Master's Thesis

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Safeguarding Bruges' Traditional Craftsmanship and Lisbon's Historic Retail in the Face of Urban McDisneyization

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ABSTRACT

The Portuguese capital Lisbon and the Belgian heritage city Bruges are among Europe's most popular city destinations. However, both cities have been criticized for the "touristification" of their city centers. In the more mature tourism destination Bruges, attention is aimed at the oversupply of low-quality souvenir shops. Lisbon, on the other hand, has established itself only recently as an international destination. In the context of tourism gentrification, many of the city's old and traditional retail shops are currently closing and make way for establishments only catering to tourists. Both cities have initiated multi-annual projects to safeguard their urban culture and maintain distinct city identities. *Handmade in Bruges* rewards local crafts professionals and attempts to render high-skilled craftsmanship more visible in the city. The municipality-led initiative *Lojas com História* aims to protect Lisbon's old and culturally significant shops. The projects stand out through their focus on immaterial everyday culture. This research is concerned with how the increasing focus on intangible culture in the context of heritage management and destination development is translated into policy-practice on the municipal level. Eighteen in-depth interviews with central actors of the two policy-projects shed light on contemporary approaches to maintaining attractive and distinct inner cities. This research provides a unique perspective on the intersection of creative tourism development and intangible heritage management by including the projects' coordinators, tourism intermediaries, policymakers, and the label-holders in the sample. The findings present the McDisneyization of the urban landscape as a perceived threat to local meaning and continuity, motivating the endeavors of safeguarding traditional urban culture. Further, this paper first introduces traditional retail as a form of community-based heritage. The findings shed light on how residents negotiate intangible heritage as the link between the cities' past and present, which establishes a distinct sense of place. The initiatives represent official attempts to counteracting the homogenization and commodification of urban culture by revitalizing local cultural expressions through bottom-up approaches. It is shown how the projects' central actors regard the creative tourist with his interest in experiencing local lifestyles as an ambassador for the revitalization of intangible heritage. In turn, intangible heritage is seen as a resource for creative tourism development. Finally, this paper suggests that the different modes of heritage management by the two projects relate to the cities' stages of McDisneyization. Whereas the rapid changes connected to Lisbon's tourism-led urban regeneration appear to fuel a rather conservationist approach to urban heritage, Handmade in Bruges makes part of the endeavor of reviving a creative city image through innovation and change.

Keywords: Intangible Cultural Heritage, Creative Tourism, McDisneyization, Sustainable Tourism Development, Sense of Place, Place Identity, Craftsmanship, Retail

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1. INTRODUCTION

"Authenticity must be used to reshape the rights of ownership. Claiming authenticity can suggest the right to the city, a human right, that is cultivated by longtime residence, use, and habit." - Sharon Zukin

Over the past years, particularly European heritage cities have been portrayed as suffering from the cultural consequences of intensifying tourism. Urban tourists, searching for authentic cultural experiences, seem to crowd out those users of the city upholding its distinct ways of life. Much research has been conducted on the processes of *McDisneyization* of urban culture in the light of mass tourism (Russo, 2002; Weaver, 2005; Fainstein, 2007; Zegre et al., 2012). However, this master's thesis shows how policy-projects in European tourism metropolises counteract these processes by revitalizing traditional craftsmanship and historical retail with the cases of Lisbon and Bruges.

The cities of Lisbon and Bruges have been subject to the widespread media debate on "over-tourism" and urban *Disneyfication*, which renders them particularly suitable for a study at the intersection of culture and tourism. While the Belgian city of Bruges is a mature tourism destination, Portugal's capital has witnessed a tourism boom only throughout the past decade. The city, which until recently used to be positioned as an up-and-coming destination, appears to finally have entered the realm of European cities "haunted" by mass tourism. It is argued that Lisbon has managed to become an international tourism destination without being prepared for the complex challenges related to its success (Marques, & Richards, 2018; Minder, 2018; Smith, 2018). In 2019, Lisbon hosted around 4.5 million tourists, outnumbering residents by a factor of 8 (Minder, 2018). In the face of tourism gentrification, the sharply rising property prices are forcing many of the distinctive traditional retail shops to close. In the media, it is criticized how tourism-oriented shops and restaurants have replaced traditional retail in the Portuguese trading city (Smith, 2018; Lorenz, 2018). However, the Lisbon City Council has acknowledged that the old shops decisively contribute to the cultural identity of the historic trading city.

Bruges usually receives around 9 million visitors per year, mostly concentrated within the four-square kilometer small *Golden Triangle*, which encompasses the most significant

medieval monuments (Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2019). The enormous number of visitors outnumber the mere 20.000 urban residents in the tourist seasons. The heritage city Bruges, also known as Europe's medieval capital, is marked by a tradition of craftsmanship. Nowadays, however, most chocolates and lace articles on sale in the city are tailored to mass tourism consumption and are increasingly imported from afar (Neyrinck, 2017; Visit Bruges, 2019; Tapis Plein, 2014). Recently, Bruges received attention for introducing regulations to limit the influx of mass tourists in order to prevent the city from becoming a "complete Disneyland" in the words of its mayor (Boffey, 2019; Visit Bruges, 2019). He specifically addresses the touristification of Bruge's retail landscape: "The inhabitants of Bruges don't recognize their own city. They see no clothes shops, butchers, bakers. Only chocolate and beer." (In Boffey, 2019).

While criticism on the cultural sustainability of urban tourism has become louder, multi-annual policy projects have been initiated in Bruges and Lisbon to revive characteristic elements of local everyday culture. The municipality-led project *Lojas com História* ("*Shops with a History*") was established in 2015 and grants labels of distinction to traditional retail and gastronomy. Lisbon's currently 139 "shops with a history" include a wide range of businesses, from restaurants to pharmacies. The multi-sectoral policy *Handmade in Bruges* rewards local, high-quality craftsmanship through labels since 2014. By now, 76 "local makers have received the distinction." The "handmade products with a story" comprise crafts as diverse as chocolates and calligraphy. Interestingly, both projects emphasize the immaterial aspects related to traditional craftsmanship and historic retail (Lojas com História, n.d.; Handmade in Bruges, n.d.).

These projects and their approaches to managing intangible urban culture have not yet been subject to empirical study. Thus, the two projects provide for compelling case studies, that let this research explore contemporary attempts of safeguarding intangible heritage in the context of urban tourism. UNESCO (2003) has promoted the mission of safeguarding intangible heritage since 2003. The rising awareness of intangible culture in the context of destination branding is a parallel development (Marques, & Richards, 2018). Further, the progressing shift in attention from monumental to immaterial culture has been accompanied by the recent creative turn in tourism studies (Richards, 2009). Thus, illuminating the contexts in these policies are embedded provides crucial insights into how the increasing theoretical focus on immaterial culture within the fields of heritage management and tourism planning is translated into policy practice on the city level.

While UNESCO's definition of intangible heritage includes the skills and practices of craftsmanship, it does not account for the activities related to traditional retail. Also, in academia, retail has not yet been approached as a form of cultural heritage. Accordingly, this master's thesis first introduces historic retail as a form of community-based heritage

Further, the relevancy of this research lies in its contribution to the ongoing debate around the attractiveness of inner cities' commercial districts. The current Covid-19 crisis only seems to undermine the structural crisis of retail. While the pandemic has seemingly accelerated the rise of online shopping, the situation of many small retailers appears to have worsened significantly (Maheswhari, 2020; Diemand, & Waidner, 2020). Also, this year's sudden and unprecedented absence of travel has highlighted the problems related to the tourism-dependency of prime city destinations (Ewing, 2020; Matthay, 2020; Quinn, 2020). Hence, the current situation reinforces the relevance of researching how municipalities currently attempt to safeguard traditional retail and local products as part of their urban heritage.

A study conducted from the perspective of interpretative sociology complements any economic assessments of the crafts and retail sector. Accordingly, this study considers how craftsmanship and retail interact with the social, symbolic, and cultural dimensions of the urban place. Previous studies conducted at the interface of intangible heritage and tourism development have first and foremost dealt with rural and non-western societies (Yu, 2015; Nic Eoin, & King, 2013; Daskon, & McGregor, 2012). On the other hand, insights on creative tourism development mostly contribute to debates around culture-led urban or regional regeneration (D'Auria, 2009; Della Lucia et al., 2016). This study fills a gap by addressing the *placemaking* properties of intangible culture in the context of urban heritage and creative tourism.

Consequently, the research question, which this thesis pursues to answer is formulated as follows: *How do central actors of the initiatives 'Lojas com História' and 'Handmade in Bruges' negotiate between the role of urban tourism and the safeguarding of historic retail in Lisbon and traditional craftsmanship in Bruges?*

The findings of this research are embedded in previous studies and relevant literature. In chapter 2, Bruges' and Lisbon's profiles as tourism destinations will be outlined in relation to the respective policies to provide context to the analytical findings. Further, the literature review links the central *McDonaldization* thesis to the context of urban tourism (Ritzer, & Liska, 2002). After connecting the notion of the *sense of place* (Jive´n, & Larkham, 2003) to the processes of globalization and particularly tourism, I will proceed to discuss the

safeguarding of intangible heritage as an attempt of placemaking (Lew, 2017) and, thus, of counteracting tourism-induced *placelessness* (Arefi, 1999). In this regard, the concept of *creative tourism* (Richards, 2009) will also be introduced to the theoretical framework. Additionally, the changing socio-economic situation of traditional craftsmanship and retail will be discussed. In this regard, also the role of process-oriented tourism consumption (Littrell, 1996) will be considered. Finally, how the Covid-19 pandemic plays into these developments will be outlined in consideration of the notion of *cultural resilience* (Holtorf, 2018).

In Chapter 3, I will critically elaborate on choices made regarding the research design. More than eleven hours of interview material, comprised of 18 conversations with central actors related to *Handmade in Bruges* and *Lojas com História* on different levels, provide the data to answer the central research question. Interviewing shop owners, crafts professionals, the projects' coordinators, a tourism intermediary, an advisory board member of *Lojas com História* as well as a representative of Bruges's City Hall, allowed this research to gain a unique and comprehensive view on the phenomena under investigation. The multitude of perspectives enabled this study to analyze the strategic considerations underlying the projects as well as the daily professional experiences of label-holders. Moreover, this research has made use of the flexibility offered by the qualitative research method. To keep up with the situations that craftsmanship and retail are living through in the light of the Covid-19 pandemic, follow up emails with the interviewees were integrated into the research.

An extensive discussion of the central analytical findings will be presented in chapter 4. The chapter commences by analyzing the meanings attributed to craftsmanship and historic retail for the cities' identities as well as the tourism-related factors which are perceived to endanger the continuity of everyday urban culture. Then, I proceed to the relationship between safeguarding intangible heritage, urban development, and destination branding. After presenting craftsmanship and historic retail as placemaking resources, the projects' different modes of managing intangible culture will be connected to the cities' respective stages of tourism development. The findings will be brought into context by embedding them in the broader academic debate in Chapter 5. This thesis will conclude by providing relevant implications for culturally sustainable tourism development and by offering suggestions for subsequent research, also regarding the emerging circumstances of the Covid-19 crisis (Chapter 6).

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter will expound on the theoretical context in which my research is embedded. The findings of the research interact with the previous studies conducted and add to relevant existing theory. Firstly, Lisbon's and Bruges's touristic contexts will be discussed in relation to the projects *Handmade in Bruges* and *Lojas com História*. It is then proceeded to elaborating on the complex relationship between urban tourism and culture with a focus on the concept of *McDisneyization* (Ritzer, & Miles, 2018; Ritzer, & Liska, 2002). Subsequently, the notion of the sense of place is introduced with respect to global-local dynamics manifested in the urban space (Jive´n, & Larkham, 2003). In this regard, it is focused on intangible culture and its placemaking properties (Lew, 2017). Followingly, the existing research and theory on intangible cultural heritage in the context of tourism development and destination branding will be discussed. The frequently cited and novel concept of creative tourism will then be linked to intangible heritage (Richards, 2009). Next, the structural crises which traditional retail and craftsmanship have experienced will be reviewed. Emphasis is particularly placed on the link between tourism, local products, and process-oriented consumption. This chapter concludes by outlining the implications the current corona-crisis holds for tourism, retail, and the notion of cultural resilience (Holtorf, 2018).

2.1 Tourism Gentrification in Lisbon & 'Lojas com História'

Tourism is a significant driver of urban economic growth and development. Investments in tourism are generally regarded as ultimately benefitting residents' quality of life through increased economic opportunities and improvements in infrastructure and the built environment (UNWTO, 2012). On the other hand, the "neoliberal commodified agenda" of global tourism is often criticized because of its disregard for cultural, ecological, and economic sustainability. Residents at popular destinations are argued to be often unable to adequately benefit from massive tourism, of which they ultimately bear the social and environmental costs (Wearing et al., 2019).

Due to political factors, Lisbon has only presented itself as an international tourism destination comparably late. The Portuguese capital was still considered a peripheral tourism destination in the early 2000s when undertaking first efforts to enhance its visitor friendliness

for international tourists (van de Borg, & Russo, 2002). Tourism-led urban regeneration has provided a strategy for Lisbon to attract foreign capital and investment and pave a way out of the substantial consequences of the 2008 economic crisis, which hit the Portuguese economy particularly hard and persistently (Marques, & Richards, 2018). In recent years, Lisbon has successfully established itself as a leading city destination demonstrated by multiple international travel awards as the best city break destination (World Travel Awards, n.d.). Along with rising tourism in the Portuguese capital, decaying buildings in the historic center were restored, unemployment sunk significantly, and significant improvements to the infrastructure were undertaken (Minder, 2018).

However, the city's tourism-led urban regeneration is criticized in the media and academia for not accounting for the consequences of tourism gentrification. An article in the *New York Times* from May 2018 connects the 2011 liberalization of the housing law and the "golden visa," a strategy to attract foreign real-estate investment, with new social problems emerging from the agenda of neoliberal urban regeneration. Ten years after the dictatorship ended in 1974, the regulation of previously "frozen" housing contracts was abolished. However, this did not include existing contracts, and Lisbon's center remained an area marked by deterioration and vacancy due to the prevalence of old renting contracts (Minder, 2018).

At the present moment, excessive clustering of short-term rentals in Lisbon's downtown as well as real estate speculation cause urban gentrification and a new major housing crisis. A considerable wealth gap between many of the Portuguese residents and the international tourists made many locals leave the "commodified" city center (Lestegás et al., 2018). As thousands of families have been evicted over the last years from the central neighborhoods in Lisbon, petitions and resident initiatives have pressured the implementation of regulations on rental contracts and short-term rentals like Airbnb (Yeung, 2019). According to João Seixas, professor of Geography at the University of Lisbon, tourism was brought into the city "without thinking of its consequences" (Marques, & Richards, 2018: 70). In the media, the decrease of Portuguese residents and the urban "touristification" has been linked to Lisbon's identity loss in downtown districts such as Bairro Alto and Alfama (Minder, 2018; Lorenz, 2018; Urbact, n.d.).

These drawbacks have also brought about the closure of numerous historical stores. A *New York Times* article from October 2018 reports on the dramatic changes in Lisbon's retail landscape between 2013 and 2018. Shop owners, struggling in the face of real-estate speculation, lobbied the municipal council to take action against the closure of specifically

those businesses left behind by the emerging tourism economy. The project *Lojas com História* was initiated as a response to shop owners' requests. An "unexpected" outcome of the program has reportedly been a revival of interest in Portuguese culture and tradition by young entrepreneurs (Lorenz, 2018).

Lojas com História assists historic stores with financial aid for renovations and by granting visibility through marketing initiatives on various channels. The project was a first in Portugal with other cities like Porto and Coimbra following in recent years with their versions of protection initiatives for historical stores. *Lojas com História*, founded in 2015, has since 2018 been supported by a new renting regulation. This regulation prolongs the temporary rent freeze originating in 2012 for another five years and thus, extends the transitioning period to new housing laws for old tenants, including businesses until 2022 (Yeung, 2019; Lojas com História, n.d.).

