

# **An investigation into the implications of popular tourist attractions**



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## **Abstract**

This thesis is concerned with the role that popular tourist attractions play in regards of the perception of tourism, processes of urban change and in regards of management of tourism and the overlap and interplay with flows of mobility and place-consumption practices. To this end, the thesis takes point of departure in three popular tourist attractions located in the inner city of Copenhagen; Nyhavn, Langelinie Quay and Amalienborg Castle. In these three locations the flows of mobility and place-consumption practices is deconstructed with the objective of investigating and identifying which elements that constitute the flows of mobility and place-consumption practices within the popular tourist attractions. To this end, this thesis demonstrated that the flows of mobility and place-consumption practices within the popular tourist attractions in question was constituted by a variety of elements, however, the thesis takes a special emphasis on the role of tourism operators in this context.

This thesis is based on several different data collection techniques and methods. Observations was carried out through the principles of mobile methods to investigate and understand the place-consumption practices within the popular tourist attractions. Moreover, data have been collected through expert interviews with central stakeholders from the municipality of Copenhagen in an effort to understand the practical and political realities of tourism management if Copenhagen. Furthermore, data have been collected through surveys with the objective of gaining knowledge regarding the perception of tourism in regards of local Copenhageners. The thesis draws on theorisations of 'touristification', social exchange theory, staging mobilities, carrying capacity among others. Within this theoretical framework, the implications of the popular tourist attractions in regards of the perception of tourism and management of tourism is investigated.

The main argument which this thesis advances is that the popular tourist attractions implicate the perception of tourism through processes of urban change in regards of requalifying public space to cater to tourism. Moreover, the thesis argues that the place-consumption practices and flows of mobility within the popular tourist attractions implicates the political and practical objectives in regards to the management of tourism in the city of Copenhagen.

### *Keywords:*

Place-consumption

Mobility

Mobile methods

Touristification

Copenhagen

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# 1. Introduction

In the last few years Copenhagen is experiencing a vast growth in visitor numbers, and Copenhagen now caters to around 10 million tourists a year (Danmarks statistik, 2019). A significant number considering the relatively small geographical size of Copenhagen, especially considering that the forecast for visitors in Copenhagen in 2030 is in excess of 16 million visitors (Horesta, 2018). In the last years, the perception of tourism has begun to change - attractions, services, infrastructure, public transportation, that were initially designed and created for local use, are now subject to issues of overtourism (Berlingske, 2018; Politiken, 2018). To this end, the term overtourism has quickly become popularized in the media sphere and among local communities, however, the term offers little explanatory value, is highly difficult to operationalize and is ill-defined in the world of academia (Koens et. al, 2018). However, the term is often used to describe destinations which suffer from an increased centrality of tourism mobility flows and tourism consumption (Koens et. al, 2018). As mentioned above, issues related to tourism is beginning to get the attention of locals in Copenhagen. And as such, local communities in Copenhagen are beginning to call out the government, the municipality and tourism agencies to manage, monitor and control the flow of tourism (Berlingske, 2018; Danmarks Radio, 2018).

As such, the municipality of Copenhagen is being called upon to take the leading role of developing and managing the deeply complex, dynamic and fragmented activity that tourism encompasses. A difficult challenge, considering that the public sector is most commonly focussed on ensuring liveability and quality of life of their citizens (Joppe, 2017). Although, the local communities are beginning to notice the negative impacts of the rising visitor numbers in Copenhagen, the consensus between the municipality of Copenhagen and Wonderful Copenhagen (the DMO of Copenhagen), is that the carrying capacity or maximum capacity in terms of visitors in the city, has not yet been reached, and moreover, that these two organisations will continue their work to attract tourists to the city - and perhaps this is not a problem. While the number of tourists coming to Copenhagen increases every year, the visitor pressure only seems to be oriented towards the inner city and the well-known attractions (Politiken, 2019). To this end, the municipality of Copenhagen and Wonderful Copenhagen are working hard to spread out the tourists to other neighbourhoods of Copenhagen and Greater Copenhagen with the objective of alleviating the inner city of the visitor pressure it is currently suffering from. However, this must be considered a difficult task when put into context with the popularity of the well-known attractions in the inner city. As such, the challenge of spreading out the visitors seems burdensome - but what role do the popular tourists attractions play in regards to this challenge? This thesis seeks to better understand the implications that the popular tourist attractions are having on not only the perception of tourism, but also how these attractions implicate the management of tourism.

## 1.2 Research Question

What are the implications of popular tourists' attractions in regards of the perception of tourism and in terms of tourism management?

- Which elements constitute tourism mobility and place-consumption practices at popular tourist attractions

## 1.3 Delineation & explanation

The research question presented above have been formulated to discuss and analyse the implications of popular tourist attractions in regards of the perception of tourism and tourism management. In regards of delineation, this thesis will focus on three specific tourist attractions (Nyhavn, Langelinie quay and Amalienborg Castle) to showcase the topics above, this process of delineation will be described in the methodology section (See section 3.2.1 regarding observations). In regards of the inquiry into tourism management, this thesis will specifically focus on the tourism management in regards of the municipality of Copenhagen, the administration of Culture of Leisure - department of internationalisation and tourism. However, it is here explicitly stated that in some instances in this thesis, tourism management will also refer to the DMO Wonderful Copenhagen. The sub-question presented above will not be mutually exclusive to the central research question but should be viewed as an extension of the central research question.

## 2. Literature review

This chapter of the thesis will cover the academic sources which has been chosen for the analysis of the topics discussed in the research question.

### 2.1 Overtourism - a theoretical perspective

Tourism has increasingly become a scapegoat for the media and the local inhabitants of cities when discussing overcrowded public transportation, housing prices, cost of living and traffic congestion and the term 'overtourism' was quickly adopted as the 'de-facto' description for the negative impacts of tourism by the media (Koens et. al, 2018). Likewise, the term overtourism has increasingly become a topic of interest in the academic world. Until recently the term overtourism was non-existent in academia, however, more and more papers, books and special issues regarding overtourism is being published. Yet, the meaning of the word remains rather undeveloped and to some degree ill-defined, and difficult to operationalize, especially in a management and policy context. However, the United

Nations World Tourism Organisation (henceforth abbreviated as UNWTO) defines overtourism as “*the impact on a destination, or parts thereof, that excessively influences perceived quality of life of citizens and/or quality of visitors experiences in a negative way*” (UNWTO, 2018). This definition of the term overtourism lays close to that of Richardson (2017) who defines the term as any destination suffering the strain of tourism. Furthermore Koens et al. (2018) argues that the origins of the term overtourism can be traced back to the Spanish term “Turismofobia” which describes the dissatisfaction among local communities in regards of the relentless growth of tourism. While the above-mentioned definitions primarily focus on how overtourism can be identified through, to some degree, vague and hard to define conceptualizations such as ‘quality of life’, Seraphin et. al (2018) argues that the term should be related to carrying capacity.

While the concept of carrying capacity seems appealing to managers of tourism as a way of formulating management actions and as paradigm for limiting and addressing the number of tourists and the development of tourism, the concept of carrying capacity also encompasses a variety of assumptions (McCool et. al, 2009). The biggest issue in regards of carrying capacity is its focus on tourist numbers, and that it neglects visitor behavioural patterns, centrality of consumption and local customs (Lindberg et. al, 1997). Furthermore, carrying capacity has a strong bias towards measuring impacts on the physical environment, while, measuring of the impacts in regards of the complex and subjective, social environment is of lesser importance within the paradigm of carrying capacity (McCool et. al, 2001; Rosenow et. al, 1979). While carrying capacity continues to be a ‘go-to’ method of appreciating the negative impacts of tourism, alternative perspectives and methods can be applied. The levels of acceptable change framework (Henceforth abbreviated as LAC) presents a framework which encompasses greater nuance in its aim to appreciate the negative impacts of tourism. LAC seeks to establish when the impacts of tourism remain acceptable to the destination’s local stakeholders, seen in relation to the main concerns and issues regarding tourism in the destination (McCool, 1994). As such, LAC differs from other models and methods of carrying capacity in terms of shifting the focus from being biased towards numbers, and instead focuses on perceived advantages and disadvantages (Mansfeld et. al, 2006; Nijs, 2017).

Additionally, new schools of thought have been derived from the insights from the concept of carrying capacity and LAC. Whereas carrying capacity limits its focus on managing and limiting visitor numbers, the new schools of thought focuses on utilizing technological solutions to increase the physical capacity for the tourism activities that takes place within a destination (UNWTO, 2018; UNWTO, 2004; Pearce, 2018; East et. al, 2017). Another idea, or school of thought, operates from the argument that the benefits and disadvantages derived from tourism are not distributed evenly among the stakeholders of a destination. To this end, this school of thought focuses on the diverse landscape of stakeholders that are impacted by tourism in a destination, and furthermore highlights the importance of citizen involvement,

underpinning power structures and the politics of tourism (Bianchi, 2009). As such, this school of thought, views the carrying capacity of a destination as dynamic, and as a destination that is continuously being developed and reconstructed. Whereas carrying capacity, LAC and similar approaches may be useful for describing and to some degree defining the meaning of overtourism through the measurement of impacts of tourism in a destination context, the term still remains rather unexplored.

However, Koens et. al (2018), has in a quest to provide more clarity in regards of what the term overtourism encompass, conducted 80 qualitative interviews with tourism stakeholders in 13 popular European cities destinations. The results of this investigation into the meaning of the term overtourism revealed that overtourism is an accumulation of not only the impacts that tourism brings to a destination, but also the perception of tourist behaviour and the changes that this behaviour brings to the social, environmental, economic and physical environment of a destination. As such, Koen et. al (2018) encapsulates the term overtourism into a complex and multidimensional context, in which issues derived from tourism and non-tourism stakeholders are viewed in a context of societal and city developments. Hence, suggesting that overtourism should not solely be viewed as tourism or urban problem, but instead as social problem situated within a city context (Koen et. al, 2018). Furthermore, the paper by Koen et. al (2018) identify seven myths associated with the term overtourism; 1. Overtourism is not a recent phenomenon; 2. Overtourism is not the same as mass tourism; 3. Overtourism impacts are not citywide; 4. Overtourism is not a tourism only problem; 5. Technological or smart solutions alone will not solve overtourism; 6. There is no one size fits all solution to overtourism; 7. Overtourism is not just an issue in cities (Koens et. al, 2018). While the myths listed above continues to be apparent in the discourses of overtourism, especially in the media sphere, they lack to fully describe the nuanced and complex nature of overtourism, however, Koen et. al (2018) argues that the seven identified myths can be utilized to promote the truths and falsehoods surrounding the concept or term overtourism.

This concise review of the rise of overtourism along with the traditional methods of managing negative tourism impacts, has highlighted that the term overtourism and the management of overtourism issues is situated within a complex and nuanced setting. It seems that a definition of overtourism in academia remains to settled upon or indeed reaching a general consensus regarding the delineation of the term. However, the review of the rise of overtourism has highlighted that issues related to overtourism surcompasses the idea that these issues only derive from tourism related practices, and while the media have adopted the term to describe negative impacts of tourism, there may still be other conceptions, preconceptions and misconceptions regarding the impacts of tourism in a city context. Hence, the theories which have been showcased above will be utilized in regards of analysing the implications of the popular tourist attractions in terms of perception of tourism, as well as the management of tourism. However, it is here explicitly stated that overtourism itself will not be pivotal to the analysis, rather it is the theories that underpin the conceptualisation of overtourism that will be utilized in the analysis.



## 2.2 Causes of disturbance

Tourism is increasingly being associated with processes of urban change in a city context, the growth in tourism and visitor numbers in large European cities are beginning to act as causes of disturbance for local communities within these cities (Novy, 2018). These causes of disturbances can vary significantly depending on the stakeholder and the geographical context in which they are situated, however, Rosenow & Pulsipher (1979) identify three different causes of disturbance: 1. Overcrowding in a city's public spaces, 2. tourist behaviour, 3. physical touristification. More recently Milano (2017) identifies the following aspects as causes of disturbance as a result of tourism; locals' loss of sense of place and sense of belonging; increased congestion; real estate speculation as a result of tourism; decline of purchasing power for locals; Privatisation of public places and spaces; destruction of socio-cultural connectivity (Milano, 2017).

Moreover, Colomb and Novy (2016) identifies the causes of disturbance in relation to tourism to be the detrimental use of rural, coastal and urban spaces. While the above-mentioned identifiers in regards of causes of disturbance does not account for the complete overview of particular causes for disturbance, they illustrate a common grounding of the issues that are derived from tourism and tourism practices, namely that the physical and sociological environment is under threat from increasing tourism flows. However, tourism and its affect or indeed connection to urban and social change in a city context is a relatively understudied subject within the scholarly world and is therefore perhaps best explained through the concept of 'touristification' as argued by Johannes Novy (2018). The term 'touristification' is commonly used to describe urban transformation processes caused by an increase in tourism activities within a destination (Novy, 2018), but there are different conceptualizations of the term in existence within the scholarly world. Stock (2007) describes 'touristification' as the process of "*coming into being of a touristic place*" (Stock, 2007, p.3), whereas Bianchi (2003) describes the concept as the usage of cultural, urban and natural forms as objects of tourism consumption (Bianchi, 2003). The concept of 'touristification' has also been described as the process of shifting the qualifications of a specific place to cater to the increase in tourism (Vasconcelos, 2005). As such, 'touristification' is highly interlinked with the process of requalifying public space to cater to tourism consumption and tourism practices. However, Novy (2018) argues that while tourism should not be neglected in regards of its role in the processes of urban change, broader processes of urban change such as gentrification should be included when analysing processes of 'touristification' within cities and when looking to identify causes of disturbances. As such, the interconnectedness between 'touristification' and other forms of processes of urban change such as gentrification are intensively discussed within academia (Gravari-Barbas & Guinand, 2017). However, while there are some suggestions that a relationship exists between the two, this relationship is very difficult to pinpoint, but research has found that processes of 'touristification'

and gentrification often occur simultaneously and reinforce each other through the creation of commercial landscapes such as bars, restaurants, shops and attractions (Novy, 2018).

Regarding the relationship between 'touristification', gentrification and causes of disturbance, the study by Johannes Novy (2018) focussed on the role of tourism in relation to the processes of urban change, and its overlap with place consumption practices and mobilities within Berlin, the capital city of Germany. The study found that the processes of urban change attributed to tourism by the media and locals could not exclusively be connected to tourism, and that wider forces of urban change such as gentrification, place consumption practices and mobilities within in the city of Berlin was central to the changes in the urban landscape (These topics will be reviewed more in depth later in this literature review). In addition to the causes of disturbance, the theories on residents' attitude towards tourism and tourism impacts is also important to review in regards of the thesis inquiry into the perception of tourism. Historically, the aims of studies oriented towards attitudes of residents commonly encompass the exploration of the relationship between independent variables and perceptions using a social exchange theory approach (Boley et. al, 2014; Vargas et. al, 2011). Social exchange theory is as Emerson (1976) explains a "*frame of reference that takes the movement of valued things (ressources) through social process as its focus*" (Emerson, 1976, p. 359).

As such, social exchange theory concerns itself with the social exchange between two parties and incorporates an aspect of economy, or as Emerson (1976) argues 'value'. However, Gonzalez et. al (2018) argues that social exchange theory goes well beyond the world of economics, in the sense that the theory is concerned with the implications that are derived from the exchange between the two parties, especially the cooperation and relations of trust. Within the academic world of tourism, the proposition of social exchange theory, it that support for development in regards of tourism is to be considered as consent to entering into a social and economic exchange (Ap, 1992; Jurowski et al., 1997). As such, an exchange in a tourism context is either evaluated as beneficial based upon the impacts or conversely evaluated as negative or indeed harmful (Abdollahzadeh & Sharifzadeh, 2012). However, many studies do not utilize social exchange theory within tourism studies, but instead make use of approaches oriented towards cost-benefit in regards of residents and tourism (Canestrelli & Costa, 1991; King et al., 1993), especially considering the increasing concern of whether the economic benefits that tourism brings to a such an exchange transcend the impacts of tourism development in regards of the social and environmental cost (Krippendorff, 1982; Liu et al., 1987). Consequently, at the point in which an imbalance in terms of the rewards of tourism and negative impacts is in existence, a shift could occur in the resident's attitude towards tourism developments (Gonzalez et al., 2018).

This review of the causes of disturbance and residents' attitude towards tourism in the context of social exchange theory will be utilized to analyse the conceptions and perceptions of tourism in the city of

Copenhagen regarding the implications of the popular tourist attractions. Moreover, the topics and theories discussed in the literature review above, will also serve as a foundation for parts of the data collection for this thesis (this will be explained and delineated in more depth in the thesis' section regarding methods and data collection, please see section 3.1).

