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The UNESCO effect

Tourism management or heritage management of the Patios de Córdoba?¹

Introduction

One of the most radical trends in tourism development in the last three decades is the explosion of urban tourism. According to some sources, this type of tourism represents 22 % of international tourism, and tourist flows to European cities are increasing at an annual rate of 20 % (ITB, 2018). Obviously, this increasing magnitude has an impact on tourist-receiving societies, both on their economies and on other spheres of social life. This phenomenon is especially intense in hyper-specialised urban areas that offer tourism-related services. In these scenarios, which are a growing trend, tourism transforms the place itself into an object of consumption (Fernández Salinas and Silva, 2017; Hernández-Ramírez, 2018; Mansilla, 2017, 2018).

It is common for the actors involved in the sector (business people, most polit-

ical agents, the media, etc.) to highlight the beneficial nature of what is known as cultural tourism. The World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) itself maintains in the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism (1999) that tourism is "a factor for the enhancement and enrichment of the cultural heritage of humanity" (article 4). However, the sustained growth of visitors in the most touristified and crowded enclaves has in recent years led to debate and controversy about possible models for tourism and city development (Huete and Mantecón, 2018; Martins, 2018; Milano, 2018; Pérez-García and García-Abad, 2018).

In this work a paradigmatic tourist/heritage enclave case: the Andalusian city of Córdoba and more specifically its historic quarter is analysed. The socio-cultural and economic effects arising from this expansive logic and from city management modes are generating an interesting debate in different social and political forums on heritage and the right to the city.

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Paraules clau: intensitat turística, turistificació, patrimoni cultural immaterial, dret a la ciutat, efecte UNESCO.

Palabras clave: intensidad turística, turistificación, patrimonio cultural inmaterial, derecho a la ciudad, efecto UNESCO.

Keywords: tourist intensity, touristification, intangible cultural heritage, right to the city, UNESCO Effect.

In Cordoba cultural heritage has so much weight in the development of tourism that the Tourism/Heritage dyad is often considered to be inseparable: all public projects and actions on tourism take heritage as the main strategic axis. Our hypothesis is that one side of this two-way relationship (Prats, 2011) is much stronger, since "heritage management" is conceived solely as "heritage tourism management", subordinating heritage to market logic. From this viewpoint, heritage becomes an instrument, a dependent variable of tourism, which cannot be governed and managed independently of a commitment to sustained growth in the sector.

Our research will focus on the "Fiesta of the Patios of Cordoba". On 6 December 2012 this event was added to the Representative List of the Intangible Heritage of Humanity. This recognition has had a significant impact on the tourism sector itself and on local and regional authorities, who have seen the UNESCO listing as an opportunity for economic growth, and have therefore positioned the product "Patios of Cordoba" as one of the main attractions bringing visitors to the city².

This article is our first contribution on this cultural asset within a broader series analysing the relationships between cultural heritage and tourism. As the introduction to a series, it focuses particularly on contextualizing this interaction, taking into account

what we could call "the tourist footprint" in Cordoba. The research - which is ongoing - is based on in situ fieldwork, carried out so far from May to December 2018, applying two research techniques typical of social anthropology: direct and participant observation of everyday reality, and in-depth interviews with qualified informants. These qualitative techniques were complemented by a review of periodicals, research in various documentary and bibliographic sources, and the processing of statistical data, mainly from Cordoba City Council's Municipal Institute of Tourism (IMTUR).

This study presents an overview of these processes, focusing on two axes: 1) First, a diagnosis of the tourism-driven transformation of the city linked to the promotion of UNESCO-listed cultural assets, observing the sustained growth of tourist numbers and the impact this has on the city centre. 2) Second, an analysis of the controversies and actions arising in the city of Cordoba between the sectors that rely on the growth of tourism and other groups that point to the problems of mass tourism and call for heritage to be uncoupled from tourism. Based on this second axis, this work examines the set of public policies and private initiatives that in recent years have taken heritage as the main tourist resource, and at the other end of the continuum, the voices and actions of certain local sectors which propose heritage management as an identity resource linked to the right to the city.

Aquest article aprofundeix en les repercussions que generen les inscripcions de béns culturals als llistats de la UNESCO sobre les poblacions dipositàries. Partint de l'estudi de la Festa dels Patis de Còrdova, ens centrem en l'anàlisi de dos aspectes centrals: 1) la transformació turística de la ciutat, ressaltant la lògica expansiva del turisme i l'impacte que té en el centre de la ciutat; 2) les actuacions i controvèrsies que es produeixen entre els sectors que aposten pel creixement i els grups detractors de la turistificació.

Este artículo profundiza en las repercusiones que generan las inscripciones de bienes culturales en los listados de la UNESCO sobre las poblaciones depositarias. Partiendo del estudio de la Fiesta de los Patios de Córdoba, nos centramos en el análisis de dos aspectos fundamentales: 1) la transformación turística de la ciudad, ressaltando la lógica expansiva del turismo y su impacto en el centro histórico; 2) las actuaciones y controversias que se producen entre los sectores que apuestan por el crecimiento y los grupos detractores de la turistificación.

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A detailed description of this festival, its meanings and social and symbolic functions can be found in Colmenarejo, 2018 and Manjavacas, 2018.

This paper examines in depth the repercussions of the inscriptions in UNESCO's Lists on the local society and on the bearers of heritage. Focusing the "Fiesta de los Patios de Córdoba" as case of study, we centre the analysis in two main aspects: 1) the tourist transformation of the city, highlighting the expansive logic of tourism and its impact in the historical city centre; 2) the actions and controversies between social actors that defend tourist growth and the groups detracting touristification.

The "UNESCO effect" and its paradoxes

The case of the city of Cordoba once again shows the interest of government and other social sectors in activating heritage, considered as a development resource and a "solution" to various social problems (De Cesari and Dimova, 2018; Quintero-Morón, 2009; Yúdice, 2002). However, various investigations point out how heritagisation, and more specifically the processes of heritagisation linked to the world heritage lists, often have unexpected effects (Foster, 2012); that they generate dispossession (Hafstein, 2009, 2018) or that they are paradoxical because they both empower and disempower local populations (De Cesari and Dimova, 2018).