2.2. Tourism Mono-culture in Bruges & 'Handmade in Bruges'

Bruges, also known as the medieval capital of Europe, is in contrast to Lisbon, a mature tourist destination. The Belgian city had been in a stage of decline after being one of the most affluent trading centers in the middle ages. Since the early 20th century, however, tourism fostered the revival of Bruges (Visit Flanders, n.d.). While recent academic tourism literature on Bruges is scarce, new tourism restrictions introduced by the Belgian city in 2019 are covered exhaustively in the media under headlines such as "The Belgian City that solved the problem of a tourist invasion" (Mason, 2018). The new city administration deals specifically with the issue of unlucrative and unsustainable cruise tourism, which leads to an overcrowding of the city during the day-time, leaving it idle at night (Neyrinck, 2014; Boffey, 2019). Bruges suspended any advertisements addressing day-trippers and minimized the number of cruise ships allowed to arrive at Zeebrugge. Also, Bruges's tourism board, *Visit Bruges*, has argued that a mass-tourism-oriented-supply of shops and activities diminishes the city's attractiveness for residents and tourists interested in more diverse cultural offerings (Visit Bruges, 2019).

Following Russo (2002), specifically mid-sized European heritage cities are in danger of developing a tourism mono-culture. In a 2017 report on the project *Handmade in Bruges*, Neyrinck discusses not only the urban problems of overcrowding and a tourist-centric local economy. Instead, he also problematizes the lack of creative young entrepreneurs in Bruges

as related to the absence of attractive higher education. Just outside of the souvenir-shop flooded city center, shop windows were vacant and streets run-down due to the structural economic challenges of attracting new entrepreneurial activities in the city. The initiative "Handmade in Bruges" evolved from the civil society initiative *Quartier Bricolé* as part of *Tapisplein*, an NGO specialized in intangible heritage. *Quartier Bricolé* was launched in 2009 with the mission to regenerate vacant streets in Bruges through creative entrepreneurship, especially handicrafts and contemporary design. In 2014, Handmade in Bruges was founded in full collaboration of Bruges' municipality as a "trans sectorial policy" on the local level to render the objective of promoting Bruges as a city of craftsmanship a long-term mission (Neyrinck, 2017). By 2017, Handmade in Bruges has become part of De Republiek, a hub for creative organizations in Bruges (De Republiek, n.d.).

2.3 Commodification of Urban Culture in the Face of Tourism

Lisbon and Bruges have both been subject to the widespread Disneyfication discourse in the media. In the case of the more mature tourism destination Bruges, not only spatial overcrowding but specifically the prevalence of stereotypical and low-quality beer and chocolate shops, are repeatedly brought into the spotlight (Boffey, 2019). New stores marketing local products for a touristic audience like the "Fantastic World of the Portuguese Sardines" serve as examples of the dramatic changes that have altered Lisbon's downtown (Minder, 2018).

The relationship between tourism and culture has been researched from multiple perspectives and angles. Scholars have frequently described this relationship as being of an ambiguous nature (Shepherd, 2002; Fainstein, 2007). Whereas a place's material and immaterial cultural assets crucially contribute to its attractiveness and marketability, these assets are often threatened by the very visitors they draw in (Marques, & Richards, 2018).

The concept McDonaldization of society was developed in the 1990s by the sociologist Ritzer. In the Weberian tradition, it refers to a process of rationalization of society through mechanisms applied by the global fast-food chain, namely predictability, mass production, and standardization. In the context of tourism, this concept has mostly been linked to mass- and package- tourism (Zegre, Needham, Kruger, & Rosenberger, 2012). From this perspective, the homogenization of society is an ongoing process, closely related to globalization's interconnected forces. Regarding urban mass tourism, McDonaldization can

refer to the increasingly rationalized infrastructures cities adapt to host ever-growing numbers of international visitors (Ritzer, & Miles, 2018).

Disneyfication, in the context of city tourism, refers to the commodification of urban culture and is closely linked to a loss of "authenticity" and cultural meaning (Fainstein, 2007). Ritzer combines the two concepts to the hybrid McDisneyization. He applies the principles under which fast-food chains operate to tourism destinations attempting to gain the highest possible profits from selling cultural experiences to tourists (Folch Insights, 2018). McDisneyization of urban tourism can be understood as the cultural dimension underlying globalized tourism, which operates mainly under the mechanisms of the free market economy (Wearing et al., 2019).

According to Wearing et al. (2019), the neoliberal global tourism industry responds to the consumer demands to experience "authentic" local culture. However, translating cultural experiences into efficient, predictable, and easy-to-consume commodities available to vast amounts of international visitors is argued to cause cities to provide increasingly indistinguishable and homogenized experiences. Ritzer suggests that the assembly line mechanisms of urban mass tourism barely leave room authentic and spontaneous cultural encounters. Tourists would have to travel for more extended periods to be able to find what Ritzer refers to as rare "escape routes" to McDonaldization (Folch Insights, 2018).

Nevertheless, globally the LOS (length of stay) has been declining over the past years (Gössling, 2018). People have tended to travel more often for shorter periods due to changing work and mobility patterns, as well as the increasing affordability of transportation means. City tourism has been rising over the past years, with urban destinations being particularly suited for short trips. Urban destinations are easy to access and offer plenty of activities and tourist sites (UNWTO, 2012). Short and packaged tourism is regarded as further impelling the problem of McDisneyization of urban culture. Cruise tourism, which makes up for a decisive share of overall visitation in both Lisbon and Bruges, is portrayed as a prime example of superficial mass tourism. This form of travel is held responsible for the rationalization of cultural experiences at urban destinations; and, eventually, of cities themselves (Ritzer, & Liska, 2002; Folch Insights, 2018).

Ritzer argues that cities do generally not engage in any official measures to counteract these developments of commodification and standardization as economic growth rather than the preservation of authenticity are a matter of concern for city administrations (Folch Isnights, 2018). However, recent policy measures and projects seem to illustrate a different trend. On an international scale, the European Union has made improving the quality in inner

cities through culture a goal on its agenda. The Urban Europe Report 2016 explicitly states that "an influx of tourists can potentially lower the quality of life for local inhabitants, for example, through (…) new retail formats replacing traditional commerce (…)" (European Commission, 2016: 137).

The project *Handmade in Bruges* actively seeks to revive contemporary craftsmanship by supporting the local crafts professionals. The project anticipates the consumer's "aversion to anonymous, mass production and the globalised consumption" (Tapis Plein, 2014). Both programs can be situated in the context of popular urban tourism destinations attempting to counteract their inner cities' homogenization in favor of local distinctiveness (Urbact, n.d.)

2.4 Cities & the Problem of Meaning

This research is interested in the role that is attributed to distinctively local practices in the urban context. An overview of the discourse on the urban space and its cultural significance in an age of globalization and digitization is necessary to make sense of the projects aiming to safeguard intangible culture. MacCannell (1976) has already in the 1970s prominently referred to the tourist as a pilgrim searching for authenticity. While cities make up for the most popular tourist destinations, city centers are criticized to progressively lack distinctive characteristics (European Commission, 2016; Zukin, 2009; Shepherd, 2002). Competing for investments, capital, and tourists on a global scale, cities increasingly perceive the need to distinguish themselves through culture (Selby, 2004). At the same time, the uniqueness of urban identities is argued to become more limited due to the standardization of attractions and consumption spaces (Zukin, 1998). Also, cultural branding strategies are argued to often resemble each other. Ritzer denotes the phenomenon of longing for a distinctive place identity in an increasingly inauthentic world as *McIdentity* (Folch Insights, 2018).

The sense of place is defined as the theoretic dimension encompassing the meanings attributed to a specific locality. These meanings are socially constructed and can be individual, shared, or collective. They might rely on personal experiences or can be evoked through media. The sum of these different meanings attached to a place constitutes its identity. Whereas a place identity used to be conceptualized as given, natural and fixed, post-modern conditions have led to a crisis of place. In an increasingly globalized and digitized world, where physical location is losing significance, and urban landscapes and ways of life come to resemble each other, culturally authentic places fade away. Tourism is regarded as

contributing to the loss of meaning and crisis of place identity by producing what Augé calls *anthropological non-places* such as spaces of international transit or shopping malls largely detached from organic cultural life. As cities are global nodes for movement of capital, people, ideas and goods, the phenomenon of placelessness, which refers to a lack of culturally significant and meaningful places, are claimed to concern the urban realm first and foremost (Arefi, 1999; Cresswell, 2003; Jive´n, & Larkham, 2003).

One strategy employed to restore meaningfulness translates in adapting programs to safeguard the intangible heritage. Lew (2017) refers to such systematic, top-down management of place culture as placemaking. Place-making, on the contrary, refers to organic and unstructured ways of shaping the image of a place. According to Lew (2017), these bottom-up ways of "making" a place are fundamental to the creation of local meanings. While tourism planning can reinforce them, he argues, it needs to grant space for spontaneous cultural development.

João Seixas, professor of Geography at the University of Lisbon, argues that the project *Lojas com História* has the potential to strengthen Lisbon's identity and counteract the "museumification" of the city center (Marques, & Richards, 2018). This research, shedding light on the motives underlying the initiatives *Lojas com História* and *Handmade in Bruges*, is going beyond the structural problems that crafts and retail face and brings the construction of local identity into the picture.

2.5 Intangible Heritage & Creative Tourism

Assessing the projects *Lojas com História* and *Handmade in Bruges* as attempts to safeguarding intangible cultural heritage requires reviewing the context in which this goal has become propagated. UNESCO (2003) has defined intangible heritage as "the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills - as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage." While the 2003 Convention on Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage refers explicitly to the knowledge, skills, and techniques of traditional craftsmanship- rather than the actual craft products- as a domain of intangible cultural heritage, traditional retail is not mentioned (Karakul, 2019). The project *Lojas com História* is concerned not only with the material dimension of the shops; the historic buildings and interiors but also with "energising and reinvigorating the commercial

activities essential for their existence" (Lojas com História, n.d.). "Safeguarding traditional retail" as a form of publicly supported heritage can be understood as a new practice, concept, and research topic in academia.

Following Harrison (2012), attempts of "safeguarding" or "protecting" culture frequently trace back to a perceived threat. He argues that a perceived uncertainty motivates late-modern ventures of salvaging heritage. Often, time itself represents the threat to heritage. Material heritage is commonly endangered by loss, decay, or erosion, which leads to a conservationist approach to salvaging it. On the other hand, forgetting and societal change might pose a threat to living culture. Without a perceived threat or risk, intangible heritage may refer to not more than ritualized practices of the realm of everyday life (Harrison, 2012).

Safeguarding intangible heritage is one of the most recent series of UNESCO's world heritage initiatives. Officially recognizing intangible heritage has been part of UNESCO's endeavor to become more inclusive and representative of diverse forms of global heritage (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004). The very concept of heritage had previously been closely linked to materiality and demarcation from the realm of everyday life (Harrison, 2012).

In the attempt to approach immaterial culture, UNESCO focused more narrowly on traditional folklore as threatened by mass media and industrialization. This already marked shift away from the protection of elitist high culture towards the inclusion of community-based forms of heritage (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004; Cominelli, & Greffe, 2012). However, the focus has been broadened considerably, and an international campaign for safeguarding intangible heritage was introduced in 2003. In this context, UNESCO has come to consider Intangible heritage as an essential source for cultural diversity in an era of accelerating globalization (UNESCO, n.d.).

For Bortolotto (2007), the concept of intangible heritage is based not only on the intangibility of its cultural expression but also on the practical use, as compared to a solely aesthetic purpose. She further points out that intangible culture is continually evolving into the future, rather than being a static manifestation of the past. D'Auria (2009) similarly characterizes intangible heritage as the connecting element between past and present, as well as between a place and its residents.

UNESCO's goal of ensuring respect and awareness, support the enactment and sustain the transmission of intangible culture to future generations inevitably challenges local governments regarding the questions of what cultural practices they should safeguard and in which ways (UNESCO, 2003; Horjan, 2011; Neyrinck, 2017). *Handmade in Bruges* started as an attempt to translating the objectives of the UNESCO Convention of 2003 into practice.

A vision report by the government of Flanders on intangible cultural heritage for the Flemish part of Belgium in 2010 supported this endeavor (Tapis Plein, 2014; Neyrinck, 2017). Efforts on a national and local level to identify, document, and support intangible heritage can be understood as novel approaches to an understanding and managing of cultural heritage. Organizations and governments, accustomed to the notion of heritage as material and monumental, are assumed to struggle to get adjusted with the challenge of managing this evolving realm of culture (Cominelli, & Greffe, 2012).

Keeping practices alive is the ultimate goal of any attempt to safeguard intangible heritage. The transmission of skills and knowledge valorized as intangible heritage depends on the practicing actors. As opposed to object-centered management of material heritage focused on preservation, the safeguarding of intangible heritage, therefore, requires a holistic approach to the system in which it integrates (Cominelli, & Greffe, 2012). Kirschenblatt-Gimblett (2004: 53) argues that the safeguarding of living practices requires to "sustain the whole system as a living entity." As intangible heritage connects to a community, its habitus, and tradition, it is necessary to focus on those upholding the practice. The importance of the local communities instead of museums, experts, and conservators for safeguarding intangible cultural heritage was also stressed in the 2003 UNESCO convention.

Following Cominelli and Greffe (2012: 245), intangible heritage bridges the past and future and can thus function as a "source for creativity and innovation." Approaches to safeguarding intangible heritage should involve those communities embodying the intangible heritage and support dynamic structures that encourage innovation. In a publication on the future of crafts by the NGO Tapis Plein (2014), Ellen Vandenbulcke, the project leader of Handmade in Bruges, emphasizes that crafts are "more than heritage." According to her, it is further necessary to support and guide the crafts sector in remaining relevant in today's world. She emphasizes that for safeguarding craftsmanship, modernizing and innovating in an interplay with different economic sectors is necessary while casting off the "old-fashioned" image attached to crafts.

The dynamics between urban tourism on approaches to safeguard intangible heritage appears very much underrepresented in the academic literature. Few studies have considered the safeguarding and revitalization of intangible heritage in rural and mostly non-European societies (Yu, 2015; Nic Eoin, & King, 2013; Daskon, & McGregor, 2012).

Interestingly, however, the growing interest in intangible heritage represented by UNESCO's efforts has been associated with the creative turn in tourism studies (Richards, 2009). Tourists are claimed to prefer experiencing destinations in engaging and personalized

ways increasingly. Major tourist sites are said to be avoided by creative tourists, who are thought of as dispersing into the cities on their search for authentic local everyday-culture. In this sense, the trend of creative tourism can be understood as superseding the modern cultural mass tourism, which arguably encourages the McDisneyization of destinations. Richards and Marques (2018) suggest that the increasing focus on everyday-culture is a response to the "banalization" and standardization of culture in the context of globalization. The "locus of cultural meaning making" is observed to have "moved out of the museum and into the street" (Marques, & Richards, 2018: 13). Further, Zukin (2012) argues for the significance of vernacular spaces, such as shopping streets, for the production of urban heritage.

   While contemporary cultural tourism is assumed to be connected to experiencing lifestyles and everyday culture, the general awareness of the importance of intangible and living culture for destination branding is growing (Füller, & Michel, 2014; Richards, 2018). The tourism board of Bruges strives to brand the city as "contemporary and surprising." It intends to develop "unique and authentic experiences" outside of the primary tourist districts (Visit Bruges, 2019: 11, 13). According to Richards and Marques (2018: 63), intangible heritage related to "tradition, popular culture, and local lifestyles" is as vital for the touristic attractiveness of Lisbon's city center as its tangible heritage. Compared to other major European tourism destinations, the Portuguese city might have arguably retained much of its traditional and "authentic character" because it only represented itself as an international destination relatively recently.

   Creative tourism is generally associated with extended visitation periods and more informed interest in the local culture. Through direct interaction with the residents and their preference for high-quality products and gastronomy, they are claimed to foster more sustainable economic and cultural conditions for developing urban tourism. Arguably, it is crucial for destination management to actively use the interactions of tourists and residents to reinforce local identity rather than merely "sell culture" to visitors (Richards, 1998; Richards, 2018; Neyrinck, 2014). According to Richards (2009), turning intangible culture into attractive tourism resources requires first and foremost creativity.

2.6 Retail, Craftsmanship, & Tourism Shopping

For an assessment of craftsmanship and retail as urban heritage in the context of this study, their changing position in society needs to be illuminated. Traditional retail districts have always represented an essential visual and social component for the city's landscape. Zukin (2012:2) refers to local shopping streets as "sites of social, economic and cultural exchange." She argues that it is crucial to not neglect shopping streets in social research as they are spaces where cultural identities are shaped and reproduced. Since the early 20th century, their social role for residents seems to be in a continuous stage of decline. The auto-mobile, tendencies of suburbanization, modern consumer culture, malls, and shopping centers, as well as hypermarkets and global chain stores, have contributed to a crisis of traditional retail (Fahrhangmehr, Marques, & Silva, 2000; Warnaby, 2009; Lew, 1989; Fernandes, & Chamusca, 2014; Zukin, 2012).

