

**Struggling with the leisure class:  
Tourism, gentrification and displacement**

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## **Abstract**

This research explores the socio-spatial impact of tourism in a central neighbourhood of Barcelona. Tourism is a significant cause of neighbourhood change in several places but research on the impact of urban tourism remains scarce. The research argues that a process of tourism gentrification is taking place. From a political economy perspective, the dissertation combines demographic analyses with ethnographic fieldwork and reveals that tourism leads to different forms of displacement. In addition, the research relates neighbourhood change driven by tourism with leisure migration. By doing so, it sheds light on understanding a growing process of transnational gentrification. By putting into conversation gentrification and tourism, the dissertation contributes to both strands of research. Firstly, it points to a geography of tourism gentrification that has been overlooked by research. This provides an alternative understanding of gentrification that differs from conceptualisations originating from the Anglo-Saxon world. Secondly, it shows why the leisure industry in cities should be understood as an example of accumulation by dispossession. In this regard, the research suggests the need to place tourism at the centre of critical urban theory.

The demographic findings show (i) that lifestyle migrants represent the main group of gentrifiers in the area of the case study; and (ii) that the neighbourhood experiences a process of population flight led by the out-migration of Catalan-Spanish residents. The ethnographic fieldwork reveals that population flight results from a process of tourism-driven displacement and an unmistakable change in land use involving the conversion of residential space into a tourist district. Displacement is linked to the growth of holiday rentals and hotels as well as to daily disruptions caused by tourism. Tourism makes residential life increasingly unpleasant. The research identifies a process of place-based displacement in which the impact of tourism is experienced as a sense of expulsion from the place rather than as a process of spatial dislocation.



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## Chapter 1. Introduction

In *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (2007 [1899]), Thorstein Veblen observed in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century that affluent American businessmen displayed the liberty of not having to work by engaging in conspicuous leisure. Several decades later, MacCannell (1976) noted that for the Western middle and working-classes the consumption of pleasure and authentic experiences was a way to escape from a monotonous everyday life and suggested that the tourist was actually the paradigm of the leisure class. The truth is that the demand for leisure gave way to an industry that organises the mobility of people in search for entertainment and which today is one of the largest economic activities in the world (Urry and Larsen, 2011).

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century tourism has grown in an unprecedented way and, importantly, it increasingly takes place in cities. While early forms of mass tourism focused on the consumption of staged coastal resorts and particularly on spaces built for tourism (Mullins, 1991), today tourists increasingly consume urban experiences. In addition, tourism in cities has moved from a previous phase – in which it usually took place in tourist bubbles or precincts isolated from the rest of the city (Judd, 1999) – to a new era of urban tourism that evolves ‘off the beaten track’ (Maitland, 2010; Novy and Huning, 2009; Quagliari-Domínguez and Russo, 2010). In other words, tourists consume residential areas that have not been planned as tourist spaces. Furthermore, the consumption of residential areas by visitors has intensified following the success of platforms such as Airbnb and the consequent use of housing as tourism accommodation. The important point is that the sharing of space between residents and tourists may be a source of conflict that revolves around competition for resources, facilities and the rights of access to these (Robinson, 2001). As a result,

there has been an increased community opposition against urban tourism at an international scale (Colomb and Novy, 2016).

While analysing the growth of visitors in cities, tourism scholars have recently suggested that urban tourism needs to be seen as a gentrifying process, that is, as a process that undermines the right to stay put of the indigenous communities (Colomb and Novy, 2016; Füller and Michel, 2014; Gravari-Barbas and Guinand, 2017). By the same token, gentrification scholars have noted that in some places the main driver of gentrification is tourism (García-Herrera et al., 2007; Gotham, 2005; Janoschka et al., 2014). Despite this recent attention, gentrification and tourism literatures have traditionally ignored each other. Tourism research has overlooked the impacts that the leisure industry has on host communities in cities. Gentrification research has not focused closely on how the production of space for visitors may displace residents from their places and triggers a process of tourism gentrification. However, as tourism is a leading cause of neighbourhood change in several places, there is a need to bring these literatures together and better explore how both processes overlap in several ways.

In relation to this, the aim of this dissertation is twofold. First, my intention is to provide a conceptualisation of tourism gentrification. Research on the topic usually shows a number of scattered case studies that remain implicitly descriptive in manner but little conceptualisation has been suggested. To fill this gap, I put the literature on tourism and gentrification into conversation and find common trends across a number of cases from around the world. More importantly, I explore the case of a central neighbourhood of Barcelona which is impacted by tourism and provide a comprehensive understanding of how tourism gentrification occurs.

The fact that the literatures on tourism and gentrification have overlooked each other, I suggest, must be related to a process of uneven geographical development. On the one hand, tourism and gentrification are academic fields dominated by the Anglo-Saxon world. On the other hand, tourism is a significant factor for development in the Global South thanks to the consumer power that mainly arrives from the Global North. This involves a very specific ontological starting point. I show that tourism gentrification occurs particularly in peripheral economies and this partly explains why the process has been overlooked by the literature. The ontological implications of those who are affected by tourism are different from those who are not, but the views of the former are notably absent in academic studies. This research explores an



example of tourism gentrification in a Southern European city in which gentrifiers are mainly consumers from Northern Europe. By bringing together the perspectives of those who are displaced by tourism I adopt a postcolonial approach which aims to offer an alternative to conventional bias of urban theory (Robinson, 2006).

In providing a conceptualisation of tourism gentrification, this research also pays attention to leisure migration. The mobility of middle-class individuals from advanced economies to other locations in search of a better lifestyle has been interpreted as a form of tourism-related mobility (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009; Janoschka and Haas, 2014; Williams and Hall, 2000). As Benson and O'Reilly (2009: 614) state, "simply, tourist destinations (for example the Costa del Sol, the Algarve, the Dordogne) become migration destinations". The literature on lifestyle migration has focused notably on retirement migration to coastal and rural destinations. However, if lifestyle migrants are tourists that settle in the destination (Huete and Mantecón, 2011) it makes sense to assume that the growth of urban tourism may be followed by an increased number of lifestyle migrants in cities. Furthermore, rather than retirement migration, since the free movement of individuals within the European Union was introduced Mediterranean tourist areas may also experience the arrival of younger migrants and professionals from Northern Europe (O'Reilly, 2007). These points have been overlooked by research but they pose relevant questions to gentrification theory. Have local processes of gentrification been triggered by transnational professionals in search of a better lifestyle in tourist cities? By exploring this question my intention is to contribute (i) to a growing literature on transnational gentrification (Hayes, 2015b; Sigler and Wachsmuth, 2016) that has overlooked the role of young professionals in urban centres; and (ii) to the literature on tourism gentrification that has focused on visitors but has not linked tourism with lifestyle migration.

Second, the main research problem that this dissertation addresses are the socio-spatial impacts of urban tourism. The literature has focused more on the explanation of specific cases and less on the consequences of the process. However, to understand the growing community opposition against tourism an exploration of the effects that the leisure industry has on cities is needed. This dissertation explores two interwoven issues in a neighbourhood impacted by tourism: socio-demographic shifts and displacement. The first seeks to explore how urban tourism affects population change. Research addresses the impacts of tourism from the gentrification perspective. But despite gentrification being a process of socio-demographic upgrading, analyses that explain the demographic mechanisms behind tourism

gentrification have not been undertaken. I suggest that from a demographic perspective two questions arise when it comes to studying the impact of urban tourism. The first question is linked to the effects of tourism on the composition of the population and on the socio-demographic selection of residential flows. Authors have suggested that the main demographic implication of classical gentrification is the replacement of the low-income population – particularly the elderly and those involved in manual labour – by young adults with higher levels of both education and income which are typically employed in managerial or professional services (Atkinson, 2000; Lees et al., 2008; Ley, 1996). However, how does tourism affect the selection of individuals participating in the residential and migratory flows? What is the role played by lifestyle migrants in processes of tourism gentrification? The second question concerns how tourism may affect population and household growth. In areas enduring significant pressure from tourism, Ap and Crompton (1993) suggested that one strategy which residents may follow is withdrawal, meaning that residents move out of the community. However, their research was qualitative and so lacked demographic data to support their claims. Commentators in the press have argued that this process of out migration is being seen in Venice (Giuffrida, 2017) but research has not been undertaken. An exploration of whether tourism leads to population decline is crucial to assessing the impacts of the leisure industry on cities.

In relation to this latter point, the second important issue to understanding the socio-spatial impacts of urban tourism is displacement. If tourism is a form of gentrification there is a need to investigate whether tourism leads to the displacement of residents and the specific way this process occurs. The literature describes how tourism causes a number of changes including an increase in rent costs, privatisation of public spaces or commercial gentrification (Colomb and Novy, 2016; Gotham, 2005; Mermet, 2017b). However, research has not explored how residents experience these changes and how they cope with tourism on a daily basis. My interest is not to examine how communities are resisting tourism but why they do it.

The examination of the impacts of urban tourism and the way residents experience the process should distinguish between changes in housing dynamics and changes in neighbourhood life. On the one hand, the growth of tourism in residential areas may pose additional pressures to an increasingly unaffordable housing market. In relation to this, are holiday rentals and other forms of tourism accommodation leading to the displacement of residents? This is a new phenomenon that has not been explored and this explains why the dissertation focuses on this issue. On the other hand, tourist

areas are paradigmatic examples of spaces for consumption (Miles, 2010). However, this means that tourism may affect the nature and use of entire neighbourhoods, not just the dynamics of the housing market. How residents experience the transformation of their places by urban tourism has not been addressed by the literature and this is why authors have suggested that future research should examine this issue (Ashworth and Page, 2011; Deery et al., 2012).

While exploring whether urban tourism leads to processes of displacement, this research investigates the extent to which the leisure industry can be interpreted as an example of accumulation by dispossession (Harvey, 2003). Mixed methods are implemented as a means of incorporating these theoretical perspectives into this research project. I adopt a political economy perspective and combine demographic analysis with ethnographic fieldwork. However, the weight of the research is qualitative as the aim is to give voice to long-term residents and to understand how the host community experiences tourism. I conducted in-depth and informal interviews, participant observation as well as structured observation of public spaces used by residents and visitors. I supplemented the view of residents with a survey.

I bring the tourism and gentrification literatures together but I draw particularly on gentrification research. This is because, paradoxically, tourism research does not provide useful conceptual frameworks that enable researchers to explore the socio-spatial impacts caused by tourism in urban communities. When it comes to exploring the impacts of the leisure industry on cities, tourism research has traditionally focused on the economic impacts (Ashworth and Page, 2011). Researchers that have explored the host community's perceptions of tourism normally focus on coastal and rural destinations (Brunt and Courtney, 1999; Carneiro and Eusébio, 2015) and on developing countries (Mowforth and Munt, 2015). However, research has not looked into how residents cope with tourism in the context of European urban centres. In addition, quantitative methods have dominated research which has led to a narrow understanding of the issues surrounding socio-spatial impacts caused by tourism (Deery et al., 2012). In contrast, gentrification research emerged to critically stress the fact that the 'back to the city' movement was essentially a process of displacement. The literature on gentrification-induced displacement provides a conceptual framework to explore how indigenous communities are affected by processes of neighbourhood change and the arrival of new users. I use such a framework to approach the collection of data.

By putting gentrification and tourism into conversation, my aim is to contribute to both strands of research. Regarding tourism, there is a lack of critical studies within a literature that has focused on the marketing and management of destinations (Bianchi, 2009). Probably because tourism research has a strong tradition on the analysis of tourism planning, authors have focused on visitor satisfaction (Ashworth and Page, 2011). In this sense, they have overlooked how the host community experiences the arrival of tourists in their places. I give voice to long-term residents and explore whether tourism leads to a process of displacement. In doing so, I place tourism at the centre of critical urban theory. Rather than practising urban analysis in a way that promotes the reproduction of existing urban formations, critical urban theory should develop a critique of capitalist urbanisation in its current form (Brenner, 2009; Bridge, 2014). In this regard, the research challenges the assumption that the growth of tourism is inherently positive. Rather, I consider whether tourism-driven production of space plays a role in reinforcing structural inequalities. This sort of analysis is lacking in urban tourism research. It is time to investigate whether the development of tourism in cities is linked to rent extraction practices and how forms of leisure-led urbanisation may undermine the right to the city of existing host communities.

Finally, by analysing a case of tourism gentrification in Southern Europe, my intention is to shed light on a geography of gentrification that challenges the conventional ways of theorising about the process in the Anglo-Saxon world (Lees, 2012). I take the invitation proposed by Robinson (2016) to practise global urban studies in a way that puts specific urban cases into conversation with others in order to generate new lines of theorisation. Interpretations of classical gentrification do not fully explain how the process occurs in a city like Barcelona. My aim is to offer an alternative conceptualisation of gentrification that takes into account the demand for leisure and the mobility of people from advanced economies in search of entertainment in a Mediterranean city.

### **1.1. Research aim and objectives**

My general aim is to provide a comprehensive understanding of tourism gentrification and, in particular, to examine the consequences of the process. This aim can be expressed through the following question: What are the socio-spatial impacts of urban tourism in a residential area? To answer this question, I take the case of the Gòtic (Gothic) neighbourhood in the old district of Barcelona. Community associations in

this neighbourhood have been complaining about the impacts of tourism for more than fifteen years. They suggest that the area experiences a “tourism pressure without precedent that contributes to gentrification and destroys the everyday life and quality of the neighbourhood” (Associació de Veïns del Barri Gòtic, 2016). The general aim involves the use of different methodological approaches, but in a significant way it implies giving voice to residents and exploring the perspectives of members of the host community. The main research question can be broken down into three objectives.

Objective 1. Explore population change in contexts of urban tourism.

Research has addressed the impact of urban tourism from the gentrification perspective and has suggested that tourism is a form of gentrification (Colomb and Novy, 2016; Gotham, 2005; Gravari-Barbas and Guinand, 2017). However, despite gentrification being a process of socio-demographic change research has not paid attention to population shifts in contexts of mass tourism. From a demographic perspective, there is little empirical evidence to suggest what tourism gentrification looks like. My objective is to explore how tourism affects population change and, in particular, to examine whether the socio-demographic characteristics of tourism gentrification are similar or dissimilar to those seen in classical manifestations of gentrification. To examine this objective, the following questions are considered: Are there demographic differences in cases of classical and tourism gentrification? Does tourism affect population and household dynamics? What is the role played by migrants from advanced economies in the socio-demographic structure of the neighbourhood?

Objective 2. Examine how residents experience changes in housing dynamics.

Gentrification studies has traditionally paid attention to housing dynamics. In particular, research has explored investment in housing rehabilitation fuelled by the demand of gentrifiers as well as the displacement of working-class residents that are usually unable to afford housing in gentrifying areas. Tourism may be affecting these processes. The arrival of lifestyle migrants in tourist areas may drive processes of gentrification-induced displacement. Furthermore, the increased use of housing as tourism accommodation may affect the right to housing of the indigenous communities. This research objective aims to explore the extent to which these processes are taking place and especially how residents experience them. To explore this objective this research seeks to answer the following: Does tourism lead to

processes of residential displacement? Considering the growth of the Airbnb phenomenon and other forms of tourism accommodation in tourist areas, how is the growth of holiday rentals and hotels experienced by long-term residents?

Objective 3. Investigate how residents experience changes in neighbourhood life.

As a consumption activity, tourism has an important spatial impact through the creation of services and spaces that cater to the needs of visitors. For instance, research notes that tourism leads to commercial gentrification and privatisation of public spaces. However, rather than analysing changes caused by tourism, my objective is to examine how residents experience them. This point has been overlooked by research. It has been suggested that the production of spaces for tourists implies that residents and visitors compete for resources and facilities. I want to explore whether this process is taking place. In this regard, the following questions are considered: How does tourism affect the everyday life of residents? How do residents cope with tourism on a daily basis? Are processes of displacement linked to changes in neighbourhood life?

## **1.2. Structure of the thesis**

The thesis is organised as follows. Chapter 2 discusses the theoretical sources of the research. First, it reviews the gentrification literature with the intention of providing an operational definition of the process. Second, the chapter brings the gentrification and tourism literatures together. It shows how processes of tourism gentrification have especially been identified in peripheral economies. In relation to this, the chapter suggests a geography of tourism gentrification that is related to uneven geographical development. This part of the chapter represents a key theoretical contribution and has been partially published in the *Handbook of Gentrification Studies* edited by Loretta Lees and Martin Phillips (Cocola-Gant, 2018). Finally, the chapter discusses the literature on displacement caused by gentrification. The aim of this section is to offer a conceptualisation of displacement and an understanding of how displacement is experienced by residents. This understanding was fundamental to the construction of a conceptual framework for the collection of data.

Chapter 3 explores the context within which the research is situated. It shows how tourism was a key objective of the Barcelona model of urban regeneration and reviews the gentrification literature regarding Barcelona. Chapter 4 discusses the methodological approach and explains the design of the research.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 present the empirical findings and discussion. They are structured following the three objectives stated above. Chapter 5 undertakes a demographic analysis, and by focusing on population change it offers an initial understanding of gentrification, leisure migration and shows how tourism affects population and household growth in the area. Chapter 6 explores housing rehabilitation fuelled by the arrival of lifestyle migrants; the conversion of housing into accommodation for visitors; and how long-term residents have experienced these changes. Part of this chapter has been published in a special issue of *Sociological Research Online* (Cocola-Gant, 2016b). Chapter 7 examines the impacts of tourism on the everyday life of residents. It focuses on neighbourhood life rather than on housing dynamics and argues that a process of place-based displacement is taking place.

Chapter 8 presents the overall conclusions of the thesis and highlights the empirical and theoretical contributions. It also suggests policy recommendations, underlines the limitations of the thesis and proposes ideas for future research.





## Chapter 2. Gentrification, tourism and displacement

### 2.1. Gentrification

Gentrification started as a post-war phenomenon witnessed in a number of cities in the Global North, particularly London and New York. Nowadays, research on the geography of gentrification shows that its temporality and forms are different in different places (Janoschka et al., 2014; Lees, 2012; Lees et al., 2016; López-Morales et al., 2016; Shin et al., 2016). The contemporary geography of gentrification is an important issue in relation to my dissertation. However, my aim in this section is to provide an effective understanding of gentrification as well as a functioning definition of the process. For this reason, this part of the chapter discusses classical manifestations of gentrification as they are depicted by the literature in the Anglo-Saxon world.

The classical process of gentrification involves the transformation of a working-class area of a central city into middle-class residential and commercial space. This ultimately results in the displacement of low-income residents by new high-income individuals which changes the social, economic and cultural character of the place (Beauregard, 1986). The term 'gentrification' was first coined by the sociologist Ruth Glass in 1964 to describe how many poor areas of London "have been invaded by the middle-class" (Glass, 1964: xviii). Glass noted that "once this process of 'gentrification' starts in a district it goes on rapidly, until all or most of the original working-class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed" (Glass, 1964: xviii). Glass focused her research on the 1950s and early 1960s. During this period London was experiencing a transition from operating as a centre of manufacturing to a city reliant on financial and consumption services. Glass observed that gentrification was related to the rehabilitation of Victorian lodging

houses; to the tenurial transformation from renting to owning; and to the relaxation of rent control, which in London first took place in 1957. In addition, she also noted the privatisation of public services and a number of policies which are fundamental elements of the current neoliberal city. As she stated, “town and country planning legislation has, in essence, been anti-planning legislation (...); development rights have been de-nationalised (...) and real estate speculation has thus been ‘liberated’ (...). In such circumstances, any district in or near London, however dingy or unfashionable before, is likely to become expensive; and London may quite soon be a city which illustrates the principle of the survival of the fittest—the financially fittest, who can still afford to work and live there” (Glass, 1964: xix). Therefore, the term was coined as a “neighbourhood expression of class inequality” (Lees et al., 2008: 80). This was used to critically illustrate the displacement of working-class residents after the rehabilitation of the housing stock in the context of a liberalised housing market. Furthermore, the definition provided by Glass predicted the socio-economic polarisation of the post-industrial city and the problem of housing affordability.

The first wave of gentrification started when small-scale gentrifiers entered run-down neighbourhoods in order to rehabilitate individual homes for personal consumption. At this stage, gentrification was sporadic and limited to housing rehabilitation. It was funded significantly by the state via the provision of incentive grants for housing improvements as it was too risky for the private sector to be involved (Hamnett, 1973; Weber, 2002). The consolidation of gentrification in metropolitan cities in the Global North took place after the crisis of 1973 and lasted until the end of the 1980s. In this period – typically referred to as ‘second wave’ gentrification (Hackworth and Smith, 2001) – the process surged as a consolidated industry due to the backing of public-private partnerships. The role of development firms in rehabilitating housing for affluent users became increasingly more powerful and so the number of profitable opportunities for the small-scale classic gentrifier narrowed. This consolidation of gentrification is related to the strategies used by cities to attract investment in real estate, and so it is linked to the role played by urbanisation under capitalism (Hackworth, 2002; Hackworth and Smith, 2001). This evolution of gentrification exacerbated the impact on low-income residents. Issues such as eviction and displacement became increasingly prominent (Marcuse, 1985; Slater, 2006).

Housing rehabilitation for the middle-classes in central city areas needs to be understood in relation to an earlier period of abandonment and disinvestment. Decades of building expansion into the suburbs caused central city areas to lose their middle-

and upper-income residents. As a result, these areas became home to concentrations of poor immigrants and working-class tenants who lived in a decaying built environment. Deindustrialisation in Western societies and the 1973 crisis made physical and social conditions worse, including the decay of already inadequate buildings, unemployment, and marginalisation. In this context, the origin of gentrification was seen by the media and policy-makers as a euphoric 'back to the city' movement or 'neighbourhood revitalisation' which was bringing new life to old neighbourhoods (Lees et al., 2008). However, some critical urban scholars saw through the euphemistic vocabulary and defined the process as gentrification (Clay, 1979; Marcuse, 1985; Smith, 1979). By using the term gentrification, these scholars wanted to reveal a new geography of exclusion in which central urban areas had been upgraded by pioneer gentrifiers and the indigenous residents were being evicted or displaced (Clay, 1979; Smith, 1979).

### **2.1.1. Explanations**

In the late 1970s and 1980s two theoretical perspectives gave different explanations of gentrification. These were consumption-side and production-side theories. The former is mainly derived from the work of David Ley (1996) who explains gentrification as a consequence of the resulting changes in the occupational and income structure of advanced capitalist societies. According to Ley, the shift of cities from being manufacturing centres to centres of business and consumption services produced an expanding group of qualified new professionals that have displaced the industrial working-class in desirable city centre areas. Ley sees rehabilitation activity as being stimulated by the market power of the expanding white-collar labour force and their consumption preferences and demand for urban living. It is no coincidence that cities like New York and London, which are dominated by the financial services sector, were at the forefront of gentrification activity (Atkinson and Bridge, 2005).

Consumption-side theories focus on the formation and behaviour of the middle-classes, exploring questions of class constitution such as 'who are the gentrifiers?' and analysing why they seek to live in central city areas. Ley (1996) presents a model of the potential gentrifier who would usually be childless; primarily under 35 years of age; employed in the advanced services, that is, professional, administrative, technical and managerial occupations; highly educated; and earning a high-income despite their young age. In terms of why gentrifiers prefer to locate in central city areas, Ley (1996) argues that a central location is sought-after because it presents access to work, leisure, and cultural activities, and because it offers an urban lifestyle

close to environmental amenities such as waterfront access, historical architecture, or local shops. Ley (1996) also relates this 'back to the city' movement to the counter-cultural awareness of the 1960s and 1970s in which the city centre was seen as a place of tolerance, diversity, and liberation, whereas the suburbs belonged to patriarchal families and political conservatism. The remaking of the central city area was interpreted as a reaction against the structural domination of modernist ideologies and planning (male-oriented society, industrial, authoritarian structures, mass production, religion, suburbs) and the realisation of post-modern liberation through the consumption of culture and diversity (minorities, pluralism, rights, feminism, multiculturalism, identity, individualism) (see Harvey, 1990). This 'emancipatory city thesis' (Lees, 2000) is more explicit in Caulfield's work (1994) and has also been used to explain why women tend to move to central city areas as a means of rejecting the patriarchal suburbia (Bondi, 1999).

Bridge (2001a, 2001b) draws on Bourdieu's concepts of 'cultural capital' and 'habitus' to suggest that the gentrifiers' consumption of urban living should be understood as strategies of class reproduction. The author agrees with Ley that the first manifestations of gentrification began when highly educated but lower paid professionals sought to distinguish themselves from the conventional middle-class in the suburbs. However, Bridge (2001b) argues that by privileging pro-urban lifestyles and progressive values young professionals actually display cultural capital and, in this sense, gentrification is seen as a strategy of distinction for an emerging new middle-class. In addition, Bridge suggests that such consumption practices of gentrifiers should be understood as an example of class habitus. In this regard, rather than seeing habitus as a structural and unconscious transmission of class dispositions as it is presented by Bourdieu, Bridge (2001a) acknowledges the importance of human agency and sees the habitus of gentrifiers as an intentional and intuitive practice in a conscious process of class reproduction.

Production-side explanations present gentrification as part of a much larger shift in the political economy of the late twentieth-century. They link the process to a broader conceptualisation of the production of space rather than as an outcome of new middle-class consumption practices and a demand for urban living. The theory was developed by Neil Smith as a reaction to the optimistic celebrations of an urban renaissance in the late 1970s where the important point to understand gentrification would be the mobility of capital and investment instead of the mobility of people (Smith, 1979). Smith follows Harvey (1978) by explaining how capitalism creates new

places for profit and accumulation, and in the process, devalues previous investments for future profit. The contribution of Smith was connecting these logics of uneven development – where the underdevelopment of an area creates opportunities for a new phase of redevelopment – to the conditions of American inner-cities. By analysing American processes of suburbanisation, Smith showed that inner-cities were affected by a movement of economic capital to the suburbs and that this historical process of capital devaluation in the inner-city produced the possibility of profitable reinvestment. According to Smith (1979, 1996), a theory of gentrification must explain why some neighbourhoods are profitable to redevelop while others are not. In doing so, he proposed the so-called ‘rent-gap theory’, which refers to the difference between the value of inner-urban land (which is low because of abandonment) and its potential value (which is higher if rehabilitated). The movement of capital to the suburbs, along with the continual devaluation of inner-city capital, eventually produces a rent gap. In other words, the term ‘rent gap’ means conditions in which profitable reinvestment is possible, and therefore, once the rent gap is wide enough, rehabilitation can start and capital flows back in. According to Smith, “gentrification is a structural product of the land and housing markets” (Smith, 1979: 546).

In his explanation of gentrification, Hamnett (1991) argued that production and consumption theories are partial abstractions from the totality of the phenomenon and thus suggested the need to integrate both theories into complementary interpretations. More recently, research has accepted that neither side is comprehensible without the other (Atkinson and Bridge, 2005; Clark, 2005; Lees et al., 2008), and that an adequate explanation of gentrification must cover both aspects of the process: the production of urban space and the consumption of urban lifestyles.

### **2.1.2. Urbanisation, neoliberalism and state-led gentrification**

The crisis of the mid-1970s accelerated a transition from one phase of capitalist development to another new phase. This economic restructuring marked the end of an era of mass production (or Fordism) and the rise of a new set of principles in the organisation of capitalism which Harvey terms “flexible accumulation” (Harvey, 1987). Flexible accumulation was aided by the rapid evolution of entirely new financial systems and markets, as well as new forms of capital mobility, which is critical for understanding the contemporary process of urbanisation. Harvey (1978) considers increased reinvestment in the urban landscape as a consequence of the crisis provoked by deindustrialisation which could only be attenuated through the discovery

of new investment opportunities, thus resulting in a shift of capital circulation from the sphere of production to the built environment. In the relationship between capital accumulation and urbanisation, Harvey describes the link between the primary (industrial) and secondary (financial) circuits in the circulation of surplus-value: “Whereas the proportion of global surplus value formed and realized in industry declines, the proportion realized in speculation and in construction and real estate grows. The secondary circuit comes to supplant the principal circuit” (Harvey, 1973: 312). Urbanisation works as a “spatial fix” (Harvey, 1978) that offers a way of solving the problem of surplus capital and acts as a stabiliser on a global scale. Soja (1989) has explained the link between this theory and Henri Lefebvre’s assertion (1991) that, in contrast to an earlier time when industrialisation produced urbanism, the post-industrial economy is faced with a situation in which economic growth is primarily shaped through the social production of urbanised space, and so urban restructuring – far from being autonomous – is an instrumental part of the survival of capitalism. Authors have related this process of urbanisation with the second wave of corporatized gentrification, as has been mentioned above (Hackworth and Smith, 2001; Smith, 1996).

