

Citizen actions in touristic neighbourhoods. Barcelona as a case study.

Crespi Vallbona, Montserrat^{a*} and López Villanueva, Cristina^b

^a *Business Department. University of Barcelona, Barcelona (Spain)*

^b *Sociology Department. University of Barcelona; Barcelona (Spain)*

* mcrespi@ub.edu, corresponding author

Citizen actions in touristic neighbourhoods. Barcelona as a case study.

Abstract

Touristification transforms the urban life of many tourist destination cities, leading to changes in the uses and values of city real estate, and generating a displacement of the most vulnerable sectors of the population. The objective of this research is the analysis of citizens' strategies for facing this transformation process, considering that the associative and protest tradition in neighborhoods can dampen (and this is our hypothesis) the intensity and effects of touristification. Therefore, this work examines the responses to the touristification processes of two Barcelona city neighbourhoods: Barceloneta and Hostafrancs. The results show that these areas resist and preserve the neighborhood identity thanks to the drive and proactivity of its associative and cooperative fabric, both social and commercial, together with some political instruments proposed by the local government; albeit with different manifestations and results. The analysis of in-depth interviews, complemented by data on the number of tourist accommodation and the evolution of residential housing prices, constitute the empirical basis for carrying out this work.

Keywords: Collective action strategies, touristification, tourist accommodation, Barcelona.

Introduction

Touristification and gentrification are recurring urban transformation processes in neighbourhoods with a high level of tourist attraction (Crespi-Vallbona and Domínguez-Pérez, 2021) where both dynamics coexist spatially (Cócola-Gant and López-Gay, 2020). In these processes, cities revalue spaces, create innovative and exclusive activities that displace old residents, making difficult the access to housing (Hochstenbach and Musterd, 2021). Gentrification, term first used by Ruth Glass (1964) in London, becomes today a powerful framework to explain urban transformations in a broader sense (Smith, 2002; Lees et al, 2008). Gentrification is a process of socio-spatial change that started when physically degraded working-class central areas were rehabilitated for the middle classes; it refers to the process by which a neighbourhood displaces a part of its population for another with a higher socioeconomic status (Clark, 2005; Alabart and López-Villanueva, 1996).

Touristification is the process by which tourist activities and services transform the city into a monopolized and hyperspecialized scenario (Lanfant, 1994), which leads to a dynamic of symbolic dispossession of the buildings and public spaces of sociability of the residents (Degen, 2008; Benach, 2016; Bruttomesso, 2018). Thus, all public spaces

and heritage assets are re-signified as consumable resources and marketing elements (Cucó, 2013). Hewison (1988) calls it the production of heritage, so that an image of the city that motivates tourism is created and spread with the aim of stimulating economic development (Miles and Paddison 2005; Smith, 2007). The city becomes a business (Cabrerizo et al., 2016), managed as a company to attract capital and tourists (Harvey, 1989), prioritizing investment for adapting the city to tourism and leaving aside its citizens (Hall, 2009; Murray, 2015).

Academic contributions show that tourism is an enhancing agent of the gentrification process (Cócola-Gant, 2018; Füller and Michel, 2014; Gotham, 2005; Gravari-Barbas and Guinand, 2017). The expansion of hotels due to large investors acquiring real estate and, above all, the spread and large numbers of tourist apartments modify these residential areas and the value of homes. This pressure of tourist accommodation has caused the increase in housing prices and the reduction of residential stock, both purchase and rental (Gil and Sequera, 2018; Arias-Sans, 2018; García-López et al. 2020) generating great tensions in the housing market and transforming the use value of housing into exchange value (Gutiérrez and Vives-Miró, 2018).

The profit possibilities result in the increasing transformation of properties from residential to tourist use offered on peer-to-peer short-term property rental platforms (a phenomenon that Richards (2016) calls *Airbnbification*), while the rental stock decreases. This entails a displacement and expulsion of long-term residents (Cócola-Gant, 2016; Colomb and Novy 2017; Pareja Eastaway and Simó Solsona 2014) and the active reaction of social movements (De la Calle Vaquero, 2019). Tourism is an activating element in the spatial logic of speculative capitalism, leading to accumulation by dispossession dynamics (Vives-Miró and Rullán, 2014; Janoschka, 2018).

In addition, the commercial fabric responds to these new uses, so that traditional local shops (González and Waley, 2013) are replaced by establishments based on gastronomy and leisure (Cordero and Salinas, 2017; Frago, 2020a); tourist food markets are a good example of this (Crespi-Vallbona and Domínguez-Pérez, 2016). Definitely, tourism gentrification thus implies the transformation of popular and historic neighbourhoods into places of consumption and leisure (Gotham, 2005; Mendes, 2017; Sequera and Nofre, 2018).

The city of Barcelona is an excellent example of these dynamics, which have been accelerated by the local real estate market being exposed to global investment processes and by its specialization in tourism activity (Cócola-Gant, 2014; Sales-Favà, 2019;

Cócola-Gant and López Gay, 2020). This has given rise to protests and neighbourhood actions to tackle undesired effects of tourist intensification, along with some actions led by the local government and the trade union associations. This work is part of the current debates on the tourist pressure on neighbourhoods due to predatory tourism models that compromise the right to the city. Thus, it analyses how the urban transformation dynamics are taking place and what are the resistance strategies of the collective action to combat the effects of touristification in two neighbourhoods: Barceloneta, the epicentre of tourism in the Ciutat Vella District; and Hostafrancs, on the edge of the tourist-crowded area in the Sants-Montjuic District. The discussion is usually focused on the most central and touristic neighbourhoods, but it expands in the most radial ones and less attractive (a priori) for tourism. For this reason, these two neighbourhoods are explored to verify how the effects of tourism extend throughout the territory of a mature destination, from the most central and tourist-valued areas to those located out of the limits of attractiveness for visitors.

The analysis begins with the hypothesis that the historical associative and cooperative tradition in these neighbourhoods, as well as their density of their social fabric buffer, to a greater or lesser degree, the advance of these dynamics, maintaining the identity of these neighbourhoods and the rights of their neighbours. Then, citizenship action is key to making visible the effects of tourist pressure on neighbourhoods while strengthening the sense of belonging, attachment, and the preservation of their identity. Neighbours' protest initiatives bring light to the right to the neighbourhood as part of the right to the city. But, in addition, they question the political management mechanisms of tourism.

Strategies and resistance to urban transformation processes

There has been an increase in social movements to confront the negative effects that tourism entails (some of them shared with gentrification processes), especially the impact on the price of housing, the changes in residential dynamics, in the commercial fabric and in the neighbourhood relationships (Cabrerizo et al., 2016; Gil and Sequera, 2018; Milano, 2018; de la Calle Vaquero, 2019; Zaar and Pontes da Fonseca, 2019; López Villanueva and Crespi Vallbona, 2021). All of these effects have a direct impact on the right to housing and the right to the city (Lefebvre, 1969).

As Tarrow (2011) states, a social movement refers to an excluded community that maintains a sustained interaction over time with economic and political elites in search of

social change. In this sense, people come together to achieve a common goal. Then, the social movement bases on these central elements: the aspect of excluded social groups with little representation, and without political and economic power (Burawoy, 2017); and the existence of a common motivation that entails a social, environmental, or economic harm or damage (Almeida, 2021). Pre-existing social relationships are fundamental to achieve social mobilizations as they contribute to the organizational base and even the building of collective identity (Snow and Benford, 1988, Snow and McAdam, 2000).