One of the first paradoxes of the "UNESCO effect" is that recognition in their lists triggers or accentuates the processes of touristification of cities. This dynamic, which is spurious to the obvious objectives of safeguarding as set out in the declaration files, is in no way a unique feature of Cordoba's heritage, but is part of an overall dynamic of resignifying heritage. Within this market logic, the "UNESCO brand" has become a guarantee of "authenticity", used by public and private decision-makers as an added value to the image of the destination and a fundamental element in promotion to attract tourist flows. This article elaborates on the findings of other research on how UNESCO's "brand" is a resource to boost tourism (Bendix, 2009; Hafstein, 2009; Jiménez de Madariaga and Seño-Asencio, 2018; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998; Santamarina and Del Mármol, 2017; Yúdice, 2002). Thus, despite the fact that UNESCO documents and regulatory formulas warn against the exploitation of heritage, the correlation between addition to the list and the commercialisation of many of these heritage assets is undeniable (De Cesari and Dimova, 2018; Evans, 2001; Lixinski, 2015).

Another of the paradoxes that we consider in this text is the direct effect of heritagisation on the local populations who hold and

maintain these cultural goods. This paradox appears in how UNESCO listings often not only fail to reinforce local identities, but can disempower or dispossess the traditional bearers of heritage (Hafstein, 2018; Quintero-Morón and Sánchez-Carretero, 2017; Villaseñor and Zolla, 2012). The 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Heritage proclaims among its innovations the prominence of "communities, groups and in some cases individuals" as bearers of intangible heritage. However, de facto, power relations and the entry of various public and private institutions into the process of heritagisation produces a displacement of local populations. The analysis of UNESCO's "heritage regime" (Bendix *et al.* 2012; Hafstein, 2009) highlights the need to consider the actors of heritagisation in its multilevel and multi-sectoral dimension.

Many academics today point out the controversial and conflictive dimension of heritage (Quintero-Morón, 2009; Sánchez-Carretero, 2012), understanding heritage as a socio-political process in which there is a selection, a resemanticisation and a change of functions, and where the asymmetries of power and opposing social models are highlighted. Heritage processes are almost never unidirectional but rather dialectical and/or dialogical, since 'there are antagonistic dissensions, conflicts, narratives and uses of heritage' (Van Geert and Roigé, 2014): 10). The evidence of these debates on heritage led Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) to speak of "dissonant heritage", that is to say, of heritage assets whose valuation and interpretation generate dissent, since the sectors involved in the struggle for heritage attribute different meanings and values to the same referent or postulate other new ones that are not recognised.

In this respect, in the following pages we are interested in delving into the antagonistic positions of two social sectors that are exposed in the local arena, but which have clear connections with regional and

international dynamics: the sectors of Cordoban society that are in favour of the use of heritage mainly as a tourist resource or that understand tourism and heritage to be mutually beneficial, and those that interpret heritage as a social and identity asset and propose other models of action in urban management.

The expansive logic of tourism in Cordoba

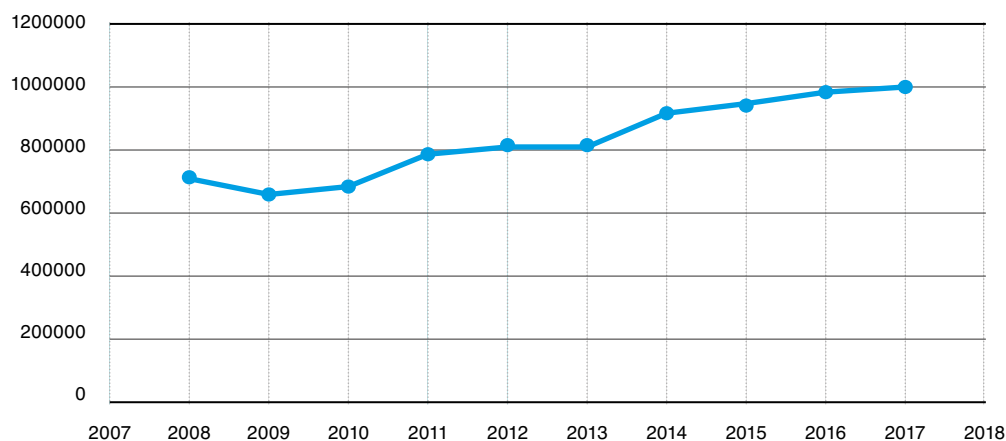
In 2017 the volume of travellers staying in hotels in the city of Cordoba exceeded one million people, specifically 1,012,580 tourists, an increase of 1.56% from 2016 and part of a trend of sustained growth (Tourist Observatory, 2017) (Graph 1). This highly symbolic and record-breaking figure was experienced as a real success by wide sectors

of Cordoban society, who regarded it as a milestone in the trend of annually increasing tourist flows.

This upward trend also appears in overnight stays in conventional hotels, which in 2017 totalled 1,616,706, an increase of 1.08% over the previous year in a sequence of increases covering the period 2008/2017.

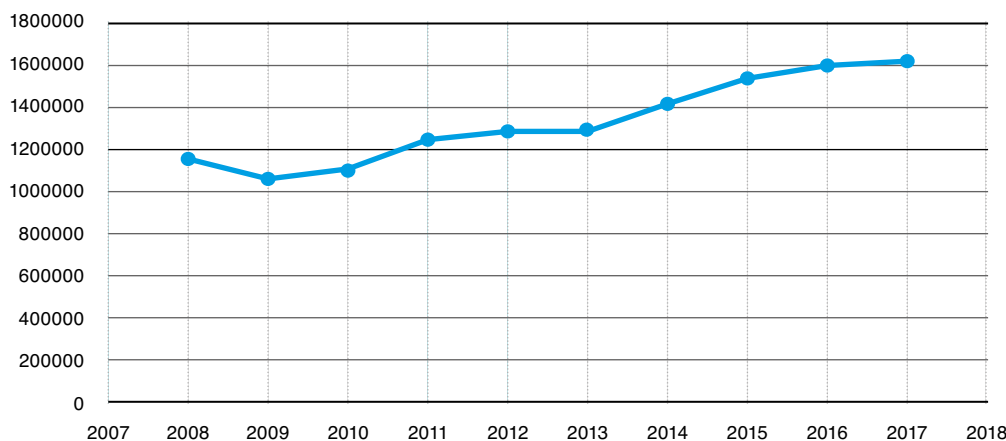
In line with this positive behaviour, the hotel capacity in the city has also experienced significant growth. As can be seen in graphs 3 and 4, in 2017 the hotel capacity of Cordoba city reached a total of 99 establishments with a supply of 6,879 beds, which in the period 2004-2017 meant a total increase of 39.44% and 39.00% respectively³.