Flexible accumulation gave rise to new forms of urban governance, or as Harvey puts it (1989), a switch from managerialism to entrepreneurialism. Since the late 1970s, the ‘rigid’ Keynesian mode of regulation was replaced by a new neoliberal logic. Peck and Tickell (2002) point out that neoliberalism combines a commitment to the extension of markets, entrepreneurialism and the logic of competitiveness with an antipathy to Keynesian strategies. Because neoliberalism advocates that the spontaneous operation of market forces is alone sufficient to the task of economic regulation social welfare is now seen as uncompetitive costs. According to Brenner and Theodore (2002), neoliberalism must be understood as a process of institutional creative destruction whereby the destruction of institutional arrangements and political compromises have been followed by the creation of a new infrastructure for market-oriented economic growth, commodification, and the rule of capital. The point here is that this moment of creation entails the “mobilization of new forms of state policy to promote capital mobility” (Brenner and Theodore, 2002: 366) and urban policy experiments to mobilise city space as an arena for both market-oriented economic growth and for elite consumption practices.

In relation to gentrification, the decline of state outlays and the consequent “imperative to generate tax dollars” (Hackworth and Smith, 2001: 470) has been translated into

the increased targeting of high-income residents and consumers. Cameron describes this as “gentrification as a positive public policy tool” (2003: 2373). In this neoliberal context, gentrification appears as an ideal solution to long-term urban decay, yet the obvious driver is neither gentrifiers nor capital, but public policy. If in the 1970s gentrification was problematic for policy-makers and in some ways it was compensated by the provision of public housing, more recently it has been incorporated into public policy as an engine of urban renaissance (Bridge et al., 2012; Lees and Ley, 2008).

The incorporation of gentrification into the heart of urban strategies has resulted in, among other things, policies of social mixing, which involves moving middle-income people into low-income neighbourhoods. Such policies advocate that the arrival of upper and middle-income residents will benefit poorer members of society by improving the economy as a whole. They are examples of neoclassical programmes which believe that competition in a free market environment is as efficient as state intervention in delivering goods and services to citizens. For instance, in the United States, the HOPE VI programme provided grants to demolish public housing complexes and were partly substituted by middle-class dwellings (Wyly and Hammel, 1999). In general, this resulted in “programmes that fight poor people instead of fighting poverty” (Wyly and Hammel, 2008: 2645). However, this rhetoric has led to the displacement of tenants and a lack of affordable housing. Furthermore, several empirical studies have shown a decline in shared perceptions of community after gentrification (Bridge et al., 2012; Lees, 2008).

The consequence of targeting high-income residents and consumers has marked the criminalisation of poverty. This has been interpreted as a punitive or “revanchist” political response aimed at ensuring that the enhancement of a city’s quality of life is not compromised by the visible presence of marginalised groups, particularly the homeless (MacLeod, 2002; Mitchell, 2003; Smith, 1996). Smith points out that this revanchism is “explicitly justified in terms of making the city safe for gentrification” (2002: 442), and so both the criminalisation of poverty and gentrification are strategies used by the local state to recapture the city for the middle-classes and the market. Some authors (DeVerteuil et al., 2009) argue, however, that research on homelessness is narrowly-focused within the US context and is focused specifically on the punitive turn experienced in New York or Los Angeles. The authors suggest that the punitive frame is more prevalent in cities which rely on the financial and creative industries, tourism, and the convention trade, but that the association of

revanchism with gentrification misinterprets the multiplicity of homeless geographies in which several poverty-management policies take different forms in different places. Neoliberalism and revanchism are therefore uneven and incomplete (DeVerteuil, 2015). In any case, the tendency to evict the working-class population from city centre areas began in the 1960s and has been exacerbated by the supremacy of neoliberal policies.

### **2.1.3. Expansion and forms of gentrification**

The central role that the real estate market plays in contemporary capitalism, together with the triumph of neoliberalism and the consequent expansion of free market rules across the world, have turned cities into reserves for rent extraction (Logan and Molotch, 2007). This has occurred to such an extent that gentrification has become a global urban strategy for capital accumulation (Atkinson and Bridge, 2005; Smith, 2002). Logan and Molotch (2007) show that in order to extract value from urban space land and housing prices need to increase, that is to say, affluent consumers are needed for the extraction of surplus value. In other words, private investors are attracted if they believe they can recapture profits through gentrification. The commodification of spaces around the world results in what Harvey calls “market-produced zoning of ability to pay” (1990: 77), in which the income and consumption decisions of affluent individuals accelerate local market pressures which in turn exclude low-income users of the city. The built environment is produced according to the demands of affluent users (Hackworth, 2002), and such production displaces the indigenous inhabitants from their places. In this context, gentrification involves more than simply providing gentrified housing to young professionals in the Global North – the process now occurs in a variety of places and takes a myriad of forms (Lees et al., 2008).

New forms of gentrification have been identified by several authors. The literature has described rural gentrification (Phillips, 2002); studentification (Smith and Holt, 2007); new-build gentrification (Davidson and Lees, 2005, 2010); slum gentrification (Ascensão, 2018) and super-gentrification (Lees, 2003). In regards to this dissertation, within the forms of gentrification it is worth noting the relevance of ‘commercial gentrification’ and ‘tourism gentrification’. In the next section I focus on tourism gentrification. Commercial or retail gentrification refers to the displacement of traditional and local stores and their substitution by boutiques, trendy cafes and franchises. Since the 1970s, certain types of upscale restaurants, cafes, and stores



have emerged in gentrified areas (Bridge and Dowling, 2001). Yet, despite being a highly visible sign of urban landscape change, literature has paid little attention to the conceptualisation of commercial gentrification (Hubbard, 2016; Mermet, 2017b). Zukin (2008) stresses that commercial gentrification transforms the working-class character of a place into a new space for cultural distinction and differentiation. She also highlights that unlike residential gentrification, the disappearance of local stores and their replacement with chain stores and boutiques have not been traditionally recognised as a social problem. Although commercial gentrification tends to follow residential gentrification due to the consumption demands of new gentrifiers, it also needs to be contextualised within the trajectory of neoliberal urban policies aimed at transforming urban centres into spaces of consumption for affluent users. For instance, Gonzalez and Waley (2013) argue that this applies to the increased tendency to upgrade traditional food markets with stores which sell gourmet products and 'local' restaurants. Authors (Gonzalez and Waley, 2013; Zukin, 2008; Zukin et al., 2009) note that the new middle-class shopping environment, which is a product of commercial gentrification, destroys the services which are essential for many low-income residents which rely on them due to their affordability.

New geographies of gentrification have emerged in recent decades, especially as globalisation has facilitated the mobility of (i) investments in the built environment; (ii) urban policies; and (iii) middle-class people (Atkinson and Bridge, 2005; Bridge, 2007; Lees, 2012). Furthermore, the state has become a key agent of gentrification and has encouraged the formation of a global gentrification blueprint (Lees et al., 2016). In the North, the process has expanded from the inner city and is now regarded as a solution to 'revitalise' several areas, including suburbs, provincial cities or even the countryside (Dutton, 2005; Phillips, 2004). Gentrification is also affecting various cities in the Global South, to such an extent that authors depict a process of planetary gentrification (Lees et al., 2015a, 2016). New geographies of gentrification in the Global South challenge the conventional ways of theorising about the process in the Anglo-Saxon world (Janoschka et al., 2014; Lees, 2012). From a postcolonial perspective, this line of research agrees with Robinson (2016) who suggests that by comparing specific urban cases with others this opens the possibility of generating new lines of theorisation. As stated in the introduction, this is the position that I take in this research. In order to do this, an operative definition of gentrification is needed. I turn to this subject below.

#### **2.1.4. Conclusion: a definition of gentrification**

Early definitions of gentrification – as a process in which middle-class professionals were rehabilitating low-cost residences in working-class areas – pose problematic to describing new forms of the process, such as studentification or new-build gentrification. In fact, some authors have questioned whether these processes can be considered as forms of gentrification at all (see Davidson and Lees, 2010).

This debate has led some scholars to favour a more flexible conceptualisation of gentrification (Davidson and Lees, 2005, 2010, Lees et al., 2008, 2015b). These authors argue that the new forms and geographies of gentrification are different manifestations of a process of production of space according to the demands of affluent users (Hackworth, 2002) that, ultimately, displaces the indigenous inhabitants from their places. As Lees et al. state (2015a: 442), “the phenomenon of gentrification is global to an extent that urban spaces around the world are increasingly subject to global and domestic capital (re)investment to be transformed into new uses that cater to the needs of wealthier inhabitants”. Authors have accepted Davidson and Lees’s suggestion (2005, 2010) that any form of contemporary gentrification should include, in the widest sense, (i) capital-led restructuring of the built environment; (ii) significant numbers of upper or middle-income newcomers; (iii) displacement of the indigenous inhabitants; and (iv) landscape change. Davidson and Lees (2005) state that by not attaching it to a particular landscape or context we should be able to allow the term gentrification enough elasticity to open up new insights. This is the understanding of gentrification that I use in this dissertation. As Clark pointed several years ago,

Gentrification is a process involving a change in the population of land-users such that the new users are of a higher socio-economic status than the previous users, together with an associated change in the built environment through a reinvestment in fixed capital. The greater the difference in socio-economic status, the more noticeable the process (...). It does not matter where, and it does not matter when. Any process of change fitting this description is, to my understanding, gentrification (2005: 263).

As Slater has suggested (2006; 2004), the important point is that this understanding of gentrification retains the defining aspect given by Glass, that is to say, that the ‘gentry’s’ colonisation of space and the liberal principle of the ‘survival of the fittest’ cause the displacement of low-income residents and so it is an expression of social inequality. This is a definition which reveals that a process of dispossession is taking

place. It challenges the celebration of gentrification as a process that 'brings life' to disinvested areas and, instead, reminds us that the term was coined to depict a new geography of exclusion.

This section has provided a broad understanding of gentrification as it has traditionally been depicted in the Anglo-Saxon world. My intention was to offer an operative definition of the process. It is worth noting that despite gentrification being a process of socio-spatial exclusion, the question of displacement has been overlooked by research. Instead, the literature is dominated by descriptions and explanations of the process (Slater, 2006). At the same time, little attention has been paid to tourism. However, both displacement and tourism are central focuses of my dissertation. In a Southern European city such as Barcelona, tourism is key to understanding the progression of gentrification. Furthermore, my aim is to examine the socio-spatial impacts of the process. For these reasons, in the following two sections of this chapter I turn to exploring (i) the links between gentrification and tourism; and (ii) the question of displacement and the consequences of gentrification.

## **2.2. Tourism and gentrification**

In 2005, Gotham defined tourism gentrification as the “transformation of a middle-class neighbourhood into a relatively affluent and exclusive enclave marked by a proliferation of corporate entertainment and tourism venues” (2005: 1099). This transformation of the space involves the displacement of the indigenous residents and it is for this reason that tourism is regarded as a form of gentrification. At present, tourism-induced gentrification is increasingly affecting a number of places around the world. The number of publications which note that tourism threatens the right to ‘stay put’ of existing populations has recently increased (Cocola-Gant, 2018; Colomb and Novy, 2016; Gravari-Barbas and Guinand, 2017; Mendes, 2018). However, the relationship between tourism and gentrification is complex and is more than simply a process of displacement. This section brings into conversation the literature on tourism and gentrification and shows how both processes converge in several ways. Special attention is given to the geography of tourism gentrification; tourism and production of space; tourism driven-displacement; holiday rentals; and transnational gentrification.

The growth of tourism is a worldwide phenomenon and residents experience tourism-driven gentrification in both the North and the South. However, the way in which the process occurs varies in different places. I have identified two scenarios in which tourism gentrification takes place. First, in advanced capitalist economies research notes that tourism and gentrification tend to coexist and, moreover, that both processes feed each other. Although urban studies have traditionally regarded tourism as an isolated phenomenon, implicitly assuming it takes place in tourist bubbles or precincts (Judd, 1999), in recent years the development of tourism has generally occurred in places that have not been planned as tourist spaces. Instead, tourists tend to consume gentrified areas.

Second, a review of the literature shows that tourism gentrification is particularly important in peripheral economies that rely on tourism as a factor for development and growth. In peripheral economies, the lack of highly paid professional jobs offers fewer possibilities for the occurrence of classical gentrification. Instead, tourism gentrification tends to occur in places where the purchasing power of visitors replaces the lack of local demand. In the Mediterranean, Latin American, Caribbean and the Asia-Pacific region the arrival of visitors opens up investment opportunities in the built environment. It leads to a process of tourism urbanisation which includes not only large-scale resorts and second homes, but also housing rehabilitation in historic

areas. It is within this geography of tourism gentrification that I explore the emergence of transnational gentrification. From a postcolonial perspective, this geography explains why tourism has been neglected in a gentrification literature that has traditionally focused on cities in advanced capitalist economies in the North.

Finally, in the last section I bring together different examples from the North and the South and suggest that tourism causes different forms of displacement. Displacement is notably related to the impacts of tourism accommodation in the housing market, especially holiday rentals. In addition, the literature shows an increased concern for the increasing number of visitors in residential areas because they make places more unliveable for residents.

### **2.2.1. Tourism and gentrification in advanced economies**

In a report about geographies of tourism, Gibson (2008) notes that despite repeated calls to take tourism seriously, tourism studies appears to be overlooked by the discipline as many view tourism as little more than a minor specialism. The same can be said in regards to urban research as it has traditionally neglected the importance of tourism (Ashworth, 1989; Ashworth and Page, 2011) or has regarded tourism as a separate phenomenon that supposedly would take place in tourist bubbles or precincts (Judd, 1999). A starting point in conceptualising the process of tourism gentrification, however, is to consider how tourism overlaps and coexists with other processes of consumption and production of urban space (Colomb and Novy, 2016). This consideration has been important for tourism scholars who have generally studied the emergence of urban tourism in relation to, and as a result of, contemporary processes of spatial restructuring undertaken in advanced capitalist economies after the decline of old industries and the growth of the service sector. First, to explain urban tourism research refers to the inter-urban competition for mobile capital and consumers to cope with the economic and fiscal problems brought on by suburbanisation and deindustrialisation (Judd, 1999; Meethan, 2001; Mullins, 1991). Second, it refers to the emergence of a new middle-class increasingly concerned with the consumption of pleasure and entertainment (Fainstein and Gladstone, 1999; Maitland and Newman, 2008; Meethan, 2001; Mullins, 1991). Research therefore points to a major round of investment in the built environment aimed at revitalising urban cores by bringing capital and the middle-class back to cities, “not as resident taxpayers but at least as free-spending visitors” (Eisinger, 2000: 317). In other words, the emergence of urban tourism parallels the emergence of gentrification. Indeed, the

explanation of the former mirrors the logic of the 'back to the city movement' used to explain the advent of the latter (Lees et al., 2008): the reinvestment of capital into disinvested working-class areas and the consumption power of the new middle-class and their demand for urban living. The emergence of both urban tourism and gentrification needs to be regarded as the consequence of the same process of economic and spatial restructuring in which changes in the political economy of cities have been matched by changes in patterns of consumption and employment.

Research shows that tourism and gentrification tend to coexist in similar urban environments and that they mutually reinforce each other. Some authors note that gentrification usually becomes a precursor for the promotion of the place (Fainstein and Gladstone, 1999; Judd, 2003; Maitland and Newman, 2008; Novy and Huning, 2009). The proliferation of gentrified landscapes creates tourist-friendly spaces as they provide visitors with sanitised areas, consumption opportunities and a middle-class sense of place. For instance, Terhorst et al. (2003) found that in Amsterdam the amenities and services that emerged with gentrification – such as restaurants, trendy bars, antique shops, or art galleries – played an important role in improving Amsterdam's image. This caused these areas to become "more attractive to day-trippers and tourists, particularly those who are themselves gentrifiers in their home country" (2003: 85). By way of contrast, other authors show that extensive investment in the promotion of tourism eventually led to the creation of considerable housing demand and encouraged gentrification (Spirou, 2011; Torres and Momsen, 2005).

Research explains the interrelated nature of tourism and gentrification through two approaches. One line of enquiry argues that the development of new tourist areas 'off the beaten tracks' is the result of the consumption preferences of visitors and gentrifiers as middle-class users of urban spaces. The boundaries which separate 'tourists' and 'locals' are dissolving as their consumption and spatial connections become increasingly similar (Maitland, 2010; Maitland and Newman, 2008; Novy and Huning, 2009). As Judd states (2003: 32), tourism overlaps with a globalised culture of consumption sustained by highly mobile workers and consumers and, for this reason, "it makes sense to assume that the members of this class will tend to demand and therefore to reproduce similar urban environments wherever they go". This argument mirrors Rofe's (2003) 'gentrifying class as a global community' thesis in which the gentrifier recognises and feels comfortable in similar neighbourhoods in cities across the globe (see also Bridge, 2007).

From a cultural political economy perspective, the overlap of tourism and gentrification results from the important role that culture and consumption activities play in urban economic development strategies (Amin and Thrift, 2007; Ribera-Fumaz, 2009; Zukin, 1995). The crisis of deindustrialisation expanded the consumption functions of urban centres and the inter-urban competition in order to attract mobile capital and ‘the consumer dollar’ (Harvey, 1989). In this post-industrial context, the future of most cities would depend on them being desirable places for consumers to live in or visit and, accordingly, revitalising urban cores usually means the rebranding of cities as spaces of leisure and pleasure. In relation to this, culture-side explanations of gentrification have emphasised the importance of amenities and consumption activities in attracting new middle-class residents (Bridge and Dowling, 2001; Ley, 1996; Mills, 1988; Phillips, 2002). Residential gentrification is actually associated with and stimulated by the development of commercial spaces and entertainment facilities such as gourmet restaurants, museums, marinas or art galleries. In a similar way, authors such as Florida (2002) and Lloyd and Clark (2001) suggest that economic innovation and growth occur where highly-skilled mobile workers wish to locate and, for this reason, urban policies should focus on improving quality of life, cultural amenities, and opportunities for consumption and recreation. Although culture-side approaches to gentrification, such as those of Ley (1996), Mills (1988) or Bridge and Dowling (2001), did not link the development of amenities and recreation facilities to notions of tourism, such environments are precisely the spaces consumed by visitors. In this regard, Judd (2003: 31) notes that “it is increasingly difficult to distinguish visitor from ‘local’ spaces because leisure, entertainment, and cultural sectors are sustained as crucially by local residents as by out-of-town visitors”. Consequently, urban revitalisation strategies have produced new services and amenities catering to middle-class consumers and, in doing so, they have marketed cities to tourists and gentrifiers alike.

There are several examples that can be used to illustrate the way in which the cultural economy provides services and spaces which are consumed by both residents and visitors. While Zukin (1982) showed how in New York City historic preservation enhanced the symbolic capital of deindustrialised areas and contributed to the proliferation of gentrification, Fainstein and Gladstone (1999) observed that the new symbolic landscape also attracted visitors and, accordingly, such areas became new tourist zones. In regards to the hospitable city, for instance, Bell (2007: 9) states that “City-centre eating and drinking have thus become important components of regenerating neighbourhoods, both in terms of attracting new residents and in terms of making them gastro-tourism destinations”. Festivals and spectacles have also assumed

a key role in urban re-imaging strategies and place competitiveness and are, therefore, mechanisms for attracting mobile capital and people (Gotham, 2002; Hall, 2006).

In addition, the overlap of tourism and gentrification has been noted in non-urban contexts, particularly in rural areas (Donaldson, 2009; Phillips, 2002) and in coastal villages (Freeman and Cheyne, 2008). On the one hand, both rural and coastal gentrification are linked to the charm and natural environment that these locations provide for people who seek a retreat from urban life or a place to retire to. Not surprisingly, for Hines (2010), rural gentrification is a form of 'permanent tourism'. On the other hand, rural and coastal areas have been restructured into having a primarily tourist economic base. Here both recreational facilities and the expansion of second homes play a crucial role in this phenomenon. As Phillips (2002) highlights, in the context of a post-productivist countryside many rural areas have become valorised with leisure facilities to serve both resident and visiting middle-class people.

I have shown that the literature explains the coexistence of tourism and gentrification as a consequence of, first, the tendency of the middle-classes to consume similar environments and, second, the importance of culture and consumption facilities in economic development strategies. It is important to note how this coexistence affects real estate markets and leads to the displacement of low-income communities. For instance, in the case of Berlin, several authors show how the pressure of gentrification can be exacerbated by visitors (Füller and Michel, 2014; Häussermann and Colomb, 2003; Novy and Huning, 2009). In this regard, tourism accelerates gentrification as the demands of visitors increase the possibility of greater rent extraction. Beyond the coexistence of tourism and gentrification, an understanding of tourism gentrification needs to explain the way in which tourism leads to the displacement of the indigenous population. This point is explored in the final part of this section.

So far I have shown that tourism and gentrification can be considered co-actors in the production of post-industrial landscapes (Gravari-Barbas and Guinand, 2017). I have explored a literature that focuses predominantly on advanced capitalist economies. The next section considers a different scenario. It considers peripheral economies which have barely experienced classical gentrification at all. I discuss a literature that focuses on places in which the leisure industry has been the most feasible way of engaging in territorial competition and where a lack of a local middle-class is supplanted by the purchasing power of visitors.



### **2.2.2. Tourism and gentrification in peripheral economies**

Tourism gentrification is especially important in places where tourism represents a key factor for development and growth. In my own work (Cocola-Gant, 2018), I show that an overview of case studies on tourism gentrification reveals a geography that covers secondary cities in the North, such as New Orleans and San Diego (Gladstone and Préau, 2008; Gotham, 2005; Spirou, 2011), but particularly the global South from Latin America and the Caribbean (Hayes, 2015b; Hiernaux and González, 2014; Janoschka et al., 2014; Janoschka and Sequera, 2016; Nobre, 2002; Scarpaci, 2000) to the Mediterranean, including Spain (Cocola-Gant, 2016b; Franquesa, 2011; García-Herrera et al., 2007; Janoschka et al., 2014; Morell, 2009; Vives Miró, 2011), Portugal (Barata-Salgueiro et al., 2017; Mendes, 2018; Nofre, 2013; Pavel, 2015), and Croatia (Kesar et al., 2015); and from South Africa (Donaldson, 2009) and Mauritius (Wortman et al., 2016) to the Asia-Pacific region (Liang and Bao, 2015; Pleumarom, 2015). I argue that in these places, since the consumption power of the middle-classes are smaller than those in advanced economies, tourism compensates for the lack of local demand that real estate capital needs for the realisation of surplus value. The purchasing power of visitors stimulates real estate markets and, in such a context, the classical gentrifier is supplanted by visitors as consumers of places. Although visitors have a crucial role to play, this is more as consumers rather than as producers of the process. In this sense, authors have stressed the agency of the state and capital for whom the creation of tourist destinations is a key element for the geographical expansion of capitalism (Britton, 1991; Gotham, 2005; Janoschka et al., 2014).

In understanding this geography of tourism gentrification several points need to be stressed. First, a starting point should consider the different roles that places play in the spatial division of labour. For peripheral economies, tourism represents the easiest way of attracting capital and consumers. A history of urban tourism in Southern Europe shows that the phenomenon started at the end of the nineteenth century when cities promoted their historic centres as a way of compensating for their lack of industrialisation (Cocola-Gant, 2014b; Cocola-Gant and Palou i Rubio, 2015). Lefebvre (1991: 353) noted that the uneven development of capitalism splits the space into two kinds of regions: “regions exploited for the purpose of and by means of production (of consumer goods), and regions exploited for the purpose of and by means of the consumption of space”. Lefebvre (1991) observed that the Mediterranean provided a leisure space for more advanced economies in the North. According to the author, the region was experiencing a form of neo-colonisation as it

was becoming a “vacationland festival” (Lefebvre, 1991: 58) for the North European middle-classes. Lefebvre also noted that this transformation of the Mediterranean into spaces for leisure and consumption, far from being motivated by the individual decisions of consumers, was linked with the circulation of capital investment across the globe. He referred to a planned production of space that served the interest of developers, bankers and tour operators.

At the end of the 1970s, Britton (1982) noted a similar process in the Asia-Pacific region, where the development of the tourist industry occurred as a result of the extension of foreign colonial interests present in the area. Perceptions of neo-colonialism still remain, not only in terms of the direction of tourist flows from advanced economies to ‘peripheries of pleasure’ (Turner and Ash, 1975), but also because the production of tourist destinations is controlled by corporations in developed nations (Britton, 1991; Robinson, 2001).

In recent decades, the spatial division of labour intensified as a result of the territorial competition and economic restructuring that emerged after deindustrialisation. Harvey (1989) argues that cities can compete in regards to key command functions in finance or information as well as with the spatial division of consumption. He notes that whereas competition within the former is peculiarly tough, less advanced economies can still compete to attract mass consumption and tourism. Regarding this, several urban regeneration projects in peripheral economies have been particularly successful at attracting visitors rather than attracting advanced services and strategic functions. For instance, Vicario and Martinez Monje (2005) show how the ‘Guggenheim effect’ in Bilbao has increased the importance of urban leisure activities and has created a new landscape of entertainment that has significantly increased visitor numbers.

Second, and as a consequence of this uneven development of capitalism, the progression of gentrification in places which use tourism as a tool of engaging in territorial competition is less related to the consumption demand of a local middle-class and more to the effects of tourists as consumers of places. The gap between the purchasing power of visitors and local residents puts pressure on both housing and services which makes places increasingly unaffordable for the indigenous population. For instance, in some places in Latin America where the middle-classes are far smaller than in the North (Díaz-Parra, 2015; Lees et al., 2016) and urban workers are more informally incorporated into the labour market (Betancur, 2014),

gentrification “is more the result of their ‘touristification’ and the urban politics of local governments, than of processes based on the actions of middle-class gentrifiers” (Hiernaux and González, 2014: 55). In a comparative analysis of gentrification literature regarding Spain and Latin America, Janoschka et al. identified a process that they call “state-led tourism gentrification” (2014: 1241). They conclude that “tourism-related gentrification can be considered one of the main strands of gentrification research in the Latin world” (2014: 1248).

Third, in peripheral economies the demands of visitors open up real estate opportunities. In the 1970s, Lefebvre (1991: 353) noted that in the Mediterranean “tourism and leisure become major areas of investment and profitability, adding their weight to the construction sector, to property speculation, to generalized urbanization”. Processes of tourism urbanisation have been noted particularly in seaside and rural areas due to the construction of large-scale tourist infrastructures and second homes (Blázquez-Salom, 2013; Mullins, 1991; Wortman et al., 2016). However, the links between tourism and production of space also affect urban spaces that have traditionally been the focus of gentrification research, that is, housing rehabilitation and historic preservation. For instance, with the demise of the Soviet Union, Scarpaci (2000) explains that Cuba had to turn to tourism development in order to attract foreign direct investment. As a consequence, the historic city – La Habana Vieja – was rehabilitated in the 1990s through investment which came principally from hard-currency tourism operations. This caused some residents to relocate outside this area, led to the construction of tourist infrastructures and increased provision of consumption services for visitors. Furthermore, the rehabilitation of housing by tourism investors needs to be related with liberalisation policies and the consequent potential to convert housing into tourist accommodation. In the case of Lisbon, the growth of tourism was seen as a ‘fast policy’ solution to the post-2008 crisis. In addition, the liberalisation of the housing market took place there in 2012, as a condition of the European Union’s bid to ‘rescue’ Portuguese banks and the state. These measures have resulted in a wave of housing rehabilitation in which local residents have been evicted in order to open new hotels and short-term leases (Barata-Salgueiro et al., 2017; Mendes, 2018; Pavel, 2015). However, in order to further understand tourism gentrification in peripheral economies we need to pay particular attention to leisure migration. In the following section, I link the mobility of affluent migrants into tourist destinations with a growing literature on transnational gentrification.

