New Urban TOURISM

And the example of Hamburg's Schanzenviertel

By Lara Koppelmann
Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg

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What's *new* about New Urban Tourism?

When tourism first became a bigger topic in urban studies in the 1990s, the focus of those early works was primarily on 'tourist cities'[7] that build large-scale infrastructure to purposely attract tourists, forming so-called 'tourist bubbles'[6] that separate tourists from local inhabitants in the process. However, this hypothetical differentiation of a city into 'tourist' and 'residential' areas was soon criticised and refuted as it became increasingly clear that a growing number of visitors deliberately avoids crowded tourist places, rather wandering 'off the beaten track'[2] in order to experience the 'ordinary' and 'authentic' life of the city. This *new urban tourism* increasingly blurs the boundaries between visitors and locals as it is largely focused on non-tourist urban environments. Yet, what is *new* is not specifically the touristic practice in itself – most forms of tourism are longing for authentic experiences – but rather its focus on non-tourist areas as well as its quantitative dimension.[8][9][10][12][14]

Central characteristics of New Urban Tourism

- Tourists exhibit a **special fascination** for the city's **ordinary, everyday life.**[12]
- Therefore, they leave the 'tourist bubble' to explore areas that are considered or **imagined to be authentic, edgy and less or non-touristic.**[7]
- This is both facilitated and encouraged by modern technologies (e.g. the internet, social media) which enable tourists to individually plan a trip and **share their experiences online.**[3]
- As visitors advance into residential neighbourhoods and increasingly share infrastructure (e.g. modes of transportation, supermarkets) with locals, the **boundaries** between tourists and residents **blur** – which is further complicated by inland or regional tourists.[2][11]
- Finally, visitors and residents **transform** and **co-produce** the city through their actions.[12]

(New) Urban Tourism in Hamburg

Until the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic in early 2020, tourist numbers in Hamburg were steadily increasing.[5] As illustrated exemplarily for the year **2018, the large majority of visitors explore the city on a day trip,** making up for more than half of all touristic expenses.[4]

[a]



Of those **106 million day tourists** registered in 2018, most came from nearby regions or from Hamburg itself.[4]

New urban tourism is difficult to measure in terms of its impact.[2] Statistical data available **for Hamburg,** too, can not give direct insights into such developments. They do, however, illustrate the effects of the worldwide 'urban tourism boom', e.g. in the **number of overnight stays**[4]**:**

[b]



In 2019, **1.119.000 overnight stays** were registered for accommodations with less than 10 beds (rooms, flats or houses), booked via online platforms like Airbnb.[1]

Although it does not reflect actual numbers of new urban tourists, such data is interesting when focusing on connections between new urban tourism and **urban transformation of local neighbourhoods.**[2]

[c]



What makes the *Schanzenviertel* interesting for new urban tourists?[11]

- Its location at the inner city's fringe: away from touristic areas but still easy to reach.
- As a **former working-class and post-industrial district**, the neighbourhood offers well-preserved Wilhelminian-style architecture.
- It is regarded as a neighbourhood of **alternative political thinking**.
- One destination for new urban tourists is the **Rote Flora** building that serves as a centre for Hamburg's autonomous scene.
- Finally, residents themselves perceive the area as a distinctive district perfect for **alternative and countercultural concepts of life**.

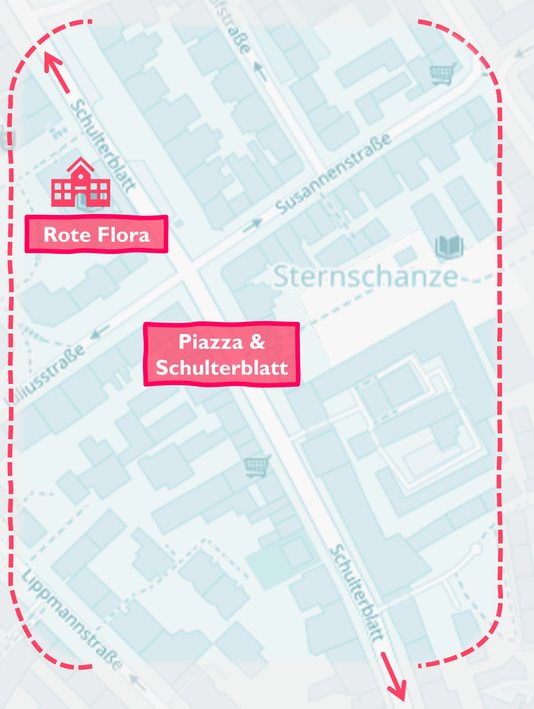
Stakeholders

- **A**utonomous Scene
- **C**ity Officials
- **G**astronomy
- **H**amburg Tourismus
- **H**ospitality Industry
- **R**esidents
- **S**hop Owners
- **T**ourists