## 2.3 The mobilities turn

The academic progress within the field of tourism studies has evolved tremendously over the last few decades, the shift in regards of the conceptualization that tourism consumption primarily was a visual engagement, experience and practice (Urry, 1990). John Urry's' notion of the tourist gaze was formulated and described in his work '*the tourist gaze*' in which he portrayed tourism consumption through the visual nature of experiencing. Additionally, Urry (1990) argued that it was a destinations distinctive visual sights, and moreover the collection or gathering of these sights that afforded activities and places a unique and special character. However, Urry's' notion of the tourist gaze was later criticized for neglecting the influence of the bodily senses and factors such as mobility and immobility (Larsen, 2014; Crouch & Desforges, 2003). Urry (2006; 2006) later published books that incorporated the points of critique and that shed more light upon the movements, dwelling, placemaking, immobility and potential movements. This new school of thought is also known as the mobilities turn or the mobilities paradigm. The appeal of incorporating mobility, the mobility turn or the mobilities paradigm into studies of tourism, was that it afforded the opportunity to view tourism in different light in compassion with the predominant ways of thinking and researching tourism (Cresswell, 2006; Hannam et al., 2006; Sheller & Urry, 2004b). This new paradigm made it possible to view and research tourists in a passive, dynamic and static state. Furthermore, the mobilities turn challenged the binaries and conceptualizations usually associated with tourism, such as home and away, local and tourists and the everyday and the extraordinary (Coles, 2015). Mobility in its own right refers to how movement are conceptualized in relation to fundamental relations, or as Büscher & Urry (2009) describes it

*“The term mobilities refers to this broad project of establishing a ‘movement-driven’ social science in which movement, potential movement, and blocked movement, as well as voluntary/temporary immobilities, practices of dwelling and ‘nomadic’ place-making are all conceptualized as constitutive of economic, social and political relations”* (Büscher & Urry, 2009, p. 100).

This definition of mobility makes it difficult to distinguish one form of mobility over another, in the sense that the conceptualization of movement and mobility can be understood in different ways. Büscher & Urry (2009) identify five different and independent modes of mobility that produce social life;

1. The corporeal of travel

This mode of mobility covers the travel of people in regards of pleasure, free time, leisure, work. This form of mobility is as Büscher & Urry (2009) describes it “organized *in in terms of contrasting time-space modalities (from daily commuting to once-in-a-lifetime exile)*” (Büscher & Urry, 2009, p. 101).

2. The physical movement

This mode of mobility describes the movement of objects to retailers, consumers and producers. Including the process of sending and receiving gifts and presents, and moreover the configuration and indeed the reconfiguration of spaces, objects and people in regards of place-making and dwelling (Büscher & Urry, 2009).

3. The imaginative travel.

This mode of mobility refers to how mobilities are affected through talk, and also includes the imaging of places and people moving and being represented on different kinds of media (printed, visual, digital) (Büscher & Urry, 2009).

4. The virtual travel

This mode of mobility refers to the virtual travel that facilitate presence and actions through time and space but is often practised in real-time (Büscher & Urry, 2009).

5. Communicative travel

This mode of mobility refers to the communicative travel which is commenced through communications with the aid of telephones, emails, messages and letters (Büscher & Urry, 2009).

These five different modes of mobilities highlight the complex relationship that exists within the mobility paradigm and indeed between these different modes of mobility identified by Büscher & Urry (2009). Adding to the complexity of the mobility and using mobility as a research method (This will be described more in depth later in this thesis, please see section regarding research methods) is the involvement of the body. The body senses through kinesthetics, analysing the immediate surroundings which informs the body through the sensory experience of movement (Dant, 2004).

This concise review of the mobility turn or as it is also referred to as the mobility paradigm, has highlighted the importance of incorporating mobility when analysing and studying tourism, and has offered a short explanation of what the term mobility encompasses, and has identified the different conceptualizations and modes mobility at play. However, this review has not fully included the forms and mobility within in tourism, as this subject will be reviewed in the next section of this chapter of the thesis. Therefore, this review has had the aim of solely reviewing the mobility turn (please see section 2.4 regarding place consumption).

## 2.4 Place-consumption

The consumption, and the ways in which we consume are becoming increasingly complex in the contemporary world, especially when considering and including tourism, travel and leisure in regards of the development of consumption in which the movement of images, resources, cultures and people are being commodified and reproduced in different settings (Miles, 2010; Lanfant et al., 1995). Whereas tourism consumption previously was perceived as a mainly visual occupation (Urry, 1990), the contemporary notions of consumption within the realm of tourism is now more concerned with the nexus between tourism and the mundane everyday life, in which it is being argued that no dividing line exists between the two (Haldrup & Larsen, 2006; Simpson, 2001). To this end, scholars within the field of tourism have argued that the very notion of tourism as being a distinct phenomenon must be questioned (Urry, 1995, 2007; Munt, 1994). It is argued that tourism has developed to become so complex and common that the distinctiveness of tourism is impossible to pinpoint, and as such the lines between tourism and the everyday life is becoming increasingly blurred (Novy, 2018). To this end, Urry (1995) has suggested that we are reaching an “*end to tourism*” (Urry, 1995, p. 147), conversely Munt (1994) believes and asserts that “*tourism is everything and everything is tourism*” (Munt, 1994, p. 104). It is difficult to distinguish which of these two beliefs that are correct, or indeed if they are correct all together, however, these two arguments regarding tourism highlight that indeed the traditional views on tourism and the ways of understanding tourism are progressively being questioned more and more.

That being said, tourism consumption still receives attention from scholars within the field of tourism, Sonnenburg & Wee (2016) recognizes the increasingly complex nature of the notion of tourism and therefore assert they do not write about tourism per se in their paper reviewing tourism consumption, but instead introduces the concept of ‘touring’ consumption. A concept that Sonnenburg & Wee (2016) explains to be “*an interdisciplinary category of meta-analysis for consumption and consuming*” (Sonnesburg & Wee, 2016, p. 324). As such ‘touring’ consumption focuses on the process of consumption as the subject, and as such can be understood as an integration of travelling and tourism and as a tool or mean to deregulate how to comprehend tourisms normal counterparts (Sonnesburg & Wee, 2016). While ‘touring’ consumption may contribute to the understanding of how the material and imagined reality coexists in the relationship between consumption processes and tourism, there is still many different ways of conceptualising place-consumption. Performativity offers a dynamic and less static approach to places and indeed place-consumption in terms of exploring the embodied practices that the tourists perform or the time-space setting in which they are present affords (Diekmann & Hannam, 2012). Without going into depth with a full review of the emergence of performativity and the performativity-turn within the field of tourism - performativity in a tourism perspective encompasses the embodied practices that individuals (tourists) perform, the precognitive practices, feelings, and moreover the atmospheres that the individual or tourist creates or encounters, furthermore performativity

focuses on the embodiment rather than being focussed on representations and meanings (Diekmann & Hannam, 2012).

As such, the concept of performativity can add new perspectives in regards of the way we understand tourism consumption, not only in regard to how an individual decipher a given spatial setting, but also how individuals negotiate their consumption practices and mobilities within this setting. For instance, Jensen (2013) introduces the concept of staging mobilities in which Jensen (2013) argues that mobilities are designed, staged and planned from above, and equally important that they are performed or 'staged' from below. To this end, staging mobilities examines the process between being 'staged' through materialities or architectural design and the 'mobile staging' in regards of interacting individuals (Jensen, 2013). As such, an individual's situational mobility or 'staged' mobility are staged from above and can be modified through different actors of power, human and non-human surroundings, infrastructure, traffic congestion, architectural design, regulations, rules etc, all actors or factors that potentially could influence individual's mobility and consumption patterns (Jensen, 2013). However, the relationship between tourism consumption and spatiality are always in constant negotiation considering the tourism industry's push to encourage tourism consumption and the dynamic flow of tourist and locals (Sonnenburg & Wee, 2016).

To this end, Rabbiosi (2016) introduces the notion of 'itineraries of consumption' which contextualises the relationship between tourism, consumption and leisure shopping. In Rabbiosi's (2016) article she explores the nexus between tourism and leisure shopping, especially focusing on the co-productive realm and the impact that it has on spatial practices within the destination of Rimini, Italy. As such, she situates unforeseen tourism performances of tour-operators, retailers and tourist within the destination of Rimini and examine and analyse how leisure shopping is introduced in a destination that is generally associated with sea-side oriented mass tourism (Rabbiosi, 2016). Along similar lines, Novy (2018) suggest that current patterns of tourism mobility (and mobility in general) and place-consumption practices can be placed within a pentagon of five interrelated and distinct dimensions to offer a better analytical framework; urban (tourism), (temporary) lifestyle migration, (temporary) migration to work/education, 'as if tourism', leisure and place consumption as a practice of everyday life

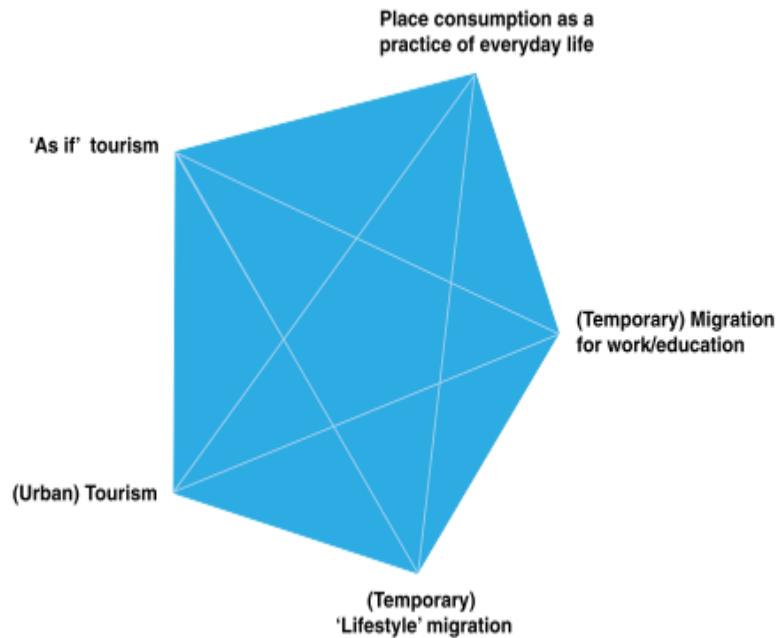


Figure 1. Patterns of tourism mobility flows and place consumption practices (Novy, 2018, p. 431).

This pentagon of interrelated dimensions of mobility and place-consumption characterize the overlap and indeed interplay between different mobility flows and different place-consumption practices that affords processes of urban change (Novy, 2018). As such, the analytical framework developed by Novy (2018) offers researchers a stronger position in regards of understanding the relationship between mobility flows and place consumption. However, it should be explicitly stated that this framework proposed by Novy (2018) is not fully developed and is largely conceptual. Although the framework still possess quality in regards of providing a probing tool for issues related to the connection between mobility flows and place consumption in an urban context. As such, tourism consumption concerns the consumption of place and the practices of consumption, however, it also involves the context of the consumptive relationship and the tensions within a specific place (Sonnenburg & Wee, 2016).

To this end, it is important to consider the underpinning power structures that are related to place and tourism consumption. Dahles (2002) discusses the issue of power in relation to tourism consumption practices within the context of tourism operators and mediators of tourism. Dahles (2002) asserts that mediators of tourism and tourism operators possess the authority to choreograph performativity and consumption patterns of tourists through their itineraries; where to go, which attractions to see, which forms of transportation to use etc. However, Diekmann & Hannam (2012) argues that while mediators of tourism and tourism operators to some degree possess power over the tourists, this relationship also encompasses factors of co-production in terms of participants of the guided tours asking questions, and therefore altering the itinerary of script of the tourism mediators (Diekmann & Hannam, 2012). Moreover, it is important to consider the politics of space in regards of the surrounding materialities,

architecture and urban design. To this end, Adey (2008) has in his paper regarding airport architecture showed that airport affect is enacted through designing and planning the situational affective context, utilizing architecture to shape and control capacities for the corporal body (Adey, 2008). As such, drawing on the theorisations regarding mobility and affect, it can be argued that consumption can be staged from above through material affordances, design, planning, architecture and moreover that one's consumption practices can be influenced through mobility and affect in specific places (Adey, 2008). To this end, Frank (2016) in his study regarding swiss towns in the alps that have created a tourist infrastructure specifically catering to Indian tourist, Frank (2016) utilizes theories of mobility and ethnographic fieldwork to explore the practices of Indian tourists in a mode of 'dwelling' due to the fact that Indian tourists have discovered these town through Bollywood films that often use the swiss alps as locations for their movies and therefore find the place familiar through the images produced by the Indian film industry (Frank, 2016).

As such, Frank (2016) touches upon an important factor when discussing tourism consumption practices and place-consumption; the co-production of "dwelling-in-motion" (Frank, 2016, p, 512) in the sense that the dwelling practices of the Indian tourists is co-produced by the service staff, the sales personnel and the local population. Most recently, new thoughts on tourism and indeed place-consumption has been oriented towards 'off the beaten track tourism' which Maitland (2013) describes as the emergence of the desire to experience the everyday life in regards of the synergies that exists in between the residents and the tourists. Likewise, Gravari-Barbas and Delaplace (2015) argue that consumers are now looking for experiences that encompasses the familiar, routine and mundane.

The review of place-consumption and tourism consumption has highlighted that consumption in a tourism and spatial context has changed enormously over the years, moving from a perspective that tourism consumption mainly was a visual engagement to the conceptualization that the consumption within the realm of tourism exists in the nexus between everyday life and tourism. Furthermore, that the lines between the two are becoming increasingly blurred. Moreover, the review also covered the relationship between consumption practices and concept of performativity and flows of mobility, while in the process discussing different elements of consumption practices and introducing a framework for the analysis of the abovementioned topics. The theories and literature reviewed in this section will be applied in the analysis of the mobility and place-consumption practices at the popular tourist attractions.



## 2.5 Complexity of tourism management and policy-making

Networks have emerged as an important analytical tool in regards of researching and studying tourism destination policy development, and furthermore as a tool to better understand and comprehend government, industry and community relationships (Tyler & Dinan, 2001; Pforr, 2002). The network approach incorporates and recognises the manner in which a variety of issues within a single policy context can be discussed by a range of different networks each operating at different scales, in the sense that networks that addresses the development or indeed management of a tourism destination or tourism product, may all cooperate and co-exist within one single policy network or policy community (Dredge, 2006). Moreover, the method or approach of networks acknowledge that the distinctiveness between the public and private environment is becoming increasingly blurred in regards of the effort to implement and develop strategies based on collective action and shared responsibility in the context of governance (Dredge, 2006). The network approach furthermore incorporates and acknowledges the variety of different levels of political interest and indeed support which may exist in regards of the different policy objectives and policy issues within a policy network.

To this end, there may be different levels of political support in regards of the development of tourism within a policy network as seen in the context of that, levels of support may not be transferable in the context of the regional cooperation (Dredge, 2006). Lastly, the network method or approach acknowledges that different policy actors may have affiliations with other policy networks, and as such, their functions, roles, authority, willingness, power and level of support may vary significantly in regards of this context (Dredge, 2006). As such, the network approach or method resonates with the realities in regards of the notions of tourism as a multi-dimensional aggregation of public and indeed private sector policy interest. However, policy within the field of tourism is immensely complex and multifaceted, in the sense that tourism is a significant area of concern of the public sector, private industries, governments and local communities due to the fact that tourism possesses the power to impact economic growth and impact employment dynamics across many different industries (Hall, 2008). And as such, policy making within tourism can be highly diverse depending on the context. However, Hall (2008) establishes that the core of policy-making within tourism refers to how governments choses to establish measures, and indeed within which partnerships these measures are agreed upon, and furthermore how these partnerships distribute the roles and responsibility in terms of tourism policy-making process (Hall, 2008).

Naturally, this concise explanation of policy-making within tourism is rather simplistic given the complex nature of tourism and indeed policy-making within tourism, however Hall's (2008) explanation highlights an important factor when discussing policy-making within tourism; power. The policy space within the field of tourism encompasses and exists of a wide and diverse variety of stakeholders and

actors, that in some instances are pursuing different interest and objectives, and as such, an element of contradicting one and another is a common experience within the policy space of tourism (Joppe, 2017). However, although there may be an element of competing interest at play, the different stakeholders and actors often takes point of departure in a neo-liberal worldview, especially focusing on economic prosperity and growth, the creation of jobs and indeed increases to the inbound influx of tourists and increased expenditure (Joppe, 2017).

Regardless, there are many different kinds of governance and policy-making methods and every mode of them varies depending on the vertical and horizontal dimensions that they encompass, each of the different modes of policy-making and modes of governance has its own distinct downsides in terms of the efficiency, equity and enforcement (Hollingsworth & Boyer, 1997; Terhorst, 2008). As such, there is no single mode of policy-making and governance that can be seen as the perfect example, conversely, they should be coupled in such a way that they achieve the most ideal outcome (Erkus-Ozturk, 2011). So, policy-making and modes of governance within the field of tourism should not be viewed as a singular and contained entity, but instead as a combination of different negotiation processes among the different stakeholders involved in the policy-making process (Tyler & Dinan, 2001b). Although, it is important to acknowledge that the different organisations and stakeholders involved in the policy-making process may have different and contrasting agendas and approaches to tourism policy. To this end, Halkier (2010) argues that the approaches to policy-making often differs in regards of focussing on the development of economic resources and the creation of jobs, or instead focuses on the development of a specific region in relation to sustainable development goals.

This review of tourism management and policy-making has highlighted that tourism management and policy-making is immensely complex given the fact that different modes of governance and different approaches to policy-making may vary between the involved organisations and stakeholders. To this end, the review also discussed and highlighted the role of networks and the networks approach in the context of public-private partnerships within the field of tourism. The theories and approaches highlighted in this review will be used to analyse the implications in regards of tourism management.

### 3. Methodology

This chapter of the thesis will discuss and highlight the different methodological approaches that have been used in this thesis. Moreover, this chapter will explain the different data collection techniques that have been utilized to gather empirical evidence. This chapter is structured in such a way that firstly the design and development of the methodological approaches and the reasoning behind are explained. Hereafter, the primary data collection is explained detail, subsequently the secondary data sources and

the collection of these is explained. And lastly, a review of the validity and reliability of the research and the methodological approaches is presented.