### **2.2.3. Transnational gentrification**

In recent years, the literature has noted, first, an overlap between migration and tourism (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009; Hayes, 2015b; Huete and Mantecón, 2011; Janoschka and Haas, 2014; Williams and Hall, 2000) and, second, a transnational gentrification that is not homegrown but which is instead fuelled by the arrival of affluent migrants (Sigler and Wachsmuth, 2016; Zaban, 2016). I suggest that there is a need to bring these literatures together in order to offer a more comprehensive understanding of how transnational gentrification in peripheral economies is linked to tourism-informed mobility.

Benson and O'Reilly (2009) suggest the term 'lifestyle migration' to refer to the relocation of people within the developed world searching for a better way of life. The literature shows that lifestyle migrants are typically non-working individuals which move to coastal and rural areas in regions such as the Mediterranean or Latin America (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009; Hayes, 2015a; Huete and Mantecón, 2011; Janoschka, 2009). The major focus of research has been on international retirement migration, which is often referred to as 'residential tourism'. This is linked to the phenomenon of second home ownership. Interestingly, O'Reilly (2007) explains a different situation taking place in coastal areas of the Mediterranean. Since the free movement of people was introduced in the European Union, Mediterranean tourist towns have experienced the arrival of young migrants and families from Western Europe. However, research has not explored whether the increased movement of Europeans has resulted in young professionals settling in urban centres. This is not retirement migration in coastal destinations but I suggest that the growth of urban tourism in cities such as Barcelona, Lisbon or Madrid and has been paralleled by the arrival of highly educated young adults from Western Europe in search of a better lifestyle. Moreover, consumers of urban experiences include Erasmus students, artists and young travellers which reside in such locations for just a few months. Research has overlooked the implications of this phenomenon, particularly the way in which these new residents trigger processes of gentrification. One of the aims of this dissertation is to shed light on this issue.

Sigler and Wachsmuth (2016) argue that transnational gentrification occurs as a result of the locational mobility of a transnational gentry that creates new possibilities for profitable housing reinvestment in markets where such possibilities would not have otherwise existed. By transnational gentry the authors do not refer to a global gentrifier class of highly paid professionals working in advanced services and

moving between global cities (Bridge, 2007; Rofe, 2003). Rather, they refer to lifestyle migrants and particularly to retirement migration. While I agree with this understanding, I suggest that the locational decisions of such transnational gentry need to be seen as a form of tourism-informed mobility. Following Williams and Hall (2000) and Benson and O'Reilly (2009), who noted that tourist destinations also become destinations for affluent migrants, I suggest that transnational gentrification is in fact a particular manifestation of tourism gentrification. As Benson and O'Reilly (2009: 614) state, "tourism facilitates this form of migration by constructing and marketing ideals" in a process in which transnational affluent migrants generally visit the place as tourists and then decide to migrate there. In effect, they are tourists who intend to stay indefinitely in the tourist destination (Huete and Mantecón, 2011). Furthermore, idealised representations that display places as offering a better lifestyle are produced by the tourism industry. For those reasons, tourism and transnational gentrification usually take place at the same time and blend in similar urban, coastal and rural environments.

There are several examples which show that processes of gentrification triggered by the transnational gentry occur in tourist destinations of peripheral economies such as Marrakesh (Escher and Petermann, 2014), La Havana (Scarpaci, 2005), Cuenca (Ecuador) (Van Noorloos and Steel, 2016), Panama (Sigler and Wachsmuth, 2016), Vilcabamba (Ecuador) (Hayes, 2015a), Tenerife (García-Herrera et al., 2007) and Jerusalem (Zaban, 2016). Research shows that because affluent migrants possess greater economic capital than the indigenous inhabitants they have been targeted as a way of boosting real estate markets (Hayes, 2015b; Janoschka and Haas, 2014). The targeting of these affluent consumers actually mirrors state-led gentrification strategies seen in the Global North such as social mixing policies in which the arrival of high-income residents is considered by local states an ideal solution to long-term urban decay (Lees, 2008).

In sum, tourism gentrification in peripheral economies is fuelled by the purchasing powers of both visitors and lifestyle migrants. My understanding of tourism as a driver of gentrification refers to the role played by both groups of consumers. For this reason, I suggest the term 'transnational consumers' to refer to both visitors and lifestyle migrants. Although the arrival of these consumers from more advanced economies takes place simultaneously, the literature on tourism gentrification has focused particularly on the effects of short-term visitors rather than on the socio-spatial impacts of a transnationally mobile population. My aim in this dissertation is to link both

processes in order to provide a broader understanding of how tourism gentrification occurs. Finally, I argue that a conceptualisation of tourism as a form of gentrification must explain how tourism threatens the existing population's right to stay put. In the section below I discuss what the literature suggests about this point.

#### **2.2.4. Tourism gentrification and displacement**

Tourism gentrification is by definition a process of displacement. The literature has focused particularly on explanations of tourism gentrification but empirical examinations regarding the socio-spatial impacts of tourism in urban centres have not been undertaken. As stated, one of the aims of this research is to fill this gap. Notwithstanding, different authors note that tourism can be the cause of different forms of displacement. In this section, I bring together examples from both the North and the South in order to better understand why tourism-driven displacement occurs.

As tourism typically coexists with classical gentrification it is difficult to distinguish the impacts of these two processes. A first point to consider is that the arrival of visitors stimulates real estate markets and, as such, tends to accelerate a displacement process already initiated by the arrival of gentrifiers (Colomb and Novy, 2016; Füller and Michel, 2014). However, tourism gentrification also brings new agents and forms of displacement. On the one hand, the expansion of holiday rentals involves an increased conversion of housing into tourist accommodation. On the other hand, the fact that residential areas become entertainment spaces for visitors often leads to commercial displacement and causes disruptions which may undermine the quality of life of residents. Consequently, in understanding the impact of tourism gentrification the literature has considered both residential and commercial displacement.

Regarding residential displacement, the most common process noted in several cases is that tourism and the resulting intensification of land use increases property prices (Fainstein and Gladstone, 1999; Gladstone and Préau, 2008; Gotham, 2005; Schäfer and Hirsch, 2017; Shin, 2010; Spirou, 2011). As a result, tourism accelerates gentrification as increased house prices makes it more difficult for low income residents to remain in an area. For instance, in New Orleans, Gotham (2005) and Gladstone and Préau (2008) show that, as a result of the growth of tourism, the city centre experienced an increased escalation of property values, with this escalation resulting in the conversion of affordable single-family residences into expensive condominiums, pushing out lower-income people.

The success of platforms such as Airbnb and the use of housing as a form of tourist accommodation has been related to processes of displacement. Research shows that suppliers of holiday rentals are less single families that occasionally rent the homes in which they live – as the rhetoric of the sharing economy suggests – and more companies and landlords that are renting out residential properties permanently (Arias-Sans and Quaglieri-Domínguez, 2016; Schäfer and Braun, 2016). As a result, research suggests that the growth of holiday rentals leads to a shortage in the housing stock and a consequent price increase, which makes it increasingly difficult for residents to find affordable accommodation (Füller and Michel, 2014; Gurran and Phibbs, 2017; Mermet, 2017a; Schäfer and Braun, 2016; Schäfer and Hirsch, 2017). Such literature has conducted quantitative analyses on the supply of holiday rentals and its potential impacts on the housing market. However, qualitative explorations are needed in order to better grasp how this phenomenon is experienced by local communities.

As tourism demands spaces for entertainment and consumption, commercial displacement has been noted as the most pronounced consequence of tourism gentrification. In fact, the first examples of retail gentrification noted by research took place in tourist areas (Fainstein and Gladstone, 1999; Sandford, 1987; Zukin, 1990). After the growth of tourism in 2000, the process in which local and family businesses are displaced by amenities catered to visitors and middle-class consumers has been observed world-wide (Bromley and Mackie, 2009; Gotham, 2005; Häussermann and Colomb, 2003; Hoffman, 2003; Liang and Bao, 2015; Mermet, 2017b; Nofre, 2013; Schlack and Turnbull, 2015; Spirou, 2011; Terhorst et al., 2003). In analysing the causes of commercial displacement, some authors argue that the rising land value noted in tourist areas also affects commercial properties and, consequently, local businesses are displaced as they cannot afford the higher rent prices (Gotham, 2005; Hoffman, 2003). As Gotham (2005: 1112) points out in regards to New Orleans, “the last of the corner cafes and local coffee shops are today competing for space with some of the largest corporations in the world”. Other authors show that in places which have engaged with tourism as a strategy of revitalising central cities, such change in retail is not only a consequence of the arrival of visitors, but a prerequisite to attracting them. A process of state-led commercial gentrification has been noted in which new services and spaces, including night-time activities, are created to promote tourism (Janoschka et al., 2014; Nofre, 2013; Sequera and Janoschka, 2015).

Tourist-oriented commercial gentrification has a significant impact on the way in which public spaces are used. In Latin America, for instance, state-led commercial gentrification involved a planned displacement of informal trading because the lesser-status of this activity was regarded as a barrier to the provision of a harmonised public space for visitors and new middle-class residents (Bromley and Mackie, 2009; Crossa, 2009; Mackie et al., 2014; Swanson, 2007). Janoschka and Sequera (2016: 1184) argue that this is especially the case in areas of potential interest to heritage tourism and leads to a process of dispossession which they define as “touristic violence”. Research on punitive urbanism and revanchist policies shows that although such state-led initiatives are usually linked to gentrification they have been better articulated in tourist areas so that consumption activities are not compromised by the visible presence of marginalised groups (DeVerteuil et al., 2009; Lees et al., 2016; Mitchell, 2003).

Finally, the transformation of places into spaces of tourism consumption involves a shift in the nature and use of entire neighbourhoods from residential to commercial areas. For instance, the branding of Tango culture in Buenos Aires introduced tourist attractions such as museums, thematic restaurants, pedestrian street walks and souvenir shops which resulted in a symbolic re-articulation of low-income areas (Janoschka and Sequera, 2016). The intensive use of public spaces by the leisure industry is usually a central concern for residents, especially because there is an increasing lack of space remaining for non-commercial activities (Häussermann and Colomb, 2003).

In this section, I have shown that residential and commercial displacement, as well as the increased privatisation of public spaces, are the main spatial impacts of tourism noted by research. These impacts affect housing dynamics but also neighbourhood facilities and the character of the place. While these are significant impacts, a more nuanced understanding of the process needs to pay attention to how such changes affect the lives of residents on a daily basis. As tourism increasingly evolves in residential areas rather than in spaces built for visitors this question becomes particularly relevant. Other authors agree that further research should focus on this (Ashworth and Page, 2011; Deery et al., 2012). An ethnographic exploration of how tourism is experienced by residents is a key objective of this dissertation. In doing so, my aim is to contribute to a broader understanding of how tourism-driven displacement occurs.



### **2.2.5. Conclusion**

This section has brought together the tourism and gentrification literature with the intention of better understanding the relationships between them. I have shown that both processes intersect in several ways. From a demand-side perspective, tourists tend to consume gentrified environments. From a supply-side perspective, tourism has the ability to increase land values and encourage gentrification-induced displacement. Furthermore, an exploration of cases in different contexts reveals a geography of tourism gentrification that takes place particularly in peripheral economies. In the geography of tourism gentrification, leisure migration also plays a significant role. My intention was to contribute towards an interpretation of gentrification outside the Anglo-Saxon world. This understanding of a geography of the process is key to the analysis of a Southern European city such as Barcelona.

As noted in the previous discussion of the classical gentrification literature, authors which link tourism and gentrification have also focused more on describing and explaining these links and less on the impacts of the process. While the literature notes different forms of displacement, empirical studies which explore these forms in detail and analyse how residents experience urban tourism in their daily lives have not been undertaken. This dissertation aims to fill this gap. In order to do so, an exploration of the question of displacement and the socio-spatial impacts of gentrification are needed. As mentioned in the introduction, tourism research does not offer useful frameworks to examine the impacts of the leisure industry in urban contexts. It is for this reason that in the next section I turn to explore the literature on gentrification-induced displacement. The aim of this is to provide conceptual clarity on the process as well as a framework for the collection of data.

### 2.3. Displacement

I have stated that my interest is understanding the experience of long-term residents during the process of neighbourhood change. The literature on urban tourism has overlooked the way in which the host population experiences the arrival of visitors. For this reason, I draw on the literature on gentrification-induced displacement. This section explores such research with the aim of providing a conceptualisation of the process and better understanding how residents are affected by gentrification. This conceptualisation was central to constructing a theoretical framework for the collection of data. At the same time, understanding the socio-spatial impacts of gentrification is important for public policy and, ultimately, for social justice. In fact, this point has been the focus of vivid discussions within the literature. I begin the discussion regarding displacement by exploring this theme.

The question of displacement is a politically controversial issue and has strong implications for public policy. In a broad sense, displacement is a process that undermines the right to stay put. Because it constitutes an expression of inequality, for neoliberal policy-makers evidence of a lack of displacement can be used to claim the positive effects of gentrification and to deny adequate welfare provision. On the contrary, for critical scholars concerned about the impacts of gentrification evidence of displacement shows that the targeting of affluent users excludes low-income residents from urban space. As Slater states, “in the neoliberal context of public policy being constructed on a ‘reliable’ (i.e. quantitative) evidence base, no numbers on displacement meant no policy to address it” (2006: 748).

The displacement of communities constitutes a key element of any definition of gentrification. Indeed, the background of gentrification research resulted in opposition to the euphoric ‘back to the city’ movement. In this regard, some critical scholars saw that, far from giving new life to old neighbourhoods, gentrifiers were the cause of the evictions of indigenous working-class residents. Displacement was seen as a problem rather than a solution for urban poverty and this concern resulted in studies which attempted to both determine the number of displacees and to develop the political tools to halt it (Grier and Grier, 1978; Hartman et al., 1982; Marcuse, 1985; Schill and Nathan, 1983). However, as several scholars have observed (Allen, 2008; Slater, 2006, 2009; Slater et al., 2004; Wacquant, 2008; Watt, 2008, 2013), the victory of neoliberalism and the incorporation of gentrification into public policy entailed a lack of concern for working-class communities. Slater (2006) stresses that gentrification research has shifted away from identifying the negative consequences of the process.

Instead, investigations have either focused on the constitution and practices of middle-class gentrifiers or on the definition and meaning of the term. In the process of this 'eviction of critical perspectives from gentrification research' (Slater, 2006), displacement has moved from being important to understanding gentrification to an insignificant element that has itself been displaced from the literature.

The lack of attention given to displacement, however, has changed in the last decade. The dismantling of the last relics of the welfare state, together with the transition of the role of housing from a place of shelter into an investment vehicle, has meant that for many staying put is a major concern. In addition, the displacement debate was fuelled by research from the US which casted doubt on the extent of displacement and its causal links to gentrification. This caused a number of reactions from critical scholars that rejected this interpretation. For instance, in New York City Freeman and Braconi (2004) found that low-income residents were less likely to move out of gentrifying neighbourhoods compared to otherwise identical low-income residents living in other parts of the city. By the same token, Vigdor (2002) suggested that gentrification does not harm the poor. This new wave of displacement research received significant press coverage aimed at legitimising neoliberal arguments and celebrating gentrification as the solution to urban decay. At the same time, research in the UK has suggested that the debate on displacement no longer makes sense and, instead, offers 'replacement' and 'succession' of working-class by the middle-class as more accurate descriptions of residential changes caused by the 'professionalization' of the labour force (Hamnett 2003 and 2009).

Several scholars have reopened the displacement debate by critically challenging this interpretation and showing that displacement – and above all, the struggle to counter it – constitutes a major problem in contemporary urban life. The purpose of this section is to review this new wave of critical studies. In doing so it seeks to identify how residents face the effects of gentrification and how they live with or resist the arrival of affluent users into their communities. These studies, however, refer to Marcuse's conceptualisation of displacement as a framework for analysis. I now turn to Marcuse's conceptual definitions to better understand them.

### **2.3.1. Marcuse's conceptualisation**

In the framework of the New York 'return to the city' movement – in which gentrification was desirable to policy-makers as a cure for abandonment and any displacement it caused was seen as trivial – Marcuse (1985) observed the difficulties of measuring gentrification-induced displacement and its implications for urban policies. He proposed a conceptualisation of various forms of displacement to better understand the impacts of gentrification and to critically analyse its effects on low-income communities. Marcuse departed from what was the most widely accepted definition of displacement developed by George and Eunice Grier (1978): "displacement occurs when any household is forced to move from its residence by conditions that affect the dwelling or its immediate surroundings" (quoted in Marcuse 1985: 205). This definition covers direct forms of displacement, that is to say "housing-related involuntary residential dislocation" (Marcuse 1985: 205). It is important to note that different strategies are implemented to force residents to move. Before the occurrence of direct displacement the literature describes pressures inflicted by landlords including increased rent and forms of harassment – such as allowing the degradation of housing and the use of violent intimidation – particularly against the elderly (Marcuse, 1985; Slater, 2017; Smith, 1996).

According to Marcuse (1985), this direct or residential displacement should be differentiated into two categories: first, 'direct last-resident displacement' (the last resident who inhabited a housing unit) and 'direct chain displacement' (residents that may have occupied that unit earlier). The occurrence of chain displacement suggests that many residents may have been displaced from the same housing unit which further complicates the difficulties of measuring displacement.

These two forms of direct displacement are included in the widely accepted definition and, to a degree, could be measurable by quantitative analysis. However, Marcuse pointed out that "displacement affects more than those actually displaced at any given moment" (1985: 207). For the author, the important point was that the amount of displacees may be larger than what the data shows. To address the problem, Marcuse suggested supplementing the definition of direct displacement with the concepts of 'exclusionary displacement' and 'pressure of displacement'. According to the author, exclusionary displacement occurs when any household is unable to move into a dwelling because it has been gentrified, and thus refers to affordability problems and to the exclusionary pressure of the market. Linked fundamentally to this concept, displacement pressure refers to the lack of both affordable facilities and social

networks available to residents during and after the transformation of the neighbourhoods in which they live. Marcuse suggested that those who avoid direct residential displacement may suffer the displacement of their community, traditional retailers, public facilities, as well as the upgrading of stores and services. As the area becomes “less and less livable, then the pressure of displacement already is severe. Its actuality is only a matter of time” (Marcuse 1985: 207). In the context of these problems caused by neighbourhood dispossession and affordability generated from gentrification, the author concludes that “if households under pressure of displacement do not choose to move, it is probably because of a lack of alternatives, rather than a lack of pressure” (Marcuse 1985: 214).

This conceptualisation is crucial to critically understanding displacement; for public policy; and for gentrification research. Marcuse demonstrates that displacement means significantly more than an individual residential dislocation measurable by datasets. Exclusionary displacement and displacement pressure are indirect forms of displacement. They focus on neighbourhood change rather than on individual effects and therefore their impacts affect residents on a long-term basis. As I show below, this long-term interpretation of displacement challenges the neoliberal reading of gentrification which understands displacement as the moment in which residential out-migration occurs. Furthermore, the conceptualisation of displacement affects gentrification research in terms of methodology and results. Quantitative analysis is important to measure direct forms of displacement, but the results it shows tend to be limited. This point is explored further in the methodology chapter. Slater (2006) observed that in the literature on gentrification there were almost no qualitative accounts of displacement, and so called for a new reconsideration of the topic in order to understand the experiences of low-income residents living in gentrified neighbourhoods, and so re-establish critical perspectives to gentrification research. A number of authors have conducted qualitative research and show light on how displacement actually occurs. I revise this literature below.

### **2.3.2. Survival practices**

Newman and Wyly (2006) published an influential paper that reveals that displacement, and the ability to resist it, still constitute a political struggle in several transforming neighbourhoods. Drawing on evidences from a mixed-method study in New York City, the authors refute the interpretations of the new generation of quantitative research that provided evidence of the limited extent of displacement

(Freeman and Braconi, 2004; Vigdor, 2002). The paper offers a critical challenge to this interpretation and shows that housing market dynamics create a variety of displacement pressures that are expressed in complex mixtures of direct and indirect displacement. The authors draw on the same dataset used by Freeman and Braconi, but to understand the context for the quantitative results they undertook a series of field investigations and interviews to gain insight into the ways that individuals experience and resist these displacement pressures.

The results of the research show several conclusions. Firstly, interviews with residents and community organisations reported that displacees often double- or triple-up with family and friends, become homeless, move into the city shelter system, or move out of the city. As none of these mobility dynamics can be captured by the census dataset, Newman and Wyly state that the census “underestimates displacement by a significant but unmeasurable amount” (2006: 46). Secondly, the authors observe that more than three-quarters of poor households in these areas pay more than the standard 30 per cent of income affordability threshold, whereas half were devoting two-thirds of their income to rent. Thirdly, analysing the way in which residents could remain in the area, Newman and Wyly conclude that for many low-income residents, “staying in gentrifying neighbourhoods means accepting poor housing quality, coping with high housing cost burdens and/or sharing housing with other residents” (2006: 48-49). For instance, overcrowding is a particularly serious problem in poor immigrant communities while other residents who live in sub-standard housing to find affordable rents fear that complaining about housing quality will result in displacement (see also DeVerteuil, 2011b). The authors conclude that those “who have managed to avoid displacement are likely to be those people who have found ways to adapt and survive in an increasingly competitive housing market” (2006: 28). In relation to this, Newman and Wyly consider that residential displacement is not a test for gentrification, and indeed, neighbourhoods could experience waves of gentrification for decades without extensive displacement.

Newman and Wyly (2006) also noted that public housing and rent regulations allow low-income renters to resist displacement. This topic has been developed further by Wyly et al. (2010) who observe that apart from the ‘adaptive strategies’ of low-income residents to remain in gentrifying neighbourhoods, one of the main reasons to avoid displacement is the protective relics of the municipal welfare state. The authors stress the point that the denial of gentrification-induced displacement has strong impacts on urban policies and that research which questions the extent of displacement has been used to reject the need for protective welfare. The authors remind us that Vigdor

(2002) and Freeman and Braconi (2004) also find that public housing and rent control both enhance residential stability, thus helping low-income households to resist displacement. However, this part of their conclusions tends to be ignored and both media and scholars who cite their work do so in order to destroy public housing and liberate rental units from government regulations. The importance of housing regulation as a means of protecting low-income tenants from gentrification is noted by several authors (Atkinson et al., 2011; Ley and Dobson, 2008; Shaw, 2005) who find that government intervention still acts as a crucial barrier to gentrification.

In relation to exclusionary displacement, in a comparative study of social services in Los Angeles and London, DeVerteuil observes that over half of all facilities were not displaced but suffered involuntary immobility or 'entrapment': "gentrification represented less the threat of direct displacement and more the inability to move and/or expand in situ given that there were no feasible locational alternatives within a gentrifying city" (DeVerteuil 2011: 1571). Van Criekingen (2009) calls this process 'in situ impoverishment'. Therefore, both in relation to long-term residents (Newman and Wily, 2006; Van Criekingen, 2009) and to social services (DeVerteuil 2011), ironically gentrification has produced a sort of inability to move rather than out-migration. As Marcuse noted, for those who choose not to move this decision is probably due to a lack of alternatives rather than a lack of pressure. This point challenges the traditional interpretation of the process. Rather than direct displacement – the only outcome recognised by policy – the impacts of gentrification seem to be a set of pressures which undermine the quality of life of residents who can only remain in the area due to survival practises. In this sense, DeVerteuil (2011 and 2012) observes the importance of considering the disadvantages of passively 'staying put', "especially given that the current literature on resisting displacement, as well as the larger literature on revanchism and the 'rights to the city' all treat immobility as inherently positive and unproblematic" (DeVerteuil 2012: 214-215).

Following the issue of 'immobility', DeVerteuil (2012) draws on Newman and Wily (2006) and on the literature regarding 'barriers to gentrification' (Ley and Dobson, 2008; Shaw, 2005) to conceptualise a set of three active strategies which allow social services in Los Angeles and London to 'stay put'. First, private strategies such as owner-occupation or leasing the premise from a supportive landlord that is not profit-seeking represents a barrier to being displaced by gentrification. Regarding this point, Shaw (2005: 181) states that "longevity of tenure, through home ownership, secure private rental, public or community housing, plays a vital role in limiting gentrification.

It limits the number of units on the market, reduces attractiveness to higher-income purchasers, minimises displacement and allows the development of embedded local communities". In this sense, the second strategy observed by DeVerteuil draws on the efforts of community mobilisation and solidarity which produce "cultures of alternative values' and 'a politics of resistance' that are facilitated through concentrated place-embeddedness" (2012: 209). Third, as noted by several authors (Atkinson et al., 2011; Ley & Dobson, 2008; Newman & Wyly, 2006; Shaw, 2005; Wyly et al., 2010), DeVerteuil (2012) finds that supportive local governmental interventions were essential in keeping facilities in gentrifying areas. The state may be a key agent of gentrification but also continues to support non-commodified land uses which limits the process. Gentrification is never complete as long as residuals from the Keynesian state remain spatially resilient (DeVerteuil, 2015).

This section has shown that the effects of gentrification go far beyond direct forms of displacement. If residential dislocation does not take place it is not because of a lack of pressure, as Marcuse noted, but because people implement strategies to remain. Those strategies are put into practice to resist the daily pressure of gentrification. In this regard, gentrification produces a set of pressures that are usually depicted as 'indirect displacement'. In what follows I explore this latter point.

### **2.3.3. Indirect displacement**

Marcuse suggested a conceptualisation of displacement that in general terms can be divided into direct displacement (residential dislocation) and the concepts of exclusionary displacement and displacement pressures. Literature on gentrification generally refers to these latter concepts as indirect displacement. In the context of contemporary forms of gentrification, Davidson and Lees have contributed to the understanding of indirect displacement, particularly in a set of papers which draw upon multiple examples of new-build gentrification and social mixing in London (Davidson 2008; 2009 and 2010; Davidson and Lees 2005 and 2010). Davidson and Lees (2005) argue that although direct displacement does not take place because these developments are built on brownfield sites, indirect displacement is likely to occur instead. Next I discuss what they mean by indirect displacement.

Davidson (2008) identifies various forms of indirect displacement pressures. First, 'indirect economic displacement' departs from Marcuse's concept of exclusionary displacement – which refers only to the housing market – and extends it to the influx



of economic and cultural capital in gentrified areas such as new forms of high-status commercial activities. The author reaches the same conclusion suggested by Zukin et al. (2009) regarding retail gentrification, in a process whereby both residential and commercial upgrading produces an exclusionary and exclusive middle-class environment that makes it increasingly difficult for low-income residents to remain over time. The author also suggests that this temporal consideration is important since indirect economic displacement is concerned with mounting affordability pressures.

Second, 'community displacement', according to Davidson (2008), refers to changes in neighbourhood governance and political participation. The author draws on Fraser (2004) who illustrates how neighbourhood governance is constituted by a wide range of stakeholders who seek to govern neighbourhood space beyond residential needs or participation. Fraser (2004) refers to public-private partnerships that exclude communities from the possibility of defining how space and urban land should be used. For instance, Davidson (2008) shows that in Brentford, London, in a consultation process for a new commercial district many neighbourhood residents argued for the retaining of current services and commercial tenants whereas newcomers – which were better organised and represented – argued for a greater provision of cafés, bars and restaurants, and the foundation of farmers' markets.

This pressure on the political battleground, as Mackie et al. put it (2014), is related to the third form of pressure identified by Davidson: 'neighbourhood resource displacement'. It refers to the changing orientation of neighbourhood services and the fact that the facilities which low-income residents need tend to close down. As the author points out, in gentrifying neighbourhoods "not only does the neighbourhood social balance change, but also local shops and services change and meeting-places disappear. The places by which people once defined their neighbourhood become spaces with which they no longer associate" (Davidson 2008: 2392).