These movements manifest themselves in coordinated and organized actions and constitute a form of political expression since they include the population that does not have access to institutional politics in conflict management (Touraine, 1987). Castells (1986) emphasizes the transformative force of these movements, highlighting the role in local resistance and the role of the neighbourhood in the territorial management of the conflict. Neighbourhood protest practices have developed and spread through the community; the nearby social space, the neighbourhood, becomes the space for identification and solidarity (Vollmer, 2019). Moreover, these collectives carry out protest and rejection strategies against participatory deficits, criticizing the limits of the representative democracy model and postulating what is described as "real democracy", making demands for and against certain practices to resist and transform institutional plans (Schneiberg and Lounsbury, 2008).

These movements bring together heterogeneous expressions and share some characteristics, such as not having necessarily political affiliations, having low hierarchical, horizontal, and participatory structures, being dependent on social networks and using assemblies to debate collectively and make decisions (Aguilar and Fernández, 2010). They use different forms of expression, such as occupying public space, demonstrations and protests, or community festivals in public spaces with a high media impact, among others. The social and exchange nature of the activities is a fundamental aspect in the process of organizing and informing residents as well as encouraging neighbours to get to know each other. Some of these groups and initiatives create their own social spaces, which become a symbolic expression of protest and places of exchange and organization.

The actors of these strategies can connect on social networks and participate in collective debates (de Weerd and Garcia, 2016) to influence public opinion and give visibility to the problem, organize protests, interact with public institutions, empower

citizens and cooperate with other neighbourhood associations and movements. The legacy of social movements remains within the community, in its collective memory, and produces historical significance, mobilizes collective resources and boost resistance strategies.

The response against the impact of urban tourism has burst onto the scene of social movements. From the 70s of the last century there are various academic works that address the negative social, economic and environmental effects of tourism development: Doxey (1975) established the Irritation Index (Irridex) on the change in attitude of residents towards tourists; Butler (1980) reflected on the life cycle of tourist destinations, their capacity for growth and their limits; O'Reilly (1986) elaborated on the concept of tourist carrying capacity. However, the link between social movements and the consequence of urban tourism is later in Spain and develops from the social unease caused by the unsustainable practices of mass tourism. Terms such as *overtourism* or *tourismphobia* illustrate reactions to discontent and situate urban tourism as a social problem. This discord or battle of love-hate among residents and visitors compiles the base of tourismophobia, mainly when this rejection is publicly clear and visible, using printed or audiovisual material to inform against tourism, attacking tourism infrastructures, organising protests and demonstrations, etc. (Huete-Mantecón, 2018). However, the best definition of tourismophobia comes from Milano (2017a) as the author links the social and active criticism of collective organisations to specific externalities of tourism activities around the world. Traditionally, the analysis and assessment of residents' satisfaction or dissatisfaction related to tourism activity have usually based in the social exchange theory (SET) (Gursoy et al., 2002; Nunkoo et al., 2013; Rasoolimanesh et al., 2015; Dimitrovski et al., 2022), taking into account that any destination with economic benefits due to its dependency on tourism uses it to support tourism-related initiatives (Dyer et al., 2007; Oviedo-García et al., 2008; Lee et al., 2013).

Following the narrative of urban social movements, the damages or threats produced by intensive tourism activity focus on the increase in housing prices and the loss of residential use value, in the change of commercial physiognomy of the environment and the concentration of bar terraces in the public space. From the first decade of the s. XXI in Spain, articles have appeared in the media that echo the conflict that the increase in urban tourism entails (Milano, 2017b). In the field of collective action and the case of Barcelona, in 2015 the ABTS (Assemblea de Barris per un Turisme

Sostenible) was created, which carries out work to denounce, criticize and mobilize against the tourist overexploitation of the city.

In addition to social movements, there are other actors that can act as agents of opposition against mass tourism and as agents of transformation based on “resistance”. This is the case of corporate or union associations that can exert some pressure.

There are other political instruments, led by local governments that contribute to reducing the negative effects of tourism (Ruhanen, 2013). Local governing bodies can apply urban and housing measures for regulating the proportion of housing destined for public housing, for rationalizing land uses, for limiting the growth in hotel beds and tourist apartments, for restricting the surface area occupied by outdoor bar and café areas, and even for restricting real estate being purchased with “vulture funds”.

Sources and Methodology

With the aim to analyse the citizens’ strategies facing to the touristification, we have carried out a methodological triangulation of mixed methods: combining a qualitative analysis through in-depth interviews and a quantitative analysis based on the exploitation of secondary data sources. The analysis is structured around two sections: First, it studies the process of touristification in the two neighbourhoods by analysing the evolution in tourist accommodation (the growth in hotel beds and the increase in housing for tourist use) as well as the impact that this generates on housing prices and the tension in the residential market; and second, it analyses the resistance strategies carried out by organized society in the two neighbourhoods.

The information for the analysis of the tourist accommodation was obtained from the Census of Tourist Accommodation Establishments of the *Barcelona City Council*, as well as technical documents on political interventions such as the Special Urban Plan for Tourist Accommodation (PEUAT). The Census of Tourist Accommodation has a limitation: the registry of tourist homes only includes those that have a license, so a multitude of flats without a license are left out.

The evolution of the housing purchase price was studied based on the data from the Association of Property Registrars published by the Department of Territory and Sustainability of the Catalan Government; the rental prices were analysed using data from the *Institut Català del Sol* (INCASOL) (Catalan Institute of Land use).

For the study of the strategies facing the processes of tourist transformation, an approach based on phenomenology has been adopted, which allows interpreting the experiences lived by the subjects, understanding their meaning and recognizing their complexity. The analysis is based on 16 in-depth interviews conducted with representatives of entities between October 2020 and July 2021, focused on three actors: the associative-cooperative neighboring, the associative commercial and the local politician representation. Among the different sections, we addressed the effects of tourism on the neighbourhood and the actions employed to stop or reverse this impact¹. The sample of the interviewees was decided ex-ante, taking a convenience sample in the context of the investigation and using the knowledge of social movements. Interviews were transcribed and analysed using an inductive coding strategy according to these categories, which allows to study the resistance strategies by the Barcelona organized society: a) general concerns (tourist housing, public space, commercial fabric); b) actions (protest actions, communication, and diffusion); c) administration policies; and d) questioning of the political mechanisms of tourism management.

Interviews took place mostly face-to-face in the office of interviewees, approximately they lasted one hour long each and they were done in Catalan language. However, due to pandemic restrictions, some of them were done virtually, via Zoom platform.

Figure 1 Mixed methodology design

	Aim	Concept	Source

¹ For the Hostafrancs neighbourhood these entities included representatives of the Creu Coberta Trade Association (E3); the Sants-Les Corts Trade Association (E4); the Sants-Establishments Commercial Hub (E5); Poble Sec Trade Association (E6); Can Batlló (self-managed neighbourhood space) (E7); Lleialtat Sansenca (space for neighbourhood and cooperative uses) (E8); La Ciutat Invisible (self-managed cooperative) (E9); Hostafrancs Neighbourhood Association (E11); the “Fem front al turisme” Platform (E16); head of Economic Promotion and Tourism of the Sants-Montjuïc District (E1); the Councilor for Culture of the same district (E2) and the Head of the Observatory of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ESCR) (E10). For the Barceloneta, we interviewed representatives of the Barceloneta Neighbourhood Association (E12); the “Veïns l'Ostia” Association (E13); the Barceloneta Defense Platform (E14); and the Group of Traders and Industries of Barceloneta (E15).

