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Crossing the Border of the Tourist Bubble: Touristification in Copenhagen

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Summary

City tourism has entered a new dimension in recent years. Tourists no longer restrict themselves to the classic routes of cultural, shopping or MICE tourism. In some ways, it can be said that tourists are 'coming of age' and crossing the borders of the traditional tourist bubble. 'Modern explorers' tour independently, leaving the beaten track of well-known historic city centres and CBDs to immerse themselves into everyday life in urban destinations. They prefer the authentic feeling to the artificial experience and become a temporary member of local communities, emancipating themselves from the suggestions and proposals made by traditional offers produced by the tourism industry. Due to such behaviour, tourists actively participate in the ongoing process of urban change.

Denmark's capital, boasting extensive 19th century districts, is a perfect destination for the new 'explorer' type of tourist. Copenhagen has large areas where tourists can explore authentic urban life in the quarters surrounding the CBD, untouched by commercialised tourism activities and fine-tuned offers. Due to ongoing gentrification and urban renewal, the touristification process is becoming apparent across Copenhagen's 'bridge quarters' of Vesterbro and Nørrebro.

In this article, an analysis is given of how tourists visiting the bridge quarters can be characterised, how local inhabitants perceive this influx of tourists and the touristification process, and the role played by the local authorities. First preliminary results are provided, based on a survey conducted during a student research project, which has been the beginning of further ongoing research activities.

1   Introduction

Research on city tourism focuses primarily on the economic impact that tourists have on their surrounding environment. Marketing strategies or cooperation to increase guest arrivals and the diversity of possible motifs for a city trip have been evaluated extensively. In contrast, considerations on or abstract modelling of tourist spaces in cities have rarely been carried out; the analysis of urban tourism precincts away from the traditional tourist track is a relatively new approach. Nevertheless, a number of researchers have since discovered the evolution and development of tourist spaces in cities as an important field of research, with Judd's concept of the urban 'tourist bubble' (*Judd* 1999, p. 36; see also *Urry* 1990, p. 8) representing an important contribution.

Despite this increasing interest in an area that has long been "ignored by researchers despite its overwhelming importance for tourism" (*Hayllar, Griffin & Edwards* 2008, p. 7), the main focus remains on historic city centres or large artificially developed areas, such as urban entertainment centres (UECs.), shopping centres or harbour fronts. Little attention has been paid to the residential neighbourhoods that often surround these centres, which, however, are experiencing an ever-growing influx of tourists.

Maitland and *Newman* (2009a) are among the pioneers who have started to analyse these 'off the beaten track' localities, albeit with a focus on 'world tourism cities'. They justify their restriction to large metropolises by arguing that multi-functional and polycentric areas with a high degree of cultural diversity have the ability to produce new localities with a tourist appeal. Their argumentation seems plausible; and yet, why should it not be possible for smaller, basically monocentric destinations to develop areas that draw (certain types of) tourists outside the urban core to less commodified and rather distinctive places.

This article will present two districts of Copenhagen – a city that cannot be called a tourism metropolis – that enable visitors to be drawn beyond the historic city centre to explore the facets of ordinary residential neighbourhoods.

After a brief introduction to Denmark's capital as a tourist destination, the focus will shift to the research area in Copenhagen's bridge quarters, namely Vesterbro and Nørrebro. These two boroughs, originally home to less affluent and less respected parts of society such as immigrants, workers and other marginalised groups, have undergone a major transformation over the past decade. Initiated by urban renewal and renovation activities, gentrification has taken place with a wide range of positive and negative consequences that, seen together, have had an impact on the perceived attractiveness of these quarters.

Particularly in recent years, the media became increasingly aware of these ongoing processes, meaning that Nørrebro and Vesterbro are now commonly known as Copenhagen's new hip and trendy neighbourhoods. First of all, a detailed analysis is made of who ventures into these areas, and an attempt is made to identify any specific characteristics of these 'explorer tourists'. The second question focuses on residents' perception of tourism. Here the aim is to analyse whether the local economy has already adapted the services it offers to account for the new demand groups. Finally, the role of Copenhagen's municipality and tourism related organisations will be investigated, particularly regarding their attitude to the changing tourism pattern in their city.

2   Tourism outside the tourist bubble – what does this mean?

The 'tourist bubble' concept originated as a U.S.-American approach for describing areas devoted primarily to tourism that were territorially distinct from the rest of the city.

Such enclaves primarily developed in the course of the 1970s and 80s, when many urban areas were faced with the negative consequences of globalisation, suburbanisation and deindustrialisation. Due to these transformation processes,

many cities lost their initial attractiveness as cultural and commercial locations; they were regarded as inhospitable places, marked by urban decay, industrial wasteland, slums and high crime rates (cf. Judd, D. R. 1995). For the tourism industry, this meant that such cities tended to evolve into a source market for possible customers rather than into a tourist destination (cf. *Anton-Quack & Quack* 2003, p. 193; ibid., p. 197).