In a later paper, Davidson (2010) draws on Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus' and social differentiation to show how new uses and privatisation of public spaces lead to displacement pressures. Analysing the degree to which in-moving gentrifiers interact in socially mixed neighbourhoods, Davidson observes that the practises of consumption of gentrifiers were supplemented by a set of spatial practices which restrict the creation of shared/public spaces. The author analyses new developments in which the provision of public space and waterfront access was a requirement for approval, and concludes that although all developments have some type of barrier-

less access into and around them incumbent residents perceived once visible, if rundown, waterfront areas to now be 'colonised' and 'unfamiliar' (Davidson 2010: 540). Like Zukin (2008), Davidson has reminded us that although public space is open to all, differences in patterns of consumption and cultural capital mark the differences between social classes (Bourdieu, 1979), and such distinctions produce exclusive spaces of which result in mechanisms of spatial exclusion.

In sum, Davidson (2008, 2010) relates housing affordability pressures with the exclusion caused by new commercial activities and spaces that are dominated by the consumption practices of gentrifiers. The author agrees with Newman and Wyly (2006) and concludes that "an obvious absence of direct displacement cannot be interpreted as a lack of displacement altogether. This stated, it must be recognised that other aspects of displacement are more difficult to identify, measure and conceptualise. In particular, the temporal aspect of indirect displacement causes difficulty in conceiving of and measuring the process" (Davidson 2008: 2401).

According to Davidson and Lees (2010), in order to understand displacement in contemporary gentrification we should consider this temporal aspect. Displacement, they suggest, tends to be reduced to the brief moment in time in which a particular resident is forced out of their home or neighbourhood. This leads to the perception of displacement as a singular outcome, "not as a complex set of (place-based) processes that are spatially and temporally variable" (Davidson and Lees 2010: 400). They suggest that displacement is much more than the moment of spatial dislocation. Rather, indirect displacement has long-term implications that result in a set of pressures which makes it progressively difficult for low-income residents to remain over time. As Marcuse states, when the pressure of displacement is severe "its actuality is only a matter of time" (1985: 207).

Rather than understanding displacement as spatial dislocation, Davidson and Lees (2010) suggest a place-based conceptualisation of displacement. The authors draw on the phenomenological reading proposed by Davidson (2009) that considers the experience of 'loss of place' associated to gentrification. In the context of place-making activities that are altered, commodified and/or destroyed by gentrification, Davidson (2009) draws on Henri Lefebvre's work to claim that the positivist measurement and extent of direct displacement leaves important aspects of space ignored. Davidson (2009) suggests the need to avoid the abstraction of displacement-as-out-migration and instead to emphasise the lived experience of space. Lefebvre

(1991) differentiated between the conceptual space abstracted by a town planner from the lived spaces experienced by residents. According to Davidson, literature on “displacement” (2009: 226) mistakenly equates the loss of abstract space with the loss of place, and so a different understanding of space is required to underpin an understanding of displacement. For instance, Davidson and Lees (2010) illustrate that while residents often remained in the neighbourhoods, they articulated a more advanced sense of bereavement, dislocation, and disassociation that can be defined as a forced disconnection from a familiar place. The authors conclude that displacement is both spatial (direct) and place-based (indirect), and that a purely spatial account of displacement is inadequate.

Different authors have recently drawn on the understanding of indirect displacement as place-based and suggest that beyond spatial dislocation, the important point is to explore ‘the sense of displacement’ experienced by residents (Valli, 2015) or the feeling of ‘everyday displacement’ as Stabrowski (2014) calls it. For instance, Shaw and Hagemans (2015) explore the experience of long-term residents in gentrifying neighbourhoods who managed to stay put and show that transformations in shops and meeting places cause a sense of loss of place that particularly affects low-income residents. As the authors state, “if the sources of the familiar —shops, services, meeting places, other people in the neighbourhood, the nature of local social order and governance— become unfamiliar, low-income people may lose their sense of place without the capacity to find a new one” (Shaw and Hagemans, 2015: 327). The authors also note that despite the increase in restaurants and cafés, long-term residents expressed that they had fewer places to go out and meet their neighbours. They conclude that secure housing is not sufficient to alleviate the pressure of displacement. The transformation of the neighbourhood produces a sense of loss of place that can be expressed as the loss of “entitlement to be there” (Shaw and Hagemans, 2015: 339).

In this section, I have shown that indirect displacement is understood as a set of pressures that transform the nature of the place into an unfamiliar space and that, in turn, make it difficult for residents to remain over time. This conceptualisation is critical to this research, in particular because it brings neighbourhood change to the forefront of the displacement question. In tourism gentrification, displacement is not only a housing issue, but changes at the neighbourhood scale play a significant role in understanding why people are fighting against urban tourism (Colomb and Novy, 2016). The conceptualisation of displacement as an indirect process refers to a loss of place. Changes in the nature of the neighbourhood produce a situation in which long-term

residents feel displaced and dispossessed from their places. In order to better understand this issue, I consider the views of cultural geographers and the contribution of the psychology of place to show why place matters for human well-being and survival.

#### **2.3.4. The importance of place**

The gentrification literature has suggested the importance of considering the concept of place to fully understand the process of displacement. Place is usually defined as a space which people have made meaningful. It is not only a location but the subjective and emotional attachment that people have to any space (see Cresswell, 2004: 7). From this perspective, a process of attachment created over time is inherent to any definition of place. In addition, a phenomenological view of place suggests that such a process of subjective and emotional attachment is important to human existence. Relph (1976) drew on Heidegger's concept of dwelling to argue that being rooted in a place is the very essence of existence and, consequently, that place has a profound significance to human being.

Research considers displacement as a place-based process. In this sense, the literature reflects place-making interpretations such as those suggested by Friedmann (2010). In his work, Friedmann states that because the sense of place represents invisible meanings created over time, the destruction of places constitutes "the invisible costs of displacement" (2010: 157). However, how does the destruction of places affect people? Environment and behaviour studies that have focused on the relationship between place and human experience provide several clues towards answering this question. Particularly relevant are the works of Mark Fried (1966) and Mindy Thomson Fullilove (1996, 2016) as they focus on the effects of relocation and how residents live the loss of their places.

Fried (1966) stresses that residents experience an intense personal suffering that needs to be understood as a pathology and that can be described as a grief response that shows most of the characteristics of mourning for a lost person. Fried highlights the importance of a 'sense of continuity' for human well-being. By sense of continuity, Fried (1966) refers to the 'framework for functioning' in a specific environment. It is the vast and interlocking set of social networks as well as a sense of belonging which are both fundamental to human functioning. According to Fried, dislocation and the loss of the residential area result in the fragmentation of the sense of continuity and, consequently, in a pathology in which one feels disorientated and exposed to mental despair.

Fullilove (1996, 2016) studied the psychological impacts of displacement experienced by Afro-American communities after the demolition of their neighbourhoods in the 1950s and 1960s due to urban renewal. Like Fried, she concluded that when neighbourhoods are destroyed, what results is pain, grief and a sense of loss that usually stays with the individual for the rest of their life. To explain this drastic reaction, Fullilove coined the term 'root shock'. By 'root shock' she means a "traumatic stress reaction to the destruction of all or part of one's emotional ecosystem" (2016: 11). She goes on and states:

Root shock, at the level of the individual, is a profound emotional upheaval that destroys the working model of the world that had existed in the individual's head. Root shock undermines trust, increases anxiety about letting loved ones out of one's sight, destabilizes relationships, destroys social, emotional and financial resources, and increases the risk for every kind of stress-related disease, from depression to heart attack. Root shock leaves people chronically cranky, barking a distinctive croaky complaint that their world was abruptly taken away. Root shock, at the level of the local community, be it neighborhood or something else, ruptures bonds, dispersing people to all the directions of the compass (2016: 14).

For a more comprehensive understanding of the disorders that follow the rupture of person-place relationships, Fullilove gives particular importance to the loss of familiarity and community life. Fullilove defines familiarity as "the process by which people develop detailed cognitive knowledge of their environs" (1996: 1516). Familiarity condenses Fried's sense of continuity. The intimate knowledge of the environment leads people to develop the ability through which they learn how to survive in the place. It is a source of protection which is essential to human functioning. According to Fullilove (1996), the disorientation that accompanies a massive alteration in a familiar place evokes a heightened awareness of danger and confusion. Authors have stressed that the loss of familiarity particularly affects the elderly (Victor et al., 2000).

Intrinsically linked to familiarity, community life is highlighted by Fullilove as being crucial for human well-being. For Fullilove (1996) a sense of community is inherent to any definition of place. She emphasises that "place can be understood as the sum of resources and human relationships in a given location" (1996: 1518). For residents, the neighbourhood is not simply a collection of buildings, but a web of essential human bonds. It is the social capital created over time and that leads to emotional links,

mutual aid, and reciprocity. As Fullilove suggests, human relationships – a community of people – is the “higher power that helps each person to survive and thrive” (2016: 199). It is for this reason that she emphasises that the disintegration of communities is a serious threat to human well-being. The loss of a massive web of connections is a collective loss that makes people vulnerable and undermines resources which are crucial for daily survival. As Mary T Bassett states in the foreword of *Root Shock*, “the neighbour who greets you, the yard you admire, the shop owner who goes to the back to find you something, the postal worker who stops to talk, the sense of safety and security in the known, the familiar. Lose all this and what is at stake is our health, our social fabric, our lives” (Fullilove, 2016: xiii).

Other authors have stressed the importance of social capital in the neighbourhood in the provision of services as well as relations that might contribute to a feeling of security and well-being (see Bridge, 2002). An example of the importance of community life for low-income people comes from the work of Betancur (2002, 2011) who examines the impacts of gentrification on racial minorities from the perspective of community-based social fabrics. The author stresses that because they are limited in terms of exchange value resources, the poor depend heavily on social fabrics in place in order to find services and goods which they cannot afford. There is a high dependency of low-income communities on use value, place-based economies and networks of exchange and solidarity that help them to satisfy needs outside the market. Betancur (2002, 2011) highlights that the destruction of the community is a dramatic impact of gentrification.

The works of Fried and Fullilove are useful to understanding the impacts of gentrification. Gentrification research suggests that place-based displacement caused by the arrival of new affluent users and the facilities they need means the alteration of a familiar place. It is a process in which meeting places for low-income people disappear and consequently it undermines social bonds. Fried and Fullilove show that communities and familiar environments are needed for survival and that the loss of these elements leads to vulnerability and mental distress. As Davidson (2009) notes, even without direct displacement, gentrification means the alteration of the lived space of residents, a ‘sense of displacement’ that is bodily experienced on a daily basis (Valli, 2015). In relation to urban tourism, I suggest that disruptions to places may be a significant impact for long-term residents. My analysis explores this question and considers whether the contribution of the psychology of place can help to assess the impacts of the leisure industry in urban areas.

### **2.3.5. Conclusion: identifying displacement pressures**

A review of the literature on displacement reveals two significant concerns. The first is that the lack of direct displacement is not a test for gentrification. Rather, if residents are not displaced it is because of their adaptive survival strategies; a general degradation of their quality of life; or local government support. This concern shows the need to identify the concealed costs of gentrification as they are not addressed by policy. Instead, as they remain hidden, they support arguments to celebrate gentrification as well as a neoliberal utopia in which welfare is no longer necessary.

This understanding perceives gentrification as a long-term process in which direct displacement, if it occurs, is the final outcome. As Crookes (2011: 26–27) puts it, “the occurrence of displacement signifies that residents have lost their battle to remain. From the resident’s perspective, any intervention at this point would now be too late: the ‘damage’ of displacement has already been done”. From this point of view, gentrification is not the moment when a householder has to leave his or her residence (Davidson and Lees, 2010). Rather, the literature suggests that a householder ‘feels’ gentrification from the very moment that different ‘forces’ make it difficult or uneasy to continue living in the area.

In relation to this point, the second concern is a conceptualisation of displacement as ‘indirect’, in which different ‘displacement pressures’ undermine the well-being of residents. Such pressures are the forces which make it difficult for residents to remain over time and that are at the origin of a sense of loss experienced by long-term residents. In my understanding of the impacts of gentrification, displacement pressures are the primary manifestation of the process before the occurrence of direct displacement. The experience of displacement pressures indicates that a process of gentrification is taking place.

This understanding of gentrification means that in order to comprehend the extent and impacts of the process we need to explore how residents experience neighbourhood change. As stated, this is a major objective of this dissertation. However, an identification of displacement pressures will help to accomplish this aim. In the literature on displacement that I have discussed in this section, authors mentioned different pressures, but my contribution here is to bring them together and propose a synthesis of these forces (Table 2.1). In the methodology chapter I explain how the series of displacement pressures that I identify below were used to guide the

collection of data. Displacement pressures formed a framework that was used to explore whether residents were affected by them.

It is worth distinguishing the scale of these pressures. Research refers to different situations that affect both the household and the neighbourhood scale. As a result of an understanding of displacement as residential dislocation, gentrification research has traditionally paid attention to the household scale. However, the consideration of displacement as an indirect process involves taking into account changes in the nature of neighbourhoods. Gentrification not only makes accommodation unaffordable but also leads to a process of dispossession from the place. This distinction is important, particularly because changes at the neighbourhood scale are relevant consequences of tourism gentrification.

Table 2.1. Displacement pressures identified in the literature.

<b>Household Scale</b>	<b>Neighbourhood Scale</b>
Pressure from landlords	Economic pressure
Survival strategies	Cultural pressure
Exclusionary displacement	Political pressure
Affordability	Commercial pressure
Entrapment	Privatisation of public space

Starting with the household scale, I identified a set of pressures that are essentially economic and derive from the fact that low-income residents represent a barrier to capital accumulation.

Pressure from landlords: this refers to the strategies used by landlords (private and public) to force residents to move including dramatic increases in rent, personal harassment or deliberate degradation (Marcuse, 1985; Slater, 2017; Smith, 1996). The strategies used by landlords may lead to the direct displacement of residents but can also lead to the implementation of survival strategies to remain. Staying put, however, implies experiencing poor and unsafe housing conditions; paying more than the standard per cent of income affordability threshold; sharing housing with other residents; and/or overcrowding (Newman and Wyly, 2006).



Exclusionary displacement: this refers to housing affordability in gentrified areas and it operates at two different levels. First, it can undermine the ability of residents to move into neighbourhoods that once provided affordable accommodation (Marcuse, 1985; Slater, 2009). Second, it can cause 'entrapment' – the inability to move in situ given the lack of alternatives (DeVerteuil, 2011a, 2012; Marcuse, 1985; Van Criekingen, 2009).

At the neighbourhood scale, displacement pressures are expressed through a combination of economic, cultural and political forces. These forces also lead to commercial change and the privatisation of public space.

Political pressure: this regards changes in neighbourhood governance and forms of participation which exclude low-income communities from effectively laying claim to neighbourhood space (Davidson, 2008; Fraser, 2004; Mackie et al., 2014). As Mackie et al. point out (2014: 1887), "the unequal voices in decision making mean that the middle-classes, elites or government dominate the battle, and the voices of the displaced are either ignored or lip service is paid to their views".

Economic pressure: this occurs when neighbourhood services and facilities become unaffordable for low-income residents (Davidson, 2008; Marcuse, 1985; Newman and Wyly, 2006). Neighbourhoods that once provided affordable services are transformed by an influx of high-status activities which create an exclusionary middle-class environment, resulting in affordability pressures for lower income residents.

Commercial pressure: this concerns the loss of stores and services generally used by low-income residents and their substitution by amenities and consumption facilities for upper-income groups (Davidson, 2008; Davidson and Lees, 2010; Marcuse, 1985; Shaw and Hagemans, 2015). The increasing importance of commercial gentrification in contemporary urban change has been noted by several authors (Gonzalez and Waley, 2013; Zukin, 2008; Zukin et al., 2009). 'Commercial' as a form of indirect displacement refers, however, to the pressure that this retail gentrification puts on low-income residents. This is because it destroys the stores and markets on which they rely for their daily survival.

Cultural pressure: this refers to the exclusion caused by a middle-class habitus and their search for social difference through cultural capital (Davidson, 2010; Zukin, 2008). Culture as a displacement pressure means the expansion of a consumer

practice that creates a safe zone of shared aesthetic codes, meaning that low-income residents feel excluded and uncomfortable (Shaw and Hagemans, 2015). As Zukin explains, in areas dominated by restaurants, organic shops, green-markets or art galleries, social exclusion depends on economic factors like price, but also on “cultural factors like aesthetics, comfort level, and the tendency to use, and understand, consumption practices as expressions of difference. Whether the specific discourse of consumption is based on distinctiveness (...) it becomes a means of keeping others out” (Zukin, 2008: 735).

Privatisation of public space: this points to the growing private ownership and management of public areas. Although public space has represented the place where emplacement and community embeddedness occur (Friedmann, 2010), it has been ‘rented’ to cafés, restaurants or festival marketplaces. Privatisation of public space as a displacement pressure means the domination of space by the consumption habitus of affluent users and the consequent destruction of gathering places for the community (Davidson, 2010; Marcuse, 1985; Shaw and Hagemans, 2015).

The literature suggests that the experience of these pressures on a daily basis leads to a sense of dispossession and loss of place. The identification of these pressures was used to establish an analytical approach that acted as my theoretical reference in terms of approaching the collection of data. I further develop this point in the methodology chapter. An understanding of the impacts of gentrification must explore whether people experience such pressures and how they adapt to them. In this regard, Slater (2006) called for qualitative analyses to give voice to long-term residents but ethnographic explorations of this sort still remain scarce. It is on this point which I build my focus, aligning with Watt (2013) who emphasises the importance of offering an account of how neighbourhood transformations are being experienced from the perspective of lower-income residents, as well as with Newman and Wyly (2006: 29) who call for research on the ‘adaptive strategies’ that residents use if they wish to ‘stay put’.

## **Chapter 3. An introduction to Barcelona's historic centre**

The research focuses on the case of the Gòtic neighbourhood in Ciutat Vella, the so-called historic centre of Barcelona. The aim of this chapter is to introduce the reader to my case study and to explore the context within which the research is situated. The first section of this chapter describes the main geographic characteristics of the area and pays attention to the recent history of the neighbourhood. In the second part, I focus on the Barcelona model of urban regeneration. I show that a central aim of the regeneration was to create spaces of consumption for the middle-classes, both in terms of residents and visitors. The third section links the Barcelona model of urban regeneration with tourism and notes that residents have been complaining about the leisure industry since the early 2000s. Finally, I undertake a short review of the gentrification literature concerning Barcelona. This review shows that research has adopted an Anglo-Saxon rationale in the study of gentrification that does not take into consideration how the process of gentrification coexists with tourism. The chapter concludes by indicating a number of gaps in the literature which are filled by this research.

### **3.1. The Gòtic neighbourhood**

The Gòtic neighbourhood is located in the historic centre of Barcelona (Ciutat Vella). In terms of administrative divisions, the municipality of Barcelona has 10 districts and 73 neighbourhoods. Ciutat Vella is the central district and it has 4 neighbourhoods: Raval, Gòtic, Barceloneta and Sant Pere, Santa Caterina i la Ribera (Figures 3.1 and 3.2). Ciutat Vella is home to around 100,000 inhabitants while the Gòtic area has around 15,000 inhabitants. As well as being a residential space, the central part of the Gòtic area is a place of political and religious power. The City Hall and the Catalan

Government Building are both located in the Gòtic area, as well as the cathedral and the episcopal palace. Furthermore, the northern part of the Gòtic neighbourhood has traditionally been a commercial area. Consequently, different users consume and work in the central and northern parts of the neighbourhood. The south part, however, is mainly residential and in the 1980s and 1990s was a highly stigmatised place.

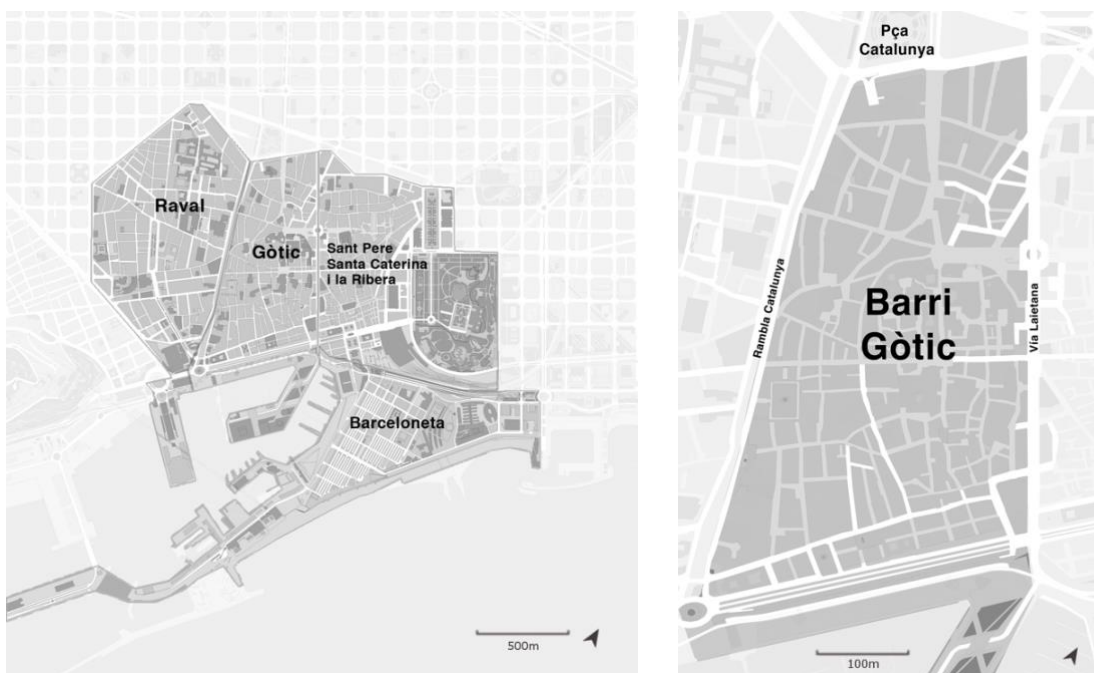
The Gòtic neighbourhood is the oldest part of Barcelona having been founded by the Romans and consolidated during the Medieval Period. However, the central area of the neighbourhood was re-invented in the context of the works undertaken in Barcelona to host the International Exhibition of 1929. Around 40 buildings were 'medievalised' by restoring them according to an idealised gothic style while modern buildings were replaced by neo-gothic constructions (Cocola-Gant, 2011, 2014a, 2014b). In this regard, the area can be considered as the first tourist attraction produced in Barcelona. It is worth noting that this process of re-creation entailed both the purge of homeless people and the bulldozing of derelict housing, meaning that the poorest residents living around the cathedral and governmental buildings were evicted before the 1970s (Cocola-Gant and Palou i Rubio, 2015). The area became the most attractive in Ciutat Vella, both for tourists and middle-class residents. On the one hand, the neighbourhood is a must-see tourist attraction. Tourism has a long history in the neighbourhood and prior to the Olympics Games in 1992 the majority of hotels in Barcelona were located in the Gòtic area. On the other hand, research notes that the Gòtic area was the first neighbourhood of Barcelona to experience gentrification in the 1980s (Aramburu, 2000).

The initial gentrification of the area affected the central and northern parts of the neighbourhood in particular. As stated, the southern part of the Gòtic area has traditionally been a working-class and run-down space. These facts must be related to the long process of abandonment and disinvestment that Ciutat Vella experienced in the twentieth century. The next section explains this phenomenon and shows how the regeneration of the district was a central aim in the restructuring of contemporary Barcelona.

Figure 3.1. Districts of Barcelona. Source: own elaboration.



Figure 3.2. Ciutat Vella and Gòtic neighbourhood (*Barri Gòtic*). Source: own elaboration.



### **3.2. Ciutat Vella and the Barcelona model of urban regeneration**

As Barcelona has historically been the most industrialised city in Spain it suffered a profound crisis during the process of deindustrialisation. The flight of capital, together with forty years of autarchy during the Franco dictatorship, caused a process of physical decay, lack of infrastructure and unemployment. Barcelona's modernisation since Franco's death in 1975 and the first democratic local elections in 1979 implied a profound process of urban regeneration. This regeneration was aimed at alleviating urban poverty and deprivation, as well as adjusting the city to the new conditions of the tertiary society. Policy makers defined this process as the 'Barcelona model' which had three main characteristics.

First, answering the demands of civic groups that spaces should be created for civic purposes, the new city council involved community leaders in the design of urban policies. This has been interpreted as a governance coalition aimed at creating a policy agenda to modernise the city (Degen and García, 2012). Due to a historic lack of urban investment, neighbourhood associations were demanding physical improvements from the 1960s, both in the city centre and the suburbs. As a result of this political participation, the second characteristic of the model was the creation of a number of facilities for collective consumption across the city. This included community centres, libraries, sports facilities, etc. In relation to this, the third feature was the reconfiguration of public spaces with the intention of providing a more liveable city. Particularly important was the creation of several squares as places for community encounters and social cohesion (Montaner, 2004). According to Degen and Garcia (2012), the governance style based upon strong citizen support was the reason for social acknowledgement and, in the 1980s, for a lack of criticism. Indeed, the 'quality' of new public spaces was the main basis for the official celebration of the model as well as for the international recognition of the city. Notably, in 1999 Barcelona received the Royal Gold Medal for Architecture, the first time the prestigious title had been presented to a city.

In keeping with the agenda of urban competitiveness for mobile capital and consumers, local authorities promoted a parallel model of the 'fun' city (Ward, 2006), which was characterised by the implementation of large-scale projects, flagship buildings and mega events. The hosting of the Olympic Games in 1992 marked the transition from a model of political participation and social cohesion to a governance style based on city rebranding and interurban competition (Balibrea, 2006). The Olympics represented the beginning of a neoliberal governance period dominated by

the imperative of transforming an old industrial city into a space of leisure and consumption (Degen, 2008; Degen and García, 2012; Smith, 2005).

The general decline suffered by Barcelona during deindustrialisation was more intense in Ciutat Vella. The district had experienced a profound period of disinvestment and degradation since the 1859 Cerdà Plan and the consequent urban expansion and concentration of outward investment. Ciutat Vella has been the residential area for the working-class and immigrant population since the nineteenth-century. In the 1970s, the crisis of deindustrialisation led to an increase in poverty, unemployment, drug abuse and marginal activities in this area. For instance, in 1981 the unemployment rate in Barcelona was 12.5% whereas in Ciutat Vella this figure reached 20.24% (Alabart and López, 1996).

The regeneration of Ciutat Vella meant a strategic project for the reconfiguration of the city (Scarnato, 2015). In 1986 the whole district was declared an Area of Integral Rehabilitation (Plan ARI) which presented an opportunity to close the rent gap and transform the area for the new economy of tourism and cultural consumption. Raval and Santa Caterina were the most deprived areas (Figure 3.2). In these neighbourhoods, regeneration involved bulldozing and opening up what had been regarded as closed and insidious environments – a process of forced expropriations and evictions that started in 1989 and concluded in 2002 (Von Heeren, 2002). At the end of the 1990s, the debate was focused on whether the project was a regeneration programme that was injecting social tools to benefit low-income and vulnerable populations, or rather, a social mixing programme that was changing the image of the area to attract the middle-classes (Degen, 2008).

According to different authors (Cocola-Gant, 2009; Degen, 2008; Delgado, 2007; Fernández González, 2014), the strategy of local authorities was to first dilute the existing population and then to create new activities and public spaces to be used by the middle-classes; a strategy that can be compared to other cases of 'symbolic gentrification' (Janoschka et al., 2014; Janoschka and Sequera, 2016). The demolition of entire housing blocks in Ciutat Vella was followed by the construction of new public squares and flagship cultural infrastructures. Between the 1980s and 2001, 23 squares were created in Ciutat Vella by bulldozing residential blocks (Hernández-Cordero and Tutor-Antón, 2014). In addition, museums, art galleries and universities were built in the area. According to Fiori (2010), only 5% of the investment aimed at regenerating Ciutat Vella focused on housing rehabilitation. Rather than

seeking to improve the living conditions of the existing population, the aim was to disperse poverty by establishing a new area for middle-class consumers (Degen 2008; Delgado 2007). Following this redevelopment, Ciutat Vella attracted students, new residents, shoppers and visitors. I now focus on tourism in order to better contextualise the restructuring of Barcelona.

