Track 15: Tourism, Public Spaces and Urban Cultures

Sustainable tourism and public space - a case study of Skeppsholmsviken 6 in Stockholm, Sweden

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Abstract: The visitor industry is considered a primary industry for Swedish economic growth today. Official strategies and goals for the industry focus mainly on quantitative aspects such as number of visitors, number of jobs in the visiting sector, or total revenues from the same. Despite a large body of evidence showing that urban tourism can have unintended consequences of a less desirable nature, public documents categorically present the idea of more visitors to Stockholm as something leading to positive outcomes. A discussion or mention of social or economic change to a city's residential character and heritage is hard to find in written or spoken discourse. By studying an on-going conflict related to a project that might bring more visitors to an already well-exploited area in central Stockholm, this paper aims to explore what role a society sustainable tourist strategy can or could play for decision making when urban development impacts public space. The paper employs complementary strategies of qualitative enquiry through interviews, discourse analysis and desk based research.

Keywords: Public space, sustainable tourism, economy of tourism, visitor impact management

1. Introduction

The economy of tourism has an important role to play in Europe's urban economies. In a post-industrial age where the number of hires in traditional industries is decreasing in parallel with growing numbers of urban residents, the visitor industry can add considerable economic value, particularly in the form of job creation and investments. Stockholm is doing well on this front; it is the leading destination for growth in Scandinavia and overnight stays are increasing steadily (Tillväxtverket, 2019a). This trend can be expected to continue given the above 5 per cent growth of non-European tourism to Sweden during the last few years, and the global growth of tourism, expected to stay at approximately 3 per cent per annum reaching 1.8 billion by 2030 (Tourism in Sweden report (UNWTO, 2011).

The combination of increasing visitor numbers arriving to consume space in our cities, together with the economic opportunities this presents to those benefitting from the visitor industry, inevitably translates into economic and social consequences for these spaces. One less attractive consequence is the challenge to high-quality public space, which in turn has impact on a city's social sustainability (Gehl, 2010). Public spaces may change in their conditions for accommodating different groups of people in a city over time. Changed conditions then also means changed conditions for distinct social and economic groups, for adjacent urban areas, and those visiting or passing through (Carmona, 2010).

Definitions for public space therefore remain fluid and contextual, and no universal grammar exists for public space, other than that it can be defined as a *public good*. What emerges instead are complex questions such as "Who is entitled to design and define public spaces? What are the impact such spaces have on our cities? How do such places create meaning for the people who occupy them? Should our modern public spaces remain public and public goods and if so, whom do they serve?". In tandem, the quality of public space is an important factor influencing whether a tourist returns to a city. Visitors generally experience a city by foot and increasingly by bicycle. They are usually attracted to streets and open spaces that are clean, safe, vibrant and attractive (van der Zwan, 2016).

Over tourism can substitute these qualities with overcrowding, decreased safety and increased littering. As observed in cities like Barcelona, Amsterdam and Venice, where over tourism as a phenomena is well studied, these externality costs are often born by local residents who resort to claiming their right to the city, i.e. public space, through angry protests and hostile behavior towards visitors (Brenner, 2009). Stockholm has only a few locations where mass tourism occurs during the summer season, one being the centrally located and medieval *Gamla Stan* (*Old Town)*, another being the city's Southern side of the Royal National Park, also known as *Djurgården*. While Stockholm is yet to experience over tourism on a citywide scale, local media has spotted signs of local distress by residents (Karnatz, 2019).

By studying an on-going conflict in the municipality of Stockholm this paper aims to make a critical investigation of whether a strategy for a socially sustainable tourist industry has a role to play in how the office for city planning in Stockholm manages developments that impact public space. The case relates to the expansion of a well-known amusement park located on Djurgården. The proposed expansion plans are developed by the city's urban planning department together with the amusement park. The city's urban planning committee oversees and ultimately approves or vetoes the plan. The current expansion plan has been criticized by residents and experts on heritage and urban planning due to its perceived excessive impact on the Royal National City Park's visual, cultural and spatial environment.

To provide a theoretical framework for the case, we turn to a set of critical urban theory lenses, shaped over time by constructivism. Theoretical concepts from tourism studies and visitor impact management theory are explored for phenomenal understanding of the research problem.