To counteract these developments, the U.S. government initiated a 'tourism strategy' that aimed primarily to revitalise urban centres by introducing carefully staked out leisure and entertainment districts. Since such districts were primarily devoted to visitors and since urban regeneration was also spatially restricted due to the limited financial resources available, distinct borders had to be established "to cosset the affluent visitor while simultaneously warding off the threatening native" (*Fainstein & Gladstone* 1999, p. 26). Consequently, these areas were not integrated into the existing urban fabric, but functioned like isolated islands in a sea of urban decay (cf. *Judd* 1999, p. 36). The term 'tourist bubble' was coined by Judd in his attempt to conceptualise areas in which visitors move within "secured, protected and normalized environments" (*Bottoms & Wiles* 1995 in: *Judd* 1999) without facing the surrounding destination.

Focusing on the case study example of Copenhagen, the U.S.-American concept of a pure tourist zone is applied to European city centres. The authors are well aware of the fact that Copenhagen's centre evolved against a different background to that of U.S. entertainment districts. Nevertheless, the term 'tourist bubble' will be transferred to Denmark's capital, albeit in a figurative sense. For the European context, the term 'tourist bubble' can be used to describe the historic centre of a city (usually including the CBD), containing its historic monuments, main shopping precincts and pedestrian zones, museums and art galleries.

As in many urban areas – and Copenhagen is no exception – tourism is not dispersed "evenly and seamlessly throughout the city" (*Hayllar, Griffin & Edwards* 2008, p. 5) but, rather, is concentrated on certain streets and specific places. These areas, widely understood to be tourism precincts, exhibit similar characteristics as tourist bubbles. They are localities where most of the important sights and tourist attractions, or what is regarded to be such, are situated close to each other and where the local industry has wholly dedicated its offer of services to visitors and tourism. As a consequence, the common assumption is that tourists will spatially confine their activities to the centres that provide a perfect tourism environment (cf. *Freytag* 2008).

That said, as recent research illustrates visitors have started to cross these invisible barriers of European tourist bubbles and are venturing into neighbourhoods surrounding the city centre (cf. Maitland & Newman 2009a). In this context, a substantial debate has evolved on visitors' motifs and their assumed search for authenticity and "real" experiences. In addition, the interaction between locals and tourists as city users is increasingly attracting interest, as well as changes such tourists may initiate concerning urban form and structure.

Foljanty et al. (2006) developed a model that illustrates the extent to which tourism can affect urban quarters. They use the term 'touristification' to describe a process in which small parts of urban areas, which are usually residential,

develop into complete tourist zones. In addition, the term touristification is often used synonymously with commodification to describe an expansion of the tourism industry and related offers into on finally residential neighbourhoods. One of the options for the future development of touristifying quarters is that they become integrated into the classic tourism precinct in the long run, making them part of the tourist bubble. However, there is insufficient empirical evidence available to confirm this hypothesis. It can be stated, however, that an increased supply of services that address not only the 'gentrifiers' but also the 'touristifiers' could lead to displacement tendencies. Since little attention has been paid to this phenomenon, this article seeks to analyse local residents' perception of an increasing influx of tourists to their quarters and the concomitant urban changes.

3   Presentation of the research area

Copenhagen is not a world tourism city. Denmark's capital is not fully reliant on tourism in an economic sense (although it is an important industry), and most people would probably think of other destinations first before deciding to visit Copenhagen on their next city trip. As a result, touristic overcrowding is not an issue. However, the number of arrivals and overnight stays is growing rapidly. In addition, major urban renewal programmes were initiated and districts have changed dramatically, particularly in the past decade. The interplay between these two developments – an increase in tourist demand and major urban renewal activities combined with related gentrification processes – make Copenhagen an ideal research object for analysing touristification tendencies in the early phase of this process.

3.1   The City of Copenhagen

The City of Copenhagen covers an area of approximately 75 square kilometres. It has a population of 557,920, 22 per cent of which have a migration background (*Statistics Denmark* 2013a and b). Figure 1 illustrates the Danish capital grouped into 10 official districts. The municipality of Frederiksberg does not belong to the capital – the administratively independent town became an enclave within the city in 1901, when the districts of Vanløse and Valby were incorporated into Copenhagen municipality.

Our research was conducted in the two boroughs shaded in grey – Nørrebro and Vesterbro. In the course of an administrative reform from 2006 to 2008, Vesterbro and Kongens Enghave became one district. Since the analysis focuses solely on the former Vesterbro-part of this now larger quarter, only the relevant area is shaded (cf. fig. 1).