### **3.3. A tourist city**

Barcelona is regarded as one of Europe's most fashionable urban places. At present, it is the most visited city in Spain and the fourth in Europe in terms of international visitors (Barcelona City Council, 2018). The increased popularity of Barcelona as a tourist destination began after it hosted the Olympic Games. In 1992, the number of overnight stays in hotels was 1.8 million per annum and in 2016 this number was more than 8 million (Barcelona City Council, 2018). The remaking of the central city area and international promotion campaigns seem to have been successful in attracting not only tourism, but also international students and lifestyle migrants. The growth of this triad of visitors, students and affluent migrants were already noted at the beginning of 2000s (Degen, 2004; García and Claver, 2003).

According to Palou i Rubio (2012), during the twentieth century all of Barcelona's local governments regarded tourism as an instrument for capital accumulation. However, it was after the crisis of the 1970s that tourism became a strategic sector in the reconfiguration of the city (Russo and Scarnato, 2017). Smith (2005) illustrates that since the 1980s the re-imagining of Barcelona aims to disassociate the city from its industrial past, political unrest, deprivation and Spanish clichés and seeks to rebrand it as a modern European capital. The plethora of new cultural monuments designed by global architects provided free publicity which was indispensable for place marketing. In this regard, "if measured solely in terms of tourist receipts and tourist images, then Barcelona's contemporary re-imagining has undoubtedly been a success" (Smith 2005: 407). The international recognition has also meant that policy-makers must visit Barcelona. During these trips, representatives of the city council show the quality of the new urban space and the 'best practice' regeneration in Ciutat Vella (Gonzalez, 2011). According to Degen (2004), the success has to be understood as a paradigm of Zukin's concept of symbolic economy, in which architecture and culture are the new symbols that make the city attractive for consumption.



Although tourism was highlighted in the 1980s as one of the main objectives for Barcelona's urban regeneration, after the recession of the 1990s it became the main priority and the 'easiest' way of extracting value from urban space. According to several authors (Balibrea, 2001; Degen, 2004; García and Claver, 2003; Smith, 2005), this emphasis on tourism supposed the definitive drift of the Barcelona model as decisions made by private capital replaced local-civic planning, thus weakening the original consensus regarding redevelopment. According to Smith (2005), the obsession with re-imagining the city through symbolism and mega projects represented a significant deviation from the city's embryonic plans and seems worryingly reminiscent of conventional boosterism.

During this change, Smith (2005) noted that the needs and satisfaction of tourists were increasingly prioritised over those of local residents. At the beginning of the 2000s, García and Claver stated (2003: 120) that "among those who use city services, visitors are proportionally on the increase. Residents may even lose the central status they previously enjoyed, as new services are directed towards tourists, commuters, and shoppers". This was precisely the cause of tensions concerning the use of urban space. Degen (2004) observed that La Ribera-Borne and El Raval were experiencing opposition from their long-term residents after the area became the new hip cluster in which Barcelona's lifestyle experience could be consumed. The regeneration of these areas and their integration into tourist circuits led to a new middle-class social environment in which residents are not protected "from the gentrifying features that often accompany such processes" (Degen 2004: 141). In her work, the author referred particularly to commercial gentrification.

In recent years, the neoliberal answer to the post-2008 crisis has been the promotion of further tourism growth, but this time in a more dramatic way. In an example of Klein's *Shock Doctrine* (2007), Barcelona City Council activated a new round of flexible policies which (i) relaxed the restrictions that prevented the growth of hotels in the historic city; (ii) adapted planning regulations to the needs of tourism investors and offered them tax incentives; and (iii) licenced a range of tourism-oriented commercial activities. In addition, airline companies were further subsidised to fly to Barcelona; the central government introduced less rigid labour regulations which allowed companies to offer cheaper services by undermining working conditions; and the period also witnessed the emergence of Airbnb.

In this context of unregulated tourism growth several grassroots organisations emerged to protest against the effects of tourism (Cocola-Gant and Pardo, 2017). Residents have grown frustrated that after decades of fighting to improve public spaces and facilities in their neighbourhoods, the reinvestment has not resulted in liveable conditions for the population, but instead in a space dominated by tourists and their patterns of consumption. The resistance against holiday rentals is widespread in Ciutat Vella (Figures 3.3 and 3.4), but residents also protest against the growth of hotels, commercial gentrification, privatisation of public space and other daily disruptions such as noise (Cocola-Gant, 2015). As the Gòtic area is the neighbourhood most affected by tourism protests are particularly intense. Importantly, community associations in the Gòtic area are concerned about how tourism changes the social fabric and the demographic structures of the neighborhood. The mottos that they use implicitly refer to displacement: “neighbours – a species threatened with extinction”; or “more tourist apartments, fewer family homes” (Associació de Veïns del Barri Gòtic, 2016). There is a need, therefore, to better understand the socio-spatial impacts of tourism. In the next section I discuss the literature on gentrification in Barcelona. The discussion of this literature helps to contextualise my dissertation.

Figure 3.3. Protests against holiday rentals in Ciutat Vella, August 2014. The banner reads “For the abolition of tourist flats”. Photograph by Ernest Cañada.



Figure 3.4. Protests against holiday rentals in Ciutat Vella, August 2014. The placard says “No more neighbours leaving the neighbourhood”. Photograph by Ernest Cañada.



### 3.4. Literature on gentrification

The regeneration of Barcelona has been analysed and depicted in several publications over the last 20 years (Balibrea, 2001; Capel, 2005; Degen, 2008; Delgado, 2007; Montaner, 2004; Scarnato, 2015). However, only a small number of researchers have explored the consequences of this process and whether such regeneration caused gentrification. This section explores this literature.

The first piece of research that attempted to measure whether Barcelona was experiencing processes of gentrification was published in 1996 by Alabart and López. In a quantitative analysis, the authors focused on the evolution of professionals, education and unemployment between 1971 and 1991. The results of this research showed a general increase in the number of white collar professions and the decline of blue collar workers. The authors suggested that Barcelona was still not a gentrified city but was witnessing a ‘tendency towards gentrification’ (Alabart and López 1996: 16). Interestingly, the number of white collar professionals living in all districts grew but this was not the case for Ciutat Vella, where more than 60 % of residents were still employed in low-income functions and the rate of unemployment was the highest of the city. Regarding Ciutat Vella, similar conclusions were reached by Aramburu (2000).

Martínez Rigol (2000) focused on El Raval between 1981 and 1996 and showed that gentrification was taking place through the arrival of white collar professionals, principally European employees. Also in El Raval, Sargatal (2001) examined the coexistence of gentrification and immigration. She observed that gentrifiers resided in rehabilitated housing close to the new cultural infrastructures whereas immigrants were overcrowded in degraded buildings. However, the author observed that gentrification was more commercial than residential. In this sense, new stores and restaurants were patronised by costumers who did not reside in the neighbourhood, particularly workers, students and tourists.

In a study of Ciutat Vella, Fiori (2010) compares the housing stock with the socio-economic characteristics of residents between 1981 and 2001. Regarding the demographic analysis, the results show a similar distribution in both periods in which low-income residents reside in El Raval, Santa Caterina and Barceloneta, whereas middle-income households live in the central part of the Gòtic area and La Ribera. The author notes that the social composition of Ciutat Vella changed due to migration flows. The analysis indicates an increased substitution of local residents by foreign incomers in which non-European immigrants form the new low-income households while European employees tend to locate in middle-class environments. A similar conclusion is reached by Ter Minassian (2013).

Arbaci and Tapada-Berteli (2012) have updated this quantitative data by comparing the evolution of the census of 1981, 1991 and 2001 with the population register of 2009. The authors examine whether regeneration projects in Ciutat Vella accomplished their goals of reducing poverty and socio-spatial inequalities, particularly by looking at programmes implemented in El Raval and Santa Caterina. The results confirmed the evolution observed by other aforementioned authors, as in those areas processes of marginalisation have persisted and intensified over the last two decades. According to the authors, this wider marginalisation in areas already marginalised signifies the failure of one of the cornerstones of the Barcelona model. Also, they confirm that new middle-class residents, particularly Europeans, have established themselves in the Gòtic area and La Ribera.

Hernández-Cordero (2015) has payed special attention to commercial gentrification and the privatisation of public space in the area of Santa Caterina. He shows how the traditional food market became a new tourist attraction in which old sandwich bars were replaced by elitist restaurants and elderly customers have been replaced by

younger and more affluent buyers that paradoxically search for authentic and local products. The author stresses the fact that the old market was also a place for social encounters for residents as it was the only public space in the area.

In sum, the first point to consider is that research has not undertaken a thorough examination of the Gòtic area. Second, studies on gentrification in Ciutat Vella have mainly focused on socio-demographic analysis. These studies follow the rationale of the classical process of gentrification, that is, they have attempted to measure whether areas have experienced an increase in younger and more educated individuals. Third, although these sorts of analyses may limit the understanding of the process, they have noted that in the Gòtic area gentrifiers are usually European citizens. This should be related to leisure migration and tourism-related mobility but such a relationship has not been discussed. Finally, research has overlooked the effects of tourism in neighbourhood change. Some researchers suggest that gentrification is more commercial than residential and that it has to be linked to the practices of users who do not reside in the neighbourhood. However, an exploration of this point has not been implemented. In conclusion, research should complement the demographic analysis with qualitative explorations on the ground. In the next chapter, I will discuss in detail how the dissertation does this.

### **3.5. Conclusion**

The leisure-led regeneration of Barcelona and the international recognition of the city have positioned it as the leading tourist destination in the Mediterranean. The Gòtic neighbourhood is the oldest part of Barcelona and for this reason is a must-see attraction. Furthermore, neoliberal policies have allowed the growth of tourist-oriented services – from retail facilities to hotels – while the success of platforms such as Airbnb facilitates the use of housing as tourism accommodation. In this context, residents have been complaining about tourism since the early 2000s and their concerns have risen in recent years. Importantly, one of the main concerns of residents is displacement. However, research that has explored the impacts of the regeneration of Barcelona has taken a classical gentrification perspective. The impacts of tourism have not been considered. In relation to this, socio-demographic studies show that the new middle-class residents tend to be Western Europeans. This may indicate a form of gentrification linked to leisure migration and, consequently, to tourism. In the Gòtic neighbourhood, it seems that tourism is a key driver of neighbourhood change, but research has not explored how tourism intersects with

gentrification and the socio-spatial impacts which they have. It is for this reason that this dissertation aims to fill these gaps. Such an analysis requires both demographic and ethnographic explorations. In the next chapter I discuss my methodology perspective and the data collection techniques that I used.

## Chapter 4. Methodology

The aim of this chapter is to discuss the design of the research and the methods that were used for the collection of data. I start by explaining my positionality and the way I understand neutrality and objectivity. I also explain why this research is understood as a political activity. However, the research is not a rationalisation of my own biases. On the contrary, the explanation of the methods of data collection supports the fact that the research was undertaken according to rigorous academic standards. The second section is a discussion about methodology in gentrification research. I explore how research has studied the process and the role that the dichotomy of quantitative-qualitative methods has played in analyses of gentrification. This theoretical discussion is important in order to justify the techniques that were implemented during the research. The third section describes my conceptual framework. This is based on my literature on displacement. The aim of this theory is not to provide some sort of final explanation, but to better design the empirical research and guide the collection of data. Finally, the chapter describes the techniques that were implemented as part of the research. In this regard, I used a mixed method approach. I combined demographic analysis and a resident survey with participant observation and in-depth interviews. Other relevant secondary data was also used.

### 4.1. Positionality

This research is based on a neighbourhood in which I lived for nine years. I arrived in Barcelona in 2003. At the time, the city council aimed to prolong the effects of hosting the Olympic Games by organising the Universal Forum of Cultures; the regeneration of El Raval and Santa Caterina were still taking place while residents were fighting to stop the demolition of their homes; the first voices against the exorbitant number of

visitors started to demand a more liveable city; and when the consensus in favour of a 'model' of political participation was showing signs of distance and feebleness. During this period, I was a young student excited by the possibility of living in such an acclaimed place when I first attended a set of talks organised by residents in Santa Caterina. There, a table covered by magazines and books showed Barcelona from a rather different perspective than the official rhetoric of success and growth did. My perception of Barcelona changed from the very moment I became a resident. The stories of those displaced or at risk of displacement were too familiar to me to be ignored; too familiar sometimes, until it was my turn to be displaced. I was renting a flat with friends, but in 2007 the landlord decided to sell the entire building to an important real estate company. The new owner wanted to empty all of the flats in order to refurbish and sell them. The way in which they forced residents out of their homes was by harassing them and ruining communal areas of the building, including water pipes. After this, the company received authorisation to evict all tenants due to 'impracticable and unsafe living conditions'. The new accommodation was either too expensive or of very poor quality. I finally left Barcelona in 2012.

In this context, I wonder if it is conceivable to talk about objectivity, neutrality or even to distinguish between subject and object. From my point of view – a view that has been stated several times (Harvey, 2011; Lefebvre, 1991; Logan and Molotch, 2007) – real estate capitalists use the city as a business; as a place to make profit regardless of the consequences this has on residents. Their business implies attracting affluent consumers, typically in the form of gentrifiers or tourists, and also clearing the space of insolvent residents since they pose an obstacle in their search for profit. Here, neutrality means an implicit validation that such a state of affairs is the way in which the free market society works. Neutrality means accepting and 'doing nothing' to confront the violence of capital, in which its ambition of endless reproduction can destroy the environment, the built environment and the lives of those who inhabit them. I am not neutral, and by recognising that some things are wrong in all circumstances I also refute relativism. This research, therefore, is firstly an act of political activism – an activism bound together with the efforts of those who resist the violence of capital on a daily basis.

The dichotomy of objectivity-subjectivity, in turn, should be better defined if considering the sociology of knowledge suggested by Berger and Luckmann (1966). According to the authors, such a dichotomy conceals the fact that all production of knowledge means the objectification of a social construction; a process in which the



subject's conceptions and ideas are determined by their social environment and, as a result, where any account of reality is a subjective activity in spite of it being presented as an objective outcome. This process of objectification underlies Bourdieu's (1980) concept of 'habitus'. Habitus are dispositions or embedded social structures regardless of the consciousness that the subject may have about them. There is no way, as Hammersley and Atkinson suggest (2007: 15), that we can escape the social world in order to study it.

Recognising that all production of knowledge is by definition a subjective activity from the very moment that we are interested in a topic, however, does not mean that the research is a rationalisation of my own biases whereby data can be deliberately collected incorrectly or misinterpreted. Regarding quantitative procedures like factor analysis, Ley (1988: 134) states that it requires a series of personal judgements that despite being all subjective "they may be defended as rigorous against a canon of approved standards. So too interpretative research can be rigorous, whether historical or ethnographic, when calibrated against its own standards". Here rigour means a "self-critical evaluation of evidence" (Hoggart et al., 2002: 63). Consequently, an explanation of the methods of data collection and analysis becomes primary. This is the aim of this chapter. An explicit description of the plan of the research serves as a guideline to certify the standards of data collection and to ensure that the research applies the appropriate tools to meet the objectives of the investigation.

I have stated that this research is an act of political activism. My aim is to make my work relevant to those people at risk of displacement. By this I do not mean participating in political actions and resistance practices. Slater (2006: 748) depicts how he was told by a community organiser in Brooklyn that the best way he could help with local efforts in resisting gentrification was to "come up with some numbers to show us how many people have been and are being displaced". In this sense, my intention is to show evidence of the socio-spatial impacts of tourism gentrification. As social injustices are visible if only the 'facts' are placed in evidence, making efforts to show how inequalities occur is an important tool for political action. Here, research has a lot to say. The first outcome of my dissertation was a report about the impacts of tourist accommodation (Cocola-Gant, 2016a). The report was delivered by community organisations to city councillors and it received considerable media attention. It became a relevant political tool as residents were able to show with 'facts' the extent to which tourism was causing displacement. By using my report, residents confronted the hegemony of city leaders for whom further tourism growth was seen as being in the interests of all.

## 4.2. Methodology in gentrification research

The concern with methodology and the definition of a methodological framework to guide the practice of the research has largely been absent from gentrification debates. In spite of being a topic with more than fifty years of research tradition, in general terms the discipline shows a lack of methodological reflection and a lack of explanation of methods of data collection. In the 1990s, Lees (1998: 2258) warned that “the importance of methodology has seldom been stressed in studies of gentrification” and this lack of attention is still noticeable today. According to Davidson (2006), it would seem that the theoretical battles in the explanation of gentrification, and the subsequent failures to reach theoretical agreement, best explains why methodology has not been greatly discussed within the field.

Methodological approaches influence understandings and conceptualisations which are produced through research (Philo, 2000). In this sense, “different methodological frameworks result in very different accounts of gentrification” (Lees, 1998: 2258). Methodological choices affect what forms of gentrification are described and what explanations of the process are offered. Those interested in the humanistic and cultural aspects of gentrification—consumer demand have chosen the most appropriate methods to investigate cultural processes (Butler, 1997; Ley, 1996). Here gentrification has been presented at the scale of the individual, and by using qualitative methods gentrification is connected to small groups of people who share residential preferences. Those concerned with the production-side of the process use methods which are adept to capturing the large-scale character of gentrification, and so they have relied upon quantitative methods since they are more capable of identifying the structural aspects of urban social change. For instance, Lees et al. (2008) illustrate the results of a broad debate concerned with how to measure the rent gap, which has produced a number of contributions since the publication of the first model proposed by Smith in 1979.

Socio-demographic analyses have been used extensively to explore whether a place experiences gentrification and constitute the traditional way of measuring the process. Classical gentrification is the replacement of the low-income population – particularly the elderly and those employed in manual labour – by young adults with higher levels of education and income and which are typically employed in managerial or professional services (Atkinson, 2000; Lees et al., 2008; Ley, 1996). By analysing changes in socio-economic status for census tracts through time, and combined with real estate data, research has identified indexes of gentrification and the spatial

imprint of the process (Atkinson, 2000; Ley and Dobson, 2008; Reese et al., 2010). Measuring the level of socio-economic transformation is useful for picturing the phenomenon but from a critical perspective this sort of analyses 'arrives too late'. As Crookes (2011) suggests, if we detect that gentrification has taken place this means that the damage has already been done.

This research, however, is not solely concerned with the explanation and measurement of gentrification, but focuses particularly on displacement. The literature on gentrification-induced displacement has debated the extent to which different methods are able to detect the impacts of the process. Now I turn to such debates as they shed light on how the methodology for this research was conducted.

Numbering the reasons why displacement got itself displaced from the literature, Slater (2006) suggested that together with the victory of neoliberalism and the debate on conceptual explanations, the third motive was methodological. Slater pointed to the methodological struggles in directly quantifying the amount of displacement, struggles that have been highlighted by several authors (Atkinson 2000; Atkinson et al. 2011; DeVerteuil 2011; Newman and Wyly 2006; Shaw 2008; Wyly et al. 2010). As Newman and Wyly state (2006: 27), "by definition, displaced residents have disappeared from the very places where researchers and census-takers go to look for them". For the same reason, Atkinson (2000) has called measuring displacement 'measuring the invisible'. While "the middle-class gentrifiers are much easier to find and arguably much easier to interview" (Slater et al., 2004: 1142), it is difficult to track down people who have been displaced. This invisibility refers to residential displacement, but it is not the case for others displaced by gentrification such as street vendors (Bromley and Mackie, 2009; Mackie et al., 2014) or social services (DeVerteuil, 2011a, 2015), both of which are easier to identify and track.

At the same time, datasets are a limited way of understanding the complexity of displacement. For instance, Atkinson suggests that there is a problem in the distinction between 'involuntary' and 'voluntary' moves, and as he states, "separating gentrification and displacement out from wider processes of social change, incumbent upgrading, voluntary migration and welfare and labour market changes provides complex problems for measuring such processes" (Atkinson 2000: 151). In relation to the use of datasets, there is evidence regarding how the collection of data and its manipulation by government agencies affects what we can see (Dorling & Simpson, 1999; Ellis, 2009). For instance, Dorling and Simpson (1999) illustrate how statistics

are not politically neutral and that there is intentional misuse and retrenchment of data collection by the state which obscures our ability to see social injustice. If the retrenchment of data collection by the state does occur it is precisely because a lack of evidence is regarded as a lack of inequality (Wyly, 2009). Regarding gentrification, Garcia-Herrera et al. (2007: 280) suggest that neoliberal policies have entailed a lack of “interest in collecting the kind of data that documents the level of displacement and the fate of displacees”. Furthermore, the problem comes with ‘measuring the invisible’ as it provides weak evidence in terms of showing displacement as a social issue. For this reason, the literature on displacement has highlighted its limits when it comes to measuring the social impacts of gentrification via socio-demographic analyses. Consequently, it has suggested supplementing the task with qualitative studies.

The challenges with measuring displacement are also linked to the conceptualisation of the process. The classical definition of displacement as residential out-migration requires quantitative analysis to be detected. Statistical data is needed to quantify the number of displacees. The struggle of ‘measuring the invisible’, therefore, refers to what has been called ‘direct displacement’; to a conceptualisation of displacement as a singular outcome that can be reduced to the moment of eviction. However, as we have seen, following Marcuse (1985) research shows that there are ‘indirect’ forms of displacement, and that the phenomenon means significantly more than the dislocation of an individual resident. It is a long-term process in which, if direct displacement occurs, it is because the householder was unable to cope with a series of pressures that made it impossible to remain. As stated, the impacts of gentrification are experienced since the moment that different forces make it difficult for residents to remain. Furthermore, the literature shows that gentrification can produce other effects that remain hidden behind the statistical data. If residents are not displaced it is because of their adaptive survival strategies or a general degradation of their quality of life (DeVerteuil, 2011a, 2012; Newman and Wyly, 2006).

The conceptualisation of displacement as ‘indirect’ requires an in-depth qualitative understanding of the experiences of those at risk of displacement. Regarding the difficulties of ‘measuring the invisible’, Atkinson (2000: 163) suggests that “it may be that further research at a finer spatial scale using a more qualitative approach could usefully supplement this work”. Today there is a growing agreement that methods need to be more intensive, fine-grained and qualitative in order to detect the effects of gentrification (DeVerteuil, 2011a; Slater, 2006, 2009). It requires an ethnographic approach to articulate “a view of displacement «from below»” (Slater, 2010: 176); a

bottom-up view of daily life experiences that would reflect the “actually existing people” (Crookes, 2011: 166). For instance, the work of Newman and Wyly (2006) is rather illustrative. The authors undertook a series of field investigations and interviews to understand the context of the weak evidence of quantitative results, thus to gain an insight into the ways that residents confront and resist displacement pressures.

In conclusion, in order to detect the impacts of gentrification a combination of methods is needed. First, a socio-demographic analysis can provide a picture of the extension of gentrification. Furthermore, in relation to tourism and lifestyle migration, demographic data can shed light about migration flows. Second, quantitative methods cannot document the complexity of displacement and so this requires a qualitative exploration of everyday practices. This sort of analysis should offer an account of how gentrifying neighbourhoods are being experienced from the perspective of long-term residents. Therefore, a mixed methods approach is needed, whereby statistical data must be complemented with a bottom-up view of place that make visible the way in which residents negotiate the transformation of their neighbourhoods.

### **4.3. Conceptual framework**

This section describes the analytical tool that was used to guide the design of the empirical research. Here I refer to objectives 2 and 3 of the dissertation, that is, to explore the way in which residents experience changes in both housing dynamics and neighbourhood life. In this regard, I used the framework to guide the construction of a survey as well as to propose a set of topics for the in-depth interviews. I took the various elements identified in the literature on displacement and placed them into a perspective that generates a conceptual approach to organising the construction of my methodology. The framework was not developed to produce a final explanation or theory, nor was the intention to describe a theory that was tested. According to the deductive-quantitative tradition, a theory will determine hypotheses; the analysis of data will verify or reject such hypotheses; and the resulting findings will feed back into the theory. Concepts are therefore seen as fixed empirical referents and the point of departure for research that has decided in advance what should be investigated and how reality should be measured (Babbie, 2012; Bryman, 2004). Such an approach would not be operational for this study as the research problem that is addressed here requires an explorative approach to give voice to the perspectives of residents and their daily life experiences.

This research adopted an inductive-qualitative approach in which concepts provided a general sense of reference and guidance for data collection and analysis; a frame for approaching the construction of methodology; an approach that is usually called 'structured ethnography' (Bryman, 2004). The intention was not to adopt a pre-ordained theoretical framework as it may introduce a premature closure on the issues to be investigated. On the contrary, my aim was to find out about the opinions of residents, and so this research problem requires an open approach which enhances the opportunity of coming across entirely unexpected issues. However, the research was not formulated in terms of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967); in terms of a theory-neutral or no-theory approach where the researcher is capable of omitting the awareness of relevant concepts. Rather, a conceptual framework was needed to provide a necessary perspective in order to guide the practice of the research, both in terms of data collection and analysis.

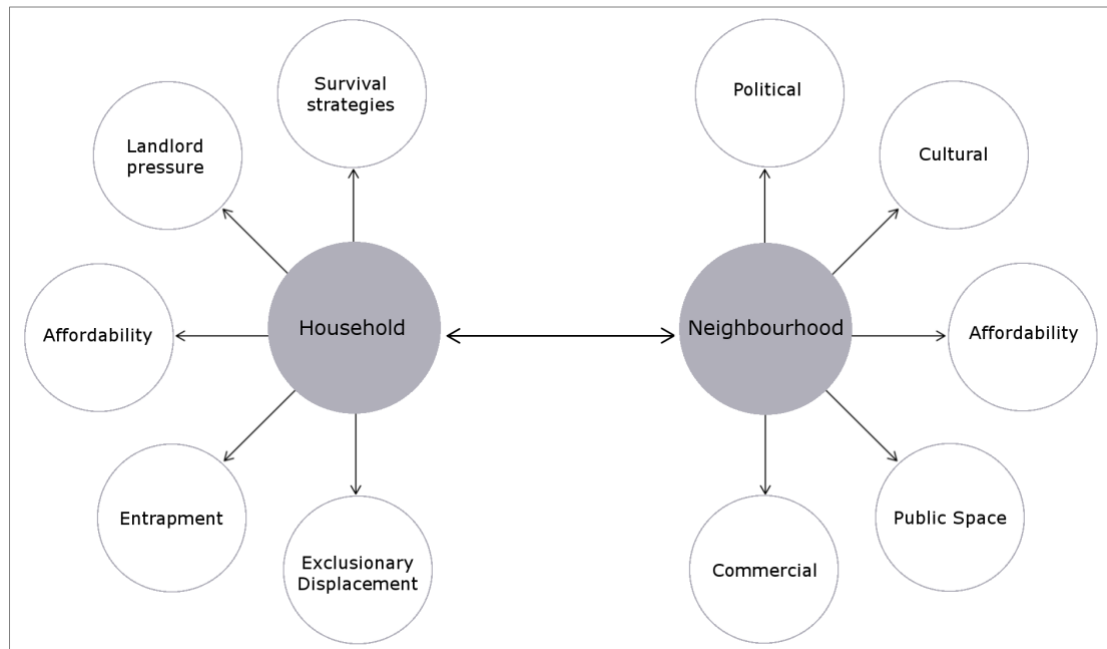
The construction of such a framework was based upon the literature on displacement. I concluded the literature review by identifying a number of displacement pressures. These pressures were used to guide my collection of data. I remind the reader that the lack of direct displacement is not a test for gentrification and, as Newman and Wyly (2006) note, neighbourhoods could experience waves of gentrification for decades without extensive displacement. The literature shows that residents can become resilient to gentrification, in a process whereby people are able to adapt to increasingly distressing conditions. Residents are able to draw on different coping strategies that allow them to remain in their homes. From this point of view, in order to know the extent and impacts of gentrification we need to explore the experiences of residents who were able to remain in the neighbourhood. This understanding follows Marcuse's (1985) conceptualisation and stresses the importance of exploring indirect forms of displacement as primary manifestations of gentrification, that is, exploring how people experience and adapt to 'displacement pressures'.