2. Urban conflict analysis

In the introduction to 'Cities for People, Not for Profit: Critical Urban Theory and the Right to the City', (Brenner, Marcuse, & Mayer, 2009), the editors highlight a need to construct "cities that correspond to human social needs rather than to the capitalist imperative of profit-making and spatial enclosure" (p.2). Critical urban theory has come a long way since its early versions, but the quote exposes its origins in urban Marxism, still evidently clear in the allusion to the socio-economic dichotomy of user-needs versus the capitalist imperative driven by profits.

Early forms of critical urban theory were spearheaded by post-Marxists like Henri Lefebvre (Lefebvre, 1968), Manuel Castells (Castells, 1972), and David Harvey (Harvey, 1976). Along the lines of classic Marxist theory, their work took opposing material interests of the capitalist ruling class and the working class as the heart of power struggles. This theoretical framework built around material asymmetries and economic determinism, also known as historical materialism, has a number of shortcomings, among them the rigid model of class struggle. It would allow for analysis of only a very narrow selection of conflicts in our contemporary urban spaces (Brenner, Marcuse, & Mayer, 2009).

Admitting that urban politics is highly diverse and inevitably situational has been key to for the theory to bring in the element of sociologically and culturally constructed dimensions of conflict and explain conflicts that earlier theories had a hard time to accommodate (Marcuse, Imbroscio, Parker, Davies, & Magnusson, 2014) (Brenner *et al*., 2009). For example, social constructivism allows critical urban theory to account for cultural hegemony, as in the organization of consent, along the lines of Gramscian thought (Barrett, 1991).

There are hence a multitude of forces, power relations and politico-institutional arrangements that may contest, reinforce or support profit-oriented strategies in a city. The constellations formed in one way or another depend on each agents' relation to the exchange-value (profit-oriented) or use-value (everyday life) of a given urban space (Lefebvre, Kofman, & Lebas, 1968) (Carey & Harvey, 1975) (Logan & Molotch, 1987) (Sassen & Lynd, 2017). This is helpful to understand why some public private constellations are formed around ideological and policy positions taken as natural and given, while they are in fact social constructs motivated by those who somehow benefit from them (Howarth, 2015). A clear example of this is the neo-liberal approach towards economic growth and urban development.

Differently from capitalism which is an economic system, neoliberalism adds a layer of complexity to capitalism by going beyond the mere profit making imperative (Chun, 2019). By consisting of "a theory of political economic practices" (Harvey, 2007:2), neoliberalism inherently generates power constellations and normative frameworks that, perhaps inconsistent with its supposed origins in liberalism, aren't always liberal (Thorsen & Lie, n.d.). Based on the primary tenet that the state's fundamental legitimacy is to safeguard private property rights and that markets are best regulated by their own market mechanisms, subscribers to these ideas are likely to adhere to the idea that growth is an end in its own right.

The emergence of neoliberal growth constellations has been contested by theories like Lefebvre's 'The Right to the City' (Lefebvre, 1968) and later 'Whose right(s) to what city?' by Peter Marcuse (Marcuse, 2012). Lefebvre's work, contesting the anti-social and homogenizing consequences of postwar Fordist urban renewal projects (Brenner *et al*., 2009), goes hand in hand with Jane Jacobs efforts to save traditional urban neighborhoods in American cities. In a less theoretical but nonetheless less important manner, Jacobs vividly illustrated the

processes behind a wave of neo-liberal real estate and infrastructure reforms in the 60's and 70s that threatened and removed several traditional neighborhoods in New York, typical examples of vital local life made up of residents and visitors alike engaging in a plethora of activities, as preferred by residents themselves (Jacobs, 1961).

Hence, critical urban theory comes to terms with the present as well as with its historical legacy to understand the causes of things to be able to change them (D'Amato, 2006). In line with Marcuse's suggestion from Cities for people not for profit, critical urban theory is able to approach citizens' right to the city through a method of "exposing, proposing and politicizing" (Brenner *et al*., 2009:37).