Fernandes and Chamusca (2014) bring globalization processes in relation to changes in local retail landscapes, particularly in internationally-well connected metropolises. The authors argue that the decline of the city center in the face of globalization has since the 1960s specifically manifested itself in the disappearance of smaller shops. Especially family-run businesses on cities' commercial streets typically connected to local customers from the neighborhood suffered from these structural transformations. They were often forced to adapt their supply to the more demanding customer (Fernandes, & Chamusca, 2014).

In more recent years, e-commerce has challenged the purpose of traditional retail and retail districts even further. It is argued that modernization and digitization represent the only ways for traditional retail to remain competitive in today's world (Gassmann, 2019). Traditional retail districts and markets have lost much of their function as public spaces for commercial as well as social exchanges (Warnaby, 2009; Lew, 1989). Also, Lisbon's central retailing districts are found to have witnessed a functional decline along with the loss of residents in recent years (Guimarães, 2018; Guimarães, 2019). Hence, urban tourists are thought to have taken on an increasingly important role in vitalizing traditional retail and commercial districts. At the same time, "over-tourism" is blamed for the banalization of shopping districts (García-Hernández, 2017). Fernandes and Chamusca (2014) emphasize the importance of policy and planning for urban retail districts. The authors, however, highlight the neoliberal principles underlying much retail-oriented urban regeneration.

Also, the tourism boards of Lisbon and Bruges have been attempting to promote the cities as distinct shopping locations. *Visit Bruges* (n.d.) presents local shops to tourists under

the slogan "local love" and *Visit Lisboa* (n.d.) similarly promotes Lisbon as a shopping destination with an emphasis on its local stores in different traditional retail districts.

Craftsmanship has similarly undergone a general structural crisis in the 20th century. Industrialization, urbanization, and a globalized economy have set the ground for the demand for mass-produced readymade products for low prices (Tapis Plein, 2014; Neyrinck, 2017; Richards, 1998). Crafts have become largely replaced by industrially produced goods. Hughes (2011:8) observes in the structural crisis of crafts over the past decades an "increasingly desperate struggle to remain relevant in a hyper-industrialised world." The number of practicing artisans in the western world has decreased significantly throughout the past century (Karakul, 2019).

Nevertheless, as the Arts and Crafts Movement represented a social and political counter-trend to the industrialization in the 19th century, a new revival of crafts is currently reported. Through online platforms, the learning of relevant skills and distribution of handmade goods become facilitated, which now increases the value of the crafts industry (Danziger, 2018). Hanagan (2019) demonstrates how the contemporary Slow Food movement, promoting artisanal food production, thoughtfulness, and sustainability, with the mission of fighting the homogenization and globalization of taste, resonates with the Arts and Crafts Movement of the 19th century. Both support the idea of democratic politics of pleasure and localism but might also run the risk of becoming elite-driven.

Hughes (2011: 16) argues that current movements related to the revival of crafts can be understood as a re-evoked appreciation of the "local" and "concrete" as opposed to the "abstract idealism" innate to modernism. While modernism embraced individuation and self-hood, crafts are embedded in the interrelations between individuals and specific use objects. According to Hughes (2011), this interdependency manifests itself in the social and natural context of production, and thus, ultimately in a relationship with nature. Hughes (2011) emphasizes the political and social over the aesthetic dimension of the 19th-century Crafts Movement. The current revival of crafts, he further argues, must be understood as a stance to sustainability and a response to the consumer's detachment from the global and industrial production of goods.

Tourism has been framed as a potential ambassador for the revival of craftmanship (Tapis Plein, 2014). Tourism is an "experience-related phenomenon", and tourists spend much of their time seeking experiences (Chang, & Huang, 2014: 222). Tourists strive to explore and discover the local culture. They have the time to stroll around the city, and the holiday budget for purchasing gifts and souvenirs (Timothy, 2005). Tourists reportedly spend

around one-third of their holiday expenditure on retail consumption. Notably, crafts are reported to represent one of the central purchases (Yu, & Littrell, 2005).

Crucially, several studies highlighted the experiences related to retail shops, which encompasses the customers' engagement with products, staff, as well as the aesthetic, expressive, and symbolic qualities of the store environments themselves. Tourism shopping has frequently been associated with symbolic consumption. For the tourist, purchased souvenirs often hold symbolic meanings, which can be shaped and redefined through the interaction at the store (Yu, & Littrell, 2003; Yu, & Littrell 2005; Lew, 1989). The project *Lojas com História* has incorporated this notion into its slogan: "Experience Lisbon through its shops."

The demonstration of distinctive production techniques and the production spaces of local crafts can also provide for an experience, which appeals specifically to culturally interested tourists (Richards, 2009). A model by Littrell (1996) has divided tourist shopping experiences into two dimensions, namely process orientation, and product orientation. Central to process-oriented consumption is the customer's knowledge acquisition on the historical and cultural background of the products, their use, the process of crafting them as well as interaction with the crafts professional in a locally-inspired environment. Hence, process-oriented consumption is argued to offer the tourist an opportunity to become immersed in the local culture.

However, according to a study by Richards (1998), a significant challenge for crafts professionals is to communicate the distinctive characteristics of their handcrafted products from mass-produced imported souvenirs to tourists. A study on gastronomic tourism by Halmai and Benkhard (2017) has identified labels certifying the local production or origin of food and wine to guide tourists in their cultural consumption abroad. Certifying labels could accordingly function as markers of cultural tourism. *Handmade in Bruges*, guaranteeing local and handmade production and *Lojas com História* assuring a historical and traditional context to retail, are therefore especially interesting for research that considers the phenomenon of urban tourism.

2.7 Cultural Resilience & the Covid-19 Pandemic

In spring 2020, the most popular city destinations are unexpectedly not concerned with problems related to over-tourism. The tourism industry, which has globally been on a constant rise throughout the past decade, is one of the hardest-hit sectors by the Covid-19 crisis (OECD, 2019; WTTC, 2020). At the time of writing, estimates are not available on how long travel will be reduced due to- and as a consequence of the measures taken to gain control over the pandemic. Also, the impact of the pandemic on future mobility trends more generally is tough to predict. However, tourism-dependent economies are argued to suffer more significantly from the crisis, with millions of tourism-related jobs at risk (WTTC, 2020; Matthay, 2020). The local economies of both Lisbon and Bruges depend on the usually high numbers of tourists and their contribution to the local economies.

In Bruges, the visitor economy is the third most important economic sector (Visit Bruges, 2019). The growth of Portugal's tourism industry has been the highest of all EU countries in recent years. With Lisbon as its most visited destination, tourism has become one of Portugal's most important economic sectors (OECD, 2019). It is argued that this crisis sheds light on the vulnerabilities and instabilities of economies heavily relying on inbound tourism. Europe's tourism industry's revenue is expected to be the most impacted on a global scale (Statista, 2020; Quinn, 2020). Global health emergencies and climate change are argued to represent significant hazards to the current and future development of the globalized tourism industry (Jamal, & Budke, 2020). At the same time, the disruptive character of the current situation is regarded as an opportunity to redesign tourism strategies for urban destinations suffering from "touristification" more sustainably and in resident-friendly ways (Comideau, 2020).

A global shock like the Covid-19 pandemic sheds light on social, economic, and political vulnerabilities. Thus, it brings forth the question of resilience, which concerns "adapting and reducing vulnerability" (Chelleri, 2012: 289). Resilience has commonly been understood as the ability to "bounce back" to a status quo after experiencing a shock. In the context of cities, resilience refers to the availability to maintain structures, systems, and urban identity in the face of more or less sudden transformations (Chelleri, 2012). Hence, resilience can be assessed as a mode of governance (Pratt, 2017). *Resilient cities* are associated with risk management and, thus, sustainable urban planning concerning numerous application contexts (Chelleri, 2012). The 2020 pandemic also prompts various actions related to enhancing destination resilience. In academia, questions concerning the resilience of

destination brands and host-guest relationships are currently being raised (Coca-Stefaniak, & Morrison, n.d.).

The UNESCO (2020) has pointed out how the restrictions of cultural events and social life in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic impact the practice and safeguarding of intangible heritage. While the concept of resilience is not predominantly related to the spheres of culture and heritage, it has been argued that cultural heritage maintains the ability to reinforce communities' resilience by strengthening their cultural awareness. A strong cultural awareness, in turn, can enhance the capacity of a community to deal with external shocks (Holtorf, 2018).

Holtorf (2018: 639) points to a more recent conceptualization of resilience as "bouncing forward," rather than merely "bouncing back." Accordingly, he defines cultural resilience as "the capability of a cultural system (consisting of cultural processes in relevant communities) to absorb adversity, deal with change and continue to develop." Especially cultural heritage is argued to be a manifestation of continuous change in the absence of a status quo (Holtorf, 2018). Through its rootedness in the past and persistence over time, it is argued to promote resilience. Conceptualizing resilience as a mode of governance, Pratt (2017) has pointed to dynamics between culture and governments. He highlights cultures' intrinsic quality to innovate and adapt to- and reflect broader societal changes. This potentially stands in conflict with the rigidity of governmental institutions and their approach to culture.

The concept of resilience is also applicable to retailing, which can be understood as a form of everyday culture. Barata Salgueiro (2009) defines retail resilience as "the ability of different types of retailing at different scales to adapt to changes, crises or shocks that challenge the system's equilibrium, without failing to perform its functions in a sustainable way". This definition corresponds with an understanding of resilience as producing new equilibriums as a consequence of transformations. Fernandes and Chamusca (2014) argue that considering retail resilience is crucial for understanding the ways in which city centers respond to changes. It is suggested that urban retail districts might either resist external changes, transform and hence, alter their character significantly, or be resilient by adapting to new social, economic, and cultural contexts while maintaining their identities (Fernandes, & Chamusca, 2014: 171).

The ongoing Covid-19 pandemic has profoundly challenged the resilience of retail. The current crisis arguably only reinforces the identity crisis that the retail sector has been living through already. Due to the enforced weeks-long closure of non-essential stores in

many countries, including Belgium and Portugal, many retail businesses are now in danger of insolvency. In Portugal, which was hit by the crisis in the midst of its economic recovery, the government grants financial aid and demands the banks to provide loans to small and medium-sized businesses (Smoltczyk, 2020). Despite national lay off measures, it is expected that many retail stores will be closed subsequently to the crisis, which could affect the livelihood and appearance of inner cities on an international scale (Diemand, & Wainder, 2020).

3. RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1 Research Context

This research is concerned with the meanings attributed to traditional craftsmanship and historic retail and how these are perceived to relate to the identities of Lisbon and Bruges. Considering the local contexts in which the policy-projects are drawn up allows for an understanding of the role of intangible heritage for a sense of place in the urban context. The projects *Lojas com História* and *Handmade in Bruges* are concerned with everyday culture connected to the historical backgrounds of the two European cities. This research sheds light on how central actors of the projects make sense of the practices of safeguarding or protecting the respective forms of what becomes considered heritage and how this connects to the phenomenon of urban tourism. Accordingly, this thesis addresses the following research questions: *How do central actors of the initiatives 'Lojas com História' and 'Handmade in Bruges' negotiate between the role of urban tourism and the safeguarding of historic retail in Lisbon and traditional craftsmanship in Bruges?*

The two new municipal initiatives were selected as case studies. Lisbon and Bruges have very different profiles not only as tourist destinations but also regarding their socio-economic profiles, which renders a comparison between the two initiatives particularly compelling. Whereas craftsmanship and historic retail are linked to the materiality of the products crafted and sold and the stores, the projects stand out due to their focus on vending and crafting practices.

Despite dealing with different cultural expressions in different geographical contexts, the two initiatives resemble one another: they grant distinction through physical labels, which are visibly installed outside of the stores, studios, or ateliers of the label holders. Next to that, the projects seek to raise awareness for heritage through different mediums, such as short films, photographs, and articles published on the web sites, social media channels, brochures, and books. Importantly, their scope and professionalism undermine the seriousness of their endeavors, which render them very suitable for research.

Both projects have set up precise criteria determining which applicants are eligible to receive the label. To become a "local maker" in Bruges, one must be a self-employed crafts-professional and manufacture the vast majority of products by hand. Moreover, the jury considers distinctiveness, which can relate to various criteria such as sustainability, innovation, skill, or quality (Handmade in Bruges, n.d.-b). The requirements for becoming a

"shop with a history" have been set up through a study of the first sample of well-known stores in Lisbon. They are divided into three eligibility categories; activity, material heritage, and cultural-historical heritage. Each category has its criteria such as significance for the trading history of the city, the existence of own production facilities, being a shop that represents a reference point for citizens, or having a well-preserved shop interior. Of a total of 18 different criteria, the stores must fulfill eleven to become considered a "shop with a history" (Camera Municipal de Lisboa, 2016).

3.2 Research Method

Intangible heritage connects a place with its residents. It is also a bridging element between a place's past and present. Accordingly, intangible heritage is associated with *social complex value*, meaning the intersection of different dimensions of value, such as socio-economic and historical-cultural values (D'Auria, 2009: 278). Thus, exploring the values associated with intangible heritage is best addressed with the qualitative research method. More specifically, qualitative interviews with central actors of the respective projects enable this research to assess the multidimensionality of meanings attached to historic retail in Lisbon and traditional craftsmanship in Bruges.

According to Alasuutari (2010: 151), social research is like "running commentaries on changing societies rather than accumulating knowledge on static systems." Qualitative research, in particular, distinguishes itself by an interest in experience and subjectivity. Thus, the qualitative research method suits the emphasis of this research on the construction of meanings attached to traditional practices in the urban context (Alasuutari, 2010; Silverman; 1998). Within the broader field of qualitative research methods, the emphasis lies on "discussing social realities through case examples" (Alasuutari, 2010: 145), where stories of a specific phenomenon are told through the personal accounts of subjects to achieve a "deeper understanding of social phenomena and their dynamics" (Steiling; 2001: 385). An understanding of the initiatives in their local contexts has been achieved by interviewing differently related actors. This way, the "triangulation of perspectives" was assured (Flick, 2009). Approaching the phenomena from different perspectives and angles allows detecting frictions between the ideological considerations guiding the programs and their practical implications as experienced by their affiliates.

3.3 Sample, Data Collection, & Operationalization

This thesis is informed by more than eleven hours of interviews. The interview material is composed of 18 in-depth interviews held in Lisbon and Bruges. As *Lojas com História* and *Handmade in Bruges* serve as case studies, the interview respondents were sampled purposefully (Bryman, 2012). It was aimed at achieving a potentially heteronomous sample of persons related to the safeguarding of intangible heritage in different ways.

The respondents' contact information has mostly been retrieved from the programs' websites, which present an overview of the label holders. In Bruges, several crafts professionals that have been granted the *Handmade in Bruges* label were interviewed next to the project leader. The label holders are active in crafts businesses as diverse as upholstery, brewery, bakery, textile, or even the crafting of wooden surfboards. The variety of crafts professions and business models was a crucial criterion for the representativeness of the sample. The different fields in which the label holders operate are decisive for the degree of involvement with tourism in Bruges. Further, it was essential to cover crafts professionals with an open-access shop in Bruges and those working on-demand from an atelier or studio. Hence, this research could gain a comprehensive insight into the opportunities and challenges different crafts professionals face. The winner of the first edition of the *Jonge Maakers* prize in 2019 was interviewed. This title, which is awarded by *Handmade in Bruges*, includes a supportive program that should assist the winner in becoming an independent crafts entrepreneur in the future and, thus, in becoming eligible for receiving the label. Apart from the actors directly involved in the program, a certified tour guide conducting *Handmade in Bruges tours* for the agency *S-Wan Bruges* was interviewed. These special tours were set up in collaboration with the program *Handmade in Bruges*. Incorporating the tour guide in the sample helped to gain insight into the intersection of heritage and cultural tourism. Next, the head of the economic department of the city of Bruges was interviewed to elucidate the municipality's motivation to support and sponsor the endeavor of stimulating craftsmanship in the city. The interviews with the label holders were mostly held in their shops or workspaces, which allowed for complementing the topics discussed during the conversations with first-hand impressions.

