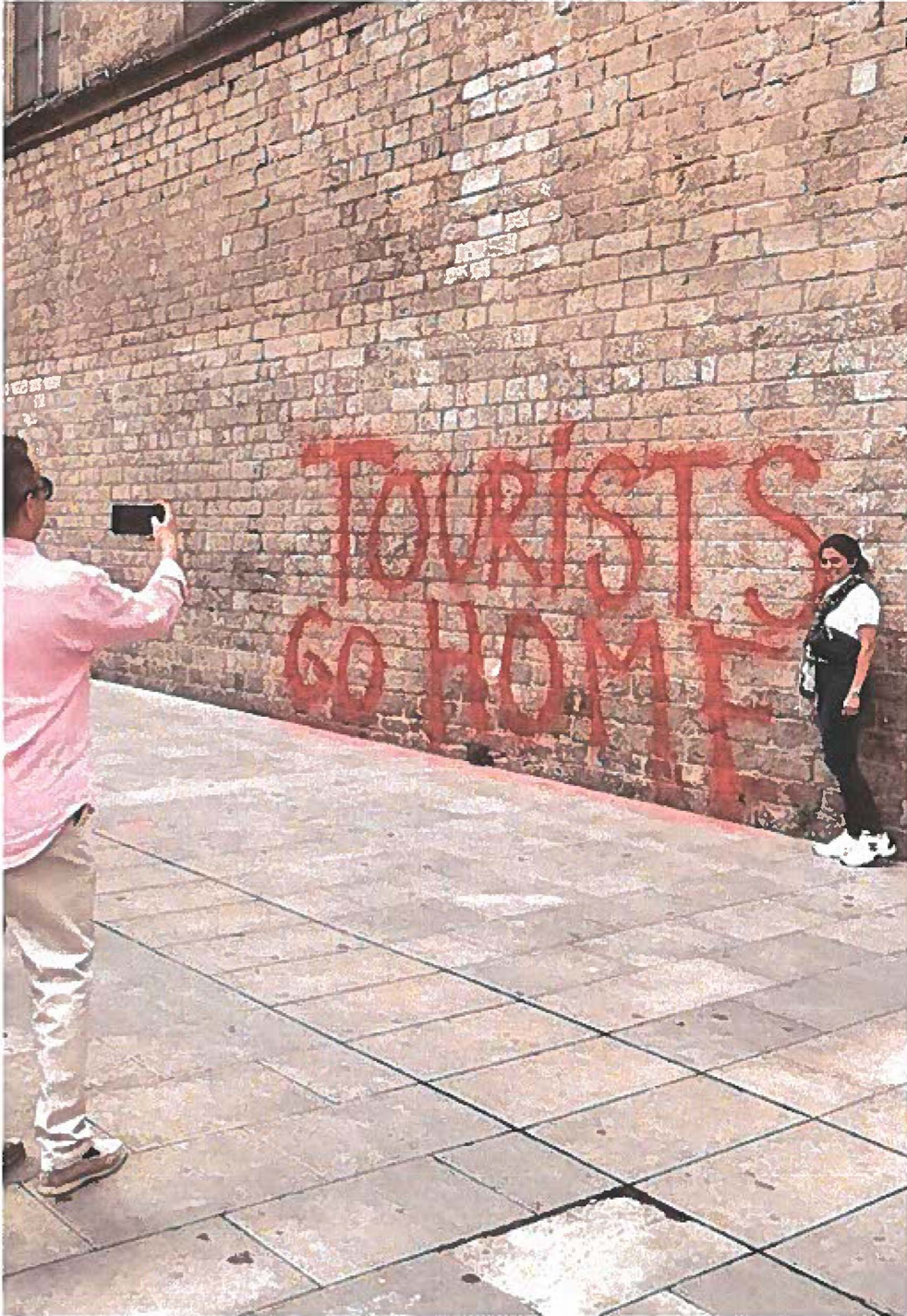

VICTIMS OF THEIR OWN SUCCESS

A SPATIAL APPROACH TO MASS TOURISM
IN HISTORIC URBAN CENTERS



Humans of Late Capitalism Twitter | September 2018.

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01

ABSTRACT

In recent years, a number of European cities have found themselves in the middle of a debate over the role that tourism plays in their historic urban centers. As a vital part of the economy and an important factor in cultural exchange, tourism has widely been seen as a desirable industry and many cities have invested greatly to attract it. However, recent innovations in the industry have led tourists to flock to historic urban centers in greater numbers than city infrastructure and resources can accommodate. The tight spatial configurations of historic urban centers were not designed to take in millions of tourists a year, but tourists continue to visit in order to experience a “unique” and “authentic” heritage in our globalized society. As residents and local businesses are forced out of historic urban centers due to increasing costs, international and corporate businesses replace the true city with imagined “realities” and globalized standards that retain little of the original identity and culture of the space. Residents who do stay are forced to live in a space with an increasing number of temporary neighbors and a decreasing number of services catered towards their daily needs. The opposing lifestyles of working residents and vacationing tourists further exacerbates the problem – not only are spaces overcrowded, but tourists use them in completely different ways. Cities have begun to approach the problem with policy, marketing, and technology, but architecture and urban planning’s role in the solution has been underexplored in both solutions and the discourse. Because mass tourism is a spatial problem, it is critical that these discourses are involved in an interdisciplinary approach to the issue at hand.

Thesis Statement: The root of the problem with tourism is that two different users (visitors and residents) with different needs are occupying the same space. Architectural recomposition of this shared space can not only ease tensions between them, but create an environment for positive relationships and productive exchange of culture.

02

A BRIEF HISTORY OF URBAN TOURISM

[THE FOUNDATIONS OF URBAN TOURISM]

Curiosity has long encouraged humanity to trek to the ends of the earth, in search of something new and unique, different to the mundane of daily life. Since civilization began, people have been traveling to urban centers to exchange goods, cultures, and ideas.

Trade and diplomacy were the primary reasons for these first forms of travel¹. However, as trade brought legends of exotic cultures and impressive landmarks from far away countries, those with the capabilities began to travel to discover these places for themselves. Ancient Greek writings from Herodotus imply that Egyptians often traveled to Athens to see the Acropolis, and Greeks visited Egypt to see the Great Pyramids². These travels were focused on visiting historic places within and nearby urban centers of civilization, many of them the same architectural wonders we travel to today. However, the number of travelers was limited, so destinations didn't develop accommodations or additional services for these visitors. In addition to viewing architectural landmarks, Ancient Greeks also traveled for religious pilgrimages, the Olympic Games, and to see Greek Tragedies at theatres³. Ancient Rome continued to enjoy journeys of the same nature, but it also birthed the first tourism industry; visitors purchased souvenirs, guidebooks, and accommodations while traveling to cities throughout the expansive Roman Empire⁴. The extent of the highly networked Empire allowed visitors to travel from remote areas safely and enjoy a variety of travel opportunities. However, when the Roman Empire fell in 476 C.E, the centuries long tradition of leisure travel fell with it. Other than the rare (and dangerous) pilgrimage some Romans made to Jerusalem, voyages were solely made out of necessity⁵.

The decline of the Middle Ages further restricted and fragmented leisure travel, and the long journeys Ancient Romans enjoyed became almost impossible until the Renaissance. During this period, travel continued in the form of the religious pilgrimage within Europe, now to the Vatican and other religious sites within cities such as Santiago de Compostela and Canterbury rather than Jerusalem⁶.

Towards the end of the 16th century, a new form of secular pilgrimage arose: The Grand Tour. This travel was for the leisure and education of the British elite: young males would embark on a journey to see classical architecture and heritage across Europe, focusing on Italy but also making stops in France and Greece. They visited many of today's popular urban tourist destinations for the same reasons we do today: vast cultural capital and impressive historic monuments. Local architecture was a large part of the studies undertaken, meaning historic urban centers were once again destinations for the world's elite. Souvenirs made a reappearance in this era as well, and guidebooks were essential to itinerary planning. Many of the travelers would even have a personal guide accompany them on their journeys⁷.

Innovations in transportation in the early 19th century made tourism more accessible, though it was still largely limited to the upper class. During this century, a number of archaeological discoveries and the construction of national monuments, such as the Eiffel Tower and Statue of Liberty, created new attractions for a growing number of visitors⁸. International fairs also attracted visitors to cities for exchanges of innovation and culture. This boom continued into the early 20th century with the expansion of the railroad and the invention of cars.

⁶"The Landing of Sir John Bull and His Family at Boulougne Sur Mer."
James Gillray | 1792

Boulougne sur mer was the first stop on the Grand Tour, where travelers would arrive after crossing the English Channel. This cartoon depicts the large amount of support that would accompany the young men on the journey.



[THE RISE OF MASS URBAN TOURISM]

The World Wars slowed the industry down for a short time, but the innovation in transportation technologies made during this period changed tourism forever. In the 1950s, commercial aircrafts and higher disposable incomes led to an explosion in the number of people who could afford to travel. In the second half of the 20th century, an unprecedented number of people went on vacation, and an unprecedented number of people realised they could make money in the tourism industry. Hotels, tourism offices, visitor centers, and souvenir shops sprung up across the globe in response to the booming tourism industry.

Globalization and a standardization of services led visitors to seek an experience unique to their own daily lives. Many cities took advantage of the cultural lure of historic urban centers and began restoring old buildings and even constructing new ones in historic styles. Rather than promoting national pride through the construction of monuments and public works, countries began building attractions as a way to exploit their national heritage. Some cities even attempted to fabricate a national heritage that may have never existed". Until this era, many historic urban centers were home to the working class and minority groups, but in order to cater to middle class tourists seeking an escape from everyday life, governments and investors turned them into fantasy landscapes that resembled pristine theme parks more than lived-in neighborhoods.

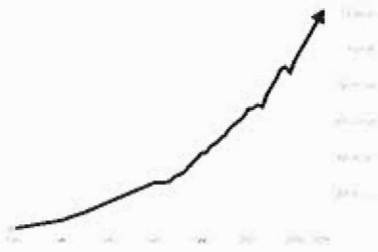
[URBAN TOURISM IN THE 21ST CENTURY]

Growth in the tourism industry increased exponentially into the 21st century, spurred to even greater heights by the arrival of the internet. This made information about travel even more accessible than before and contributed to an increasing sense of globalization, encouraging the search for even more unique spaces.

The internet also changed the way the tourism economy functions. Rather than booking private travel through a travel agency, Airbnb and Uber allow tourists to reserve accommodations and transportation on their smart phones, and low-cost airlines like



Austrian Travel Agency by Hans Hollein
A prime example of the architectural work put into the tourism industry during the second half of the 20th century; Austrian Hollein's Travel Agency radiates luxury and alludes to the palm trees of far-away destinations



World Tourism Organization |
 Number of overnight arrivals worldwide.
 Numbers are counted per destination,
 and cruise ship visitors and daytrippers
 are not included in these numbers.

Ryanair provide flights at accessible prices. Different from traditional and established airlines and hotel chains, these services provide visitors with more options for travel, but have also contributed new forms of unregulated growth to the tourism industry.

In 2016, 1.2 billion international tourist arrivals occurred. The following year, massive anti-tourism sentiments erupted throughout historic urban centers in Europe, including Amsterdam, Barcelona, and Venice. Protests, graffiti, posters, and even violent confrontations marked growing concerns about tourism's impact on these cities and their resident¹⁰. The campaigns sparked an international conversation that led to the word "overtourism" being added to the dictionary¹¹. Cities are quickly responding to the debate with a variety of strategies in policy, regulation, and marketing to try to keep tourism under control.

However, tourism numbers are still expected to grow well through 2030, and today, tourism contributes to over 10% of the world's GDP¹². Most of the cities where protests occurred rely on tourism to support the local economy, so trying to restrict it can have its own set of problems in the form of lost jobs and revenue. Because they are already at carrying capacity, these cities will need to rethink how spaces in the city are composed in order to continue to reap the benefits of tourism without further escalating conflict between residents and the industry.



Happiness and Things | February 2018

03

DEFINING THE PROBLEMS

"A good simile for modern tourism would be that of a household fire. When the fire is contained and managed within the hearth it offers beauty and comfort to the household. When it runs out of control it can destroy the very household it was designed to support."

--Peter Murphy | Tourism: A Community Approach

Today, the tourism industry is one of the largest and fastest growing industries in the world, outranking automobile products and food as an international export category¹³. Different from other industries, tourism is diverse and does not rely on a single product or resource, but a conglomeration of services and physical products that intersect many other industries. While tourism's main product is a consumable image, it relies on various networks such as food services, guided tours, infrastructural updates, accommodations, and hundreds of other players to sell this image¹⁴. Each of these smaller industries operate on multiple scales, ranging from a single independent street vendor to international hotel chains or souvenir manufacturers. This means that tourism is both an industry that a wide array of people can profit from, but also one that affects a wide array of people who may or may not have a voice.

Tourism in historic urban centers is not, in itself, a bad thing. The chief of the United Nations World Tourism Organization, Taleb Rifai, stated in a 2016 interview that "tourism is bringing tremendous benefits to communities, economies and societies¹⁵." The benefits that tourism offers should not be ignored and should be discussed alongside the conflicts it creates in order to optimize solutions that create realistic outcomes.

The relationship that has evolved between visitors and residents is an incredibly complex and dynamic one that varies from place to place. Each historic urban center has its own spatial past and present, and the way that residents and tourists interact with these spaces varies based on many factors including culture, age, gender, social class, and even time of year¹⁶. Understanding how these factors affect interactions with and within the space of historic urban centers is key in predicting and preventing conflicts that could arise between diverse user groups.

Additionally, although an individual or group of people may view a certain aspect of the tourism industry as the main cause of their discontent, it is worth noting that none of these aspects operate independently. This discussion will distill these perceived issues into categories for exploration of their impacts and what strategies might be implemented to maintain them, but the lines as to where one ends and another begins is highly blurred and should be treated as so.

[TOURISM GENTRIFICATION & THE URBAN ECONOMY]

The tourism industry provides economic opportunity for many communities that otherwise lack natural resources or the money to invest in other sectors¹⁷. Although there are international corporate players receiving huge profits from the industry, profits are not limited to the upper class. Marginalized and lower-class communities can also benefit greatly from the industry. Money spent by foreign tourists within a neighborhood or district brings more economic benefit than the reshuffling of money spent by local customers¹⁸. Through taxes, this income can even be redistributed to those not directly earning benefits from tourism¹⁹. Where a shopkeeper may see immediate profit from a growing number of daily customers, a schoolteacher may find higher classroom funding or cleaner public transit on the way to work. Additionally, some industries can also benefit indirectly from the tourism industry. Construction workers may have more job opportunities as more hotels must be built, restaurants may need more waiters to accommodate longer wait lists, and a furniture shop may receive an order for several hundred hotel beds.

Although the tourism industry can greatly bolster the economy of urban historic centers, economic success can also lead to the destruction of the local economy. Local businesses are often priced out of their own neighborhoods or forced to cater to tourists in order to compete with internationally-run restaurant chains and souvenir shops²⁰. This is the beginning of a process called *tourism gentrification*.

Different from traditional gentrification, which begins with residential displacement due to increasing rent costs, tourism gentrification typically begins with commercial displacement. This commercial displacement then leads to *displacement pressure*, defined by Augustin Cocola-Gant as “a lack of affordable facilities and the destruction of social networks suffered by residents during and after the transformation of the neighborhoods where they live”¹⁹. The reasons for displacement pressure, as this definition suggests, are not purely economic, but also based on the social identity and



PEUAT Ajuntament de Barcelona | 2018
 Barcelona's Tourist Accommodation Plan, showing the different zones of where tourist accommodations can be built. Area 1 includes the historic urban center as well as the Barceloneta and older parts of the Eixample.

Image by Author | Locations of hotels and typical tourist attractions within the Barri Gòtic of Barcelona, the city's oldest neighborhood. There are an additional 8,913 beds available via Airbnb within the Ciutat Vella as a whole²³ (the Barri Gòtic, the Born, and the Raval are the three neighborhoods that make up the historic urban center, called Ciutat Vella).

culture of place. When local businesses are replaced with tourist-oriented businesses, residents have to go further distances to access the services they need, such as grocery stores, laundromats, and daycare facilities. Having these kinds of services within close proximity is also important for the formation of social networks as well as for creating an equitable city²². Eventually, these displacement pressures lead residents to move, which makes it even harder for local businesses to survive and further perpetuates the cycle.

In recent years, however, the arrival of Airbnb and other apartment sharing platforms has caused a hike in residential rental prices on top of displacement pressures. In 2016, there were 4,721 Airbnb listings within the Ciutat Vella, the historic urban center of Barcelona, but only 17,000 residents^{23,24}. Rent jumped an average of 23% in the same year²⁵. Additionally, because of apartment sharing services like Airbnb, tourists are now staying in periphery residential zones of historic urban centers that until recently saw very few tourists²⁶. This rapid increase in residential rental prices over a short period of time has transformed tourism gentrification into a process more similar to traditional gentrification.



Luckily, many cities are beginning to address issues with short-term apartment sharing in historic urban centers. Amsterdam has begun working with Airbnb to enforce new policies which only allow each apartment posted to be rented for 60 days a year and require the collection of nightly tourist taxes²⁷. In Barcelona, it's illegal for an individual to run more than one shared apartment, and new licenses for both hotels and shared apartments are prohibited in the most inundated parts of the city²⁸.

In 2017, Amsterdam also enacted new policies about tourist-oriented businesses within the historic center. A series of new rules restricts certain commercial businesses from opening up within the Single Canal district, such as bike rentals, “nutella shops”, and ice cream parlors²⁹. Laws such as these will be imperative to prevent displacement pressure in historic urban centers, but banning new accommodations and tourist shops will not be enough. While commercial and residential rent prices are a huge part of the problem that can be alleviated by policy changes, they are part of a larger system that will require a comprehensive and interdisciplinary approach to solve.



Valerie Dejong | 2014

[OVERCROWDING & SPACE IN HISTORIC URBAN CENTERS]

"Let's face it: overtourism is a form of pollution, both social and environmental. In the same way that we have to reconsider attitudes to a factory that may be good for the economy, but is pouring poisons into a river, we need to rethink ways in which tourism is managed and how we, as tourists, behave."

–Rodney Bolt³⁰

When commercial airlines made travel accessible and easy for the masses, many cities saw an untapped opportunity to exploit what at the time seemed like a renewable resource—tourism. In order to compete with other destinations, focus was on the growth and promotion of tourism rather than first establishing systems to regulate it³¹.

In order to attract and accommodate growing numbers of visitors, many cities use income from tourist taxes to update infrastructure and create more parks and public spaces. Cities also often implement programs and direct funding towards keeping streets clean, increasing public transit schedules, and designing streets that are more pedestrian-friendly. Such updates improve the city for all of its users, not just tourists³².

Unfortunately, tourism numbers have increased faster than cities have been able to keep up. Waiting in lines or standing in crowds around popular attractions is an all-too-familiar sight. Tourist destinations are often filled with trash from take-away meals and used tickets, and sidewalks are impassable during peak tourist season. The unique spatial conditions of historic urban centers make them particularly at risk for issues that overtourism can spark. Because of their narrow streets and compact urban fabric, historic urban centers experience denser traffic than destinations with wider boulevards and less-concentrated populations.

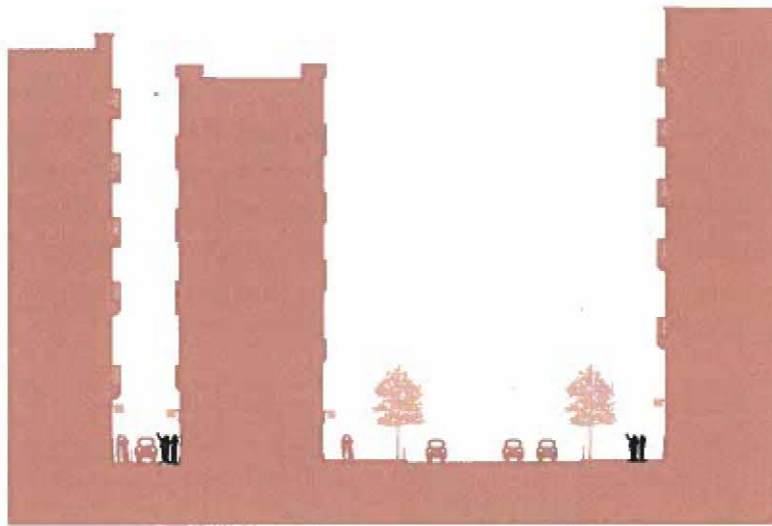
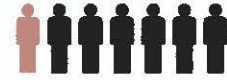


Image by Author | A section through Carrer D'Avinyo, a standard-sized street in the Barri Gòtic of Barcelona, compared to a section through Carrer Mallorca in the somewhat newer Eixample District. The section of Carrer D'Avinyo is much more restricted and amplifies any amount of additional automobile or pedestrian traffic, whereas there is space for Carrer Mallorca to handle a higher capacity.