3.2   City tourism in Copenhagen

Copenhagen belongs to the league of "most liveable cities" worldwide (*CNN Travel* 2012, n.a.). The capital is associated with a high quality of life, environmental friendliness and sustainability – the city wants to be carbon-neutral by 2025 and is internationally considered a role model for bike traffic – a generous

welfare state, low crime rates and innovative design. From a tourism perspective, however, the city is rather unexceptional. In terms of tourist arrivals, the capital lags far behind world tourism cities such as London, Paris and Berlin (see Maitland & Newman 2009a). Nevertheless, it ranks amongst the top 20 urban tourist destinations (measured in nights) in Europe (cf. Wonderful Copenhagen n.a., p. 23).

Nevertheless, tourism is a key industry in the metropolitan area. Wonderful Copenhagen, the capital's destination management and marketing organisation (DMO), estimated that

Fig. 1:   Administrative division of Copenhagen

Source: Author's design, based on Københavns Kommune 2013a

the revenue generated by tourism in 2011 was DKK 32.2 billion, which equates to almost 40 per cent of Denmark's total tourism economy (cf. *Wonderful Copenhagen* 2013a). Considered as a sector, tourism contributes to about 2.5 per cent of the country's total value added (cf. *Wonderful Copenhagen* n.a., p. 22). Denmark's capital appears to have a strong impact on tourism in the whole cross-border region. Major infrastructure facilities, such as the Øresund bridge connecting Denmark and Sweden and Copenhagen's international airport Kastrup support this outstanding position, making Copenhagen a gateway for travellers to Denmark and large parts of southern Sweden.

Despite all of these factors that positively influence Copenhagen's tourist appeal, the number of international travellers should not be overestimated. The main target markets for Copenhagen are still Denmark itself and neighbouring countries such as Sweden, Norway, the UK and Germany. Regarding recent developments, the global financial crisis had hit city tourism hard. Domestic overnight stays decreased by 14 per cent between 2007 and 2009, whilst international arrivals remained virtually stable. In recent years, Copenhagen has managed to recover from the economic downturn. In fact, tourism overnight stays – both domestic and international – increased by 12 per cent in 2011 compared to 2010 (cf. *Statistics Denmark* 2013c).
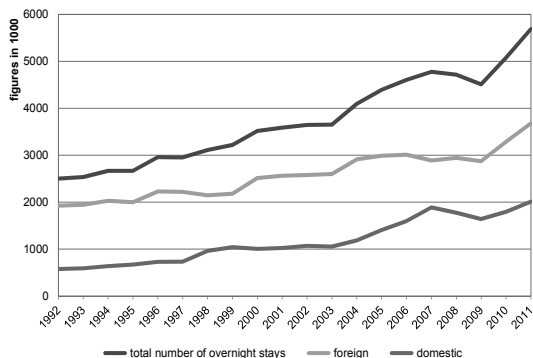
Figure 2 illustrates the development of registered overnight stays in hotels and youth hostels in the capital region (Province København By) showing a significant decline due to the financial crisis and strong growth tendencies since 2009.

Fig. 2:   *Development of registered overnight stays in Copenhagen*

Source: Author's illustration, based on Statistics Denmark 2013c

These growth tendencies are not only limited to the sheer number of visitors, but also become apparent in their spatial distribution across the city. Although the historic centre of Copenhagen, with its 1.1 kilometre long pedestrian precinct Strøget, contains most of the important tourist sights and channels the largest tourist flows, visitors have already ventured into districts beyond the historic city centre. However, before analysing areas off the beaten track in detail, a short overview of what is considered to be main tourist attractions is given below to enable a differentiation to be made between these two groups of tourist objects and localities of the tourist gaze.

3.2.1 Copenhagen's tourist bubble

As previously mentioned, *Judd's* 'tourist bubble' concept needs to be understood here in a figurative sense. As such, it is applied to Copenhagen's historic city centre Indre By (cf. fig. 1), including the major tourist attractions. Wonderful Copenhagen published a list of the capital's top 10 must-sees on its website. This collection includes, first and foremost, the country's best known sights – the Little Mermaid, a statue of one of Hans Christian Andersen's famous fairy tale characters (cf. fig. 3). Further attractions include Tivoli Gardens, an old amusement park located next to the entrance to the city, directly opposite the City Hall, and Nyhavn, the former commercial port that has been transformed into a colourfully renovated, popular bar and restaurant district (cf. fig. 4). The list also mentions Christiania, a collectively controlled village outside the constitutional state, the royal residence Amalienborg Palace, and the Round Tower, an old observatory with an outdoor visitor platform. All of the other places listed are located outside Copenhagen's boundaries. The zoo is actually situated in the municipality of Frederiksberg; Bakken, the world's oldest amusement park, is in Klampenborg, just north of Copenhagen; Lousiana, a museum of modern art, is located in the middle of nowhere, several kilometres south of Helsingør (cf. Wonderful Copenhagen 2013b). This list is not exhaustive and has been modified frequently by Copenhagen's DMO.