I interviewed the project leader of *Lojas com Historia* at the office of the program at the Department for Economics and Innovation at the City Hall of Lisbon. Apart from its internal team, decisions concerning the award procedures are consulted with an advisory board consisting of experts from various related fields. With the help of the project leader, an

interview with an advisory board member, who is active as a professor of Urban Geography at the Institute of Geography and Spatial Planning of the University of Lisbon, was scheduled. The advisory board member contributed to the sample by being an informed expert, while remaining critical about the subject matter owing to a degree of distance to the project. The label holders interviewed in Lisbon were active in a variety of business types. The broad range of the historic stores and gastronomy is an essential characteristic of the initiative itself. The label holders interviewed are owners and managers of businesses manufacturing and trading luxury goods like jewelry, or everyday products such as canned fish or the iconic Portuguese custard tarts. The diversity of fields the interviewees are operating in could give insights into views on how the project's impact on the individual enterprises is perceived. Also, it benefited a distinct assessment of the degree in which tourism is understood to present a source of income or a development opportunity. Like in Bruges, interviews were held at the respective stores and were sometimes completed with tours through the collections or manufacturing sites. Photos, videos, and notes were taken during the visits to complement the speech recordings, and let the interpretation of the data not rely on memory.

The interviews in Bruges were conducted during two research trips. The first visit to Bruges was undertaken between January fifth and seventh. Five primary interviews were held during this initial visit. Approaching the field at a very early stage of the research process allowed me to incorporate first observations into further research considerations and planning. Next, some interviewees also assisted in establishing new contacts and schedule some of the additional meetings for the second trip to Bruges between March 4th and 6th following the "snowball sampling method," which builds on, and reveals the connectedness of individuals in networks such as the community related to *Handmade in Bruges* (Bryman, 2012). One of the six interviews conducted during this second research trip in March has been a follow-up interview with the project leader of *Handmade in Bruges*. A second meeting enabled the researcher to address topics emerging in the meantime. Followingly, between March 11th and 16th, a visit to Lisbon has been undertaken, during which I held seven interviews. Six further meetings were canceled due to the then tightening regulations related to the spread of Covid-19.

To unravel the meanings attached to the actions of safeguarding heritage, and gain insights into the individual experiences of the label holders and other related actors, in-depth interviews were conducted. The benefit of personal interviews lies in the confrontation with the subjects, in which the researcher gains first-hand information. Moreover, face-to-face

meetings allow for more nuanced interpretations of the speech through non-verbal cues (Holloway et al., 2010). At the beginning of the interviews, the participants were informed about this study's purpose, the digital recordings, and the subsequent data use. Further, the choice of anonymity was offered to the respondents.

The interview guides are designed in a semi-structured manner comprising open-ended questions to grant space for aspects of the topic that I initially did not account for. At the same time, consistency between the interviews assured the comparability of answers (Bryman, 2012). Led by the interviewees' input and my open guiding questions, the interviews evolved as rather organic conversations. When appropriate, spontaneous follow-up questions were posed to clarify matters or to dive deeper into relevant subjects (Bryman, 2012). The majority of the interviews lasted between 25 and 50 minutes. By interviewing different actors, each conversation enriched the researcher's understanding of the topic at hand. Consequently, the interview guides were adjusted several times during the process of data collection. This way, new knowledge could be integrated into subsequent conversations through refined questions (Flick, 2009: 168).

I operationalized the central theoretical concepts into interview questions. The notion of place identity was, for instance, assessed by asking the interviewee to describe the central characteristics of his city. Further, interviewees were asked about their perception of urban tourism, the quality of shops and products in the inner city, and how, in their opinion, tourism is affecting urban life. By means of these questions, I could assess the ways in which tourism is perceived to impact the urban retail landscapes and the city's socio-cultural dynamics. Next, I could assess the perceived threats motivating the endeavors of safeguarding intangible culture by letting those related to the policy-side and implementation of the projects expound on the motivation behind the projects. Further, risks endangering intangible culture became clarified by letting label-holders express the business-related challenges they encounter. Inquiring about the customers of label-holders, the desired type of tourists for city-development, the interactions of tourists and label-holders during the guided tours, and the role of tourism in supporting local products and retail helped to establish a connection between creative tourism and of intangible heritage. The notions of placemaking and sense of place were assessed by specifically addressing the ways that respondents perceive craftsmanship and historic retail as contributing to the urban culture and how the safeguarding initiatives relate to strategic tourism development. An extensive overview of how the different interview guides comprise the relevant theoretic concepts can be found in Appendix C (p.73).

3.4 Post Covid-19 Follow Up Research

The qualitative research method grants the benefit of flexibility throughout the research process. Accordingly, it allows the researcher to adapt to unexpected findings or twists in the substantive areas (Flick, 2009). In light of the global Covid-19 situation unfolding during the very research process, I made use of this advantage. Several weeks after the meetings were held, the interviewees were once again contacted via email. This way, it was attempted to gain as much data as possible on how the lockdown and subsequent global economic downturn is impacting the professional situation of the shop owners and artisans. Further, the interest was directed towards the support measures the label-holders might be granted and specific initiatives taken by the two projects in adjustment to the unexpected circumstances. With this research being concerned with the safeguarding of traditional craftsmanship and retail, the consequences of the Covid-19 outbreak were considered relevant in an assessment of the societal contexts endangering these forms of urban heritage. Finally, two crafts professionals from Bruges briefly explained what the crisis meant for them. The project coordinator of *Handmade in Bruges* responded by comprehensively outlining the respective initiatives for and by local entrepreneurs. Also, two owners of historic shops from the sample portrayed the scope of the Covid-19 pandemic on their businesses. The advisory board of *Lojas com História* formulated her assessment of the early impacts of the crisis on traditional retail in Lisbon more generally. The interviewees' digital updates were integrated into the data analysis of this thesis.

3.5 Data Analysis

Qualitative research is generally informed by fewer research units than quantitative research. At the same time, however, each respondent's accounts are richer and can grant a more nuanced view on their social worlds with concerning their unique contexts. It is important to emphasize that the researcher plays an active role in the creation and interpretation of data (Fink, 2000). The principle of openness, which I followed throughout this research project, refers to any understanding of the research object only as preliminary until theoretical formulations can be executed following the data collection and analysis (Hoffmann-Riem, 1980; Kleining, 1982). Any theoretical implications brought forward by this study are grounded in empirical data. Despite attempts to approach the field as openly as possible, my specific interest, forthright assumptions, and preconceptions determine the research question

and, thus, the particular outlook taken during the data collection (Fink, 2000). Moreover, any theoretic implications derived from the research on the two distinct case studies must be understood as "substantive in character." Unlike formal theories, which can be produced through large-scale quantitative studies, analytical findings, and theoretical implications of this qualitative study pertain to the substantive fields under investigation (Bryman, 2012: 574). However, this research aims to contribute to an in-depth understanding of dynamics related to intangible heritage in the context of urban tourism through these particular case studies.

The analysis process has been rendered as transparent as possible by providing detailed records of any stage of the procedure to ensure internal validity. The interviews were carefully transcribed. Then, the interview transcripts were openly coded using the software Atlas.ti. Following Charmaz's (2006) concept of open-mindedness, the initial coding procedure was undertaken by generating as many new codes as necessary, resulting in a large number of preliminary codes. Thus, lines or paragraphs of the interviewee's transcribed speech that were considered relevant in the broader context of the research topic have been labeled with descriptive codes. Staying close to all sources of data helps to the "interpretations of those being studied" (Bryman, 2012: 577). In a second phase of what Charmaz (2006) refers to as focused coding, some codes were merged or dropped. Finally, the rather large number of codes was arranged into higher-order code groups (see Appendix D, p. 76). With the overview of code groups and their respective subordinated codes, analytical and abstract themes were derived regarding the leading research question. These overarching themes will guide the results section in the following chapter. After conducting the data analysis, the theoretical framework of the research was adapted to introduce the findings better. This circularity of the research process warrants consistency between its different stages (Flick, 2009).

4. ANALYSIS & RESULTS

This research is interested in how the initiatives *Handmade in Bruges* and *Lojas com História* are motivated. More specifically, the dynamics between urban tourism and endeavors of safeguarding and revitalizing intangible heritage are explored. At the beginning of this chapter, the threats underlying the motivation of safeguarding intangible culture as perceived by the projects' central actors are identified. For the interviewees, processes related to intensive tourism pressures in Lisbon and Bruges embody a threat to the local culture against which distinctive traditional practices are safeguarded or protected. The urge to support retail heritage in Lisbon and traditional crafts practices in Bruges is connected to a perceived loss of retail quality in the inner cities. Especially mass-tourism, along with the commodification of urban culture, tends to be regarded as an external peril disrupting the continuity of city life, assailing its abstract realm of place identity. The support of the practices related to craftsmanship and retailing serves to stimulate cities' liveliness by keeping their historically inspired activities running.

The missions of both policy-projects can be understood to counteract urban McDisneyization and stimulate a more diverse and distinct cultural landscape. Intangible heritage is supposed to restore the meaningfulness of the urban space. Furthermore, the encouragement of traditional activities is regarded as a way to create more engaging tourism experiences. The cities strive to remain attractive and sustainable destinations for those tourists with interest in exploring the local everyday culture. At the end of this chapter, the approaches towards heritage management of the two projects will be analyzed in regard to the label-holders' experiences. A connection between the ways the cities have experienced urban tourism and the projects' approaches, which emphasize either protection or innovation of urban heritage, will be established.

4.1 Touristification as a Threat to Urban Continuity & Meaning in Lisbon

In Lisbon, many historical businesses are confronted with an immediate and existential threat. The initiative *Lojas com História* is a direct response to the closure of many historical shops throughout the past few years, as Sofia Pereira, the manager of the project illustrates:

"And the project started because in Lisbon, we have the need to protect the activity because some of the oldest shops in Lisbon were closing because then they didn't have economic viability. And because the rents were getting too high and they couldn't support the rents. And so, the program started…".

Certainly, not all of the shop owners interviewed have found their businesses in a situation of existential struggle. Some of the businesses have instead been thriving and expanding throughout the past years. However, a more general sense of uncertainty is articulated by those involved in the project *Lojas com História*. The interviewees' concerns relate to the radical changes that have been taking their toll in Lisbon's center during the past years. More precisely, interviewees almost consistently regard tourism gentrification connected to neoliberal urban regeneration in Lisbon as the overall issue of concern. Most interviewees argue that the project *Lojas com História* is a necessary response to compensate for previous failures in urban planning, which they hold responsible for the closure of many old stores.

In heritage theory, protecting culture as a response to a perceived threat has frequently been linked to a modern agenda of conservationism (Harrison, 2012). In the case of material heritage, the threat often becomes manifested in decay and erosion. The "shops with a history" in Lisbon, however, combine tangible and intangible culture interwoven into the socio-economic life of the city. The threat, which appears to underly and motivate the municipal safeguarding project, is accordingly manifested in wider societal developments. Following the observation by Richards and Marques (2018), touristification here seems to endanger precisely those cultural assets drawing in the visitors in the first place. Miguel (Pastéis de Belém) addresses this seemingly contradictory relationship:

"But also, we need to be able to not lose what made people fall in love with the city and the process and that is keeping the tradition and the historical elements of the city, what makes it different from other European and world cities. So, it's finding that balance between wanting more tourism and being able to sustain the city and its identity."

Not only the rapidly rising rents as one dimension of tourism-led urban regeneration threaten the continued existence of some of the historical shops. Portuguese residents moving away from the central neighborhoods of Lisbon, making way for the development of tourism accommodation, are a further critical obstacle for the continuity of some historic businesses. Miguel is the owner of *Pastéis de Belém*, a place that is very well-known among Lisbon's

residents and tourists for making Portuguese custard tarts after the same recipe for 180 years. He representatively argues that *Lojas com História* pursues the mission of preventing central Lisbon from becoming a "hotel desert where there are only hotels and no shops."

In a touristified city center, residents who do their daily groceries in the local shops are missing. Hence, specifically, those shops unable to adapt their supply to tourists' demands, are described to face the problem of economic viability. Tiago is the owner of the 90 years old family business *Conserveira de Lisboa*. The business is specialized in canned fish and has been designated with the label *Loja com História* in the projects' initial selection of historic shops in Lisbon. He explains the difficulties his historic business faces as a consequence of Portuguese residents moving away from the inner city:

"(…) the old shop – will only survive with some tourism. If we have tourism and eventually some Portuguese…- we have loyal clients- I mean all our Portuguese clients are loyal. So, they come back. But if there's nothing else for them to move to that part of the city and go there, if we are just a reason for them to go there, it's harder. Although some of them do it, it's, it's harder to convince people to go there."

The more tourism-dependent the economic activities of central Lisbon become, he further argues, the more also historic stores rely on catering to the needs of tourists:

"Luckily our product, it's (…) a souvenir (…). And people like to take home food and characteristic stuff from, from the country and all of that. But (…) I've known lots of shops and even tiny restaurants and tiny places that, uh - they don't appeal as much to tourism. They had to close."

His account indicates that some of the traditional businesses adapting to the structural transformations of the city could become cogs in the wheel of tourism gentrification by "touristifying" their products. Tiago's mission is to maintain the authentic purpose of canned fish as a middle-class product rather than re-purposing it as a pricy souvenir, like many new shops in Lisbon do. José is the current owner of the well-known bar *Pavilhão Chinês*. The bars' historic interior and the exhibited collections of disparate artifacts first and foremost attracts tourists.

"Pavilhão Chinês" – Photograph taken by the author

José describes how he regularly needs to stop passers-by from treating his unusual bar like a tourist attraction. Some tourists, he explains, only enter for taking pictures. This reveals how historic stores that do not appeal anymore to a local audience might, in some instances, become musealized in their own right.

Lisbon's tourism gentrification has been frequently linked to a loss of local distinctiveness and authentic urban identity. Historic retail is seen as a crucial component for maintaining what can be conceptualized as a sense of place (Jive´n, & Larkham, 2003). The historic shops are persistently perceived as bestowing the urban life of Lisbon with continuity. This finding reinforces D'Auria's (2009) argument that intangible heritage constitutes a bridge between past and present, creating a sense of continuity.

By granting meaningfulness to the urban space, the shops appear to constitute a connecting element between the city and its residents (D'Auria, 2009). The historic shops are regarded as cornerstones of the urban landscapes and an important element of the collective memory of Lisbon's residents. It is regularly pointed to the persistence of the historical stores throughout many years and generations, letting them become symbols of resilience in their own right (Fernandes, & Chamusca, 2014). This shows how Holtorf's (2018) argument that cultural heritage can promote cultural resilience also applies to "living heritage". Frequently, the need to support traditional businesses is also related to Lisbon's legacy as a historic trading city. A part of Lisbon's unique and historical identity is thought to become lost if the specialized retail ceases to play a role in the city's life,

Manuela (Hospital de Bonecas) took over her family's mission to sustain what is said to be the world's last authentic doll hospital after retiring from her profession as a teacher.

"The worlds possibly last doll hospital" – photograph taken by the author

The old stores in Lisbon, she argues, "make part of the city's memory". However, since the tourism has intensified in the city, she observed a "lack of imagination" in the entrepreneurial activities in Lisbon, as tourism-oriented shops and services came to resemble each other or sell "(…) souvenirs of Portugal (…) made in China". The city, she explains, would "lose its identity" as the shops and products on offer would soon not be different from what one could find in any other city.

The head of *Lojas com História*, Sofia Pereira, similarly connects the disappearance of many of Lisbon's traditional stores that she regards as "reference points from lots of generations," to the way that the city has become highly touristic in recent years.

Furthermore, the interviewees emphasize that the uniqueness of the stores is what makes them protection-worthy. In this context, Jorge, owner of the family business *Leitão & Irmão*, the appointed Jeweler of the Portuguese crown in the 19th century, illustratively explains the properties of historic shops in a globalizing city:

"They have something different to offer. Something which has the character of Portugal and Lisbon, which all the other internationals do not. (…). Only this type of shop can offer you what is local in terms of heritage, in terms of production.".

 Globalization, and specifically, the internationalization of Lisbon's retail landscape, appears to provide the broader context for understanding the search for local meaning and distinctiveness, which becomes expressed in the safeguarding of intangible everyday culture.

4.2 From McDisneyization to Reviving Creativity in Bruges

Also, in the case of Bruges, urban tourism appears to provide the context for understanding the perceived need to revitalize urban ways of life. As compared to Lisbon, the city of Bruges has been associated with mass tourism for much longer. Here, the perceived threat to local culture appears subtler and less tangible. The city's cultural landscape has not witnessed radical changes in recent times, as was the case in Lisbon. Rather than preventing the city from losing its historic character, the initiative *Handmade in Bruges* seems to be concerned with restoring a cultural multiformity in the urban landscape.