Overtourism has gotten so out of hand that many cities have more visitors per year than residents who live there. Historic urban centers disproportionately receive these visitors compared to other neighborhoods. A poll taken showed that in Barcelona's Ciutat Vella, over 50% of pedestrians in the street were foreign visitors³³. Dubrovnik is attempting to limit the number of daily guests admitted into the historic city walls from the current 8,000 per day to 4,000 per day³⁴. Although these numbers seem negligible, a few thousand extra visitors can really have an impact in a city with a total population of only 43,000. Venice's struggle is even worse—the islands receive over 20 million visitors per year despite having a population of only 55,000³⁵. Venice has explored a variety of options for controlling overcrowding, including putting up fences to separate tourists, charging entry into the island, and setting up tourist checkpoints at major thoroughfares, but the majority of these solutions have been met with opposition from residents, who view them as ways of turning the city into a theme park³⁶.

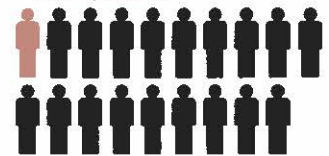
BARCELONA | 1,600,000



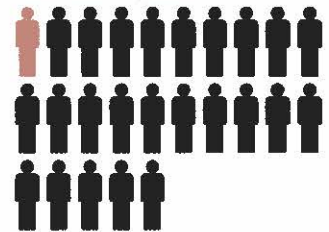
AMSTERDAM | 822,000



VENICE | 265,000



DUBROVNIK | 43,000



SANTORINI | 15,500

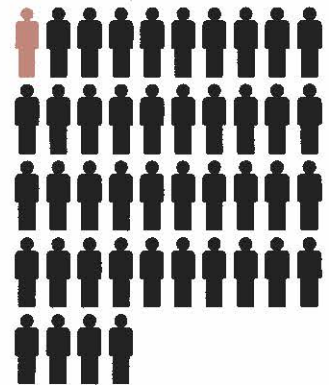


Image By Author | Ratio of residents to number of overnight visitors in various European cities. Note that day trippers, including cruise ship arrivals, are not included. The populations shown are for the entire city, not just the historic urban center.

Cruise ships are an additional stress on already overcrowded cities. Thousands of visitors can disembark at the same time, flooding the area adjacent to the port. This can be especially difficult for smaller coastal cities, but even Amsterdam and Barcelona struggle to accommodate the sudden traffic³⁷. Ports are often located adjacent to or nearby historic urban centers, making them particularly susceptible to the traffic. In response, both Venice and Amsterdam are looking to move where cruise ships dock, and Dubrovnik is limiting the number of cruise arrivals³⁸.

Overcrowding doesn't only affect residents, but visitors as well. Visitors often experience overcrowding negatively. A 2015 poll of tourists in Amsterdam found that 24% found a distasteful amount of traffic, and 18% found overcrowding to be detrimental to their experience³⁹. However, visitors have a higher tolerance for crowds than residents, due to the expectation that attractions will be popular.

There are multiple ways to approach overcrowding from a spatial standpoint, depending on the urban fabric of the destination. Concentration and dispersion are two opposing solutions, but depending on the ways that the tourism industry manifests itself in the built environment, either can be effective³⁹. In the case of historic urban centers, issues typically arise from visitors being too concentrated to a single district and its immediately adjacent periphery. This forces residents to interact with a dense and permanently transient population while going through their everyday lives. This is especially problematic considering current trends of tourism. Visitors seek to see beyond a series of attractions and prefer to have "authentic" experiences, viewing themselves as "temporary residents" rather than tourists⁴⁰. Now, tourists flood residential and commercial streets rather than staying in the areas where attractions are located. Dispersing tourists throughout a single neighborhood that lacks the capacity for them is ineffective, but dispersing them throughout the city can bring economic opportunity to other neighborhoods without overwhelming a single location.

The city of Amsterdam released a new strategic plan for tackling tourism in 2016 which focuses on the dispersal of visitors from the historic urban center. While traditional policy changes make up the bulk of their strategic plan, the city also explores creative ways that new technology can be used to promote destinations outside of the city center. A smart phone app suggests tourists visit destinations during off-times and allows them to buy tickets in advance to prevent crowding around ticket stands. It also suggests destinations in periphery zones of the city and its greater metropolitan area. The city is looking into integrating AI technology to scan Facebook profiles to help cater these suggestions to individuals' personal interests. Additionally, the app provides information on using the public transit system to ease access to these outer zones and reduce taxi and private car use, which increase traffic. The city is also working to expand regional transit to make outer zones of the city more accessible. Another strategy that the city has employed is the creation of a city tourist card, which covers the cost of public transit and many attractions, including both those frequently-visited and others that the city is trying to promote. These cards are tracked when used for public transit and admission, allowing the city government to analyze tourism trends throughout the city and understand the effectiveness of these new approaches⁴¹.

The concentration of tourists can also be effective when large parts of the historic center are vacant. Previously industrial cities, like Manchester, have used tourism as a way to revitalize districts of the city that were abandoned without directing massive volumes of tourists into occupied residential areas⁴². Limiting tourist activities to one zone allows residential neighborhoods of historic urban centers to maintain local businesses and social networks while also providing tourist accommodations that bring foreign money into the city⁴³. However, care must be taken to ensure that these concentrated zones don't expand beyond their designated boundaries and into residential neighborhoods nearby.

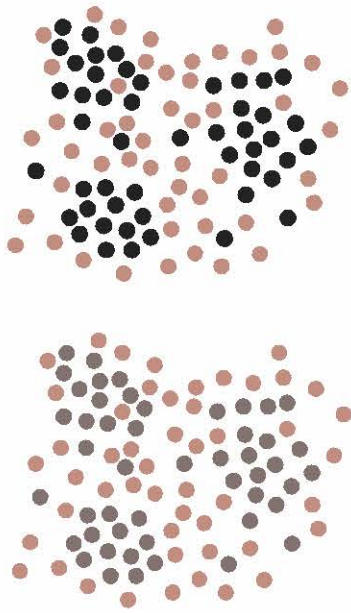


Image by Author | The above image is a visualization of perceived crowding. The darker circles, representing the visitors, appear to be denser when they have a higher contrast to the residents.

While the concentration and dispersion of tourists can be effective in mitigating conflicts due to overcrowding, in order to successfully implement these approaches, one must understand the carrying capacity of the historic urban center. At what point does the number of tourists in a space begin to cause the destruction of the physical, economic, and socio-cultural environments of the historic urban center⁴⁴? The carrying capacity is not a simple number that can easily be calculated and applied to every historic urban center, but a question that must be deeply interrogated in each one. Carrying capacity is not only related to the density of tourists within a space, but also related to who the tourists are, how they are interacting with the space, and how this relates to the cultural traditions and activities of residents within the same space⁴⁵. A person is less likely to perceive a crowd when the crowd is using the space in the same way they are using it⁴⁶. If that person is trying to shop for groceries, twenty people who are stopping to take pictures will seem a larger number of people than twenty people who are also shopping for groceries. Therefore, many of the conflicts attributed to overcrowding are not necessarily caused by the number of tourists present, but also to cultural expectations that influence how these tourists use the space.

Unfortunately, the tourism industry has misguided visitors about the proper use of some of these spaces. Visitors often come with different expectations about the proper use or behavior within a space, largely due to the way that the industry has presented it. Therefore, in order to approach overcrowding, visitor expectations must be addressed in addition to purely spatial issues.



The Creative Adventures. Prague, September 2017.

Newly arrived and totally ignorant of the Levantine languages, Marco Polo could express himself only with gestures, leaps, cries of wonder and horror, animal barkings or hootings, or with objects he took from his knapsacks...but, obscure or obvious as it might be, everything Marco displayed had the power of emblems, which, once seen, cannot be forgotten or confused...

As the seasons passed and his missions continued, Marco mastered the Tartar language and the national idioms and tribal dialects. Now his accounts were the most precise and detailed that the Great Khan could wish and there was no question or curiosity which they did not satisfy. And yet each piece of information about a place recalled to the emperor's mind that first gesture or object with which Marco had designated the place. The new fact received a meaning from that emblem and also added to the emblem a new meaning.

—Italo Calvino, *Invisible Cities*

[MANUFACTURED HERITAGE & THE FALSE IMAGE]

An image is a powerful thing, and it is the product that the tourism industry sells. An escape; a getaway; an adventure. The city—its history, its built form, its language, its traditions, its people—is packaged up as a commodity ready to be consumed.

Tourism of ancient times relied on these images—the Great Pyramids of Giza evoked an image great enough to drive visitors to make dangerous and difficult journeys in order to stand before their immensity⁴⁷. The canals of Venice have been depicted an infinite number of times by an infinite number of authors and artists. Today, we flock to these places based on centuries-old images in the hopes that we too can experience what it was like to be the first adventurer to lay eyes on these legendary places.

The exchange of culture and ideas has pushed progress; it creates intangible connections between people of different backgrounds. When cultural exchange is managed properly and occurs in a productive space, it can help the visitor understand the culture they are guest to while also giving the resident a sense of pride about their heritage⁴⁸. However, capitalism relies on the construction of difference, and in the universal economy, culture is increasingly being used as a way to identify and categorize differences⁴⁹. In a world where politicians use ideas of “otherness” to divide and conquer, exposure to other cultures can tear down walls that are often built on the fear of those who are different.

Globalization has had a unique effect in both standardizing the world and fragmenting it. As communities become more globally homogenized but tourists continue to seek unique experiences, the tourism industry must exploit any and all cultural differences in order to continue the myths that surround each destination⁵⁰. Venice becomes *more* Venice, New Orleans becomes *more* New Orleans, Paris becomes *more* Paris. Historic urban centers are especially vulnerable to this fetishization of heritage because they naturally lay claim to a unique historic capital that is physically expressed in the built environment.



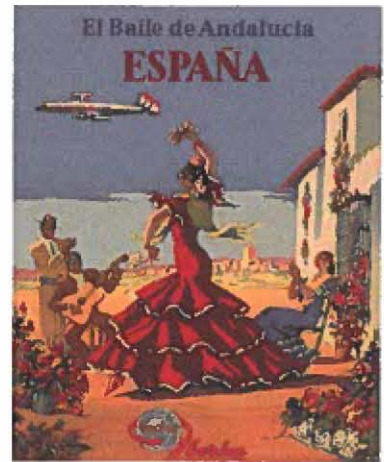
Cocola Gant | 1955 & 1964
The Palácio Berenguer de Aguilar, which now houses the Picasso Museum in Barcelona. "Restoration" of the Barri Gòtic continued well past the 1929 World Expo; The first image is from 1955, and the bottom image is in 1964.

Tourism plays a critical role in the maintenance of this built environment and its architectural tradition. Foreign interest often provides the resources to preserve and restore spaces that residents may not have the means to⁵¹. The preservation of historic places for future generations is an important and essential venture, but when local populations are ignored and an evolving culture is destroyed in the name of preserving an image or "history", more is lost in the present than gained from the past. Preservation of the physical environment without regard to the socio-cultural environment leaves empty shells and façades — their rich contents that once attracted visitors to these places have been looted⁵².

Authentic claims to heritage usually form the basis of a place's image, but as cities vie to compete with the historic resources of other destinations, they often begin to build upon a fantasy image rather than the authentic original. Dream landscapes are created by distilling building typologies and styles into their simplest and most reproducible forms to unify districts and neighborhoods under cultural symbolism that may only be remotely related to the past or present culture⁵³. During the early 20th century, countries throughout Europe returned to their roots in order to search for nationalist unity, but they also saw opportunity to reconstruct and reinforce their connection to antiquity as a form of "urban promotion" for the growing tourism industry⁵⁴. In Barcelona, many façades within the Barri Gòtic were "restored" to have Gothic styles that had never existed, and replicas of parts of the Roman walls were built. Even today, most tourists believe these are originals until told otherwise — the Pont del Bisbe, one of the most photographed places in Barcelona, is largely thought to be a Gothic period bridge despite being constructed in 1928. This was also when the neighborhood was given the name Barri Gòtic, which translates from Catalan to "Gothic Quarter", in order to help promote visitors to the 1929 World Fair⁵⁵. Promotions like this relied on authentic claims, but manufactured a new image for the city. While these images were falsified, they had little impact on residents as they remained largely architectural. Additionally, residents were well aware of the image of their neighborhood that was being promoted.

After World War II, the rise of commercial airlines and new communication technology changed everything. Foreign marketing was distanced from both the resident and the visitor— the resident didn't know or have control over the image that was being sold, and the visitor bought into an image months before actually consuming it⁵⁶. This lag effectively allowed destinations to market false images that contradicted the way that residents viewed their own neighborhoods. Some of these images were not representative of the destination's local heritage at all, but based on sweeping generalizations of nationalist sentiments. The expectations visitors arrived with were different than the traditions that residents actually enjoyed, but rather than altering the image, the tourism industry altered the destination. This led to the creation of tourist-only spaces where residents have little connection or need for these services. As these commodified spaces became more common, they reinforced the marketed image, and by the time the digital age brought access to more accurate information, many historic urban centers had already been replaced by their invented images⁵⁷. Historic urban centers are still trying to distance themselves from false images produced by early marketing campaigns. For example flamenco, a tradition from the region of Andalucía in southern Spain, can easily be found in tourist-oriented restaurants and bars in Barcelona. Conversely, trencadís (a Catalan mosaic style made popular by architect Antoni Gaudí) souvenirs can be purchased in Sevilla, a city in Andalucía. Both traditions are being marketed and consumed as part of a national culture rather than a regional one.

In addition to falsely applied cultural traditions, some cities are also plagued by marketing that leads tourists to believe they can participate in illicit behaviour, such as drugs, prostitution, and heavy drinking. These marketed images disregard residents who must share space with visitors who view the city as a lawless playground. Amsterdam, (in)famous for both its red light district and its lenience on recreational marijuana, reported in 2015 that 30% of polled visitors cited nightlife as their primary reason for visiting the city⁵⁸. In Barcelona, a popular destination for international clubbing and rowdy stag parties, many residents report closing their windows



Iberia Airlines | Travel Poster from the 1970s advertising Andalucía, a region in Southern Spain.

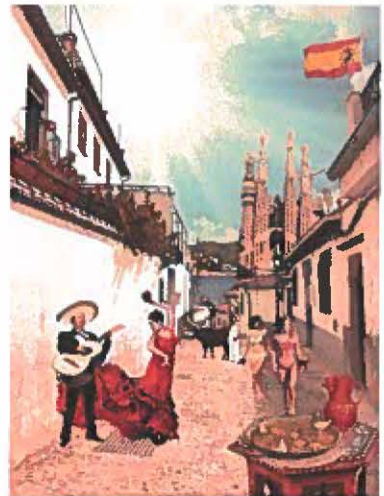


Image by Author | A collage showing the images most American tourists associate with Barcelona. Note the close relationship to the images presented of Andalucía above.

at night due to acoustic pollution. On hot summer nights, which coincide with peak tourist season, many of these residents must choose between keeping cool and having silence, as many residences in the historic urban center do not have air conditioning⁵⁹.

Recent trends in social media have also further reduced cultural image to a form of visual consumption, changed the motivations behind travel to a largely superficial one (having an authentic experience is less important than appearing to have an authentic experience), and allowed for a streamlined distribution of false or idealized images⁶⁰. Destinations no longer need to serve a social or cultural function as long as they serve an aesthetic one⁶¹, and the aesthetic code created is largely successful at excluding anyone who doesn't fit in with the image it creates⁶².

False images encourage visitors to use space in ways that can be detrimental to residents, but changing them will be an arduous task. Like the first gestures Marco Polo made to Khan, many of these images have become emblems that cannot easily be forgotten⁶³. It would be unrealistic to assume that the image can simply be destroyed, or even significantly altered, without decades of change. Luckily, the image itself does not cause conflict—it remains an image in visitors' heads. The conflict is caused by the visitor's misuse of space that is based on this image and the tourism industry's creation of hostile space that reinforces the image.

It is difficult to alter someone's mind, but it is simple to alter physical space. If space can be used to reinforce a false image, then it can be used more readily to reinforce an authentic one.

[DESTRUCTION OF PLACE]

Dépaysement (noun; French) – the sentiment of feeling that the place in which one lives is no longer one's home⁶⁴

All of the explored factors contribute to a spatial process that, essentially, destroys place. It erases the vibrant and authentic place in which residents live while simultaneously constructing a spectacle for strangers to consume.

Globalization has forced culture to become synonymous with difference. In order to have a “unique” experience that removes tourists from their daily routines, they must consume culture. To compete with other destinations, culture is either caricatured or manufactured, creating a dream urban landscape that caters to imagined expectations of the visitor rather than the cultural needs of the resident. The dream sells more than the reality, and local businesses are replaced with new commercial spaces that are as foreign to the resident as they are to the visitor. Here, culture is destroyed by distortion, where any resemblance to authentic culture is simply an echo of what once existed.

The successful creation of these dream spaces leads to an influx of visitors that existing services and resources cannot keep up with. In order to accommodate them, new tourist-only services are created according to globalized standards, which leads to the homogenization of destinations. Here, culture is destroyed by integrating services to a global standard.

In order to continue attracting visitors, destinations must find new ways to distinguish themselves, only leading to further manufacturing of heritage based on an image already abstracted from its original source.

This process creates displacement pressures that erode the local population. As local businesses and social networks are destroyed, more space opens up to cater to tourists, and residents who remain



Cosmopolitan | Starbucks in Tokyo, Amsterdam, Dubai, and Mexico City.

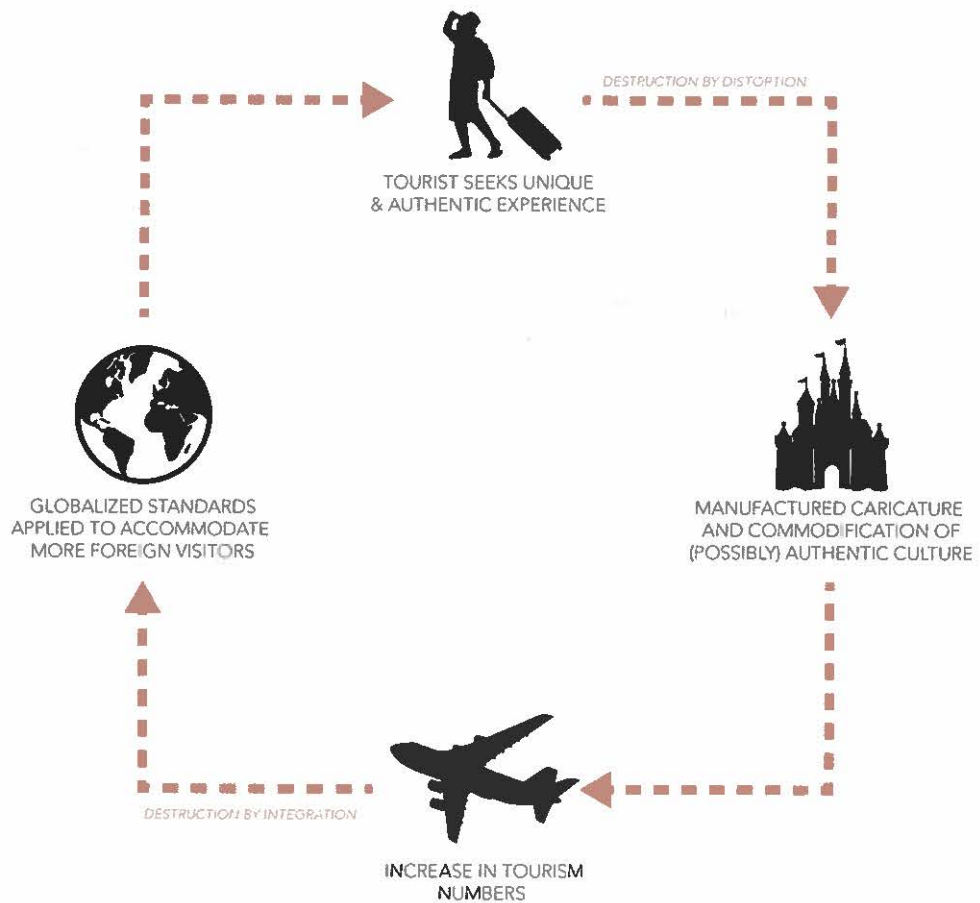
are treated as characters in a theme park. Superstudio's satire of tourism and preservation, *Salvages of Italian Historic Centers*, which proposes that the residents of Naples fit in with and dress to accommodate a manufactured image of the city, is not far from reality in many historic urban centers⁶⁵.