2.2 Urban Tourism and Visitor Impact Management Theory

The increasing affordability to travel by air and to stay in cities is placing unprecedented pressure on European cities, particularly those with historic city centers where mass tourism is more and more common (Goodwin, 2017). Early theories looking to account for the impact tourism can have on a destination includes Butler's model of the evolution of a tourist area (BUTLER, 1980) and Doxey's *irridex* (irritation index) (Doxey, 1975). As seen in Figure 1, the former describes how a destination changes as their visitor industry grows and starts molding local characteristics. A critical point in this model is when a destination leaves the *Development* stage, when a well-defined tourist market area begins losing control of how the visitor industry impacts the city, and moves into the *Consolidation* stage. This stage is characterized by increased signs of resentment from local population, as residents are deprived of their neighborhood's authenticity and total numbers of visitors still increase (Upchurch & Teivane, 2000). This is a practical example of where social sustainability fails. If a destination's authenticity is substituted by commercial homogeneity easily found in other destinations, the given place loses its *unique selling point* (USP) for attracting visitors.

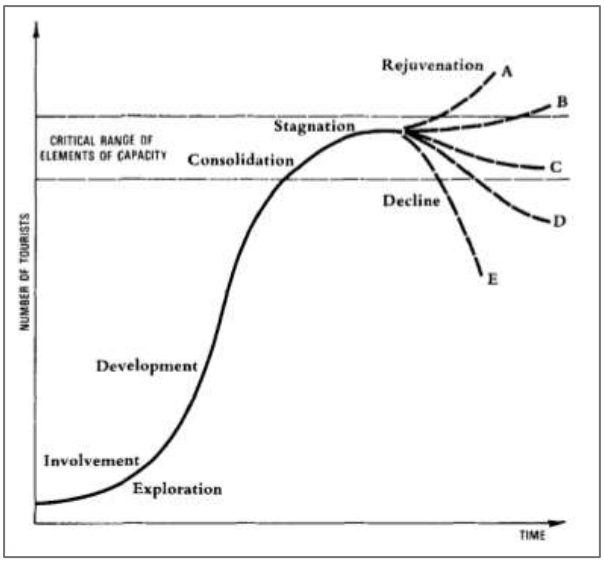

Figure 1: Illustration of the Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC)

Doxey's *irridex*, on the other hand, describes the emotional stages of residents as visitor numbers increase and gradually saturate residents' environments (Doxey, 1975). Common reasons for increased levels of residents' annoyance is increased nuisance by rowdy and numerous tourists (littering, drunken behavior, loud talking and shouting at night etc.), traffic and infrastructure congestion, or extreme seasonality of visiting crowds. Both theories have their limitations but they illustrate a reality experienced by many destinations and can be useful for an analysis of social impact.

The concept of *carrying capacity* can be defined in economic terms as the maximum number of visitors that can be accommodated at a constant quality of their experience (Fisher & Krutilla, 1972:420). Excessive use of a city's resources will inevitably lead to a reduced quality of experience. Resources that must be used in a sustained fashion are both tangible and less tangible such as public space, infrastructure, authenticity, culture and heritage. When they are consumed in an unsustainable fashion, consequences can include overcrowding, crowding out and displacement of local residents, changes in the local character of a locality, 'trincetization' of the local commerce, wear and tear of public infrastructure, and increased rental costs (Glasson, Godfrey, & Goodey, 1995).