Graph 1. Cordoba. Change in the number of tourists



Source: Cordoba Tourist Observatory. Municipal Tourism Institute (IMTUR). Annual reports. Original

Graph 2. Change in overnight stays in hotel establishments



Source: Cordoba Tourist Observatory (IMTUR). Annual reports. Original

The upward trend of these various indicators is due to exogenous causes, such as recovery from the crisis in the sector and the consolidation of urban tourism as the second most popular form of tourism in terms of consumer preferences (Hernández-Ramírez, 2018), but also responds to local factors with international impact. One of the most notable is the UNESCO World Heritage listing of three cultural properties (the Great Mosque in 1984, the Historic Centre in 1994 and in 2018 the Caliphate city of Medina Azahara), as well as the Fiesta of the Patios as Intangible Cultural Heritage (2012). These listings have decisively strengthened the brand image of Cordoba and are one of the elements that have most influenced this upward trend, as it is the

only city in the world with four "Unesco brand" sites⁴.

Intensity and overload

What the numbers in themselves do not explain is that the presence of tourists in some neighbourhoods of the historical centre and at certain times of the year reaches levels that approach overload (overtourism), which can be seen in streets saturated with visitors congesting the uses of public spaces and even threatening the sustainability of the destination in business terms.

This qualitative assessment, which is the result of direct observation in the streets of the city centre at different times of the year, is confirmed when analysing official statistical

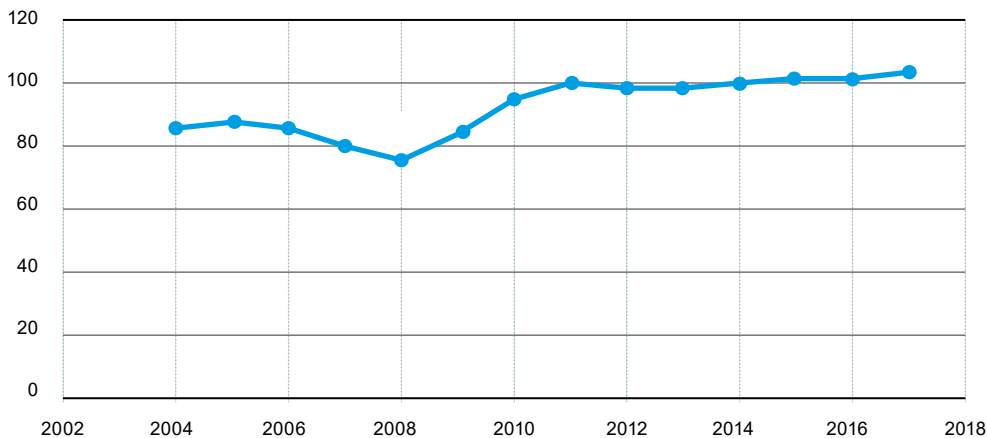
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As well as this hotel infrastructure, we must consider holiday lets. According to the Informe de Análisis de Viviendas con Fines Turísticos (VFT), a report by Espacio Común SCA, 55% of the holiday lets in Cordoba are irregular, in that they are not in the Andalusian Tourism Register (Sources: *La Vanguardia*; *ABC*; *Radio Córdoba*; *El Día de Córdoba* and *Diario de Córdoba*, 03 and 04/10/2018).

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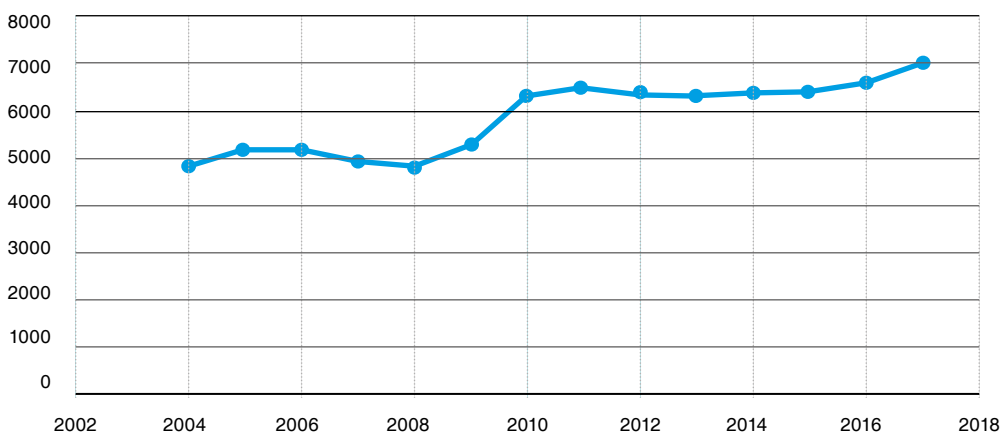
Cordoba also shares two UNESCO listings with other territories: Flamenco (2010) and the Mediterranean Diet (2013).

Graph 3. Cordoba. Change in hotel establishments



Source: Cordoba Tourist Observatory (IMTUR). Annual reports. Original.

Graph 4. Cordoba. Change in hotel places



Source: Cordoba Tourist Observatory (IMTUR). Annual reports. Original.

data. Tourism intensity, i.e., the quotient between the number of tourists staying in regulated establishments and the number of residents, is extremely high in Cordoba, and one of the highest in all of Spain.

This ratio has increased in recent years. In the period 2013–2017 the volume of overnight tourist stays in the city grew by almost 13 % (12.28 %) while the total resident population decreased by 2 %. Furthermore, if we bear in mind that our statistical data only refer to tourists in regulated establishments, and do not include those who stay in unregulated apartments and day-trippers (tourists who do not stay overnight), the tourist-resident ratio is presumably much higher than the quotients above.

This ratio is much more intense in the limited area of the neighbourhoods in the Central District, where the visits are concentrated⁵. In this territory, the population registered in 2013 was close to 45,000 people (44,543) while tourists staying in hotels exceeded 800,000 (824,078), so the tourism intensity reached no less than 18.5 tourists per inhabitant per year⁶. This figure is truly spectacular, comparable to tourism-heavy cities such as Barcelona, where the historic quarter reached an annual ratio of twenty visitors per inhabitant in 2015 (Richards, 2016).