As residents are replaced by foreigners who use historic urban centers at different times and in different ways, perception of overcrowding increases, and residents walk through streets that are flooded with strangers rather than full of friendly faces. Overly-designed facades are vaguely reminiscent of something recognizable, but not intimately so.

If a spatial process is responsible for the conversion of a familiar place into a hostile space, then a spatial approach is required to reverse the process. Methods which focus on policy changes and marketing face-lifts cannot alone resolve the conflicts that tourism produces. Architects, urban planners, and other design professionals are as crucial to interdisciplinary strategies as are politicians and communications managers. Until a spatial approach to tourism is applied in historic urban centers, loss of place will continue.



Superstudio | An image of Superstudio's proposal for Naples, which involves surrounding the city with a large cylinder so that the entire environment can be artificially produced based on tourists' expectations, including the attire and physical appearance of residents.



LOSS OF PLACE: THE PROCESS

Image by Author | This image represents the destruction of authentic and unique culture by the process of globalization and the commodification of culture. On one side, authentic culture is destroyed by being reduced to a consumable product, and on the other side, globalization absorbs all that is authentically unique.

07

SPATIAL MEDIATION OF URBAN TOURISM

"What is good for citizens is good for tourism. Places that are good for living are good for visiting."

—Barcelona Declaration 2013⁶⁶

The root of the problem with tourism is that different users with different needs are occupying the same space. To help mediate these differing needs, spatial intervention can be used to better define where different needs can be satisfied or to make needs more homogenous within individual spaces.

Because tourism is an industry that will continue for the foreseeable future, attempts to dismantle its presence are naïve. The role of design professionals within the discourse of tourism management is to demonstrate how spatial intervention can respond to and bolster policy change in order to transform the concept of the tourist city itself. The tourism industry has adapted to changes at a global scale, so it can surely adapt to changes at a local scale.

Tourists' desires to experience authenticity as "temporary residents" can be exploited in order to assimilate them into the local culture, thereby increasing carrying capacity and reducing perceived crowding. Marketing strategies can be combined with the reorientation of public space to the needs of residents in a way that encourages visitors to use space in the same way.

In what ways could (and should) this spatial intervention occur in historic urban centers? Although specific responses depend on the unique conditions of each historic urban center, a catalogue of spatial strategies can be identified and explored. These strategies include policy, marketing, urban planning, and architectural intervention. Their goal is to create a place that allows tourists to coexist with,

rather than impose upon, the daily lives of residents. Overall, these strategies can be divided into three general categories that directly address the three categories of problems that contribute to conflicts within the tourism industry. The *partition* strategy explores ways to combat tourism gentrification and commercial displacement, the *connection* strategy looks for opportunities to mediate overcrowding, and the *intersection* strategy investigates opportunities for the promotion of an image that more closely aligns to residents' culture and tradition. Like each of the problems, these strategies and solutions are linked in a cycle with blurred boundaries between one and the other—many variables cross between these categories and must be explored and implemented together in order to successfully create a historic urban center that is viable for both users.

In the same vein, there are several characteristics that pertain to all three of the spatial strategies whenever they are applied. Firstly, interventions should be *publicly owned*, not by corporations or individuals. This way, they are funded by public revenues and cannot be privatized, commodified, or restricted to certain groups.

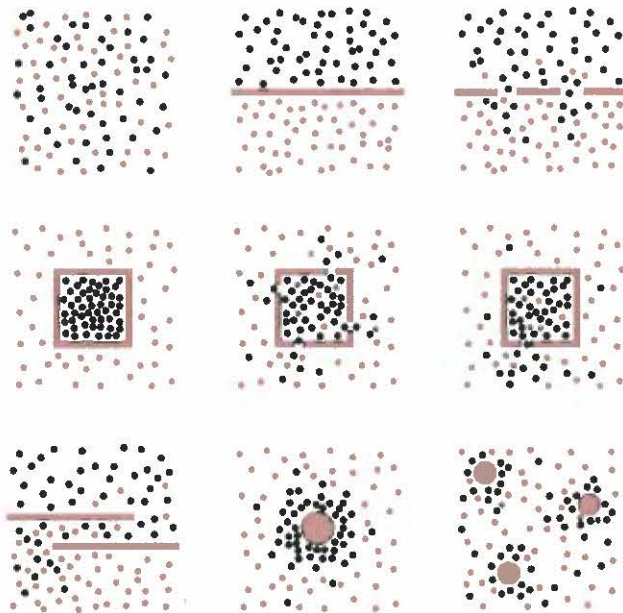
Secondly, interventions should be *locally owned*. The culture and lifestyles of many historic urban centers do not necessarily coincide with national culture. It is best that the control is left to the city or regional government so that interventions can directly respond to local needs.

Thirdly, interventions should be *accessible to residents*. This means that they are free and easy to enter. They should be and remain public space that is open and inclusive.

Finally, interventions should be *integrated into the existing urban fabric*. They should not be imposed as an object on the landscape, but should be part of the city in a way that does not contradict or contrast it.

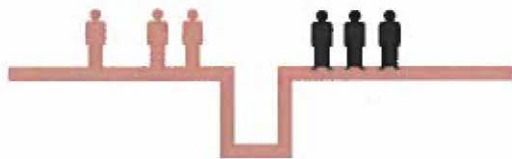
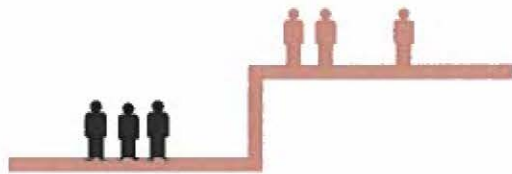
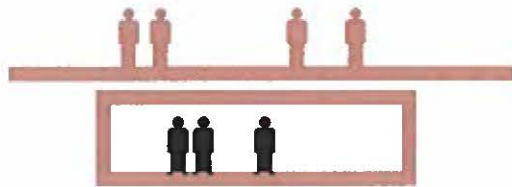
The spatial strategies should also first seek to intervene through adaptive reuse before filling in empty parcels. The main goal of these strategies is to reclaim public space for residents in a way that remains open to tourism, not to build something completely new. We are not looking to build a new dream landscape, as the tourism industry has done, but to reclaim what is already there.

These spatial strategies operate in a symbiotic relationship with policy strategies, one filling the gaps the other cannot. Existing policy strategies should look for ways to integrate spatial design in order to create an interdisciplinary discourse that transforms the city through inclusion rather than exclusion.



THE PARTITION

Image by Author | The partition strategy clearly identifies specific zones for the inauthentic to occur so that there is space for the authentic to flourish.



[THE PARTITION]

The partition strategy most directly approaches tourism problems that arise due to conflicting programmatic needs. Displacement pressures caused by commercial gentrification in historic urban centers are largely based on shifts in the programs of commercial spaces to be oriented towards the needs of tourists rather than the needs of residents. By concentrating tourism services to specific locations, local businesses can return without competition and therefore reorient the streets to serve residents.

By designating spaces for tourism to occur, there is still opportunity for residents to benefit from the economic benefits that tourism brings to their neighborhood. The tourism industry remains, but rather than being injected into every corner of every block, it is partitioned into a certain space.

The Nakamise shopping street in Asakusa, Japan is a prime example of how this can be spatially achieved. The street runs on axis to the Sensoji Temple, a major tourism destination. In the middle, souvenir and street food stalls serve tourists making their way to the temple, but flanking either side of these stalls are businesses that cater to residents. This way, tourists and residents still have access to the services they need, but there is no competition for resources.



The Nakamise Shopping Street defines spatial zones without quarantining them. Rather than putting up barriers and fences (as Venice tried and failed to achieve), the stalls and their orientation imply spaces for each program to occur without prohibiting users from moving between them. This allows residents to be tourists in their own city and visitors to be “temporary residents” when they choose to do so, but it’s clear which spaces serve which purposes. This way, each space can serve a homogenous use, thereby reducing perceived crowding and increasing the carrying capacity of the site.

Image By Author | (Left Page) Section of the Nakamise Shopping street, showing the partitioned tourist and residential commercial zones.

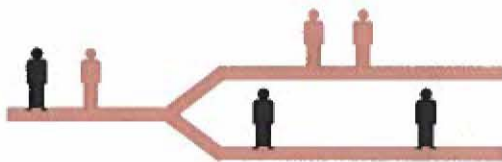
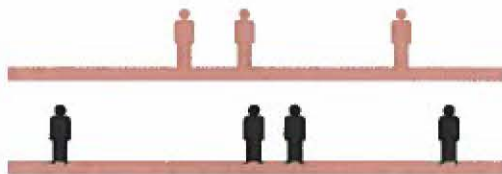
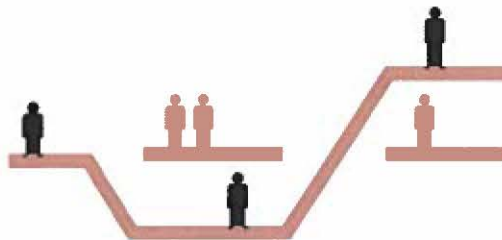
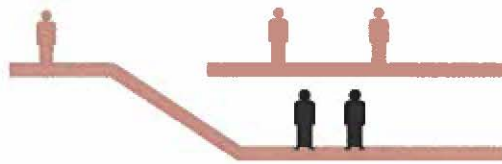
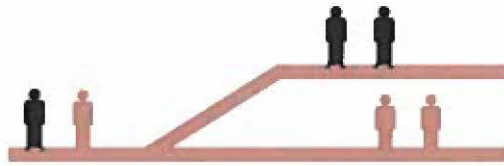
Like the Nakamise Shopping Street, this form of intervention must create a filter rather than a barrier. It must be permeable yet enforce its own identity so that users clearly understand which space will fulfill their needs. The manifestation of the partition need not be a wall with openings or a series of buildings enclosing a space, but could be a simple shift in ground plane or change in façade material that creates a clear separation of the two programs. An existing but unused warehouse could become the partitioned space for tourism services to occur, zoning could limit tourism activity to a specific floor level of building, or certain businesses could only be allowed on a specific street.

This form of spatial intervention must also be combined with policy change. Without zoning laws to reinforce the development of these partitioned spaces, companies will continue to take advantage of prime real estate throughout historic urban centers, and local businesses will not be able to return.

Designating spaces for spectacle and inauthenticity allows for historic urban centers to benefit from and provide services for tourists, but prevents the spectacle from encroaching on everyday life. providing a space for the inauthentic allows the authentic to flourish. Visitors can enjoy the extraordinary, but residents don’t have to.

THE CONNECTION

Image by Author | The connection directs the circulation of visitors to help alleviate crowding and facilitate accessibility in areas around attractions.

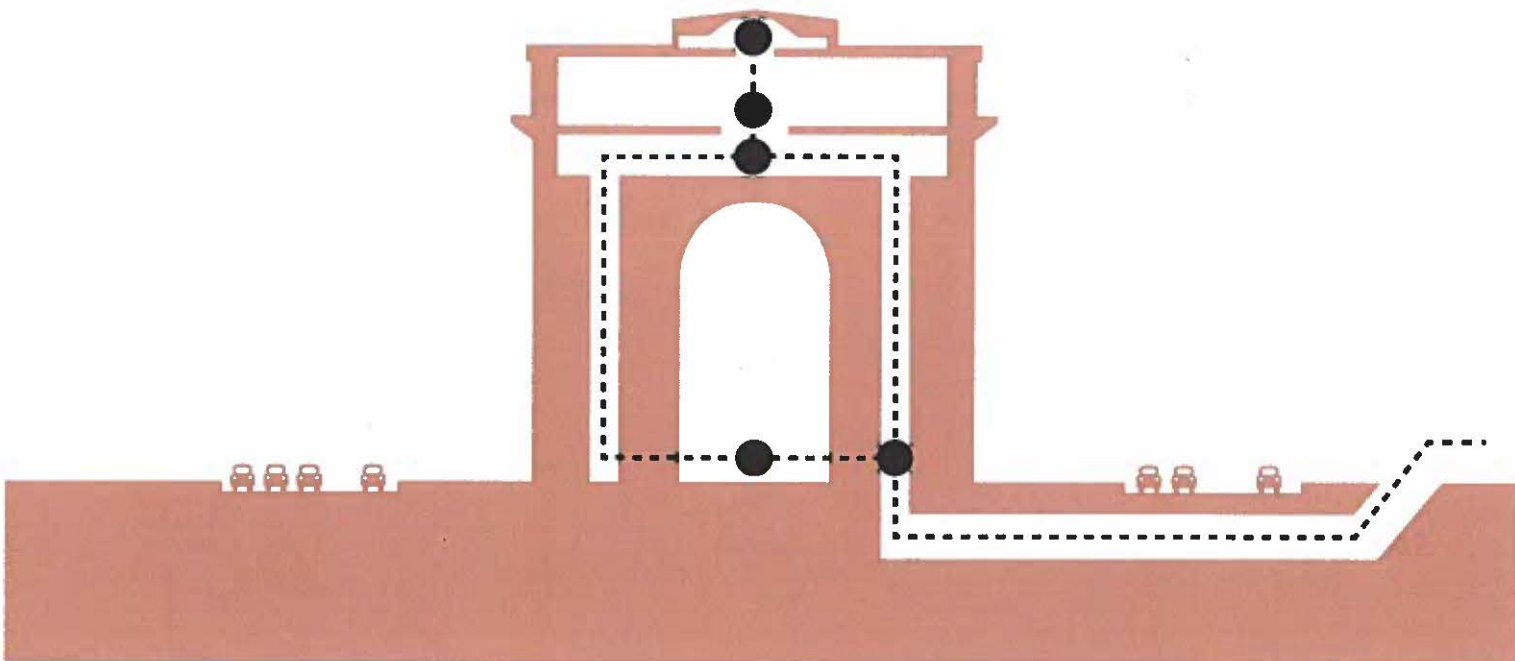


[THE CONNECTION]

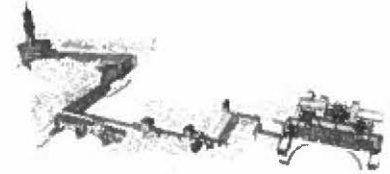
The connection strategy resolves many of the issues that lead to overcrowding and traffic within historic urban centers. It is a twofold strategy for both dispersing tourists to other parts of the city and managing how and where crowding may occur within the historic urban center itself.

Time is the main commodity of tourism. Visitors pay to experience as much as they can within their limited time frame and want to get from point A to point B as efficiently as possible. They will spend the extra money to take private vehicles and taxis to destinations if they believe it will be faster or easier. The connection creates a way to access these attractions that will save time and money and that do not interfere with residents' daily traffic patterns.

The Arc du Triomphe in Paris is a prime example of how a spatial connection can be used to alleviate crowding around attractions. Rather than having a traffic signal dictate when tourists can cross the busy Rond-point des Champs-Élysées, which would create both pedestrian crowding and vehicular backup, an underground tunnel connects pedestrians to the Arc du Triomphe from the Champs-Élysées. This allows for both forms of circulation to move freely without intersecting and reduces the likelihood of crowding around the access point to the attraction.



The connection has been used within historic urban centers in the past. Royal families often had their own elevated corridors and passageways to connect them to important and frequented places without having to occupy the public street. The Vasari Corridor in Florence is a good example of an extensive connection that linked two points without intersecting the public domain⁶⁷.



Marianna Caporali | The Vasari Corridor cuts through the city of Florence so that the royal family didn't have to descend to the street level and interact with the public.

The Arc du Triomphe tunnel is not just used to keep pedestrian and vehicular traffic from intersecting, but also to facilitate access from the Arc du Triomphe to the rest of the city. The tunnel is directly connected to the metro, allowing tourists to efficiently arrive from or head to other parts of the city when visiting the Arc. By connecting popular destinations with public transit and by making public transit more efficient in the first place, historic urban centers can disperse visitors to parts of the city that may not be receiving many tourists and discourage the use of cars.

Image By Author | (Left Page) Section of the Arc du Triomphe in Paris, showing the bypass under the traffic circle.

In addition to linking public transit to attractions, the connection could be used to link public transit to other tourist services, like hotels. Dragging suitcases through narrow, winding streets is not only arduous, but can cause pedestrian gridlock, annoying both residents and visitors. Visitors can avoid this problem by taking taxis directly to the front door of their hotel, but residents still have to deal with the traffic they cause. In Barcelona, 60% of visitors that arrive through the airport use private cars and taxis to reach the city, but only 18% of residents regularly travel via car. In the Barrí Gòtic, this number is only 12%⁶⁸. Having better connection from historic urban centers to airports and train stations could greatly reduce the number of cars on the streets and improve the walkability of these neighborhoods.

Improving public transit and pedestrian circulation is a strategy that not only addresses tourism problems in historic urban centers but also benefits the city as a whole. Removing vehicular traffic makes pedestrian-friendly streets that are beneficial to residents and tourists alike. The connection strategy can make urban circulation more effective for everyone.

THE INTERSECTION

Image by Author | The intersection creates a space for the promotion and exchange of an image that aligns with that of the historic urban center.