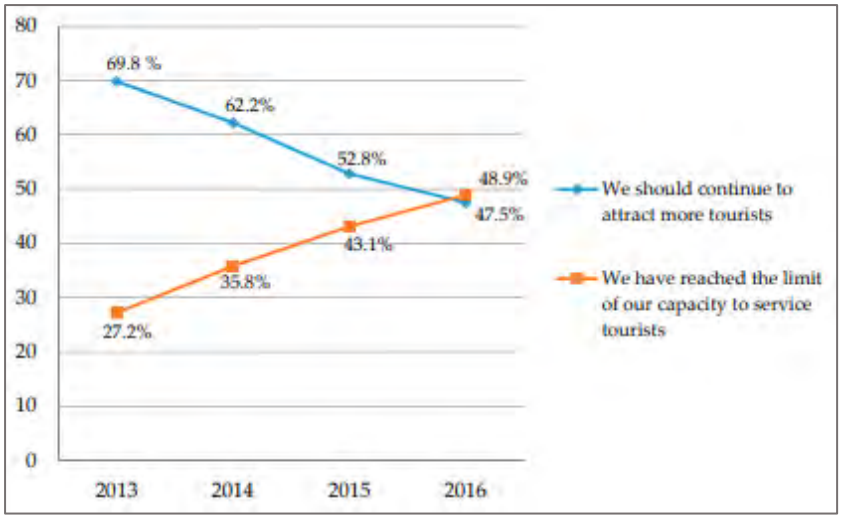

Figure 2: Graph of public opinion on capacity to serve tourists.

In Barcelona, some of these unintended consequences have characterized neighborhoods with high visitor frequency. The case of Barcelona illustrates how quickly public opinion can turn as a result (Alvarez-Sousa, Alvarez-Sousa, & Antonio, 2018):

3. Case

To understand the role of a sustainable tourism strategy vis-à-vis planning and public, space we look at an on-going case where a detail plan for exploration of a plot in central Stockholm is being developed. As seen in Figure 3, the plot is located in the red-dotted circle on Djurgården, encircled by the green dotted circle. Djurgården is located on the South side of the Royal National Park, and receives 15 m visitors every year. Visitors arrive mainly during the summer months. Djurgården is an area of both historic and economic importance. Historically it was part of the Swedish King's hunting grounds, and today it hosts a number of popular museums and scenic places in the park (located along the blue dotted line in Figure 3).

Figure 3: Map over Stockholm urban archipelago and part of Djurgården

The Royal National City Park is classified as a national interest area due to its history and unique green space in the center of the city's urban archipelago. Due to its classification as an area of national interest, the park comes with a distinct legal framework, written to protect the space and heritage (Sporrong, 2018).

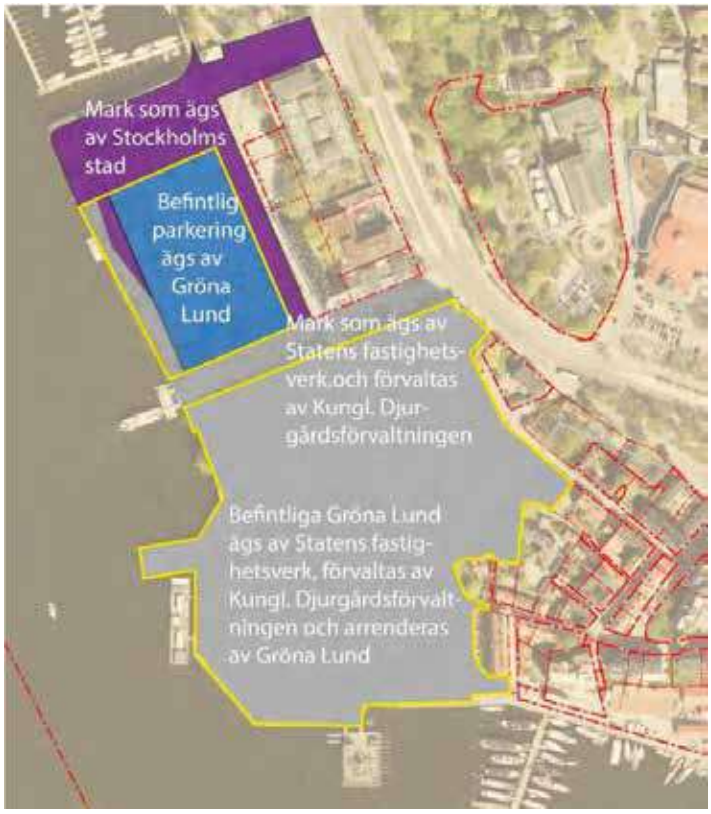

Figure 4

The owner and developer of the plot is *Parks and Resorts*, the owner of a number of Swedish theme parks. The plot under development (blue area in Figure 4) is adjacent to the amusement park *Gröna Lund* (located in the grey area in Figure 4), owned and managed by Parks and Resorts. The grey area between the water and the plot is a strip of shoreline Parks and Resorts has expressed interest to acquire and privatize. The purple space in Figure 4 is owned by the Stockholm Municipality.