Tourism potential and urban redevelopment

For the city of Hamburg and for its destination management organisation, *Hamburg Tourismus GmbH*, the Schanzenviertel has long since promised **great tourism potential.** Between 1999 and 2012, a program focusing on urban redevelopment and 'careful urban renewal' was undertaken by city authorities.[11]

One central outcome of this process was the establishment of the so-called ***Piazza* on the Schulterblatt street**, the main commercial street in the area. By completely renovating the street in front of the Rote Flora and giving restaurants the possibilities to expand into the public area by broadening the sidewalks, the changes contributed significantly to the **'gastronomisation' of the neighbourhood.** Today, the Piazza area hosts nearly a hundred gastronomic amenities.[11]



Impacts of new urban tourism on the *Schanzenviertel*

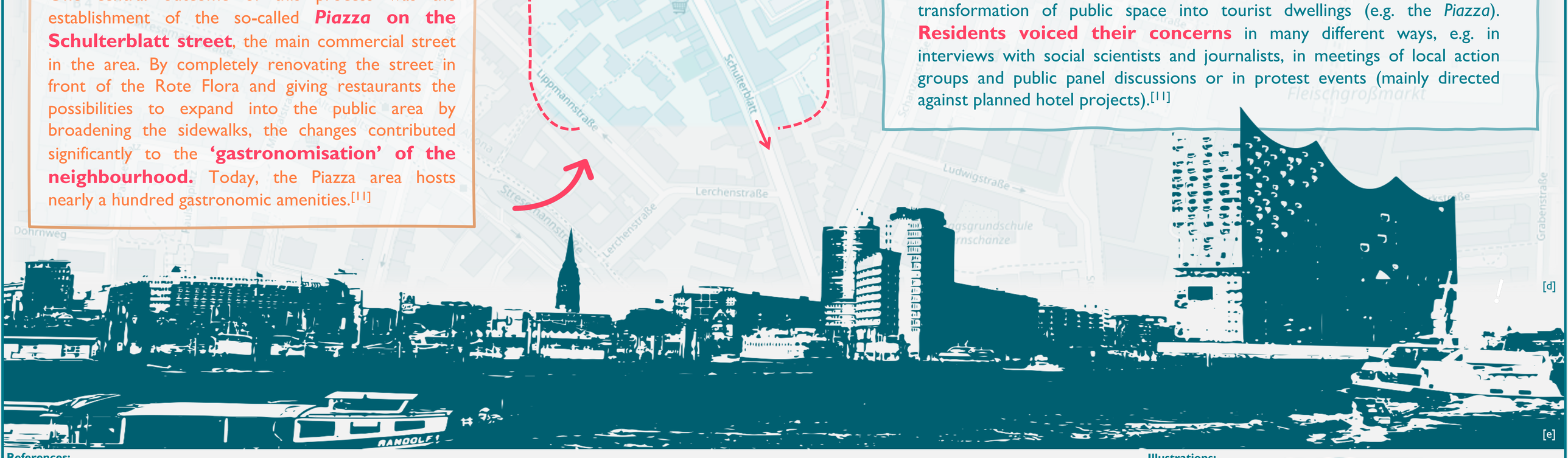
In the perception of residents, positive impacts of city tourism (e.g. the creation of jobs and intercultural exchanges) often barely outweigh the negative ones.[15] This is also the case in the Schanzenviertel where tourism-related developments are being increasingly criticised by the local population.[11] In a survey from 2014, residents named the following as the most negative effects:

- **'disneyfication'** of the area due to big events and **too many tourists (52.1%)**;
- **gentrification** and rising rents **(45.7%)**;
- **waste** (e.g. due to urination and broken glass) **(32.8%)**;
- increasing **commercialisation** and displacement of smaller shops **(27.6%)**.[13]

One area with conflict potential is the ***Piazza*** with its cafes and restaurants. Established to make the area more attractive for visitors, most residents see the Piazza as a **massive trigger for touristification** of the neighbourhood and complain of **'increasing noise intensity, litter problems in the streets and backyards and the reckless behaviour of tourists and partygoers'**. And even after closing hours, kiosks in the area are allowed to sell alcohol far into the night, supporting the development of what is called ***'cornern'*** – a social practice of hanging around at street corners while drinking and talking.[11]