### 3.1 Methodological approaches

The task of defining, designing and developing a research and methodology approach to investigate and research not only the place-consumption practices and mobility flows at the popular tourist attractions, but also how these attractions implicate the perception of tourism and the management of tourism, was a difficult task considering the complex nature of the social, economic and political environment that surrounds the notions mentioned above. As such, it was needed to choose an approach or approaches that could assist in the inquiry into how the popular tourist attractions implicate the perception and management of tourism and moreover support the inquiry regarding which elements constitute tourism mobility and place-consumption practices at the popular tourist attractions. In regards of the investigation of place-consumption practices and mobility flows at the popular tourist attractions, mobile methods offer the researcher to track and observe the ‘research subjects’ (Büscher & Urry, 2009, p. 103) and to study the movement, potential movement and blocked movement of the ‘research subjects’. Moreover, the approach of mobile methods aids the researcher in investigating dwelling and place-making (Büscher & Urry, 2009).

Mobile methods is a broad concept, and different forms of this approach is in existence, however, the forms that has been chosen for this thesis is that of observing, or shadowing as it is also referred to as (Büscher & Urry, 2009). This approach to mobile methods describes and encompasses the observation of the ‘research subjects’ movements and practices, and as such this approach was chosen to research and investigate the place-consumption and mobility flows at the popular tourist attractions (This will be explained in more depth later in this chapter). To this end, this line of inquiry mentioned above is rooted in the ontological perspective of phenomenology in the sense that the thesis wishes to understand and investigate the phenomenological perspectives of place-consumption and flows of mobility at the popular tourist attractions through the embodied performances of the ‘research subjects’. The decision to adopt a phenomenological perspective was based on the potential of the engagement with mobile methods, in the sense that this approach allows the researcher to move away from rigorously defined approaches and to allow methods to be utilized in combination with the ‘research subjects’ (Jensen, 2014). While the mobile methods approach has been chosen to investigate the place-consumption practices and mobility flows at the popular tourist attractions due to its focus on dwelling and place-making, it is important to discuss the critiques that this method or approach has been subject to.

To this end, Law & Urry (2004) argue that the mobile methods approach will push the researcher to choose which mobile realities to pursue and investigate, and as such interfere with the research process. Moreover Jensen (2014) discusses the ambiguity of mobile methods in relation to the different disciplinary backgrounds that affords the productiveness of the mobile methods approach. While mobile methods, in this thesis will be utilized to better understand the place-consumption and flows of mobility at the popular tourist attractions, this method do not solely cover this line of inquiry. To further investigate the mobility flows and place-consumption at the popular tourist attractions in the context of the perception of tourism (as discussed in the literature review regarding overtourism and causes of disturbance) it was also needed to design an approach in which it would be possible to talk and gather primary data from the ‘research subjects’.

To this account, it was decided that surveys would serve as one of the methods for collecting this data (The exact survey and the process of developing it will be discussed and presented later in this chapter, please see section regarding primary data collection). This was partially decided on the basis that utilizing surveys, provides rich opportunity to collect a large amount of data within a relatively small period of time (Björklund & Paulsson, 2012). As such, the method of questionnaires or surveys provided the researcher with the opportunity to collect large amounts of data regarding visitor behaviour within a short timeframe, however, this approach also encompasses a variety of complexities both in regards of respondent selection and in terms of representativeness (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995). The complexities of using the survey or questionnaire approach namely concerns how many respondents that are needed to make the approach valid and representative in the sense of representing the overall characteristics of the population and moreover the actual process of sample selection in regards of locating respondents (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995).

However, the need for adequately collecting qualitative and quantitative data regarding the visitors of the city and the local community over spatial scales and time, highly influenced the decision to use the survey and questionnaire approach for this thesis. Additionally, field notes were taken throughout the research process of this thesis, especially when conducting observations. The decision to take field notes during the research process was to deepen the understanding of the observations made regarding the mobility flows and place-consumption practices at the popular tourist attractions, as field notes can deepen and develop the researchers understanding of the sensuousness of places, emerging concerns, practices and behaviour and through this, design and develop theoretical insights (Emerson et al., 2011). Choosing this approach, allowed the researcher to collect information gradually, and as such, generating an assortment of information and data, that could then be included or not included as the empirical foundation of the analysis (Emerson et al., 2011). While the method of using field notes, served as a means of gathering large amounts of information regarding the mobility flows, place-consumption practices and perceptions of tourism in Copenhagen, they only provide a partial segment of the observed

realities, in the sense that these field notes are ‘in-process’ writings gathered continuously, without a distinct and ultimate structure for registration of the information. As such, this method of using field notes to register and develop knowledge through observations may encompass methodological pitfalls (Emerson et al., 2011).

These methodological pitfalls of utilizing field notes will be explained later in this chapter. In terms of the inquiry into the implications regarding the management of tourism it was decided to use expert interviews to investigate this line of inquiry. The objective of utilizing the approach of expert interviews was to gain insight and knowledge regarding the political and practical realities that the administration of Culture and Leisure - Department of internationalisation and tourism operate under, and moreover gain insight into the objectives and roles and responsibilities of the organisation and also to better understand the cooperation with Wonderful Copenhagen.

The method of conducting expert interviews can yield highly interesting and valuable sources of information, considering that experts of a given field or industry have vast amounts of knowledge regarding that field or industry and moreover considering that these sources of information may not be publicly available (Trueb, 2014). As such, the method of using expert interviews in regards of collecting data and indeed gaining knowledge about the two different organisations formed a basis in which it was possible for the researcher to understand the corporation in regards of policy-making and the overall objectives in regard to tourism management. Accordingly, the expert interviews in this thesis is to some degree biased towards extracting important information and data regarding the management of tourism in terms of the municipality of Copenhagen and Wonderful Copenhagen. However, the interviews conducted during the research process also encompassed the inquiry into the expert’s personal conceptions of negative tourism impacts, following a more unstructured and conversation like interview structure. As such, the interviews conducted is not only oriented towards extracting exact information regarding the management of tourism, but also to actively encourage the respondent’s construction of the notion of overtourism and the issues which are being seen in Copenhagen.

To this end, it is important to acknowledge that an interview relies on the interaction between the respondent and the interviewer, and that this interview situation, however restricted and formalised it might be, always will be contingent on the basis that meanings are socially and collaboratively constructed (Garfinkel, 1967). As such, the interview method applied in this thesis is designed to both incorporate the methodological background of conducting ‘active interviews’ as suggested by Holstein & Gubrium (1995) who explains the goal of this method to be “*The goal is to show how interview responses are produced in the interaction between interviewer and respondent, without losing sight of the meanings produced or the circumstances that condition the meaning-making process*” (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995, p. 8) and a more traditional interview approach focussed on gathering exact and reliable

information from experts from the municipality of Copenhagen - Administration of Culture and Leisure - Department of internationalisation and tourism (Trueb, 2014).

## 3.2 Data collection

This section of the thesis will give a detailed presentation of the different data collection techniques used for this thesis. First, the section will introduce and explain how the observations was made, hereafter the process of interviews will be unfolded. Third, the section will present a detailed explanation in regards to the conducted survey. Lastly, this section discusses the reliability and validity of the undertaken research.

### 3.2.1 Observations and field notes

The first part of the primary data collection for this thesis was carried out at three popular tourist attractions in the inner city of Copenhagen in ultimo March 2019. The overlying purpose of this initial data collection was to aid the researcher in investigating how the tourist consume specific places in the city of Copenhagen and furthermore gain knowledge regarding their flow of mobility. As mentioned above, three locations were chosen for observation; Nyhavn, Langelinie quay and Amalienborg. These three locations were chosen through discussions and conversations with employees from the department of culture and leisure in the municipality of Copenhagen. The locations were often mentioned when discussing 'tourism hotspots' and indeed areas of concern when discussing the negative impacts of increasing tourism in the city of Copenhagen. Moreover, these specific locations were chosen on the basis of a pilot research project (Between Aalborg University, Palermo University and the municipality of Copenhagen) regarding cruise ship tourists in Copenhagen in which cruise ship passengers was given GPS tracking devices, so that their movements could be tracked during their stay in Copenhagen (The documents of this research project are not publicly available and can therefore not referenced to). Moreover, these locations are listed as some of the most popular attractions in Copenhagen on Tripadvisor (Tripadvisor, 2019).

This initial investigation into the consumption practices and mobility flows was as mentioned in section above regarding methodological approaches done through observations and by taking field notes (Trueb, 2014; Büsher & Urry, 2009). These observations were focussed upon investigating embodiment, place-consumptions practices, flows of mobility and the assemblies of people. These observations enabled the researcher to formulate initial questions regarding the aforementioned subjects through the knowledge gained during and after the observations in terms of consulting the field notes. As mentioned in the section above, the use of field notes encompasses some methodological pitfalls. Namely, that field notes

are selective, in these sense that it is only what is deemed as significant that is written down. As such, field notes never fully provide the complete context (Atkinson, 1992).

### 3.2.1.1 Overview of observations

This section provides a precise overview of the conducted observations in the following three locations; Nyhavn, Amalienborg, Langelinie quay.

- *Observations in Nyhavn*

The observations conducted in and around Nyhavn took place on the 13th, 14th of 16th of March 2019

- *Observations at Amalienborg Castle*

The Observations conducted in and around Amalienborg took place on the 18th and 19th of March 2019

- *Observations at Langelinie quay*

The observations conducted at Langelinie quay and the little mermaid was conducted on the 23th, 24th of March 2019 and on the 7th of May 2019.

### 3.2.2 Interviews

As mentioned in the section regarding methodological approaches, the interviews conducted during the research process of this thesis mainly focussed on gaining knowledge regarding tourism management and moreover to gain insight into the objectives and roles and responsibilities of the organisation and also to better understand the cooperation with Wonderful Copenhagen. And as such, the respondent selection in regards of the expert interviews had to be directed towards stakeholders within municipality who possessed exact and useful knowledge regarding the management of tourism. As such, it was needed to research which stakeholders that could fulfil these criteria. Through the authors employment in the municipality of Copenhagen in the department of internationalisation and tourism (This factor will be explained later in this chapter under the section of position of the interviewer) it was known which stakeholders within the municipality of Copenhagen who had knowledge regarding this subject. On the basis of this knowledge two expert interviews was conducted with employees of the municipality of Copenhagen (See interview overview for more information).

To secure these interviews, the author contacted the relevant people inside the organisation. When conducting the interviews, a semi-structured interview guide was used. This approach was chosen due to the fact that this interview structure included open questions, and as such allowing the experts to highlight their views and opinions regarding impacts of tourism and causes of disturbance, while also

including closed questions designed to probe for specific inquiries regarding the management of tourism (Trueb, 2014).

### 3.2.2.1 Overview of interviews

This section will provide an overview of the expert interviews conducted during the thesis.

- ***Expert interview with head of the department of internationalisation and tourism***

Michael Ryan (Henceforth referenced to as Interview#1 - See appendix 2). This interview was conducted in the offices of the department internationalisation and tourism (Municipality of Copenhagen). The interview took place on the 1st of April 2019.

- ***Expert interview with a strategic consultant from the department of internationalisation and tourism***

Rasmus Holdgaard (Henceforth referenced to as Interview#2- see appendix 3).

This interview was conducted in the offices of the tourist information centre in Copenhagen.

The interview took place on the 4th of April 2019.

### 3.2.2.2 Position of the interviewer

The interviews conducted was booked in advance, meaning that the interviewees were prepared for the interview and moreover, the interviewees were aware of the objectives of the interview. This meant that the respondents viewed the interview situation as a research interview. As such, the position of the interviewer was established before the actual interviews took place (Seidmann, 2006). Furthermore, due to the fact that the author of this thesis is employed by the municipality of Copenhagen, it was possible to use background knowledge of the management of tourism. Letting the respondent know that the interviewer had an understanding of the different aspects that the interviews were revolving around (gaining insight into the objectives and roles and responsibilities of the organisation and to better understand the cooperation with Wonderful Copenhagen), made it somewhat easier to ask complex questions and in return get relevant feedback (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995). Moreover, observations made through the employment in the municipality has been a great asset in terms of scoping and delineating the interview guide.



### 3.2.3 Survey

As discussed earlier in this thesis, the decision to use surveys was based on the fact that this approach allowed the researcher to gather large amounts of data within a relatively small time-frame (Björklund & Paulsson, 2012). Moreover, the questionnaires were designed and developed with the focus on one specific target group - locals. The survey was focussed and designed to investigate the local inhabitant's perception of tourism in Copenhagen and especially in the context of the popular tourist attractions located in the inner city (Nyhavn, Langelinie Quay and Amalienborg Castle). As such, the questionnaires focussed one specific target group, with the objective of investigating the conceptions, misconceptions and preconceptions of tourism in the city of Copenhagen and specifically at the popular tourist attractions. Accordingly, the survey allowed the researcher to investigate and gain knowledge about the characteristics and opinions of the target group (Veal, 2011).

Moreover, it was needed to carry-out the survey in locations in which the researcher could encounter locals of the city. Accordingly, the survey took place in two different locations in the city of Copenhagen each focussing on a different geographical area. The first location in which the questionnaire was conducted was in the neighbourhood of Nørrebro, more specifically Dronning Louises bridge. The second location the questionnaire was conducted was in and around Nyhavn in the inner city of Copenhagen. In regards of the survey, it is important to explicitly state that the questionnaires were not handed out to the respondents, but instead the researcher asked the questions within the questionnaire and registered the answers in the survey. This method is also known as interviewer completed questionnaires and offers the researcher higher response rates, and furthermore allows for a less user-friendly design (Veal, 2011). However, this approach also means that the degree of anonymity in regards of the respondent's answers are reduced, in the sense that the respondents do not complete the questionnaire by themselves without interference (Veal, 2011). To this end, the method of interviewer completed questionnaires was still chosen due to the fact that a more conversation-like structure was desired, so that probing questions could be asked to the respondents during the completion of the questionnaire.

#### 3.2.3.1 Questions

This section will highlight the contents of the survey described in the section above, including the questions and layout of the questionnaires (the layout of the survey is available in the appendixes - see appendix 4). The survey was designed in such a way that it contained both close-ended questions in terms of multiple-choice questions (Taylor-Powell, 1998) allowing for statistical analysis, and open-ended questions oriented towards seeking new insights and to identify general patterns among the respondents (Altinay & Paraskevas, 2008). The questions within the survey, revolved around whether or not the locals have experienced any issues or problems with tourism, and furthermore to investigate

the causes of disturbance with a mix of close and open-ended questions. Moreover, this survey seeks to understand the respondent's relationship with tourism in regards of positive impacts and whether or not the respondents believe that there are more room for tourists in the city of Copenhagen. In total the survey contains 8 questions; four open-ended questions and four close-ended questions. This survey technique resembles that of semi-structured interviews, as the objective of the survey both was oriented towards the gathering of statistical data, as well as seeking new insights in regard to the perception of tourism and thus identifying general patterns and understandings of the perception of tourism (Altinay & Paraskevas, 2008).

<b>Example of questions in the survey (Please see appendix 4 for precise layout of questionnaire)</b>
Have you encountered any problems or issues of tourism?
Do you believe that there are more room for tourist in Copenhagen?
Do you think that tourism is visible in your daily life?
What do you think that tourism contributes to in Copenhagen?

*Figure 2. Examples of questions - Locals*

### 3.2.3.2 Coding of the collected data

In order to get an overview of the collected data material, it was needed to code and categorise the data collected through the survey, so that it would be possible to identify the general patterns, create statistics and divide the material into categories (Miles et al., 2014). The method of coding afforded the researcher to obtain an overview of the collected data, and thus making the process of utilizing the collected data for the analysis easier, in the sense that this data was coded and categorised. In regards of the practicalities of the coding process - the data gathered in terms of the closed ended questions (described above) was transferred to a spreadsheet, so that statistical analysis could be conducted (See appendix 5.9;5.8;5.10;5.11;5.12). In regards of open-ended questions, the answers from the respondents was written down in the survey, to a degree in fractions of sentences. Hereafter, the writings from the open-ended questions was transferred to a computer and subsequently categorized in regard to the question they referred to (see appendix 5.1;5.2;5.3;5.4;5.5;5.6). This process of coding aided the researcher in generating meaning from the collected data in regards of the survey. In total, 62 respondents participated in the survey, however, it is here explicitly stated that the majority of the respondents only answered the close-ended question. And moreover, some of the comments which was noted down, was noted down in relation to the close-ended questions. Furthermore, some of the answers which was given in regards

of the open-ended questions was afterwards discarded, namely when the respondents answered that they “don’t know”.

### 3.4 Desktop research

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, secondary data sources were also used in this thesis. To this end, desktop research was utilized to gather information regarding tourism and tourism development in Copenhagen. The online sites in which data was collected are considered to be valid and reliable - data was extracted from online newspaper sites such as Politiken, Berlingske, Jyllands-posten and moreover data was extracted from Tripadvisor and Danmarks statistik. However, the data collected from these sources was not used for analytical purposes per se, rather they were used to explain and scope the analysis and research question. The secondary data sources utilized in this thesis are referenced in the bibliography (See chapter 6).