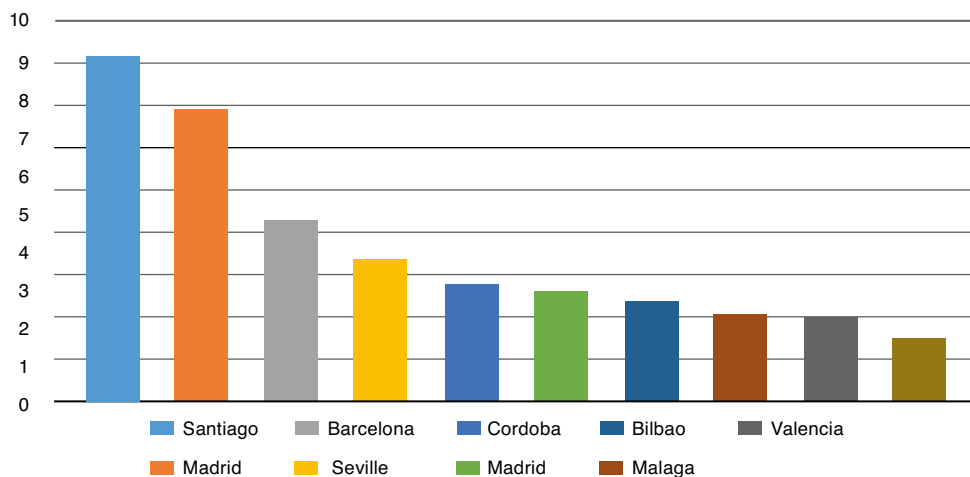


This area of Cordoba is the paradigm of the *museumised* tourist space, as its extensive cultural heritage, recognised institutionally, and the urban environment have been the

P4TRIMONIO MUNDIAL.
New promotional logo for Cordoba.

BEGOÑA ESCRIBANO SALMORAL

Graph 5. Ratio tourists/residents in the main Spanish urban destinations (2017)



Source: INE. Original

5 The Central District covers an area of 307.47 hectares, 9.95% of the city's total area.

6 The latest data on the population registered in the Districts of Cordoba are from 2013.



object of public policies and private initiatives for restoration, embellishment and adaptation. These actions are mainly due to a strategy of attracting tourist flows, which transforms this portion of the city into a profitable consumer product. This emphasis on the aestheticisation of the historic city generates two concomitant processes that are visible in Córdoba: on the one hand, it creates an enclave that is spatially segregated from the rest of the city, and on the other, it favours the hyper-specialisation of this "bubble" in the tourist sector.

The official data on tourist activity confirms this hyper-specialisation: most of the city's hotel offering is concentrated in the districts of the historical centre⁷. If we look at the bars and restaurants sub-sector, the data are unequivocal, as 53.84% of all the establishments in the city are located in this tourist area. But this concentration is much greater in the supply of accommodation, since a very significant 75.59% of the city's hotel space is located in the historical centre. As can be seen

in the following graph, the greater presence of the hotel offer in the historical centre in almost all categories is undeniable, which is very significant if we bear in mind that its area is less than 10% of the city.

This hyper-specialisation of hotels in the historic town centre is even more extreme if we consider the proliferation of holiday lets. Although the actual number is unknown, according to the report prepared by the consultancy firm Espacio Común SCA, this type of accommodation represents 64.75% of the city's total and is concentrated in the Central District.

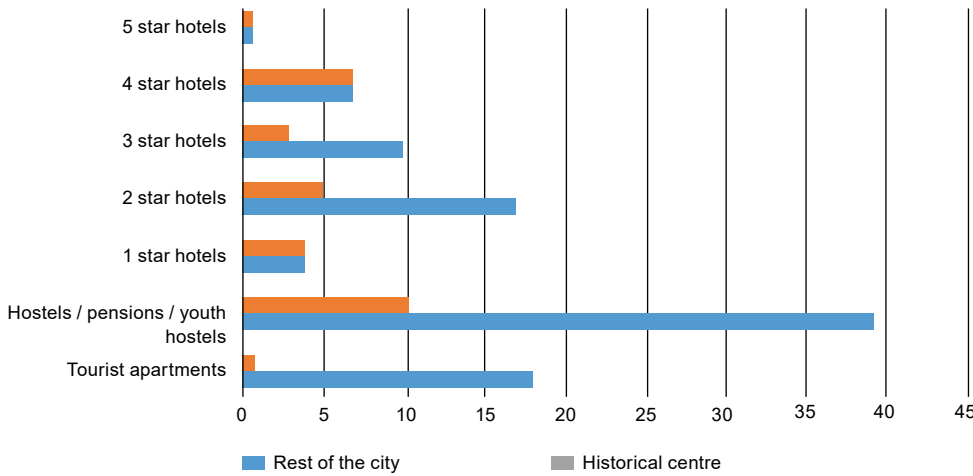
World Heritage driven tourism

Recognition by UNESCO has increased the tourist attraction of the city. In this regard, the Tourist Plan of Córdoba 2014/2016 does not hesitate to point out the importance of the Mosque, the urban landscape of the historical centre and the patios as the main tourist attractions. The text literally states that they are "the only differential resources

Streets of the touristified centre in the month of May (16/05/2018). DIARIO DE CÓRDOBA

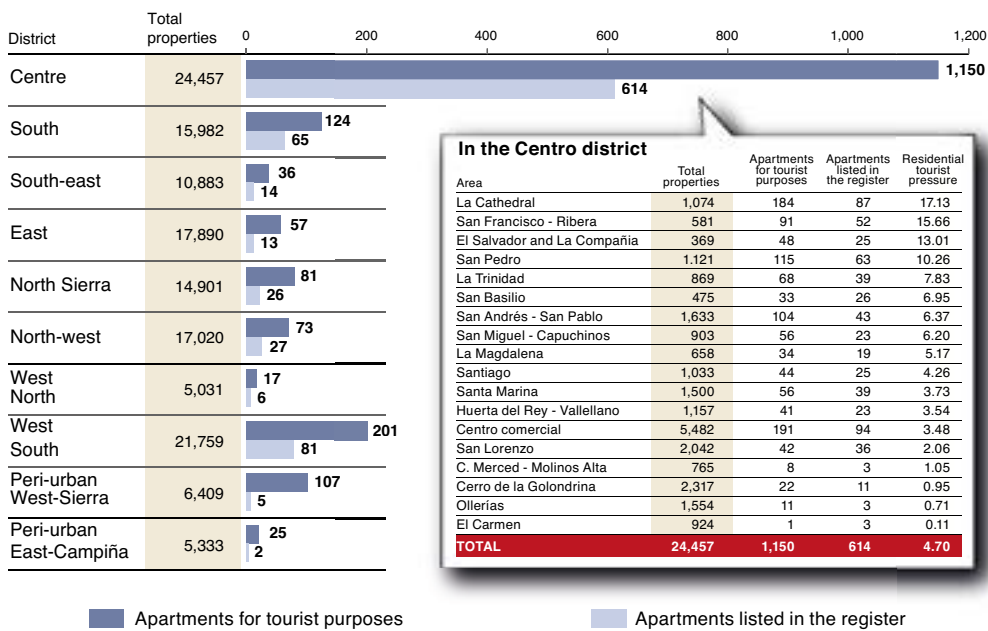
⁷ Data provided by the Observatorio Turístico de Córdoba were processed and analysed. We consider the districts corresponding to postal codes 1, 2, 3 and 4 as the historical *touristified* centre.