Two major discourses shaped by Schanzenviertel residents are that of **'inclusion and exclusion'** ('residents' vs. 'outsiders') and that of **'place-based displacement'**. The latter is a typical gentrification discourse that focuses both on residential and commercial displacement induced by the transformation of public space into tourist dwellings (e.g. the *Piazza*). **Residents voiced their concerns** in many different ways, e.g. in interviews with social scientists and journalists, in meetings of local action groups and public panel discussions or in protest events (mainly directed against planned hotel projects).[11]



[d]

[e]

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[1] Destatis. (n.d.). *Buchungen von Unterkünften auf Online-Plattformen*. Statistisches Bundesamt. Last access on 6th March 2022 via https://www.destatis.de/DE/Service/EXDAT/Datensaetze/buchung-online-unterkuenfte.html;jsessionid=4F2E8191108A4D8E757AFD2AEB4C2773.live731#doc558230bodyText7 **[2] Füller, H. & Michel, B. (2014).** 'Stop Being a Tourist!' New Dynamics of Urban Tourism in Berlin-Kreuzberg. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 38(4), 1304-1318. **[3] Gravari-Barbas, M., Jacquot, S. & Cominelli, F. (2019).** New Cultures of urban tourism. *International Journal of Tourism Cities*, 5(3), 301-305. **[4] Hamburg Tourismus. (2020).** *Zahlen, Fakten, Trends 2019*. Hamburg Tourismus. **[5] Hamburg Tourismus. (2021).** *Zahlen, Fakten, Trends 2020*. Hamburg Tourismus. **[6] Judd, D. (1999).** Constructing the tourist bubble. In D. Judd & S. Fainstein (eds.), *The Tourist City* (p. 35-53). New Haven. **[7] Judd, D. & Fainstein, S. (1999).** *The tourist city*. Yale University Press. **[8] Maitland, R. (2010).** Everyday life as a creative experience in cities. *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research* 4(3), 176–85. **[9] Pappalepore, I., Maitland, R. & Smith, A. (2010).** Exploring urban creativity: Visitor experiences of Spitalfields, London. *Tourism, Culture and Communication*, 10(3), 217–30. **[10] Richards, G. (2011).** Creativity and tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 38(4), 1225–53. **[11] Saretzki, A. & Wöhler, K. (2021).** Between political protest and tourism gentrification: Impacts of New Urban Tourism in Hamburg's Schanzenviertel. In C. Ba, S. Frank, C. Müller, A. L. Raschke, K. Wellner &A. Zecher (eds.), The Power of New Urban Tourism: Spaces, Representations and Contestations (p. 131-146). Routledge. **[12] Sommer, C., Stoltenberg, L., Frisch, T. & Stors, N. (2019).** Entwicklungslinien und Perspektiven der New Urban Tourism-Forschung. In T. Freytag & A. Kagermeier (eds.), *Touristifizierung Urbaner Räume* (p. 15-33). Arbeitskreis für Tourismusforschung Deutsche Gesellschaft für Geographie e.V.. **[13] Stimmen von St. Pauli. (2014).** *Die Ergebnisse der Bewohner*innenbefragung in St. Pauli: Umfrage von Juni bis September 2014*. Last access on 7th March 2022 via http://stimmen-von-st-pauli.net/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/stimmen_von_stpauli_umfrage-ergebnisse_20-09-2014.pdf **[14] Stors, N., Stoltenberg, L., Sommer, C. & Frisch, T. (2019).** Tourism and everyday life in the contemporary city: An introduction. In T. Frisch, C. Sommer, L. Stoltenberg & N. Stors (eds.), *Tourism and Everyday Life in the Contemporary City* (p. 1-23). Routledge. **[15] World Tourism Organization & IPSOS. (2019).** *Global survey on the perception of residents towards city tourism: impact and measures.* UNWTO.

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[a] Own illustration after Hamburg Tourism (2020).
[b] Own illustration after Hamburg Tourism (2020).
[c] Own illustration after Destatis (n.d.).
[d] Own illustration via OpenStreetMap.
[e] Own illustration.

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Author: Lara Koppelmann
Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Tim Freytag[i]
Editor: Prof. Dr. Rüdiger Glaser[ii]
Data Manager: Michael Kahle[ii]

Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg;
[i]Department of Human Geography;
[ii]Department of Physical Geography

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