Therefore, my starting point was to investigate whether residents were impacted by the set of displacement pressures identified in the literature. Such pressures formed my framework and provided a theoretical reference for approaching the fieldwork. The literature distinguishes the scale of such pressures as they may impact different levels of the lives of residents. Although gentrification research has traditionally focused on the household scale – a view of gentrification that only occurs if residential dislocation takes place – research that interprets gentrification as a long-term process shows that it also affects the life of the entire neighbourhood. Rather than the incapacity to afford

the accommodation, gentrification may be the cause of a change in the nature of the area that leads residents to feel a sense of ongoing loss even without spatial dislocation (Davidson and Lees, 2010; Shaw and Hagemans, 2015; Stabrowski, 2014; Valli, 2015). As stated, changes at the neighbourhood scale are particularly important in cases of tourism gentrification.

Following this distinction between the household and the neighbourhood scales, figure 4.1 shows the set of displacement pressures that I used to guide the collection of data. A definition of each of these pressures was given in the conclusion of the literature review (section 2.3.5). My aim was to explore whether residents experienced these displacement pressures and how they adapt to them. This framework provided a comprehensive insight through which the impacts of a process of neighbourhood change was explored. It was the base to constructing a survey and a set of topics discussed in the interviews. The specific relationship between the conceptual framework and the design of the research is discussed in the next section.

Figure 4.1. Framework of displacement pressures based on the discussion of the displacement literature.



#### **4.4. Research design and methods**

This section describes the research design and the methods that were used to conduct the fieldwork. The fieldwork itself took place between February and October 2015. Research methods were chosen according to their ability to examine the research aims and objectives. The central idea was to design a plan that took into account the appropriate technique of data collection to particular research questions (Bryman, 2004). In relation to objective 1 (to explore population change in contexts of urban tourism) I conducted a socio-demographic analysis. The sources I used were the Spanish census and the Population Register. Objectives 2 and 3 (to examine how residents experience changes in both housing dynamics and neighbourhood life) required a qualitative exploration. I adopted an ethnographic approach as the intention was to articulate a bottom-up view of place. I used participant observation and in-depth interviews with residents and key informants. To complement the ethnographic research, I implemented a survey with residents. In addition, I gathered data from secondary sources in order to examine the supply of tourism accommodation.

I used a mixed method approach with the intention of gaining complementary data on the topic and examining the research problem from different perspectives. According to the terminology proposed by Creswell (2009: 213), the specific mixed method model that I implemented was the 'concurrent triangulation strategy'. Quantitative and qualitative data were collected separately and then the different results converged during the analysis and interpretation process. The literature on this triangulation strategy (Brannen, 2005; Creswell, 2009; Creswell and Plano-Clark, 2007) shows that in general terms the weight tends to be equal between the two methods, although depending on the research problem it might emphasise one or the other. As it has been noted by the literature on displacement, in this case there is the need to emphasise the qualitative approach in order to understand the particular conditions of residents on a daily basis. By the same token, in Barcelona there is a lack of qualitative studies that explore the impacts of gentrification. The specific characteristics of the methods that I implemented are discussed below.

##### **4.4.1. Census and Population Register**

I used the 1991, 2001, and 2011 Spanish censuses and the Population Register of Barcelona City Council, which is available for 1986, 1996, and annually from 1998. I did not attempt a traditional measuring of the spatial imprint of gentrification across different



neighbourhoods of Barcelona. As stated above, in measuring gentrification, research has produced gentrification indexes by examining real estate data and social status for census tracts over time (Atkinson, 2000; Ley and Dobson, 2008; Reese et al., 2010). However, the aim of the socio-demographic analysis is linked to objective 1 of the dissertation, that is, to explore population change in the context of a neighbourhood impacted by urban tourism. My interest was to examine the Gòtic neighbourhood in detail with the intention of investigating what tourism gentrification looks like from a demographic perspective. Objective 1 also aimed to explore whether any differences exist between population change in processes of tourism and classical gentrification. This required a comparison between a gentrified neighbourhood impacted by tourism, such as the Gòtic area, with gentrified areas that are not impacted by tourism. In this regard, I compared the results of the demographic analysis in the Gòtic area with three other gentrified neighborhoods in the city which experience less tourism activity. The results of this analyses are described in chapter 5.

Regarding the sources, the 2011 census presents two significant problems. Firstly, it lost its universal character and became a survey with a sample of 10% of the population. This implies that no data can be found when analysing finer spatial scales such as individual householders. Secondly, the census does not include any question regarding previous residences, and so it is in fact a poor representative tool in terms of detecting the incoming population and identifying potential displacees. For those reasons, I supplemented the census with data gathered from the Population Register. The Population Register is updated every year through registrations and de-registrations in each household. It provides information about demographic changes, household composition and the number of homes. Furthermore, it offers data about migration flows, which is a useful tool to detect potential displacement processes as well as processes of transnational gentrification.

#### **4.4.2. Survey**

I conducted a resident survey of 220 respondents. The survey was implemented between February and May 2015. The conceptual framework provided a perspective to guide the design and development of the questionnaire. The survey responds to objectives 2 and 3 of the dissertation. The intention of this quantitative approach was to generate an initial understanding of the concerns of residents that, in turn, was useful to better initiate the qualitative inquiry.

As noted by McLafferty (2003), the design and wording of a questionnaire can have significant impacts on the answers collected. Therefore, careful consideration must be given to the structure, tone and content of the questionnaire in order to minimise response errors. The aim was to provide an impartial questionnaire allowing a range of opinions to be expressed by the respondent, for instance, without assuming that tourism has negative impacts on the neighbourhood or without mentioning concepts such as displacement pressures.

The questionnaire that I implemented is attached as an appendix of the dissertation. The survey design was headed by an introductory statement and a presentation of the research including its credentials, contact details and information about the study, as well as an explanation on how data would be used and stored. After this presentation, the content of the questionnaire was divided into four parts (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1. Questionnaire sections and themes of inquiry.

Part One: Demographic and Personal Information	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Gender</li> <li>- Age</li> <li>- Nationality / Place of Birth</li> <li>- Education</li> <li>- Employment / Income</li> <li>- Post Code</li> <li>- Contact Details (if interested in being interviewed)</li> </ul>
Part Two: Household Information	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Tenure</li> <li>- Length of Residence / Number of Bedrooms</li> <li>- Household Composition / Occupants</li> <li>- Previous Residence / Date of Moving</li> <li>- Cost of Rent / Mortgage</li> <li>- Quality / Conditions</li> <li>- Intention to Move to a Different House</li> <li>- Holiday Rentals in the Building</li> <li>- Other Residents Who Have Been Displaced</li> </ul>
Part Three: Neighbourhood Use	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Stores and Facilities</li> <li>- Affordability</li> <li>- Public Space</li> <li>- Meeting Places</li> <li>- Interaction With Other Users</li> <li>- Sense of Integration / Exclusion</li> </ul>
Part Four: Political Participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Possibilities for Participation</li> <li>- Decision Making</li> </ul>

Part One focused on 'personal data' in order to collect the respondent's basic demographic and socio-economic information. The aim of this part was guaranteeing a correct sampling of the population. Part Two referred to housing issues; Part Three collected data about neighbourhood life; and Part Four explored political participation. Therefore, the variables identified in the conceptual framework guided the structure and topics of the questionnaire (Table 4.2). In this sense, the second section of the survey collected information on household characteristics. It included questions about holiday rentals, direct displacement, affordability and whether residents were implementing survival practices to remain in the neighbourhood. Sections Three and Four examined neighbourhood life. Part Three explored how residents use and feel about the neighbourhood, stressing the role of retail facilities; public space; and interactions with other street-users. The intention was to examine whether residents were exposed to displacement pressures and, if applicable, to investigate to what extent such pressures undermined their quality of life. Finally, section Four collected information on political participation and community involvement. The aim was to investigate whether political displacement pressure was taking place.

Table 4.2. Relationship between the conceptual framework and the questionnaire.

<b>Conceptual Framework</b>	<b>Questionnaire</b>
Exclusionary Displacement Survival Strategies Landlord Pressure	Part Two: Housing
Affordability Cultural Pressure Commercial Pressure Privatisation of Public Space	Part Three: Neighbourhood Life
Political Pressure	Part Four: Political Participation

Each questionnaire took approximately 10 minutes to complete. The survey remained anonymous and no data was recorded that could be used to identify the participant. Once completed, hard copies of the surveys were stored in a locked filing cabinet; the data was then loaded onto an electronic file and stored on a secure computer. The hard copies will be kept until the end of the research, which upon completion will then be destroyed.

The literature on survey research (De Vaus, 2002; Fowler, 1993; McLafferty, 2003; Parfitt, 2005) suggests that different methods to administer the questionnaire (personal; telephone; postal; internet) have different advantages and disadvantages on two important issues: obtaining representative samples; and the quality of answers. According to this literature, an appropriate solution to minimise the bias of each method is to combine them when time and resources allow it. In this sense, I combined a door-to-door personal questionnaire and an online survey.

An important reason for choosing these methods of administering the questionnaire was the expected quality of open-ended questions. The literature on survey research notes that the construction of the questionnaire restricts the ability to express unexpected issues but that this limitation may be mitigated by a balance of both open-ended and fixed-response questions (De Vaus, 2002; Fowler, 1993; McLafferty, 2003; Parfitt, 2005). Open-ended questions allow the respondents to express their personal attitudes, preferences and emotions. The literature (De Vaus, 2002; Hoggart et al., 2002; McLafferty, 2003) suggests that the best two methods to enhance exploration and the quality of open-ended questions are personal face-to-face questionnaires and online surveys. The personal face-to-face survey involves less distance than the postal or telephone survey and it provides an opportunity to engage in dialogue with the respondent. The anonymity of online survey, in turn, tends to encourage the expression of sensitive or controversial questions and, importantly, “researchers also report that online respondents often take care in replying, with lengthy commentaries on open-ended questions” (Hoggart et al., 2002: 177).

Another reason for choosing both online and face-to-face surveys was that they are appropriate techniques when conducting large area surveys (De Vaus, 2002). Furthermore, online surveys can avoid under-representing people who are not at home during the day. Wright (2005) suggests, however, that online surveys are unlikely to attract a random sample of a population as they are dependent on who finds the questionnaire and decides to respond. As I have stated, the combination of both types of surveys prevented these biases and the intention was to complement the two methods in order to mitigate sampling errors.

The sampling frame for the survey was the ‘established residential population’. This frame was explicitly defined for the purpose of this study as an individual who had been resident in the neighbourhood for five or more years.

#### **4.4.2.1. Online survey**

I created a website with an explanation of the project and a link to the online questionnaire. The online survey was available from 15<sup>th</sup> February to 30<sup>th</sup> May 2015 and was completed by 120 respondents. Previously, I conducted a pilot study of 10 participants. Respondents suggested that some questions were unclear so I changed them according to their feedback. I used websites, mailing lists and social media profiles belonging to different organisations along with the Gòtic neighbourhood community to promote the survey. The period I spent in Barcelona provided me with the opportunity to build social and personal links that were fundamental for this purpose. As suggested by the literature, participants provided long and rich responses to open-ended questions in the online survey.

#### **4.4.2.2. Face-to-face survey**

I delivered a personal face-to-face survey to 100 participants. In terms of sampling, De Vaus (2002: 75) suggests that the most appropriate sampling technique when conducting large area surveys is the multistage cluster sampling. This is a door-to-door technique, and following this procedure, the neighbourhood was divided into blocks and a sample of 8 blocks was randomly selected (Figure 4. 2). To ensure proper representation of densely populated blocks the same number of people were chosen from each block regardless of its size. The intention was to conduct a door-to-door questionnaire of 12-15 participants in each of the areas selected.

However, this procedure was not implemented due to the difficulty of finding people at home. On a full-time basis I spent two weeks going to these areas (different days and at different times) and I only completed eight questionnaires. In the Gòtic area there are only blocks of flats so I had to use the doorbell situated at the main entrance. Surprisingly, in the majority of the cases nobody replied and if they did they were mainly tourists staying in holiday apartments or elderly residents who were not willing to open the door. I also spent long hours in the same place waiting to see residents going out or coming back, but generally the only people I found were visitors. The implementation of the questionnaire was actually the first form of observation and it gave reason to the first notes that I wrote in my diary: "the residential space is either empty or used by visitors, but I cannot find residents".



explanations regarding different issues and such explanations are actually an important qualitative material. The answers to the fixed-response questions are rather similar. I have compared the responses of the main questions using Excel pivot-tables and there are no sharp differences. Finally, the online survey together with the website provided a useful way of recruiting interviewees. People showed great interest in the research and many provided their contact details, including details of residents who had been displaced from the area.

#### **4.4.3. Observation and informal interviews**

In developing my ethnographic approach, important techniques of data collection included participant observation, systematic observation of public spaces and informal interviews. First, participant observation is considered a central method for conducting ethnographic research. According to Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), participant observation requires an in-depth involvement in the life of the community for an extended period of time, watching what happens, asking questions, and during this time data is systematically collected in a field diary. According to Cook (2005), the researcher gets involved in the community by immersing himself in its everyday rhythms and routines, and by developing relationships with people who can show and tell the researcher what is 'going on' there. In this sense, the literature on gentrification shows several cases in which participant observation was a useful technique to collect qualitative data (Ley, 1988; Mills, 1991), especially those studies that emphasise how the incoming of more affluent users affects the life of the indigenous residents (Betancur, 2011; Crookes, 2011; Slater, 2004).

In this research, participant observation was an important technique of data collection. As tourism and gentrification represents a central point of community stress and tension, residents organise talks, meetings, workshops and several activities on a weekly basis. In addition, in May 2015 there were local elections in Barcelona and in such a context tourism was a central issue of political debate, particularly in the Gòtic area. Participant observation in such activities was a key source of information as they were places where people had the chance to express their concerns about the changes taking place in the neighbourhood. These forums and insights were also important in terms of informing the questions for the interviews, and were used to identify potential interviewees. In addition, I lived and socialised in the neighbourhood on a daily basis. 'Being there' was an important tool for the collection of qualitative data (Borneman and Hammoudi, 2009).

Second, structured and systematic observation was another method of data collection. Observational techniques are particularly suited to studying urban phenomena as they enable researchers to gather data on large groups of people at a time (Adler and Adler, 1998). I observed the way in which public spaces, residential buildings or stores were used at different times and by whom, including at night-time. Structured observation implied spending long hours at different squares or walking through numerous streets. This technique generated a vast amount of qualitative data on the way in which different groups use, share or pass through the neighbourhood.

Finally, the repetition of these activities and by 'being there' on a regular basis presented me with the opportunity to conduct several informal interviews with different users. Especially important were the views of the elderly and store keepers but also school teachers and other workers such as a postman. These activities generated an immense amount of qualitative information and also were useful in recruiting interviewees. For instance, the postman invited me to do the delivery with him as he wanted to show me the amount of holiday apartments in the area.

#### **4.4.4. In-depth Interviews**

I conducted 56 audio-recorded interviews which constitute the main qualitative material collected for the research. Interviews correspond with objectives 2 and 3 and, furthermore, they were a key source of explaining the results of the socio-demographic analysis (objective 1). As the aim of the research was to explore the experiences of residents, I interviewed 42 long-term residents, including 4 individuals who had been displaced. Among the 42 residents that I interviewed, 25 were Spanish-Catalan individuals; 15 were lifestyle migrants mainly from Western Europe; and 2 were from Latin America. I also interviewed 14 key informants.

In the context of ethnographic research, in-depth interviews offer an account of the personal experiences of the main actors of the investigation. Confirming the suggestion made by Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), interviews helped me to explain what I have observed through direct observation and collected via the questionnaire. Although the conceptual framework presented some preconceived ideas and questions, I framed the interviews in a conversational way to allow unanticipated issues to emerge. The research gave voice to existing residents, and interviews were an opportunity of allowing them to express all the complexities and contradictions that could not be addressed by the questionnaire. The aim was to



examine how residents perceived processes of neighbourhood change and, more importantly, how those changes affected them.

I recruited a cross-section of respondents in order to give voice to different types of individuals living in the area for at least five years. The variables used included gender, age, nationality (place of birth), status of residence (homeowners or tenants) and the number of years living in the area. Another aspect considered was the specific location of the respondent as people living in the same block will tend to have similar concerns. Rather, respondents resided in different areas of the neighbourhood. The questionnaire, participant observation and the website were important tools for recruiting informants. From this starting point, respondents were asked to recruit another contact, thus triggering a snowballing effect. This technique was useful in recruiting long-term and unbiased residents. People who contacted me through the website and participants that were introduced to me through observation in neighbourhood activities were generally interested in complaining about the impacts of tourism. However, the snowball effect provided me with the possibility of contacting long-term residents that were not involved in activism. Their experiences were important in understanding the evolution of the neighbourhood together with the way in which they have adapted overtime to such changes. Interestingly, the impressions of those residents were rather similar to the accounts provided by residents involved in grass-roots organisations.

Tables 4.3 and 4.4 identify all residents that were interviewed according to gender, nationality, age, education, employment, time living in the neighbourhood and status of residence. An acronym is given to all participants. This acronym is used during the analysis.

Table 4.3. Nationalities and gender of participants.

<b>Place of birth</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Total</b>
Spain-Catalonia	11	14	25
Europe	8	5	13
Latin America	0	2	2
North America	2	0	2
<b>Total</b>	21	21	42

Table 4.4. Identification of participants and acronym that are used in the analysis.

<b>Acronym</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Place of Birth</b>	<b>Status of Residence</b>	<b>Years in the area</b>	<b>Employment</b>	<b>Education</b>
Participant 1 (P1)	57	Female	Argentina	Owner with mortgage	23	Shop keeper	University
Participant 2 (P2)	64	Female	Catalonia	Owner with mortgage	64	Civil Servant	University
Participant 3 (P3)	70	Male	Catalonia	Owner no Mortgage	70	Retired	University
Participant 4 (P4)	64	Male	Catalonia	Owner no Mortgage	25	Retired	University
Participant 5 (P5)	66	Male	Spain	Tenant	36	Retired	University
Participant 6 (P6)	63	Male	Catalonia	Tenant	26	Retired	College
Participant 7 (P7)	71	Female	Catalonia	Owner no Mortgage	24	Retired	College
Participant 8 (P8)	55	Female	Argentina	Owner no Mortgage	32	Architect	University
Participant 9 (P9)	57	Female	Germany	Tenant	29	Shop Keeper	University
Participant 10 (P10)	48	Male	Catalonia	Displaced Resident	Lived for 10 years	Professional	University
Participant 11 (P11)	52	Male	UK	Owner with mortgage	9	Professional	University
Participant 12 (P12)	50	Male	Catalonia	Displaced Resident	Lived for 14 years	Civil Servant	University
Participant 13 (P13)	47	Male	France	Tenant	9	Artist	University
Participant 14 (P14)	46	Female	Catalonia	Displaced Resident	Lived for 12 years	Professional	University
Participant 15 (P15)	63	Female	Catalonia	Tenant	40	Retired	University
Participant 16 (P16)	43	Female	Catalonia	Displaced Resident	Lived for 20 years	Professional	University
Participant 17 (P17)	40	Female	Catalonia	Tenant	15	Civil Servant	University
Participant 18 (P18)	56	Female	Switzerland	Owner no Mortgage	22	Professional	University
Participant 19 (P19)	52	Male	France	Tenant	17	Professional	University
Participant 20 (P20)	38	Female	Spain	Tenant	9	Manual Worker	University
Participant 21 (P21)	54	Male	The Netherlands	Tenant	18	Professional	University

Participant 22 (P22)	31	Female	Catalonia	Tenant	6	Professional	University
Participant 23 (P23)	40	Male	France	Owner with mortgage	11	Professional	University
Participant 24 (P24)	61	Male	Canada	Tenant	19	Artist	College
Participant 25 (P25)	66	Male	Spain	Owner with mortgage	11	Retired	University
Participant 26 (P26)	40	Male	Italy	Owner with mortgage	14	Professional	University
Participant 27 (P27)	43	Female	Catalonia	Tenant	20	Artist	University
Participant 28 (P28)	38	Female	France	Owner with mortgage	8	Professional	University
Participant 29 (P29)	36	Male	Italy	Tenant	7	Manual Worker	University
Participant 30 (P30)	39	Male	Spain	Tenant	9	Manual Worker	University
Participant 31 (P31)	60	Male	Catalonia	Tenant	60	Civil Servant	College
Participant 32 (P32)	28	Female	Italy	Tenant	6	Manual Worker	University
Participant 33 (P33)	66	Female	Spain	Owner no Mortgage	18	Teacher	University
Participant 34 (P34)	40	Female	Italy	Tenant	9	Architect	University
Participant 35 (P35)	46	Male	Catalonia	Owner with mortgage	12	IT Technician	University
Participant 36 (P36)	34	Male	Catalonia	Tenant	34	Civil Servant	College
Participant 37 (P37)	59	Female	Spain	Owner no Mortgage	35	Manual Worker	College
Participant 38 (P38)	58	Female	Spain	Owner with mortgage	30	Professional	University
Participant 39 (P39)	51	Male	USA	Owner with mortgage	15	Professional	University
Participant 40 (P40)	62	Female	Catalonia	Tenant	36	Shop keeper	College
Participant 41 (P41)	80	Female	Catalonia	Owner no Mortgage	75	Retired	College
Participant 42 (P42)	48	Male	Belgium	Tenant	14	Professional	University

A second group of interviews were conducted with 14 key informants. I contacted people who play an active role in the political, commercial, economic and social life of the neighbourhood. I interviewed landlords and holiday rental business people; representatives of commercial associations; activists; hotel consultants; shop keepers at risk of displacement; both the social services and tourism department of Barcelona City Council; and academics working in urban and tourism studies. This set of interviews examined how neighbourhood change was perceived by different actors in the studied area. Key informants provided a valuable contextualisation of the issues investigated. The recruitment of key informants was based on snowballing as well as contacting them via gatekeepers. The relationships that I had in the neighbourhood helped me to complete this task. Table 4.5 shows all of the key informants that were interviewed. Their identities remain anonymous.

Table 4.5. Identification of key informants and acronym that are used in the analysis.

<b>Acronym</b>	<b>Description of participant</b>
K1	Barcelona City Council, Department of Tourism
K2	Barcelona City Council, Department of Social Services in the Gòtic area
K3	Lawyer of a charity that supports evicted residents
K4	Landlord of holiday apartments
K5	Representative of the Holiday Apartment Association
K6	Holiday Apartments Company
K7	Real Estate Consultant
K8	Representative of the Retailer Association
K9	Leader of a Neighbourhood Association
K10	Architect that has worked in the Gòtic area for more than 20 years
K11	Professor of urban geography and resident in Ciutat Vella
K12	Long-term shop keeper at risk of displacement
K13	Long-term shop keeper at risk of displacement
K14	Long-term shop keeper displaced from the Gòtic area

Interviews with residents followed a semi-structured approach but turned into unstructured dialogue as conversations progressed. Rather than structured interviews whereby the researcher leads the topics to be addressed, the interviews adopted a conversational format within the context of the research agenda, whilst allowing the respondent to raise issues unknown to the author (Valentine, 1997). Following the conceptual framework, my intention was to focus on both housing dynamics (objective 2) and neighbourhood life (objective 3). I had a set of topics that I wanted to cover (Table

4.6). However, in order to allow the interviewee to guide the conversation with the subjects that they considered relevant, I started the interviews with a broad question: could you please tell me how the neighbourhood has changed while you have lived here? And, could you please tell me how these changes have affected you?

Table 4.6. Set of topics for the interviews based on the conceptual framework.

<b>Housing</b>	<b>Neighbourhood</b>
Tenure and occupants	Stores and Facilities
Cost of Rent / Mortgage	Public Space
Quality / Conditions	Interaction with other users
Housing biography	Sense of integration / exclusion
Holiday apartments	Gathering places
Landlord pressures	Community life
Displaced residents	Political participation

The intention behind using this format was to minimise the biases and limitations which interviews can have. Valentine (1997) suggests that the main limitation arises from interviewer bias which can lead to specific answers and because of the unequal relationship between interviewer and respondent. Furthermore, I did not make any judgement or valuation of the respondent's considerations. It allowed participants to express their ideas and concerns without restraints. I assured respondents that they will remain anonymous. Interviews were recorded with their permission and then transcribed.

The main topics addressed by participants were tourism, gentrification and displacement. I did not mention these three words but residents clearly stated that their main concerns were related to tourism growth, real estate speculation and the difficulties with living in the neighbourhood. The conceptual framework was in fact a useful tool to guide my research. Participants distinguished between impacts on the housing market and impacts on neighbourhood life. In relation to the housing market, the main concerns were affordability, cases of direct displacement and the expansion of holiday rentals. Regarding neighbourhood life, residents highlighted the loss of commercial facilities, public spaces and meeting places. They also stressed that high levels of noise and overcrowding made the area less liveable. Participants did not mention political participation as a central concern. When I asked about this issue, the majority of them recognised that there is a lack of opportunity to participate in the

decision-making process and that changes in the neighbourhood may be related to this lack of political voice. However, lack of political participation was not highlighted as something that affects them on a daily basis. Long-term Spanish-Catalan residents expressed concerns about a lack of mixing with lifestyle migrants. When participants were Europeans or North Americans, I asked about their decision to move to Barcelona and to settle in the Gòtic area.

All interviews were fully transcribed. The data was analysed using NVivo. I identified empirical themes and commonalities within the transcripts and used this empirical consistency to develop the corpus of my dissertation. The interviews were conducted in Spanish. I have translated into English the quotes that I have used in the description of the empirical material.

#### **4.4.5. Data about tourist accommodation**

In relation to holiday rentals, I used two secondary sources. First, I gathered data from Barcelona City Council's Census of Commercial Activities. The Census offers information about all the commercial activities operating in every neighbourhood of the city. The Census provides the address and general information of licenced holiday apartments. Second, I collected data from the Airbnb website ([www.airbnb.com](http://www.airbnb.com)) and especially from the Inside Airbnb website (<http://insideairbnb.com/>). Airbnb is the main portal to rent holiday apartments. However, Airbnb does not provide any public data to help us understand the use of their platform and the impact it has on neighbourhoods. Conversely, Inside Airbnb is an independent and non-commercial set of tools and data that allows the user to explore how Airbnb is being used. Inside Airbnb 'scrapes' the Airbnb website and makes information about a city's Airbnb's listings publicly available. Inside Airbnb provides an Excel document containing the geo-references of all the apartments listed on the portal. I used GIS to analyse this spatial information and to generate maps of holiday apartments in Barcelona.

In relation to hotel activity I gathered data from different secondary sources such as the Department of Statistics of Barcelona City Council and the Hotel Association of Barcelona. Furthermore, the consultancy firm Jones Lang LaSalle provided me with their research on the evolution of investments in the hotel industry in Barcelona. However, data concerning hotel activity is available by districts but not by neighbourhoods. In order to explore the supply and impacts of hotels in the Gòtic area I completed a survey of hotel activity by visiting each hotel that operates in the

neighbourhood. I also conducted informal interviews with neighbourhood users around these hotels. This fieldwork was important in assessing the extent to which the opening of hotels involved the conversion of housing into tourist accommodation, as well as processes of displacement.

#### **4.4.6. Other secondary sources**

I used secondary sources to collect data about house prices. Data about house prices are provided by the Statistic Department of Barcelona City Council. However, data at the neighbourhood scale is available only from 2013-2014. Before 2013 house prices were listed by district and not by neighbourhoods. This means that an exploration of house prices in the Gòtic neighbourhood over time was not possible to do. Some letting companies in Barcelona have data about house prices at the neighbourhood scale but their reports are not open-access and they charge a fee for this information. The fee is circa €1,000 and I did not have funding to access it.