### 3.5 Validity and reliability

The very notion of validity and reliability stems from the positivistic approach of making and doing research (Veal, 2011). Accordingly, the notion of utilizing validity and reliability to assess the research undertaken in this thesis would be, to a degree, inadequate. As such, the research undertaken in this thesis will be assessed through the principles of trustworthiness in which Decrop (2004) argues that trustworthiness is established through triangulation, and moreover Decrop (2004) argues that if trustworthiness is established, personal and methodological biases of the researcher is limited. In this thesis, triangulation is present in regards to the methods chosen, data collection methods, respondent and respondent triangulation. As discussed in the section regarding methodological approaches, both observations, expert interviews and surveys have been used to collect data for this thesis. However, it is important to acknowledge that the accuracy of what respondents answer in regards of the data collection techniques mentioned above, depends on the respondents’ power to recall certain aspects and indeed their honesty (Veal, 2011). Likewise, to acknowledge and consider that the level of participation is largely up to the respondent (Oppenheim, 2000) and that mistakes may occur when respondents try to recall knowledge and events (Veal, 2011). The issue of confidentiality was particularly present in the data collection for this thesis, namely in regards of the interviews with experts from the municipality of Copenhagen in terms of the management of tourism and the cooperation with Wonderful Copenhagen. Accordingly, the interview guide was designed in such a manner that, it was careful of inquiries into confidential information (Trueb, 2014). Moreover, the sampling techniques employed in this thesis incorporated both qualitative methods and quantitative methods. This combination of qualitative and quantitative methods allowed for triangulation further adding to the trustworthiness of the research conducted in this thesis (Decrop, 2004; Denzin, 1978). Another important aspect of establishing trustworthiness through triangulation is informant triangulation, due to the fact that this mode of

triangulation allows for the comparison in regards of different respondents, and what these respondents have answered (Decrop, 2004). In this thesis information triangulation is present in regards to the different respondents; two different employees from the municipality of Copenhagen - Department of internationalisation and tourism, and in regards of different respondents in terms of the survey respondents. Moreover, the thesis has employed principles of triangulation in regards of the theories chosen to enlighten the analysis and to interpret the collected data, theories of place-consumption, performance, mobility, management of tourism and tourism policy, causes of disturbance and overtourism. The theories chosen for this thesis forms the basis of theoretical triangulation. As such, the thesis has employed principles of triangulation in regards of methods chosen, respondents, data collecting, and theories to establish trustworthiness of the research undertaken.

## 4. Analysis

Throughout the analysis the research question will be analysed; What are the implications of popular tourists' attractions in regards of the perception of tourism and in terms of tourism management?

- Which elements constitute tourism mobility and place-consumption practices at popular tourist attractions?

The first section of the analysis will introduce and set the context in regards of tourism in Copenhagen in terms of how it has developed. Moreover, this section of the analysis will showcase and highlight the current and past visitor numbers in Copenhagen and furthermore shortly discuss the current issues that are related to tourism. The second part of the analysis will focus on the sub-question in regards to the research question - Which elements constitute tourism mobility and place-consumption practices at popular tourist attractions? To this end, the objective of this section of the analysis is to discuss and moreover identify which elements that constitutes tourism mobility and place-consumption practices at the three popular tourist attractions in question, and moreover to better understand the characteristics of these attractions. The relevant theories which was elaborated upon in the literature review, will be utilized to aid the above-mentioned objective of this section of the analysis. Hereafter, the analysis will focus on highlighting and showcasing the political and practical realities that the municipality of Copenhagen - the department of internationalisation and tourism operate under, and moreover discuss and identify the objectives in regards to management of tourism. Furthermore, this section of the analysis will also discuss and analyse the cooperation with Wonderful Copenhagen. The fourth section of the analysis will revolve around the analysis and discussion of the perception of tourism, both in regards to tourism in general and specifically in regards to the popular tourist attractions in the inner city of Copenhagen. This section will draw on the empirical evidence collected throughout the research process and moreover utilize the relevant theories discussed in the literature review. Finally, the analysis will

focus on analysing the implications of popular tourist attractions in regards to the perception of tourism and in regards of tourism management. In this section, the knowledge which has been gained and unfolded in the previous sections of the analysis will put into context with the relevant theories and the empirical evidence to analyse the above-mentioned inquiry. Lastly, the conclusions of this inquiry will be presented.

## 4.1 Copenhagen & Tourism - setting the scene

Tourism in the Danish capital has increased significantly in the last ten years. Greater Copenhagen (Region Hovedstaden) has experienced almost a hundred percent increase in hotel bed nights in the years 2008 to 2018 (See figure 4) and was last year registered at 9 million bed nights.

2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
5,5 M	5,2 M	5,8 M	6,4 M	6,8 M	7,2 M	7,5 M	8,1 M	8,3 M	8,4 M	9,0 M

*Figure 3. Hotel bed night statistics for Greater Copenhagen from 2008 to 2018 in million (Danmarks statistik, 2019).*

However, looking beyond bed nights, the number of visitors to the city of Copenhagen is much higher. If cruise ship tourism, Airbnb and other peer-to-peer rental platforms and one day visitors are included, the number of visitors is considered to be much larger. Naturally, the increase in tourism has afforded large monetary gains, in 2018 the total revenue of tourism in Greater Copenhagen exceeded 42 billion kr. and moreover tourism was responsible for the creation 50.000 jobs (Standby.dk, 2018). It is expected that Copenhagen will be welcoming more than 16 million visitors per year by 2030 (Horesta, 2018). While this growth rate might be worrying to some (this aspect will be explained more later in this section) the CEO of Wonderful Copenhagen asserts that their organisation will continue to promote and attract visitors to the city, however, he also explains that the development of tourism must be carried out through sustainable principles (Visitcopenhagen.dk, 2018).

To this end, he argues that it is essential that Copenhagen becomes a destination that is not just visited in the summer months, but that it has to become a year-around destination, and moreover that visitors must explore the destination in a wider geographical context in the sense that visitors should not only visit the city centre, but also the surrounding neighbourhoods (Visitcopenhagen, 2018). While touring companies and tourism organisations and stakeholders are experiencing glory days and enjoying the increase of visitor number to Copenhagen, local communities and inhabitants in Copenhagen are beginning to speak up in resistance to the increase in tourism, especially in the inner city. Locals are arguing that Copenhagen is increasingly being geared towards housing tourists and their needs, rather

than being focussed on the people that live in Copenhagen, and that the local community are being endangered by the increase of tourism (Tv2lorry, 2018). Whether or not the resistance against tourism can be attributed to specific tourism hot spots in Copenhagen is at this point unknown, however, the majority of news articles found online regarding issues of overtourism focuses on the city centre of Copenhagen (Berlingske, 2018; Politiken, 2018; Tv2lorry, 2018; Politiken, 2019; Berlingske, 2018). These articles share, to some degree, the same narrative in terms of not only focussing on overcrowding issues, but also on the practices of the visitors and the influence of tourism in regards of processes of urban development.

As mentioned above, Wonderful Copenhagen hopes to ensure the sustainable development of tourism in Copenhagen through a series of initiatives, one of these initiatives is a public-private partnership between the municipality of Copenhagen (the administration of culture and leisure, department of internationalisation and tourism) and their own organisation Wonderful Copenhagen. This public-private partnership has been formed in an effort to steer, control and manage the sustainable development of tourism in Copenhagen and Greater Copenhagen, catering to both the visitors coming to Copenhagen and to the local inhabitants of Copenhagen (Interview #1).

And as such, the public-private partnership must balance the wishes and needs of the locals of Copenhagen, while also catering to the visitors of the city and moreover balance the interest of the touring companies (Tour buses, canal tours, walking tours etc.) in regards of the sustainable development of tourism in the city of Copenhagen. So, to review, Copenhagen have experienced a significant growth in visitors the last ten years, and this trend show no sign of stagnation. Meanwhile, residents (at least in some geographical areas) are calling out the government and tourism stakeholders to better manage tourism, due to the increasing concern that tourism is taking over the city, both in regards of overcrowding and in terms of the practices and behaviour of the tourists. But, has this increase in tourism had any larger effects or impacts on the perception of tourism? and how are the popular tourist attractions situated in this context? To this end, the analysis will seek to analyse and identify the implications that the popular tourist attractions has on the perception on tourism and indeed how tourism is managed in Copenhagen.

## 4.2 Mobility flows and place-consumption practices at the popular tourists' attractions

As discussed in the review of the methodological approaches and methods, observations of the tourist's mobility patterns and mobility flows was undertaken in three different locations in the city of Copenhagen in terms of popular tourist attractions (Nyhavn, Langelinie quay and Amalienborg Castle).

These observations will now be highlighted in relation to the analysis of the mobility flows in Copenhagen. Naturally, there are many different forms of mobility, especially given the urban context in which this inquiry of mobility of flows of Copenhagen is situated. As such, this part of the analysis will first and foremost discuss the identified modes of mobility in the city of Copenhagen found through the observations undertaken in the research process. Hereafter, the place-consumption practices in Copenhagen (more specifically, the place-consumption practices in the three locations in which observations was made) will be discussed and analysed. Finally, this section of the analysis will focus on analysing the relationship between the patterns of tourism mobility and place-consumption practices in regards of the identified elements which constituted the mobility and place-consumption drawing on the previous sections and the data collected in the questionnaire.

#### 4.2.1 Modes of mobility

As discussed in the literature review, there are numerous ways of understanding mobility in a tourism context; Corporal travel, Physical movement, Imaginative travel, Virtual travel, Communicative travel (Büscher & Urry, 2009). However, the mode of mobility that this section of the analysis is oriented towards is the corporal travel mode, which encompasses the mobility of people in terms of going to work, going to see attractions etc. (Büscher & Urry, 2009). As such, this part of the analysis seeks to identify the different modes of corporal mobility that occurs and takes place in regards of the different kinds of transportation possibilities, and indeed, the mobility patterns learned through the observations made during the research process. As mentioned in the methods chapter, these observations took place in three different locations (Nyhavn, Langelinie quay and Amalienborg), accordingly this section of the analysis will be divided into three separate sections, each with the focus of identifying the modes of mobility within the specific location.

##### - *Nyhavn*

Nyhavn is a small harbour area in Copenhagen and has become a tourist hotspot and a flagship attraction for the visitors of the city. Nyhavn is known for its colorful houses, canals, its many restaurants and bars and the picturesque surroundings (Visitcopenhagen.dk, 2018). In a geographical context Nyhavn accounts for relatively small part of Copenhagen (see figure 4 and 5), and it is by itself a small area. Nyhavn consists of two sides with a canal dividing the two. One side (for the ease of reference this side of Nyhavn will henceforth be abbreviated as the left side of Nyhavn) consists mainly of restaurants and bars, furthermore, this side of Nyhavn is closed off from traffic (Appendix 1-1.9). The other side of Nyhavn (Henceforth abbreviated as the right side) also has restaurants and bars, but in a smaller number, moreover the right side is a one-way street (For cars and motorized vehicles) and has parking spaces available (See appendix 1-1.8)



Figure 4.

Figure 5.

(Figure 4 shows the location of Nyhavn, Figure. 5 shows the overview of Copenhagen. Nyhavn is located within the red circle)

In the observations made during the research process the modes of mobility varied significantly depending on which side of Nyhavn these observations were being made. Naturally, the modes of mobility on left side of Nyhavn was highly influenced by the fact that the street is closed off for traffic, and as such, this side of Nyhavn functioned more as a walking street. Accordingly, the modes of mobility in regards of the left side of Nyhavn was, to a degree, delineated by the fact that vehicles could not enter this side of Nyhavn. To this end, the traffic regulations that surrounds this side of Nyhavn influences the patterns and indeed possibilities in regards of the mobility flows in Nyhavn. This aspect serves as a good example of how mobility and indeed, modes of mobility, can be influenced or staged from ‘above’ through design, regulations and infrastructure as described by Jensen (2013). Through this staging of mobilities from ‘above’ the modes of mobility on the left side of Nyhavn is predominantly that of walking. Both tourists and locals navigate the left side of Nyhavn by foot, however, there is also a high degree of voluntary immobility at play on this side of Nyhavn. The quay, cafes, restaurants and bars are all affording voluntary immobility in one form or another. During the observations, the quay was full of people sitting on the bank taking in the sun and the atmosphere.

Moreover, the different cafes, bars and restaurants located on the left side of Nyhavn, provided rich opportunity for voluntary immobility in terms of people having lunch, dinner or something to drink at these above-mentioned establishments. To this end, the observed modes of mobility and indeed immobility along with the spatially small size of the left side of Nyhavn, meant that it was difficult to navigate the narrow street, even more so, when it was observed that people were pulling their bicycles through the street. These issues and observations regarding the mobilities were also present on the right side of Nyhavn, however, in a very different context. In opposition to the left side of Nyhavn, the right side of Nyhavn is not closed off for traffic, and as such, both cars, lorry’s, bicycles and pedestrians occupy the street. Accordingly, the modes of mobility are much different from the characteristics of the



left side of Nyhavn, conversely, on the right side of Nyhavn, the modes of mobility which was observed was much more diverse. On this side of Nyhavn, it could be observed how people was in a mode of transit, using bicycles and vehicles for transportation purposes, walking to get to the other side of Nyhavn. Furthermore, it was surprising to observe that the level of voluntary immobility on this side of Nyhavn, was significantly reduced in comparison with what was observed on the left side of Nyhavn. As described above, the number of establishments that served dinner, lunch or drinks on this side of Nyhavn was fewer in comparison with the other side of Nyhavn.

Accordingly, the spaces and establishments that afforded the voluntary immobility on the left side, was therefore not present in the same context on the right side of Nyhavn. In regards of the canal separating the two sides of Nyhavn, the modes of mobility observed was afforded by boats and canal tours. At the entrance of Nyhavn and on the right side of Nyhavn (Appendix 1-68;1.71;1.72) tour guide operators had ticket booths and piers designated for selling tickets to the canal tours and piers for the boats to dock in at. In this context it was interesting to observe the visibility of the tourism operators in the area, in the sense that they spatially did not require much space for the ticket booths, but the boats that was used for canal tours occupied, at times, almost the whole canal separating the two streets of Nyhavn (The aspect of tour operators will be analysed in more depth later in this section - See section 4.2 regarding place-consumption practices).

As such, the most dominant modes of mobility observed in the location of Nyhavn was that of walking, biking, voluntary immobility, and participating in guided canal tours. However, in this context it becomes relevant to discuss or indeed consider whether one's situational mobility encompasses an element of individual choice, or, if one's situational mobility is subject to modification through the build environment in regards of regulations, infrastructure and design (Jensen, 2013). Through the observations made in Nyhavn, the traffic restrictions seem to alter the way the two different sides of Nyhavn are navigated and consumed, the restriction on traffic affords a more vibrant scene on the left side of Nyhavn, whereas the right side which has no traffic restrictions (only in regards of it being a one-way street) is much more a street in 'transit'. Going beyond the influence of the design, infrastructure and regulations, the role of the human presence must also be taken into consideration. The dynamic negotiation and navigation of crowded places such as Nyhavn, may have significant impact on the modes mobility. It was observed that precognitive practices and performances such as queuing, was essential to navigate the busy street of Nyhavn, this aspect was particularly apparent in relation to process of purchasing tickets to the canal tours. Moreover, the crowdedness of Nyhavn, also led to articulated responses of dissatisfactions. It was observed that when individuals were biking on the left side of Nyhavn, people had to navigate around them, this led to articulated responses of dissatisfaction in regards of disregard of the safety of people walking down the street.

- *Langelinie Quay*

Langelinie quay is a relatively large area of Copenhagen, and it encompasses a variety of aspects which are closely associated with tourism. Langelinie quay functions as a dock for arriving and departing cruise ships (only calls) coming to Copenhagen, furthermore Langelinie is home to one of Copenhagen's most popular and well visited attractions; the little mermaid. Moreover, Langelinie is situated along the harbourfront which leads to the Gefion water fountain, Kastellet and Amaliehaven. As such, Langelinie has a variety of significant attractions within its geographical span.

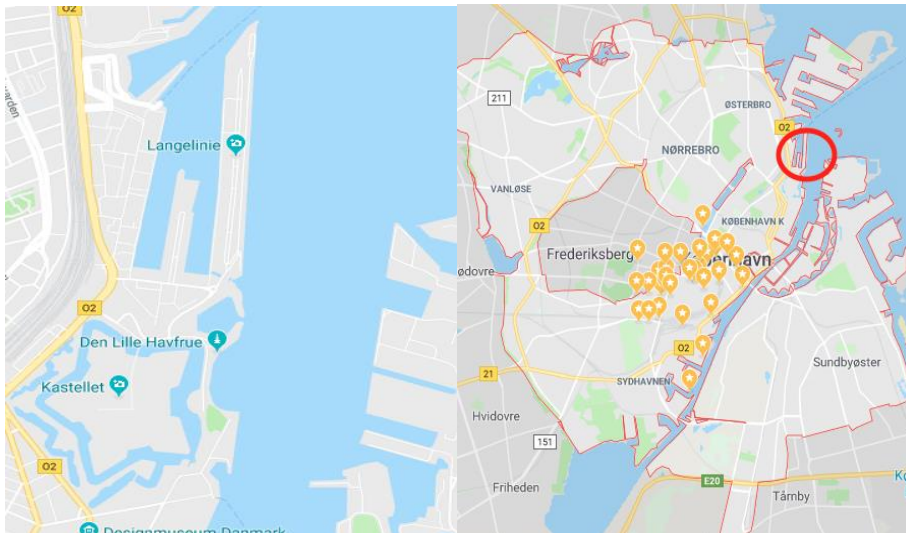


Figure 6

figure 7

(Figure 6 shows the location of Langelinie, Figure. 7 shows the overview of Copenhagen, Langelinie is located within the red circle)

All of these attractions can be visited or reached by following the harbourfront, a practice which is popular among the arriving cruise ship tourists. Through the observations undertaken during the research process, it was observed that the different modes of mobility varied significantly. Many of the visitors at Langelinie utilized walking as the main mean of transportation, this was especially observed in the beginning of Langelinie quay, more precisely at the cruise ship docks and by the attraction of the little mermaid. In this specific area (the beginning of Langelinie quay) it was interesting to observe that many guided tours were initiated. Cruise ship passengers either assembled behind the security fence situated at the quay (Appendix 1.82) and began a guided tour that took them along Langelinie quay and the harbourfront and then into the centre of the city, or the cruise ship passengers walked straight from the cruise ship onto tour buses parked on the other side of the security fence (Appendix 1.82). As such, the modes of mobility in regards of the cruise ship passengers, was from the very beginning of their visit to Copenhagen staged, either in the form of tour busses or guided walking tours. However, it should be explicitly stated that some of the cruise ship passengers arriving in Copenhagen chose to walk by

themselves (this will be explained and analysed more upon later in this chapter). As mentioned in the literature review, the power of the tourism operators and mediators of tourism possess the authority to choreograph the consumption and mobility patterns of participating tourist in regards of controlling their itineraries (Dahles, 2002; Diekmann & Hannam, 2012).