Graph 6. Breakdown of available accommodation, 2018



Source: Cordoba Tourist Observatory (IMTUR). Original.

Graph 7. Breakdown of apartments for tourist purposes in Cordoba



Source: Diario de Córdoba, 4-10-2018.

of the city with real potential to attract tourists" (2014: 8).⁸ The subsequent Strategic Tourism Plan 2015/19 corroborates this assessment by stating that Cordoba is the "largest area in the world declared a World Heritage Site by UNESCO" (2015: 54) and that "no products other than cultural products have achieved a prominent position or recognition in the tourism market" (2015: 40).

The statistical data are very clear and confirm the importance of World Herit-

age-driven tourism. Focusing on the case of the Fiesta of the Patios, it can be seen that, from its inscription on the Representative List in 2012 until 2017, the volume of tourists grew by 12.44% and that of overnight stays by 12.57%. At the same time, the city's hotel capacity also increased, both in terms of the number of establishments (5.3%) and the number of beds on offer (8.2%).

This increase in the number of tourists is more clearly evident in the month of May

⁸ The underlining is ours.

(Graph 8), and not by chance, as this is the month of the annual Fiesta of the Patios, as well as other important festive events in the "May of Cordoba"⁹.

The fact that UNESCO's recognition of the Fiesta de los Patios has driven tourism is also demonstrated by the fact that since 2012 the annual influx of visitors in the month of May has been pretty much constant, in contrast to the fluctuating trajectory characteristics of the period prior to the inscription of the Fiesta on the Representative List.

This sustained growth is generating problems of tourist saturation during the competition,

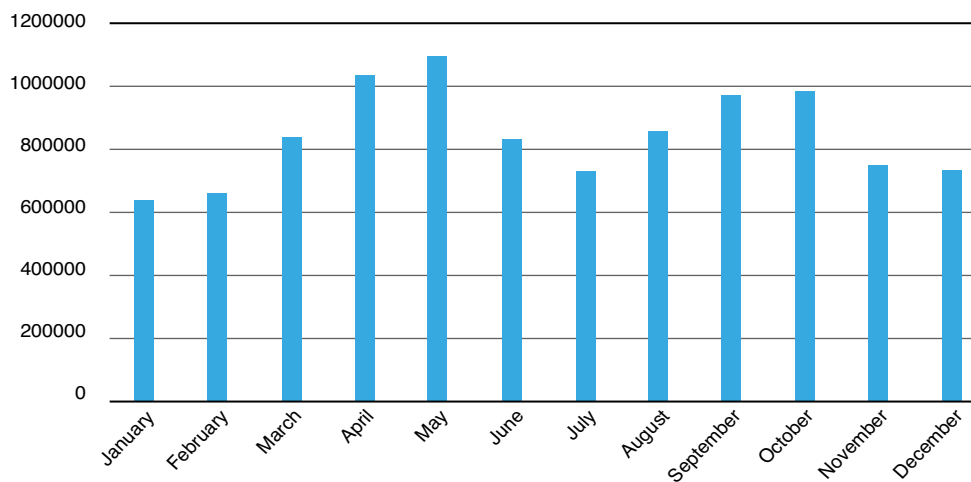
which as we will see is causing controversy among large sectors of the local population. The influx of tourists is so great that, in order to regulate these specific agglomerations, the city council itself publishes a geolocated map on the official website of the Fiesta of the Patios of Cordoba (<http://patios.cordoba.es/es/>), which generates green, yellow and red alerts to indicate in real time the level of tourist saturation.

In short, the data analysed reveal that the tourist enclave of Cordoba is characterised by three main factors: firstly, by the overload produced by tourist flows in a relatively small space; secondly, by the existence of a hyper-specialised offer that is oriented above

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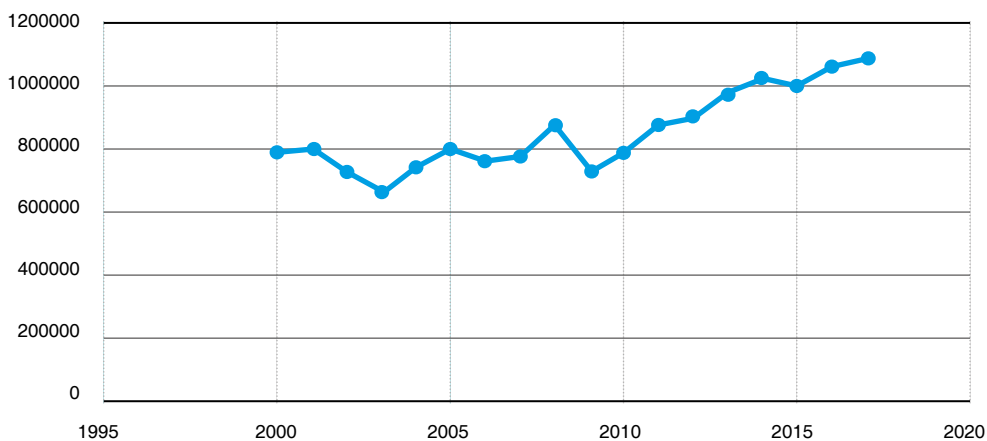
In May 2017, Cordoba received 109,554 tourists, representing 10.81% of the annual total.

Graph 8. Tourists lodged in hotel establishments by months (2017)



Source: Cordoba Tourist Observatory (IMTUR). 2017 report Original

Graph 9. Change in tourists accommodated in May (2000-2017)



Source: Cordoba Tourist Observatory (IMTUR). 2017 report Original.

Table 1. Main features associated with touristification

Saturation of streets and squares
Privatisation of public spaces
Reduction in the housing stock, increase in the price of real estate and increase in tourist accommodation
Tourist gentrification. Local exodus: socio-territorial exclusion, depopulation and ageing
Decline in traditional patterns of local sociability
Socio-spatial segregation
Disappearance and/or adaptation to tourism of the traditional local commercial fabric Emergence of a tourism-oriented offering
Crisis in the traditional economic bases and economy based solely on tourism
Heritage fossilisation: alienation of the local population from heritage symbols transformed into decorations for tourist consumption
Progressive detachment of local people from traditional festive ritual activities and authenticity staged for tourists
Deactivation of the social uses of heritage and adaptation of assets to tourist consumption
Heritage and landscape dispossession
Loss of sensory heritage, environmental impact, waste generation, visual and acoustic pollution

Source: specialised bibliography. Fieldwork. Original.

all towards the conventional mass cultural tourist; and, thirdly, by the central role of cultural heritage as the cornerstone that supports and underlies the entire industry and drives tourism.