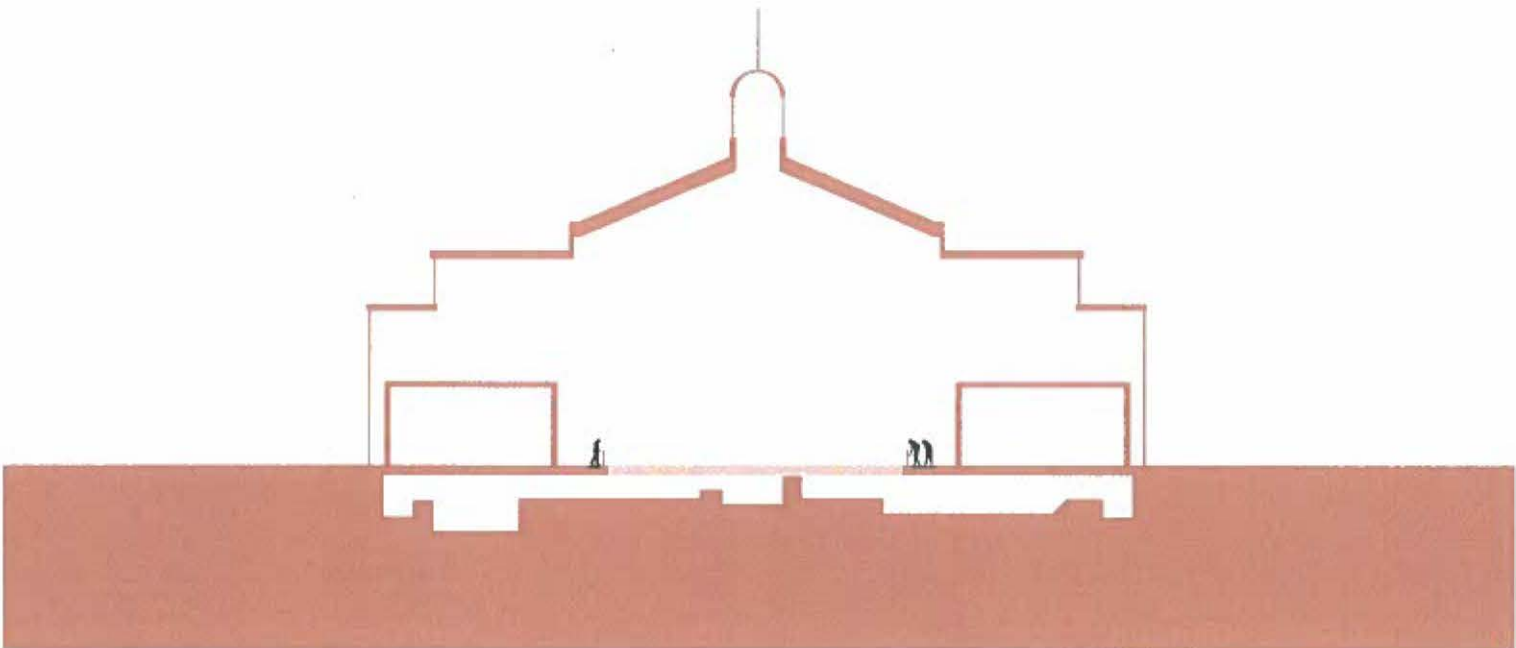


[THE INTERSECTION]

The idea of the intersection, like the idea of the image, is abstract and intangible. It is the exploration of how space can be used to promote exchange between two different groups of people. The spatial orientation of this space directly informs the relationship between the people within it. There is an intrinsic expectation of the role that each party will complete that is linked directly to that space and will not occur outside of it. Currently, residents are expected to perform in their everyday lives⁶⁹, but they also don't have a space to perform the aspects they wish to share with visitors. The current relationship allows exchange to occur anywhere without warning, leading to conflict when residents cannot or do not perform or provide what the visitor seeks. The intersection both provides a space for this exchange to occur and helps to limit its occurrence elsewhere.

The intersection strategy, therefore, deals most directly with manufactured images and the false expectations that they create. Spatial intervention can be used to define space for residents to have control of not just when they perform or display their culture, but how they perform and display their culture.

The intersection is also not limited to exchange between residents and visitors, but between institutions that represent residents. Most historic urban centers have a variety of cultural institutions dedicated to research, culture, and the city, but



are often disconnected from tourism. While this can be because marketing overlooks their presence and value in favor of flashier attractions, it can also be because they don't have a space that is in close enough proximity or that houses the proper research to reach out to visitors.

The intersection, therefore, fulfills a critical role in mass tourism, creating an incubator for positive cultural exchange within historic urban centers. They give residents and institutions an opportunity to reach visitors and compete with the images that the tourism industry has manufactured and mass-produced. Although a small beginning to changing deeply-rooted preconceptions, these spaces have the capability of transforming how visitors interact with residents and understand local traditions in historic urban centers.

It is important that the intersection strategy be combined with changes in how a historic urban center is promoted internationally. Residents should not only have agency over the locally produced image but also in international marketing in order to reach visitors before they arrive at their destination. Visitors should have a realistic understanding of what to expect beforehand so that the performance can build upon a solid foundation rather than focusing on a faulty one. This allows for productive cultural exchange and a more satisfying experience for both visitors and residents.

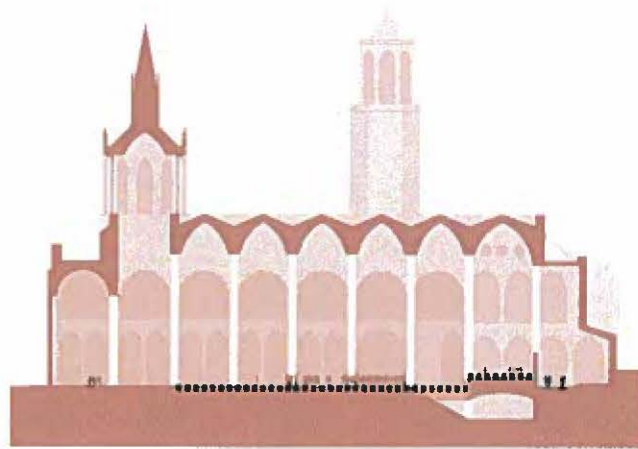
Image By Author | (Left Page) Section of El Born Centre de Cultura i Memòria, showing the stage strategy used as a way to highlight ruins of the city. Designating spaces to display ruins allows the rest of the city to continue to evolve while also promoting history and learning about the city's past. Refer to page 80 for a case study about the building.

[COMBINING STRATEGIES]

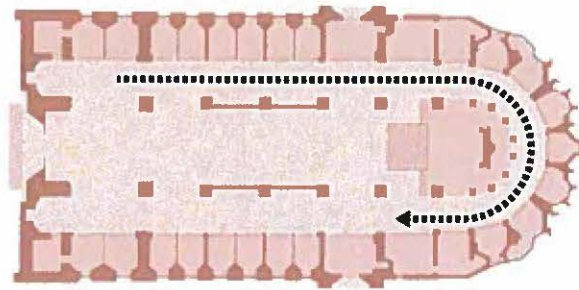
Although separately useful, in order to effectively approach tourism in historic urban centers, the partition, connection, and intersection strategies should be woven together within the urban environment. This allows for a comprehensive solution that addresses the wide array of variables that contribute to tourism-related conflicts.

The combination of these spatial strategies is not new. Gothic churches, the destinations of religious pilgrimages in Europe, use the partition, connection, and intersection to create a rich and well-organized space that accommodates pilgrims and mass-goers at the same time. The partition occurs in the separation between the side aisles and the nave. This provides visitors the ability to observe the relics in the side aisles at the same time that mass occurs within the nave. Both parties are able to use the space as needed without interrupting the other. The connection is the ambulatory, which links the two side aisles and allows for visitors to circumambulate the entire cathedral without turning around or crossing through the nave. Finally, the apse and choir form the intersection, where the priest performs religious ceremonies and shares information with the congregation. Today, Gothic cathedrals are still sites that can adequately accommodate tourism. Even the Notre-Dame de Paris, which receives over 13 million visitors each year, holds mass during visitor hours without conflict^{70,71}.

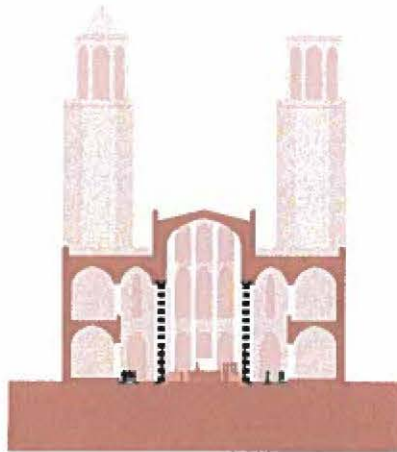
The secular pilgrimage of modern tourism can similarly combine the partition, connection, and intersection to mediate visitors and residents. The strategies need not be linked together within one building, but can relate to each other within an urban composition. Within this composition, strategies can be explored at a variety of scales. In some places, conditions may require an intervention that spans several blocks, and in others, an intervention the size of a bench may suffice. Whatever the intervention, however, it is absolutely key to the successful mediation of tourism in historic urban centers that the strategies not be applied independently, but as a calibrated machine.



INTERSECTION



CONNECTION



PARTITION

05

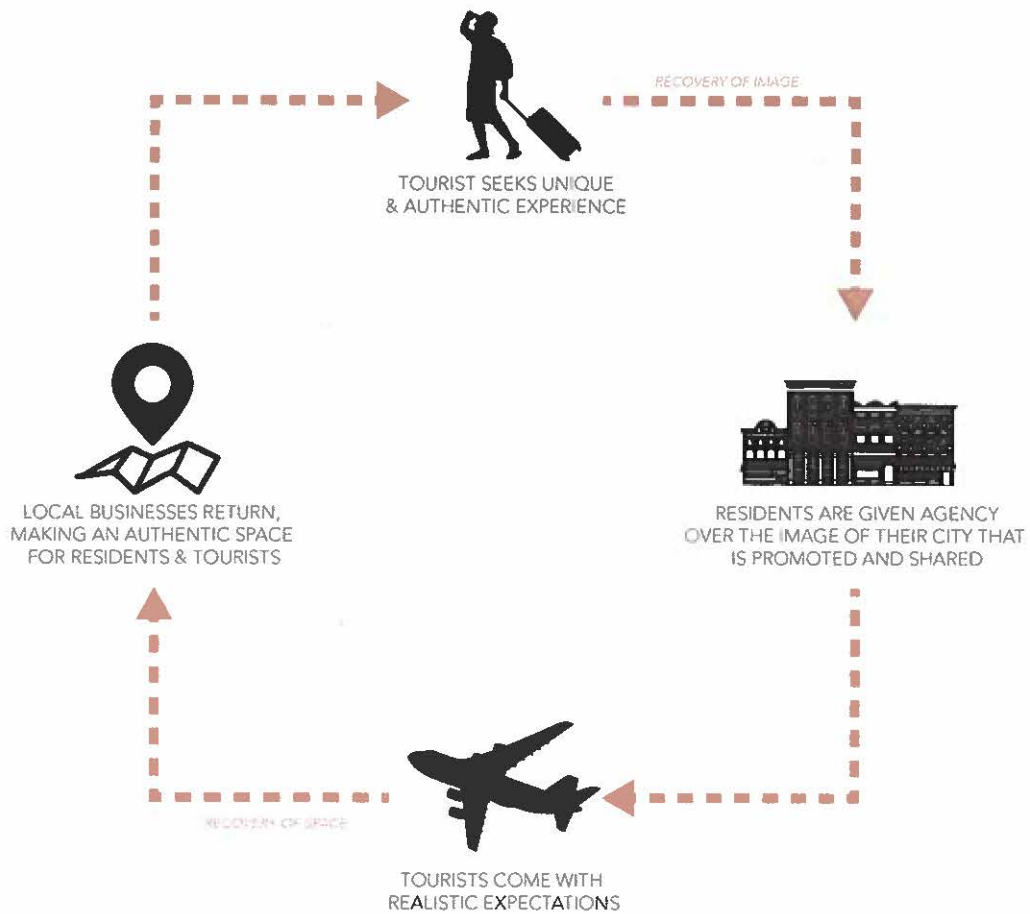
CONCLUSION: RECOVERY OF PLACE

The varied forms of conflict that mass tourism causes cannot be solved by a single solution or strategy. Current strategies, like policy and marketing campaigns, help alleviate conflict but are not enough. Applied properly to a historic urban center, a holistic approach that includes spatial intervention can help to not only stop loss of place, but reverse it. The recovery of place is not an action but a process, fueled by a series of actions, that leads to a transformation.

Tourists will continue to seek “authentic” and “unique” experiences that differ from their everyday lives, but this desire can be exploited to bolster local businesses rather than destroy them. By giving residents agency of the image the city promotes, tourists’ expectations can begin to shift from the manufactured image to the authentic one. Over time, these expectations will begin to align with the needs of the residents.

As tourists come to the historic urban center with realistic expectations, businesses will emerge that cater to residents but also benefit economically from tourism. Furthermore, tourists with realistic expectations will use public space in a way parallel to the residents’, reducing perceived crowding and creating opportunities for positive intracultural exchange.

This process will self-perpetuate: as commercial and public space is recovered for residents and vibrant local culture replaces flashy spectacles, the image is further given a space to develop and align. The recovery of image promotes the recovery of space, and the recovery of space promotes the recovery of image. The recovery of image and the recovery of space contribute to the overall goal in mediating tourism in historic urban centers: a recovery of place. This place is not what it was before, nor will it ever be, but a better one: a place where one can learn, experience, and relax, but most importantly where one can live.



RECLAMATION OF PLACE: THE PROCESS

Image by Author | This image represents the recovery of place and the reversal of the process of commodification caused by today's tourism industry. On one side, image is recovered by giving residents agency over representation, and on the other, space is reclaimed by the return of local businesses.



Image by Author, Barcelona, 2017.

06

APPLICATIONS: CIUTAT VELLA, BARCELONA

All of the strategies detailed previously can be applied to any historic urban center, but the methods of application can vary greatly based on the local culture and urban fabric of the historic urban center. To fully explore how this may be approached, Barcelona's historic urban center will be used as a case study for methods of applying the strategies.

[BARCELONA: AN OVERVIEW]

The city of Barcelona provides extensive information on tourism within the city and currently has a strategic plan for how the city plans to approach tourism through the year 2020⁷². Understanding the logistics of tourism's impact within a city is the first step in identifying how and where solutions may be applied. Barcelona's strategic tourism plan also offers a framework for how spatial interventions can interact with existing policy and marketing strategies. The strategic tourism plan also highlights the key tourism-related issues that need to be addressed in the city.

The city of Barcelona is located on the Mediterranean coast in the northeastern region of Spain called Catalunya, giving it a mild climate and making it a prime cruise destination. Since hosting the 1992 World Olympics, the city has seen a tourism boom—in 2016, the city received 32 million visitors, a number far greater than its 1.3 million residents⁷³.

Barcelona offers something for everyone: art & design, architecture, history, food, wine, beaches, nightclubs... any tourist can find the city to be their fantasy destination. This is both a blessing and a curse for the Barcelona—a diversity of activities helps spread the economic benefits of tourism and to disperse tourists to some degree. However, because of this diversity, it's harder for marketing



Image by Author | The interior of the Sagrada Família, a famous cathedral that is just one of many architectural works that draw visitors to Barcelona.

Image by Author | A map of Barcelona, highlighting the city's historic urban center, the Ciutat Vella.



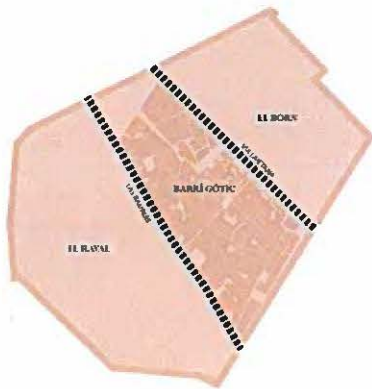


Image by Author | The neighborhood divisions of the Ciutat Vella in Barcelona.

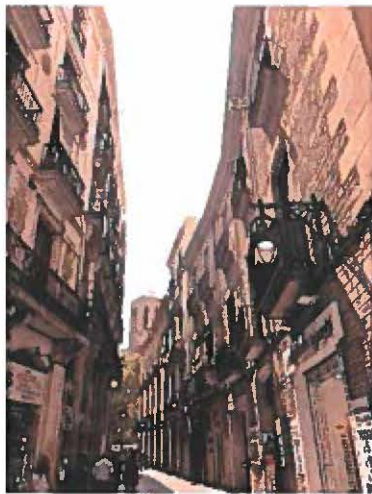


Image by Author | A typical street within the Barri Gòtic of Barcelona. Most of the commercial businesses are oriented to sell to tourists.

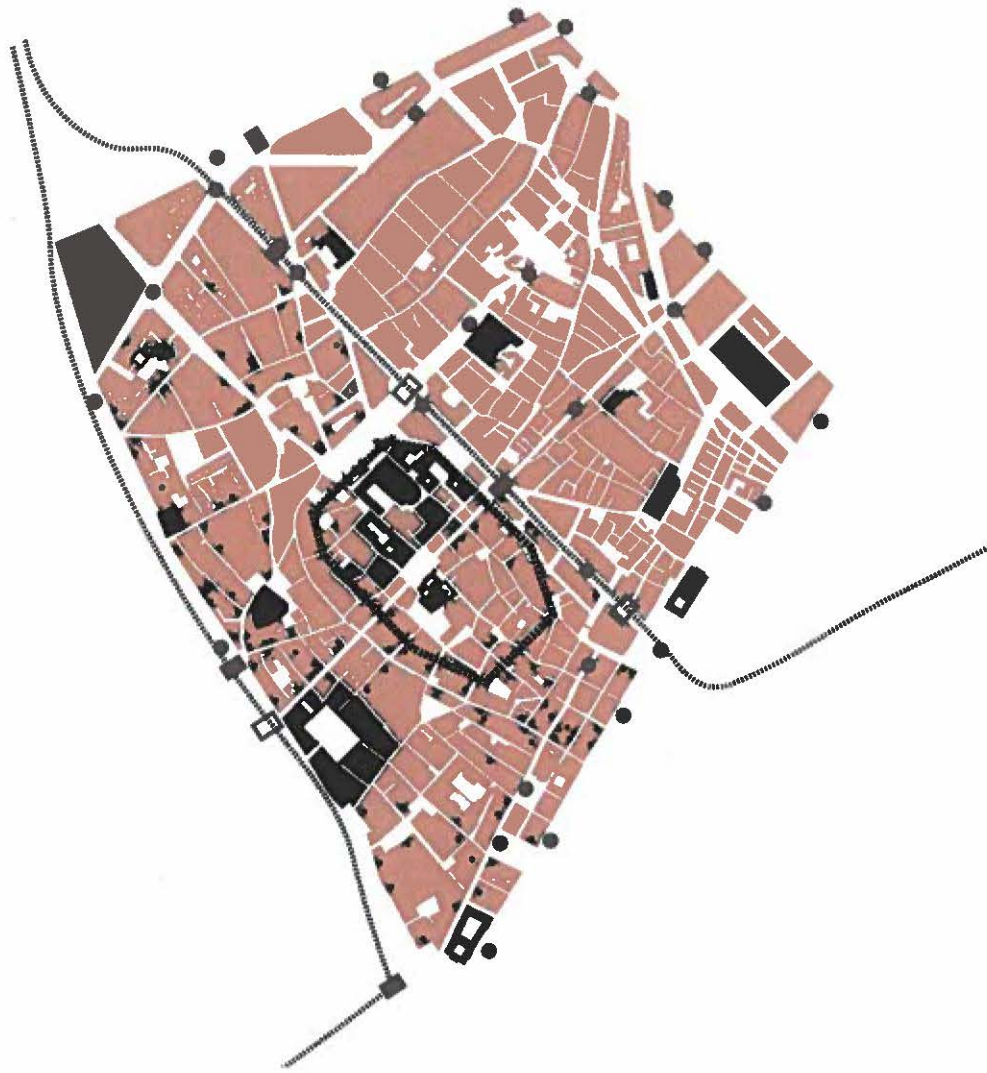
and policy to target visitors, and despite draws in other parts of the city, the historic urban center is still flooded with tourists.

[THE BARRÍ GÒTIC]

Barcelona's historic urban center is called the Ciutat Vella. It is located along the city's coast and is comprised of three neighborhoods: the Barri Gòtic, El Raval, and El Born. Although all three contain a rich offering of history, the Barri Gòtic sees the most tourists. According to a survey in 2015, 89% of visitors go to the Barri Gòtic at some point in their stay, making it by far the most inundated neighborhood in the city⁷⁴. It is also rapidly losing its identity.

The allure of the Barri Gòtic is largely based on its rich and extensive history, as well as its proximity to both the cruise port and the city's famous beach, La Barceloneta. It hosts not only the Gothic architecture for which it is named, but also has remnants of its past as the Roman city of Barcino. Parts of the original Roman walls can still be seen, and excavations in parts of the Barri Gòtic have revealed ruins from the era. Many of the city's museums and other attractions are also found within the Barri Gòtic. It is also bounded by one of Barcelona's most famous tourist attractions, Las Rambles, a wide, shady boulevard that plays host to a variety of souvenir stalls and tourist-oriented restaurants.

The Barri Gòtic was largely a working class neighborhood before the Olympics, and even in the early 21st century massive blocks of housing were condemned and in states of decay⁷⁵. Tourism has led to major changes in the neighborhood's makeup. Since 2007, the population of the neighborhood has decreased by 45%, compared with only 11% in the Ciutat Vella as a whole⁷⁶. Many "day time snack bars" that residents enjoy and socialize within are being converted into restaurants and bars that are too expensive for residents to afford, and restaurant terraces are privatizing crucial public space⁷⁷. Outdoor public space, like plazas and patios, have traditionally been important social and civic spaces in Barcelona, but they are quickly becoming tourist territory within the Barri Gòtic.