Many interviewees perceive low-quality souvenir shops targeted at tourists as embodying the problem of urban McDisneyization. In this regard, the great majority of interviewees refer to the UNESCO world heritage city as suffering from an abundance of stereotypical beer and chocolate shops which cater to mass tourists only. Matthias, who has received the label with the small local brewery *Siphon Brewing* on the outskirts of Bruges, describes how local products and stores become increasingly extinct under the pressure of what Wearing et al. (2019) refer to as the neoliberal agenda of mass tourism:

"You can see all the small shops disappearing, all the small restaurants disappearing and other niche products disappearing. And then instead of something else, there's always a chain". He further argues: "You have a lot of tourist focused shops that have a lot of things that claim to be local, that aren't local. (…) But you can feel that in Bruges, that there's a lot of chains coming in the city center because it's very tourist focused sometimes".

An urban identity influenced by local history and the tradition of craftsmanship is argued to have been suffering by McDisneyization processes related to the mass- and specifically, cruise- tourism. By adapting its cultural infrastructure to host mass tourists, Bruges is thought to promote a rather one-dimensional and romanticized city image and a superficial experience of local culture for easy and fast consumption. This supports Ritzer's (2018) argument that that mass tourism can lead to the homogenization of urban places, spaces of consumption, and cultural experiences. Further, it is stressed during the interviews that much of the mass tourism in Bruges does not benefit the local shops:

"(…) but in the past were six or seven cruises and then you have a lot of people, uh, very, very quickly through the city. And then half an hour, they have a half an hour, uh, free time. (…) but there is no spending in the shops (…)" (Anje, Juliette Biscuits).

However, many respondents emphasize that the city's approach towards tourism is becoming more sustainable, as demonstrated by regulations such as the recent limitation of cruise ships allowed to arrive at the port of Zeebrugge. Several interviewees also discuss the municipality's 2019 initiative to expose *Handmade in Bruges* products on the yearly Christmas market, which is often criticized as overly touristic. They argue that the city administration currently invests much effort in making the city more engaging for the discerning visitors and, importantly, its residents. In this context, the project *Handmade in Bruges* is appreciated as a sign for a more sustainable outlook on the interface of local culture, tourism, and residents. This is vividly expressed by the label-holder Job, who manufactures wooden surfboards in his studio in the heart of Bruges:

"And for me, at least that shows that the city of Bruges is at least open-minded and tried to think beyond the very old-fashioned tourism of getting people in, show them a museum, ice cream, beer, and then everybody is off again."

The support of local craftsmanship is seen as a sign that the city increasingly emphasizes the resident's quality of life rather than promoting tourism under the McDonaldized agenda of "more is better" (Ritzer, & Miles, 2018). The local crafts professionals appreciate that the city has set a sign for the support of craftsmanship. Receiving an official recognition for their work appears in the case of some crafts professionals to be a decisive motivation to carry on their highly demanding work. Stefan, who received the title as the best baker in Belgium 2019, illustrates this:

"Because if it wouldn't be valued, I wouldn't have the motivation to get up. Like yesterday, I woke up at five in the evening (…) and then I started up around nine in the evening. I wouldn't find this motivation day in and day out."

The label that the local crafts professionals apply for often represents a valuable distinction for them. It is understood as a marker of authenticity, quality, or at least transparency as the fulfillment of production criteria is stringently controlled before the label is awarded to a professional. The *local makers* aim to differentiate themselves from the low-quality souvenirs on sale in the city's touristic streets, which they frequently perceive as "inauthentic." This reinforcing Richard's (1998) finding that communicating the value and quality of crafts to tourists can be a central challenge for crafts professionals. Anje, a confectioner and the owner of a biscuit shop in the Wollestraat, one of the busiest streets of Bruges resumes this imbalance:

"So, we're a quality shop with quality things, quality cookies, and, um, that's not always so good. So, there are, I think more than 65 chocolate shops, but only six of them make chocolate by themselves."

She further expounds on the importance of communicating these qualities through the exposure of the label, and the open bakery in the shop, which renders the production process transparent to the customer: "We put it [the label] here or in the window. It is very important for people to see what we are doing, that everything is made here."

Maya, who is handmaking corsets for her label *Cadavre Exquis* in her studio in the center of Bruges, perceives the municipal initiative as an attempt to diversify the city's image:

"And I think Handmade in Bruges it's part of the stimulation thing for, for young makers and young entrepreneurs to start things. They want to get rid of their image I think of being only lace and chocolate maybe."

The need to promote local high-skilled craftsmanship through the label *Handmade in Bruges* seems to stem from the idea that Bruges is more than a beer-and-chocolate Disneyland for day-tourists as Ellen Vandenbulcke, the leader of the initiative expresses:

"And, um, so that's very important that we change, uh, the image people have of Bruges, and that they discover that there's more to see here than just, uh, the swans and the chocolates and that kind of thing."

In this sense, the promotion of local craftsmanship appears to be a strategy of adding an additional layer of quality and creativity to the city's image.

For diversifying the image of the city, it is attempted to place the "Bruges-based makers on the map" and stimulate creativity in that city, which used to be associated with a tourism mono-culture (Handmade in Bruges, n.d.). In that regard, it appears essential to signal that creativity and artistry are encouraged on a local level. According to Lut Laleman from the city's department for economics, the project moreover serves to promote Bruges as an "innovative shopping city". She explains this idea in the following:

"You want to have uh, attractive shops. They are shops but also to boost starters and to have the image of a creative city where people who work with their hands were welcome and will always be welcome".

By supporting local high-skilled production, and promoting local products to residents and visitors, Bruges eventually becomes associated with being a sustainable and creative destination, she argues. Thus, supporting intangible heritage appears to make part of a creative city branding strategy inspired by a historic urban identity.

4.3 Keeping Historic Cities Alive

Throughout the conversations with the central actors of the projects, traditional craftsmanship and historic retail were framed as a living culture, rooted in social practices, and the local community. Safeguarding intangible heritage represents a way of counteracting the museumification of the historic environment. Historically-inspired practices are regarded as complementing the monumental landscape with living cultural expressions.

The historical stores in Lisbon are regarded not only as spaces in which traditional economic activities take place. Instead, their meaning for the residents also lies in the social interactions within their walls. The criteria for becoming a "shop with a history" acknowledge the social value of Lisbon's historical shops. Next to the shop's interior, also the continuity of activities, like in-house manufacturing, and the shop's socio-cultural significance make up for the main criteria for the distinction as Sofia (project coordinator, Lojas com História) illustrates by using an example:

"(…) Pastelaria Suíça, that was a coffee shop in downtown. It was the first coffee shop where women can, can sit outside the coffee. OK, to take a coffee. That's the kind of example that we are looking for."

It becomes clear how the stores and gastronomy in Lisbon combine economic, cultural, social, and symbolic dimensions. They thus expose what D'Auria (2009) refers to as complex social value. Also, some owners of historic stores express their awareness of the roles that the shops play in the city's social life. Tiago (Conserveira de Lisboa) articulates this when referring to the benches in his newly opened salesroom:

"(…) there's a reason why we have these benches in our shops because of the social thing. In the older shop, we had old ladies working there. (…) And friends would pass by that shop. They would sit on the benches. Would be there talking while the other was working (…) And so, there was also this social thing happening in the shop. And that gave life to the shop and to the neighborhood. (…) And so, shopping was also a social (…) experience. ".

This account undermines that historic shops represent a form of intangible heritage rooted in the city's social life. In this regard, the shops become relevant through the ways in which citizens use them (Cominelli, & Greffe, 2012).

Most interviewees in Lisbon explicitly refer to the traditional local shops as places that are "alive." Compared to institutionalized forms of culture such as museums, the stores are described to be less distant from the people. Instead, they are seen as places of engagement and interaction. The owners appear aware of their own stores' historical legacy, which they often interweave into corporate storytelling. Miguel (Pastéis de Belém) representatively explains that his business carries on its material and immaterial bequest to "keeping (…) history alive".

The theme of "liveliness" reoccurs throughout the interviews conducted in Bruges. The interviewees argue that tourists, or even residents, often perceive as the historic center of Bruges as an open-air museum. This museumification of the medieval city is commonly associated with the masses of spectators walking around its *Golden Triangle*. Furthermore, it is referred to Bruges' stillness after sundown when the large share of day-trippers among the tourists departs again like after a museum's closing hour. Maya (label holder, Cadavre Exquis) wonders if her shop window with the historical seeming handmade costumes is gazed at as part of this urban museum. Other crafts professionals refer to the high degree of

material protection in the UNESCO world heritage city, which they perceive as an obstacle for innovation or the expression of spontaneous creativity as Mathilde (winner Jonge Maakers 2019) illustratively explains:

"(…) But I think it's, it's very pretty and everything, but I think it's really hard if you're young and you want to do something, it's really hard here, I think. (…) In Bruges it is because it's so, um, how do you say it's... protected! Because it's, it's mainly, it's like a museum here. So, you can't do anything. You can't paint... You can't do anything... So, um, I think that's why it's hard. Yeah. I think it's probably the hardest city in Belgium to do that because it's so small."

Making "local makers" more visible: upholstery studio K.U.I.T – photograph taken by the author

Not all of the *Handmade in Bruges* label holders run an openly accessible shop. Specifically, those whose products are not readily marketable towards tourists have been, according to Ellen (project coordinator), "a little bit hidden in their workshops." Accordingly, *Handmade in Bruges* strives to enhance the visibility of local crafts professionals in the city through the wooden labels arranged outside their studios, workshops, or stores, and through initiatives such as a shared pop-up store, that can be rented to try out new sales concepts. In that way, it is attempted to revive craftsmanship after Bruges has arguably become disassociated with excellent artistry throughout its recent history. Some marketing initiatives of *Handmade in Bruges* specifically aim to address Bruges' residents. Hence, several of the high-quality short films that present the manufacturing processes of the *local makers* are shown in the local cinema. The interviewees describe that by re-integrating craftsmanship into the city's life, residents of Bruges can become captivated with the stories told by their own city. These efforts can be understood as a way of counteracting tendencies of museumification, which is argued to be a consequence of massive tourism crowding out the city's organic residential life.

The perceived museumification of Bruges appears to reoccur in regard to the city's crafts heritage. The need to disprove the assumption that craftsmanship only belongs to the

city's past is articulated in some interviews. The project leader of *Handmade in Bruges* argues that it counts to ensure the relevance of traditional craftsmanship in the city's contemporary and future economy:

"So, for us, it's very important that we (…) just not only look to the past but also to the future. And crafts, it's very specific because it's, it's something dealing with traditions that are passed on. But on the other hand, it's also very contemporary because it's also a way of living, of, of earning your money."

The support of craftsmanship in Bruges exemplifies the complexity of managing always evolving intangible heritage (Bortolotto, 2007). The practices of craftsmanship need to remain socially relevant and economically viable, without becoming romanticized. Moreover, showing how craftsmanship still plays an important role in the city's life and establishing a link between the practices of the past and the present through storytelling is an essential aspect of the guided tours through the local shops and studios. It becomes clear how craftsmanship is purposefully embedded in a local-historical context to fill Bruges' monumental urban heritage with relevant social meaning.

4.4 Intangible Heritage as Creative Tourism Resource

Despite the differences in the cities' profiles as tourism destinations, a prevailing theme in the context of both projects is the connection between intangible heritage and creative tourism (Richards, 2009). Accordingly, keeping historic cities alive is regarded as a way for attracting and maintaining those tourists, who are eager to experience the cities beyond their monuments and museums. In turn, creative tourists are regarded as ambassadors for rejuvenating distinct ways of life due to their pronounced interest in exploring the destination's everyday culture.

The work of some local crafts professionals in Bruges strongly builds upon tourism consumption. As the project coordinator, Ellen explains, those label holders selling products that correspond to the tourism demand, like chocolates, are less reliant on supportive

"Cadavre Exquis shop window" – photograph taken by the author

measures than those operating in "small niches." However, the work of many of those craft professionals interviewed is more connected to a local audience. Valerie, for example, practices the craft of upholstery, which limits her to work for local clients only. Further, some of the *local makers* predominantly sell their handcrafts online to reach an international subculture like Maya's handmade corsets or Job's wooden and handcrafted surfboards.

However, with a more general outlook, the central actors of *Handmade in Bruges* regard tourism as an opportunity to revive and develop local craftsmanship. Tourists are argued to potentially be interested in authentic local products. The interviewees in Bruges commonly draw a conceptual distinction between mass tourism that is perceived as disadvantageous for the city's cultural landscape and a more sustainable form of urban tourism. The interviewees consistently express the wish to receive tourists in Bruges, who spend more time in the city and have a higher appreciation and budget for high standard products. Thus, the profile of the desired customer evokes the concept of the creative tourist, whom the crafts businesses arguably draw in owing to his informed interest in everyday culture, distinct taste for specialized retail, and the necessary time for slow and selective consumption. The creative tourist, who, to a large extend, uses the same cultural infrastructure as the residents, and co-creates culture through his interaction with the locals, is commonly associated with sustainable local development (Richards, 2009).

Enabling tourists to explore the local crafts scene is frequently understood to provide for authentic cultural experiences as the project coordinator of *Handmade in Bruges* demonstrates:

"But there are the tourists who really want to know the city and, and, and discover new things and, and go off the beaten track and discover the quieter parts of the city. Um, and so are happy to, to discover local craftsmen and to really have an, an, um, uh, dialogue with the people who are living here, who are working here, uh, to discover, yeah. Real stories."

Hence, stimulating local crafts production is regarded as a strategic attempt to invest in building urban resources for those tourists, who stay longer at a destination to explore its culture more thoroughly. Lut Laleman from the city administration points this out:

"(….) the kind of tourists we strive for, uh, is uh, the tourists that stay longer in Bruges than two hours and not only tourists who stay in Brussels or Amsterdam and come by bus and walk behind a guide. We are looking for the motivated tourists. (…) And I think modern tourists that visit cities want to, they don't want to find an H&M or Zara because you have that in Amsterdam or in Rotterdam, too. But they want to find the little local shops, local love. And if you have these handcrafted qualitative shops, then you give an answer to the questions this kind of tourists have.".

She further argues that even cruise tourists might appreciate finding handcrafted local souvenirs when referring to the idea of setting up a souvenir shop selling products of *Handmade in Bruges* label holders only.

The project aims at giving residents and visitors the possibility to explore the city in more personal and engaging ways. Guide books, an app, and a *Handmade in Bruges Tour* are tools to render the workplaces of local crafts professionals more accessible for residents and tourists. *Handmade in Bruges* attempts to tell the stories behind the local crafts. The tour guide accordingly explains how providing explanations during the tours creates an understanding of the work invested in the production and hence, encourages many tour guests to purchase the handmade products after their visit at the workshops.

It is a central concern for many crafts professionals to raise awareness for handmade and local products to justify their necessarily higher prices. Learning about the production processes and interacting with the *local makers* constitutes an essential aspect of the *Handmade in Bruges Tours*. During the tours, the guide Anne explains it counts to help the visitors gain "sight behind the walls." Accordingly, she asserts that the tours help to break the barriers between visitors and crafts professionals. As several interviewees emphasize, getting to know the "maker" personally and learning about the production process creates a greater attachment to the products purchased and to the destination itself. Buying local crafts appears as a form of process-oriented consumption through which tourists are assumed to become immersed in Bruges' culture (Littrell, 1996).

Similarly, it is a central mission of the project *Lojas com Hisória* to communicate the "stories behind the stores" through the respective research as well as articles and short documentaries published on the website (Sofia, project coordinator). The project coordinator argues that visiting the historic shops is what makes tourists really relate to the city and thus, be more likely to return in the future:

"Okay someday in ten years. I don't know. In 20 years. You come to Lisbon. It's the same that you go to Paris or you go to London because all the cities are the same. Except the monuments of course. But how many times do you come to a city to see the same monument?"

It appears that also in practice, intangible culture has become framed as an essential asset for a city's distinctive tourism appeal and a destination branding resource. Sofia (coordinator, Lojas com História) argues that the loss of Lisbon's identity through a process of homogenization of its urban landscape would finally also decrease the city's appeal for tourists. In this regard, also the projects' advisory board member expounds on how the mission of protecting historic shops is related to city branding:

"And I think the idea of taking classification of some shops (…), they give identity to the city, they sell special articles, in a different context. This is also a way of branding or marketing the city. It's also one more element for marketing the city".