Gröna Lund has been a part of Stockholm since 1883. Until 2006, when it was acquired by Parks and Resorts, it was managed as a family affair. Since then, the pace of densification of rides and constructions of new roller coasters and other attractions (currently 30 in total) increased significantly. The park is also host to an intense

Figur 5. Gröna Lund is located centrally in the heart of the Stockholm archipelago. Its visibility can be further illustrated by the view in Figure 5, seen as from point A in Figure 3.

entertainment schedule during the summers; around 70 evening concerts are held in the park during the summer seasons. Some events attract close to 20 000 visitors. At these times, traffic congestion and pedestrians cause large crowds and overcrowded public transport, particularly after shows.

The amusement park receives around 1.7 million guests, concentrated to the summer month when the park is fully engaged. During the winter months the amusement park is closed. Most visitors come to Gröna Lund during evenings and weekends to go for roller coaster rides and to attend concerts. Parks and Resorts wants to expand the existing amusement park area into the plot that is to be developed. According to the current detail plan for what the plot would contain, the space would be used for similar rides and the sort of mechanic environment as the one occupying the existing amusement park area.

3.1 The conflict

Many characteristics of the conflict resonate with the *right to the city* theory where neoliberal interests conflict with residents feelings cheated on their space and heritage. While urban struggles for social justice and access to space have traditionally been characterized by a strong dichotomy of financial inequality, this case is different in that a group of influential residents has led the movement against the current detail plan.

The conflict regarding how the plot should be developed took its current proportions late 2018. It was around September/October when residents in the neighboring area of Gröna Lund took notice of the detail plan for the plot, its contents, and that it had reached its final stages of public audit before political approval.

A detailed development plan outlines and describes what the landowner is allowed to do and construct on the plot. The document is designed by the city's urban planning department (Stadsbyggnadskontoret), and approved by the city's urban planning committee (Stadsbyggnadsnämnden). The planning department is responsible for ensuring all concerned parties, including citizens, have a say when a development plan is designed. The process of allowing for input, critique or feedback on a detail plan is called *samråd*, and can be translated as *joint consultation*.

Aware of the advanced stage of the detail plan, the resident group organized themselves in an association called *Friends of Djurgården*, with the intent to change the technical content of the plan. They also engaged and gained the support from a number of local neighborhood societies specialized in urban planning and heritage, and urban planning and heritage expert organizations.

According to the residents association and their supporters, issues with the detail plan included planned permission to build new rides of a height that would impose excessively on the city's skyline (up to 60m high) and Djurgården's appearance; activities leading to increased and excessive noise pollution for neighboring residents; and an intensification of visitor numbers to the park during already overcrowded times. Part of the critique was a

claim that the property owner (Parks and Resorts) must be able to in a reasonable manner cater for their visitors rather than using the public space surrounding the park for large crowds leaving the park, or waiting in line to enter. By enlarging the Gröna Lund, residents feared crowds would further spill out on streets, sidewalks and green areas in a way that severely obstructs passage for children, pedestrians and people on bicycles.

Figure 6

Additional resistance to the detail plan is related to what was perceived as misleading illustrations of what the detail plan could come to materialize into. As seen in Figure 6, the original photograph from the detail plan illustrates a white, translucent roller coaster on the new plot to the left. The red thick rectangle was added to indicate height of 60m high rides. The thin line indicates 35 m height to show how much below what was technically allowed the plan chose to show, and it serves to outline the area along which construction could be developed. Discontent over this led the Friends of Djurgården and their supporters to file a lawsuit to the Parliamentary Ombudsman claiming the visual content was not realistic in demonstrating what the proposed technical framework would actually allow for.

Finally, the plan suggests privatizing the shoreline, which is unusual in Stockholm; direct access to the water is generally considered part citizens' rights as part of the city's public space. There are several previous cases where private landowners on Djurgården have allowed public access to residential land along the shore, to ensure this principle. The solution proposed in the detail plan, to ensure pedestrian access along the shore, would be a footbridge for people to walk on, about 20m away from the shoreline.