Fig. 3:   *Visiting the Little Mermaid – part of the tourist trap*

Source: Author's photo 2012

Fig. 4:   *Nyhavn: A scenic setting with its restaurants and cafés that attract most tourists*

Source: Author's photo 2012

Nevertheless, it illustrates that Wonderful Copenhagen's promotion of tourist attractions focuses on sights that are either located in the heart of the historic centre of Copenhagen or those far beyond the municipality's boundaries. Apparently, these are the places with a high tourist appeal. In contrast, the localities outside these hotspots receive no mention. Although the density of attractions in areas surrounding the historic core is not as high as in the inner city, some of them may have deserved a mention. Examples include Carlsberg brewery and the adjoining visitor centre located in the quarter of Vesterbro, and Assistens Kirkegård, a famous burial site containing the graves of Hans Christian Andersen and Søren Kierkegaard that doubles up as an important green space in the Nørrebro district. Although these boroughs are not on the DMO's marketing agenda, they have been evolving into tourism magnets, particularly in recent years.

3.2.2 Tourism outside the tourist bubble – Copenhagen's bridge quarters

There are many reasons for choosing Copenhagen's bridge quarters, and particularly the districts of Vesterbro and Nørrebro, to undertake a detailed analysis of touristification tendencies. Firstly, both districts have attracted increasing media attention in recent years. By newspaper articles, tips in tourist guidebooks and social media comments, these areas have been promoted as being hip and

trendy, innovative, home to the creative class and full of local distinctiveness. Consequently, they are considered interesting localities for tourists who wish to explore the city off their own bat.

Secondly, both of the districts underwent major transformation processes, initiated by governmental urban renewal initiatives. The main aim of these projects was to renovate and redevelop the old building stock. However, they resulted in a partial replacement of the population, the emergence of a new, diverse offer that is attractive even from a tourism perspective, and an image change. In the district of Vesterbro in particular, these urban change processes have been well documented and scientifically evaluated. Hence, any analysis of the resulting tourist influx in these districts can easily be based on previous investigations.

3.2.2.1 Vesterbro

The quarter of Vesterbro used to be one of the 15 municipal districts of Copenhagen. However, it was merged with the district of Kongens Enghave following an administrative reform in 2006-08. The combined borough has an area of 8.18 square kilometres and 58,411 inhabitants (cf. Københavns Kommune 2013b). Although these two districts belong together from an administrative perspective, they will be considered as

Fig. 5:   *Kødbyn: The former meatpacking district being transformed into a trendy leisure location*

Source: Author's photo 2012

separate entities from this point, due to the different historic baseline conditions and their separate development until recent years. Our research focuses solely on the quarter of Vesterbro, where Istedgade and Kødbyn (the Meatpacking District) are the main points of interest.

Istedgade is often considered the heart of Vesterbro. The street, about 1 kilometre in length, commences immediately behind Copenhagen's central station. The front part in particular is still influenced to a great extent by pornography, prostitution and drugs. Nevertheless, large parts of this street and Vesterbro on the whole have undergone a transformation. New designer clothes shops, expansive modern-style restaurants and a large nightlife infrastructure, particularly in Kødbyn, have emerged. The Meatpadcing District used to be home to Copenhagen's animal processing industry. As such, it continues to accommodate associated stores, such a wholesalers, delis, butchers and fish markets. Following a partial redevelopment, this area is now home to artists, galleries, bars and restaurants, and is well known as a party location.

Fig. 6:   *Shops and cafés in Nørrebro attract gentrifiers and touristifiers alike*

Source: Author's photo 2012

3.2.2.2 Nørrebro

Nørrebro features different characteristics. As figure 1 illustrates, the quarter, with an area of 4.1 square kilometres, is the smallest district in Copenhagen. However, since it has over 75,000 inhabitants, it is also Copenhagen's most densely populated district (cf. *Københavns Kommune* 2013b). In many tourist guidebooks, ethnic diversity and the slightly 'dodgy' atmosphere are considered to be the quarter's unique features (cf. *Lonely Planet Publications* 2011, p. 102) that create a locally distinctive character, inviting tourists to explore this area independently. Other factors that may attract visitors are the diverse nightlife options and the many bars and restaurants, particularly in Elmegade and on Skt Hans Torv, the heart of trendy Nørrebro.

