heritage Site in a sustainable manner (Bastei 2019), are stakeholders. They are willing to get involved and seek long-term, workable solutions, because the problem will not solve itself in view of the unleashed mobility and the constantly growing volume of travel.

As shown in a recent survey conducted in May 2019, a vast majority of the Salzburg population demands tourism policy interventions on the part of the city, such as control measures concerning coach traffic, a regulation for Airbnb accommodation, a car-free old town in which only supply and hotel traffic is permitted, the establishment of a World Heritage Visitor Centre and even the limitation of day tourism is finding a majority. Traffic management measures and the equalisation of visitor flows are participatory tasks and also require responsible communication management. They should be formulated in a tourism master plan or in an urban development concept in the form of objectives and measures, and their implementation should be checked by continuous monitoring and adapted to the circumstances (UNESCO Chair 2019).

In the benchmarking study "World Heritage & Tourism – A Case Study on the Salzburg World Heritage Site" (UNESCO Chair 2012), the tasks to be solved as a matter of urgency at that time were identified: The creation of a tourism manage-

ment system; improvement of communication; establishment of a World Heritage visitor centre; increasing the number of main residences in order to revitalise the old town; creating awareness & civic pride for the World Heritage Site among the population; concretising overall responsibility for the World Heritage Site; staffing and funding for the World Heritage management measures to be taken; an “upgrade” of the tourist bus terminals. Directly connected with this were the strengthening of public transportation, the development of products under the quality brand title of World Heritage and the creation of a political lobby for World Heritage.

Most of these problems are still pending. The increase in individual tourism has led to an excessive increase in passenger car traffic and has exacerbated the transport problem. According to the recent study (UNESCO Chair 2019), the public transport system is considered inadequate by the locals, there is still massive criticism of the coach terminals close to the old town and the exodus of citizens from the old town is equally acute. Only with regard to the responsibility for the World Heritage Site has there been an improvement: steps have been taken to intensify communication about the World Heritage Site and a World Heritage Centre has been in the planning stage for some time.

Comprehensive tourism policy measures – which must primarily include the creation of a destination management system and new, environmentally friendly transport solutions – are probably necessary in order to quickly gain the room for manoeuvre needed to cope with further tourism growth in the future. The increasingly easy affordability of long-distance travel for Asians or the middle class of emerging countries, low air fares because aviation fuel is not taxed appropriately, the growth of city tourism through further offers from so-called “low-cost carriers”, the – sometimes illegal – letting of apartments to city tourists, which creates pressure on the housing market, the reckless behaviour of tourists who take up public space and attractive places are only some of the central symptoms of the phenomenon of overtourism. In addition, there is the burden of seasonal concentration, the gap between the economic importance of tourism and the challenging working conditions for service providers. Large transport capacities of cruising ships and coaches cause the intermittent appearance of a large number of tourists. This overstrains not only World Heritage sites, often small-scale historical centres, but also other destinations. “Herd” or “horde” tourism fundamentally impairs the tourist experience. But even the culture-driven heritage tourists differ between those who have chosen the destination for well-considered reasons and those who are only here to send the obligatory selfie of themselves in front of an image-laden building without really having any idea of the high quality of the cultural heritage surrounding them (d’Eramo 2017; McKercher 2002). The dominance of these “swarm tourists” can be countered with forms of visitor management, but other factors of global tourism development can only be influenced by the destinations to a certain extent or not at all (Goodwin 2019).

From the point of view of travellers, the effects of mass tourism include the following phenomena: large crowds of people, long waiting times, overpriced gastronomy and not very authentic cuisine, increased traffic and noise, an oversupply of tourist services (souvenir and fast food shops, kiosks) as well as waste and environmental pollution. What is most disturbing for tourists is the excess of their own kind – of other tourists who represent a burden and conflict factor in their own tourist experience.

Tourists perceive certain forms of overtourism, but usually cope with the challenges pragmatically, avoid them wherever possible or endure inconvenience. Urgent need for action has not yet been directly derived from customer satisfaction research (Bauer/Gardini 2019; Arnberger 2014). Rather, for certain tourism strongholds, coping aids and tips based on the experiences of others can be found in guide books or travel blogs. A wealth of online platforms and blogs offer help and their advice is used as a guide to successfully visiting Prague, Venice or other crowded destinations. Patience and tolerance are required everywhere as core competencies. Those who seek uniqueness must accept to share this experience with many others who are looking for the same thing, and adjust better to the expected situation.