Quantitative approach	Study the touristification processes.	Evolution tourist accommodation: - . Number of stablishments and beds by typology. - . Prices in housing for buying, selling and renting. - . Household disposable income per capita.	- . Census of Tourist Accommodation Establishments (2020). Barcelona City Council. - . College of Property Registrars published by the Department of Territory and Sustainability of the Catalan Government and on INCASOL. - . Barcelona Technical Programming Office. Barcelona City Council Statistical Institute.
-------------------------------------	---	---	---

Qualitative approach	Analyze the resistance strategies carried out by the organized society	a) general concerns (tourist housing, public space, commercial fabric) b) actions (protest actions, communication, and diffusion) c) administration policies d) questioning of the political mechanisms of tourism management.	<u>In-depth interviews (16)</u> - The associative-cooperative neighboring - The associative commercial - Local politician representation <u>Technical documents on political interventions.</u> - Special Urban Plan for Tourist Accommodation (PEUAT) 2017 and 2022.
-----------------------------	---	---	--

Source: Own elaboration

The two neighbourhoods analysed are Hostafrancs (in the Sants-Montjuïc District) and Barceloneta (in the Ciutat Vella District). The reason for exploring Barceloneta and Hostafrancs is justified by the purpose of studying how the effects of tourism, in a mature destination, extend to several neighbourhoods; in the most central and prized for tourism and in those (apparently) located out of the limits of attractiveness for visitors. The Sants-Montjuïc District has undergone a series of urban transformation processes and contains “touristifying” elements; however, it has not followed the same evolution as its neighbour Ciutat Vella (López Villanueva and Alabart, 2011), the historic centre and tourist pool par excellence of Barcelona. La Barceloneta is one of the historic neighbourhoods within the Ciutat Vella District. The many leisure and gastronomy establishments, as well as the remodeling of the beaches following the 1992 Olympic Games, have contributed to attracting the attention of tourists. This has led to a notable

feeling of tourismophobia among residents. The Hostafrancs neighbourhood is located in the Sants-Montjuïc District, near the Barcelona fairgrounds and the communications node. The industrial infrastructure has allowed the reconversion of uses in which they are housed leisure and cultural facilities. Furthermore, Hostafrancs has a heritage of union and cooperative movements due to its industrial and working-class past during the 19th and 20th centuries as well as its resistance to Franco's regime during the 20th century. Currently it has many protest initiatives and management models that take a diversity of organizational forms.

Analysis of the results

The objective is to evince our hypothesis that, although the expanded touristification process through the Barceloneta and Hostafrancs, the density of social fabric in both neighbourhoods buffers the advance of these dynamics because: it makes visible the impact of the effects of tourism and creates public opinion; citizen participation makes possible to generate links, to create loyalties and to preserve identity; and it questions the way of doing politics and managing tourism.

a) Residential housing versus tourist housing

The following section evinces the evolution of tourist accommodation and contrasts the volume of residential accommodation in both neighbourhoods, showing how the housing market is straining.

The weight of tourist accommodation can be assessed by comparing the number of places offered by both neighborhoods. Hostafrancs and Barceloneta have a similar total number of places, over 3,000 and represent just over 2% of the city's total. The internal distribution is very different; in both cases the highest concentration of places is found in hotels (71.90% in Hostafrancs and 79% in Barceloneta) although the places offered in tourist apartments vary from one neighbourhood to another (Table 1). While in Hostafrancs it is 25.12%, in Barceloneta it is 6.48%. The limitation of the source, which only includes licensed tourist apartments, masks the reality.

Table 1. Tourist accommodation capacity: establishments and beds in Hostafrancs and Barceloneta neighbourhoods, Sants-Montjuïc and Ciutat Vella districts, 2020.

Hostafrancs	Barceloneta
-------------	-------------

	Establisments	Beds	% Beds		Establisments	Beds	% Beds
Hotel	5	2.582	71,90	Hotel	5	2.503	79,08
Guesthouse	6	88	2,45	Guesthouse	0	0	0,00
Tourist Apartment	0	0	0,00	Tourist Apartment	0	0	0,00
Hostel	1	19	0,53	Hostel	2	275	8,69
Tourist Use Housing	174	902	25,12	Tourist Use Housing	64	205	6,48
Student Residences	0	0	0,00	Student Residences	1	182	5,75
Total Hostafrancs	186	3.591	100,00	Total Barceloneta	72	3.165	100,00
Total Sants Montjuïc	1.240	15.007		Total Ciutat Vella	850	27.446	
Total Barcelona	10.451	156.748		Total Barcelona	10.451	156.748	
% Beds Sants-Montjuïc		23,93		% Beds Ciutat Vella		11,53	
% Beds Barcelona		2,29		% Beds Barcelona		2,02	

Source: Census of Tourist Accommodation Establishments (2020). Barcelona City Council.

The commercialization of tourist apartments on collaborative or horizontal accommodation platforms, such as Airbnb, reinforces the clear upward trend of properties with a tourist licence (as well as properties without a licence) listed for hire. Airbnb has not even stopped growing in the pandemic, as indicated by the number of apartments listed on the platform (19,888) about 10,000 establishments more than those that appear in the census of Tourist Accommodation. This increase puts pressure on the residential use of housing and the price is the best evidence, but also the ratio between tourist apartments and rental homes and the ratio between population and tourist apartments.

The cost of housing reflects differences between the two areas: while the increase in buying and selling is more intense in Hostafrancs (68.02%) during the period 2014-2020 (Table 2); the increase in the cost of rent is more intense in Barceloneta (54.14%), showing a significant residential pressure in this last neighbourhood.

Table 2. Average prices and increases in housing for buying, selling and renting in the neighbourhoods of Hostafrancs and Barceloneta within its context Sants-Montjuïc and Ciutat Vella districts, 2014-2020

	Buying and selling price		Relative Increase	Renting price		Relative Increase
	Average price € / m2	Increase		Euro / month	Increase	

	2014	2020	2014-2020	2014-2020	2014	2020	2014-2020	2014-2020
Hostafrancs	2.174,76	3.654,14	1.479,38	68,02	593,91	852,27	258,36	43,50
Sants-Montjuïc District	1.993,62	3.640,85	1.647,23	82,63	598,43	846,88	248,45	41,52
Barceloneta	3.744,93	4.513,03	768,10	20,51	563,08	867,95	304,87	54,14
Ciutat Vella District	2.674,20	4.201,60	1.527,40	57,12	639,11	913,66	274,55	42,96
Barcelona	2.754,46	4.170,39	1.415,93	51,40	688,23	964,81	276,57	40,19

Source. Based on data from the College of Property Registrars published by the Department of Territory and Sustainability of the Catalan Government and on INCASOL data

The cost of housing has a direct impact on demand. It is expected that the higher the price of housing, the higher the annual disposable income of the resident population (Table 3). However, the growth of housing prices has not the same intensity that the increase of the average household income. This has led to residents being expelled and replaced by people with a higher economic level, adding a process of gentrification to the process of touristification (Porcel and Antón, 2021; López-Gay et al., 2022; Garay-Tamajón et al, 2022).

Table 3. Household disposable income per capita (€/year). Hostafrancs, Barceloneta within its context in the Districts of Sants-Montjuïc and Ciutat Vella, 2014-2020

					Relative Increase
	2015	2016	2017	2018	2015-2018
Hostafrancs	18.397	18.533	18.736	19.413	5,52
Sants Montjuïc District	17.528	17.793	17.827	18.710	6,74
Barceloneta	14.714	14.618	15.064	16.271	10,58
Ciutat Vella District	12.975	13.165	13.612	14.505	11,79
Barcelona	20.055	20.733	20.956	21.484	7,13

Source: Barcelona Technical Programming Office. Barcelona City Council Statistical Institute.

The pressure of tourist apartments on the housing stock, especially for rent, is one of the key aspects in the defense of the right to housing. It can be assessed by relating the amount of tourist apartments to the amount of rental housing. In this case (Table 4), the

housing given for free or at a low price has been added to the rental stock; thus, in the Hostafrancs neighbourhood for every 100 rental homes there are 7.86 tourist apartments. This is almost double the amount for the district and the city. In Barceloneta this pressure is lower, the ratio is 1.72%. However, in the Census of Tourist Accommodation Establishments of the Barcelona City Council only the licenced tourist apartments are listed; and the data source for the housing stock according to the tenure regime is the Population and Housing Census which last edition dates from 2011.