4   Methodology

Two different approaches were chosen as methods to answer the research questions posed above. First of all, interviews with tourists were conducted to identify the demand side. Face-to-face interviews were held in the city centre and within Copenhagen's bridge quarters Nørrebro and Vesterbro. The responses given by tourists visiting the centre will be used as a reference for those who visited the bridge quarters. The idea behind this approach is that people who visit well-known sights in the city centre represent traditional, primarily culture-oriented city tourists. Since one of the aims of this study was to identify the characteristics of tourists who ventured into areas off the beaten track, traditional tourists were used as a control group to distinguish them from the specific characteristics of those who left the beaten track.

Next, face-to-face interviews were conducted with citizens of Copenhagen in the central city and in the bridge quarters on their attitude to tourism in their neighbourhoods. Here, the aim was to find out whether residents are aware of an increasing influx of tourists to their quarters and, if so, how they view these developments. In addition, data on their general perception of urban renewal in the bridge quarters was collected. Due to the extent of the data and related research questions, these responses do not form part of this paper. In addition, semi-structured interviews were conducted with local stakeholders, such as retailers, restaurant and café owners, artists and so forth, to get an impression of the extent to which the urban supply side has already adapted to an increasing tourist demand.

The final part of the overall assessment involved interviews with local authorities, such as members of Copenhagen's municipality, urban planners and Copenhagen's DMO Wonderful Copenhagen.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the data collection undertaken in Copenhagen was part of an educational research project, carried out by students of Trier University . In total, 138 interviews were conducted with tourists and 129 with local residents. Although the number of interviews conducted was rather large, it is insufficient for providing representative results, particularly with regard to 'off-the-beaten-track' tourists in Copenhagen's bridge quarters, due to the fragmentation into different survey locations. Hence the results must be considered with caution as an initial tendency concerning explorer tourists who leave traditional tourists routes. The total figures were too low to serve as a basis for a solid classification of different tourist types in Copenhagen.

5   Analysis of the findings

5.1 Tourists

About two thirds of the 138 tourists interviewed in the survey were questioned in the Inner City (Indre By); the remaining respondents were interviewed in Vesterbro and Nørrebro. As many previous studies have pointed out, city tourists are experienced travellers. They are usually well educated, and generate corresponding incomes (cf. *DTV* 2006, p. 9). Cultural interests rank highly among their reasons for undertaking city trips (cf. *Steinecke* 2007, p. 195; *UNWTO & ETC* 2005). These general findings coincide with the results gained in the face-to-face interviews conducted in Copenhagen.

As *Kagermeier* (2008) points out, however, city tourists are hybrid consumers. They have a whole range of different motives for undertaking city trips and what they expect from them. As such, they are hard to characterise. This, in turn, correlates with the fact that cities simply offer a broad range of possible activities to all kinds of different people, making a detailed typification of classic city tourists virtually impossible. In order to get a clearer picture at least, visitors are often characterised according to their main motives for undertaking a city trip (*Anton & Quack* 2005, p. 10). This is a rather unsatisfactory approach in the attempt to differentiate groups of urban tourists, because, as already mentioned, their motives are usually diverse and tend to overlap.For our research project in Copenhagen, we therefore chose a different approach, primarily driven by the idea to identify typical characteristics of tourists who left the beaten path and explored urban spaces outside the well-known city centre. Although the data collected was insufficient for undertaking a detailed cluster analysis, basic socio-demographic data and the range of tourist interests stated highlight differences between tourists who visit the main attractions in the city centre and those who venture into the surrounding neighbourhoods.

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1) Data by courtesy of Lisa Amrehn, Laura Berninger, Lennart Bruhn, Sarah-Kristin Dietz, Anne-Catherine Ferber, Irina Glaesner, Bogdan Kolesnikov, Yannick Kösters, Celina Kraus, Thierry Kruchten, Janice Kurth, Madlaine Louis, Regina Mazko, Nadja Pilz, Andrea Schmid, Matthias Schwarz, Nadine Spang, Annika Wacke, Lars Wilsdorf.

5.1.1 Socio-demographic characteristics

Starting with some basic socio-demographic findings, the research revealed that particularly the tourists who visited the sights in the city centre are very diverse and hard to classify. They represent all age groups and have different living situations, although most of them live together with a partner or family, and tend to have an advanced level of education (more than 75 per cent have at least A levels). They can easily be compared to *Steinecke's* (2007) and *DTV's* (2006) classic city tourist.

Interestingly, visitors to Vesterbro have similar characteristics. Most of those interviewed were settled adults in their thirties to fifties, often living together with their families and children. Nørrebro tourists, in contrast, differ from these characteristics. They are younger – 30 per cent were assigned to the 18-25 year age group. Consequently, they are more likely to live alone or in shared apartments with their flatmates, and have no children.