It becomes clear that the agenda of safeguarding intangible heritage here includes conscious attempts of placemaking to restore not only the meaningfulness of place for the residents but also communicate the city's qualities externally (Lew, 2017).

The immaterial cultural assets are understood to specifically cater to the cultural desires of contemporary tourists (Marques, & Richards, 2018). The historic shops are frequently argued to provide for personal and engaging experiences for urban tourists. Jorge (Leitão & Irmão) explains the stores' immersive qualities when comparing the experience as a customer in a historic shop to that of a museum visit:

"Then on the other hand, shops you can buy something, which is what they either produce, which is our case (…). In museums, you can buy a cheap copy of what you've seen. (…) the

museum is normally something that is very distant from you. You cannot touch it, cannot photograph, you cannot breathe."

As compared to monumental culture, the shops are framed as "authentic" elements of the city's everyday culture. Therefore, they are argued to enable tourists to immerse themselves in Lisbon's urban lifestyle. This aligns with the creative tourist's desire for engagement, interaction, and immersion (Richards, 2009). Furthermore, the interviewees argue that tourists are often eager to discover places related to tradition, which convey a historically inspired sense of place. It is not only the uniqueness of the products on offer but importantly, the experiences of distinct local culture within the shops, that one is assumed to be looking for when traveling:

"So when you visit a new place, you usually are looking for different experiences after something that you've never, never seen. And I think unique shops offer that experience. Here you try a cake that is baked like that nowhere in the world. (…) So I think historic shops are through unique cultural identity of a country and of a city and an experience that you will not be able to find anywhere else. So, yes, its value is... well, it's priceless in my opinion, something unique." (Miguel, Pastéis de Belém)

Pastéis de Belém on a regular weekday in March – photograph taken by the author

Despite the criticism of neoliberal *touristification* and tourism gentrification, the interviewees emphasize the positive impacts of tourism on the city's recent development. The interviewees agree that rising levels of tourism have helped to restore the material heritage of Lisbon's historical center and boost the local economy. The professor for Urban Geography, who is active as a board member for *Lojas com História*, explains how the low rents, before their liberalization, led to the decay of buildings. The city's retail sector, she argues, had further suffered from a lack of incentives due to the disproportionally low rents.

While tourism dependency varies among the sampled shops, tourist spending makes up for a significant share of the business income of all. Generally, it is agreed that tourism now offers an opportunity to keep the historic retail in the city alive and bestow it with an aligned purpose within a new social urban texture. The wish for a more regulated as well as inclusive urban tourism development is frequently expressed by the interviewees. Only through regulations incorporating socio-cultural factors, the city can arguably benefit from tourism's capacities to bolster urban regeneration, while minimizing its downsides.

4.5 Beyond Museumification: Protection vs. Innovation

The data revealed how the respective local contexts in which the policy-projects were drawn up determine the respective modes of heritage management. In Lisbon, the manifold closures of historic shops in the face of a rapidly urban landscape have urged a policy based on conservation and protection. In contrast, Bruges has dealt with mass tourism in its narrow historic environment for a long time. Due to Bruges' more mature stage of tourism development, *Handmade in Bruges* appears to focus on restoring a multiformity of urban cultural expressions. Further, the project's pronounced focus on innovating rather than maintaining traditional practices appears to strengthen the local crafts sector through a bottom-up dynamic.

Certainly, not all of the historic stores in Lisbon have found themselves in a situation of existential struggle at the time of interviewing. Also, not every shop owner had to negotiate with his landlord to stay in his salesroom. However, in front of a background of an unstable economy and rapid, unregulated changes in the city's social texture, most shop owners interviewed appreciate the comfort of receiving a certain level of protection by the municipality. For them, rent protection appears to be the central benefit of being part of the project. Some highlight that it is a matter of fairness to be treated and taxed differently from

multinational chain stores, which are seen as too powerful for being a fair competition. Further, this argument is based on the shops' significance for local history and the city's identity, which would justify any distinctive treatment.

Frequently it is underlined that the situation of the historic shops attracts much public attention because it represents the grievances of the housing situation in Lisbon more generally. After starting in Lisbon, projects to protect historic retail have also been implemented in other Portuguese cities while the consequences of tourism gentrification unfold on a broader scale. Most interviewees understand it as a social mission to participate in an initiative saving historic retail in the city.

After the project was initiated as a consequence of the liberalization of the housing law, a new temporary rent regulation was established on a national level, the project's coordinator explains. This new renting law from 2017 encompasses five years under which tenants renting under old renting contracts cannot be evicted from the properties as long as they pay the initially negotiated monthly rent. Thus, their rent is temporarily "frozen". As this law supporting *Lojas com História* applies not only to historic shops but ultimately to all housing contracts, the benefits that come with the distinction are for some of the interviewees not appropriate or sufficient. Furthermore, it is unclear what will happen after this period of five years as the future of the project depends on national laws. Any progress and protection, therefore, appears to be volatile. Further, some shop owners declare not wanting to accept any active support from the project, such as the subsidy for renovations. This reluctant attitude appears to be related to a general mistrust in urban governance.

Apart from being part of the project *Lojas com História*, the material heritage of the shops is further protected by other national heritage regulations. However, this initiative distinguishes itself by also seeking to protect the *activities* within the shops: irrespective of the management personnel or the owner. The criteria for designating the historic shops have evolved from a study of the best-known traditional businesses in Lisbon. The project members further undermine the importance of being in frequent exchange with shop owners, which involves regular and informal visits to the stores. Managing intangible everyday culture thus appears to be a matter of a bottom-up approach based on dialogue with the involved actors.

Team of Leitão & Irmão manufacture in the beginning of the 20th and 21st century – photograph taken by the author

However, to keep the designation, the shops have to adhere to the protection standards outlined by the project. Combined with other regulations that apply to the preservation of the material heritage, several shop owners perceive the necessary renewal as often complicated and cumbersome. While the shop owners are aware of their historical legacy, modernization is crucial for the vision of some, as Jorge (Leitão & Irmão) illustrates:

"We never were in the past. I respect it a lot. We like it very much. We are very proud of it. But it's gone now. (…) No one lives off the past. And the future, you have to build it."

Leitão & Irmão manufacturing site – photograph taken by the author

Interior of one of the Leitão & Irmão stores in Lisbon – photograph taken by author

According to the board member of *Lojas com História*, a conservationist attitude is not sufficient for approaching the diverse issues challenging the traditional shops and gastronomy. She argues that it is essential to find ways to stimulate new uses of historic

stores. Many store owners, she explains, do not have any inheritors willing to take over the business. Further, she refers to a lack of motivation to innovate by some of the owners of old shops in Lisbon. Arguably, it is crucial to strike a balance between preservation and the needed business innovation. Nevertheless, these seem to be topics that are currently not addressed by the municipal program.

The project *Handmade in Bruges*, as the coordinator Ellen frequently emphasizes, seeks to take a holistic approach towards local craftsmanship. As a form of intangible culture, Ellen argues, it is essential to treat craftsmanship in a flexible and open-minded way. Thus, *Handmade in Bruges* is not only concerned with the safeguarding and ensuring continuity of the skills and knowledge related to traditional craftsmanship. Instead, the project's mission also revolves around creating the conditions which enable necessary change:

"And in the heritage sector, people were especially concerned about the heritage parts and the way skills are passed on to the next generation. And that's also very important because some schools are dying out (…). With 'Handmade in Bruges', we, we want to see the whole scope. And that's also entrepreneurship, innovation, collaboration with other sectors (…) to find new ways of relevance for heritage." (Ellen, project coordinator).

It becomes clear that for paving ways for crafts to remain relevant in today's economy, stimulating sectoral innovation is fundamental. *Handmade in Bruges*, appears to justly treat the crafts sector as a "living entity" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004: 53). Thus, workshops, seminars, as well as networking events, are held to establish a dialogue with and among crafts professionals. Next, a new initiative aims at capacity-building by accompanying "young makers" on their way to becoming self-reliant crafts entrepreneurs. This way, the project can identify and address the different needs of diverse professionals. By creating a network, co-operations among label holders are encouraged. Furthermore, *Handmade in Bruges* has entered into multiple partnerships with organizations to address wider societal issues such as environmental sustainability. At the same time, fostering collaborations between the label holders and the local industry is argued to be a way to stimulate broader economic innovation. These findings invigorate the notion of intangible heritage as a "source for creativity and innovation" (Cominelli, & Greffe, 2012: 245).

Furthermore, some interviewees refer to the ways that rare skills can be acquired by connecting with an international crafts community through social media. This reinforces the

observation that digitization bears the potential of reviving the crafts sector by offering platforms for the dissemination of niche products and the passing on of rare cultural skills and knowledge, regardless of a physical location (Danziger, 2018).

Factors such as having one's production certified and being part of a strong network appear to motivate the label holders to apply for the label. Also, their experiences as *Handmade in Bruges* label holders differ depending on their degree of involvement with the activities organized. Some have received personal consultancy regarding government support or the realization of projects. Having established a network within the heritage community and this way, commencing collaborations or partnerships with other local crafts professionals is often stressed as a central advantage by the interviewees. In this sense, being part of *Handmade in Bruges* for some has opened up entirely new opportunities for professional self-fulfillment.

Moreover, it appears that the label-holders in Bruges are themselves eager to promote local craftsmanship more generally. Some interviewees even regard themselves as ambassadors for the city of Bruges and its local culture wishing to promote it abroad or to the city's visitors. It appears that identifying strongly with the local crafts community stimulates a sense of local pride and the motivation to be committed to objectives like supporting local products and working in environmentally sustainable ways. Matthias exemplifies this when reporting about how he got to arrange the city's new winter bar, after proposing a concept of involving several local suppliers to the city hall:

"So, we worked with local butchers. We worked with local bakeries for the food. We worked with local drinks. We worked with Handmade in Bruges label holders. And then it was chosen by the jury. And I mean, the city provided the infrastructure. (…) They chose (…) the project based on quality, based on… the social character (…) and the fact that we want to work together with all the locals (…)."

Many respondents emphasize the city's recent support of bottom-up initiatives aimed at stimulating cultural participation and creativity. The majority of interviewees has observed the city changing through urban governance focused on making urban tourism more sustainable and improving the residents' quality of life. Also, the municipal government's increasing support for *Handmade in Bruges* is emphasized. The increasing support is connected to a new model of co-governance in which the cultural organizations in Bruges are

supposed to enjoy greater freedom of action. This new governance model seems to further encourage innovative ways of dealing with craftsmanship.

In previous chapters, the touristic contexts of Lisbon and Bruges have been connected to the perceived need to protect and re-make urban identity. This chapter demonstrates how the local touristic contexts, in which the risks for intangible urban culture are interwoven, impact the modes of managing it. Lisbon has experienced major changes in its urban landscape throughout the past years. The trading city is still characterized by family-businesses and the distinctly Portuguese products on offer. For Lisbon, the challenge seems to be reconciling the city's modernization while maintaining its distinct urban identity and traditional charm (Marques, & Richards, 2018). Lisbon has responded to this challenge with a municipality-led project attempting to diminish the cultural uncertainty through protection and preservation measures.

Bruges' prominent medieval center, in contrast, has experienced phenomena related to cultural commodification for a considerably longer period of time. Arguably having reached a peak moment of tourism-induced McDisneyization, Bruges is now concerned with changing this negative connotation and becoming associated with sustainability and creativity. In this regard, *Handmade in Bruges* has stepped beyond trying to preserve and sustain practices related to traditional craftsmanship. Instead, the project has acknowledged its role as a facilitator of industry innovation. The project's more holistic approach to intangible culture appears to herald multiple benefits for the local professionals. The active support of a local crafts community aids the process of creative urban revitalization. Moreover, Lisbon's historic retail is next to the related activities, also tied to the material heritage of the shops. Craftsmanship in Bruges, even though strongly linked to the city's history, first and foremost depends on those actors performing it today. Accordingly, *Handmade in Bruges* seems to have embraced an actor-centered approach and presents itself as an ambassador for dynamic urban change with the local craftsmen as its departure point.

4.6 Post Covid-19 Addendum

The Covid-19 crisis has started to affect Lisbon's economic and social life during the time of field research. Since then, the tourism dependency of the urban economy is showing its vulnerabilities in brute ways, as several respondents reinforce. At the time of field research, the interviewees commonly presumed that those shops mainly targeting the Portuguese

residents have better chances of surviving the crisis considering possible long-term drops in urban tourism. Even in the weeks before the enforced temporary closure of shops and gastronomy, some historic stores have reportedly already lost a significant share of their turnover. When contacting the label holders in Lisbon again at a later point in time, their situation had worsened significantly. By the end of April, Miguel (Pastéis de Belém) calls 2020 the worst in fifty years for his business. Tourists usually make up for half of his customers. With lay-off measures being unsatisfactory and no tourism recovery in prospect, he explains, *Pastéis de Belém* has to focus now more on its local customers.

Tiago's (Conseveira de Lisboa) follow up email sheds light on the tourism dependency of the historic shops, which he sees as the main reason for the at least 85 percent decline in revenue for his canned fish business since the pandemic. In a follow-up after Lisbon's lockdown, the expert on urban planning and retail, who is included in the sample as an advisory board member, emphasizes the rapid growth of online shopping. The current crisis appears to speed up the increasing competition of online shopping that had already been on its way (Diemand, & Waidner, 2020). She raises the question of the resilience of historical shops in the face of these sudden and unexpected developments. As outlined earlier, Lisbon's old shops are commonly looked at as symbols of resilience in their own right. However, the extent to which historical shops might survive and adapt to the changes following this economic shock might rely on governmental support and resilience strategies. In the follow-up email, the advisory board member suggests that the post-corona retail recovery will require creativity and innovation, like novel collaborations between retailers. Regarding the project *Lojas com História*, Tiago (Conseveira de Lisboa) refers to a current initiative to facilitate collaborations for historical businesses to set up e-commerce as a resilience strategy. Developments like digitization and e-commerce have often weakened the competitive position of family-owned and traditional retail, commonly less adaptable to technology than multinational companies (Gassmann, 2019). However, the current crisis might require small retailers to digitalize at an accelerated speed, and this way, alter their traditional business models.

In an email in early May, Ellen, the coordinator of the project *Handmade in Bruges*, highlights the strong impact of the absence of urban tourists in Bruges on the economic situation of local crafts professionals. Matthias from *Siphon Brewing* explains that the beer production had to stop until further notice. However, not each crafts business is affected by the situation. The upholsterer Valerie reported how she receives more commissions than ever, while local gastronomy is using the lockdown for renovations. Ellen refers to the ways in

which crafts professionals have responded creatively to the pandemic's consequences. She not only emphasizes initiatives by the federal government and Bruges' municipality to stimulate trade and safeguard local entrepreneurs through vouchers, for instance, but also to the ways local entrepreneurs have initiated new collaborations. *Handmade in Bruges* label-holders have jointly set up delivery packages for home consumption. *Handmade in Bruges* appears to respond to this crisis by investing even more effort into raising awareness for local and handmade products among the city's residents. The project further contributes to creative crisis management by organizing the preparation of Do-It-Yourself face masks for healthcare workers. These findings illuminate the importance of a well-established network that connects the central crafts actors. Following Holtorf (2017), cultural resilience means the ability of a cultural system to adapt to changes and adversities. It appears that an approach to intangible heritage management, which embraces dynamism and transformation, encourages the resilience of the crafts sector. Creativity, as fueled by collaborations between professionals specialized in different crafts, seems to be central to making the crafts sector more resilient to the extraordinariness of crises as well as adversities of continuous socio-economic developments.

5. CONCLUSION

This research explored the urban contexts in which the programs *Lojas com História* and *Handmade in Bruges* are embedded. With the cases of historic retail in Lisbon and traditional craftsmanship in Bruges, the motivations underlying the endeavor of safeguarding everyday urban culture were identified. This master's thesis answered the question of how central actors of these policy-projects negotiate between the role of urban tourism and the safeguarding of historic retail and traditional craftsmanship. This paper identified urban tourism as a perceived threat to a distinct urban identity and a sense of place, but also as an opportunity for the revival of intangible heritage.