Table 4. Tourist Apartments compared to Rental Homes for Hostafrancs and Barceloneta within its context in the Districts of Sants-Montjuïc and Ciutat Vella. 2020.

	Rental housing+ provided free or low price	Tourist Use Housing	Tourist Apartments/Rental Homes
Hostafrancs	2.214	174	7,86
Sants Montjuïc District	23.878	1.169	4,90
Barceloneta	3.719	64	1,72
Ciutat Vella District	25.746	607	2,36
Barcelona	219.239	9.530	4,35

Source: Based on the Census of Tourist Accommodation Establishments. Barcelona City Council 2020 and the Population and Housing Census of 2011.

Another way to evince this tourist pressure is by relating the resident population in the neighbourhood to the total number of tourist beds available in the overall set of accommodation types as Table 5 shows. Both neighbourhoods make clear a great tourist pressure. In Hostafrancs, for every 100 inhabitants there are 22.16 tourist beds, tripling the capacity of the Sants-Monjuïc District. In Barceloneta, for every 100 inhabitants there are 20.94 tourist beds.

Table 5. Tourist accommodation beds compared to the resident population for Hostafrancs and Barceloneta within its context in the Districts of Sants-Montjuïc and Ciutat Vella, 2020

	Population	Tourist Accommodation	Tourist Use Housing	Population/Tourist Accommodation	Population/Tourist Use Housing
Hostafrancs	16.203	3.591	902	22,16	5,57
Sants Montjuïc District	187.584	15.007	5.975	8,00	3,19
Barceloneta	15.112	3.165	205	20,94	1,36
Ciutat Vella District	108.331	27.446	3.214	25,34	2,97
Barcelona	1.666.530	156.748	58.338	9,41	3,50

Source: Based on the Census of Tourist Accommodation Establishments. Barcelona City Council 2020 and Municipal Register of Inhabitants (2020)

All of this highlights the objective pressure of tourist accommodation on residential ones.

b. Resistance strategies by organized society

This section presents the different strategies against tourism that are carried out by neighbourhood movements, business associations and local administrations in the two Barcelona neighbourhoods studied. The analysis follows the analytical categories described in the method section. This is: a) general concerns (tourist housing, public space, local businesses, or shops); b) actions (protest actions, communication, and diffusion); c) administration policies; and d) questioning of the political mechanisms of tourism management.

The 2015 Strategic Plan reflects the concern of the public administration for the tourist uses of the city. Thus, in 2017, the Barcelona City Council limited the granting of licences for tourist apartments, which led to tourist accommodation accumulating in other neighbourhoods of the city outside the historic centre. This is the case of the neighbourhoods of Sants-Montjuïc, where the Hostafrancs neighbourhood is located.

The Special Urban Plan for Tourist Accommodation (PEUAT), -first one, approved in 2017, and second one in 2022- limits and controls tourist accommodation, guaranteeing the fundamental rights of the city's inhabitants and establishing accommodation zoning. This includes Zone 1, the declining zone (in Ciutat Vella, part of the Eixample, Poblenou, Vila Olímpica, Poble Sec, Hostafrancs and Sant Antoni) in

which new accommodation facilities cannot be opened and no new licences for tourist apartments can be issued. The PEUAT restricts the provision of hotel rooms and tourist apartments, slowing down the pressure of this temporary accommodation capacity in relation to the construction of housing for purchase or rent by more permanent inhabitants, and intensifies the inspection of illegal tourist apartments on horizontal hosting platforms. However, the limitation of licences for tourist apartments and the closure of illegal tourist accommodation does not detract from the residents' real concern: the increase in the price of housing, both for purchase and for rent (Crespi-Vallbona and Mascarilla-Miró, 2018). The tourist interest in certain areas of the city increases the price of real estate, expelling and displacing the population that cannot afford the increasingly high rents. It is a "*silent expulsion*".

According to Mansilla and Hughes (2021), Barcelona represents the epicentre of tourism activism in Spain. According to the Statistics of the Ajuntament de Barcelona, in 2016 the Barcelona citizenship showed the most disappointed, visible, and rejected moment to tourism activity. Anti-touristification discourse had a decisive role in different social movements, among all other daily concerns. This is the case of our analysed neighbourhoods with an intense social activity look for extend their vindications as much as possible. Both Hostafrancs and Barceloneta are socially organized to unite their efforts in relation to economic, social, urban, and cultural demands. This resistance ranges from local action in the territory to networks at the municipal and international levels. This is the case of the *Fem front al Turisme* (Let's face Tourism) Platform that was born from the *Assemblea de Barris per al Decreixement Turístic* (ABDT) (Assembly of Neighbourhoods for Tourism Decrease), which, in turn, participates in an international network of southern European cities against tourism (SET). Among the neighbourhoods involved in the *Fem front al Turisme* Platform are Barceloneta, Raval, Gòtic, Gràcia, Poble Nou and Hostafrancs, and others with an important tourist pressure. In the case of Barceloneta, the actions and protests have been led by *Barceloneta diu prou* (Barceloneta says that's enough) and by the *Barceloneta Defense Platform*, the *Barceloneta Neighbours Association* and the *Veïns l'Ostia Association*. Thus, in both neighbourhoods there are city-wide initiatives that bring together and support neighbourhood protests, such as ABDT, as already mentioned, or *l'Assemblea de Barris per al Turisme Sostenible*

(Assembly of Neighbourhoods for Sustainable Tourism²) from the Federation of Neighbourhood Associations of Barcelona (FAVB).

It is worth to mention that this intense and dense associative network has a deep-rooted historical substratum that stems from the workers' struggles in the last century for better working conditions as well as mutual aid in their industrial past. This has contributed to forging the identity of the territory and also the resistance against a capitalist appropriation of space (Dalmau and Miró, 2010). The strength of these entities, as E11 points out, is that they bring together all the neighbours and that they are not ideologically linked to any political party, *"we are always friends of the parties that are in the opposition because they listen to us, but when they come into government, we become their enemies... they listen to us, but they do not support us."* In addition, these associations defend the interests of all the neighbourhood residents. They join to defend their daily concerns and have a unique voice and more strength to denounce and negotiate.

In this sense, first the neighbours generally meet to agree on their position, which is decided by everyone and is essential for collecting the complaints and grouping them, and thus providing visibility and resolutions to common problems. Then, the usual actions for placing pressure on the public administration focus on two activities. The first action consists in the natural channel: dialogue with the governing administrations responsible for solving those aspects that negatively affect and worry the neighbours, including the need for social housing, design of *superilles* (public and green spaces), changes of road directions, parks and green areas, social facilities, and tourist apartments, among others. It is also to these administrations that *"projects for the overall benefit of the territory are presented and represented, formalizing alliances with other neighbourhood platforms to join forces, and generating projects with public-private support"*, as highlighted in Barceloneta (E12). The second action is to go to the press to obtain the media diffusion of the problem that has been generated in the neighbourhood. As E11 reiterates, *"when the written and television press appears, it seems that politicians are more open to dialogue and conflict resolution ..."*. This media diffusion is accompanied by neighbourhood protests. This is how E13 expresses this process: *"In Barceloneta we are clear about it. What do we have to do to show our rejection of mass and inconsiderate*

² ABTS is the main local organization struggling for the tourism decrease and centred on denounce the negative social and environmental impacts of tourism (Hughes, 2018). Since 2019, the ABTS has changed their name to the ADBT, this is, substituting 'sustainable tourism' with 'tourism degrowth' underlining its commitment to this position.

tourism in our neighbourhood? Demonstrate on a Sunday morning, in the middle of August, with the beach overflowing with tourists ... and obviously call the press”.