These differing socio-demographic factors also impact on daily expenditure and locations for overnight stays. More than half of all tourists interviewed stayed in hotels. Whilst the majority of those who visited the city centre slept in 4 to 5 star accommodation, most of the visitors to Vesterbro stayed in 1to 3 star hotels. Visitors to Nørrebro have rather different accommodation habits. Here, most of the visitors stayed in hostels, which is in line with their living situation and, hence, financial status. These specific travel habits are also apparent in the form of who visitors choose to travel with. Visitors to the city centre are, again, very diverse – they are accompanied by their partners, families or friends; some prefer to travel alone and others joined travel groups. In contrast, most Nørrebro tourists travel with friends. Vesterbro visitors are, again, somewhere in between these two groups; here, most visitors also travel with friends, although many are accompanied by their families.

5.1.2 Travel experience, length of stay and travel company

Generally, city tourists are regarded as experienced travellers; this also applies to visitors to Copenhagen. The investigation revealed that the average number of short trips (less than 5 days) taken in 2011 by all of the tourists interviewed in Copenhagen was 2.7; the average number of long trips (more than 5 days) was 1.9 (excluding outliners). It is worth noting that the majority of tourists asked in Vesterbro had been in 2 to 3 short trips within the past year; the most common response by visitors interviewed in Nørrebro was 4. In contrast, tourists to the city centre were most likely to reply that they had not been on any other short trip in 2011. However, they were most likely to have been on one long trip. Visitors to Copenhagen's bridge quarters, particularly those in Nørrebro, can therefore be regarded as highly experienced (short stay) travellers.

Another feature of visitors to Nørrebro is that there are no day-trippers. While the majority of all Copenhagen tourists remain for 3 to 4 days (stays of one week or longer are seldom), about 20 per cent of visitors to the city centre are day-trippers. This is not the case with bridge quarter tourists. Visitors to both Nørrebro and Vesterbro are more likely to stay for 2 to 4 days. This length of stay in the

capital may be one reason why tourists venture into residential neighbourhoods, even on their first trip to Copenhagen. Interestingly, more than 75 per cent of all visitors to Nørrebro ventured into this quarter on their first trip to Copenhagen. The number of first and repeat visitors to Vesterbro was equal. This could be due to the wide range of unique and designer shopping facilities that particularly attract repeat visitors.

5.1.3 Tourists' interests

Several questions focused on the tourists' interests, their reasons for coming to Copenhagen and which day and night activities they undertook in the city. At all of the interview locations, the tourist sights were the main reason for travelling to Copenhagen, followed by the intention to visit friends and relatives.

Concerning tourists' most favourable day and night activities, Nyhavn is the most attractive place to go, while street cafés in general seem to rank highly amongst all visitors to Copenhagen.

It is striking that visitors to the city centre are also interested in visiting the Opera House and Tivoli, whilst Vesterbro tourists would prefer to browse in second-hand shops. The Little Mermaid is definitely not the most important tourist attraction, ranking far behind other classic sights such as Nyhavn, the Opera House and Tivoli Gardens. In addition, nice cafés and even second-hand shops seem to be more important to tourists than Copenhagen's landmark.

That said, cultural activities are one of the most important reasons for undertaking a city trip. This also applies to Copenhagen tourists. However, cultural activities are particularly important to the tourists interviewed in the city centre. It is interesting to note that the same number of people who said that they were most likely to spend their evening by attending a classical concert answered that they would prefer to eat out in a rather shabby, alternative looking café (and not in a chic bar). This response was more expected from visitors to the bridge quarters. In any case, tourists to Vesterbro were actually most likely to spend their evening in an alternative café or restaurant, whereas the alternative chosen most frequently by visitors to Nørrebro was clubbing.

Since cities offer a wide range of attractions and activities, the people drawn by such an immense supply are consequently as diverse as the offers. Nevertheless, as the results above illustrate, it was (at least to a certain extent) possible to differentiate between classic city tourists and those who explored residential neighbourhoods. What has not yet been taken into consideration, however, is the idea that tourists may develop in line with their travel experience and the aspect that they are hybrid consumers who may act differently at different times and locations.

It is conceivable that visitors behave one day as classic 'street of the ants-tourists' walking through Strøget on their way to gaze at the Little Mermaid, while the next day they explore Nørrebrogade, spending time in bars and cafés close to Skt Hans Torv as a prelude to a long night clubbing in venues such as "Rust" and "Gefährlich".

It was possible to identify different types of tourist by cluster analysis. Thus some of them can be described as 'traditional tourists' who generally remain inside the tourist bubble and others as 'drifters' or 'explorers' in the sense described by *Cohen* in his studies on backpackers (1972, p. 169 et sqq.). However, most visitors to Copenhagen exhibited a hybrid behaviour (even if, of course, a number of basic orientations were identified). This means that 'explorers' can also be found in the tourist bubble and that traditional tourists sometimes cross the border to the bridge quarters. Contrary to the findings of *Freytag* (2008), it is not only repeat visitors who leave the tourist bubble, even if the findings from Copenhagen coincide to a certain extent with the research he conducted in Paris in that "repeat visitors often neglect or even avoid the iconic places of mass tourism" (*Freytag* 2008, p. 12), such as the Little Mermaid in Copenhagen. At the same time, Nyhavn even seems to be attractive to explorers, drifters and repeat visitors.