This study approached craftsmanship and historic retail as forms of intangible heritage due to the municipal initiatives' emphasis on the *activities* within the historical shops, or the *skills* and *practices* of craftsmanship. My assessment of the projects *Lojas com História* and *Handmade in Bruges* as attempts of safeguarding intangible heritage has done justice to their intentions of reinforcing community-based culture for the sake of local distinctiveness and a sense of urban continuity. Further, employing an intangible heritage-based approach proved a fruitful means for establishing a connection to the contexts in which the cities have experienced high levels of tourism. Building on the notion that actions related to safeguarding heritage typically arise out of perceived risk or threat enabled to pinpoint the touristification of the cities and the McDisneyization of their urban culture as a peril to distinct place identity and local cultural expressions (Harrison, 2012; Ritzer, & Miles, 2018).

To integrate the notion of the sense of place supported this study by linking intangible heritage to the city's realm of meaning (Jive´n, & Larkham, 2003). Finally, the recent and in academia frequently cited concept of creative tourism provided this study with a distinctive outlook on how urban tourism can support the revival of intangible culture (Richards, 2009). This way, I could draw a connection between the desires of creative tourists to experience the everyday urban culture and how the support of intangible heritage relates to placemaking and city-branding practices (Lew, 2017).

Applying a qualitative research method to the study of the phenomena encouraged an in-depth understanding of the meanings attached to the practices related to craftsmanship and historic retail. Qualitative interviews with central actors related to *Lojas com História* and *Handmade in Bruges* let me gain rich insights into the respondents' social worlds. The two cities' initiatives were assessed comprehensively due to the extensive accounts of seventeen

different interviewees, who I met in situ. Including policy-makers, project coordinators, owners of historic shops, designated crafts professionals, as well as tourism intermediaries in the sample, helped to approach the issues related to urban tourism and intangible heritage from different angles. In this regard, a well-rounded picture of the projects in their local contexts could be established. Staying close to the respondents' accounts when analyzing the data with respect to the chosen theory allowed me to derive relevant implications for the broader fields of study of place, intangible heritage, and urban tourism.

This study showed how Lisbon's residents connect the disappearance of traditional retail along in the context of tourism gentrification to a loss of urban identity. This research suggests that the pronounced interest in traditional Portuguese everyday-culture should be understood as a longing for a distinctive urban identity in the face of the city's internationalization. Amidst a crisis of small retail, this study highlighted the role of old shops for a sense of urban continuity, which let residents identify with the city and its distinct lifestyle. Gaining their social relevance from the role they play in many resident's day-to-day life the historic stores have shown to represent cornerstones in the collective memory. The risks for the continued existence of traditional retail are manifold and mainly anchor in Lisbon's often criticized urban regeneration in recent years. Safeguarding the city's shops, and thus, bestowing them with heritage status, has become a symbolic action because their situation embodies the struggles many residents in Lisbon suffer from in the face of tourism gentrification.

The city of Bruges has frequently been associated with tourism-induced urban McDisneyization. For the interviewees, the commodification and homogenization of urban culture first and foremost find expression in the many souvenir shops catering to mass tourists. This study illuminated the role of mass tourism in bringing forth a sense of placelessness as the historic city center lacks points of reference for residents. My findings suggest that the city's attempt to place "local makers" on the map and grant them an official distinction through the label can be understood as a way of counteracting the tendencies of urban McDisneyization. Furthermore, this study embeds the municipality's support of local and handmade production in the context of an attempt to rebrand Bruges as a sustainable and creative city.

The case studies exemplify how cities intervene in urban economic processes to provide culturally engaging experiences for residents and tourists. In contrast to Ritzer's (2018) argument that cultural authenticity does not make up for an urban planning concern for touristic cities, this research shows the rising awareness of city administrations for

promoting distinctive and local cultural expressions. The municipal initiatives stimulate production and trade that stands out by its cultural significance rather than its profit margins. Bruges' and Lisbon's city administrations seem to acknowledge that leaving the dynamics of urban tourism to the forces of the economy alone can herald culturally unsustainable consequences, which bring forth the dissatisfaction of not only residents but also tourists. Hence, it is suggested that a one-sided economic approach to destination development and urban regeneration can lead to a perceived loss of urban cultural identity. Investing in local production and community-based cultural expressions appears to be a strategy of counteracting the forces of the globalized tourism industry, neoliberal city-development, unsustainable consumerism, and an accelerated speed of life, altogether producing placelessness. Hence, the projects represent a stance against the "neoliberal commodified agenda" of global tourism discussed by Wearing et al. (2019).

Next to a growing concern with cultural sustainability, the municipal safeguarding initiatives also demonstrate a new interest in intangible everyday culture. Craftsmanship is related to functionality and traditional retail to commerce. This study highlights the municipal safeguarding projects as attempts to derive policies from the rising concern with intangible culture in the context of cultural heritage. In this sense, they can also be understood to represent an expansion and democratization of the very concept of heritage. The very actions of safeguarding practices related to the urban everyday show how rapid societal changes lead to regarding even the vernacular everyday life as worthy of protection.

Moreover, the study showed how intangible culture is regarded as a source for "keeping historic cities alive." Letting residents and tourists experience the practices related to craftsmanship in Bruges by rendering the crafts professionals more visible and accessible in the city's landscape is supposed to create a correspondence between the city's monumental and living culture. Craftsmanship is thought of as bearing the potential for reviving a distinct and historically-inspired sense of place through its connection to Bruges' background as a city of craftsmanship. The traditional shops in the historic trading city Lisbon are regarded as spaces for social interactions and expressions of cultural history on a neighborhood level. Thus, the presence and visibility of traditional activities are understood to link the city's present economic activities to a historical context, which is often done through story-telling. D'Auria's (2009) argument that intangible heritage can present a connecting element between physical place and the local community is supported as historically inspired activities appear to connect residents to the built environment in meaningful ways. Hence, this study brings

forth the notion that safeguarding intangible culture is a way of encouraging a sense of belonging among local residents.

In Bruges, a creative and sustainable turn in destination management expressed in the wish to attract fewer cruise tourists but more of what can be theorized as creative tourists. In this context, stimulating creativity, and specifically, craftsmanship, appears to be a tool for diversifying the city's image and creating resources for this desired type of tourist, who is commonly associated with sustainable local development. This study contributed to the study of creative tourism by showing how wealthier tourists with a greater interest in authentic local culture are regarded as ambassadors for the revival of crafts. Thus, the municipality's support of local production can be seen as a prioritization of "quality over quantity" concerning both the products on offer and the tourists drawn to the city.

Lisbon's city center has increasingly been losing residents in favor of tourism accommodation (Lestegás, et al., 2018). Thus, tourism spending now seems to be vital for the continued existence of historic shops. Also, in Lisbon, intangible everyday culture is framed as a resource for engaging tourism experiences based on authentic local culture, process-oriented consumption, and a distinct lifestyle that expresses the dynamics of a lively city organism.

Further, this thesis has established a connection between the threats to the endurance of these forms of intangible heritage and the respective modes of heritage management. Whereas Lisbon is becoming "touristified," the smaller city of Bruges has already reached a peak moment of urban McDisneyization. The more radical changes in Lisbon's urban texture in recent times seem to have caused a sense of uncertainty, which motivated a project focused on the protection of activities related to historic retail. The focus of *Handmade in Bruges* lies in restoring a cultural multiplicity, which has arguably already been overshadowed by developments related to mass tourism. The findings of this study suggest that the projects' emphasis on innovation connects to the city's later stage in tourism development. Facing the danger of developing a tourism-mono culture, cultural revitalization rather than protection seems to be essential. *Handmade in Bruges* treats craftsmanship as evolving into the future, rather than a manifest of the past. Managing intangible heritage interwoven in the socio-economic contexts of the cities appears in both contexts to require a holistic approach to the entire sector, in which heritage can be held alive as a "living entity" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004: 53).

For making places through the management of intangible culture, intersectoral action and multivocality seem to be required. I suggest that traditional craftsmanship and historic

retail need to be understood at the intersection of economics, entrepreneurship, culture, and society. Stimulating sectorial innovation, while rewarding and promoting quality and professionalism can keep intangible heritage relevant and meaningful, without limiting it to its historical legacy. Designating local professionals with labels is a systematic way of increasing their visibility among residents as well as tourists and fostering bottom-up cultural regeneration.

This study underlines the benefits of establishing a platform for constant exchange between policy-makers and the central actors involved. Only by understanding the microcosms of central actors and the acute challenges they face suitable policies can be tailored for motivating the continued emergence of new place-bound cultural expressions. Nevertheless, it appears crucial to not hinder competitiveness and innovation through the bureaucratization related to measures of protection and preservation.

Moreover, my findings indicate that targeting a certain group of tourists through the marketing of intangible heritage can revive intangible heritage through consumer spending. Tourists can be ambassadors for both historic retail and traditional craftsmanship through their interest in authentic local products and their typically high retail spending. However, this also yields the new question of inclusivity and accessibility. Drawing on Hanagan (2019) and Hughes (2011), similar to the Crafts Movements of the 19th century, the idea of reviving craftsmanship and small retail in the context of mass tourism seems to hold a social and political stance. In this regard, quality, local production, and slow consumption are emphasized. However, through the focus on the demanding consumer and the creative tourist, the projects might also become elite-driven. A tourism planning "obsession" with the wealthier and discerning tourists for the sake of cultural regeneration might lead to the gentrification of shops and products. Such development could uproot traditional practices from their local meanings by touristifying them.

Furthermore, it is question-worthy whether the rent protection of distinctive shops can be feasible in the long term. *Lojas com História* has a limited capability on intervening in the neoliberal market system. Its efforts appear like a temporary attempt to counteract economic developments, while concurrently ever more historic shops are closing. Hence, protecting single businesses might be ineffective without incentivizing local production and family-owned retail through, for instance, tax allowances. For restoring culturally distinctive retail landscapes, I suggest that it is crucial to invest in capacity-building so that local products and businesses can remain relevant and competitive.

Based on the results of this study, I argue that it is essential to regulate tourism development carefully in accordance with the respective socio-cultural contexts. For rendering tourism-led economic regeneration inclusive and sustainable, city planning should anticipate unwanted disruptions of distinct trading and manufacturing culture. The findings of this study suggest that collaborations between local heritage actors and destination management are beneficial for creative destination branding. Finally, a closer collaboration of the tourism and heritage sector can create beneficial conditions for the dynamic co-creation of cultural experiences by tourists and residents.

6. DISCUSSION & SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

While this research was conducted, the Covid-19 pandemic has unexpectedly disrupted the otherwise steady increase of global travel. The streets of Europe's most popular city destinations such as Venice, London, Amsterdam, or Paris, have also witnessed an unprecedented emptiness and stillness due to the measures related to containing the globally spreading virus. In the absence of tourism, residents in tourism hotspots have been reported to finally be able to appreciate the tranquility of the usually overcrowded historic city-centers or museums. For many, this seems to undermine the abundance of otherwise omnipresent urban tourists (ZDF, 2020; Povoledo, 2020). Furthermore, this crisis brings concerns about ecological sustainability to the fore.

As I outlined earlier (pp. 18), the current situation is assumed to have far-reaching impacts on the tourism industry. But what does this mean in the context of urban policies aimed at the revitalization of intangible culture? It is not clear how tourism will resume after the travel restrictions are lifted. Some cities are already reported to consider using this break from mass tourism as an opportunity to render post-Corona tourism more culturally and ecologically sustainable. The way that prime tourism cities are planning to go back to urban tourism currently draws in much attention (Gulsac, 2020; Comideau, 2020).

The Covid-19 pandemic has furthermore impacted the already struggling retail sector significantly. While mass tourism might be less of a concern for city administrations in the near future, making cities culturally resilient could become an increasingly important endeavor. Finding ways of fostering the resilience of everyday urban culture might be fundamental after having experienced this global economic shock, which seems to further undermine the position of local retail districts and, instead, accelerates the growth of global e-commerce (Smoltczyk, 2020, Stern, 2020; Glassmann, 2019).

Encouraging the resilience of everyday urban culture includes stimulating change and new norms. With climate change and global health emergencies representing central agents of change for the tourism industry in the 21st century, cities might overthink the role that tourism should play in their economic systems and their cultural landscapes (Jamal, & Budke, 2020). In many ways, the pandemic is already being assessed as weakening globalization tendencies and fortifying the local (Goodman, 2020). In this sense, the current crisis might alter the local-global dynamics and the ways these are acting out in cities decisively (Fernandes, & Chamusca, 2014).

Staying in contact with some of the respondents via email has helped to incorporate into research how this rapidly evolving situation affects culturally significant businesses and endeavors of safeguarding these. Following the reports of the respondents, not only historic retail in Lisbon, but also the crafts sector in Bruges suffer severely from the enforced closures and importantly, the absence of urban tourists. Further, considering the local crafts sector in Bruges, it becomes clear how the unprecedented situation stimulates creative solution-finding fueled by a well-connected network of local crafts professionals. Creative adaptation to the circumstances can be seen as a form of cultural resilience supported by the heritage community, which is strengthened by *Handmade in Bruges* (Holtorf, 2017).

Considering these recent developments, I propose that it is crucial to research the impacts of the crisis on local shops and retail districts of inner cities in both quantitative and qualitative terms. Researching cities' recovery plans for local retail can bring forth necessary implications for an understanding of cultural resilience management. Approaches to cultural sustainability and destination branding post-Covid-19 can become identified by investigating the strategies that touristic cities in Europe employ to resume tourism after the crisis. Looking at how this pandemic is currently interrupting different aspects of life as we know it, its socio-cultural consequences should be assessed in terms of an encompassing feeling of societal uncertainty. Identifying the perceived threats to culture emerging from this complex situation seems a promising approach to interpret cultural policy on the city level.

This study has taken on the opportunity to integrate the recent changes related to the novel coronavirus in the data analysis. However, the related measures also constrained the data collection as six further scheduled interviews with owners of historic shops were canceled in Lisbon.

To expand the academic research of everyday urban culture and retail heritage, I suggest future studies to include tourists in the sample when researching these or other cross-sectoral policies aimed at the qualitative improvement of culturally authentic urban landscapes. Moreover, interviews with tourists could elucidate and problematize the subjective notion of "culturally authentic experiences." To further elucidate on the interface of intangible heritage and creative tourism, future studies can also benefit from ethnographic fieldwork. Participant observations in the contexts of tours through the workshops of traditional artisans, or the sales routine of historic shops, could add a valuable outlook on the dynamics of urban tourism and everyday related destination culture complementary to this study. Further, surveying larger numbers of label-holders based on the qualitative insights of this study is proposed to create more generalizable results regarding the economic situation

and acute challenges of historic retail and traditional craftsmanship to the benefit

implementing future policy-projects.