In any case, the tourism of the future will also demand changes in attitude and behaviour from the tourists themselves. Pearce (2018) sees the ideal type as a “smart tourist” – the intelligent or experienced tourist who draws five lessons from the expected situation in advance. First, this tourist is well prepared for the destination and knows how to behave appropriately. Secondly, as an intelligent traveller, he uses the best mobility offers, travels to the destination by train or stays on the periphery with his car and uses public transport. He books guided tours, which he uses with the available discount cards. Thirdly, as an empathetic guest, he acts respectfully towards the local population and behaves within the framework of local conventions. As such, he also succeeds in making acquaintance with local people. Fourthly, this guest devotes sufficient time and attention to the place he or she is visiting, gets involved with the atmosphere and tries to behave in a “minimally invasive” manner, almost like a local, in order to trigger as few negative effects as possible. Fifthly, this tourist will therefore also be a smart technology user, because he will use the new technologies to optimize his stay.

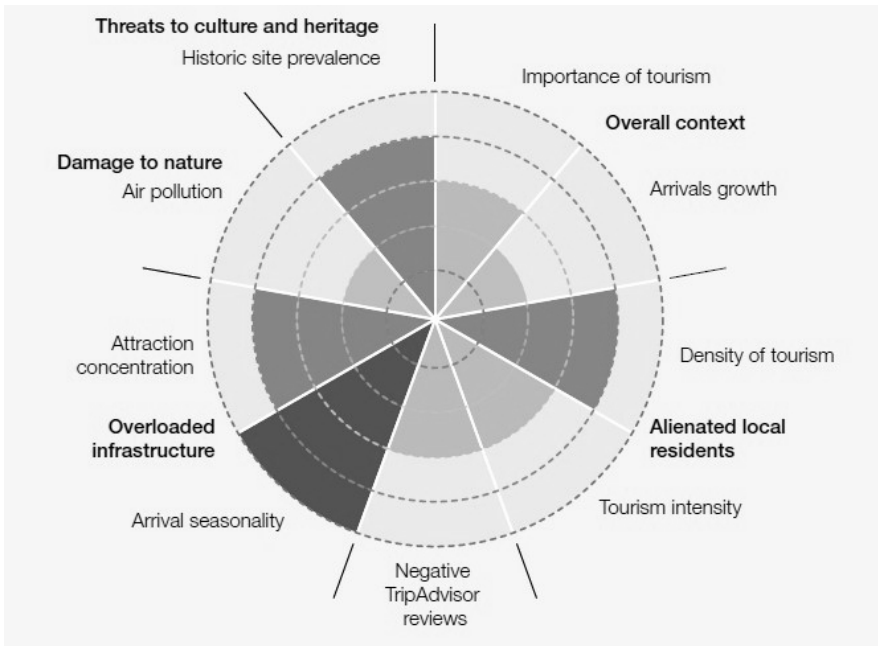
Clearly, such suggestions apply in principle to all tourist destinations and especially to those under great pressure such as historic old towns or even some winter sports resorts. Uncontrolled and mass tourist flows are everywhere connected with badly behaved guests, who leave behind a lot of rubbish, produce hours of traffic jams on the streets and create enormous price pressure on housing due to second homes and short-term rentals.

Also in Salzburg phenomena of overtourism can be observed on special occasions, during the high season in summer and in the pre-Christmas period. Nevertheless, the available data on the international image of the World Heritage and

festival city show a very positive picture for a stronghold of global cultural tourism, the tourist offer is consumed with great satisfaction. A stay in the city is therefore considered enjoyable, relaxing, and what is on offer is considered traditional but also authentic. Less than a fifth of visitors experience the city as expensive and overcrowded, with criticism of the price-performance ratio in the gastronomy sector being the loudest (TSG-T-Mona survey 2018).