The repercussions of this imbalance, and of the transformation of the place into a setting for tourist consumption, erode lifestyles on multiple levels. For example, average property prices in the neighbourhoods where the patios are located have increased since the UNESCO listing (García del Hoyo, *et al.*, 2018).

This complex phenomenon, known as touristification, is currently being analysed by numerous social scientists in different cities (Arias-Sant, 2018; Benach and Albet, 2018; De Cesari and Dimova, 2018; Delgado, 2007; Hiernaux-Nicolás and González-Gómez, 2014; Mansilla, 2018; Ríos-Llamas, 2018; Santamarina and Del Mármol, 2017). By way of summary, the different authors highlight the following factors as the main components of touristification in historic town centres (see Table 1).

Perspectives found on tourism and heritage management

In Cordoba, if we look at the specialised business sector on the one hand, and the citizens' movement with its demands on the other, we can see that the points of view on tourism and heritage management are divergent and even polarised¹⁰. The discourse of the former stresses the effects of tourism as a source of wealth creation with cascading benefits (employment, income, diversification, cosmopolitanism, etc.); for their part, various neighbourhood organisations emphasise the negative consequences of mass tourism on housing, social interaction, local commerce and, in short, on the continuity of traditional lifestyles.

Obviously, the weight of what we can call "the UNESCO effect" is very significant in Cordoba, conditioning any debate on tourism development. By the expression "UNESCO effect" we mean the set of processes triggered after an asset is added to any UNESCO World Heritage list. As noted above, these processes can vary and even be paradoxical in relation to the declared and

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As we have seen in our field work, the open debate between citizens and social agents in Cordoba is very broad and many associations, businessmen, politicians, and ordinary citizens find themselves in a grey area or have nuanced positions on the interrelationship between tourism, commercialisation and heritage, but for the sake of clarity we will leave these descriptions in the background (see also Manjavacas, 2018).

planned goals of institutions when listing a specific asset as a World Heritage Site.

In these scenarios of tourism acceleration, the basic issue is determining the load capacity that the destination in question can support. But in the case of Cordoba, other more specific issues are added to this controversy, which have to do with the dyadic relationship between "Tourism and World Heritage". In Cordoba, a recurring theme in all the forums is: "what to do with UNESCO sites", i.e. how to manage them. The Fiesta of the Patios, due to its important social roots, occupies a prominent place in these debates.

In the following pages we will go into the actions of these actors and the debate itself based on the analysis of the specific case of the Patios of Córdoba.

Initiatives for growth

From the point of view of the business community, the purpose of all tourism policy is to ensure the growth of the sector and its economic sustainability. To achieve this objective, they are committed to driving action to consolidate the upward trend through strategies of territorial expansion, diversification of activities or creation of new products, etc. This tourist-centric orientation is, in general, supported by the local authorities,

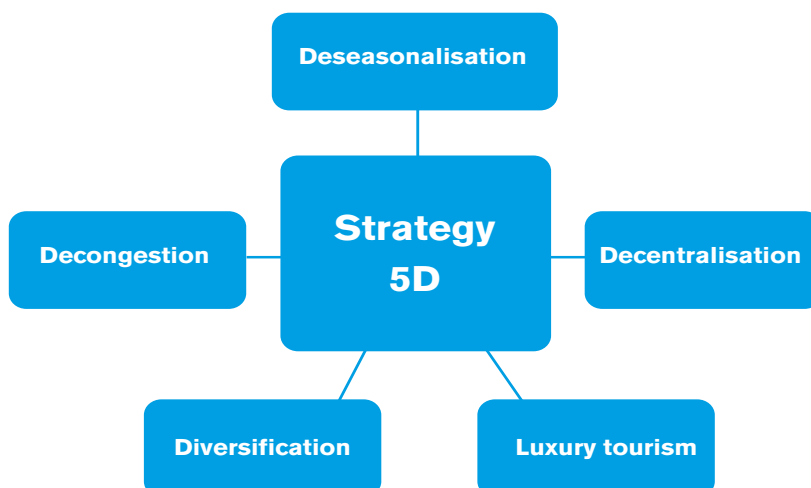
although sometimes with internal contradictions, depending on the political alignment of the groups in power.

The initiatives of local government and the Cordoban business sector coincide with those of many other tourist destinations. They are embodied in what Milano (2018) has called the *5D Strategy*, the components of which are deseasonalisation, decongestion, decentralisation, diversification and *deluxe tourism*.

This 5D approach is how business adapts to the changes experienced by the sector. It pursues the "sustainability" of tourism activity in primarily economic terms, subordinating aspects such as the safeguarding of heritage or the continuity of local ways of life to this primary objective. As a whole, the 5D strategy does not seek to mitigate tourism as a result of a critical assessment of the limits of growth, but rather aims to foster new business niches both temporally and spatially in a clearly growth-oriented logic.

Next, the activities promoted by local government and the sector itself in each of the components of the 5D Strategy in relation to the Patio Party will be presented. This set of actions instrumentalise the cultural heritage, modelling it primarily as a resource

Figure 1. Strategy 5D



Source: Milano (2018).

to serve the tourist market: the Fiesta of the Patios (the Festival) is conceived mainly as a product, which is contradictory to the spirit of the UNESCO declaration.

Deseasonalisation

Deseasonalisation refers to a set of measures to help a sector or business linked to a specific season of the year by extending its offer over a longer period. It is often defended as one of the keys to mitigating tourism pressure at certain times of the year (Milano, 2018). However, in this case, the implicit objective is to attract a greater flow of tourists in the low season and to prevent activity from being concentrated in just a few months, but without giving up the volume of visitors in the high season.

The 2014/16 Cordoba Tourist Plan is clear in this regard when it comes to the Patios: "... its influence as a tourist attraction is practically limited to the dates of the festival during the month of May... A product *must be* created, necessarily different from the festival, that is *compatible with the use of these properties as private dwell-*

ings, allowing a continuous offer throughout the year around the setting of the Cordoba patios" (2014: 10)¹¹.

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The underlining is ours.

The most notable of these new products, the Christmas in the Patios programme is an initiative of the main associations of owners of these properties, with municipal support and financing. The clear objective of the "Christmas Patios Festival" is to extend the opening of these houses to other dates of the year, with the argument that the initiative will reinforce the old tradition of neighbourhood hospitality and recover the celebration of Christmas in these sites. This recreation of the spirit of the popular fiesta and of non-commercialised hospitality is publicised in the advertising campaigns and given substantial further publicity in the media.

The city council itself designs a route through the different patios taking part in these events and organises a programme of live musical performances and a Christmas dessert cooking contest. For their part, in

Routes for Christmas in the Patios, 2015. CORDOBA CITY COUNCIL



some patios, the owners' associations are offering stew, broth and anise at popular prices within a clear mercantile logic.