For the *Fem front al Turisme* Platform, the actions against touristification consist first in carrying out pedagogical and communication work; that is, explaining in forums, conferences or other types of events what is happening due to the tourism monoculture being one of the main economic activities of the city. In Hostafrancs, it is worth mentioning the viewings and subsequent debates on the *City for Sale* documentaries and the production of their own materials, such as *Alguns hotels de Sants que mai diries que hi són* (Some Hotels in Sants that you would never know are there) and campaigns of mailing information to all neighbourhood residents about the right to housing.

In Barceloneta, multiple neighbourhood actions have been carried out, some with the support of residents from other neighbourhoods within the framework of FAVB or ABDT. An example is the group against tourist overcrowding in 2014 led by “*La Barceloneta diu prou*”; the human chain of local residents on the beach in 2017 led by the *Plataforma en Defensa de la Barceloneta*; the protest demonstration against the inconsiderate and unhygienic behaviour caused by mass tourism in 2018; and the weekly protests that residents began in 2020 against low-cost tourism. All these protest strategies of different collectives are expanded through the social networks as Facebook, Twitter and Instagram as Morales-Pérez et al (2022) have also evidenced in their study of Airbnb effect in the city of Barcelona.

The main strength of all these social movements is its proactiveness and capacity to empower society to defend and fight for their rights. Residents and shop owners therefore are able to organize protest actions, interact with public institutions, empower their fellow citizens and cooperate with other neighbourhood associations and movements. Not surprisingly, the networks that are established between the members of the entities are reinforced with regular contact between members as a domino effect (“... *either with the publication of a printed or online magazine, via newsletters, or as the pandemic has recently forced us to do, via WhatsApp*”, as E15 states). In any case, these entities always tend to act as intermediaries or spokespeople for communicating and updating information, which they then pass on to the district administration. This bottom-up strategy is critical to maintain the sense of belonging, identity, and affection for the place. In addition, they exhibit a constant resistance to keep alive hot issues, to join more supporters, and to actively participate in finding best solutions for both parts.

Firstly, Associations show their concern and react to the residents' daily problems. As E12 highlights, "*leaving aside specific situations of support for the neighbourhood, there are ongoing, daily concerns: tourism, safety, mobility and transport, housing, economic-educational stimulation, culture, sustainability, help for people at risk of exclusion, solidarity, young people, elderly people, single-parent families, social services, giving advice on procedures and protocols, etc.*". Thus, among the main demands are "the residential issue" (Sequera, 2011) the fight against housing being a consumer good and not a use good. This fight aims to reverse the expulsion of the residents due to the increase in rental and purchase prices, which leads to residential housing being replaced by tourist accommodation. After this "*silent expulsion*" there is the effective expulsion (eviction), behind which there is often a tourist interest for the evicted property (Cócola-Gant, 2018). This is observed in Hostafrancs, where various protest actions in support for housing have been carried out. These actions include the campaign called "I'm looking for a flat in this area", in which the windows of real estate agencies were covered with housing offers; the locating and marking of illegal tourist apartments (E16); interventions against the eviction of families and squatters; and actions to stop the construction of "beehive" flats. Various protest demonstrations have been held in the neighbourhood against property speculation and mass tourism under the slogans "One more tourist, one less neighbour" and "Speculation drives residents out".

Along the same lines, in Barceloneta, in 2014, a neighbourhood movement was born with the aim of denouncing the negative effects caused by the touristification of the neighbourhood. The demonstrations were called *La Barceloneta no es ven* (Barceloneta is not for sale), which expresses the discontent of the local population concerning the excessive number of tourist apartments. *La Barceloneta diu prou* (Barceloneta says that's enough), as mentioned above, is the name of the organizing platform, which continues to regularly express its discontent with the tourist situation and is part of the *Barcelona Neighbourhood Assembly for Sustainable Tourism* (ABTS). The neighbourhood platform denounces not only the noise, the damage to the communal areas in buildings and the lack of hygiene in the streets, but also, and above all, the real estate speculation and the expulsion of the local population from the neighbourhood. Again, the tourist interest imposes changes on residential market. In this sense, the *Fem front al Turisme* Platform acts as a space for denouncing the specialization of certain areas in establishments for nightlife entertainment, which leads to problems of coexistence with residents (noise, dirt, inconsiderate behaviour).

In the same vein, another of the claims is against the disappearance of everyday proximity shops and the replacement of these businesses by other types of establishments that are open 24 hours a day. This leads to higher prices and a destruction of the community network (Frago, 2020b). As E4 confirms, a new group of owners (mostly foreigners, mainly of Chinese, Pakistani and Hindu origin) buy or rent local shops and restaurants that are going out of business, or they open bazaars with a wide range of products open 24 hours a day. E3 adds that, since 2012, the management and operation of restaurants has been concentrated in the hands of people of Chinese nationality. This leads to a general perception of a loss of quality in local trade and commerce, as well as proximity products and services. Indeed, the main concern of trade associations is focused on economic activity and the success of the businesses represented, trade associations are the great allies of social movements. As Crespi-Vallbona and Mascarilla-Miró (2021) state, trade associations are the first and most interested in preserving the vitalization of a neighbourhood, in social, cultural, and economic dimensions.

In this sense, it stands out that there are collaborations between the local administration (mainly in the area of economic promotion) and the trade associations that lead to joint actions of development and dynamization of commercial axes. These collaborations include the design and implementation of areas of urban economic promotion (APEU) and superblocks (*superilles*) to favour not only social activity, but also give a boost to small local businesses (López-Villanueva and Crespi-Vallbona, 2021; Crespi-Vallbona et al., 2021). An example of this is the *Superilla d'Hostafrancs*.

The saturation of public space is another of the impacts of tourism that affects residents and shop and restaurant owners, including the occupation of space by groups of people and outdoor eating areas as well as rental vehicles such as motorcycles, scooters and bicycles that hinder accessibility and mobility. Public transport has also become saturated. Moreover, the associations highlight the environmental problems implied by the dense traffic of airplanes and especially cruise ships, as well as the consumption and waste of energy. Actions against these issues include blocking tourist buses as an act of complaint against the public transport situation in Barcelona and actions against the presence of cruise ships. These strategies constitute a way of claiming the right to the city from the conflict.

Likewise, it is observed that local authorities are not always quick to act or are not always really present when their help is needed. This is confirmed by E15, “*Normally, we find that penalties are given much quicker than solutions to shop and restaurant owners*’

problems. In recent years, the perception by the trade collective has been one of total abandonment. Businesses closing was already a fact, but in 2020 this has doubled”.

Despite of the Barcelona Local Administration has also reacted to the process of touristification of the city, especially in the Ciutat Vella District, by approving the aforementioned Special Urban Plan for Tourist Accommodation (PEUAT, 2017, 2021), citizens are not plenty satisfied. This plan limits the number of hotel rooms and licences for tourist housing and increases inspections of collaborative accommodation platforms (such as Airbnb) in relation to illegal tourist apartments. However, for neighbourhood associations these actions are not enough. As E12 points out, *“it is important to chase politicians and technicians so that they get out of their bubble of comfort, out of their offices and “step onto the street””*. Likewise, E12 reiterates that the management of the Barcelona City Council is deficient, *“... Unfortunately, the Administration has only recently arrived and it is late There is sectarianism and a lack of transparency. We have to insist a lot, add a follow-up by the media and look for alliances for the same objectives (local commerce, FAVB, other neighbourhoods, various specialized entities). And sometimes ... even get the support of the opposition to apply pressure to do management audits”*. Thus, for the interviewees, the challenge for the local administration goes beyond the simple management of the neighbourhood and involves the management of the whole city's neighbourhoods. According to E15, *“... for a neighbourhood to be able to sustain itself economically within a city, taxes and the scarcity of public services must be reconsidered; a social policy of protected housing or housing with rental subsidies should be implemented; we need school hours that facilitate family-to-work conciliation; without a shock plan for commerce, to reactivate its associative fabric and to encourage talent and the installation of Km0 shops and businesses, from neighbourhood to neighbourhood. In short, we need politicians who consider neighbours and don't just focus on tourists”*. It is confirmed a disappointment and disengagement among citizenship and administration.