In a study recently published by McKinsey (2017), 68 cities are compared with regard to their hazard risks. These hazard situations are divided into quintiles, which in circles from inside to outside increasingly represent the threat situation. The example of Barcelona, a city that has been struggling with overtourism for a long time, shows a pronounced seasonal overloading of the infrastructure, a somewhat lower but nevertheless high threat level to the historic sites, the concentration of tourism on a few attractions and the alienation or dissatisfaction of the locals. The intensity of tourism seems to be only halfway in line when the population or the size of the city is taken as a yardstick.

Barcelona (metric calculation of the potential risk)



Source: McKinsey 2017

According to this study, with 930,000 annual visitors per square kilometre (guideline value), the critical limit of tourism intensity is exceeded, the crowds become unacceptable for both tourists and locals, and the infrastructure and environment are overloaded. If this figure is applied only to the tourist districts of the

cities, such as the Central District in Vienna, the Historic City of Salzburg (2.4 square kilometres), Dubrovnik, Český Krumlov etc., the limit is exceeded many times over in view of this indicator. Salzburg logically has a much higher tourism intensity than Vienna in terms of overnight guests due to its small number of citizens. With three million overnight stays, there is a factor of 20 per Salzburg resident for a population of 150,000, in Vienna there are around 9 overnight stays for each of the 1.8 million Viennese (with around 16 million overnight stays in 2018). However, the actual burden and overstrain on the infrastructure is mainly caused by day visitors, who – especially if they arrive with their own car – also overstrain the traffic infrastructure system.

5 Sharing the city with strangers

Internationally, the topic of overtourism has made an astonishing career, not least due to the extensive media coverage of the cries for help or protests of residents in some popular destinations such as Venice, Dubrovnik, Barcelona or Amsterdam. The city councils were forced to take political steps to contain the revolt of the citizens. A similar situation existed already in the 1980s when villagers in developing countries protested vehemently against the tourist sell-out of their most beautiful beaches and landscapes (Baumhackl et.al. 2006). Amsterdam and Barcelona are pioneers in this respect, having made the most comprehensive efforts to deal with the excesses of tourism conceptually. Both cities strive to extend the length of stay of tourists, speak of “sharing” and regard tourists as “temporary” residents of the city. Targeted tourism policy measures are used to prevent tourist ghettos and a further concentration of tourist shops and offers. The aim is to improve the quality of life for both locals and tourists through better cooperation between the tourism industry, information centres and cultural institutions, by adapting the infrastructure and improving the facilities on offer (Richards/Marques 2018; Goodwin 2019, Responsibletourismpartnership 2019).

Sharing the city with strangers and thus striving for intercultural understanding is one of the major goals of tourism, but it also requires regulation. Airbnb has turned what used to be “couch surfing”, where people were interested in meeting other cultures, young, usually undemanding travellers and hosts, who provided air mattresses or couches, into a profit-driven industry. In this debate, locals contrast their right to their own city with the freedom to travel for tourism, the right to tourism. The two rights need to be harmonised, and Amsterdam has come up with the concept of balancing, “Stad in Balans”, the balancing of interests that integrates the positive and negative aspects into a development concept that ultimately is beneficial for all parties involved (van Ette 2017).

This was necessary in order to minimize the enormous burden on the urban population. In August 2017, more tourists than locals slept in Amsterdam – which is unusual for a city of (almost) a million inhabitants, but which is normal for many

holiday and winter sports resorts in Tyrol or the province of Salzburg during the season. In the inner cities of Amsterdam, Barcelona, Copenhagen, Lisbon and Rome, each inhabitant has tourists as neighbours for almost half of the year and the population of the old towns double during this time (Richards/Marques 2018). In contrast, the attitude towards tourism in Salzburg is still positive, although the negative aspects such as high intensity of tourism due to the topographical limitations, the housing and traffic situation in the city are explicitly expressed in the criticism.

6 From destination marketing to destination management

Over the last five years, the number of tourists in many European cities has increased very strongly, but the income of hotels per available room (RevPAR) has also risen considerably – despite the boom in Airbnb overnight stays. Due to the general growth in tourism, the hotel industry has been able to maintain its position against Airbnb accommodation, but steps have been taken to reduce this offer and to combat illegal rental, albeit for different reasons. Housing is extremely scarce and very expensive in all these cities, and short-term profitable rentals by Airbnb further reinforce this trend (Richards/Marques 2018).