This aspect of shaping tourists mobilities and indeed modes of mobility was seen in the observations of the cruise ship passengers leaving the cruise ships and then immediately participating in guided tours in the form of tour buses or guided walking tours. As for the cruise ship tourists that selected not to participate in guided tours, their patterns or modes of mobility was primarily walking, however, during the observations some of the passengers opted for hiring a taxi. Whether or not this taxi drove the passengers into the city is unknown, but it remains as a mode of mobility that must be accounted for. Another mode of mobility, that has recently become more and more popular in an urban tourism context is Segway tours. Along Langelinie quay, several Segway tour operators reside - offering tours of Copenhagen, during the observations several visitors at Langelinie including the cruise ship passengers participated in these Segway tours.

These Segway tours consisted of groups of five to ten people and lasted between 1-2 hours. The tours started at Langelinie and proceeded into the city centre of Copenhagen, passing attractions such as the little mermaid, Amalieshaven and Amalienborg on the way. Staying on the subject of guided tours, the modes of mobility on Langelinie quay was also subject to canal tours, having several canal tour stops along the harbourfront. Moreover, ticket booths and piers designated for canal tour operators was observed during the research process. As mentioned in the beginning of this section, there are several attractions located within and close to Langelinie quay, perhaps the most significant of these are the little mermaid. During the observations, the mobility practices that took place at this specific attraction was interesting to note, the attraction site was often crowded with tourists eager, not only to take photographs of the sculpture, but also touching the sculpture and climbing out to it and taking pictures with themselves alongside the little mermaid.

A number of initiatives have been taken so that this practice of climbing out to the sculpture has become more difficult, stones have been removed in front of the sculpture to make it more difficult to climb out to it, and furthermore railings have been put in place to prevent the above-mentioned practice. These initiatives have been introduced partly because of security and safety reasons, but also because locals find this practice inappropriate (Jyllandsposten, 2007). As such, the removal of the stones in front of the sculpture along with the placement of railings have influenced and indeed staged the mobility of the visitors at the attraction of the little mermaid. In this example regarding the little mermaid, the connection between design and affect as discussed by Peter Adey (2008) is arguably represented in terms of planning the situational mobility through design initiatives and moreover making use of planning

to shape and indeed control the capacities and possibilities of the corporal body and the consumption practices (this will be analysed upon in more depth later in the analysis). To sum up, the modes of mobility observed at Langelinie quay can essentially be divided into two different categories, guided tours and independent visitors. As mentioned above, guided tours were present in terms of canal tours, bus tours, guided walking tours and Segway tours, in regards of the individual visitors the observed modes of mobility were predominantly walking. Moreover, it was observed that both of these two respective groups followed the same pattern in regards of the flows of mobility, it was observed that both of the above-mentioned groups followed the harbourfront, which led them into the city centre and through attractions such as Kastellet, the little mermaid, Amaliehaven and Amalienborg.

- ***Amalienborg Castle***

Amalienborg, or Amalienborg castle is home to the royal family of Denmark and is a well visited attraction. The daily shift of royal guards at 12.00 attracts many visitors every day, following the new shift from Rosenborg castle at Gothersgade through the city to Amalienborg castle (Visitcopenhagen.com, 2019). Amalienborg Castle is located in the inner city of Copenhagen and is located close the other two places where observations were made (Nyhavn and Langelinie quay).

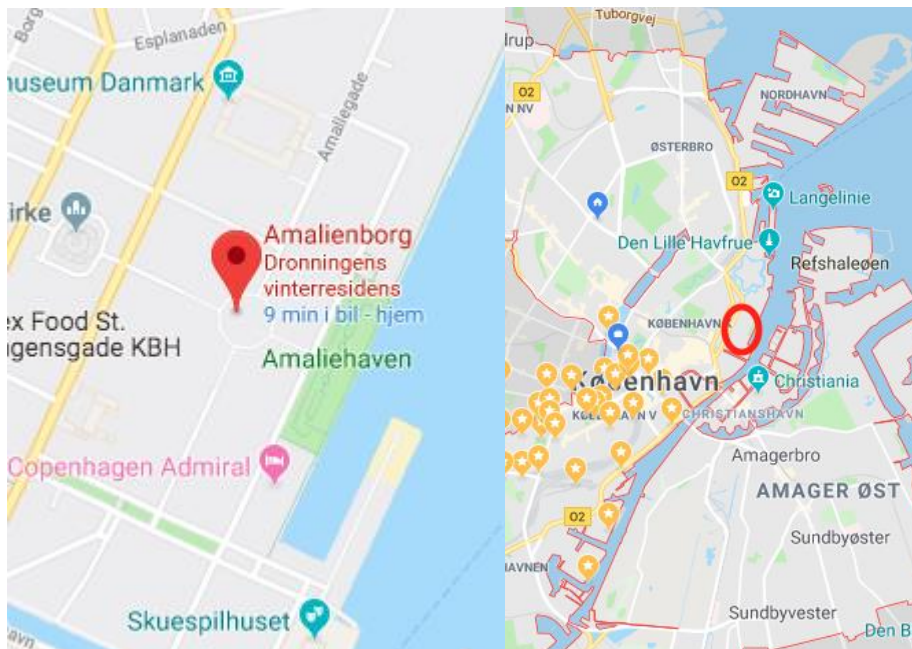


Figure 8

Figure 9

(Figure 8 shows the location of Amalienborg Castle, Figure. 9 shows the overview of Copenhagen, Amalienborg is located within the red circle)

The design and layout of Amalienborg Castle exists of 4 individual and identical palaces, between these four palaces, a large square or plaza is located. In comparison to the observations made at the other two locations (Nyhavn and Langelinie) the modes of mobility at Amalienborg castle was partly limited to walking, due to the traffic restrictions at play at this location (Appendix 1-1.64). However, like it was observed at the other locations, there was a presence of guided walking tours at Amalienborg castle. Moreover, the above-mentioned daily shift of royal guards from Rosenborg Castle to Amalienborg, meant that groups of people followed the royal guards either from the starting point at Rosenborg Castle or joining the group along the way to Amalienborg Castle. As mentioned in the sections above regarding Nyhavn and Langelinie quay, it was observed that these locations was well visited and to a degree overcrowded, Amalienborg Castle stands in stark contrast to these observations. During the observations at Amalienborg Castle, it was found that the above-mentioned plaza often encompassed no more than 100-150 people walking around the plaza taking pictures of the guards and the buildings. Conversely, Amalienborg Castle only seemed crowded during and after the daily shift of the royal guards, this attracted larger crowds to the location.

To this end, it should be mentioned that this shift of royal guards also encompassed restrictions in regards of staging of mobility. Whereas, it has been the infrastructure, design and architecture that had played a vital part in regards of staging mobilities from above in the two other locations, in the case of Amalienborg Castle, and more specifically the change of royal guards it was the police that provided the staging of mobilities. When the changing of guards took place, policemen and women, would explicitly ask the visitors, bystanders and observers to keep a distance to the guards, and moreover would organise the bystanders in such a fashion that a distinct area was clear for the royal guards to navigate through. As such, the location of Amalienborg castle differed in regards of the two other locations in terms of the modes of mobility present at all of the three locations, in the sense that walking predominantly was the mode of mobility observed at Amalienborg Castle. However, it was evident that staging from above was present at all of the locations, either in regards design, architecture, regulations or as seen in this last example through the use of instructions from the police. Moreover, it was significant to note that Amalienborg Castle did not feel and seem as overcrowded as the other two locations in which observations was made.

#### 4.2.2 Place-consumption practices

Now that the analysis has provided a better understanding of the modes mobility, this next part of the analysis will focus on the place-consumption practices which was observed in the three locations (Nyhavn, Langelinie quay and Amalienborg Castle). As discussed in the literature review, there are different conceptualisations and understandings in regards of consumption, tourism consumption and place-consumption especially in regards of differentiating between consumption practices of tourists

and locals of the area (Urry, 1990; Munt, 1994; Sonnenburg & Wee, 2016). To this end, this section of the analysis seeks to understand and analyse the different consumption practices that takes place in the three locations listed above. In relation to this, the analysis will utilize theories of performativity, touring consumption, co-production, and the tourist gaze (Sonnesburg & Wee, 2016; Urry, 1990; Diekmann & Hannam, 2012; Rabbiosi, 2016; Frank, 2016). As demonstrated in the previous section, this section of the analysis will be divided into three separate sections, each focussing on the consumption practices observed within the specific location (Nyhavn, Langelinie quay and Amalienborg Castle).

- *Nyhavn*

As discussed and analysed in the section regarding modes of mobility in Nyhavn, the harbour area in which Nyhavn is located is relatively small, however, the place-consumption practices which takes place in this relatively small location is highly diverse. While the section above regarding modes mobility in Nyhavn briefly touched upon the role of tourism operators, guided walking tours and canal tours, this section will go more into depth in regards of this aspect in terms of the observed place-consumption practices. However, it is important to remember that tourism consumption not only concerns and influences the consumption of a specific place, and the practices of consumption within this place, but also encompasses the consumptive relationship in regards of the tensions within the specific place (Sonnenburg & Wee, 2016).

Accordingly, the place-consumption practices observed at Nyhavn must be seen in the context of the consumptive relationship. To this end, tourism operators and mediators of tourism play a significant role in Nyhavn, as mentioned in the previous sections' tourism operators are present in Nyhavn in the form of canal tours, canal tour boats, ticket booths and guided walking tours (Appendix 1-72;1.73;1.71;1.67). In the observations made during the research process, the role of the tourism operators and the mediators of tourism in regards of the consumptive relationship highlighted that these 'agents of tourism' aided and indeed staged and choreographed the consumption patterns of visitors, in the sense that the itineraries of the participants were being choreographed by the tourism operators and mediators of tourism. The canal tours and canal boats immobilized the participants while the tour guides provided information through the speaker systems installed in the boat. To this end, it was observed on several occasions that the information which was played on the speaker systems on the canal boats could be heard while walking along the harbour front (both on right and the left side). Moreover, the place-consumption practices in regards of tourism operators and mediators of tourism was evident in terms of the space allocated to these agencies (Appendix 1-72;1.73;1.71;1.67).

As mentioned earlier in the analysis, the tourism operators had piers designated for departing and arriving canal tours, and moreover ticket booths and signs advertising for their services in Nyhavn. In this context it becomes relevant to discuss the underpinning power structures which is related to place-

consumption practices and tourism consumption. Recalling Dahles (2002) argument that tourism operators and mediators of tourism possess the authority to choreograph the performativity and consumption patterns of tourists, the observations made during the research process in Nyhavn in regards of tourism operators and mediators of tourism seem to coincide with Dahles (2002) argument. Much of the space, especially in the beginning of Nyhavn is allocated to tourism operators (Appendix 1-1.68), and moreover there is a constant flow of canal tour boats arriving and departing from Nyhavn, furthermore guided walking tours along the left side of Nyhavn was often observed. As such, the presence of tourism operators and mediators of tourism was very noticeable, both in regards of the visible aspect and in regards of the noise coming from the speakers systems on the canal boats.

Going back to Dahles (2002) argument regarding tourism operators and mediators of tourism, the choregrahication of performativity and consumption patterns of tourists seem to be evident in regards of people participating in the guided tours available in Nyhavn, in the sense that the tour operators seize control over the mobility of the participants and indeed control the itineraries in regards of which attractions to see. As mentioned earlier in this section of the analysis, the place-consumption practices within Nyhavn are highly diverse, and while the aspect of tourism operators and mediators of tourism account for a significant part of these consumption patterns they do not characterise the place-consumption practices of Nyhavn fully. During the observations at Nyhavn, the practice of taking pictures of the colorful houses, the old ships docked in the harbour and the canals was often observed (Appendix 1-1.75;1.77).

These observations regarding the practice of taking pictures of the sights in Nyhavn shares the characteristics of John Urry's (1990) theorisation of tourism consumption in terms of the notion of the 'tourists gaze' (Urry, 1990) which describes tourism consumption as a visual engagement and moreover encompasses the collection of distinctive visual sights. While this practice of taking pictures was performed in different locations within Nyhavn, one specific location seemed to be popular among the visitors, a small bridge connecting the left and the right of side of Nyhavn, seemed to provide the perfect picture opportunity for the visitors (Appendix 1-1.75;1.77). The small bridge afforded the visitors with an overview over the canal, the colourful houses, and the old boats docked in the harbour. Returning to the theory of the tourist gaze, Urry (1995) later incorporated the aspect of performativity into the notion of the gaze, thus including the embodied practices that tourist perform when consuming tourism. Interestingly, the aspect of performativity in regards of precognitive practices and in terms of navigating and deciphering a spatial setting and negotiating consumption practices (Jensen, 2013; Diekmann & Hannam, 2012) came into play at the abovementioned bridge. At times the bridge separating the left and right of the Nyhavn was crowded to such an extent that the people wanting to take a picture, or as Urry (1990) perhaps would have phrased it - collect distinctive sights, had to queue and wait their turn to get the opportunity to take a picture. Moreover, it was interesting to observe the use of materialities in

regards of negotiating the crowded bridge. Selfie sticks afforded the visitors to navigate the crowdedness of the bridge, allowing them to take pictures without actively participating in the practice of queuing (Appendix 1-1.75;1.77).

Here it becomes relevant to discuss the relationship between material affordances and consumption practices as discussed by Adey (2008), in the example provided above regarding the bridge separating the left and the right side of Nyhavn, this relationship is exemplified in terms of utilizing material affordances in the shape of selfie sticks to provide the consumption of that specific place. When looking at tourism consumption and indeed place-consumption in relation to co-production as discussed in the literature review, it becomes relevant to discuss the variety of bars, restaurants, cafes and tourism mediators that operate in the area of Nyhavn. In this context parallels can be drawn from Frank's (2016) study regarding "dwelling-in-motion" (Frank, 2016, p, 512) and Rabbiosi (2016) study regarding the notion of itineraries of consumption as discussed in the literature review. Both of these studies focus on the concept of co-production, and how consumption practices are co-produced by both the visitors and the retailers, service staff, tourism operators and the local inhabitants.

Likewise, the bars, restaurants, cafes and tourism operators located in Nyhavn are co-producing a commercial landscape that impact the spatial consumption practices taking place in Nyhavn. As described earlier in the analysis, the relatively small geographical size of Nyhavn means that the restaurants, bars, cafes and tourism operators occupy a significant amount of this space, thus the area of Nyhavn is highly structured towards the consumption of tourism and food and beverages. As such, the consumptive relationship in Nyhavn encompasses a wide range of consumption and place-consumption practices.

- *Langelinie quay*

The tourism consumption practices and place-consumption practices which was observed during the research process shared many resemblances with the patterns described in the section above regarding Nyhavn. Like in the case of Nyhavn, the consumptive relationship at Langelinie quay was highly influenced by tourism operators and mediators of tourism. As mentioned in the previous section regarding modes of mobility at Langelinie quay, guided tours and tourism operators was present in terms of tour busses, canal tours, guided walking tours and Segway tours. To this end, it becomes relevant to discuss the relationship between these above-mentioned mediators of tourism and their influence or impact on the place-consumption practices at Langelinie quay. The observations made during the research process highlighted that the tourism operators present at Langelinie quay staged the consumption of this location in regards of controlling the flow of mobility of the participants. This was especially evident in terms of the cruise ship passengers. As mentioned earlier, it was observed that the cruise ship passengers going on guided walking tours assembled behind the security fence at the quay



and began the guided tour directly after departing the cruise ship. As such, the participants of these guided walking tours were subject to staging or indeed choreografication of their consumption in terms losing control of their itineraries, a practice that Dahles (2002) describes as tourism operators possessing the control over the consumption patterns of the participating tourists.

However, the role of the tourism operators at Langelinie quay in regards of the place-consumption practices encompasses much more than just the cruise ship passengers departing the cruise ship. To this end, another important factor in regards of the tourism operators role in terms of the place-consumption practices observed at Langelinie quay was that of canal tours. Much like it was observed at Nyhavn, there was a constant flow of canal tour boats sailing along Langelinie quay, docking in at the several piers designated for canal tours (Appendix 1-1.19;1.25;1.46;1.49) and perhaps most interesting in regards of the consumption practices stopping at the attraction - the little mermaid. At this specific location (the little mermaid) the place-consumption practices in and around the little mermaid varied significantly in relation to what was observed at other areas of Langelinie quay. This location in particular, attracted large crowds (Appendix 1-1.23;1.24;1.29;1.37), and as described in the section regarding modes of mobility at Langelinie quay, several initiatives has been put in place to control the crowds at the attraction. To this end, it is relevant to discuss how the staging of mobilities at this location influences the place consumption practices at the little mermaid.