Specifically, real participation and co-governance is what is demanded. Apparently, the local administration boosts the neighbour's participation in planning and decision-making processes. However, interviewees do not perceive this reciprocity at all. As E12 states, the administration must *“increase and improve communication channels (accessibility, bidirectional, control of reception and understanding of the message), real participation, tone and content of the messages for the entire group to which they are addressed, analysis and conclusions to share with the group or the affected population ...*

and above all, have the courage to be audited in the execution of the actions carried out... Ultimately, it is necessary to take one more step in the direction of true democracy of public management". However, as E11 points out, *"The spaces for citizen participation are not real. Politicians tend to come to debates with decisions that they have already made, and they don't like that you don't go with the flow and disagree with their decisions. The so-called participatory tables are structures facing the gallery, but they are not really efficient"*. Therefore, we can see that the administration seems willing to involve neighbourhood associations and the commercial fabric in the decisions and strategic actions of the city; however, these associations demand true and real participation and collaboration. They want a real partnership to be implemented and not just good practice written on paper. As Pérez-Quintana (2009) said, these movements make possible to build a deliberative and participatory democracy as opposed to a democracy that limits participation to representative parliamentary structures.

Today, after the pandemic and in the midst of recovering from the upward trend in tourist activity, both neighbourhood and municipal collective action platforms are returning to their protest actions against mass tourism with new actions for old problems. Just recently in the summer of 2021, various actions related to pollution, climate change and environmental issues were carried out. These include the protest demonstration "Stop Cruises", the protest *"Menys pistes, menys turistes"* (*Fewer runways, fewer tourists*) against the construction of a third runway at the airport, and protest actions against the extension of the Sants train and bus station (which greatly affects Hostafrancs). In addition, within the context of the World Day of Tourism actions, a Neighbourhood Counter-Summit against Tourism was held. Finally, in a more global dimension, the *Fem front al Turisme* Platform denounces the growing economic dependence on the tourism sector and protests against the precariousness and working conditions of the people who work in this sector. Therefore, some of their actions are carried out in collaboration with other groups such as the Kellys (hotel room maids).

Definitely, these actions and debates led by neighbours and social movements have contributed to claim for tourism sustainable policies, despite is very controversial please both parts: citizenship and tourism business organizations.

Conclusions

The two neighbourhoods studied contain clear elements of touristification despite the differences in their manifestations and expressions. The main protagonists of the resistance face to the negative effects of tourism are the neighborhood mobilizations, although both, the local administration and the trade associations also contribute to slowing down the impact of urban tourism.

Considering the narrative of urban social movements related to the components that determine them (Almeida, 2020), the neighbourhood associations analysed show all of them: the existence of common interests, a pre-existing organizational base and the importance of group identities. In this sense, the citizens' mobilizations against the negative effects of urban tourism in Barcelona accomplish these three pillars, confirming the starting hypothesis of this work.

The common interests imply the perception of threats or harm to rights of people, the neighborhood and the city. The damages focus on the increase in the number of tourist apartments to the detriment of housing for residential use; an increase in the purchase and rental prices of these properties; changes in commercial establishments and loss of local product establishments and conflicts in the coexistence between the spaces.

The existence of a pre-existing organizational base enables and ensures the emergence and durability of social actions. In the two case studies, the substratum of labour and urban associations and protest movements in both neighborhoods have facilitated this collective mobilization. This pre-existing infrastructure provides leadership, communication channels or trusted networks (MacAdam, 2003).

The third pillar is the collective identity. The sense of belonging to a group derives from the common experiences and interests of its members and intensifies solidarity face of external threats. In both studied neighborhoods, neighborhood loyalties have historically been formed what constitutes a shared identity that allows them to fight for collective objectives (Gómez, 2011).

In this sense, despite of the new urban dynamics caused by the touristification process in large cities can cause the disappearance of the social fabric and the network of relationships that sustain and identify the neighborhood and contribute to social cohesion, in our study, this social fabric constitutes the necessary basis for the collective mobilization in favour for the right to the neighborhood and the city.

The actions of these social movements with bottom-up strategies stand out due to their ability to connect on social networks and participate in collective debates that influence public opinion and give visibility to the problem. They favour deliberative and participatory democracy and thereby they work to reinforce ties, loyalties and identities, showing a new way of doing politics, questioning the mechanisms of political action, organizational governance and citizen participation and highlighting various forms of social innovation that go through public-private-community cooperation in order to strengthen the role of citizens.

The different social and commercial associations (*Fem Front al Turisme de Sants; Lleialtat Sansenca; Ciutat Invisible; l'Associació de Veïns l'Ostia; l'Agrupació de Comerciants; Industrials de la Barceloneta*, among others) are the spokespeople of the latent tension that residents experience in the face of the touristification of their communities. They are the groups that drive the legislative actions of the local administration from the bottom up. They have managed to slow down some property speculation practices and appropriation of urban space in favour of spaces for social and cultural interaction, as well as care for small local businesses. The combination of the actions of the neighbourhood movements, the business owners and the local administration guarantees the survival of the “essence of the neighbourhood”, creating a vital atmosphere of community and neighbourhood roots.

Social movements emerge as guarantors of community preservation. The proactive behaviour and active attitude of these organized associations are key for the identity preservation of neighbourhoods and the fight for right of the city. In addition, they become the main driver that boosts political actions and reactions.

The post-covid tourism paradigm highlights the imperative need to seek a balance between citizens and tourists in urban spaces, as they inevitably rival, and share uses. It is worth joining efforts in the fight against real estate speculation based on the proper channelling of local urban policies. The synergies that must be woven between the residents and local administrations are the basis for a healthy coexistence between tourism and residents. Real co-governance is imperative and should not just give a glossy appearance of good intentions and behaviours.

Tourism has an economic and social impact in many destinations, such as it is seen in Barcelona. Definitely, everywhere politicians and governments have an enormous challenge, trying to please different clients: citizens, employees, tourists, businessmen. However, what is evident is the fundamental role of social movements to influence,

modify and redirect urban and tourism strategies, as they use to be the rock in the shoe of any local government.

These conclusions arise from a work that may present some limitations. This research bases on the analysis of the strategies of two neighborhoods with different urban processes of touristification; the observation of more cases in the city and the comparison with the strategies of other national and international urban tourist destinations could, in the future, help to complete the analysis. It would be also interesting to study the reactions in cities with local governments that incorporate in their policies actions that preserve the right to the neighborhood and those that do not.

References

- Aguilar Fernández, S. & Fernández Gibaja, A. (2010). El movimiento por la vivienda digna en España o el porqué del fracaso de una protesta con amplia base social. *Revista Internacional de Sociología*, 68(3), 679-704.
- Ajuntament de Barcelona (2022). *Manual operativo del Plan Especial Urbanístico para la ordenación de los establecimientos de alojamiento turístico, albergues de juventud, residencias colectivas de alojamiento temporal y viviendas de uso turístico en la ciudad de Barcelona (PEUAT)*. Ajuntament de Barcelona. Gerència d'Ecologia Urbana.
- Alabart A, & López-Villanueva, C. (1996). L'evolució de les professions dels barcelonins: Gentrificació i polarització. *Barcelona Societat*, 6, 4-18.
- Almeida, P. (2020). *Movimientos sociales: la estructura de la acción colectiva*. Buenos Aires: Clacso.
- Arias Sans, A. (2018). Turisme i gentrificació: apunts des de Barcelona. *Papers*, 60, 130-139.
- Benach, N. & Albet, A. (2018). La globalización como una estrategia global. *Papers*, 60, 17-23.
- Bruttomesso, E. (2018). Making sense of the square: Facing the touristification of public space through playful protest in Barcelona. *Tourist Studies*, 18(4), 467-485.
- Burawoy, M. (2017). Social Movements in the Neoliberal Age. In Marcel Paret, Carin Runciman y Luke Sinwell (eds.), *Southern Resistance in Critical Perspective* (pp. 21-35). Nueva York: Routledge.
- Cabrerizo, C., Sequera, J. & Bachiller, P. G. (2016). Entre la turistificación y los espacios de resistencia en el centro de Madrid: Algunas claves para (re) pensar la ciudad turística. *Ecología política*, 52, 78-82.