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Appendix A - Respondent Overview

Respondents related to "Handmade in Bruges"

Name	Connection to Handmade in Bruges	Profession	Age / Date of Birth	Place of Residence, Nationality
Ellen Vandenbulcke	Project Coordinator	Project Coordinator Handmade in Bruges	31.10.1978	Bruges, Belgian
Anne	Tour Guide, Handmade in Bruges Tours	Retired, former French Teacher, and Self employed in technical transition agency	02.02.1954	Bruges, Belgian
Lut Laleman	Economics Department, City Administration of Bruges	Head of Economics Department, Bruges	1968	Bruges, Belgian
Mathilde	Winner "Jonge Maakers" Prize	Knitwear Specialist at Textile Lab Tilburg	29.03.1992	Bruges, Belgian
Maya	Label-holder: Cadavre Exquis	Self-employed costume designer + part time employee	14.04.1990	Bruges, Belgian
Anje	Label-holder: Juliette Biscuits	Confectioner	1970	Bruges, Belgian
Job	Label-holder: Jabali Surfboards	Shaper	1974	Bruges, Dutch
Valerie	Label holder: Studio K.U.	Former therapist, upholsterer	1974	Bruges, Belgian
Stefan	Label holder: De Broodsmid	Baker	1973	Bruges, Belgian
Matthias	Label holder: Siphon Brewing	Sales & Logistics	1990	Bruges, Belgian

Respondents related to "Lojas com História"

Name	Connection to Lojas com História	Profession	Age / Date of Birth	Place of Residence, Nationality
Sofia Pereira	Project Coordinator	Sociologist	1980	Lisbon, Portuguese
Anonymous	Advisory Board Member	Professor for Urban Geography and Planning, IGOT	1948	Lisbon, Portuguese
Miguel	Historic shop: Pastéis de Belém	Business development and management, business owner	1982	Lisbon, Portuguese
Jorge	Historic Shop: Leitão & Irmão	Business development and management, business owner	1960	Lisbon, Portuguese
Tiago	Historic Shop: Conserveira de Lisboa	Electronics Engineer, Business Owner	1978	Lisbon, Portuguese
Manuela	Historic Shop: Hospital de Bonecas	Former teacher, owner of family business	1945	Lisbon, Portuguese
José	Historic Shop: Pavilhão Chinês	Hospitality manager, business owner	1969	Lisbon, Portuguese

Appendix B - Operationalization of Central Concepts into Interview Questions

Central Concepts _____ Interview Guides / Questions	Risks to Heritage	Place Identity	Placemaking	Tourism's Impact on the Urban Landscape (McDisneyization)	Role of Tourism in Safeguarding Intangible Heritage (Creative Tourism)	Modes of Managing Heritage
Label Holders, Bruges	10)	4)	2), 6), 11)	5), 9)	7), 8)	3)
Project Coordinator, Bruges	5), 7)		4)	8), 9)	10), 11)	2), 3), 4), 6)
Follow Up - Project Coordinator						1), 2), 3), 4), 5)
City Administration, Bruges	1)	4)	1), 3), 8)	4)	5), 6), 7)	2), 8), 9)
Tour Guide, Bruges		8)			3), 4), 5), 6), 7)	1)
Label Holders, Lisbon	5)	7)	2), 4), 9)	8), 11)	9), 10), 11)	3), 6), 12
Project Coordinator & Advisory Board Member, Lisbon	3), 4), 5)	9)	10)	11)	12), 13)	2), 3), 5), 6), 7)

Appendix C - Interview Guides

<u>Interview Guide Label Holders, Handmade in Bruges</u>

1.) What type business are you running?
2.) How has your cooperation with the project "Handmade in Bruges" started and evolved? What has motivated you to apply for the label?
3.) How do you feel about being a label holder? / How do you feel about cooperating with "Handmade in Bruges"?
4.) How would you describe the city of Bruges to someone that has never heard about it?
5.) How and in what ways does tourism in your opinion affect the city of Bruges?
6.) Do you think craftsmanship can add something to the city? How would that (your work) be different from what monuments can contribute?
7.) How would you describe your target audience / actual audience?
8.) In what ways do you encounter tourists in the context of your profession as crafts professional?
9.) Do you adapt the way you work to cater specifically to tourists? If so, how and in what ways?
10.) In the context of your business, do you encounter any challenges specific to being a craft professional? If so, which?
11.) Does the project Handmade in Bruges change your perspective regarding your own commercial opportunities in Bruges (in relation to tourism)?

<u>Interview Guide Project Coordinator, Handmade in Bruges</u>

1.) What is your role at Handmade in Bruges?
2.) How has the initiative Handmade in Bruges evolved?
3.) Have some things changed since it has been established?
     3b.) And if so, how?
4.) How would you explain the goals of this program?
5.) Where do you perceive the challenges regarding the goals of the project?
6.) How do you select who will receive the label?
7.) How can you explain the need to support local craftsmanship in Bruges?
8.) How do you think tourism affects the life in the city?
9.) Does tourism affect the goods and shops in the city and if so, how?
10.) In your opinion, does tourism has or can have an impact on local production in Bruges and if so, in what ways?
11.) How do you involve the tourism sector into your project?

<u>Follow Up Interview, Project Coordinator, Handmade in Bruges</u>

1.) From your perspective, what do you think is unique to managing intangible heritage (as compared to managing tangible heritage)?
2.) What challenges might be specific when managing culture that is related economic activity and entrepreneurship?
3.) Which organizations does Handmade in Bruges work with? Are partnerships more focused on a local, national, or international level?
4.) How does your cooperation with the municipality look like? What is the funding model?
5.) Who are the different stakeholders regarding Handmade in Bruges? Which are their interests? And are there any conflicts between the interests of the different stakeholders?

Interview Guide, Department of Economics, City Administration, Bruges

1) How has your collaboration with Handmade in Bruges started and evolved? / What was the motivation for supporting the project?
2) How does the city hall collaborate with Handmade in Bruges?
3) Are the shops and products sold in the city of Bruges generally of concern for the city hall? If so, why and in what ways?
4) How do you perceive the connection between craftsmanship and the city's image?
5) How would you describe the connection between craftsmanship and tourism management / marketing?
6) How could buying local crafts or learning about local craftsmanship affect a tourist's experience in Bruges?
7) What types of tourists would be interested in local craftsmanship? And how does that relate to Bruges' strategic vision for tourism development?
8) In your opinion, what has been the impact of the initiative? What could maybe be improved?
9) Where do you see the connection between craftsmanship and the tourism sector in the future?

Interview Guide, Tour Guide, Handmade in Bruges Tours

1.) How was the Handmade tour founded?
   1b.) Which parties have been involved in setting it up?
2.) For how long have you been guiding this tour now?
   2b.) How frequently do you guide this tour?
3.) How does the tour generally look like?
   3b.) How would you describe its highlights?
4.) Which parts of the tour do you perceive to be particularly interesting to the tour guests?
5.) How would you describe the audience at the tours?
6.) How would you describe the interactions between the local makers and the tourists?
7.)   How frequently do the tour guests purchase the products of the stores visited?
   7b.) What role does the purchasing of the products / the shopping play in the context of the tour?
8.) In your opinion, what role do locally produced crafts play for the tourists experience of the city?

Interview Guide Label Holders, Lojas com História

1.) What type of business are you running?
2.) How has your cooperation with "Lojas com História" started / evolved?
3.) How would you describe your motivation to collaborate with the project / apply for the label?
4.) How do you feel about being part of this initiative and about the distinction of your shop?
5.) Do you encounter any challenges when it comes to sustaining your historic business? If so, which challenges and why is this the case?
6.) Are there any other heritage regulations that apply to your shop? If so, how do they impact the way that you work and preserve the shop?
7.) Do you see your business related to the history of Lisbon? And if so, in what ways?

8.) How do you think that tourism affects Lisbon (in regard to the city's life and the shops in the city)?
9.) How does your business contribute to the culture of Lisbon? How might that be different from what a newly built museum can add to the city?
10.) How would you describe your target audience? And your actual audience? How would you describe the share of tourists and residents in your audience?
11.) Do you employ any strategies to appeal to tourists specifically?
12.) Does being part of Lojas com História change your outlook on business opportunities in Lisbon?

Interview Guide Project Coordinator, & Advisory Board Member, Lojas com História

1.) What is your role in the project Lojas com Historia?
2.) How was the project initiated (and by whom)? And how has it evolved since 2015?
3.) What is the goal of the project? How is this goal supposed to be achieved? And what are the challenges that you encounter regarding its goals?
4.) Why has Lisbon's municipality decided that it is necessary to launch a project to protect the historic shops in Lisbon?
5.) Is the situation of the historic shops also related to more general issues the residents of the city are facing? And if so, how and in what ways?
6.) Which departments / people are involved in this project? Why this interdisciplinary approach to the issue at hand?
7.) How is it decided which shops should receive the label?
8.) How would you describe the collaboration with the shop owners?
9.) How do you perceive the historic shops to be related to Lisbon? How do they contribute to the city's identity in your opinion? And how might that be different from what the newly built museums can add?
10.) You are trying to raise awareness and promote the historic shops. What is the audience that you are trying to reach?
11.) Since the past few years Lisbon has witnessed what many call a tourism boom. How have the growing numbers of tourists in Lisbon changed its commercial infrastructure from your point of view?
12.) Do you actively try to also collaborate with actors from the tourism sector in the context of the project? If so, why and how?
13.) Which role would you attribute to tourism regarding the future of historic shops in Lisbon?

Appendix D

List of Codes and Code Groups created in Atlas.ti

Touristification as a Threat to Urban Continuity & Meaning in Lisbon /
From McDisneyization to Reviving Creativity in Bruges

Group 4: **Collective Memory (Lisbon)**

-Missing the Shops that Closed

-Making Part of the Initial Selection of Shops

-Shops as Shared Memory and Reference Points

-Shops as Expressing Local Identity and Heritage

-Shop(s) as Benchmarks of Urban Landscape

Group 5: **Continuity (Lisbon + Bruges)**

-Embedding Modern Crafts in Historical Context

-Family Business Throughout several Generations

-Continuity of Business and Practices

-Crafts as Local Heritage

-Desire to Pass on Crafts Skills

-Tradition of Retail / Trade Heritage in Lisbon

-Crafts as Connecting Past and Present

-Demand for Learning Crafts Skills

-Honoring of Own Originality, Tradition and Quality

-Continuity of Business Practices

-Continuity and Resilience of Shops

-Wish to have more time to continue business

-Corporate History as Quality Assurance

-Connection between Bruges and Crafts as a Reason for Support

-Co-Existence of Old and New

Group 11: **Loss of Urban Identity (Bruges & Lisbon)**

-Lack of Cultural Meaning

-Lack of Originality and Imagination

-Loss of Trading Heritage

-Urge to Preserve Local Identity

Group 17: **Regulations and Neoliberalism (Lisbon)**

-Tourism Growth as Part of Neoliberal Urban Regeneration

-Tourism Gentrification

-Need to Balance Tourists and Locals

-Need for Regulations

-Low rents, old laws and the problem of decay

-Foreign Investment and Gentrification

-Criticism on Urban Planning

-City as Guardian of Craftsmanship

-Benefits of Urban Change for Historic Shops

-Need for Balance between Growth and Preserving Identity

Group 23: **Touristification (Lisbon + Bruges)**

-Superficial Mass Tourism Behavior

-Unrentable Tourism

-Tourism Impact on Urban Landscape

-Lack of Local Customers

-Locals Moving Away from the Center

-Over-Tourism in Bruges

-Stereotypical Stores and Products for Tourists

-Overcrowding at Shops Favored by Tourists

-Tourism as Having Negative Impact on Quality of Shops in the Center

Group 22: **Threats to Heritage (Lisbon + Bruges)**

-Tourism Gentrification as a Threat for Continuity of Shops

-Effects of Covid-19 on Local Business

-Entrepreneurial Difficulties as Crafts Professional

-Lack of Care by Shop Owners

-Lack of Economic Viability of Shops as a Threat

-Locals Moving Away from Center

-Problematizing Closure of Shops

-Structural Difficulties

-Tourism Gentrification as Threat

-Wider Societal and Economic Challenges for Crafts / Economic Retail

Keeping Historic Cities Alive

Group 7: **Diverse City Image / Creative City (Lisbon + Bruges)**

-Appreciation of Local Support of Crafts

-The label as a sign for the city's care for crafts professionals

-Few Creative Opportunities in Bruges

-Cultural Diversity for Locals

-Promoting Bruges as an Innovative Shopping Destination

-Classifying Shops as Marketing Urban Identity

-Contributing to a Diverse City Image Through Own Crafts

-Handmade in Bruges as stimulating local creativity

-Changing the Image of Bruges

Group 13: **Museumification (Lisbon + Bruges)**

-Crafts Enjoyed as Part of the City Museum

-Loja com Historia as Tourist Attraction

-Museumification of Bruges

-Museumification of Business

-Tourism Oriented Crafts

Group 10: **Local Distinctiveness (Lisbon)**

-Authenticity and Uniqueness of Products

-Protecting Unique Places

-Shops Importance for Urban Identity

-Shop(s) as Benchmarks of Urban Landscape

-Shops as Expressing Local Identity and Heritage

Group 20: **Shops as Social Spaces (Lisbon)**

-Intangible Dimension of Retail Heritage

-Shops as Alive

-Social Significance of Shops

Group 24: **Visibility (Lisbon + Bruges)**

-Gaining Visibility Through Label

-Transparency of Production Process / Ingredients

-The label to Help Reaching Tourists

-The Label to Reach Wider Audiences

-Showcasing the Crafts to the Public

Intangible Heritage as a Creative Tourism Resource

Group 1: **Authentic Tourism Experiences (Lisbon + Bruges)**

-Crafts as Providing for Authentic Tourism Experiences

-Crafts as Providing for Engaging Experiences

-Culturally Significant Places as Appealing to Tourists

-Experiencing Crafts and their Production with all Senses

-Getting Insights "Behind the City Walls"

-Tourists as Personally Relating to Shop / Products

-Touristic Appeal through Intangible Heritage

-Knowing the History Behind Products

-Uniqueness of Historic Shops as Experience

-Special & Unique Products

-Telling the Stories Behind the Stores

Group 2: **Awareness (Bruges)**

-Wider Trend for Local and Handmade

-Importance of Educating on Quality and Price

-Local Awareness and Visibility Through the Label

Group 12: **Marketability to Tourists (Lisbon + Bruges)**

-Balance between Locals and Tourists as Customers

-Different Levels of Appealing to the Tourism Market

-Entrepreneurial Difficulties as Crafts Professionals

-Everyday Use Products

-Focus on Local Audience / Customers

-High Prices of Crafts

-Problem of Communication between Local Craftsmen and International Tourists

-Products not Suitable to Tourism Demands

-Marketing Products / Crafts to Tourists

-Tourism Oriented Crafts

-Tourists as Customers

-Tourists as Passers-By Clients

Group 15: **Opportunities Through Tourism (Lisbon + Bruges)**

-Connection Crafts and Quality Tourism

-Positive Impacts of Tourism on Economic Growth, Urban Renewal, and Preservation

-Reliance on Tourists to Preserve Historic Business

-Tourists as Opportunity to Support Shops

-Tourists as Passers-By Clients

-Wealth Through Tourism

-Opportunities to Collaborate with Tourism Sector

-Tourism as a Source of Income for Local Makers

Group 21: **Sustainability / Sustainable Tourism (Lisbon + Bruges)**

-Need for Balance between Sustainability and Economy

-Connection between Crafts and Quality Tourism

-Need for Balance between Locals and Tourists

-Sustainable Tourism as Strategic Vision

-Positive Changes in the Urban Landscape of Bruges

-Crafts as Sustainable

Beyond Museumification: Protection vs. Innovation

Group 3: **Bottom-Up Approach (Lisbon + Bruges)**

-Bottom up Approach to Project

-Perceiving the City as Changing Through Small Initiatives

-Model of Co-Governance

-Openness

Group 6: **Distinction (Lisbon + Bruges)**

-Value of Uniqueness of Shops

-Saturation, Over-Accumulation of Designations

-Professionalism and Selectivity of Label

-Label as Recognition of Work

-Right to Distinction

-Merely Distinction / Sign from the Label

-Loss of the Idea of Distinct Treatment

-Distinct Characteristics

-Pride / Respect Through the Designation

Group 8: **Innovation / Change (Lisbon + Bruges)**

-Relationship between Innovation and Preservation

-Lack of Incentives for Change (old renting laws)

-Having More Opportunities / New Ideas (crafts professionals)

-Holistic Approach to Supporting Crafts

-Crafts and Innovation

-Being Modern, Not in the Past (Shops)

-Need to Modernize (Shops)

Group 9: **Limitations of Impact of Projects (Lisbon)**

-Uncertain Future / Temporary Protection

-The Need for More Initiative / Protection

-No Specific Problems (Shop Owners)

-No Significant Marketing Impact / No Need for Extra Marketing

-Merely Distinction / Sign from Label

-Lack of Adaptability to different Stores

Group 14: **Networks (mostly Bruges)**

-Benefit of Networking

-Different Types of Collaborations as Facilitated by Handmade in Bruges

-Connecting Crafts Professionals

-Connecting Shop Owners

Group 16: **Protection / Preservation (Lisbon)**

-Benefit of Protection

-Other Protection of Material Heritage

-Preservation and Change

-Preservation to Keep the Designation

-Protecting Shops

-Protecting Activity

-Regulation and Bureaucracy

-Using Rent Freeze

Group 18: **Relation to Legislation / Governance (Lisbon + Bruges)**

-Reliance on National Government

-Public Consultation

-Project as Part of Wider Policy Agenda

-Positive Changes in Culture with New Government in Bruges

-Government Support

-Government not Embracing Innovation Approach

-Diversity of Advisory Board

-Connection to Housing Law

Group 19: **Sense of Community (Lisbon + Bruges)**

-Strength Through More Shops Participating / Through Community

-Sense of Community

-Handmade in Bruges Networking Events

-Crafts Professionals as Ambassador for the City / for Local Products

Group 20: **Social Mission (Lisbon + Bruges)**

-Making People Happy

-Made with Love

-Inspiring Others

-In Support of Project Mission

-Social Mission Rather Than Economic Profit

-Public Pressure Pushing the Program

-Representations of Wider Social Problems

-Public Attention