BARRÍ GÓTIC & EL BORN

Image by Author | The dark buildings highlight the major tourist attractions in the neighborhood, paired with information about public transit, hotel locations, and the old roman walls of the city.

[UNDERSTANDING THE PROBLEMS]

The Barri Gòtic suffers from all of the problems typical of a historic urban center plagued by tourism. Its narrow, winding streets emphasize crowding, the images marketed abroad are far removed from local culture, and commercial businesses are being replaced with souvenir shops and international chains.

A major issue that the neighborhood faces is accessibility to affordable food. Most of the restaurants within the neighborhood are priced higher than in other regions—many tourist guidebooks even propose eating away from Las Rambles because of its price gouging. La Boqueria, the marketplace that once served the area, has become an attraction as busy as Las Rambles, and has become so crowded and inefficient to shop at that the city has banned guided tours with large groups of people to try to reduce crowding. Residents even cite the Carrefour, one of the few grocery stores left in the neighborhood, of suffering from long lines of tourists during peak hours⁷⁵.

Tourist services aren't just replacing commercial businesses in the Barri Gòtic. They're also replacing public space. Most of the tourist-oriented restaurants have private seating that spills out into plazas and sidewalks, not only impeding traffic but dominating the atmosphere of places meant for local festivals and spaces of leisure with a sense of corporate control. In the Plaça Reial, a large plaza originally designed to provide space for local theatre and art, there are over 1,600 private chairs and only 9 public benches. Souvenirs are also often sold from stalls and blankets on sidewalks⁷⁹, which gets in the way of pedestrians and increases the amount of commodified culture that residents see on a daily basis. Additionally, city attempts to combat loitering tourists have led to a decrease in benches and steps to sit on, which directly impacts residents who are elderly or have accessibility issues⁸⁰.

Transit and mobility are also important issues that are affected by tourism in the Barri Gòtic. Metro and bus lines only run along the borders of the neighborhood, limiting access to public transit

despite the neighborhood's adjacency to Plaça Catalunya, one of the city's major transit hubs. The two pedestrian paths that most directly connect to Plaça Catalunya are Las Rambles, which due to its popularity with tourists, is typically overcrowded and difficult to navigate, and the Portal de l'Angel, a street full of international retail chains that is similarly busy. Although the distance from the upper half of the Barri Gòtic to Plaça Catalunya may appear manageable, the conditions along the street are often not. This makes daily life more difficult for residents—40% of residents in the Barri Gòtic use walking for their main form of transit⁸¹. Although this number is higher than in the rest of the city, it is relatively low for a neighborhood that was designed before cars. The city is working on a transit and mobility plan for the Barri Gòtic that explores ways to make the neighborhood more pedestrian friendly, and some of these ideas and techniques can be folded into strategies towards tourism.

Barcelona's image problem is largely linked to the international promotion of Spanish culture rather than Catalan culture. Spain is a country with diverse regions that each have their own cultures and dialects. Catalunya is one of the regions that is culturally the most different from Spain, even having its own language, Catalan. Many of the holidays and customs practiced in Catalunya are unique to the region, and many of the holidays and customs practiced in Spain are not practiced in Catalunya. Activities such as bullfighting and flamenco are not traditional in Barcelona, yet are widely marketed.

Although false images plague all tourist destinations, the imposition of Spanish culture into Barcelona's identity is a particularly sensitive issue—historically, Spanish leaders have attempted to force a nationalist Spanish identity upon Catalunya, even as recently as the 20th century dictatorship of Francisco Franco, which ended in 1975. Under this regime, speaking Catalan was illegal in schools, government, and publications, and the same images marketed by tourism today, flamenco and bullfighting, were promoted as national heritage⁸². In Barcelona, these images do not simply create conflict—it hits upon a trauma that endures in the region's collective memory.

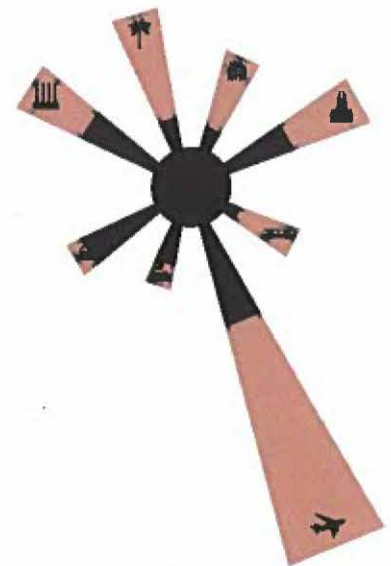
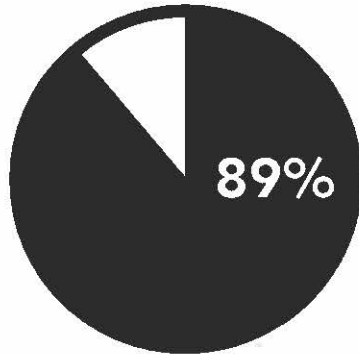
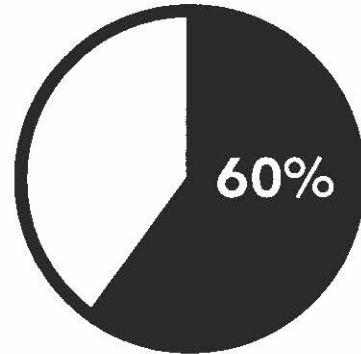


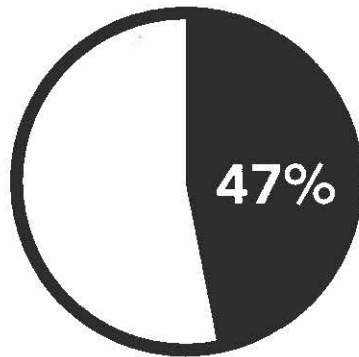
Image by Author | Diagram showing the time it takes by car (red) vs by public transit (beige) to get to popular attractions and major transportation hubs from the Plaça de la Seu. Note that in most cases, public transit takes more than twice as long.



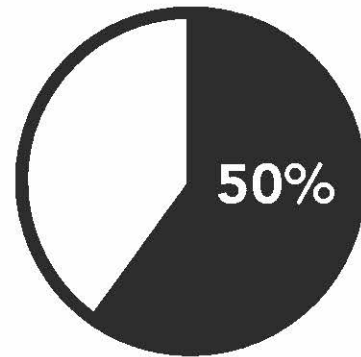
OF VISITORS VISIT THE
BARRÍ GÒTIC DURING
THEIR STAY



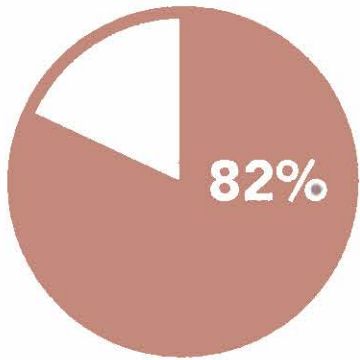
OF VISITORS USE
PRIVATE CARS FOR
AIRPORT
TRANSPORTATION



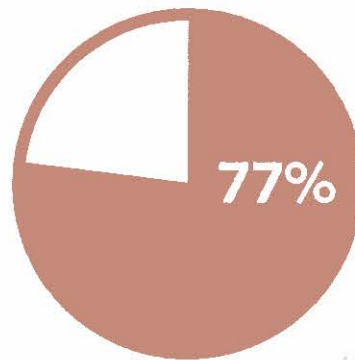
OF VISITORS USE
TAXIS OR CARS
DURING THEIR STAY



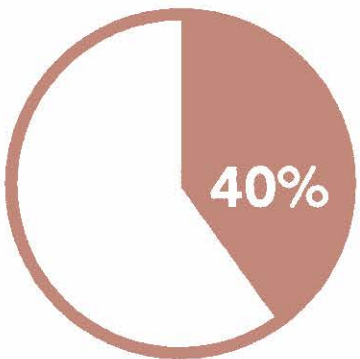
OF PEDESTRIANS IN
THE BARRÍ GÒTIC ARE
VISITORS



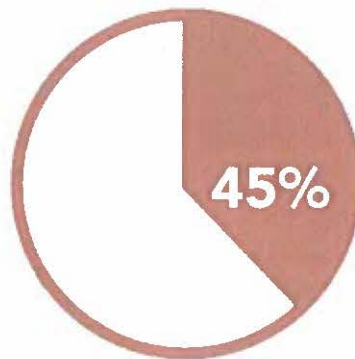
OF BCN RESIDENTS
VISIT THE BARRÍ
GÒTIC EACH YEAR



OF RESIDENTS ENJOY
CONTACT WITH
TOURISTS



OF RESIDENTS WALK
AS THEIR PRIMARY
FORM OF TRANSIT



DECREASE IN
POPULATION OF
BARRÍ GÒTIC SINCE
2007

[APPLYING SPATIAL STRATEGIES TO THE BARRÍ GÓTIC]

To apply the partition, connection, and intersection strategies, there are several important questions that must be asked of the Barri Gòtic. The answers are critical in determining how and where the spatial strategies can be applied. These questions should be asked of any historic urban center, but the variations in their answers can result in uniquely different proposals.

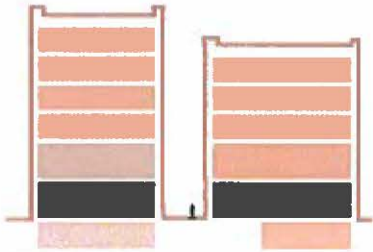


Image by Author | The typical sectional organization of buildings within the Barri Gòtic—the street level is almost always commercial space. Note that the *principal* floor has higher ceilings than upper floors and is occasionally occupied by office space.



Ajuntament de Barcelona | Image of the proposed plan to pedestrianize Via Laietana and the Plaça Antoni Maura.

How are different programs currently separated?

Non-institutional buildings in the Barri Gòtic, and Barcelona overall, have traditionally been programmatically divided in section. The street level is primarily commercial, and upper floors are residential. Along major thoroughfares, the floor above street level, called the *principal*, is often occupied by offices. It is also fairly common for buildings to have parking and storage underground, with some buildings going as deep as three or four floors.

What policy changes will change spatial conditions in the future?

Although there are a variety of new policies and changes in the city's urban development plan, the most important new policy that the city of Barcelona is implementing is its urban mobility plan. Throughout Barcelona, regulations and urban redesign is being applied to make streets more pedestrian friendly. This plan seeks to reduce the number of cars in the Barri Gòtic by 30% and re-pedestrianize many of the streets that were retrofitted for cars in the 20th century⁸⁴. Many major thoroughfares, including Via Laietana and Las Ramblas, are being redesigned to be more pedestrian friendly. Parts of the Barri Gòtic will be completely closed to automobile traffic, relying on soft forms of delivery like carts and bicycles to support commercial businesses. As visitors are a large user base of cars in the city, there is an opportunity for a symbiotic spatial intervention that can take advantage of this policy while also supporting its implementation.

Is there underutilized space that can be adapted for reuse?

The previous two questions point to a primary space that exists within the current urban fabric of the Barri Gòtic that could be

adapted to serve as a foundation for the partition, connection, and intersection. As the mobilization plan begins to reduce the number of cars in the Barrí Gòtic, buildings will have less need for parking. This means that many of the current underground parking spaces in the Barrí Gòtic will be left without program. Many of the city's popular attractions have their own parking garages, often several levels deep. The adaptation of this space would not only help to mediate tourism-related conflicts, but also follow the government's narrative about creating a pedestrian and environmentally-conscious city. It kills two birds with one stone.

In addition to underground parking, there are many other spaces beneath the street in the Barrí Gòtic that are either not being used or that could be used more efficiently. Hundreds of bomb shelters were built during the Spanish Civil War and remain unused, and there is an abandoned metro stop, Banc Station, connected to the L4 metro line that could be used to better connect the site to public transit.

These underutilized spaces can be linked together to form a new urban network of spatial strategies that not only mediate conflict between residents and visitors, but also improves the Barrí Gòtic overall by providing more public space.



Saba Aparcamentos | View of the vehicle entrance to the parking beneath the Plaça de la Seu



ZONING BY FLOOR

Image by Author | Above diagram shows building use for the ground floor of each parcel, and the bottom diagram shows the use of the upper floors. Commercial space dominates the street level while residential space dominates the upper levels.



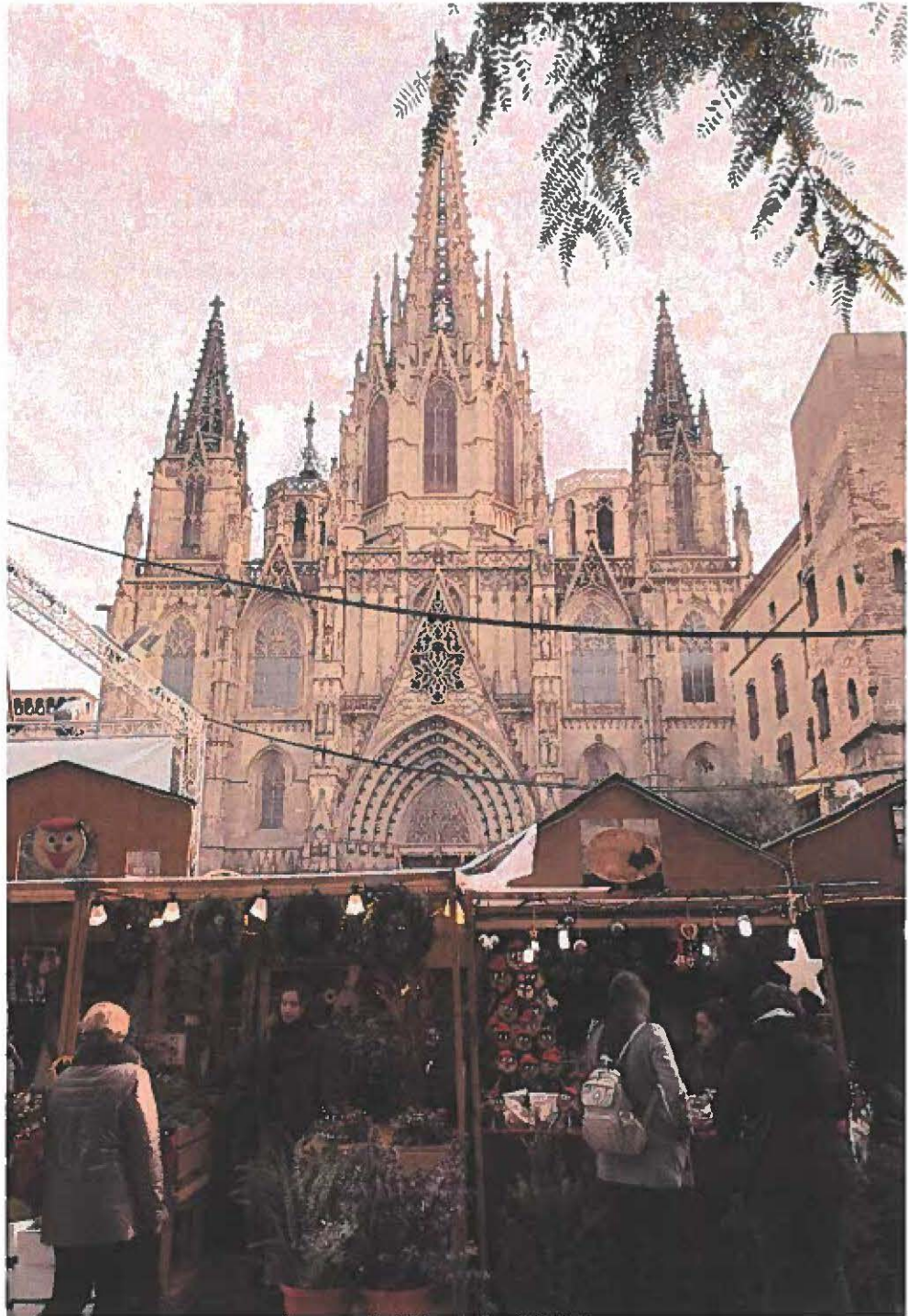


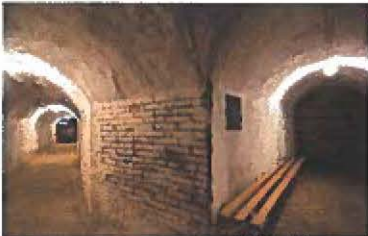
Image by Author Barcelona 2017.



RAS Arquitects | The renovation of a basement in Barcelona into an apartment space. Vaulted ceilings are common in many of the city's underground spaces.



Ajuntament de Barcelona | One of Barcelona's underground water collection spaces



Trip Advisor | Refugi 307, one of the Civil War Era bomb shelters in the Ciutat Vella. This one has been turned into a museum and is open to the public.



El Periódico | Avinguda de la Llum, an old underground commercial center adjacent to Placa Catalunya that is now abandoned.

[UNDERGROUND BARCELONA]

Barcelona's underground is not just parking garages and basements — it's a world of its own. The city has a long history of excavation dating back to its Roman origins. Its underground is just as much a part of its past as the street level, but very few parts of it are revealed to residents and visitors alike. The Museu d'Historia de Barcelona, commonly called the MUHBA, houses a museum beneath the ground near the Barcelona Cathedral that has been excavated to show the city's Roman ruins. In the Born neighborhood, El Born Centre de Memòria i Cultura similarly excavated remains from the siege of Barcelona during the Spanish War of Secession. There are several other smaller sites and museums underground that highlight similar spaces and history, as well as a variety of historic spaces that have been largely left alone despite their offerings.

Many of the city's public systems are also housed underground, including the metro and the city's water management system. Both of these systems also have available spaces — there are several abandoned metro stations within the Ciutat Vella, and there are older parts of the city's water management system that are no longer in use. Many of these spaces are monumental in scale and offer their own unique architectural styles and systems that make them desirable to visitors. Currently, there are some guided tours of these spaces, but they have relatively little infrastructural support and have been marketed only to niche audiences.

Another important set of spaces that exists below the city are Spanish Civil War bomb shelters. These spaces are an important part of the city's history that could also be used to highlight ideas about the city's culture and past that are rarely discussed in tourist books.

Additionally, the city is filled with a vast number of other underground spaces — from private basements to old commercial centers — that have their own architecture and spatial qualities. They would become rich parts of an underground system that has the potential of being just as rich and vibrant as that above ground.