#### **4.5. Conclusion**

I have used different techniques of data collection which have enabled me to have an array of perspectives and information on the issues under investigation. An exploration of the socio-spatial impacts of tourism gentrification required both socio-demographic and qualitative analyses. As it has been stated, the weight of this mixed method approach is qualitative and the different sources will converge during the analysis of data. The qualitative exploration suggest that the main transformation experienced in the Gòtic area is tourism-driven displacement. This is something that is even recognised by representatives of holiday apartments and real estate sectors, as well as by the two managers of the city council that I interviewed. The way in which this process occurs is the central point in the following chapters of the dissertation. Notwithstanding, I start the empirical analysis by showing population changes in context of urban tourism.





## Chapter 5. Demographic analysis

In this chapter, I examine changes in the population of the Gòtic neighbourhood since the early 1990s. The intention is to provide a picture of demographic shifts experienced in the area and, consequently, show processes of population change in a neighbourhood impacted by tourism. The chapter is descriptive in manner but is key to underpinning the following chapters of the dissertation. I show that from a demographic perspective a process of gentrification has taken place but it has particular features which have never been seen in other cases of classical gentrification. The qualitative exploration that I present in the next two chapters suggest that tourism plays an important role in understanding such characteristics. I gather data from two sources. First, I use the Spanish 1991, 2001, and 2011 censuses. Second, in order to complement the information provided by the census I gather data from the Population Register. Data is available for 1986, 1996, and annually from 1998. This source is useful for examining socio-demographic changes as well as migration flows and the number of households. Data from both the census and the Population Register are available on the website of the Statistics Department of Barcelona City Council (Barcelona City Council, 2018).

The chapter is divided into five sections. First, I examine population and household change. I show that in the last few years the neighbourhood has been experiencing a decline in both inhabitants and households. Second, I compare the 1991, 2001, and 2011 censuses and show socio-demographic shifts. Third, I analyse the series of the Population Register from 1998. In particular, the 1998 and 2015 population pyramids are compared as well as migration flows. After the analysis of the Gòtic area, the following section briefly compares the case study with other gentrified neighbourhoods of Barcelona that are not exposed to strong pressure from tourism.

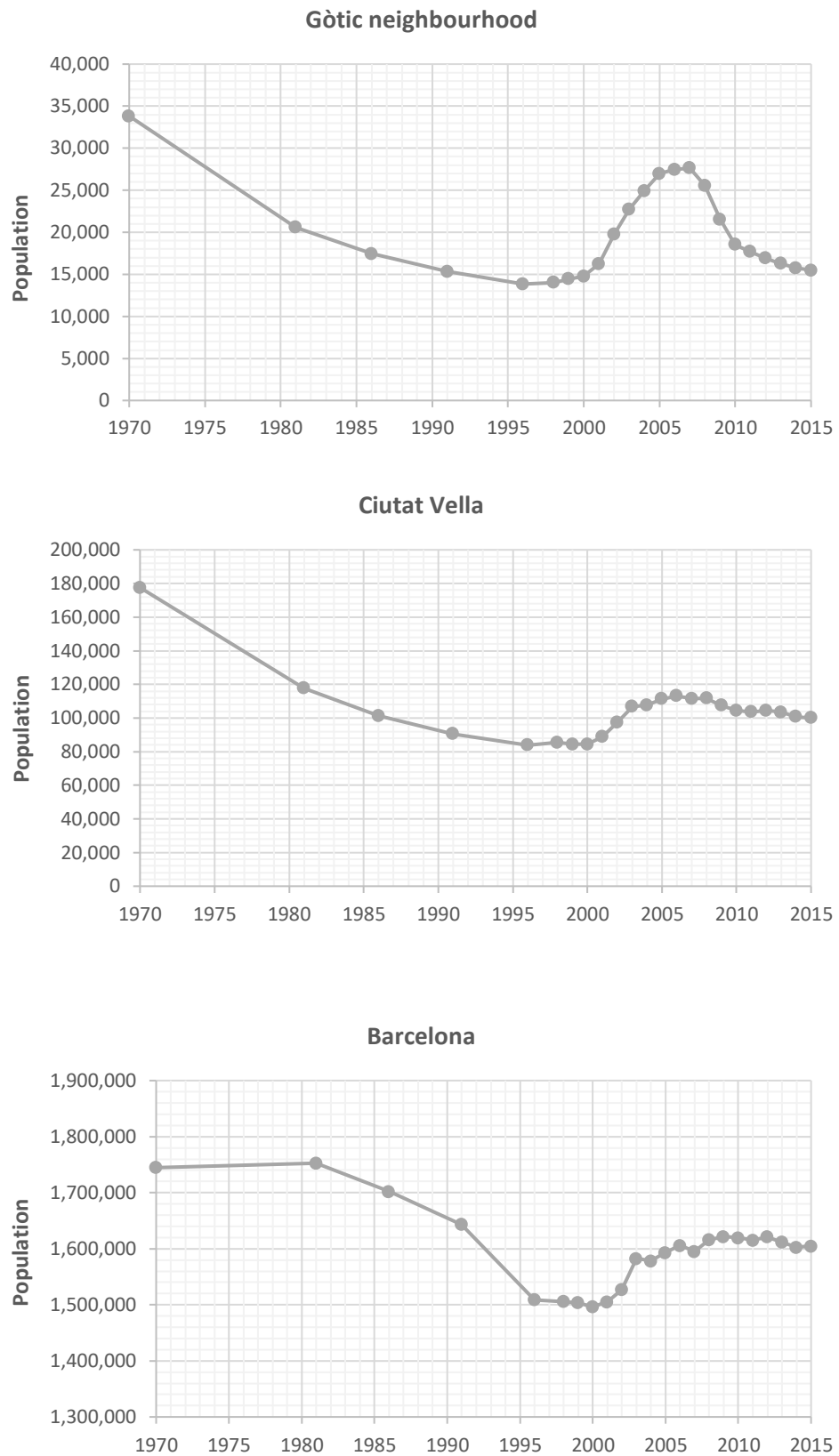
It shows how the Gòtic neighbourhood has some unique characteristics. This comparison is important in identifying the role of tourism in socio-demographic changes. Finally, the last section sums up the main findings and offers a first interpretation of the changes experienced in the area. I suggest that a particular form of tourism gentrification is taking place.

### **5.1. Population and household change**

In this section, I show changes in the number of inhabitants and households. Regarding the size of the population, I gather data from the censuses of 1970, 1981, and 1991. From 1998, the Population Register offers annual data so I use this source instead of the Census 2001 and 2011, which was a sample of just 10% of the population. The Population Register also offers data for 1986 and 1996.

Figure 5.1 compares population changes in the Gòtic area with Ciutat Vella and Barcelona. According to the census, in 1970 almost 35,000 individuals lived in the Gòtic area. However, in 1996 the neighbourhood had less than 15,000 inhabitants. A similar population decrease can be also observed in Ciutat Vella and Barcelona. As authors have noted, this dramatic decline had much to do with the reduction of the household size due to the progressive ageing of the population (López-Gay and Mulder, 2012). In the Gòtic area, the first signs of gentrification (Aramburu, 2000) or the 'tendency towards gentrification' (Alabart and López, 1996) experienced in the 1980s may play a central role towards explaining the reduction of household size and the consequent decrease in population. Gentrification is associated with family patterns linked to the Second Demographic Transition, that is, young adults with high proportions of one-person households, the postponement of marriage and low fertility (Ley, 1996; Ogden and Hall, 2004; Van Criekingen, 2010). The lifestyle of the 'new middle-class' leads to new patterns of transition to adulthood usually characterised by non-family living arrangements rather than the conventional family commitments of previous generations. Although gentrification usually increases the number of households, the transformation of the household scale, or the 'rise of the small household' as Ogden and Schnoebelen (2005) call it, tends to lead to population decline resulting from a decrease in the number of people living in each household. This may be the case in the Gòtic area. The census shows that in 2001 the proportion of one-person households among the population aged between 25 to 49 was 18%, while the city average was 8%.

Figure 5.1. Evolution of the population of the Gòtic neighbourhood, Ciutat Vella and Barcelona, 1970-2015. Source: Census and Population Register.



The annual series of the Population Register started in 1998. Figure 5.1 shows that the number of residents increased rapidly in the Gòtic neighbourhood after 2000. However, this increase was linked to an anomaly in the registration process. The city council registered foreign citizens arriving in Barcelona that did not have a permanent address in the headquarters of the Statistics Department, which is located within the Gòtic area (Bayona, 2006). In order to fix this anomaly, a spatial integration of census tracks has been undertaken with the intention of obtaining comparable units throughout the analysed period (Figure 5.2). The anomaly in the registration corresponds to the 'Northeast Gòtic' section, where the headquarters of the Statistics Department is located. More than 10,000 individuals were registered following this procedure between 2000 and 2006. As a consequence, in 2007 the Gòtic area officially had circa 28,000 inhabitants. In 2008 the Statistics Department started to debug the data and in 2011-2012 the effects of the previous irregular procedure were eliminated.

Figure 5.2. Geographic integration of the census tracts available (1998-2014). Source: Own elaboration using census tracts of the Population Register, 1998-2014.

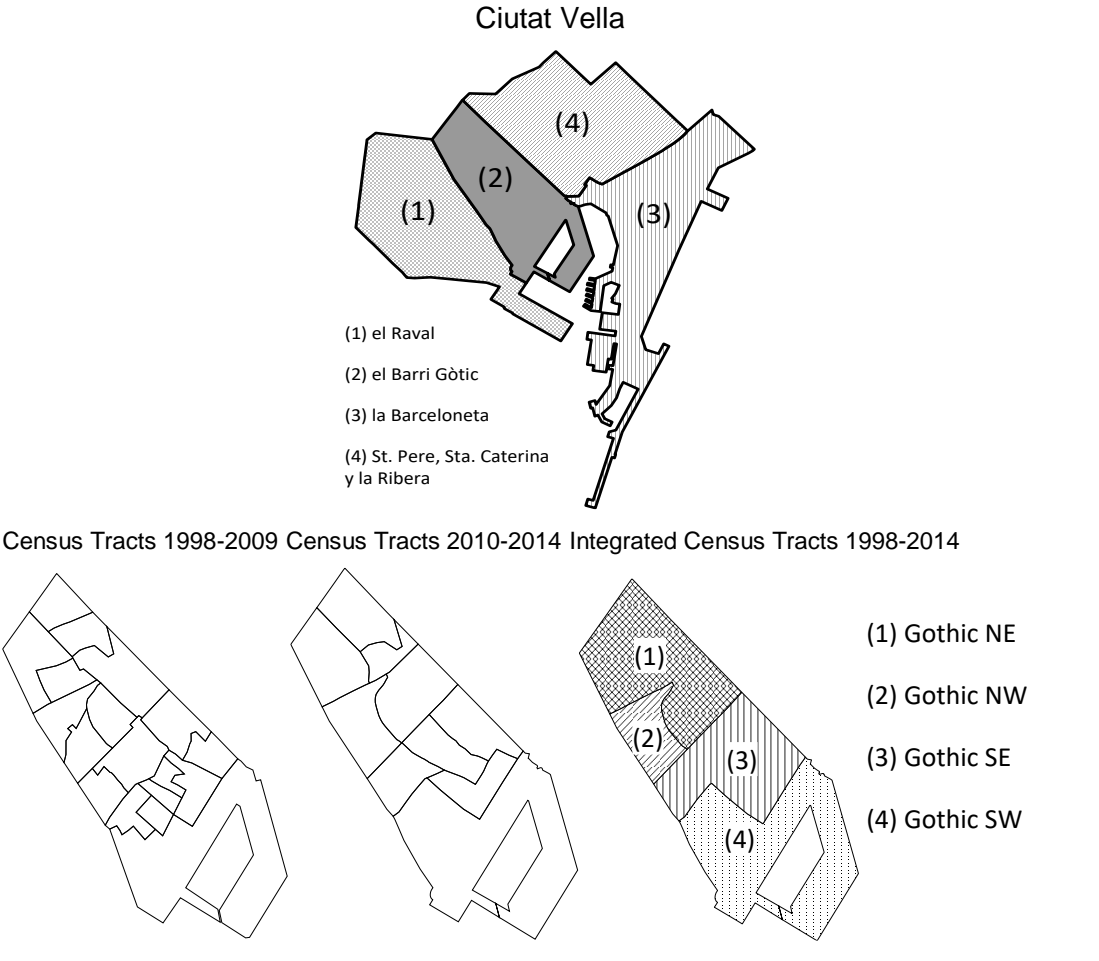


Figure 5.3 shows that the anomaly in the registration corresponds to the ‘Northeast Gòtic’ section but it did not affect other sectors of the neighbourhood. I have corrected the population series with a linear interpolation of foreign nationals in the Northeast sector from 2001 to 2012.

Figure 5.3. Evolution of the population in the Gòtic area by sectors and citizenship. Source: Population Register, 1998-2015.

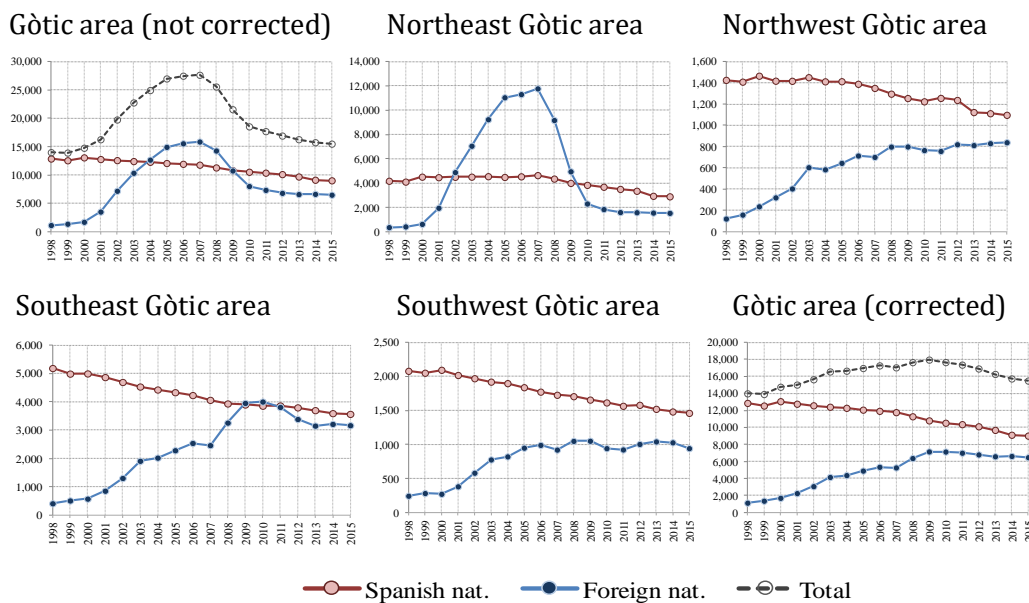
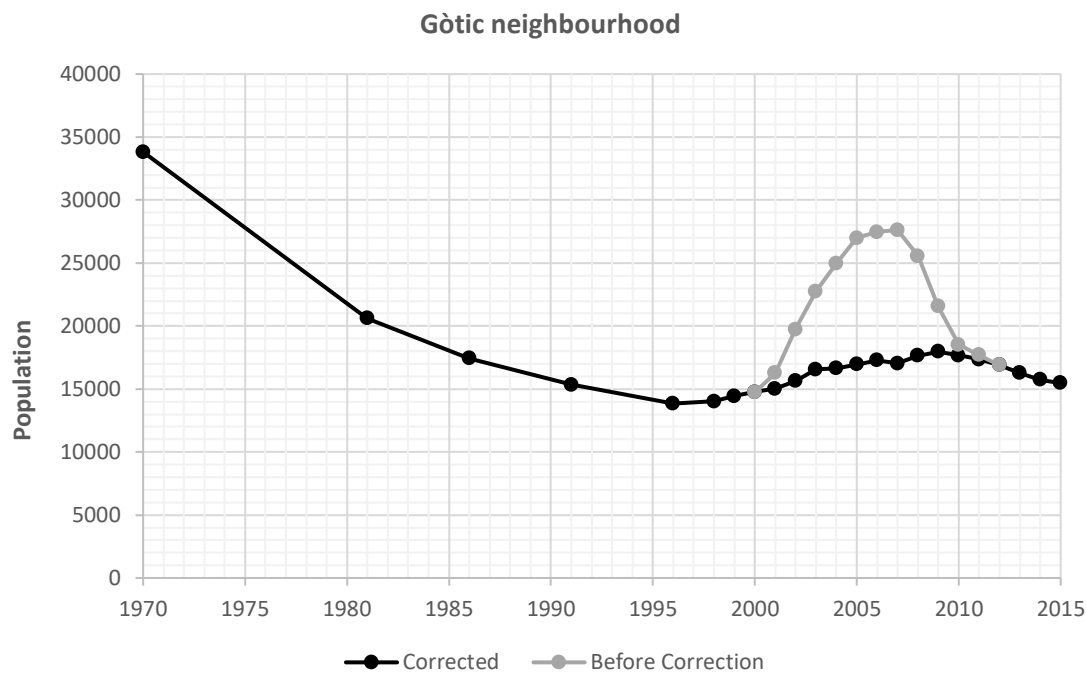


Figure 5.4 shows the evolution of the population in the Gòtic neighbourhood before and after the correction of the anomaly (compare with Figure 5.1). After the correction, data shows that the area had a population which peaked at around 18,000 inhabitants between 2008 and 2010. Importantly, since then the population has decreased to 15,400 individuals according to the registration in 2015.

Consequently, data shows that the Gòtic neighbourhood is experiencing a process of population decline. Between 2011 and 2015, the total number of residents has decreased by 10.8%, while the population in the entire municipality of Barcelona has remained very stable, recording a slight decrease of just 0.7%. Furthermore, since 1998 the neighbourhood has lost 4,000 Spanish residents and has gained 5,000 foreign nationals. I will further analyse migration flows in the next sections.

Figure 5.4. Evolution of the population of the Gòtic neighbourhood, 1970-2015. Source: Census and Population Register.

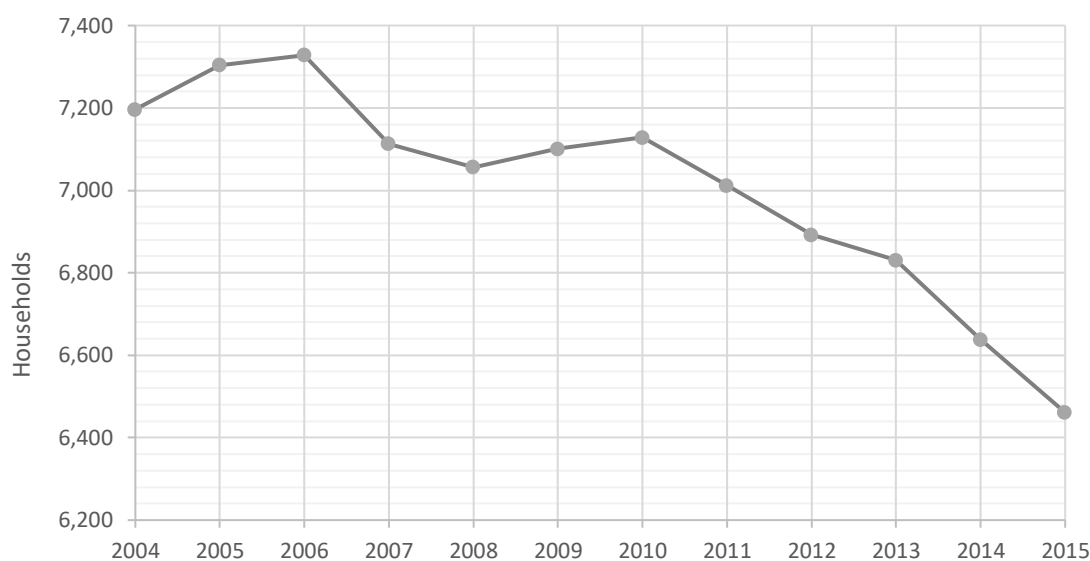


In order to have a more detailed picture of population changes in the neighbourhood I turn now to analyse shifts in the number of households. Population decrease may not imply household decline. As stated, gentrification may be the cause of population decline due to a reduction in the household size but typically increases the number of households. For this reason, the analysis of the evolution of households may provide new information about the area (Table 5.1). The Statistics Department of Barcelona City Council has released the characteristics of households since 2004. Because the household series is also constructed from the Population Register, it shows some anomalies. These are visible in the large number of households with 9 or more members, of which there were 480 in 2007. There is a decrease in the number of these households between 2007 and 2011 as a consequence of the debugging of the register. As stated, in 2011-2012 the register was corrected so it can now provide a more reliable information.

Table 5.1. Evolution of the number of households in the Gòtic neighbourhood by size, 2004-2015. Source: Population Register, Barcelona City Council.

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
1		2,780	2,779	2,727	2,674	2,641	2,683	2,724	2,668	2,628	2,567	2,526
2		1,889	1,907	1,827	1,844	1,862	1,923	1,930	1,942	1,925	1,867	1,865
3		1,024	1,009	990	998	986	1,098	1,068	1,018	1,019	989	918
4		662	667	635	635	655	666	620	605	620	603	587
5-8		487	519	453	483	564	589	529	543	551	511	467
9+		462	447	481	422	393	169	141	116	87	101	98
Total	7,196	7,304	7,328	7,113	7,056	7,101	7,128	7,012	6,892	6,830	6,638	6,461

Figure 5.5. Number of households in the Gòtic neighbourhood, 2004-2015. Source: Population Register, Barcelona City Council, 2004-2015.



The evolution of the number of households (Table 5.1; Figure 5.5) shows two significant points. Firstly, the proportion of one-person households is notably high. In 2015, one-person and two-person households represented 68% of all households. This suggests that the population in the Gòtic neighbourhood should be associated with family patterns linked to the Second Demographic Transition, that is to say, it shows features that correspond to gentrified areas. Secondly, although gentrification usually increases the number of households, this is not the case in the Gòtic area in which

the number of households has decreased by 8% in recent years. The neighbourhood has registered a progressive household decline since 2011 while in Barcelona the number of households during the same period has remained stable. In the Gòtic area, even the number of single-person households has decreased since 2011. This shows that the decline in population witnessed after 2011 is not related to an increase in single-person households as may happen in examples of classical gentrification (Odgen & Hall, 2004). Rather, this decline in the number of households suggests that a particular phenomenon is taking place.

In sum, this first approximation to population changes experienced in the Gòtic neighbourhood shows two significant points that need to be discussed. Firstly, since 2011 the decline of both population and households has been progressive. Although population decline may happen in classical manifestations of gentrification, household decline is an unexpected outcome. Secondly, migration flows are central to understanding population change in the Gòtic area. Since 2000 the number of Spanish residents has declined by 30%. In comparison, in 2000 foreign nationals represented 11% of the population but in 2015 they represented 42%. The next section examines the socio-demographic composition in the area and provides a more detailed picture of these population shifts.

## **5.2. Census analysis**

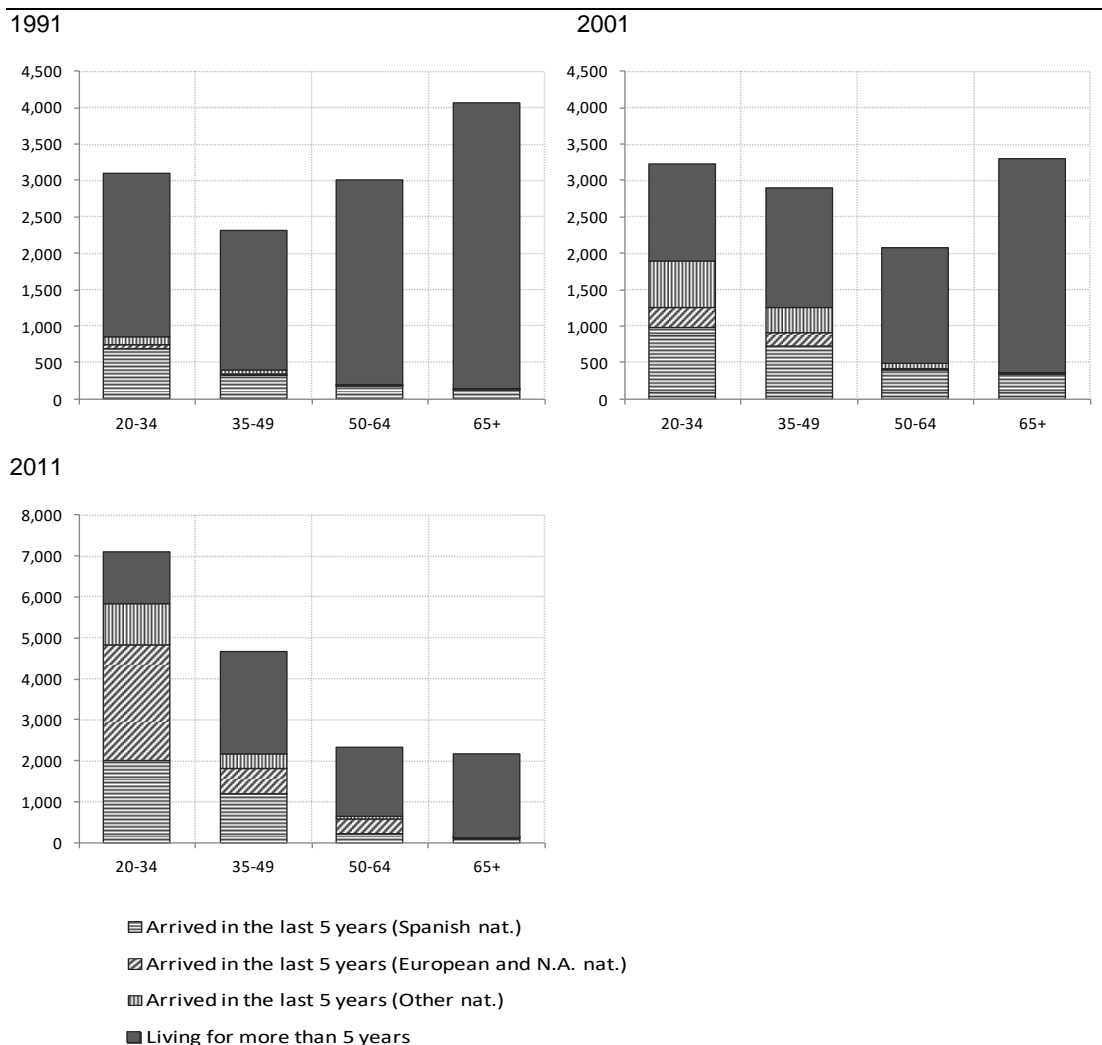
In this section, I analyse the censuses of 1991, 2001, and 2011 with the intention of showing changes in the socio-demographic composition of the population in the Gòtic neighbourhood. I remind the reader that classical gentrification is understood as the displacement of low-skilled individuals, especially the elderly, and those typically employed in manual jobs by new young residents with higher educational levels and usually employed in professional and managerial services (Atkinson, 2000; Lees et al., 2008; Ley, 1996). In addition, I have shown that foreign nationals are the main group of newcomers in the Gòtic area. For these reasons, I compare four variables: age, employment, level of education, as well as nationality. Furthermore, the census tracks the year of arrival. I include this migration status in the tables.