Castells, M. (1986). *La ciudad y las masas. Sociología de los movimientos sociales urbanos*. Madrid: Alianza.

Clark, E. (2005). "The order and simplicity of gentrification: a political challenge", 256-264. In Atkinson, R. & Bridge, G. (Eds.): *Gentrification in a Global Context: The New Urban Colonialism*. Londres: Routledge.

Cócola-Gant, A. (2014). The invention of the Barcelona Gothic Quarter. *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 9 (1), 18–34.

Cócola-Gant, A. (2016). Holiday Rentals: The New Gentrification Battlefront. *Sociological Research Online*, 21(3).

Cócola-Gant, A. (2018). "Tourism gentrification", 281-293. In L. Lees & M. Phillips (Eds.), *Handbook of Gentrification Studies*. Cheltenham and Northampton: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Cócola-Gant, A. & Lopez-Gay, A. (2020). Transnational gentrification, tourism and the formation of 'foreign only' enclaves in Barcelona. *Urban Studies*, 57(15), 3025–3043.

Colomb, C. & Novy, J. (2017). *Protest and Resistance in the Tourist City*. New York: Routledge.

Cordero, L. & Salinas, L.A. (2017). Gentrificación comercial. Espacios escenificados y el modelo de los mercados gourmet. *Revista de Urbanismo*, 37, 1.

Crespi-Vallbona, M. & Domínguez Pérez, M. (2016). Los mercados de abastos y las ciudades turísticas. *Pasos, Revista de turismo y patrimonio cultural*, 14 (2), 401-416.

Crespi-Vallbona, M. & Mascarilla Miró, O. (2018). La transformación y gentrificación turística del espacio urbano. El caso de la Barceloneta (Barcelona). *Eure, Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios Urbanos Regionales*, 133 (44), 165-184.

Crespi-Vallbona, M. & Domínguez-Pérez, M. (2021). *Las consecuencias de la turistificación en el centro de las grandes ciudades. Ciudad Y Territorio Estudios Territoriales (CyTET)*, 53, 61-82.

Crespi-Vallbona, M. & Mascarilla-Miró, O. (2021). Street Art as a Sustainable Tool in Mature Tourism Destinations: A Case Study of Barcelona. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 27 (4), 422-436.

Crespi-Vallbona, M., Gómez, M. & Domínguez, M. (2021). "En el camino hacia la ciudad inclusiva: los espacios colectivos en las políticas municipales de Barcelona y Madrid", 285- 313, in de Gregorio Hurtado, S. (eds.): ***Políticas urbanas y localización de los objetivos de desarrollo sostenible: teoría y práctica***. Valencia: Tirant lo Blanch.

Cucó, J. (ed.) (2013). *Metamorfosis urbanas. Ciudades españolas en la dinámica global*. Barcelona: Icaria.

Dalmau, M. & Miró, I. (2010). *Les cooperatives obreres de Sants*. Barcelona. Traficantes de Sueños.

Degen, M. (2008). "Modelling a New Barcelona: the Design of Public Life", 83–96, in Garcia, M. & Degen, M. (eds), *The Meta-City: Barcelona-Transformation of a Metropolis*. Barcelona: Editorial Anthropos.

De la Calle Vaquero, M. (2019). Turistificación de centros urbanos: clarificando el debate. *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles*, 83 (2829), 1-40

- De Weerd, J. & Garcia, M. (2016). Housing crisis: the Platform of Mortgage Victims (PAH) movement in Barcelona and innovations in governance. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 31(3), 471-493.
- Dimitrovski, D., Crespi-Vallbona, M. & Ioannides, D. (2022). How do Locals' perceive the touristification of their food Markets? The case of Barcelona's La Boqueria. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 24 (1), 93-106.
- Doxey, G. (1975) A causation theory of visitor-resident irritants, methodology and research inferences. The impact of tourism. In *Sixth Annual Conference of the Travel Research Association*, San Diego, USA.
- Dyer, P., Gursoy, D., Sharma, B., & Carter, J. (2007). Structural modeling of resident perceptions of tourism and associated development on the Sunshine Coast, Australia. *Tourism Management*, 28, 409–422.
- Frago, L. (2020a). “Dinámicas comerciales y de consumo en la Barcelona metropolitana y regional. Entre la modernización y la desertización”, 225-248. In Silveira, ML. et al. *Ciudad, Comercio y Consumo: temas y problemas desde la Geografía*. Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires: Café de las Ciudades.
- Frago, L. (2020b). “Consumo y espacio público: Las terrazas de bares y restaurantes en Barcelona”, 51-66. In Cachinho, H., Barata-Salgueiro, T. & Guimarães, P. (coord.) (2020). *Comércio, Consumo & Governança Urbana*. Lisboa: CEG-Lisboa.
- Füller, H. & Michel, B. (2014). ‘Stop being a tourist!’ New dynamics of urban tourism in Berlin-Kreuzberg. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 38 (4), 1304-1318.
- Garay-Tamajón, L., Lladós-Masllorens, J., Meseguer-Artola, A. & Morales-Pérez, S. (2022) Analyzing the influence of short-term rental platforms on housing affordability in global urban destination neighborhoods, *Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 22 (4), 444-461.
- García-López, M. À., Jofre-Monseny, J., Martínez-Mazza, R., & Segú, M. (2020). Do short-term rental platforms affect housing markets? Evidence from Airbnb in Barcelona. *Journal of Urban Economics*, 119.
- Glass, R. (1964). “Introduction” XIII-XIV. In Centre for Urban Studies (Ed.), *London, Aspects of Change*. Londres: Macgibbon & Kee.
- Gil, J. & Sequera, J. (2018). Expansión de la ciudad turística y nuevas resistencias. El caso de Airbnb en Madrid. *Empiria. Revista de Metodología de las Ciencias Sociales*, 41 (3), 15-32.
- González, S. & Waley, P. (2013). Traditional retail markets: The new gentrification frontier? *Antipode*, 45(4), 965-983.
- Gómez, M.V. (2021). El sentido de pertenencia: desafíos y problemas. Conferencia impartida en Seminario Permanente COMURES. La ciudad a debate. 29/09/2021.in <https://comures.es/seminario-permanente-comures-genredab-la-ciudad-a-debate-sentido-pertenencia/>
- Gotham, K. F. (2005). Tourism gentrification: The case of New Orleans' Vieux Carre (French Quarter), *Urban Studies*, 42 (7), 1099–1121.
- Gravari-Barbas, M. & Guinand S. (Eds.) (2017). *Tourism i gentrification in the metropolis. International Perspectives*. Routledge: London.