Thus, the purpose of the Christmas in the Patios programme is to extend the offer of the "patios product" to the low season and is not intended, as suggested by UNESCO, as a "measure that will mitigate the possible negative effects of visitors following inscription" (UNESCO, 2010).

Decongestion

The goal of decongestion is a spatial redistribution of tourist flows. The City Council's tourism department establishes six routes every year, which are expressly designed to guide visits and exploit more efficiently all the offer of the patios product during the two weeks of the festival.

The routes are justified as an appropriate measure to organise flows and cushion overcrowding in the most saturated areas, near the most iconic monuments. However, the implicit (not openly stated) objective is the expansion of the tourist city, since the routes function to allow the activities to penetrate into more peripheral and less frequented areas. This expansive initiative is accompanied by two complementary actions: firstly, the aestheticisation of the urban environment and of the visitable patios following the pattern of the spaces that have already been museumised; and, secondly, the construction and dissemination of narratives that highlight and replicate certain evocative and idealised aspects of the culture of the patios (neighbourhood community, solidarity, hospitality, etc.), even though they may be completely alien to the contemporary populations that inhabit these patios. The result is the gradual tourist colonisation of these territories, and consequently, the expansion of the problems associated with tourism to new areas.

Diversification

As they strive to make the heritage business more competitive and economically sustainable, both the local authorities and the

business sector itself have devised a varied range of new products that diversify and expand the tourist offer represented by the patios beyond the May Festival. Among the many existing initiatives, two interesting ones stand out: "Flora, International Flower Festival" and "The Festival of the Streets".

"Flora" is a competition promoted by a major Chinese hotel company with the active participation of the city council. Its setting is a series of institutional patios ceded by the City Council. Renowned international artists create innovative and spectacular floral installations. The emphasis on aesthetics offers an interpretation that simplifies the cultural significance of the patios, as it marginalises and overshadows their traditional function as a popular neighbourhood habitat. However, according to the media and local authorities, the initiative is fully justified, given the positive tourism balance of the two festivals held so far and the considerable international impact of the event, which helps to build the image of Cordoba as the *City of Flowers*¹².

The Festival of the Streets of Cordoba is a municipal initiative that diversifies the patios product by raising the tourism value of the historic city centre, a UNESCO World Heritage site since 1994. This event underlines the uniqueness of the city's street plan - a labyrinthine network of narrow streets, alleys and culs-de-sac inherited from the medieval past of Cordoba (Qurtuba). The town council has established five routes that lead into the historic quarter and its hidden alleyways, presented as the soul of Cordoba.

Decentralisation

This means creating new products associated with the Patios that are located beyond the tourist bubble. Like the routes, and supported by them, these initiatives try to attract the flows to new territories by extending the tourist city. One of the most remarkable is the creation of the Patios of Cordoba Intangible Heritage visitors' centre in an area with great tourist potential,

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The 2018 edition attracted more than 275,000 visits, according to the event organisers.

located near important 13th-century Fernandine churches, interesting courtyards and the characteristic irregular street plan mentioned above.

Opened in 2016, this municipally-owned courtyard is a permanent exhibition space with galleries recreating how the working classes of past generations lived in the city, and especially, the history of the competition, exalting values such as non-commercialised hospitality. A patio where beauty becomes the main tourist attraction and which is defined in the media as "a perfect example of an urban oasis" (eldiario.es, 13/12/2016). The museographic design emphasises aesthetics and simplifies its references to collective lifestyles are simplified, which, moreover, remain frozen in an indeterminate and idealised time before, without taking into account the profound changes that have taken place in recent decades.

De luxe tourism

This expression designates top-end products or services of high differential value, designed to expand the market to tourist segments with high purchasing power. As a mature destination, in the city of Cordoba there are many private initiatives of this type that reinterpret and diversify the offer of the Patios product. One of the most interesting of these, and part of current gourmet trends, *GastroPatios*, consists of the transformation of a series of iconic patios into points of promotion, sale and consumption of local high quality products. Just like the food markets in the centres of some tourist cities (Crespi and Domínguez, 2016), in Cordoba the patios are transformed, without apparent contradiction, into ideal settings for marketing and tasting gourmet food and drinks. Appealing slogans like "Flavours among flowers" or "The traditional flavours of Cordoba in a unique and special environment" convey the possibility of having a unique experience.

Another "deluxe" private enterprise tourist product consists of the remodelling of old

patios and their transformation into high-end tourist accommodation. The rules of the competition prohibit these patios from participating in the festival, but this does not prevent them from appropriating the discourses on tradition and history of this type of construction, as well as aesthetic values. Staying in a hotel with a patio is offered to high income tourists as a differential value and as an opportunity to have an immersion experience in the local culture. This is why their advertising emphasises values such as silence, the sound of water in fountains, the pebbled floors, the lush interior garden, the scent of jasmine and night-blooming jessamine... and the architectural style inherited from Rome and Al-Andalus.

Initiatives for living: heritage and the right to the city

In recent decades, debates on tourism and its effects have been part of the agenda of social movements and neighbourhood associations as one of their most frequent requested subjects, with the greatest media impact (Cocola-Gant and Pardo, 2017; Milano, 2018). These groups complain of a "social malaise", which some authors call "overtourism" or the effects of tourist saturation (Milano, o.c.); for others this phenomenon is directly related to anti-gentrification movements (Cocola-Gant and Pardo, o.c.; Mansilla, 2017, 2018)¹³.

Within this general context, a series of proposals are being generated in Cordoba which, on the one hand, denounce the management of heritage as subordinate to tourism, and on the other, promote alternative formulas for living and "inhabiting heritage". A number of associations and entities are grouped here, which are small in number but have some media coverage and are in tune with a large part of Cordoban society. These associations do not take a stand against tourism, but rather emphasise that it must be made compatible with the daily life of the inhabitants of the historic centre.

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Many Spanish media outlets have been using the term *tourism phobia*, an inaccurate and, from our point of view, simplistic, exaggerated and pejorative name for the philosophy and claims of these groups. There are numerous studies of the phenomenon of the citizen movement against tourism (Cocola-Gant and Pardo, 2017; Huete and Mantecón, 2018; Mansilla, 2018; Martins, 2018; Milano, 2018; Pérez-García and García-Abad, 2018; Van Geertz, Roigé and Conget, 2014).