Amsterdam has demonstrated how tourism policy can be steered and was the first to set up a series of strategy-driven activities, including an “Enjoy & Respect Campaign”. The local tax was increased to finance steering measures, licenses for shops offering only tourist goods were limited, and an attempt was made to broaden the range of attractions with a partial shift in visitor flows. As a result, other destinations in the surrounding area are being upgraded (campaign “See Amsterdam, Visit Holland”) and the municipal DMO is experimenting with a range of cultural institutions, museums and encounter programmes. The improvement of mobility and the reduction of car traffic – for example through a new metro line, the bicycle has right of way, etc. – and a large-scale housing renovation programme (Stadherstel Amsterdam) show that the city is implementing a veritable governance programme, which includes new technologies as well as strengthening community processes. The measures go far beyond tourist visitor management and aim at an integrative urban development (van Ette 2017).

The example of Amsterdam shows how, in view of the enormous growth in tourism, destination management involving all stakeholders has been developed instead of destination marketing as a new form of integrated cultural and urban development policy. This required laws and regulations in order to be able to intervene in a regulatory and controlling way, because the longer active intervention is postponed and the longer it is hoped that the markets will self-regulate, the more pressing the problems become. Up to now, city governments have been content to leave tourism development to city marketing organisations. It was all about growth and attracting new guests. In view of the current situation, other challenges arise,

because more tourism can no longer be the goal for destinations under enormous pressure – including Salzburg. Tourism management has to be seen in a wider context and requires strategic planning intervention by urban policy makers, including transport policy measures such as housing policy, environmental protection, cultural policy and socio-economic policies. This also meets the requirements of UNESCO and its programme for sustainable tourism (UNESCO 2019).

Salzburg can learn from the experiences of a number of European cultural and World Heritage cities in order to counter overtourism and to dampen the transformations of the urban environment it triggers. The involvement of the local population and civil society groups is always indispensable for such a process. The lobby group representing the interests of the merchants, the Old Town Business and Tourism Association, sees the seasonal congestion in the alleys and squares as an increasing problem and has set itself the task of making the inner city more attractive as a shopping city as well as a residential and entertainment district. This is achieved through a series of events, productions and performances such as “Jazz in the City”, “Hand.Kopf.Werk. 90 Betriebe zeigen Kreativität” (“hand.head.handiwork. 90 craft enterprises show creativity”) or food festivals, which are widely consumed by the local population. Among other things, it is committed to ensuring that visitors to the Historic City (tourists and locals alike) are offered events and the most attractive shops possible, which is in keeping with the high quality of the World Heritage Site. One of its demands is to make tourism compatible with the old town, but another is to preserve the old town as a valuable living space. In particular, traffic calming and a permanent solution to the problem of coach tourism are a central concern. With all these demands, the Old Town Business Association is in agreement with the civil society organisation “Stadtverein” and many of the inhabitants of the Historic City. Preferring visitors who stay longer and introducing active visitor management as well as a dynamic, demand-based pricing system are urgent wishes. A further expansion of the number of beds is viewed critically; the aim is rather to achieve a high occupancy rate and value creation throughout the year (Gfrerer 2019).

In a tourism policy aimed at sustainability, the city government could also count on the support of the “Stadtverein”, which in its “White Paper for the City of Salzburg” also proposes steering measures for tourism and public transport as part of a comprehensive urban development concept that must bear the signature of the inhabitants as those directly affected (Bastei 2019).

There are many starting points for a more comprehensive concept for regulating tourism. On the supply side, this applies in particular to the supply of beds, the restriction of the expansion of the hotel industry, the licensing of further accommodation or secondary residences and the licensing of Airbnb accommodation. The expansion of this offer should be subject to strict control or limitation. Through variable pricing (seasonal and dynamic pricing), demand and supply can be better coordinated. In order to calm traffic, the introduction or reinforcement of

Park & Ride solutions is proposed, with the inclusion of public mobility offers that are also available to the local population.