As *Maitland & Newman* (2009b, p. 80ff) suggest, tourists reflect on their behaviour and are well aware that they are inside a tourist bubble or, for any reason, outside the well-worn paths of classic tourist circuits. Based on their London example, they illustrated that some tourists are even aware of their behaviour which seems inconsistent at first sight and somehow even appreciate the different roles they play. They are simultaneously able to act like tourists to get an overview of the main attractions, and to venture into non-touristy neighbourhoods, acting like a local.

Much more data and in-depth interviews with different types of tourist would be necessary to identify whether and how urban tourists develop based on their previous travel experience or other factors, and whether they develop different behavioural patterns and preferences based on their previous experience.

5.2   Inhabitants' and local stakeholders' perspective

The aim of this section is to illustrate residents' perception of tourism in their neighbourhoods. As *Foljanty et al.* (2006) suggest, if the number of tourists exceeds a critical point, residents start to view visitors in a negative light; they attempt to reduce the previously appreciated and largely used offer, fearing the intense commodification of their district.

As research has revealed, this is not (yet) the case in Copenhagen's bridge quarters. Most of the residents interviewed have a positive attitude to tourists and are pleased that a large number of visitors come to "their" district. This applies equally for Nørrebro and Vesterbro. These districts are mentioned in many tourist guidebooks that especially address young travellers and backpackers (e.g. Lonely Planet), quite a few articles have been written about them in international travel journals and lifestyle magazines, and, of course, they can also be found on travel-oriented social web platforms such as tripadvisor and tripsbytips. However, tourism is not very influential because otherwise the residents would assume that negative change had occurred.

This is different when it comes to the perspective of local stakeholders, such as restaurant or shop owners. Tourists are an important element of their target group. In Vesterbro in particular, several restaurant and shop owners argued that about 40 to 50 per cent of their guests are international visitors. In Nørrebro, the share of international guests is slightly lower, and has been estimated by stakeholders to be between 10 and 30 per cent, and sometimes even as much as 40 per cent.

Anders Selmer, head of Kødbyns Fiskebaren, a large fish restaurant in Vesterbro's Meatpacking District, proves these figures by illustrating the example of New Year's Eve in 2012: "*[W]e had 61 guests and we only had 12 Danish, the rest were foreigners*". People in Vesterbro appreciate this development, which is based on an image change, initiated due to major urban renovation activities conducted from the 2000s. Mr. Selmer described the new characteristics of Kødbyn as follows: "*Here it is more loud, more happening, and more buzzing. It definitely seems more international. Sometimes my guests tell me they like that and I am very proud of it*". Nevertheless, he points out that all guests are treated the same; he does not want to be part of the tourist trap. In contrast, he stated: "*I make a restaurant with my heart*".

Other restaurant and shop owners in Nørrebro, and particularly Vesterbro, share his opinion. An assistant of V1 Gallery in Copenhagen's Meatpacking District in Vesterbro stresses that they make exhibitions to support artists and to sell artwork, because "*we believe in them*" and we are not like "*buy this and buy that.*" The level of commodification and commercialisation is rather low, particularly in Copenhagen's Meatpacking District. The reasons for this are diverse. On the one hand, it is surely due to the fact that Copenhagen's municipality, which owns the whole area, strongly restricts who may use the area. Only creative people (however this may be defined) are allowed to rent a building.

On the other hand, stakeholders are aware of the 'dodgy' atmosphere surrounding Istedgade, and particularly the Meatpacking District. They tell stories of tourists standing in front of shops and galleries but not recognising them as such. Visitors can easily get the feeling that the Meatpacking District is a closed area, not open to tourists or other visitors. Visitors may well feel uncomfortable there, or sometimes even intimidated. And yet this is the very thing that creates the charm and atmosphere of Vesterbro and the Meatpacking District. There are no big signs and some things are left unexplained. In short, it is an area that wants to be explored.

With regard to marketing, all of the stakeholders interviewed stated that they invested virtually no money in marketing campaigns. They all believe in the quality of their product, and rely on word-of-mouth recommendations and repeat visitors. They do not want their businesses to attract too much attention, but simply wait for guests and customers to drop by.