Social unrest in the face of tourism and the demands of a city to live

On 21 June 2018, the Forum for the Right to the City was constituted, bringing together groups, organizations, institutions and professionals. In its Manifesto, the Forum takes a position against the gentrification and exploitation of heritage for tourism, demanding the right to the city¹⁴:

"In the face of the appropriation of the common, historical and everyday heritage of our city by the leisure economy, there is a civic response against the abuses of tourism, speculative funds and the inaction of public policies at regional, national and European levels" (Manifesto, Forum for the Right to the City, Cordoba, 2018).

This movement reiterates the denunciation of what some of its associations and components have been expressing for some years now, and which the Federation of Neighbourhood Associations of the Historical Centres of Andalusia supports: the privatisation of public space, the "covert reclassification" of residential space to convert it into tertiary space (tourist accommodation), as well as the dismantling of the modes of coexistence, traditional commerce and the residential fabric. In other words, they denounce a process, characteristic of gentrification, which organises not only the transfer of land, but also a "symbolic and material appropriation of class in space" with the consequent loss of the value of the use of land that society has granted to those spaces (López-Morales, 2016: 224). Thus the old taverns, the small shops, the neglected facades, the intestate dwellings, the spontaneous uses... are reordered, sanitised, replaced, repainted, aestheticised... for the use and pleasure of the tourists and the new foreign investors.

(Re) Inhabiting heritage: patios for the 21st century

Various groups and associations are calling for and leading a re-examination of the patios, understood first and foremost as

social and identity resources. One of the most interesting is PAX-Patios de la Axerquía, a collaborative project that focuses on the rehabilitation of courtyard houses and the constitution of housing cooperatives for young people leaving home or for autonomous elderly people. The initiative addresses the problems of ageing, lack of generational renewal and depopulation of the historic centre, thus promoting the right to housing and the recovery of the sense of coexistence and solidarity in the patios as a formula for safeguarding a living heritage.

A different initiative, but in line with the above, is the Forum for Co-housing (FOCO), an initiative by the Municipal Housing Company of Cordoba (VIM-CORSA) which aims to promote housing cooperatives to facilitate access to affordable housing with the technical and economic support of local government. The goal is to revitalize the patio houses by reinforcing their use value and thus regenerating the historic centre, "acting against some of its most significant threats, such as the physical degradation of the old town centre, substandard housing, the process of gentrification, and the metastasising of the holiday let phenomenon" (Alba Doblas, Councillor for Izquierda Unida in *Diario de Córdoba* 07/16/17).

Another model of action from the patio as an identity centred on *living* (living in the house and the neighbourhood) is proposed by certain groups of patio houses led by women who defend the experience of the open patio. They are looking for a way to support their houses through activities aimed primarily at the people of Cordoba (craft or music workshops, small shows, spaces for discussion, family celebrations) in an updated recreation of the multiple uses of neighbourhood houses as a social centre.

In all these initiatives and processes, a common element can be observed: the claim of heritage as a value of use, as an element of memory, identity and coexistence, which

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The "right to the city" is a concept developed by Lefevre in his famous 1968 text (1969). We are interested here in highlighting the way it has been taken up in the 21st century by different social movements. As articulated in the World Charter for the Right to the City (Quito, 2004), it is multidimensional, integrates various rights, considers the city as an interconnected whole, and defends equality and the full exercise of citizenship (Girola and Thomasz, 2013; Hernández-Ramírez, 2018).

therefore cannot be subjected to the logic of commercialisation or live off tourism. The "right to culture" is thus expressed as a claim within the right to the city and through an alternative model that responds to the imperative of a "decreed aesthetic" (Girola and Thomasz, 2013).

All these small initiatives are weaving an interconnected web that feeds back into itself. These networks and connections described within the city and between cities have a potential amplifying effect (Milano, 2018) and facilitate negotiation with the government, social visibility and the creation of coalition narratives that counteract pro-tourism discourses. They also show the responses, modes of resistance and alternative heritagisations to a model that links heritage to commodification and to gentrification processes that are taking place in various parts of the world (De Cesari and Dimova, 2018; Díaz and Salinas, 2016; López-Morales, 2016).

Conclusions

The above analyses and descriptions lead us to conclude that the heritagisation processes linked to UNESCO listing are associated with a series of paradoxes: firstly, the relationship between heritage and tourism, and secondly, the consequences of heritage management subordinated to tourism for the local societies that are the depositories of these assets. These paradoxical consequences and the debates they generate are what we have called the "UNESCO effect".

The analysis of data regarding levels of tourist intensity and the patterns of urban modification and the social fabric shows that the historical centre of Cordoba is the paradigm of the *museumised tourist landscape*, and that heritage functions as the cornerstone on which the tourist offer in the city is built. "The UNESCO effect" in the case of Cordoba is, in the first place, a pull effect leading to a mass influx of tourists, which is one of the unforeseen consequences of an asset receiving the blessing of World Heritage

status. The data show that, in the case of Cordoba, the effect of World Heritage status has accentuated the impact of some of the components of tourism. There is an objective risk that the massive influx from this pull effect could lead to the transformation of the urban centre into a dying enclave, where slowly expiring local history and traditions are staged for crowds of tourists driven by the international prestige of the UNESCO classification (D'Eramo, 2014). It has also been shown that UNESCO listing accelerates the touristification processes, expanding them in time and space, prioritising aesthetic values as absolute values, and hiding or minimising local memories and social values.

Secondly, "the UNESCO effect" introduces a shift in the debates on the city model and tourism development, bringing the heritage issue into the political agenda and into collective concerns. The ways of interpreting heritage and its management clearly show conflicts and dissonances between different power groups and different urban groups. This is evident in Cordoba where the question of heritage has become central and has injected its specific content into local discussions on urban development and citizens' rights.

In short, in Cordoba the debate on tourism is also a discussion on heritage. In this controversy there is no consensus on the ultimate meaning of the concept of cultural heritage (economic resource vs. "place" of identity and life) and on the strategies that should be applied for appropriate heritage management. The "Fiesta of the Patios" is a case par excellence of heritage conflict. From the tourist-centric approach, heritage management is considered as one more chapter of the tourism development strategy. The whole 5D strategy shows us this subordination of heritage to the market logic that transforms the Fiesta into a tourist product. In contrast, from the perspective of citizen organisations, what prevails is an integrated conception of heritage oriented towards the continuity of traditional lifestyles in accord-

ance with 21st-century parameters. This means maintaining residential uses, rescuing the values of social interaction, solidarity, community and hospitality. Between the two positions, a large number of Cordoban people say they are looking for a middle ground; however, with the data and analysis

in hand, it seems difficult to deviate from a route already mapped out of deterioration and expropriation of the cities' tangible and intangible heritage unless forceful citizen action, legislation and budgetary development are put in place to remove heritage from its absolute commercialisation. ■

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