On the demand side, communication services on a large scale are needed to attract the tourists they want and to get the others under control. This requires regulations such as the limitation of the number of coaches that can call at a terminal in Salzburg at the same time, in the same way as the number of cruise ships that are allowed into a port is limited in tourism destinations such as Dubrovnik or Venice. Here, too, discounts or other benefits can be used to promote or strengthen the early or late season and thus reduce peak loads during the high season. The collection of higher tourism taxes creates opportunities for the city to use these revenues to regulate or optimise visitor management. Information and codes of conduct are needed to urge conspicuous or alcoholized tourists to observe local manners and conventions (see Negussie/Frisk in this book; Richards 2018).

In some cities, an upper limit is first rejected, then probably discussed and introduced later – perhaps not immediately in terms of the number of tourists, but in terms of the number of licenses, permits etc. for pure tourist infrastructure, souvenir shops, private rooms/airbnbs and parking, as happened in Amsterdam and Dubrovnik. In this way, one can also counteract the “sell-off” of public space – a goal that is pursued in Salzburg in particular by the Stadtverein. If the large squares are all constantly used or are full of swarms of tourists, the special character of the “Italian city”, relevant to the extraordinary character of the city, would no longer be valid, and thus the World Heritage Site would lose its authenticity and also its integrity (Bastei 2019).

Dubrovnik has taken a number of urgent restrictive measures, not only to improve the quality of life of its inhabitants in view of the 529 cruise ships that docked in 2016 and attract 800,000 visitors, but also to ensure that it does not lose its World Heritage status (Karamehmedović in this book). UNESCO had threatened with consequences if no action was taken against the overcrowding of the old town. UNESCO has already demanded appropriate regulatory measures from Venice on several occasions. Only the recent increase in the number of accidents caused by large cruise liners seems to be leading to a rethink on the part of the city administration or the government in Rome (Settis 2015).

Examples of this kind serve as suggestions for bringing the negative effects of mass tourism phenomena under control. They should be integrated into a sustainable growth and development policy that takes account of commercial, environmental, cultural and social aspects and leaves no doubt that tourism does not disadvantage the local population. Well-planned tourism contributes to enriching the lives and prosperity of the inhabitants of World Heritage Sites or other destinations for many reasons (Neugebauer 2014). However, in order to prevent social disparities – some residents have the benefits, employment, income, and others only the disadvantages, are overwhelmed by traffic and have to accept restrictions on their mobility and quality of life – a carefully planned and effectively imple-

mented tourism policy is needed that assesses all possible consequences and takes into account their impact on urban development.

The McKinsey report *Coping with Success* (2017) lists the elements for building a sustainable development strategy for a destination: Vision and aspiration (vision for the destination, number of visitors, carrying capacity, economic expectations); segment strategy (which visitors/target groups do you want to have more than others); product strategy (uniqueness); infrastructure (spatial planning, bedding, accessibility, mobility, usage rules); marketing and communication strategy (promotion and information); organisation and management (role of public and private sector, structure and financing).

Part of this destination management must be the standard repertoire of sustainable tourism and regional development as formulated in the UNWTO Guidelines, the UN Agenda 2030 or in the Guidelines for Sustainable Tourism Development in the context of the UNESCO World Heritage Convention or the UNESCO World Heritage and Sustainable Tourism Programme 2011. In the World Heritage and tourism city of Salzburg, only first hesitant steps have been taken in this direction so far. Further and coordinated measures are necessary and should be included in the new tourism concept. They are essential for a balanced and sustainable development in the long term.