When talking to these stakeholders, the impression could easily be gained that they are in the business for themselves, and not for tourists or anyone else. And this is the very aspect that makes the area appealing to all kinds of visitors – locals and tourists alike. Hence the validity of the basis hypothesis of the touristification process that gentrification and touristification reinforce themselves be-

cause both target groups – gentrifiers and touristifiers – head for the same type of trendy offer of shops and gastronomy, could be approved. While gentrification usually comes first and induces a basic offer for the new type of inhabitants, tourists can reinforce the transformation process by representing an additional demand and increasing the threshold for a respective offer.

5.3   Authorities' perception of changing tourist patterns

Local residents perceive tourism as an enrichment of their neighbourhoods, and local stakeholders such as restaurant, bar or shop owners, rely economically on guests from abroad. However, the local authorities do not seem to have noticed the tourist interest in areas outside the city centre. They are well aware of the advantages and disadvantages of Copenhagen's bridge quarters. In any case, they seem unable to transfer this potential on a tourist scale. Both quarters – Vesterbro and Nørrebro – have been largely characterised as lively, interesting, vibrant and sometimes even as hip and trendy places. Nevertheless, most of the city councillors are unsure why tourists should wish to go to places that offer no large attractions.

Whilst brunching in Prenzlauer Berg and clubbing in Kreuzberg are virtually attractions in their own right and should not be lacking in any trip to Berlin, Nørrebro's potential as a nightlife location or Vesterbro's unique shopping facilities are widely neglected. Members of the municipality, although personally having a very positive attitude to diversity and multi-cultural lifestyles in Nørrebro, would expect the quarter to be described as a no-go area in tourist guidebooks. Finally, even Copenhagen's DMO is "*not sure if there is so much tourism out there*". Copenhagen's bridge quarters are generally regarded as possible destinations for repeat visitors.

6   Conclusion

Tourism to urban areas is one of the fastest growing segments of the whole tourism industry in Europe and across the world (cf. *IPK International* 2012, p. 9). "The metropolis is one of the most important parts of a tourist destination. It has always attracted more and more visitors all around the world" (*UNWTO* 2008, p. 7).

Based on a number of preliminary findings from a case study in Copenhagen, it was possible to show that the actual phase of urban tourism is marked by the fact that it is no longer only the predefined and commodified traditional tourism quarters in the historic city centres that attract visitors. As the example of Copenhagen shows, tourism outside the tourist bubble does not only occur in world tourism cities, but is a phenomenon that can also be found in smaller cities, such as Copenhagen. At the same time, it must be said that the local authorities and marketing organisations continue to focus on the traditional parts of the tourism offer, meaning that tourism outside the tourist bubble largely takes place unbeknown to local public stakeholders. Although it has not yet been picked up by the capital's DMO, quite a few tourists are already crossing the invisible border that surrounds the historic city centre, marking this area as the main tourist location.

At the same time, the findings suggest that the tendency towards hybrid consumers is reflected in the fact that tourists' activity patterns cannot be differentiated clearly between those of traditional visitors and innovative explorers. The reality of urban tourism is not black and white, but a multitude of shades of grey. Hence totally staged options and less commodified so-called or presumed 'authentic' places are quite often mixed in the portfolio of a tourism visit, each tourist preparing his own mix out of the 'ingredients' a city has to offer. Even if the findings have to be reconfirmed by future empirical work, they suggest that the border between the tourist bubble and the surrounding neighbourhoods is less sharp than the actual presumptions on tourist behaviour suggest.

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arbeitskreis
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Tourismus und Grenzen

Die Rolle von Grenzen im Tourismus steht im Mittelpunkt dieses Bandes. Grenzen werden ja oftmals als trennend und einschränkend verstanden. Gleichzeitig bieten sie Chancen für Kooperationen und Synergien, wenn sie überwunden oder positiv gewendet werden. Das Spektrum der Beiträge in diesem Band thematisiert damit zunächst die Rolle von politischen Grenzen für den Tourismus und behandelt folgende Themenfelder:

- Politische Grenzen und deren trennende Wirkung für Destinationen
- Grenzüberschreitende Kooperationen im Destinationsmanagement
- Grenzüberschreitender Tourismus
- Tourismus als Teil der grenzüberschreitenden Verständigung.

Gleichzeitig deckt der aufgespannte Rahmen auch Themen ab, die sich mit der Begrifflichkeit von "Grenzen" in einem weiteren Sinn und mit der übertragenen Bedeutung von Grenzen auseinandersetzen:

- Grenzen der Wahrnehmung und von Handlungsmotiven zwischen Akteuren mit unterschiedlichen Rationalitäten
- Institutionelle und organisationalen Grenzen und Constraints im Destinationsmanagement und der Umgang mit diesen
- Grenzen der touristischen Tragfähigkeit
- Tourismus jenseits der Grenze der „Tourist Bubble"
- Grenzerfahrungen und Grenzüberschreitungen im Tourismus.