As described previously, the main place-consumption practice observed at the little mermaid, was that of taking pictures of the sculpture. However, design initiatives and materialities and the crowdedness at the site of the little mermaid made this practice more difficult for the visitors. To this end, it was observed that people visiting the attraction was led to stand in queues to take pictures of the little mermaid, and moreover that the visitors made use of selfie sticks to obtain the best picture opportunity. On the basis of these observations it is possible to draw parallels to the theorisation regarding the link between staging of mobility and consumption practices as argued by Adey (2008) in the sense that the mobilities of the visitors had been staged, subsequently influencing the place-consumption practices at the little mermaid.

Finally, this section will discuss and analyse the place-consumption practices in regards of the individual visitors described in the section regarding modes of mobility at Langelinie quay. The observation of this particular group of visitors and their patterns of place-consumption varied significantly, while some of these groups followed the same pattern as the visitors participating in guided tours, some was observed taking alternative routes into the neighbourhood of Østerbro. To this end, it becomes relevant to discuss the place-consumption practices in relation to off-the-beaten-track tourism (Maitland, 2013; Gravari-Barbas and Delaplace; 2015). The observations of these groups stood in stark contrast to what was otherwise observed at Langelinie quay, these groups showed consumption patterns which was more oriented towards experiencing the locals mundane and daily life. However, it should be explicitly stated,

that the observations of groups that followed this particular consumption pattern was only observed 4 times and moreover, the shadowing of these groups was brought to a stop in the area of Triangle and Nordrefrihavns gade.

- *Amalienborg Castle*

In regards to the place-consumption practices observed at Amalienborg Castle, the elements and aspects that constituted the place-consumption practices in the location of Nyhavn and Langelinie quay, namely the presence of tourism operators in particular, was at Amalienborg Castle far less significant. At this location the place-consumption was much more oriented towards the above-mentioned sight in regards of the change of the royal guards. When this particular experience was on display, the visitors at the location was eager to take pictures of the guards arriving at the castle. This mode of consumption can be related to John Urry's (1990) notion of the tourists gaze in the sense that the consumption in this case was oriented towards the collection of distinctive sights. This place-consumption pattern or indeed place-consumption practice was often observed at Amalienborg Castle. The distinctiveness of the old buildings and the historical aspect the area seemed to interest the visitors at this location. As mentioned above, the presence of tourism operators was not visible to the same degree in regards to what was observed at the other two locations, however, this may partially be due to fact that the tourism operators in the location of Nyhavn and Langelinie quay had designated infrastructure to support their businesses. In the case of Amalienborg, this aspect was entirely different, there was no visual identifiers of tourism operators and mediators of tourism in regards of ticket booths and advertisements etc, only in regards of guided tours. While it was observed that the presence of tourism operators at Amalienborg Castle was not visible in regards of the above-mentioned aspects, the presence of tourism operators and mediators of tourism was still observed in regards of guided walking tours. And as such, the participants of these guided tours fall under the same staging of consumption as described in the two previous sections in regards to staging of consumption and the underpinning authority that tourism operators possess over the participants (Dahles, 2002; Jensen, 2013).

#### 4.2.3 Elements that constitute the mobility flows and place-consumption practices at popular tourist attractions

Now that the modes of mobility and the place-consumption practices within the three popular tourist attractions have been analysed and discussed, it is now possible to identify the different elements that constitute the mobility flows and place-consumption practices within the three locations (Nyhavn, Langelinie quay and Amalienborg Castle). To this end, one aspect or element that was observed in all of the above-mentioned locations was that of tourism operators and mediators of tourism. This specific element was observed in all of the locations and encompassed a wide range of aspects - tour busses, guided walking tours, canal tours, Segway tours and bicycle tours. The presence of these tourism

operators and mediators of tourism, not only constituted the mobility flows in and around the three locations, but also influenced the place-consumption practices at the locations. This influence was especially observed in regards of staging the mobilities and consumption practices at the locations. As described in the sections above the tourism operators and mediators of tourism possessed the power to control the participants itineraries of consumption as well as their mode of mobility.

In this context it becomes relevant to discuss the relationship between tourism and consumption in relation to the tourism industry's desire to encourage consumption. In this context it was evident that the areas in which the observations were undertaken were highly geared towards tourism consumption, many of the tourism operators had designated areas in which they could sell their services, moreover the operators had clear and visible advertisements (with the exception of Amalienborg Castle). And as such, it can be argued that the allocation of space and high visibility in regards of the tourism operators served as elements which constituted the mobility flows and place-consumption practices at the three locations. Another element which shared the same characteristics of constituting the flows of mobility and place-consumption practices is that of situational mobilities, as described in the sections above, in each of the three locations it was observed how the mobility of the visitors was altered or staged. This staging of mobility occurred through either infrastructure, design, traffic regulations or planning and through the observations it was evident that these above-mentioned factors played an important role in regards of the mobility and consumptions patterns in the three locations. In relation to this aspect of situational mobility and staging of mobility, it becomes relevant to include the factor of crowdedness. As described in the previous sections, the aspect of crowdedness was observed in all of the three locations.

Moreover, it was observed that the over crowdedness at the three locations altered the way in which the places was consumed, this was particularly noticeable at the attraction of the little mermaid in terms of visitors queuing and using selfie sticks to take pictures of the sculpture. Similarly, the same practices were observed at Nyhavn in regards of the bridge separating the left and right side of Nyhavn. Another important element that must be included when identifying the elements that constituted the flows of mobility and place-consumption practices is that of distinctive sights. As elaborated in the previous sections, the collection of distinctive sights through photography was observed at all of the three locations, moreover this practice is close related to elements described above (staging consumption and mobilities). Lastly, it was found that the co-production of tourism services played an important role in regards of the consumptive relationship in the three locations. The bars, restaurants cafes and tourism operators were co-producing a commercial landscape, to which the visitors of the area made use of. In conclusion, it has in this chapter of the analysis been shown that the elements which constitutes the place-consumption practices and mobility flows at the popular tourists' attractions revolves around the aspect of tourism operators and mediators of tourism, and furthermore that it was the distinctive sights available at these locations that constituted the consumptions practices both in regards of place-

consumption and in regards of mobility. Moreover, it was shown that material affordances, regulations, planning and design framed the mobility patterns and place-consumption practices at the three locations. The knowledge gained through this analysis will be applied later in the analysis.

## 4.3 Tourism management - The municipality of Copenhagen

To answer the research questions inquiry into the implications of popular tourist attractions in regards of how the municipality of Copenhagen manages tourism, it is first required to examine and understand the political and practical realities that the municipality of Copenhagen operate under. As such, the purpose of this section of the analysis is to understand and examine how the municipality of Copenhagen (The department of internationalisation and tourism) manages tourism. This section will utilize the empirical evidence collected through the expert interviews discussed in the methodology section.

### 4.3.1 Roles and responsibilities

When examining the political and practical realities that the municipality operate under in regards to managing tourism, it is important to first understand the roles and responsibilities of the municipality. As such, this section will highlight the different roles and responsibilities that the municipality has in regards to managing tourism in the city of Copenhagen. In regards of the aspect of responsibility it is important to understand that the department of internationalisation and tourism not only works with tourism on a strategic and policy level, but also manages the official tourism office in Copenhagen - Copenhagen visitor service (Henceforth abbreviated as CVS). To this end, the head of the department of internationalisation and tourism, Michael Ryan explains that the responsibilities in regards of CVS *“is to make sure that once people get here, they also get access to what they expect to find here”* (Interview #1 - Appendix 2). While this explanation in terms of the operations of CVS offers an understanding of the responsibility in regards of the tourism information office, Rasmus employed as a strategic consultant in the department of internationalisation and tourism offers more insight into the strategic work of the department

*“my role here is project work and strategic consulting, where i work in developing guest services in Copenhagen, both on the political agenda, but also hands on with products and services (...) and the whole sustainability agenda, which also corresponds to all the overtourism cases that we have right now”* (Interview #2 - Appendix 3).

As such, through these two explanations regarding the roles and responsibilities in the department of internationalisation and tourism, it can be seen that the municipality works to provide services for the visitors, while also working strategically with sustainability. However, as elaborated on in the literature review regarding the complexities of the policy space within tourism, governance within the field of tourism cannot be viewed as singular, but needs to incorporate stakeholders (Tyler & Dinan, 2001b). In this context it becomes relevant to discuss the municipalities partnership with Wonderful Copenhagen. To this end, the head of the department describes the partnership between Wonderful Copenhagen and the municipality as a

*“Food chain where some people bring them in (ed. the visitors) and we make sure that they have a good stay and that there is a correlation between what the branding campaign and the things that they read about in brochures and campaigns, that's actually also something they can experience and that is easily accessible”* (Interview #1 - Appendix 2).

So, the relationship or indeed partnership between Wonderful Copenhagen and the department of internationalisation and tourism can be understood as follows. Wonderful Copenhagen is in charge of branding and attracting visitors to the cities, while the municipality of Copenhagen are responsible for reception and management of the visitors when they have arrived in Copenhagen. Moreover, the head of the department describes that the partnership between the two organisations is beneficial for both of them, due to the fact that the organisations, to a degree, share the same focus points (Interview # 1 - See appendix 2). To this end, he describes that the development of sustainable tourism, and spreading out the visitors to the whole region is a shared interest between the two organisations. However, while he is overall satisfied with the cooperation between the two, he also explains that while Wonderful Copenhagen focuses on the strategic development of Copenhagen as a destination, they lack a close contact with tourism service providers and tourism operators:

*“They don't really know what is going on with the different actors (...) what are the hotels focussing on right now, what are the tour operators focussing on right now (...) because if you want to change the destination that we are we need to have the service providers that can actually provide the content and are working on the same agenda”*  
(Interview # 1 - See appendix 2)

This explanation highlights, the aspect of competing interest or agendas as discussed in the literature review. This aspect may have influence on the way the city of Copenhagen manages tourism, and the popular tourist attractions in particular, this will be analysed in more depth later in the analysis.

### 4.3.2 The politics of tourism in Copenhagen

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter of the analysis, it is needed to understand the political reality that exists in the city of Copenhagen before it is possible to analyse how the implications of popular tourist attractions is situated in the context of managing tourism in Copenhagen. To this end, this section of the analysis will focus on highlighting how tourism is situated in regards of politics in the department of internationalisation and tourism. In regards of this aspect, Michael Ryan the head of the department explains that the previous business and growth policy was focussed and revolved around “*it was about increasing tourism by a certain amount of bed nights (...) strengthening the airport and things like that*” (Interview #1 - See appendix 2). In relation to this explanation it is relevant to draw in the argument proposed by Joppe (2017) in which she describes that policy-makers within tourism are oriented towards a neo-liberal worldview focussing on economic growth and job created and an increase in tourism. And as such, the explanation provided above seem to share many similarities with this argument proposed by Joppe (2017). However, the head of the department goes on to explain that the way of operating in regards of policy has changed:

*“We are now actually writing on a piece of paper, how are we going to develop as a tourism destination, what do we want as a municipality on a political level, and i think that is a big step to having perhaps a concrete tourism policy”* (Interview # 1 - See appendix 2).

As such the policy objectives in regards of the municipality are beginning to shift towards developing Copenhagen as a destination, rather than being focussed on generating economic growth. However, the head of the department still recognizes and acknowledges the complexity of creating policy within tourism, due to the fact that it encompasses a wide range of industries: “*it has a lot of different policy areas, which are actually put together in one area, and that is why it sometimes a bit difficult to make a concrete tourism policy*” (Interview #1 - See appendix 2). In the second interview conducted with the strategic consultant, the respondent gives his account of the political reality that the department of internationalisation and tourism operate under:

*“We are also controlled essentially by our major and she can do a lot but then the economical administration have their major which is the main major in Copenhagen, so she needs to follow him as well because he has the last word and his pressured from above from the state but again tourism is not that recognized as a business here in Denmark yet, so its not on the political agenda essentially it is packed in a lot of other stuff”* (Interview #2 - See appendix 3)

Through the explanations highlighted throughout this section of the analysis, it can be seen that the department of internationalisation and tourism operates within a complex space, both in regards of creating policies regarding tourism, but also in regards of the political reality. In this context it becomes relevant to discuss the multifaceted dimension that tourism encompass in the sense that tourism policies effect and revolve around a number of other industries and areas of concern as elaborated on in the literature review with emphasis on Hall's (2008) description of the policy space within tourism.

### 4.3.3 Objectives

Carrying capacity is a popular method of reviewing and situating tourism management (McCool et. al, 2009), this is also the case in Copenhagen where carrying capacity is used to monitor whether or not the city can receive more visitors. And to this end, both of the respondents asserts that if the concept of carrying capacity is solely applied in the geographical area of the inner city then the capacity has been reached, here exemplified by Rasmus the strategic consultant: *"We have seen the cap been reached in the inner city in certain areas in certain streets at certain hours at certain times of the year"* (Interview #2 - See appendix 3). Here it becomes relevant to discuss the usefulness of utilizing carrying capacity as an identifier in regards to determining if the capacity has been reached. In the example provided above, it is evident that certain areas of Copenhagen suffer from issues related tourism, but the same respondent also believes that if a broader geographical context is included into the consideration the capacity has not yet been reached: *"Our capacity has not reached its limits at all and we are especially lucky that Copenhagen is a walkable city, so it is essential to spreading them out and coming up with new attractions, ideas that actually supports the other neighbourhoods in Copenhagen"* (Interview #2 - See appendix 3).

Interestingly, the method of carrying capacity, in the case of the municipality seems to provide the municipality with the knowledge that if the current patterns of tourism in the inner city of Copenhagen continues to follow the same pattern then the capacity has been reached. However, this knowledge, in turn, affords the municipality with a set of objectives and initiatives to counteract this pattern. To this end, the head of the department explains that *"We are working very hard on actually spreading out the tourists throughout all of Copenhagen and throughout the whole region i think that the capacity limit will move according to that"* (Interview #1 - See appendix 2) and furthermore goes on to identify the goal of using carrying capacity *"We want to be a sustainable destination, we want to be a destination that in time had the right focus on controlling tourism in the city and of course to spread out the tourists"* (Interview #1 - See appendix 2). And as such, the municipality of Copenhagen incorporates ideas of mobility flows and consumption patterns into the method of carrying capacity. This aspect will be analysed in more depth later in the analysis.

## 4.4 Perception of tourism

To investigate how the popular tourist attractions implicates the perception of tourism it is first needed to understand how tourism is perceived in Copenhagen. As such, this section of the analysis will analyse how tourism is perceived in Copenhagen based on the empirical evidence collected through the aforementioned survey. It should be explicitly stated that this section of the analysis will primarily focus on highlighting the knowledge gained through the empirical evidence, as such, the deeper analytical work will be carried out and presented later in the analysis.

### 4.4.1 Locals and tourism

As highlighted and elaborated upon in the methodology section, the questions in the survey were oriented towards the investigation of the local population's perception of tourism, in this regard one of the questions revolved around whether the respondents ever encountered any problems with tourism (For the full layout of the survey see appendix 4). Interestingly enough, there was a fairly even distribution between respondents who have encountered problems with tourism and those who have not, the survey showed that 41,9 % of the respondents had encountered problems with tourism while 54,8 % answered that they don't encounter any problems with tourism, 3,2% answered that they did not know (See appendix 5.9).

However, while almost half of the respondents had encountered problems with tourism many of them asserted that these problems or issues were not significant, here exemplified by a respondent's comments "*Problems is too much to say, but sometimes there are irritations when they are in big groups on the road*" (Appendix 5.1), another respondent describes that he experiences similar issues "*not any big problems, they get in the way sometimes on the bike lanes, but that is all*" (Appendix 5.1). Without highlighting all of the responses, the way in which the respondents described the problems they encountered in regards to tourism shared similarities with the comments above. As such, if these two responses are taken into consideration it portrays that even though the locals often encounter problems in relation to tourism, these problems merely refer to small irritations especially in the context of tourists using the bike lanes. However, some respondents did explain that they encountered problems that can be described as more than just small irritations "*When in the city around Kongens Nytorv and Strøget, I have to be careful of tourist walking on the bike lane*" (Appendix 5.1), likewise another respondent explains "*Where I live they make a lot of noise, and they are visual in the city picture*" (Appendix 5.1). Accordingly, the perception of tourism in regards to problems or issues encountered by the locals seems to vary, it can be seen through the collected data that tourism is causing problems, but that these problems can be described as minor and insignificant to the majority of the respondents while a small portion of the respondents express that tourism creates problems for them often. In this context, it is relevant to



discuss the causes of these disturbances that the locals of Copenhagen experience in regards to tourism. As elaborated upon in the literature review, the causes of disturbance can vary significantly depending on the stakeholder and indeed the geographical context, but the common causes of disturbance refer to; overcrowding in a city's public spaces, tourist's behaviour and physical touristification (Rosenow & Pulsipher, 1979; Novy, 2018).

Drawing on the empirical evidence collected through the survey, these above-mentioned causes of disturbance also seems to be identified by the respondents, 33% of the people who answered this question point out traffic and congestion as the main disturbance (Appendix 5.11) Likewise 33% identify issues of crowding as a cause for disturbance in regards to tourism in Copenhagen (Appendix 5.11). As such, traffic, congestion and crowding accounts for two thirds of the identified causes of disturbance. This is a substantial portion, considering that the third most identified cause for disturbance only makes up 5% (Appendix 5.11).