In their attempt to change the content of the detail plan, the residential association led an effort to meet with staff from the planning department, politicians from the planning committee, and representatives from the County Administrative Board. A Facebook page was initiated to raise awareness of the cause.

Instead of proceeding to approval by the planning committee, the detail plan is now under development with the planning department again. Once reassessed, the plan will once again be made public for feedback before passing on to the planning committee for its evaluation and potential approval.

4. Results and analysis

To collect information on whether a socially sustainable tourist strategy exists in Stockholm and whether it could influence the planning and management of public space, the methodology of choice was discourse analysis. Spoken and written language was collected through interviews and desk based research of mainly reports and newspaper articles as content for analysis. Interviews were held with all relevant stakeholders, including the developer, the municipality and the opposing civil society groups. Experts and stakeholder organizations from the visitor industry were also interviewed.

4.1 Policy Framework

The policy framework for Stockholm's tourism industry is mainly composed by the Ministry of Enterprise and Innovation (Näringsdepartamentet), and the Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth (Tillväxtverket), in collaboration with government owned promotion company Visit Sweden AB. Specific for Stockholm is Visit Stockholm AB, a daughter company to Stockholm Business Region, owned by the Stockholm municipality.

Other important actors for a sustainable tourist strategy are business associations like Visita AB and Royal Djurgården. They provide services such as technical assistance and strategy support to businesses from the visiting industry. Visita, together with the associations for trade and transport industry, as well as Visit Stockholm, own Swedish Tourism (Svensk Turism AB), a private company and partner of the state and the state owned marketing company Visit Sweden AB.

The planning department and planning committee have little or no relation to stake holders from the visitor industry, nor do political officials have experience with working with Visit Stockholm. Mobility and increased visitor numbers are hardly spoken of according to those interviewed, and none of the above named organizations tend to be contacted for consultation during the development of detail plans. Executive capacity and mandate to plan for the built environment is located with these departments, separate in structure and practice from those promoting and targeting increased visitor numbers in the city.

4.2 Whose right to what city?

Several actors from the area of heritage and planning who were consulted by the planning department and the developer during early stages in 2015 feel disappointed by the state of the development process as it stands today. This is compounded by a regret of not having asked more questions about the proposal and what it would entail and allow for in detail from the start. A sense of feeling 'naïve' and that 'one should have known' were mentioned several times.

Generally, however, opinions of the amusement park are positive. Its management has been known as being collaborative over the years, and most people interviewed agree that 'the kids need a place to have fun'. What is seen with less optimism is the gradual development of a family owned amusement park into a corporately owned mechanical entertainment center driven mainly by what is perceived as profit expectations and a desire to expand. Similarly, many share that the omission of important information on what the developer intends to develop, combined with the image description mentioned in section 3. (Case), points to a lack of honesty from public officials in the planning department, and a desire to liaise with developers to meet their requests, rather than the interests of civil society. As a result, those who signed the lawsuit did so as much as an act of principle to correct not only an immoral issue of not complying with technical requirements of a detail plan, as an opposition to the actual height of the rides.

Additional complaints about the planning department were illustrated by reference to reports and journalistic material scrutinizing questionable approaches to developing detail plans (Ingo, Berglund, & Pemer, 2018) (Andersson, 2016). Claims are made that rather than regulating and leveraging an investment friendly climate to promote holistic growth on a city wide scale in Stockholm, the planning department has overseen developments and investments guided by exchange-value instead of standards for urban planning to maximize increased use-value for residents.

Perhaps this is related to what some people refer to as perceived arrogance and lack of interest for wellbeing by the planning department. When claims related to wellbeing are made, for example the right to rest at night, officials have been said to respond to such claims by stating higher noise levels at night as something unavoidable when living in a city. Similarly, when asked how one is to explain how a proposal can anger citizens to such a degree, the answer does not consist of a motivation of why the technicalities of the detail plan have been designed in a given manner, rather, the view is that it is impossible to please all stakeholders. The consequences of the current plans could hence mean increased stress levels for those living on Djurgården; however, the needs of Gröna Lund are perceived to be prioritized by officials from the planning department.