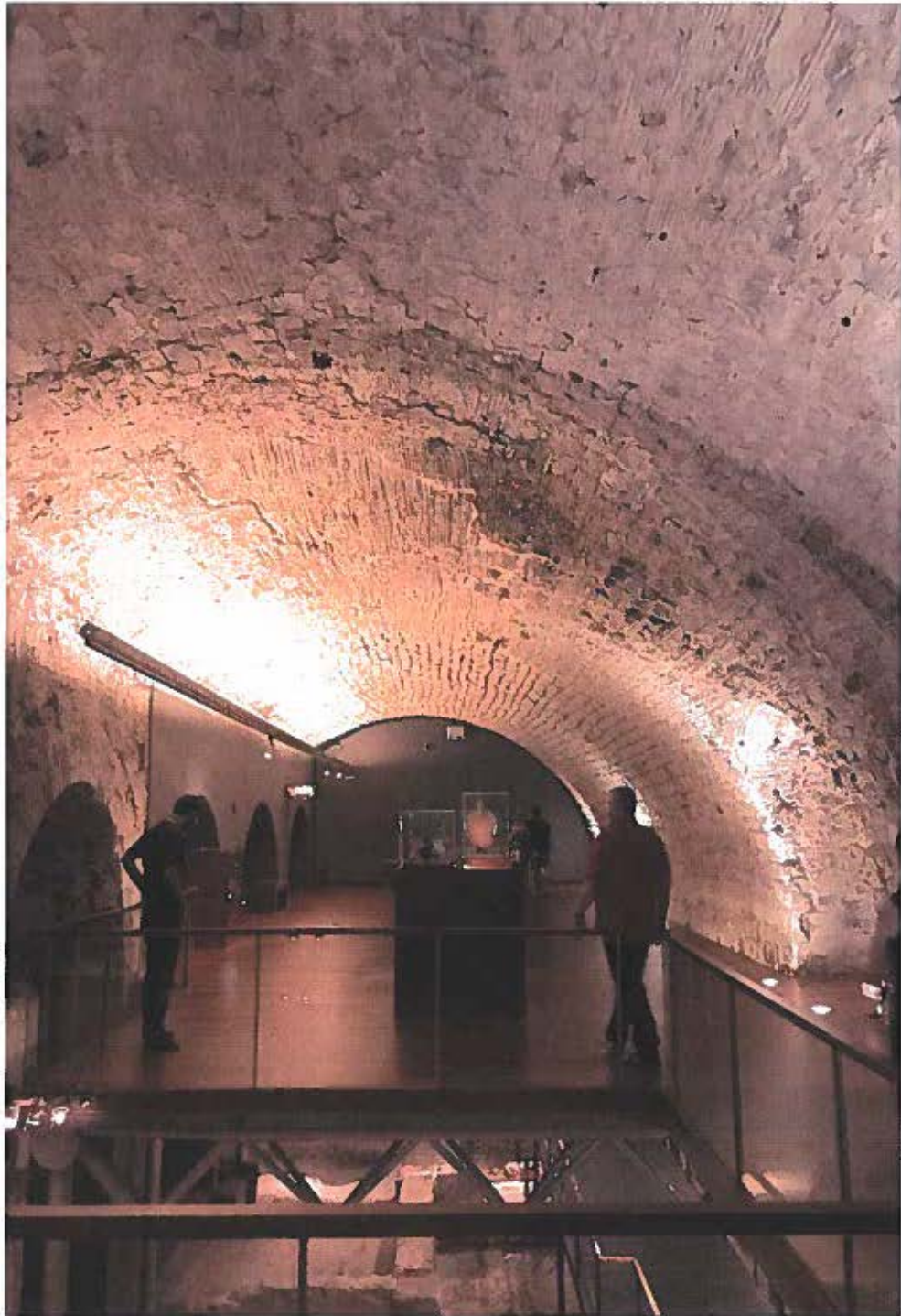


Image by Author | The underground Roman Ruins at MUHBA in the Barri Gòtic.

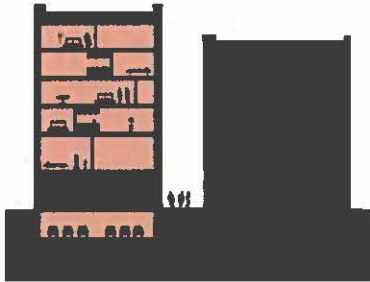


Image by Author | The existing sectional division of the Ciutat Vella.

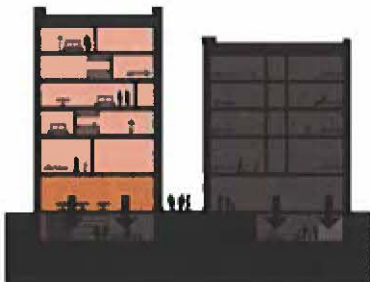


Image by Author | The sectional implementation of the partition.

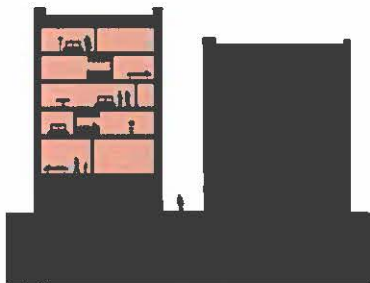


Image by Author | The sectional implementation of the connection.



Image by Author | The sectional implementation of the intersection.

[THE PARTITION]

A new subterranean zone of program will be created within the city, identifying underground storage, parking, and basements as the only spaces that new tourism-oriented businesses will be allowed to open. This allows current souvenir shops to remain and for residents to still be able to benefit economically by opening new tourism services, but will prevent the further commodification of the street level.

[THE CONNECTION]

Underground connections will link these new commercial spaces so that they do not require access at the street level. They will also link to public plazas and tourist attractions. Hotels will have underground entrances that connect directly to the network, which will facilitate visitors' access to tourism services. The network will also connect to Plaça Catalunya and other primary public transit points so that visitors can easily reach the both the airport and Barcelona train stations, reducing the need for taxis to and from long-distance transportation hubs. Wayfinding will also be especially important in the success of the network so that visitors feel comfortable using it as a way to access services and attractions.

[THE INTERSECTION]

Access points to the underground network will be specifically designed to provide crucial programming that can begin to shift the paradigm of attraction-based tourism. These intersection spaces will link many cultural institutions that operate outside of the city center with programming space within the Ciutat Vella so they can reach a larger range of visitors. These programs engage visitors with learning about local history and culture so that visitors can be exposed to an image that aligns more closely with the residents' own image of their city. These spaces can also be utilized by residents that live within the neighborhood, offering residents the ability to directly interact with tourists and share their own ideas and traditions.

[IMPLEMMENTATION]

Clearly, this intervention is not one that is constructed as a single project in a set period of time, but one that evolves based on the parameters it sets and dynamic changes within the urban environment. The Plaça de la Seu is the proposed origin of this network, and within its vicinity all three of the spatial strategies will intersect. The underground parking beneath the plaza, which is several levels deep, will be converted into space that functions as a city information center that informs both visitors and residents about the culture, attractions, and events within the city. Rather than focusing on popular honeypot attractions, this information center will promote diverse activities throughout the city, dispersing visitors and also providing residents with the opportunity to discover something new within their own city.

From this origin point, the network will be built as funding and resources become available. The commercial spaces will likely be developed privately as the tunnels spread, although publicly-funded development would be ideal as it would allow for residents to have more input and agency over the development. With success, this network is not limited to the Barri Gòtic or even the Ciutat Vella, but could be implemented throughout the city in order to ease tensions outside of the historic urban center as tourism continues to grow.

These spatial strategies will be injected into the framework of existing and future policy in order to recondition the underground and penetrate the streetscape in order to reclaim public space from the tourism industry. This strategy will not only recover the Barri Gòtic from the destructive process of manufactured cultural consumption but create a new cycle of authentic cultural exchange.

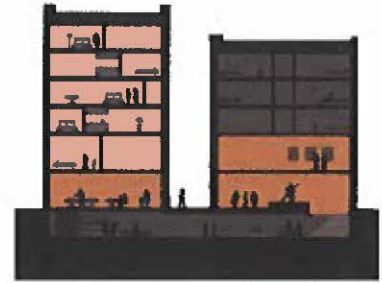


Image by Author | The sectional division of the Ciutat Vella once the three strategies have been applied together.

07

THE DESIGN

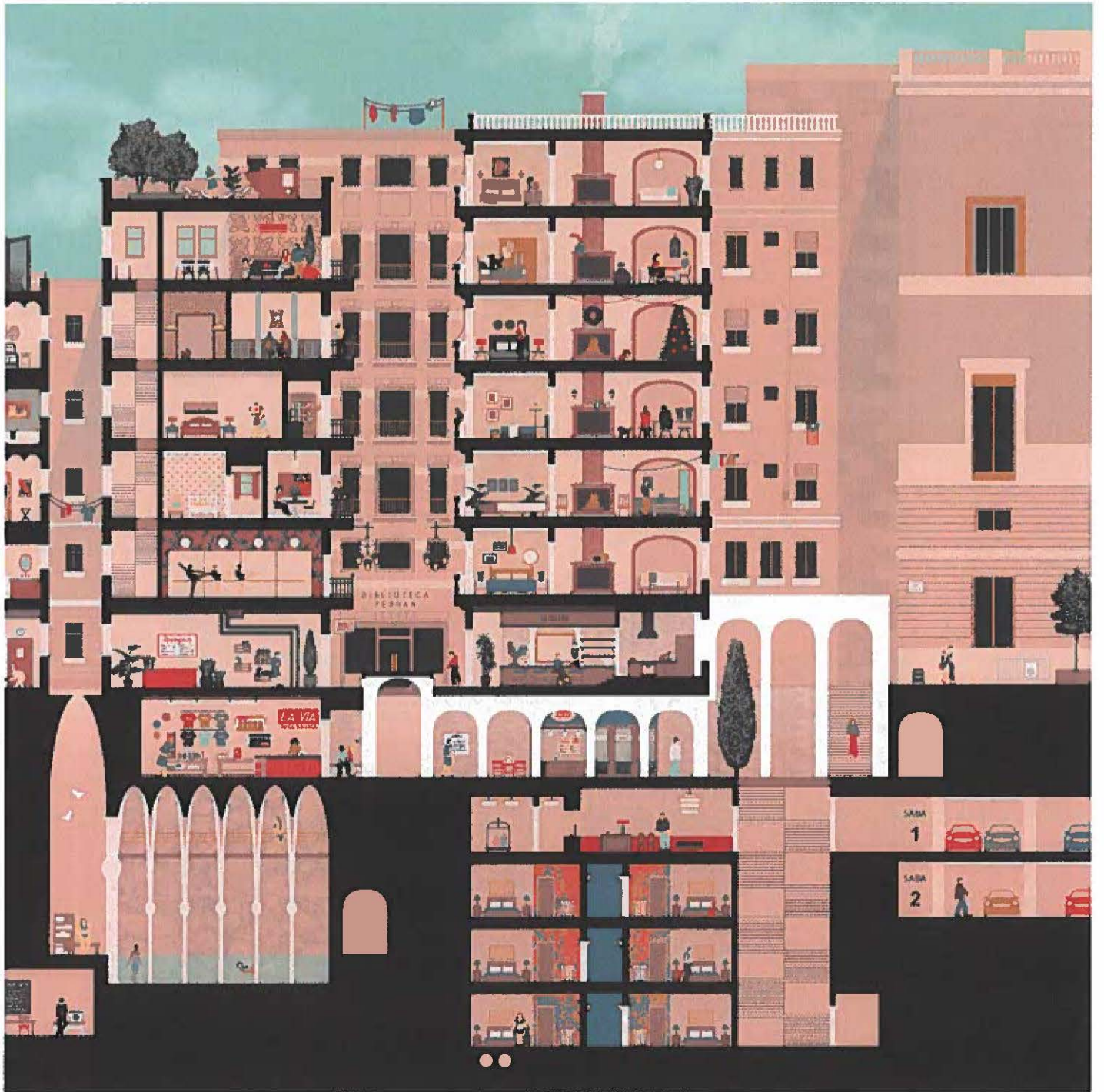
This thesis approaches an issue that is both part of a multifaceted industry as well as the capitalist system overall. During the design process, a variety of options for a direction of approach and representation surfaced, each of them valid and with their own merits and faults.

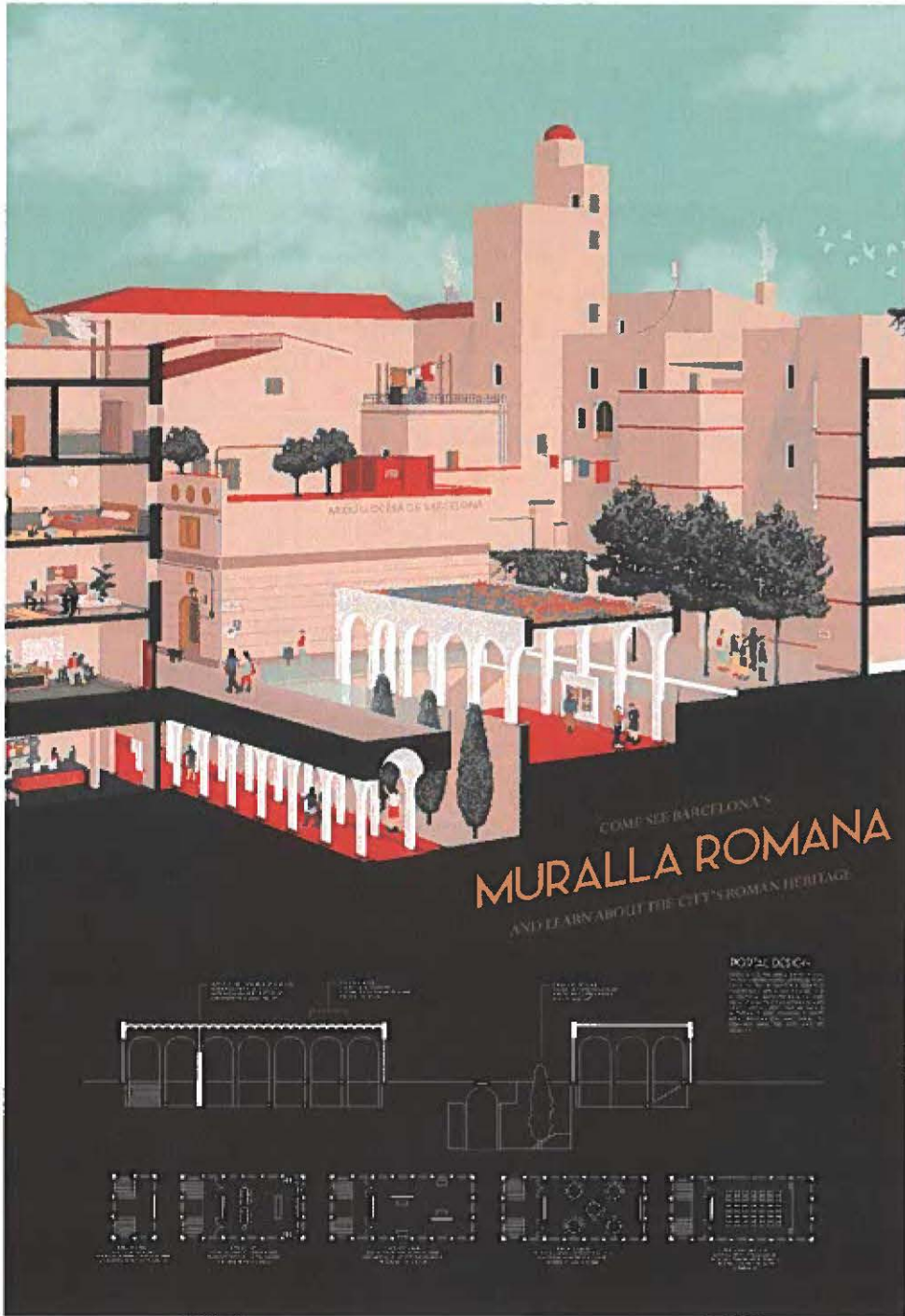
In the end, it was determined that an approach limited to architecture would also limit the project's ability to call attention to the greater issues and ignore some of the thesis's core values. As the thesis proposes the need for interdisciplinary solutions, it would also be hypocritical to design an architectural project that doesn't converse with other disciplines. Although parts of the design process do develop architectural details, the design project became more of an exploration of the visual representation of these strategies and their application at an urban scale.

The choice was made to approach representation and speculation of the project as one would assuming the industry itself is not restructured or regulated. Unfortunately, this is the most likely outcome, but it doesn't discount the strategies themselves. They can still be effective at reviving historic urban centers to become livable places, but the project speculates that the underground would likely be developed to reflect the industry's current sentiments and spectacle. The representation also pays homage to the vintage travel posters of the 1960s that many airlines published. The representation critiques the capitalistic nature of the tourism industry and its commodification of culture, and seeks to demonstrate the need for systemic change in addition to the implementation of spatial interventions. Architecture has a part to play, but so does everybody else.

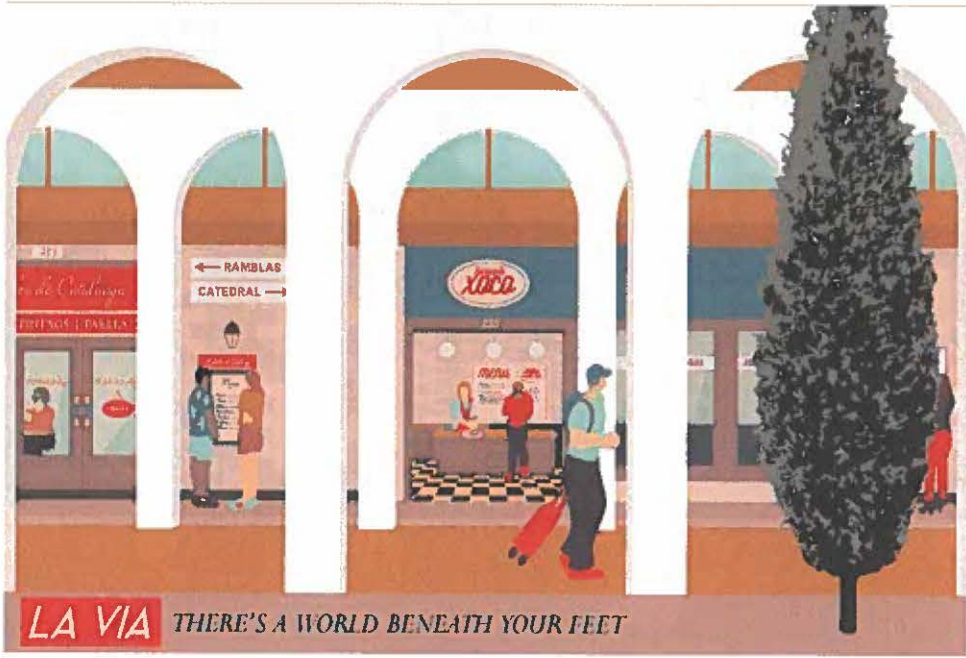
Therefore, while the design project takes ideas from the thesis, the two parts should be taken as individual explorations that supplement each other rather than a single entity.