This spread in regards to the identified causes of disturbance can also be observed in the comments of the respondents, for instance one explains "*Especially around Nyhavn it can become too crowded and it becomes difficult to get around*" (Appendix 5.3), while another respondent describes how the tourists disturbed him on the bike lanes of Copenhagen "*I only notice them on the bike lanes, they don't know how to ride their bikes*" (Appendix 5.3). These two comments showcase the most common context in which the causes of disturbance were described by the respondents of the survey. To this end, the aspect of bikes lanes and indeed the tourists behaviour on the bike lanes was often the point of departure in regards to the respondents complaints about the tourists, here exemplified by the following comments "*It can be frustrating when the tourists bike around the city, they don't know the local bike culture*" (Appendix 5.3); "*They slow down the traffic when they are biking, the bike lanes are not for sightseeing, i think they should be informed of the Copenhagen bike culture*" (Appendix 5.3). It seems evident that the aspect of tourists using bikes to experience Copenhagen acts as a large disturbance for the locals of the city.

#### 4.4.2 Crowding

Despite the fact that many of the respondents had, to a degree, encountered problems related to tourism 80% believed that Copenhagen have room for more visitors, whereas 16% believed that Copenhagen did not have room for more, while 4% did not know whether or not there was more room for tourists (Appendix 5.10). In this context, it is interesting to note that even though the majority of the respondents believed that Copenhagen could receive more tourists, many of the respondents asserted that tourism had become too visible in the inner city and causing crowdedness. Here exemplified by a respondent who argues that the city becomes too crowded in the summer months when tourism in Copenhagen are

at its highest “*I don’t know, I don’t think that we have to many, but like in the summer it becomes crowded sometimes*” (Appendix 5.2).

Likewise, another respondent identifies the same issue regarding crowdedness in the summer “*I don’t think that there are too many, sometimes in the summer there are places that gets overcrowded like Nyhavn and Torvehallerne*” (Appendix 5.2). This conception of tourism seemed to be shared by the other respondents that took part in the survey in the sense that the majority believed that there was more room for tourists in the city, but also pointed out that the inner city suffered from crowding due to tourism. Another interesting perspective provided by one of the respondents revolve around the premise that tourism must be considered as a pillar in large cities “*in a big city you must expect that tourists are here, in my neighborhood I don’t see any*” (Appendix 5.1). Furthermore, one respondent argues that “*I don’t think that there are too many, there are of course some places where there are many but that is normal*” (Appendix 5.2). As such, there seem to be two general opinions concerning the factor of crowdedness - one that revolves around and recognizes the issues of overcrowding, especially in the summer months and one that believes that crowdedness must be expected in cities such as Copenhagen. One thing that these two general opinions have in common, is that the respondents predominantly related overcrowding to places in the inner city of Copenhagen.

#### 4.4.3 Tourism behaviour in the eyes of Copenhageners

As demonstrated above there is different conceptions and understandings regarding tourism in Copenhagen, however when the respondents were asked about what behaviour they observe in regards to the tourists at the popular tourist attractions (Nyhavn, Langelinie and Amalienborg) the respondents seem surprisingly uniform in their responses. One respondent explains that “*Tourism has taken over those places, it is overcrowded with tourists taking pictures and stuff like that*” (Appendix 5.6), another respondent expresses the same attitude, in this example referring to Nyhavn “*I think Nyhavn has become overcrowded with tourists, I couldn’t dream of going there, even when I’m passing by I feel claustrophobic*” (Appendix 5.6). Through the responses from the survey it can also be argued that the attractions in question are not places that the locals usually visit in their daily life, here exemplified by this respondents answer “*I don’t really go to those places anyway, everybody knows that there are a lot of tourists there*” (Appendix 5.6), moreover another respondent explains “*The locals don’t really go to those areas, at least I don’t, but I don’t think it is because of the tourists*” (Appendix 5.6). Here the two respondents express that they do not use or visit places such as Nyhavn, Amalienborg or Langelinie - this of course begs the question why? It may have to do with the high prices associated with these places, or indeed the crowdedness. To this end, one respondent argues that these places have lost their charm and atmosphere and that the price level are too high in these places “*I think that those places has lost it charm and atmosphere, everything’s is just for tourist now and the prices are high*” (Appendix 5.6),

while another respondent notes that the crowdedness deters her from going to those places *“There are way too many people in those places, I think Nyhavn is too small for all those people who are there”* (Appendix 5.6). As such, the crowdedness and indeed the price level seem to deter locals from visiting these places, however, one respondent appreciates what these places offer in regards of the visiting tourists *“I think it gives the tourists to explore Danish culture like for example hygge, but there are really many people at those places”* (Appendix 5.6).

Taking these responses from the survey into consideration, it becomes clear that the places in question are experienced differently, however, the common conception between the respondents seem to be that these places are oriented towards tourists and not locals. To this end it becomes relevant to include the empirical evidence regarding what kind of behaviour that the respondents usually observe from tourism or tourists in Copenhagen. Drawing on this evidence, it is interesting to note that the respondents often noticed tourism or indeed tourists, when they were seen in large groups, or when participating in guided tours. As such, one respondent explains *“It is easy to spot them when they move in big groups, it is clear to see that they are tourists”* (appendix 5.6), while another respondent explains that *“I only notice them when they are in large groups together”* (Appendix 5.6). This comment share much resembles with the other respondents of the survey, accordingly 42% of the participants said that they notice tourism or tourists in their daily life, while 58% answered that they don't notice tourism or tourists in their daily life (appendix 5.5).

If a deeper inquiry into this aspect is taken, then the respondents' explanations and answers highlight that it is especially the guided tours and tourism operators that is noticed by the respondents. To this end, one respondent argues *“Especially in the big groups they are very obvious and also the big busses”* (Appendix 5.5), another respondent shares the same opinion and explains that *“Cruise ship tourists, or the ones that goes into the city in groups, they are easy to notice”* (Appendix 5.5). As such, it seems that when tourism is consumed in large groups of people, they are easier noticeable to the respondents, moreover it is interesting to note that the respondents highlight aspects such as cruise ship tourists and the tourism operators' busses when asked about what they notice in regards to tourism. To this end, one respondent explains that *“When they drive around in the big red busses, and tick places of their list”* (Appendix 5.5) moreover another respondent explains *“I notice cruise ship tourists, i see them walking around in big groups they are very easy to notice”* (Appendix 5.5). To further investigate the perception of tourism in regards of the respondents, the participants of the survey was asked to describe what they thought that tourism brings to the city. To this end, the respondents expressed a variety of different aspects and viewpoints, however one aspect that was mentioned in a high frequency by the respondents was in regards of the economic impact of tourism, here exemplified by this respondents comments *“There are so many, that it must be good for economy”* (Appendix 5.4), in the same context another

respondent explains that *“I don’t really know, I guess they bring more money when they buy things”* (Appendix 5.4).

As such, the respondents recognize what tourism and tourists contribute to the city in regards of the economic impact. However, one respondent views this aspect in a more critical manner explaining that *“I don’t think that they spend that much, and they don’t really experience our culture, they just go to see the little mermaid and that kind of stuff”* (appendix 5.4). While this respondent remains critical in regards of what tourism contributes to the city, the majority of the respondents acknowledge that tourism contributes to a wide variety of aspects to the city of Copenhagen. In this context, one respondent explains *“Maybe it puts Copenhagen on the map, it is nice to see Copenhagen is becoming known, so new things come here”* (Appendix 5.4), another respondent shares the same view, explaining that *“It is necessary for a city like Copenhagen to have tourists because it attracts a lot stuff like events, festivals and stuff like that”* (Appendix 5.4).

As such, a number of the respondents believe that tourism contributes to Copenhagen in regards of attracting events and festivals. Furthermore, two of the respondents describes that seeing tourists in Copenhagen makes them proud *“It makes me proud of my city, that people want to come here”* (Appendix 5.4) while the other respondent assert that tourism contributes with atmosphere *“It makes me proud of my city, that people want to come here”* (Appendix 5.4). While the majority of the respondents remained positive in regards to the question of what tourism contributes to the city of Copenhagen, one respondent also included the aspect of the environmental impact of tourism *“It does a lot of good, but also I think it is not very sustainable in regards to airplane travel”* (Appendix 5.4). Taking the comments highlighted in the sections above into consideration, it portrays that the respondents generally have a positive attitude and perception towards tourism, and that when they experience issues related to tourism it is discarded as smaller irritations. However, what is interesting to note is that the respondents especially identify tourism operators and the popular tourists’ attractions as places in which tourism is very visible and, in this context, that these places have lost it significance for the locals, at least in regards of the respondents - This aspect will be analysed in the next sections of the analysis.

## 4.5 Implications

This final section of the analysis will utilize the knowledge which has been produced throughout the analysis to investigate the implications of the popular tourist attractions both in regards of the perception of tourism and in regards of how the City of Copenhagen manages tourism. To this end, this chapter of the analysis will be separated into two different sections, one focussing on the implications in terms of the perception of tourism - and the other, the implications in terms of managing tourism in Copenhagen.

#### 4.5.1 Implications in regards to the perception of tourism

This section of the thesis will focus on analysing and identifying what the implications of the popular tourist attractions are in relation to how tourism is perceived. To accomplish this, the knowledge gained from the analysis in the section regarding the flows of mobility and place-consumption practices will be put in relation to the findings from the section regarding the perception of tourism, moreover this section will draw on the relevant theories which has been discussed and elaborated upon in the literature review.

##### - *Implications in regards of tourism operators*

As have been highlighted throughout the analysis, the tourism operators and the mediators of tourism are positioned in a central role in regards of both the mobility flows, the place-consumption practices and lastly in regards of how the participants of the survey perceived tourism. As such, tourism operators and mediators of tourism can be seen as a major factor in regards to the implications that the popular tourist attractions have on the perception of tourism in Copenhagen. While this aspect has been described through empirical evidence in the previous sections of the analysis, this section will draw upon relevant theories to discuss and analyse the implications in regards to the tourism operators. To this end, it becomes relevant to draw on the theorisation of ‘touristification’ as described by Novy (2018) Stock (2007) and Bianchi (2003). Here, in the context of the popular tourists’ attractions which have been investigated, the term or concept of ‘touristification’ can be related to how these places have been requalified to cater to tourism and indeed tourism consumption, but also in regards to the visual identifiers of tourism. In the previous sections of the analysis it was found that tourism operators was the predominant identifier of tourism in and around the popular tourists attractions, here demonstrated by the following comments “*Walk on hop off buses in particular and also the cruise ships in the harbor*” (See appendix 5.5); “*Especially in the big groups they are very obvious and also the big busses*” (See appendix 5.5); “*I see them when they are doing group tours*” (See appendix 5.5).

While these comments portray that tourism operators are easy identifiable and have a very visual impact in regards to the perception of tourism, it is also important to acknowledge and recognise the implications that the tourism operators has in regards of constituting the place-consumption practices at the popular tourists attractions in Copenhagen. To this end, it was in the analysis of place-consumption practices and mobility flows found that the tourism operators and the mediators of tourism both played a significant role in regards of constituting the mobility flows within these locations, but also influenced the place-consumption practices. If these findings are put into context with the theory and conceptualisation of ‘touristification’, it can be argued that the urban transformation processes that are taking place in the investigated locations in terms of ticket booths, designated piers for canal tours and advertisements are

in reality processes of “*Coming into being of a touristic place*” (Stock, 2007, p.3) as Stock (2007) describes it. This process of requalifying urban and public space so that it is oriented towards tourism consumption, is also recognised by the respondents of the survey, here demonstrated by the following comments “*Tourism has taken over those places, it is overcrowded with tourists taking pictures and stuff like that*” (Appendix 5.6); “*I think that those places has lost it charm and atmosphere, everything’s is just for tourist now and the prices are high*”(Appendix 5.6). As such, the respondents explain and express that the places in question is oriented towards tourism, rather than the locals of the city. Moreover, if recalling Sonnenburg & Wee’s (2016) argument that the relationship between spatiality and tourism consumption is in constant negotiation in terms of the tourism industry’s desire to encourage tourism consumption, the cases highlighted in this thesis resonates well with this argument.

When discussing the implications in regards of the tourism operators, it is relevant to include Dahles (2002) argument concerning the power that tourism operators and mediators of tourism hold, both in regards of consumption but also in terms of mobility. As elaborated on in the literature review, Dahles (2002) argues that tourism operators possess the authority to choreograph consumption patterns of tourists. If the components of this notion are put into context with what has been unfolded throughout the analysis, it is apparent that this aspect creates implications in regards of not only the perception of tourism, but also in regards to how the City of Copenhagen manages tourism (this latter aspect will be analysed in the next section of the analysis). This implication is in particular evident when reviewing the fact that it was observed that many of cruise ship tourists participated in guided tours as soon as they left the ship, and that the respondents highlighted that it was guided tours and tour buses that influenced their perception of tourism.

To this end, it is also needed to include the aspect of co-production when discussing the implications of the popular attractions in regards to the perception of tourism. As was unfolded in the section regarding mobility flows and place-consumption practices, the variety of different bars, restaurants and cafes (here with special reference to the Nyhavn location) and indeed the tourism operators helped to constitute co-produced practices through its commercial landscape, and moreover that this commercial landscape, which occupied much of the available space at Nyhavn, was observed to cause crowdedness at the location. This particular aspect becomes an implication when put in context with the findings of the survey, in which the respondents identified crowding as the biggest cause of disturbance in relation to tourism (Appendix 5.11). When recalling Johannes Novy’s (2018) argument in regards of tourism becoming so common that it has lost its distinctiveness, the reality seems rather different if this argument is seen through the context of popular tourists’ attractions, certainly the implications in regards to the perception of tourism highlighted above, showcases that tourism indeed remains rather visual and identifiable for the respondents of the survey. While this discussion is rather interesting, it goes far

beyond the scope of this paper, however it remains an interesting aspect in regards of investigating the perception of tourism in relation to the distinctiveness and complexity of tourism.

- *Implications in regards of the attitude toward tourism*

This subsection of the analysis will focus on analysing the implications of the popular tourist attractions in regards of the attitude toward tourism. To do this, this subsection will draw on the empirical evidence, the knowledge that have been created throughout the analysis and moreover draw on the relevant theories showcased in the literature review, and to this latter part, this section will have a special emphasis on social exchange theory (Boley et. al, 2014; Vargas et. al, 2011; Abdollahzadeh & Sharifzadeh, 2012; Gonzalez et al., 2018). As elaborated upon in the literature review, social exchange theory within the field of tourism encompasses or concerns the attitude towards tourism development as seen as either beneficial or negative for the local's stakeholders and communities (Abdollahzadeh & Sharifzadeh, 2012).

As such, social exchange theory will be utilized to analyse the implications of popular tourists' attractions in Copenhagen in regards to the perception and indeed attitude toward tourism. As highlighted in the section regarding the perception of tourism, the majority of the respondents from the survey in general expressed a positive attitude toward tourism, arguing that *"It is necessary for a city like Copenhagen to have tourists because it attracts a lot stuff like events, festivals and stuff like that"* (Appendix 5.4), and that *"It makes me proud of my city, that people want to come here"* (Appendix 5.4), and furthermore acknowledged the economic benefits of tourism, *"There are so many, that it must be good for economy"* (Appendix 5.4). Moreover, 81% of the respondents believed that Copenhagen had room for more tourists (Appendix 5.10). In regards of these perspectives, the respondents seem satisfied and content with the social exchange that takes place through tourism. However, when consulting the empirical evidence in regards of the causes of disturbance it is evident that at least some of the respondents are being affected negatively in terms of tourism (Appendix 5.11). And to this end, what is significant to note, is the relation between these causes of disturbance and the comments made about the popular tourist attractions in question.

In regards to this relation, the respondents of the survey expressed that the popular tourists attractions was too crowded and that these attractions had lost its special atmosphere, here exemplified by two respondents *"I think Nyhavn has become overcrowded with tourists, I couldn't dream of going there, even when I'm passing by I feel claustrophobic"* (Appendix 5.6); *"I think that those places has lost it charm and atmosphere, everything's is just for tourist now and the prices are high"* (Appendix 5.6). So, the comments highlighted above have, to a degree, showcased the two extremes in relation to the attitude toward tourism, however, it is also important to include and consider the opinions and attitudes which

lies in between. To this end, several of the respondents expressed their ambiguous attitude toward tourism. Here exemplified by the following two comments *“I don’t think that they spend that much, and they don’t really experience our culture, they just go to see the little mermaid and that kind of stuff”* (appendix 5.4); *“It does a lot of good, but also I think it is not very sustainable in regards to airplane travel”* (Appendix 5.4).

Accordingly, it becomes increasingly complex to determine whether or not the tourism development in Copenhagen and the development at the popular tourist attractions in question are beneficial or negative for the locals of the city. To this end, it is relevant to draw on the theorisations regarding causes of disturbance to aid the analysis of the implications in regards to the attitude toward tourism. As discussed in the literature review, there are several ways of understanding and categorizing causes of disturbance in relation to tourism (Rosenow & Pulsipher, 1979; Milano, 2017), and if these are put into context with the empirical evidence and the knowledge which have been constructed throughout the analysis, it may reveal new insights in regards of the attitude toward tourism. To this end, the causes of disturbance have been highlighted and unfolded throughout the analysis, however, in summary these causes of disturbance was particularly oriented towards issues of overcrowding, locals’ loss of sense of place and congestion. Interestingly, these aspects identified by the respondents share much similarity with the descriptions of causes of disturbance within the academic field of tourism (Rosenow & Pulsipher, 1979; Milano, 2017). Thus, when looking at the implications that the popular tourists attractions may or may not have on the attitude toward tourism through the theoretical lenses of social exchange theory and theorisations of causes of disturbance, the following seems certain - the overcrowding, touristification and the consumption practices that takes place within these attractions do implicate the perception of tourism, even though some respondents expressed their ambiguity regarding the subject, there was a presence of negative comments.