Bibliography

- Arbeitsgruppe Salzburg-Tourismus: Kultur- und Erlebnistourismus in Salzburg. In: *kommunikation.medien*, Jg. 4, H. 4, 1–70, Salzburg 2017. Online: <https://eplus.uni-salzburg.at/download/pdf/2032504?name=Arbeitsgruppe%20Salzburg%20Tourismus%20Kultur-%20und%20Erlebnistourismus%20in%20Salzburg>
- Amrberger, Arne: Lenkung von Besucherströmen aus Sicht der Erholungsplanung. In: Egger, Roman/Kurt Luger (Hg.): *Tourismus und mobile Freizeit*. Norderstedt 2014, 281–296.
- Bastei – Das Magazin des Stadtvereins Salzburg. Weißbuch für die Stadt Salzburg. 68. Jg, Frühjahr 2019.
- Bauer, Alfred/Thomas Gardini: Overtourism – Eine Studie aus der Sicht des Reisenden. In: *Tourismus Wissen – quarterly*, April 2019, 105–109.
- Baumhackl, Herbert/Gabriele Habinger/Franz Kolland/Kurt Luger (Hg.): *Tourismus in der “Dritten Welt”*. Wien 2006.
- Brandner, Birgit/Kurt Luger/Ingo Mörth (Hg.): *Kulturerlebnis Stadt*. Wien 1994.
- D’Eramo, Marco: *Il selfie del mondo. Indagine sull’età del turismo*. Milano 2017.
- Eherer, Birgit: Salzburg erleben – Die touristifizierte Stadt in Reiseführern dargestellt. *Touristischer Raum & mediale Konstruktion*. Masterarbeit, Universität Salzburg 2013.
- Eymannsberger, Helmut/Klemens Kurtz: Salzburg Festschöpfungsanalyse 2016. In: Luger, Kurt/Franz Rest (Hg.): *Alpenreisen. Erlebnis, Raumtransformationen, Imagination*. Wien–Innsbruck 2017, 465–479.
- Eymannsberger, Helmut/Klemens Kurtz: *Salzburger Adventsingen im Großen Festspielhaus zu Salzburg. Wertschöpfungsanalyse*. Salzburg 2019.
- Forschungsstelle Tourismus – Jahresbericht. Centre for Regional Economic Development-CRED, Universität Bern, 2015/16.

- Fettner, Fred: Wertschöpfungsstudien – je mehr, desto besser? In: *Tourismus Wissen – quarterly*, Jänner 2019, 61–62.
- Gferrer, Andreas, Obmann Altstadtverband: Personal communication 24.4.2019.
- Goodwin, Harold: Overtourism. Causes, Symptoms and Treatment. In: *Tourismus Wissen – quarterly*, April 2019, 110–114.
- Goodwin, Harold: The Challenge of Overtourism. Responsible Tourism Partnership. Working Paper 4. 2017. Online: <http://haroldgoodwin.info/pubs/RTP'WP4Overtourism01'2017.pdf>
- Haigner, Stefan/Florian Walkobinger: Schnitten, Overtourism und Wertschöpfung. In: *Tourismus Wissen – quarterly*, Jänner 2019, 63–68.
- Hoffmann, Robert: Die Erfindung der Tradition. Welterbe und Identität am Beispiel Salzburgs. In: Luger, Kurt/Karlheinz Wöhler (Hg.): *Welterbe und Tourismus*, Innsbruck 2008, 127–137.
- Kammerhofer-Aggermann, Ulrike/Alexander Keul (Hg.): *The Sound of Music zwischen Mythos und Marketing*. Salzburg 2000.
- Keul, Alexander/Anton Kühberger: *Die Straße der Ameisen. Beobachtungen und Interviews zum Salzburger Städtetourismus*. München–Wien 1996.
- Lindner, Rolf: Der Habitus der Stadt – ein kulturgeographischer Versuch. In: *Petersmanns Geographische Mitteilungen* 147, 2003, 46–53.
- Luger, Kurt: Salzburg als Bühne und Kulisse. Die Stadt als Schauplatz der internationalen Unterhaltungsindustrie. In: Haas, Hanns/Robert Hoffmann/Kurt Luger (Hg.): *Weltbühne und Naturkulisse. 200 Jahre Salzburg Tourismus*. Salzburg 1994, 176–187.
- Mansfeld, Yoel/Aliza Jonas: Evaluating the socio-cultural Carrying Capacity of rural tourism communities. A “value stretch” approach. In: *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, Vol. 97, No 5, 583–601. Online: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9663.2006.00365.x>, accessed 4.5.2019.
- McKercher, Bob: Towards a classification of cultural tourists. In: *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 4(1), 29–38. Online: doi:10.1002/jtr.346
- McKinsey & Company and World Travel & Tourism Council: *Coping with Success. Managing overcrowding in tourism destinations*. 2017. Available at: www.McKinsey.com (accessed 3.2.2019)
- Neugebauer, Carola Silvia: *Ansätze perspektivischer Stadtentwicklung durch Inwertsetzung des UNESCO-Weltkulturerbestatus, untersucht in Städten peripherer und metropolere Räume*. Dissertation, Dresden 2014. (online: <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bsz:14-qucosa-133324>) accessed 2.6.2019.
- ÖAR-Regionalberatung: *Studie Tagestourismus Salzburg*. Wien 2007.
- Pearce, Philip L.: Limiting overtourism; the desirable new behaviours of the smart tourist. Available at: <http://tforum.today/2018/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/Limiting-overtourism-the-desirable-new-behaviours-of-the-smart-tourist.pdf> (accessed 5.5.2019)
- Pechlaner, Harald/Christian Eckert/Natalie Olbrich: Ein zu viel an Tourismus? Status quo und Lösungen. In: *Tourismus Wissen – quarterly*, Oktober 2018, 291–297.
- Preveden, Vladimir/Goran Mirkovic u.a.: Städtestudie Protecting your city from overtourism. In: *Tourismus Wissen – quarterly*, Jänner 2019, 71–75
- ResponsibleTourismPartnership: www.responsibletourismpartnership.com/solutions (accessed 3.4.2019)
- Richards, Greg/Lenia Marques: *Creating Synergies between cultural policy and tourism for permanent and temporary citizens*. Committee on Culture of United Cities and Local Governments, Rotterdam 2018. Available at: <http://www.agenda21culture.net> (accessed 4.3.2019)
- Richards, Greg: Cultural Tourism – A review of recent research trends. In: *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management*, Vol 36, 2018, 12–21. (online: <http://www.wien.gv.at/statistik/wirtschaft/tourismus/>) (accessed 30.7.2019)
- Statistik Austria: https://www.ttr.tirol/sites/default/files/2017-10/ein_tourismus-satellitenkonto_fuer_oes-terreichbrmethodik_ergebnisse_und_pr-3.pdf (accessed 30.7.2019)
- Steinecke, Albrecht: *Kulturtourismus*. München 2007.
- Travelchinaguide: <https://www.travelchinaguide.com/tourism/> (accessed 23.7.2019)
- TSG: *T-Mona Gästebefragung 2018*.