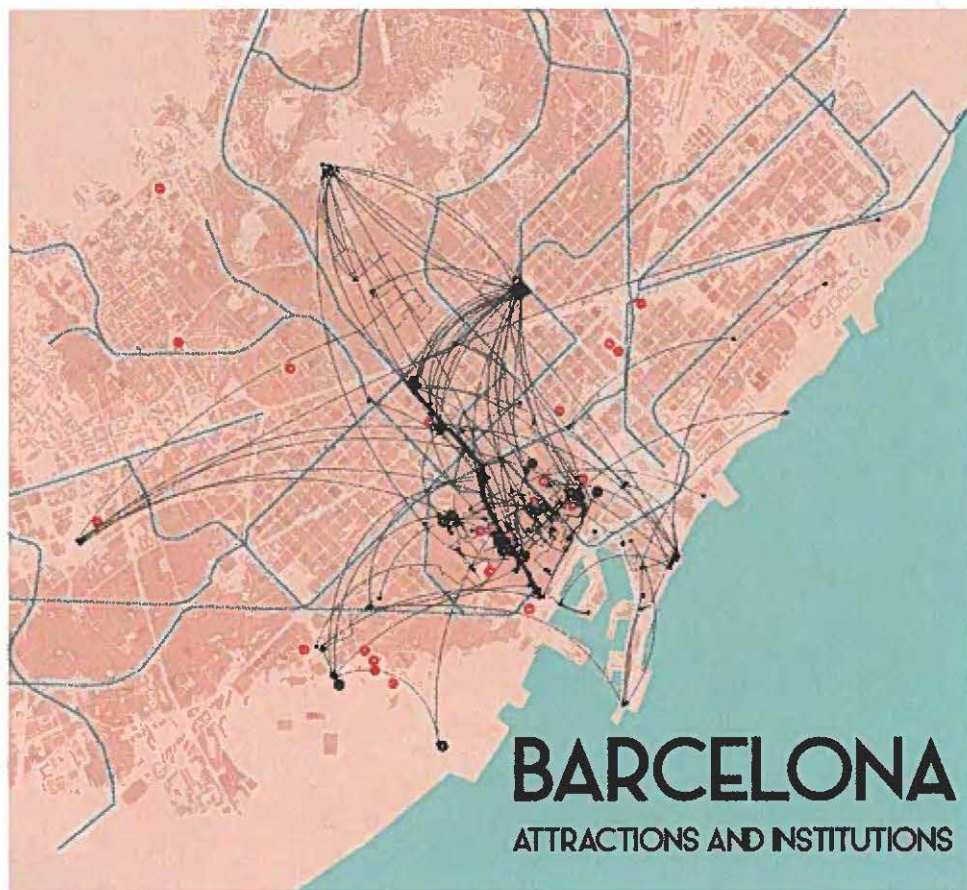






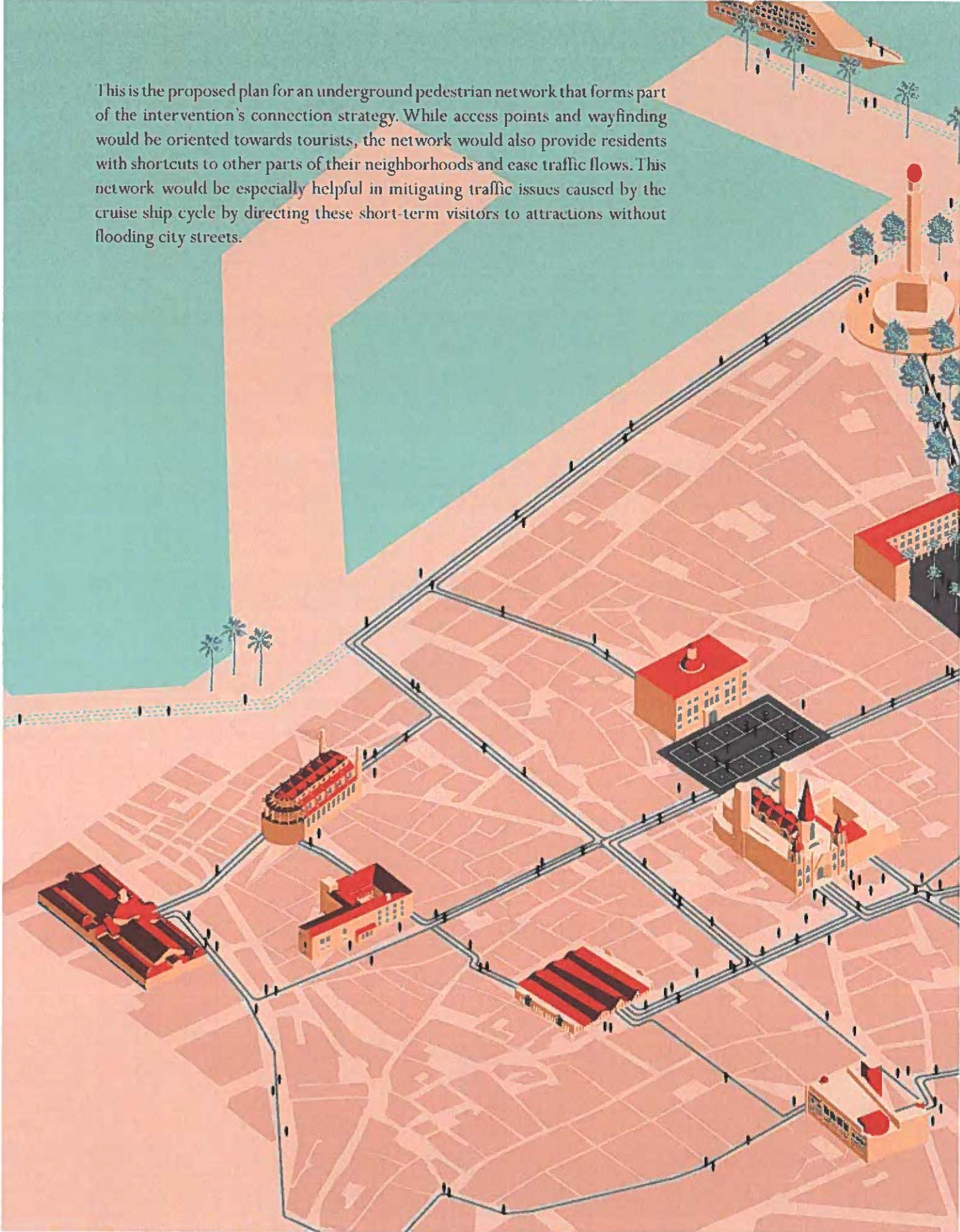




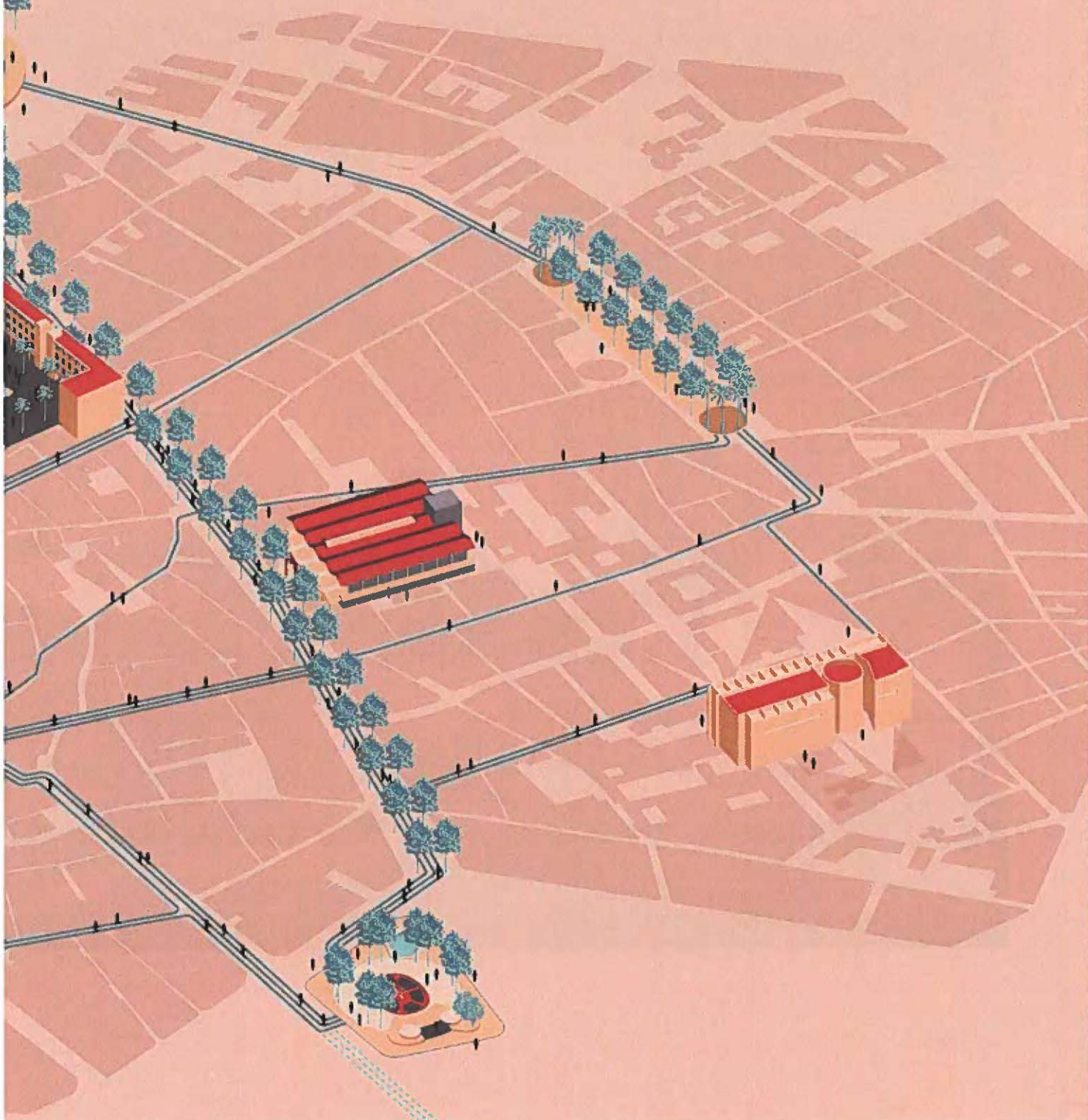


- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>Servei d'Arqueologia</i> | 18. <i>Fundació Julio Muñoz Roment</i> |
| 2. <i>Museu del Disseny de Barcelona</i> | 19. <i>Gran Teatre del Liceu</i> |
| 3. <i>Museu Frederic Mares</i> | 20. <i>L'Auditori</i> |
| 4. <i>Museu d'Historia de Barcelona</i> | 21. <i>Museu de la Música de Barcelona</i> |
| 5. <i>El Born Centre de Cultura i Memòria</i> | 22. <i>Mercat de les Flors</i> |
| 6. <i>Museu Etnològic de Barcelona</i> | 23. <i>MACBA</i> |
| 7. <i>Reial Monestir de Santa Maria de Pedrables</i> | 24. <i>Museu Marítim de Barcelona</i> |
| 8. <i>Castell de Montjuïc</i> | 25. <i>Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya</i> |
| 9. <i>Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona</i> | 26. <i>Museu Picasso</i> |
| 10. <i>Arxiu fotogràfic de Barcelona</i> | 27. <i>Palau de la Música Catalana</i> |
| 11. <i>Biblioteca Pública Arús</i> | 28. <i>Teatre Lliure</i> |
| 12. <i>La Virreïna Centre de la Imatge</i> | 29. <i>Filmoteca</i> |
| 13. <i>La Capella</i> | 30. <i>CosmoCaixa</i> |
| 14. <i>Consorci de Biblioteques de Barcelona</i> | 31. <i>La Casa dels Entremesos</i> |
| 15. <i>CCCB</i> | 32. <i>Caixaforum</i> |
| 16. <i>Fundació Antoni Tàpies</i> | 33. <i>Fàbrica i Coats + Xarxa de Fàbriques de creació</i> |
| 17. <i>Fundació Joan Miró</i> | |

This is the proposed plan for an underground pedestrian network that forms part of the intervention's connection strategy. While access points and wayfinding would be oriented towards tourists, the network would also provide residents with shortcuts to other parts of their neighborhoods and ease traffic flows. This network would be especially helpful in mitigating traffic issues caused by the cruise ship cycle by directing these short-term visitors to attractions without flooding city streets.

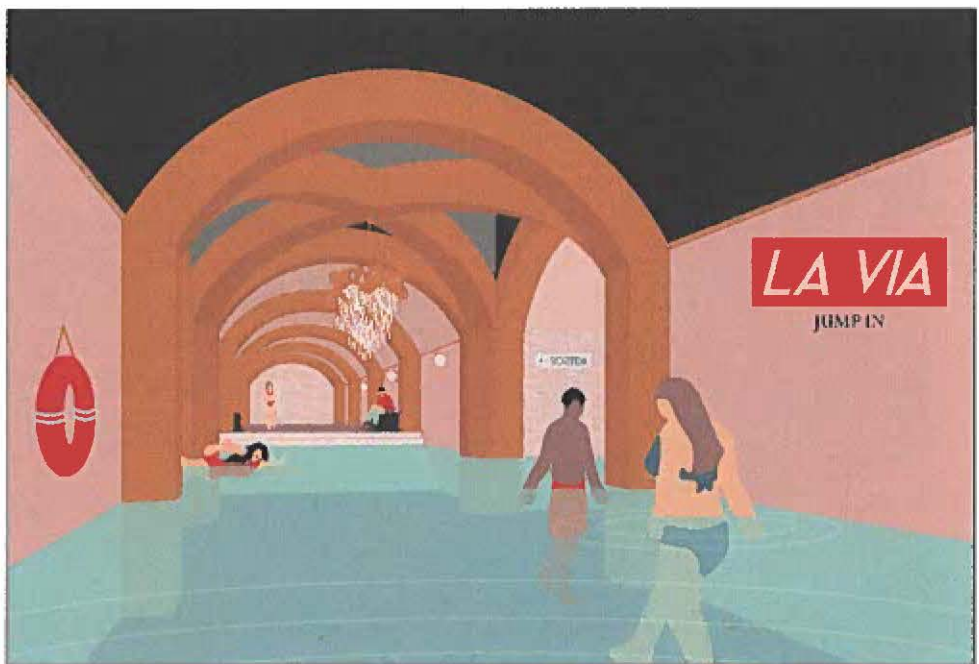
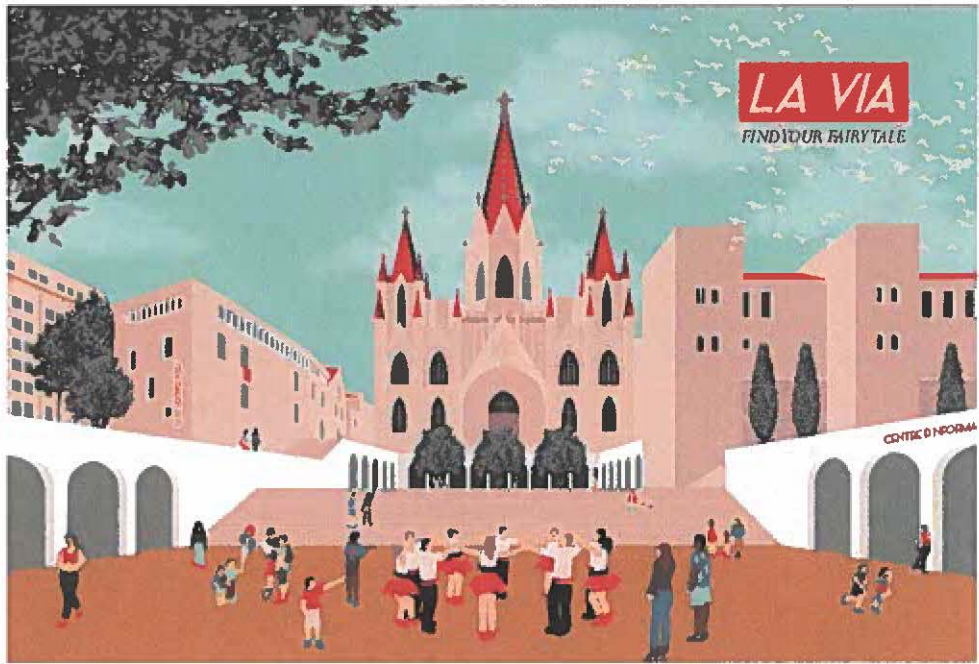


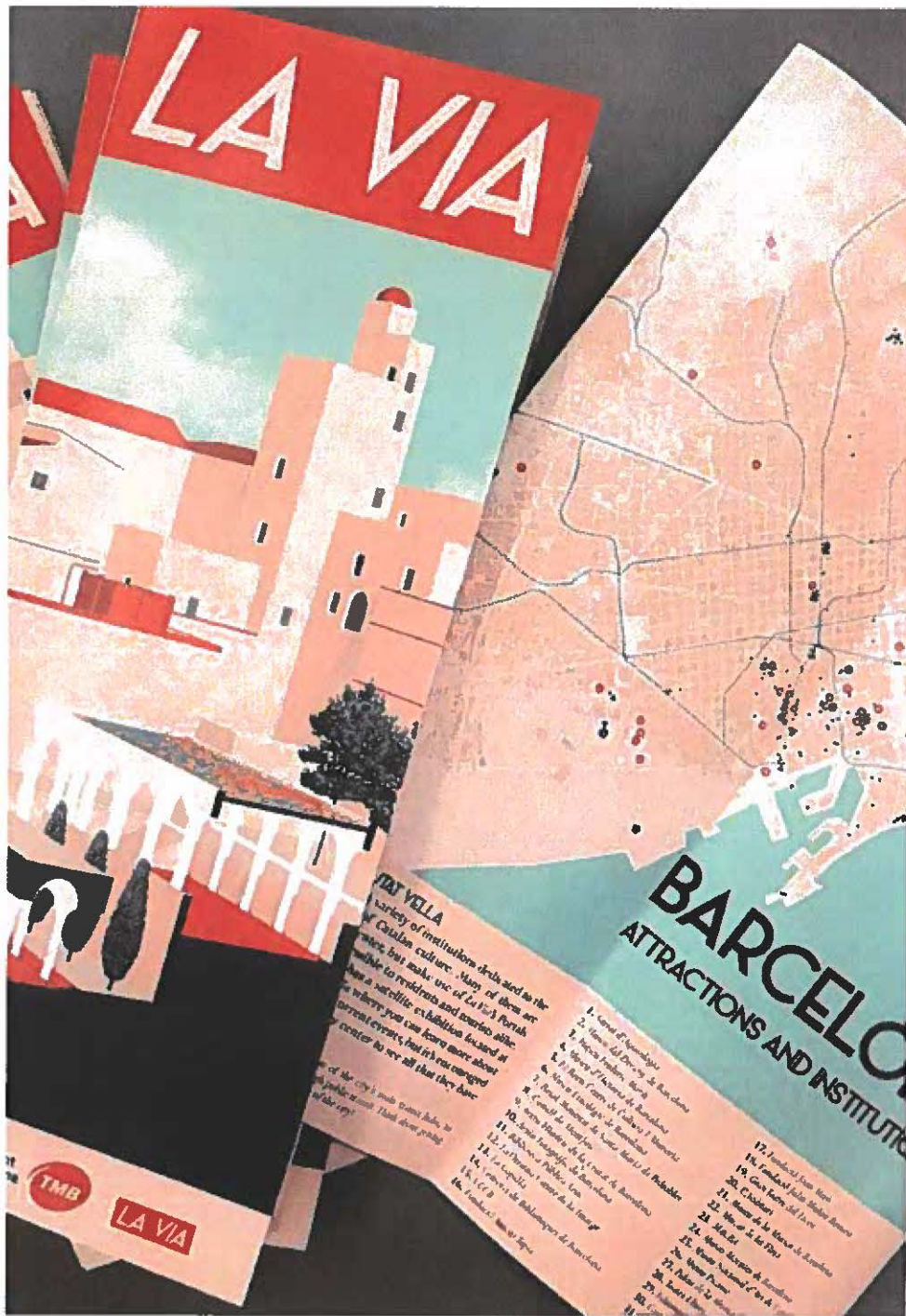
BARCELONA'S
CIUTAT VELLA
TOURIST MAP











[PRESENTATION TEXT FROM THE BOARD]

In 2017, mass protests erupted throughout historic urban centers in Europe due to escalating stress that mass tourism has been causing on residents and city infrastructure. New technology, cheap airlines, and innovations in hotel typologies have contributed to exponential growth in the industry, leading to the exacerbation of a destructive cycle that has been occurring in historic urban centers since the middle of the 20th century. Commercial gentrification, overcrowding, and the promotion of false expectations about local culture have transformed historic urban centers from (often) working class neighborhoods to theme parks, making it both expensive and difficult for residents to continue to live in their homes.

"Victims of Their Own Success" investigates architecture and urban planning's role in resolving conflict related to mass tourism in historic urban centers. This role has previously been underexplored as cities worldwide attempt to solve the problem with policy, marketing, and technology, but mass tourism is inherently a spatial concern that requires architectural planning to be involved as part of the solution.

The thesis uses the Ciutat Vella of Barcelona to test three spatial strategies that can be injected into the urban environment in coordination with current interdisciplinary efforts to ease tension between residents and visitors.

Partition | The partition strategy clearly identifies specific zones for the inauthentic to occur so that there is space for the authentic to flourish. The proposal promotes the sectional zoning of the city so that new tourism-oriented spaces must be built below the street level.

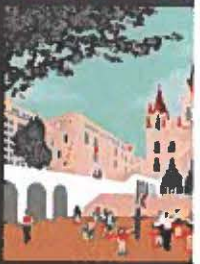
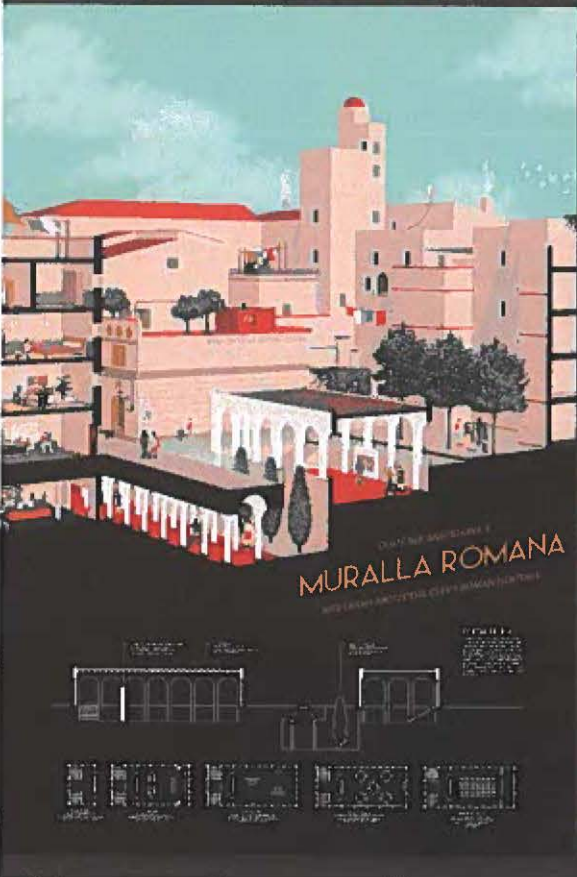
Connection | The connection directs the circulation of visitors to help alleviate crowding and facilitate accessibility in areas around attractions. The proposal constructs both connects existing underground spaces to the surface and creates a pedestrian tunnel network aimed at facilitating tourists' movements throughout the Ciutat Vella.