4.3 Social sustainability and carrying capacity

While the words 'sustainability' and 'tourism' do coincide in most tourist strategies for Stockholm, the term *sustainability* seems to refer to environmental aspects almost exclusively. Some references are made to social sustainability by the Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth (Tillväxtverket, 2019b), but interviews produced little content in the way of concrete steps to achieve buy-in from residents, how to transform residents into a *host community*, or cost-benefit analysis.

This is a questionable way of strategizing for sustained visitor quality given there is wide consensus that visitors come to Sweden for the Swedish life style, even for banal things like looking at dads with strollers[1]. Most visitors coming to Stockholm, local or national, have interest in accessing heritage in some way (Glasson *et al*., 1995). A city like Stockholm has its own morphology in the shape of watersides, structure and traditions, which provide a framework for identity for the visitors and residents alike (Glasson *et al*., 1995) (UNESCO, 2013). Edward Relph (1976) develops the idea of place and identity as:

> *"While place meanings are rooted in the physical setting and its activities, they are not a property of them but a property of human interaction and experiences of those places"* (Relph, 1976:47)

To put a price tag on what cultural heritage and historical architecture is worth; the recent Notre Dame fire was enlightening. Over a 1 billion Euros were collected, the bulk from brands intimately related to the historical city brand of Paris. In other words, a USP worth preserving.

While political official and representatives from the municipal planning units were in general not familiar with the complexity of over tourism or the possibility that we could see it here, actors from the visiting industry's private sector organizations showed a clear preference for quality over quantity. The expressed this by, for example, questioning strictly quantitative goals such as "doubling the number of overnight stays" or increasing

[1] so called *latte-pappa*, the stay at home fathers seen with their strollers while meeting up with other baby daddies to have a latte.

revenue by 80 per cent. In a few cases this also came with critiques of Visit Stockholm's quantitative focus: "What do they really say about growth or wealth?".

One of the difficulties when developing detail plans for Djurgården is how to interpret the legal framework for which developments are allowed in the Royal National City Park. While the framework is based on values intent on protecting the park and its environment from disruptive changes, concrete regulations such as height limitations are absent. Rather, directives are rather lose, such as expressing that new construction is only allowed as long as it does not intrude on the park landscape or cultural milieu. This leaves much room for interpretation of the master plan, which is ultimately of the planning department's discretion since no external advising organizations or experts have a veto over their detail plan decisions. An example of room for interpretation is that the master plans indicates existing actors in the event area of Djurgården, including Gröna Lund, are allowed to "develop". This in interpreted by the planning office as the right to expand with few limitations on height and density, and privatization of the shoreline. The latter, however under used under current circumstances, constitutes public space.

Interviews with stakeholders accompanying the development plan, many of which have engaged with the preservation of the Royal National Park for many years, align with a case of 'popularizing' an area associated with heritage to be one of broader appeal unrelated to any specific aspects of heritage or identity. As expressed by Glasson *et al* in his book from 1995, "it is a process that inherently comes with simplification of a given location's depth or story to tell. Contrary to how one might interpret such a process of 'democratization' of space, it transforms a city's heritage – which belongs to all its residents – creating a space instead designed for a specific group" (Glasson *et al*., 1995). In this case, that specific group is the visitors of the amusement park Gröna Lund.

5. Discussion

Studies of how tourism influences cities is nothing new, it has been the topic of researchers for many years (Canestrelli & Costa, 1991) (BUTLER, 1980) (Van Der Borg *et al*., 1996) (Glasson *et al*., 1995). Nevertheless, social impact, as one of the more complex aspects of impact to measure, is only now beginning to gain traction in policy and strategy formulation. Public officials in a number of cities are agreeing that it is naïve to look at the visitor industry as one that should roam free from oversight, strategies and management. Even in the capitalist mecca of the world, regulations concerning commercial activity are put up to protect a location's character (San Francisco Planning Department, 2014). When it comes to regulating receiving capacity, the number of cities regulating Airbnb rentals is increasing; Barcelona, Amsterdam, Paris and Los Angeles are a few with municipalities creating stricter legislation for the platform industry (Lagrave, 2018).