- Gursoy, D., Jurowski, C., & Uysal, M. (2002). Resident attitudes: a structural modeling approach. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 29(1), 79–105.
- Gutiérrez, A. & Vives-Miró, S. (2018). Acumulación de viviendas por parte de los bancos a través de los desahucios: geografía de la desposesión de vivienda en Catalunya. *Eure*, 44, 5-26.
- Hall, C. M. (2009). *El turismo como ciencia social de la movilidad*. Madrid: Síntesis.
- Harvey, D. (1989). From managerialism to entrepreneurialism: the transformation in urban governance in late capitalism. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 71(1), 3-17.
- Hewison, R. (1988). Great expectations hyping heritage. *Tourism management*, 9 (3), 239-240.
- Hochstenbach, C. & Musterd, S. (2021). A regional geography of gentrification, displacement and the suburbanization of poverty: towards an extended research agenda. *Area*. 53(3).
- Huete, R. & Mantecón, A. (2018). El auge de la turismofobia, ¿hipótesis de investigación o ruido ideológico? *Pasos: Revista de Turismo y Patrimonio Cultural*, 16 (1), 9-19.
- Hughes, N. (2018). ‘Tourists go home’: anti-tourism industry protest in Barcelona, *Social Movement Studies*, 17(4), 471-477.
- Janoschka, M. (2018). Gentrificación en España reloaded. *Papers: Regió Metropolitana de Barcelona: Territori, estratègies, planejament*, 60, 24-33.
- Lanfant, M. (1994). Identité, mémoire et la touristification de nos sociétés. *Sociétés. Revue des Sciences Humaines et Sociales*, 46, 433-439.
- Lee, T. H., Jan, F. H., & Yang, C. C. (2013). Conceptualizing and measuring environmentally responsible behaviors from the perspective of community-based tourists. *Tourism Management*, 36, 454–468.
- Lees, L, Slater, T. & Wyly, E. (2008) *Gentrification*. London and New York: Routledge.
- López-Gay, A. (2018). Cambio social y gentrificación en Barcelona: una mirada a través de los flujos migratorios y residenciales. *Papers*, 102(4), 60-93.
- López-Gay, A., Ortiz Guitart, A. & Solana, M. (2022). Vivienda, cambio poblacional y desplazamiento en un barrio en proceso de gentrificación. El caso de Sant Antoni (Barcelona). *Eure*, 48(143).
- LópezVillanueva, C. & Alabart, A. (2011). Dinámicas urbanísticas y socioeconómicas en Ciutat Vella. *ACE. Arquitectura, Ciudad y Entorno*, 17, 157-786.
- López-Villanueva, C. & Crespi-Vallbona, M. (2021). Gentrificación y turistificación: dinámicas y estrategias en Barcelona. *Encrucijadas*, 21 (1).
- Mansilla, J. A. & Hughes, N. C. (2021). “En dos años no nos vamos a acordar de la pandemia”: Análisis del discurso sobre el decrecimiento turístico en Barcelona. *Barataria: revista castellano-manchega de ciencias sociales*, (30), 30-52.
- McAdam, D. (2003). Beyond Structural Analysis: Toward a More Dynamic Understanding of Social Movements. In Diani, M. & McAdam, D. (eds.). *Social Movement Analysis: The Network Perspective* (pp. 281-299). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Mendes, L. (2017). Gentrificação turística em Lisboa: neoliberalismo, financeirização e urbanismo austeritário em tempos de pós-crise capitalista 2008-2009. *Cadernos Metrópole*, 19 (39), 479-512.
- Milano, C. (2017a). Turismofobia: cuando el turismo entra en la agenda de los movimientos sociales. *Marea urbana*, 1.
- Milano, C. (2017b). Overtourism y Turismofobia. Tendencias globales y contextos locales.
- Milano, C. (2018). Overtourism, malestar social y turismofobia. Un debate controvertido. *Pasos. Revista de Turismo y Patrimonio Cultural*. 16 (3), 551-564.
- Miles, S. & Paddison, R. (2005). Introduction: The rise and rise of culture-led urban regeneration. *Urban Studies*, 42 (5-6), 833-839.
- Morales-Pérez, S., Garay L. & Wilson, J. (2022), Airbnb's contribution to socio-spatial inequalities and geographies of resistance in Barcelona, *Tourism Geographies*, 24 (6-7), 978-1001
- Murray, I. (2015). *Capitalismo y turismo en España. Del "milagro económico" a la "gran crisis"*. Barcelona: Alba Sud.
- Nunkoo, R., Smith, S. L., & Ramkissoon, H. (2013). Residents' attitudes to tourism: A longitudinal study of 140 articles from 1984 to 2010. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 21(1), 5–25.
- Oviedo-García, M. A., Castellano-Verdugo, M., & Martín-Ruiz, D. (2008). Gaining residents' support for tourism and planning. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 10(2), 95–109.
- Pareja Eastaway, M., & Simó Solsona, M. (2014). Dinámicas en el entorno construido: renovación, gentrificación y turismo. El caso de la Barceloneta. *ACE: Architecture, City & Environment*, 9 (26), 201– 222.
- Pérez Quintana, V. (2009). El movimiento vecinal: artífice de la ciudad desde el conflicto y la alternativa. *Papeles*, 106, 85-93.
- Porcel, S. & Antón, F. (2021). Barcelona y el modelo paradójico de segregación residencial. *Encrucijadas*, 21 (1).
- Sales-Favà. J. (2019). *Especialització turística, gentrificació i dinàmiques residencials en un entorn urbà madur. El cas de Barcelona*. Doctoral Thesis. Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.
- Schneiberg, M. & Lounsbury, M. (2008). "Social movements and institutional analysis", 648-670. In R. Greenwood, C. Oliver, R. Suddaby & K. SahlinAndersson (eds.). *The handbook of organizational institutionalism*, London: Sage
- Rasoolimanesh, S., Jaafar, M., Kock, N., & Ramayah, T. (2015). A revised framework of social exchange theory to investigate the factors influencing residents' perceptions. *Tourism Management Perspectives*, 16, 335–345.
- Richards, G. (2016). El turismo y la ciudad ¿Hacia nuevos modelos? *Revista Cidob d'afers internacionals*, 113, 71-87.
- Ruhanen, L. (2013). Local government: facilitator or inhibitor of sustainable tourism development? *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 21(1), 80-98.

- Sequera, J. (2011). Del movimiento vecinal a las movilizaciones por una vivienda digna en Madrid. De la necesidad hecha derecho al derecho hecho necesidad. *Nómadas. Revista Crítica de Ciencias Sociales y Jurídicas*, 29.
- Sequera, J. & Nofre, J. (2018). Shaken, not stirred: New debates on touristification and the limits of gentrification. *City*, 22(5-6), 843-855.
- Smith, M. K. (Ed.). (2007). *Tourism, culture and regeneration*. Oxfordshire: Cabi.
- Smith, N. (2002). New globalism, new urbanism: Gentrification as global urban strategy. *Antipode*, 34(3), 427-450.
- Snow, D. A. & Benford, R. D. (1988). Ideology, frame resonance, and participant mobilization. *International Social Movement Research*, 1, 197-217.
- Snow, D. & McAdam, D. (2000). Identity Work Processes in the Context of Social Movements: Clarifying the Identity/Movement Nexus. In Stryker, S.; Owens, T.J & Wright R.W.(eds.), *Self, Identity, and Social Movements* (pp. 41-67). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Tarrow, S. (2011). *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*, 3a. ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Touraine, A. (1987). *El regreso del actor*. Buenos Aires: EUDEBA.
- Vives-Miró, S. & Rullán, O. (2014). La apropiación de las rentas del suelo en la ciudad neoliberal española. *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles*, 65, 387-408.
- Vollmer, L. (2019). *Estrategias contra la gentrificación. Por una ciudad desde abajo*. Pamplona: Katakarak
- Zaar, MH. & Pontes da Fonseca, MA. (2019). Turismo y consumo del espacio urbano en Barcelona. Análisis de la relación residente-turista en el barrio de la Barceloneta. *Cuadernos de Turismo*, 44, 487-514.