TSG: Brandmark Studie 2018

UNESCO: Sustainable Tourism Programme. (online: <https://whc.unesco.org/en/tourism/>) file:///C:/Users/luger/Documents/Data/Luger%20Aug%202019/UNESCO%20chair/Dokumente%20und%20Konventionen/whc10-34com-INF.5F.1e%20Tourismuspolicy.pdf (accessed 14.5.2019).

UNESCO-Lehrstuhl Kulturelles Erbe und Tourismus: Welterbe & Tourismus. Eine Fallstudie zum Welterbe Salzburg. Salzburg 2012.

UNESCO-Lehrstuhl Kulturelles Erbe und Tourismus: Studie zum messbaren Wert des Welterbes. Salzburg 2019. Online: DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.24123.36645

van Ette, Claartje: Amsterdam – A strategy to keep a growing city in balance. In: Forum Mobil Extra – 16. Salzburger Verkehrstage/14. Salzburger Tourismusforum 2018, 18–20.

World Travel & Tourism Council: World, Transformed – January 2019.

The Author

Kurt Luger is a professor of Transcultural Communication and holder of the UNESCO Chair “Cultural Heritage and Tourism” at the Department of Communication Studies at the University of Salzburg. He is also chairman of the Institute for Interdisciplinary Tourism Research and of EcoHimal, Society for Cooperation Alps-Himalaya. Recent publications: *MediaCultureTourism* (2018); *Alpine Travels* (ed. with Franz Rest, 2017); *Tourism and Mobile Leisure* (ed. with Roman Egger, 2015); *Culture, Tourism and Development in the Himalayas* (2014); *The Endangered City – Strategies for Humane Building in Salzburg* (ed. with Christoph Ferch, 2014).
kurt.luger@sbg.ac.at; www.kurt-luger.at



The Palace and Gardens of Schoenbrunn, Vienna, and Cultural Landscape Hallstatt-Dachstein/Salzkammergut – World Heritage Sites in Austria. (© Kurt Luger)