However, in cases where local governments speak in terms of sustainable tourist strategies, it is done admitting sustainable is a concept that is linked to tradeoffs. To the distraught of residents, these are often the ones carrying the onus of the tradeoffs before more creative solutions to conflicting interests and regulations are put in place. This often occurs after economic and social externalities have reached a more permanent nature in the form of crowding out of local economic activity and local residents, or touristification of neighborhoods (Bakker, 2019). Planning then becomes remedial and reactive (Doxey, 1975).

The municipal planning office and the marketing agencies promoting growth of the visitor industry are conceptually and ideologically distant from the idea of regulation, improving reinforcement of regulation that controls the impact of tourism on local economy and social fabrics. Perhaps this is due to weak data on how the city is reacting to the increased number of visitors. The city needs instruments that can provide adequate data that overnight stays and airline arrivals simply cannot do. The managerial toolkit policy makers require must include forecasting capacity that can tell us something about qualitative information (cultural and economic behavior, for example) rather than the quantity of tourists we are receiving. Using tracking techniques is one way. Royal Djurgården is doing something of the kind already as a first innovative step to ensuring socially and environmentally sustainable development of the park's full potential.

It is perhaps due to place dependency that noticeable awareness of qualitative goals and aspects of growth was found when speaking to professional associations such as Visita AB and Royal Djurgården. Such actors are important partners for the city's planning office as increased collaboration could harness the interest in preserving the quality and authenticity of Stockholm while catering to needs for sustained and adequate growth in parallel. Place dependent actors conditioned to a certain environment have nothing to gain from over tourism. There are other examples of this. In Venice, the most powerful lobby group against the unregulated existence of Airbnb is the association of hotels. Crowds over a certain point is simply not good for business.

Successful examples of sustainable management of public space vis-a-vis both residents and visitors require participation of all impacted stakeholders, as well as management, enforcement and communication by relevant authority (van der Zwan, 2016). Denmark is another example where tourism strategies aiming for quantitative goals have been substituted by destination strategies with a more qualitative focus. Differently from a tourist strategy, a destination strategy goes beyond the idea of the 'tourist' as a separate stakeholder, and approaches urban management in a holistic way in that planners recognize that increased mobility of both local, national and international travelers needs to be observed for socially sustainable planning (Wonderful Copenhagen, n.d.) .

The focus on quantitative goals, rather than qualitative aspects in strategies for Stockholm's tourist strategies points to the absence of a socially sustainability for the visitor strategies. The lack of communication and coordination between the planning office and the departments developing the visitor industry weakens the social

sustainability of how Stockholm is developing further. As observed, this causes developments to emerge that fail to consider needs of the city's main attraction; its authenticity and local culture. Lack of coordination also undermines one of the pillars of the Visit Stockholm's tourist strategy, namely to make residents 'informal hosts'. This goal is less likely to be attained while another government department develops proposals for the visitor industry that make a considerable group of residents and citizens disappointed, angered and cynical about they operate.

Failing to appreciate a holistic approach to how to create urban growth will continue feeding beliefs of immoral and partial behavior on behalf of municipal representatives. For each case of popular resistance to infrastructure development that disregard public space, infrastructure limitations or architectural heritage, instead leaning in favor of private developers' interests, the question of sustainable urban development is likely to increase in its level of political urgency. In a worst-case scenario, it can turn into a politically divisive issue instead of something that unites residents.

Residents and tourists alike increasingly look for a unique and authentic experience. To deliver this a destination must take on tradeoffs in economic growth in some locations and for some stakeholders. When properly managed, historical landscapes can leverage tourism and the service sector to increase welfare, while motivating protection and endurance of economic and social diversity, as well as a place's residential character. It is therefore a fair claim to say that to attract a sustainable and desirable visitor industry, while validating those who call it home, carefully protecting and managing the identity of a place becomes an imperative (Ashworth & Voogd, 1990) (UNESCO, 2011).

The questions we are left with is how a practical framework that enables a socially sustainable strategy is to look. What can be induced is that effective visitor management requires effective communication and collaboration between potentially conflicting interests. One way of doing it could be to include representatives from the visitor industry as an assessment area in the early stages of deciding whether a request for a detail plan should be approved for full development. What structures are conducive to allowing for this, and how effective is collaboration without executive mandates? It remains to be seen; the first step for the municipality of Stockholm is to consider what a socially sustainable strategy could look like.

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