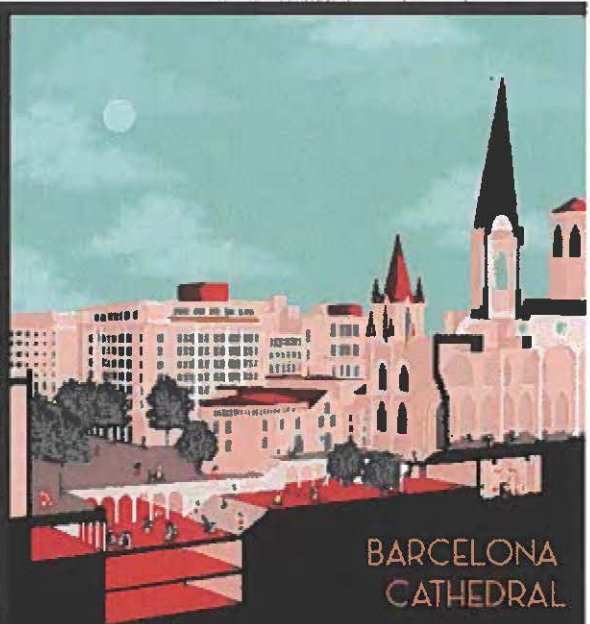
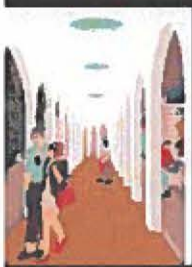
Intersection | The intersection is a space for productive promotion and exchange of authentic local culture. The proposal creates small and varied community spaces at access points to the underground system that connect tourists with a variety of cultural institutions that currently exist outside of the historic urban center and also creates a space for residents to interact with tourists and their neighbors.

By utilizing these strategies, the damage the tourism industry does on historic urban centers can not just be stopped, but reversed. This will allow the street to be reclaimed by residents, creating a city that is just as good for living as it is for visiting.

"VICTIMS OF THEIR OWN SUCCESS"

A SPATIAL APPROACH TO TOURISM IN HISTORIC URBAN CENTERS
KAY CLARK





BARCELONA CATHEDRAL



Illegible text block, likely a description or introduction to the project.



Illegible text block, likely a legend or key for the diagrams.



08

CASE STUDY: I AMSTERDAM

AMSTERDAM, THE NETHERLANDS | 2016-2020



The city of Amsterdam implemented a plan called I Amsterdam in 2016 that serves to use a variety of policy change, marketing strategies, and new technologies to help alleviate pressures that tourism has placed on the city, especially in the Red Light District and older parts of the city. Amsterdam offers a good case study of some creative problem-solving relating to tourism that both provides an enhanced experience for visitors and also benefits residents.

The city struggles with many of the same issues that Barcelona has-- an inundated historic district and an image that promotes clubs and partying rather than the rich cultural capital that the city offers. Much of its focus has been on changing the image of the city to promote tourists interested in and understanding of local culture, as well as “facilitating the distribution of visitors in time and space”. They emphasize the need for cross-disciplinary discussion, citing the need for policy changes and regulations, proper marketing, public interventions, and public transit. While not specific on the qualification of “public intervention”, one could infer architecture is part of this description.

The comprehensive city plan tackles issues with city image, overcrowding, public transit, rent increases, and visitor education. Extensive research on tourism was done by the city in 2015 before implementing these plans in order to target certain problematic areas and understand the reasons for visiting and the habits of visitors in the city. Some of their solutions are as follows:

Amsterdam City Card: The Amsterdam City Card offers discounts and free admission to many of the city’s attractions as well as free public transit within the city. It can conveniently be purchased online and

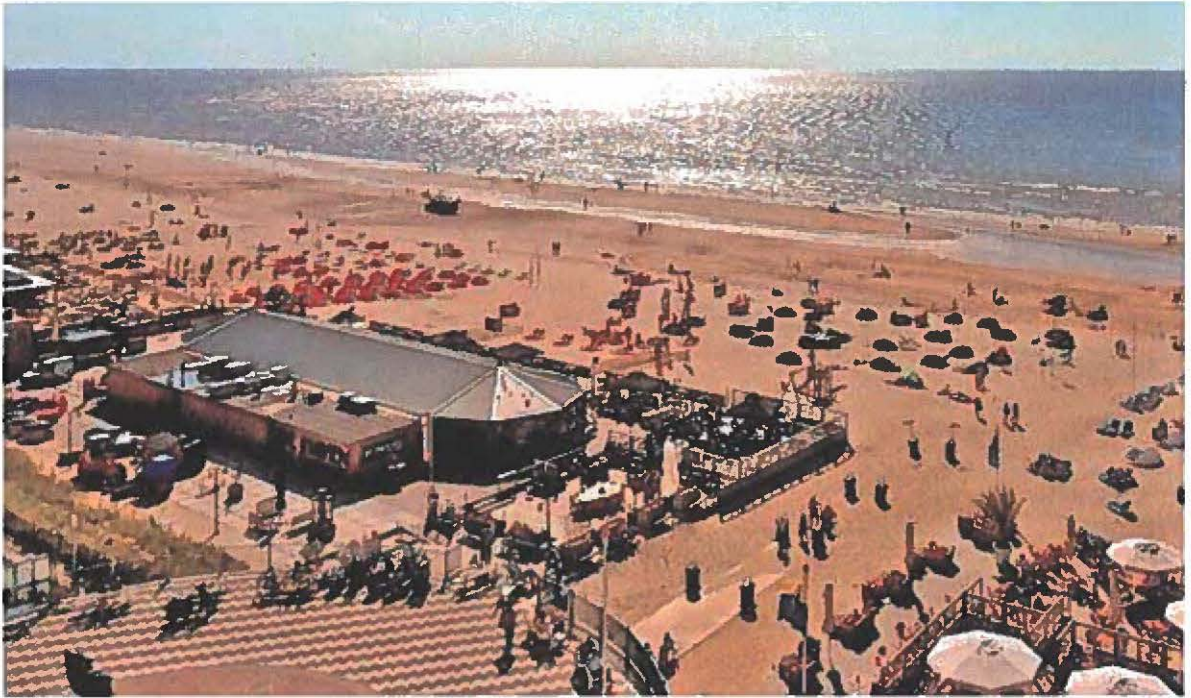
at many locations in the city. However, in addition to the benefits it gives to tourists, the cards are also used to promote lesser-known sites away from the city center in order to disperse guests, and the free public transit helps them travel outside of the overcrowded historic city center. Additionally, tracking chips in the cards help the city to collect data on when and where tourists are visiting and how they are dispersed throughout the city. This system not only helps them determine which locations to promote, but also allows them to understand how effective their programs are at motivating tourists to move around the city.

iAmsterdam App: Amsterdam also developed an app for smartphones that works very similarly to the City Card-- it tracks visitors and promotes lesser-known destinations. The app also gives tourists information about current wait times and crowd levels at popular attractions in order to encourage guests to avoid the area during peak moments. Temporal dispersion can be just as effective as spatial dispersion in solving overcrowding problems. They are also developing a way to connect the app to an AI service that scans facebook profiles to suggest attractions catered towards individual interests in order to enhance tourists' experiences while also increasing the likelihood that guests stray from the most popular attractions.

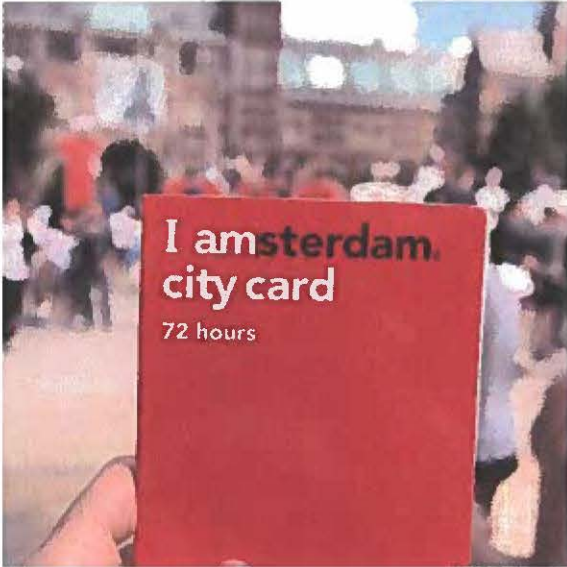
Policy Changes: The city has also implemented several regulations on the tourism industry to curb increasing residential and commercial rent prices. Airbnb and apartment share flats are now only allowed to offer rentals for 60 days per unit per calendar year. Hotel taxes are now a flat rate rather than a percentage of the hotel's nightly rate, as increasing numbers of budget hotels have led to more beds and guests who visit the city simply because it's cheap to stay rather than for cultural interests. Tourist-only stores have now been outlawed in the historic district of the city so that local businesses aren't forced out by raising rental prices, making these neighborhoods more livable for locals.

A Face Lift: Around 30% of visitors to Amsterdam visit for the nightlife and party scene, which although an important part of the city economy, causes stress in visitor-resident interaction. Visitors in the city to go clubbing in the Red Light District often aren't conscious of noise levels and residents' work schedules. Prior to iAmsterdam, the city wasn't spending any money on marketing the city at all, but now marketing materials that promote cultural visits over nightlife visits are being introduced, and this ideology is also implemented into the City Card and iAmsterdam app as well.

Regional Excursions: Finally, Amsterdam is also working to shift focus into its periphery, promoting visits to nearby beaches, natural scenery, and smaller villages in the region. The beach was renamed "Amsterdam beach" to make it feel more accessible for visitors. Expansions in public transit and the introduction of a regional tourist card promote visitors to engage with areas outside of the city proper. Widening the city also encourages visitors to return, seeing greater opportunities for longer trips -- repeat visitors are desirable as they better integrate with the daily flow of the city and visit less-crowded attractions.



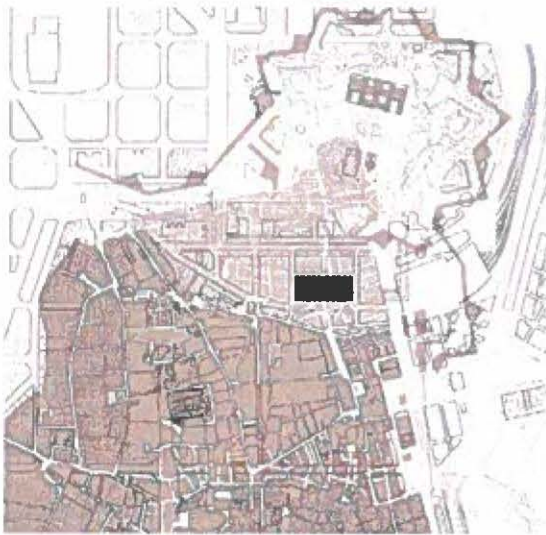
|Amsterdam | A marketing photo of the Amsterdam Beach, renamed to encourage visitors to explore outside of the city.



Global Roaming Blog | Iamsterdam City Card



Red Light District Tours | Amsterdam



Overlay by Author, Image by Architect | The BCCM is located on the edge of the Born neighborhood, one of the three districts in the historic center of the city. The light beige shows the former village that was destroyed to build the fortress, which today is El Parc de la Ciutadella.



Overlay by Author, Image by Architect | The floorplan of the building shows an underlay of the former plan of the ruins and also highlights the four multi-use spaces that occupy the corners of the old market building.

CASE STUDY: EL BORN CENTRE DE CULTURA I MEMÓRIA

BARCELONA | ENRIC SÓRIA BADIA | 2012

El Born Centre de Cultura i Memòria is a space in Barcelona that has a rich history relating specifically to Catalan identity and culture. The shell of the building is a marketplace built during the flourishing 1870s, in the midst of the Renaixença period. This time was the precursor to the Modernisme movement, making up a period where Catalan culture and design reemerged after over a century of nationalist government repression and control. The marketplace, designed by Enric Sòria Badia, features a large amount of glass and an intricate iron structure. After a large supermarket opened in the neighborhood in 1971, the marketplace fell into disrepair. In 2002, when renovations were being done to convert the Mercat del Born into a public library, it was discovered that remains from the siege of Barcelona during the Spanish War of Secession were underneath the structure of the building. These remains include partial stone structures from the 1714 siege, and also including a variety of pottery and household items left during the siege. This event marked the beginning of the repressive nationalist government while the Renaixença marks the end, creating a building that reflects the bookends of an important period in Catalan History. After the remains were found, it was decided that the marketplace would be converted into a center of culture and memory, giving it a function to recount these dark periods of Catalan History while also celebrating its culture.

The Center is mostly a large open space underneath the market shell, with the floor excavated. Visitors can walk across bridges over the remains for free or pay for a tour among them. Four rooms at the corners of the building, at grade with a large plaza out front, serve a variety of functions- a restaurant/ gift shop, administrative space, and two exhibition spaces, one permanent and one temporary. The permanent exhibit displays the found objects during the excavation, and the temporary one displays rotating exhibits about Catalan pride and culture. Any of the spaces can be rented out for events.

This building is a great precedent because it respectfully deals with an authentic history and culture without distorting it to be something flashy. The building itself is large but quiet, and I think its main critique would be the lack of visitors, foreign or local, into the space. It serves its purpose, but it could be doing more to engage with the public.

CASE STUDY: THE LOUVRE PYRAMID

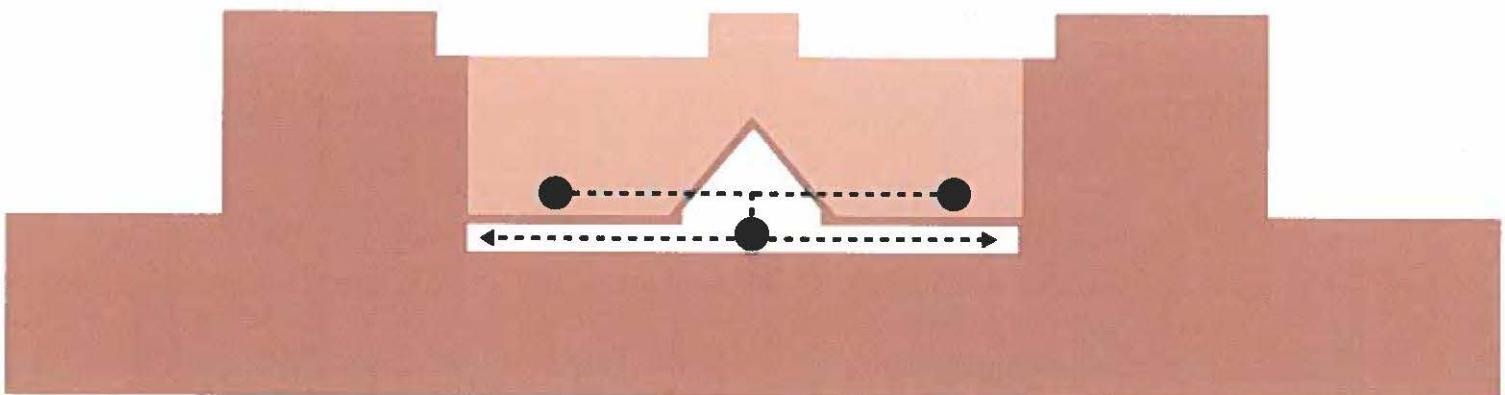
PARIS | I.M. PEI | 1993

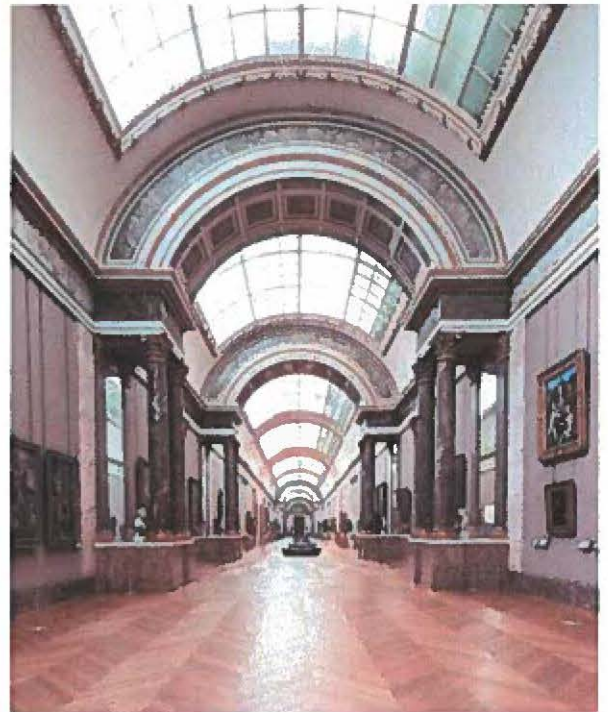
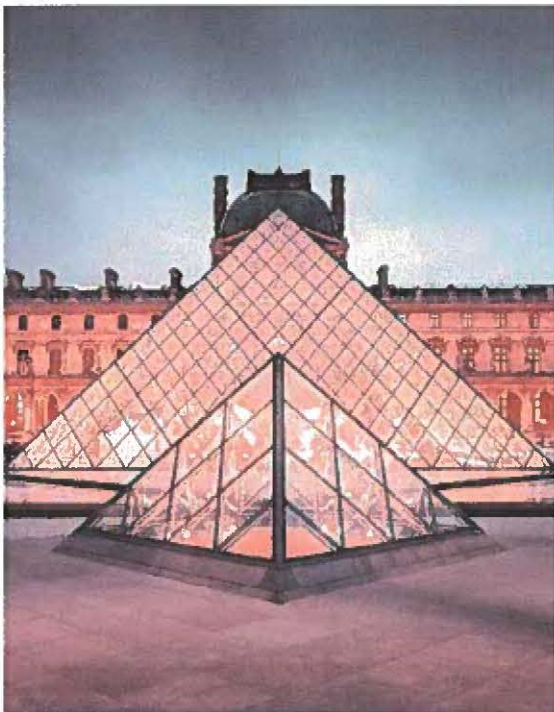
The Louvre is the world's most visited museum, receiving over 8 million visitors each year. A product of centuries of growth, expansion, destruction, and regime changes, by the 1980s the building was a stitched-together museum. Entrances were located at each wing but not clearly marked, and the Cour Napoleon was a parking lot. The interior of the museum needed major renovations, but the entry flow was crowded, unpleasant, and leaking into the traffic of daily life in the city. I.M. Pei was personally commissioned with solving this problem. He chose to excavate the Cour Napoleon and place the entry there, accessed by entering a glass pyramid that aligned with the axis created by the Champs-Élysées and the Jardin des Tuileries.

From the pyramid, guests descend into an underground hub where main services are located, including ticketing, restrooms, and a coat check. Information including audio guides and pamphlets are also available, and here guests can access passages to the different wings of the building. Circulation is greatly enhanced by having a central point of access into the building and also having a space that connects the wings.

Although originally a controversial project for the placement of such a contemporary addition into the beloved landmark, the Louvre Pyramid was highly successful in improving function and guest experience at the museum, and the architecture has now been widely accepted. In fact, almost as many people photograph the Louvre Pyramids as the Eiffel Tower.

The creative strategy and major circulation overhaul eased problems with a space not originally intended for such massive numbers of people. The underground access point in an interior courtyard diverted traffic from the streets and also created a clear entrance for visitors. Defining and improving traffic flow can help a space handle more visitors but have less crowding in critical spaces, and the strategies here are used at a scale that approaches urban. By finding a way to use existing but





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