As such, if we recall the argument in regards of social exchange theory in which it was described that - at the point in which an imbalance in regards of the rewards of tourism and the negative impacts is in existence, a shift may occur in the residents’ attitude in terms of tourism (Gonzalez et al., 2018). To this end, it must be argued that the popular tourist attractions implicate the perception of tourism, in the sense that, while the respondents generally have a positive attitude toward tourism, the identified causes of disturbance in regards of the popular tourist attractions seem to create an imbalance. However, whether this imbalance is absolute or not is difficult to determine, but what may be argued at this point, is that the causes of disturbance related to the popular tourist attractions implicate the perception and attitude toward tourism to some degree.



#### 4.5.2 Implications in regard of management

This section of the thesis will be focussed towards analysing and identifying the implications that the three popular tourist attractions are having in regards to how the City of Copenhagen (The municipality of Copenhagen) manages tourism. This analysis will be based upon the knowledge which have been unfolded throughout the analysis in regards to the flows of mobility, place-consumption practices as well as the knowledge created through the analysis of the perception of tourism and the analysis of how the Municipality of Copenhagen manages tourism. Finally, this section of the thesis will draw on the relevant theories discussed in the literature review.

- *Implications in regards of the Municipalities objectives*

As have been highlighted in the section 4.3.3 the municipalities objectives in regards to tourism and indeed tourism management is to spread out tourists or visitors to the rest of the city so that the inner city of Copenhagen becomes less crowded with tourists (Appendix 2 - Interview #1). Moreover, the objective is to develop tourism in Copenhagen in a sustainable manner as explained by the head of the department of internationalisation and tourism “*We want to be a sustainable destination, we want to be a destination that in time had the right focus on controlling tourism in the city and of course to spread out the tourists*” (Interview #1 - See appendix 2). However, as has been highlighted and unfolded throughout the analysis, the popular tourist attractions and the place-consumption practices and flows of mobility which takes place within these attractions are highly oriented towards the inner city, to this end it was observed that the tourism operators in these areas or attractions constituted much of the mobility flows and consumption practices that took place in these locations. For instance, it was observed that cruise tourists participated in guided tours which took them into the city centre, immediately after the cruise ship tourists departed the ship. As such, it becomes relevant to discuss and analyse the relationship between this aspect and what the implications might be in relation to the goals of spreading the tourists out to other areas in Copenhagen and Greater Copenhagen and the management of tourism in general in regards of the municipality of Copenhagen. Certainly, it is evident that the municipality recognise this challenge, as here exemplified by the strategic consultant from the department of internationalisation and tourism

*“They have a responsibility of promoting not only the Little mermaid and Nyhavn but also other attractions that's not in the inner city, the DMC's<sup>1</sup> has especially a responsibility to make their products more sustainable in the way that, maybe half their products is out of the city*

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<sup>1</sup> Destination Marketing Company - Companies which cooperate with tourism operators and cruise lines in regards to offering the passengers guided tours and activities when they arrive at the destination.

*because then they spread them right when they come*” (Appendix 3- Interview #2)

Here, the strategic consultant refers to the aspect of the tourism operators and mediators of tourism choreographing not only the consumption practices of the arriving cruise ship passengers, but also their flows of mobility. In this context it again becomes relevant to remember and include Dahles (2002) argument that tourism operators possess the power to choreograph the consumption patterns and itineraries of consumption of tourists.

Further adding to the complexity in regards of the role of the tourism operators and mediators of tourism, is the monetary aspect. Here explained by the strategic consultant from the municipality of Copenhagen *“it is a big business, and can you persuade red busses and Ström<sup>2</sup> to make tours where they essentially don't make as much money, as they do right now by driving into the inner city?...no*” (Appendix 3 - Interview #2). Moreover, it is necessary to include the aspect of crowdedness. As has been analysed and unfolded throughout the analysis, overcrowding at the popular tourists' attractions was an issue in all of the locations with exclusion of Amalienborg. This aspect also poses as an implication in regards to the management of tourism in the municipality of Copenhagen. To this end, it is interesting to note that even though the head of the department of internationalisation and tourism and the strategic consultant asserted that the inner city had reached its carrying capacity in regards of tourism *“We have seen the cap been reached in the inner city in certain areas in certain streets at certain hours at certain times of the year”* (Interview #2 - Appendix 3), it was also argued that *“Our capacity has not reached its limits at all and we are especially lucky that Copenhagen is a walkable city, so it is essential to spreading them out and coming up with new attractions, ideas that actually supports the other neighbourhoods in Copenhagen”* (Interview#2 - Appendix 3).

These two comments highlight the implications in regards of utilizing carrying capacity in the context of the popular tourists' attractions, in the sense that the attractions in question was described to be crowded and overrun by tourism by the respondents of the survey as was highlighted earlier in this thesis. However, the majority of the respondents still asserted and believed that Copenhagen had room for more tourists. As such, much like it was discussed in the section above, it is necessary to view this aspect of carrying capacity in relation to overcrowding in regards of balance or indeed imbalance. To this end, the theoretical framework of LAC may contribute to better understand the implications of the popular tourist attractions in regards to how the municipality of Copenhagen manages tourism. As elaborated upon in the literature review, LAC seeks to investigate when the impacts of tourism remain acceptable (McCool,

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<sup>2</sup> Ström<sup>2</sup> is one of the largest tourism operators within tourism offering canal tours, walking tours and hop on hop off buses etc.

1994). Accordingly, if the empirical evidence and the knowledge that have been created throughout the analysis is put into context with the theoretical framework of LAC in regards of advantages and disadvantages and indeed whether the impacts of the popular tourist attractions are acceptable, it may afford a better understanding of the implications in regards to this aspect. In this context, the disadvantages in regards to management revolve around the over crowdedness of these attractions, and moreover that the tourism operators and mediators of tourism are staging the consumption patterns and flows of mobility in such a manner that it acts as a barrier in regards to the municipalities objective of spreading out the tourists to other areas of Copenhagen and Greater Copenhagen.

Interestingly, the advantages of the popular tourist attractions in regards to managing tourism in Copenhagen also revolves around the objectives of the municipality. As unfolded in section 4.3.1, the municipality also had emphasis on their responsibility in regards of “*make sure that once people get here, they also get access to what they expect to find here*” (Interview #1 - Appendix 2), so that there existed a correlation between what Wonderful Copenhagen branded and promoted and what the municipality promoted through CVS. Moreover, the monetary aspect that the popular tourists’ attractions affords must also be seen as an advantage.

However, it is difficult to determine whether the disadvantages trump the advantages in this context, but what seems certain is that the tourism operators act as a major implication in regards of the municipalities objective and desire to spread out the tourists visiting Copenhagen, so that it is not solely the inner city which is being visited. The staging of consumption and choreographing of flows of mobility at popular tourist attractions implicates the management of tourism in regards of the objective of spreading out the tourists, and moreover the crowdedness of these attractions implicates the aspect of using carrying capacity in regards of determining if the city can hold more visitors.

- ***Implications in regards of managing tourism***

It is also important to include and consider how the popular tourist attractions are situated in regards of the cooperation with Wonderful Copenhagen when analysing the implications on tourism management in the municipality of Copenhagen. To this end, it becomes relevant to discuss the importance of stakeholder inclusion. As elaborated upon in the literature review, policy-making and indeed governance within the field of tourism is immensely complex (Dredge, 2006; Tyler & Dinan, 2001b), and adding to the complexity in regards to this aspect is the many different stakeholders that exists within tourism. To this end, in the context of the popular tourists’ attractions which have been investigated in this thesis, the role of the tourism operators and mediators of tourism has been heavily discussed and analysed, however, as mentioned above it is also important to consider how Wonderful Copenhagen is situated in regards of the popular tourist attractions in question. As has been elaborated in section 4.3.1 the cooperation between the municipality of Copenhagen and Wonderful Copenhagen was described as follows;

Wonderful Copenhagen is in charge of the attraction of visitors and branding Copenhagen while the municipality manages the tourists once they have arrived. However, while the head of the department asserted that he was satisfied with the cooperation between the two organisations, he also expressed that Wonderful Copenhagen neglected their responsibility in regards of cooperating with the tourism stakeholders such as tourism operators and hotels “*They don’t really know what is going on with the different actors (...) what are the hotels focussing on right now, what are the tour operators focussing on right now*” (Interview #1 - Appendix 2).

As such, an implication may arise when considering the importance of stakeholder involvement in regards of governing and managing tourism (Bianchi, 2009). To this end, if Wonderful Copenhagen - the organisation charged with branding and promoting Copenhagen and its attractions, do not include the stakeholders of the popular tourists’ attractions it may cause implications in regards to the future development of these attractions, and indeed in regards of future policy initiatives. Another aspect which is important to acknowledge when trying to identify and analyse the implications of popular tourist attractions is the aspect of policy-making and the complexities that lies within in regards of the political realities that underpins the municipality of Copenhagen.

To this end, although policy making, and political realities are not directly associated with the implications in regard to the popular tourists attractions, these aspects still play an important role in regards of the management of tourism in the municipality of Copenhagen. As was unfolded in the section regarding the political and practical realities in regards of the municipality of Copenhagen, the policy-making process within tourism encompassed a wide variety of sectors, and moreover that the tourism agenda was not considered as the most important aspect. To this end, if it is argued that the larger political underpinnings operate under a neo-liberal world view as argued by (Joppe, 2017) then the objectives of the department of internationalisation and tourism in regards of spreading out the tourists seem insignificant in regards to the larger policy agenda regarding strengthening of the airport and increasing bed nights. Thus, it may be argued that the political realities that the department of internationalisation and tourism operators under implicates the objective of spreading out the tourists to other areas of Copenhagen.

## 5. Conclusions

Throughout the analysis, the three popular tourists' attractions Nyhavn, Langelinie quay and Amalienborg has been analysed in regards of their implications in terms of the perception and attitude toward tourism and in regards of their implications in terms of how the city of Copenhagen manages tourism. The first part of the analysis - 'Copenhagen and tourism - setting the scene' showed how tourism have developed in Copenhagen in recent times, here it was showcased that tourism has increased significantly the last decade, almost doubling the amount of bed nights within a time period of ten years. Moreover, it was shown that locals had begun to speak up in resistance in regards to this increase in tourism, arguing that the public places had become too crowded and geared toward tourism and tourists (Tv2lorry, 2018). Furthermore, this section of the analysis showed that the DMO of Copenhagen - Wonderful Copenhagen would continue their work to attract more visitors to the city, but desired to do this under sustainable development principles with cooperation with the municipality of Copenhagen. Namely, this sustainable tourism development was to be carried out through spreading out the visitors to a larger geographical area.

Against this backdrop, the next part of the analysis was initiated. This part of the analysis - 'Mobility flows and place-consumption practices at the popular tourists' attractions' focussed on analysing and discussing the different modes of mobility as well as the place-consumption practices which took place at three popular tourists' attraction. The objective of this analysis and discussion was to identify which elements that constituted tourism mobility and place-consumption practices at the popular tourists' attractions and furthermore to provide a better understanding of the characteristics of the three popular attractions. To this end, it was shown that tourism operators and mediators of tourism constituted not only the flows of mobility but also the place-consumption practices within the three popular tourists' attractions. In regards of the mobility flows, it was found that the mobilities was being staged by infrastructure, design, traffic regulations and planning. Moreover, it was found that the tourism operators staged the mobility and the place-consumption practices through guided tours (Canal tours, walking tours, bus tours and Segway tours). Furthermore, it was found that the place-consumption practices predominantly revolved around taking pictures of the distinctive sights attainable at the three popular tourist's attractions. The findings from this section of the analysis was later utilized to investigate, analyse and discuss the implications of the popular tourist attractions in relation to both the perception of tourism as well as the implications in regards to management of tourism - this aspect will be clarified in more depth later in this conclusion.

The third section of the analysis - 'Tourism management - The municipality of Copenhagen' revolved around highlighting the practical and political realities that the municipality of Copenhagen operate under, and moreover to identify the objectives in regards of tourism management. To this end, it was

shown that the overarching objective was to spread out the tourists in an effort to alleviate the inner city of visitor pressure. Moreover, it was shown that the municipality operates within a complex policy space, and that the management of tourism was largely done in cooperation with Wonderful Copenhagen. Lastly, it was shown that the municipality asserted that the overall carrying capacity had not been reached but acknowledged that the inner city of Copenhagen had reached its carrying capacity. The findings from this section of the analysis, was hereafter applied in regards of analysing the implications of the popular tourists' attractions in terms of the management of tourism.

The fourth section of the analysis - 'Perception of tourism' revolved around gaining an understanding in regards of the attitude toward tourism in Copenhagen and indeed how tourism is perceived. This analysis took point of departure in the empirical evidence collected through the survey described in the methodology section. In this section of the analysis it was shown that even though over 40% of the respondents had encountered issues related to tourism (Appendix 5.9), the majority of the respondents also expressed that the city had room for more visitors (Appendix - 5.10). Moreover, it was found that the causes of disturbance in regards to tourism predominantly revolved around issues of crowding and congestion. Furthermore, it was in this section of the analysis also shown that the respondents were deterred from going to the popular tourists attractions themselves due to the crowdedness, price level and because the places in question had lost its atmosphere. The knowledge which was gained in this section was subsequently utilized in the last section of the analysis.

In the last section of the analysis - 'Implications' the knowledge which had been gained and unfolded in the previous sections (as explained above) was put into context with the relevant theories discussed in the literature review to analyse the implications of the popular tourists' attractions in regards of the perception of tourism and in regards of the management of tourism in Copenhagen. Through this analysis a series of implications was found.

Firstly, through the empirical evidence and the analysis it became clear that, perhaps, the biggest implication in regards of not only perception of tourism but also in regards management was the factor or aspect of tourism operators and mediators of tourism. As mentioned above, various aspects and elements related to tourism operators and mediators of tourism constituted the place-consumption practices and mobility flows within the popular tourists' attractions and these factors was found to have a great implication in regards of the both the perception and management of tourism. In regards of the implication in terms of the perception of tourism, the concept or theory of 'touristification' arose as a method to unfold and identify the implications in relation to the tourism operators and mediators of tourism. Through this approach it was found that the processes of urban change in regards of requalifying public space to be oriented towards tourism and tourism consumption afforded by the tourism operators, had implicated the perception of tourism in terms of local's loss of sense of place. The implications in

regards of management in relation to the tourism operators, revolved around the municipality's objective of spreading out the tourists to other neighbourhoods in Copenhagen and Greater Copenhagen. In this context it was found that staging of mobility and indeed staging of consumption implicated this objective significantly.

Secondly, in the final section of the analysis it was found that the aspect of crowding or crowdedness at the popular tourist attractions acted as an implication, again in the context of both perception and management. In regards to the management of tourism, the implication of crowdedness at the popular tourists attractions was found to be in relation to, that the popular tourist attractions attracted a large part of visitors of the city. Thus, implicating the objective of spreading the visitors or tourist out, and moreover the crowdedness implicated the management in regards of effectively utilizing carrying capacity to determine whether or not the Copenhagen could house more tourists. The implications of crowdedness in regards of the perception of tourism revolved around the identified causes of disturbance. In this context, the theocratisations regarding causes of disturbance showcased that the popular tourist attractions implicated the perception of tourism in regards of overcrowding, local's loss of sense of place and congestion. However, while it was found that the popular tourist attractions did have implications in regards of the perception of tourism, it was in this section also argued - through the principles of social exchange theory - that these implications may not be absolute due to the fact many of respondents expressed a positive attitude toward tourism in general but also in terms of the popular tourist attraction.

Thus, the analysis has highlighted that the implications of the popular tourists' attraction are constituted by a wide variety of aspects and elements. The consumption patterns and flows of mobility, the political and practical realities, the objectives of the municipality, the general attitude toward tourism in Copenhagen. As such, the popular tourist attractions have been, in a sense, deconstructed or unravelled by the analysis of these different elements and aspects listed above, and this has subsequently led to identification of the different implications that these places have on the perception of tourism and the management of tourism. And perhaps this thesis can challenge the conceptualisation that the distinctiveness of tourism has become so complex that it is impossible to identify, it seems, at least in the context of popular tourism attractions, that tourism remains rather unmistakable identifiable.

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## 7. Appendixes

All the appendixes for this thesis are attached through digital eksamen. Below you will find an overview of the different appendixes.

- Appendix 1 - Pictures taken during observations
- Appendix 2 - Interview with head of the department of internationalisation and tourism
- Appendix 3 - Interview with strategic consultant from the department of internationalisation and tourism
- Appendix 4 – Layout and design of survey
- Appendix 5.1 – Comments from survey (Have you encountered any problems with tourism?)
- Appendix 5.2 – Comments from survey (Do you believe that we have more room for tourist in the city?)
- Appendix 5.3 – Comments from survey (Causes of disturbance)
- Appendix 5.4 – Comments from survey (What do you think that tourism contributes to?)
- Appendix 5.5 – Comments from survey (If -yes what kind of tourists are visible)
- Appendix 5.6 – Comments from survey (What do you think about tourism in places like Nyhavn, Langelinie and Amalienborg?)
- Appendix 5.8 – Statistics from survey (Where do you live?)
- Appendix 5.9 – Statistics from survey (Have you encountered problems with tourism)
- Appendix 5.10 – Statistics from survey (Do you believe that we have more room for tourist in the city?)
- Appendix 5.11 – Statistics from survey (Causes of disturbance)
- Appendix 5.12 – Statistics from survey (Do you think that tourism is visible in your daily life?)