Figure 5.6 shows several population changes that need to be stressed. Firstly, in 1991 newcomers were mainly young Spanish adults. Secondly, between 1991 and 2011 the adult and elderly populations (50-64 and 65+) have notably decreased while the number of young adults (20-34) has grown by more than 50%. In this regard, data



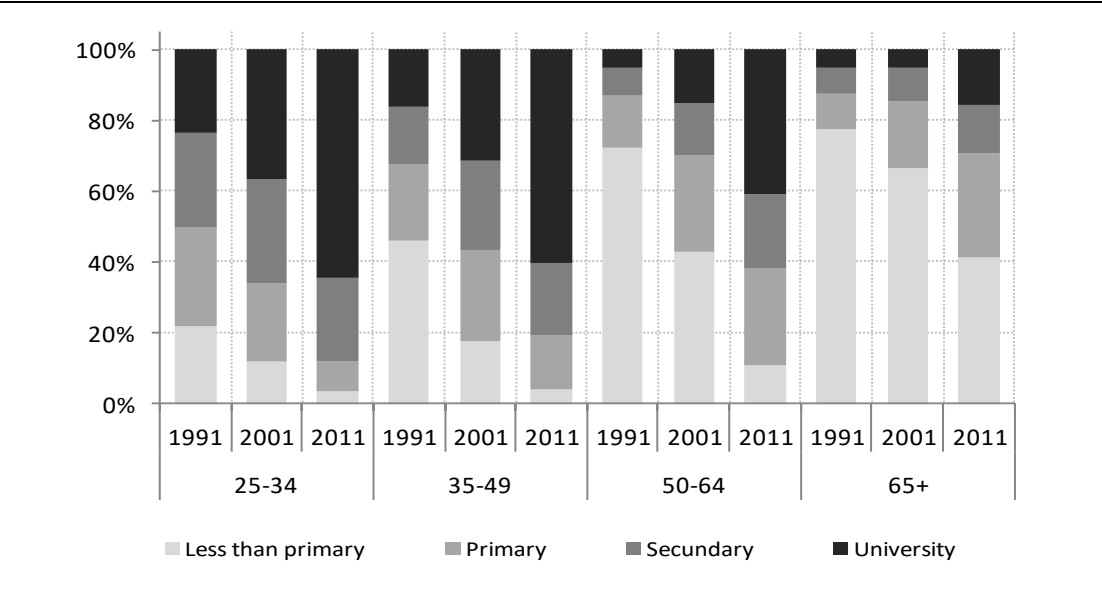
suggests that the notable decrease of adult (50-64) and elderly (65+) residents is likely to be related to out-migration rather than to mortality. The next section shows migration flows and confirms this hypothesis. Thirdly, the census of 2011 clearly shows that this rejuvenation of the population results particularly from the arrival of young European and North American inhabitants. Finally, in 1991 the majority of the population, including young adults (20-34), had lived in the same dwelling for more than five years. However, in 2011 only 20% of young adults (20-34) had lived in the dwelling before 2006. The proportion of newcomers decreases in elderly groups. In sum, Figure 5.6 illustrates that the arrival of younger inhabitants is related particularly to migration flows and that these groups have a higher level of residential temporality.

Figure 5.6. Year of arrival to the current dwelling by age and nationality. Source: Population Censuses, 1991-2001-2011.



I now analyse changes in the composition of the population according to educational level and age (Figure 5.7). In 1991, 25% of young adults (20-34) had a university degree while in 2011 the proportion was 65%. Similarly, in the 35-49 age group almost 70% of the population did not complete secondary school in 1991 while in 2011 more than 80% of residents did. Those changes in educational level can only be understood by the arrival of newcomers as well as by the out-migration of indigenous residents. As I show below, Figure 5.8 emphasises the importance of migration flows in understanding the socio-demographic changes experienced in the neighbourhood.

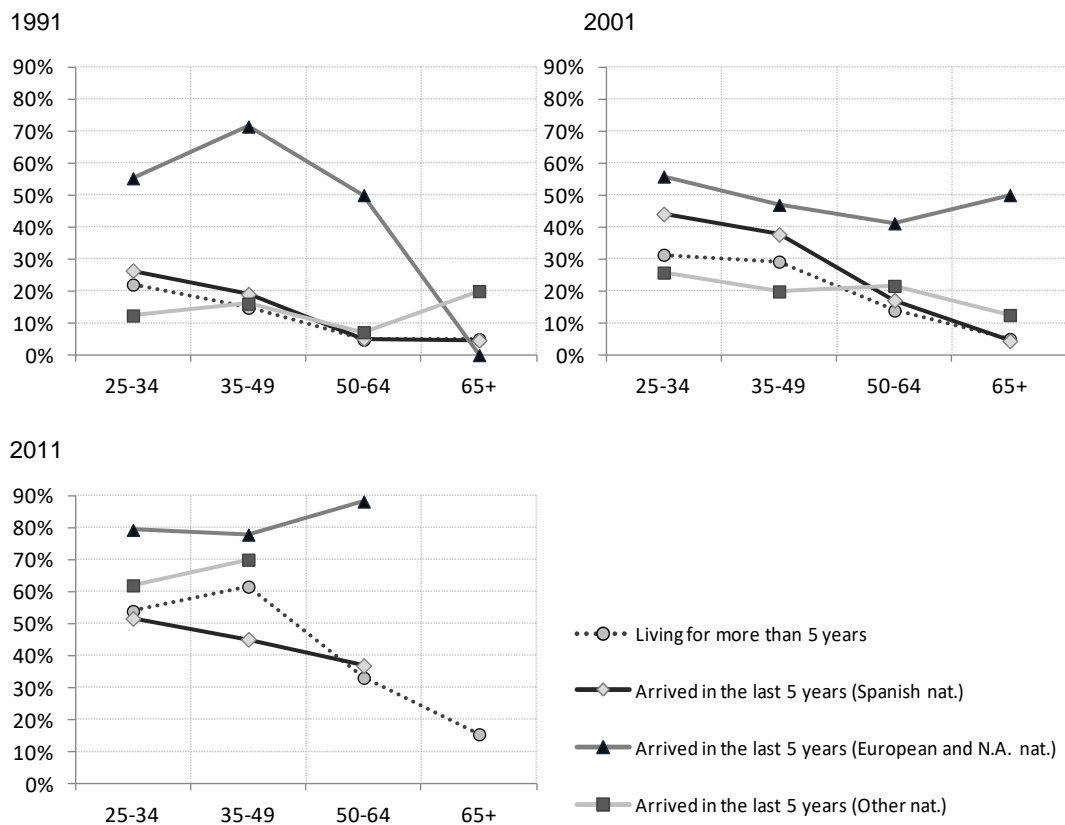
Figure 5.7. Composition of the population by educational attainment and age. 1991-2011. Source: Population Censuses, 1991-2001-2011.



I now analyse migration status, university degree and age group (Figure 5.8). Figure 5.8 compares the educational level of new residents in relation to the householders who inhabited the same dwelling five years earlier. In 1991, the proportion of the population with a university degree was low for all age groups. However, the newcomers had a higher educational level, especially if they were Europeans and North Americans. If they were Spanish, the educational level was slightly higher. In 2001, Spanish newcomers had a notably higher educational level than previous residents. The same can be said for new European and North American residents. However, this group again had a higher educational level than the rest. Consequently, in the 1990s the Gòtic neighbourhood already attracted new residents with a higher educational level than the indigenous population. As stated above, changes in the educational level of residents can only be understood by the arrival of newcomers, especially young adults from Europe and North America. This tendency continued in

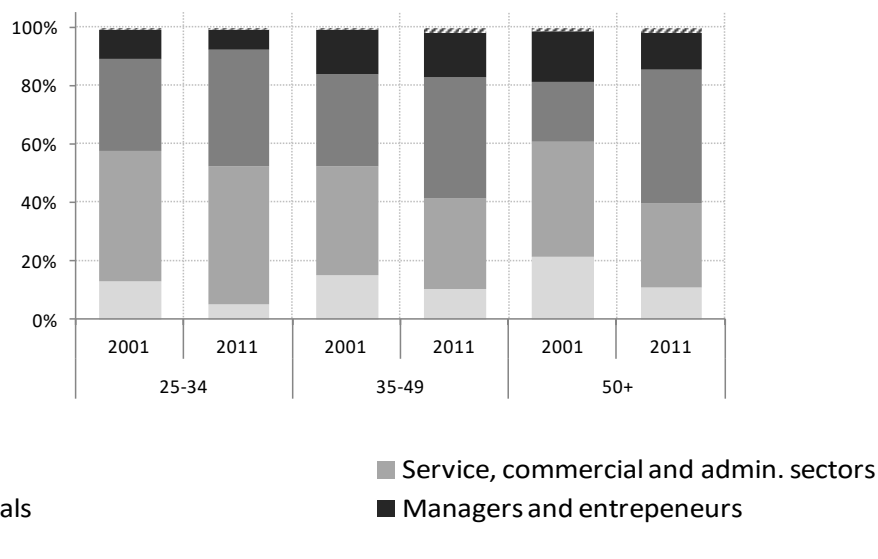
the next decade. In 2011, inhabitants with more than five years of residence present a high educational level. Even so, the proportion of new European and North American residents with a university degree is higher than the rest. This gap is particularly important in the 50-64 age group.

Figure 5.8. Proportion of the population with university degree by age group and migratory status. Source: Population Censuses, 1991-2001-2011.



Finally, I show changes in employment categories as indicators of socio-economic status (Figure 5.9). The employment categories of the 1991 census are different to the categories used in the 2001 and 2011 censuses. For this reason, I omit the employment variable for the 1991 census. The main difference between 2001 and 2011 is a decrease in the number of manual workers in all age groups as well as a growth in the number of professionals.

Figure 5.9. Composition of the population by socio-economic status and age. 2001-2011. Source: Population Censuses, 2001-2011.

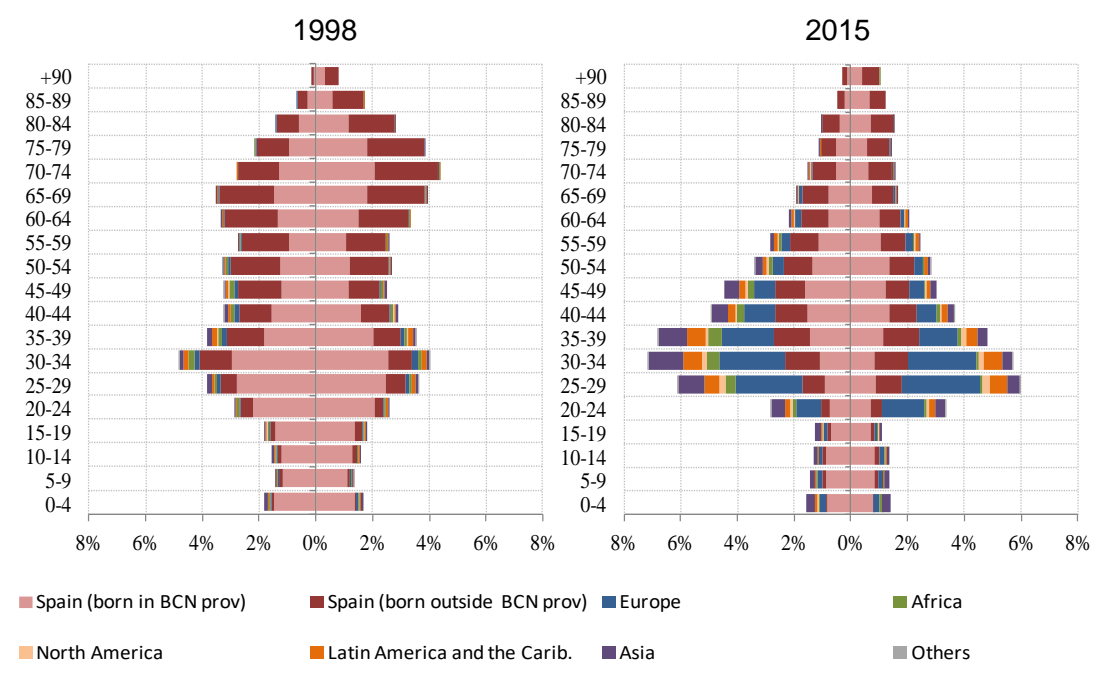


The census shows that the Gòtic neighbourhood has been experiencing a process of gentrification since the early 1990s. Here, by gentrification I mean the arrival of a younger and more educated population that replaces indigenous residents with lower educational levels, especially the elderly. I use 'replace' as the census cannot track whether those indigenous residents were displaced or not. However, the census does show that the decrease in the number of adults (50-64) and elderly (65+) residents is likely to be related to out-migration rather than to mortality. By the same token, changes in the educational level can only be understood by the out-migration of indigenous residents and the arrival of newcomers with higher educational capital. However, the main characteristic that differentiate the Gòtic neighbourhood with other cases of classical gentrification is that among the gentrifiers the presence of European and North American residents is particularly important. In order to further explore how the arrival of those migrants is shaping the demographic composition of the neighbourhood I turn now to analyse the Population Register.

### 5.3. Population Register analysis

The Population Register offers more detailed data about socio-demographic change in the area, particularly in regards to migration flows. I analyse population shifts using four variables: sex, age, nationality and level of education. I start by comparing the population pyramid at the start and end of the register, that is, 1998 and 2015 (Figure 5.10). In 2015 the anomaly in the registration of some individuals was already corrected and so such a comparison is rather reliable.

Figure 5.10. Population structure of the Gòtic neighbourhood by citizenship, 1998-2015.  
Source: Population Register, 1998-2015.



The population structure has experienced a notable change over the past 15 years. Particularly relevant is the fact that the population over 65 years of age has been reduced by 50%. In 1998, they represented the main group in the pyramid, 30%, while in 2015 the proportion of residents over 65 years of age is 15%. In contrast, the 25 to 39 age group has become the largest age group of the population pyramid. In 1998, this age group represented 23% of the population while they currently represent 37%. Nowadays, 60% of the population is between the age of 20 and 49. Consequently, a significant characteristic to be noted is the change from being a neighbourhood predominantly inhabited by elderly residents into a place in which the majority of residents are young adults.

This rejuvenation of the neighbourhood is not related to the presence of children. A second important point is the fact that despite the increase in the adult population, the base of the pyramid has not experienced any significant change. This may result from the high proportion of 'small households' as shown in Table 5.1. However, in the Gòtic neighbourhood only 8.5% of the population is under 15, the lowest proportion among the 73 neighbourhoods of the city. The Gòtic neighbourhood is also the area with the highest ratio of adults (25-59) to children (0-14): 7.6 compared to the city average of 4.1.

A third characteristic to be noted is that the increase in the population aged 25-39 is notably due to the arrival of foreign nationals, who currently represent 65% of this age group. This confirms the data shown by the census in which the presence of Western European citizens is particularly high. Those of Western European origin, together with North Americans, represent 60% of foreign nationals in this age group. The presence of Europeans and North Americans is very low among elderly residents, which suggests that the arrival of residents from those places is not related to retirement migration. Among Western European residents, Italian, French, British, German and Swedish are the most common nationalities.

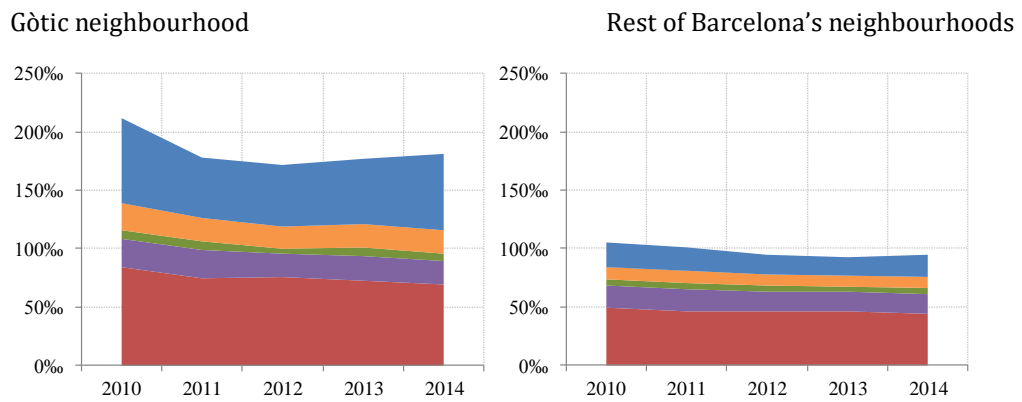
In contrast, a fourth significant point is that young adults from the local population are extremely low. By local population I mean residents born within Barcelona province. Locals represent just 17% of the population of the 25-39 age group. This is an unusual feature of the city and clearly shows the infrequency in which young locals include this neighbourhood in their itineraries and residential strategies.

At the same time, the Population Register allows us to analyse how migration and residential mobility are shifting the socio-demographic composition of the neighbourhood. In addition, from 2011 the Population Register includes data about sex, age, citizenship, place of birth and educational attainment of each individual that has moved into or out of the Gòtic neighbourhood.

Migration rates show the high mobility of the individuals living in the Gòtic area (Figure 5.11). The in-migration rate (that includes any type of arrival, even individuals moving into the neighbourhood from other areas of Barcelona) is double the average rate of the other neighbourhoods of the city and has a strong international component compared to the flows arriving in other neighbourhoods. Regarding the movements leaving the Gòtic area, rates are currently 1.8 times higher than the average for the rest of the city. Furthermore, according to the Population Register, almost half (49.22%) of all residents in the Gòtic area moved to the city in the past five years, while the average for Barcelona is 27.1%. These figures reflect the notable presence of foreign nationals living in the neighborhood and show that they are mobile and temporal rather than stable residents.

Figure 5.11. Residential and migratory flows by type of origin or destination. Source: Statistics Department of Barcelona City Council, Registrations and De-Registrations, 2010-2014.

Registrations (incoming)



De-registrations (outgoing)

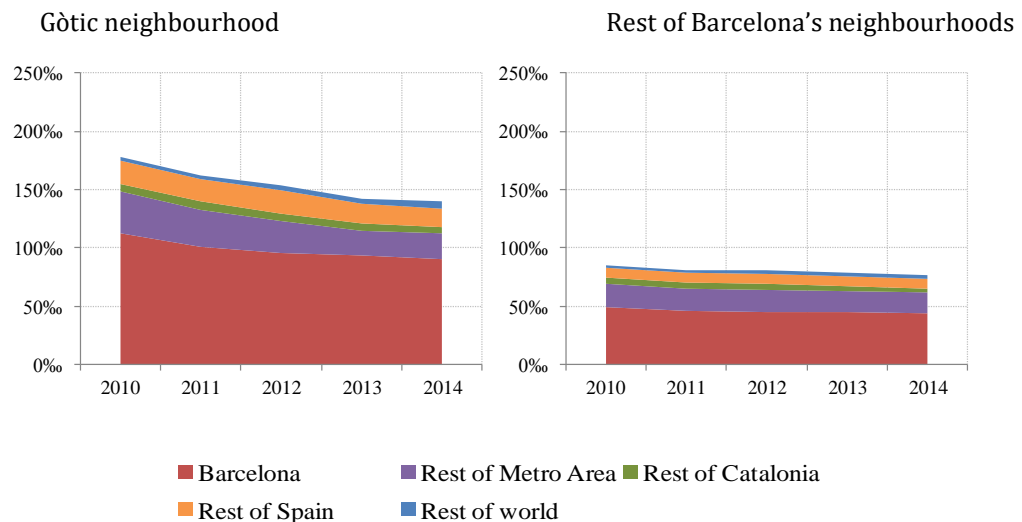
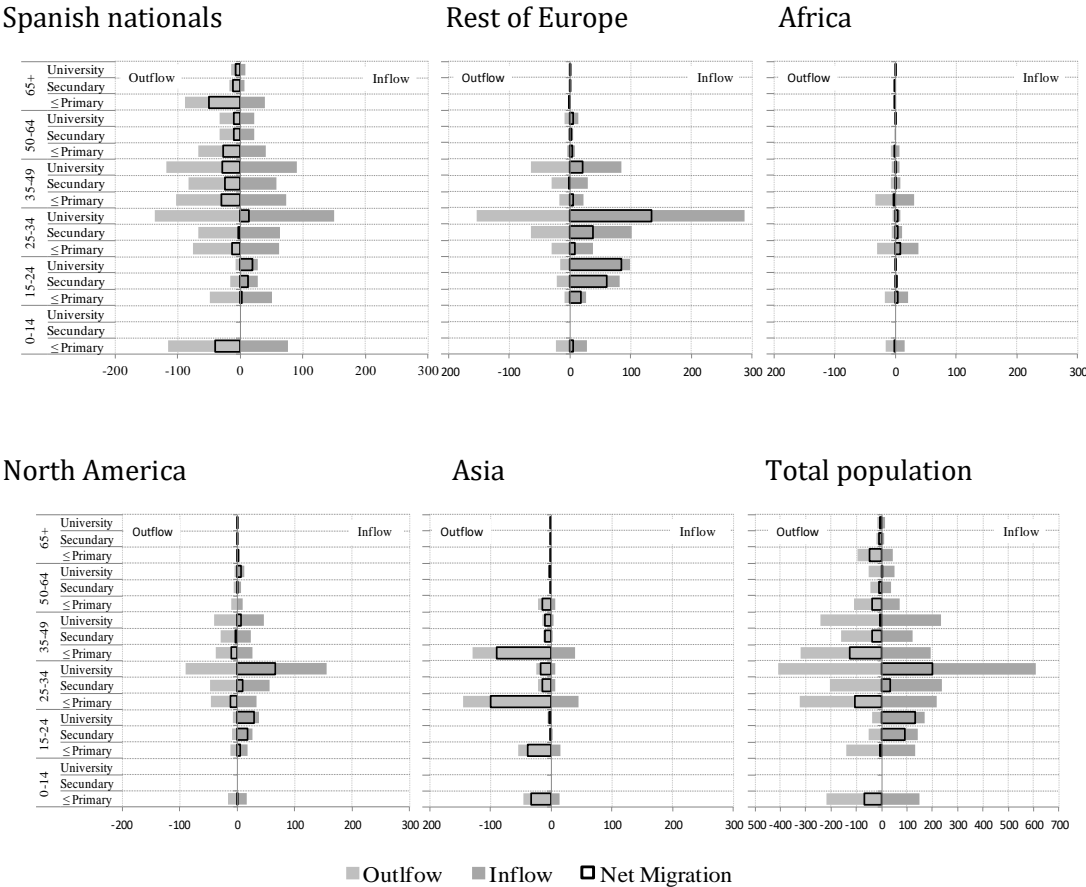


Figure 5.12 shows migration flows by level of education and nationality between 2011 and 2015. A first point of interest is the fact that the Gòtic area lost Spanish citizens of all ages except the highest educated young-adults. The 25-34 age group is the only one registering a slightly positive net migration of people with a university degree.

Secondly, although Spanish citizens are moving out from the neighbourhood, this negative net migration is remarkably strong among both children and the elderly. This confirms that the rejuvenation of the population is not only the effect of mortality – migration has also been feeding this process.

Figure 5.12. Average annual flows (outflow and inflow) and net migration by age group, educational attainment and nationality, 2011-2015. Source: Statistics Department of Barcelona City Council, Registrations and De-Registrations.



A third point of interest is the fact that the net migration of European citizens is positive in all age and educational groups, but it is particularly high among the highest educated adults of the 25-39 age group. The population from North America registers a similar pattern, but not as intense as the Europeans. Finally, Asian and African citizens (both groups have a small presence in the neighbourhood) have experienced population losses in all adult ages, especially among the least educated. These groups arrived during the end of the 1990s and the early 2000s in areas of the neighbourhood with the worst housing conditions (Bayona, 2006).

In sum, the Population Register confirms the socio-demographic changes advanced by the census. On the one hand, young adults with high educational levels have been replacing elderly residents. In fact, the number of elderly residents has been reduced by 50%. On the other hand, newcomers tend to be Europeans and North Americans while the tendency is that Spanish residents have been moving out, especially those with low educational levels. This shows a form of gentrification which is transnational

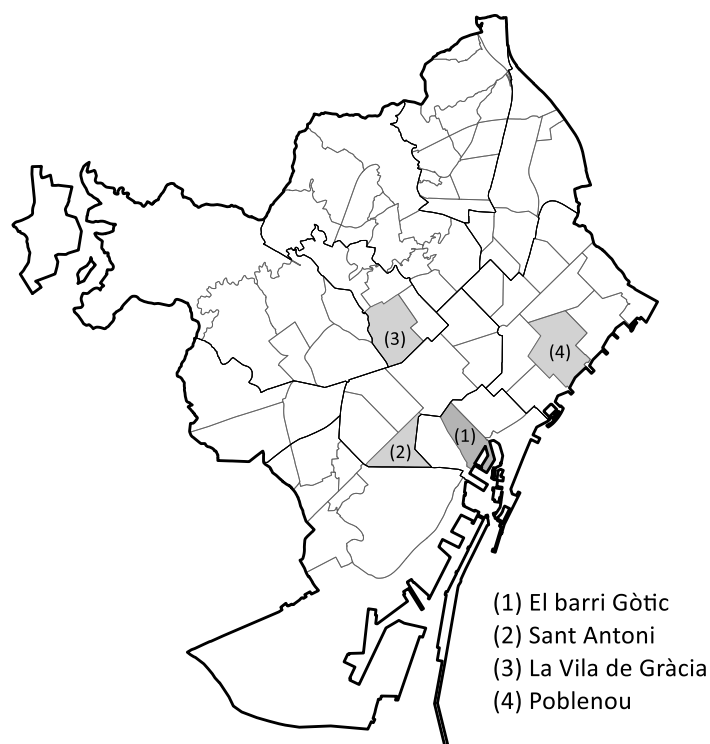


and that needs to be related with the arrival of lifestyle migrants. In this regard, it is worth noting the high rates of residential mobility experienced in the area. At the same time, the Population Register illustrates two significant facts. First, that the number of children is rather low. This fact is not only related to the presence of small households. The data shows a notable negative net migration of children, which suggests that families may be leaving the area. Second, the presence of local young adults is particularly low. A comparison with other gentrified areas of Barcelona can better illustrate the extent to which gentrification in the Gòtic area is rather particular.

#### 5.4. Gentrification in Barcelona: contrasting socio-demographic changes

One of the aims of this research is to identify specific socio-demographic trends in a neighborhood which is experiencing pressure from tourism and to differentiate them from classical manifestations of gentrification. In order to do so, I compare some of the socio-demographic changes seen in the Gòtic area with population dynamics in Sant Antoni, Vila de Gràcia, and Poblenou (Figure 5.13). These three neighborhoods are experiencing intense gentrification processes (Porcel, 2016) but are not exposed to the pressures of tourism which are prevalent in the Gòtic neighbourhood.

Figure 5.13. Municipality of Barcelona. In grey, the Gòtic area and the other neighbourhoods included in the study.



None of these three neighbourhoods have experienced an intense population decline like the one observed in the Gòtic area. Vila de Gràcia is the only one that registered a population decrease between 2011 and 2015, but the intensity was significantly less extreme than the one seen in the Gòtic neighbourhood (-1.6% compared to -10.8%). The number of households in these areas has remained stable while the Gòtic neighbourhood experiences a dramatic decline. In addition, for these three neighbourhoods I use the Population Register to show the population pyramid as it was in 2015 (Figure 5.14), as well as migration flows between 2011 and 2015 (Figure 5.15).

Figure 5.14. Population structure of Sant Antoni, Vila de Gràcia, and Pobleu by nationality, 2015. Source: Population Register.

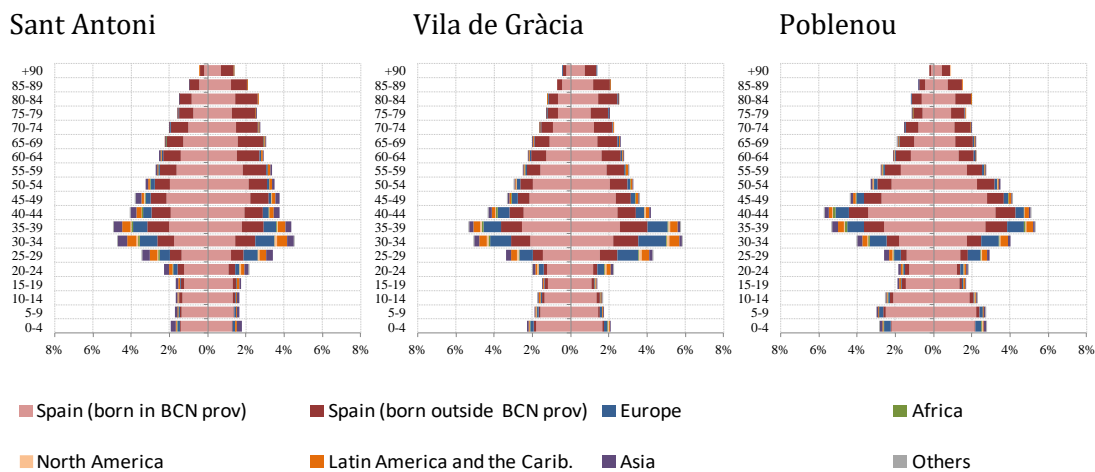
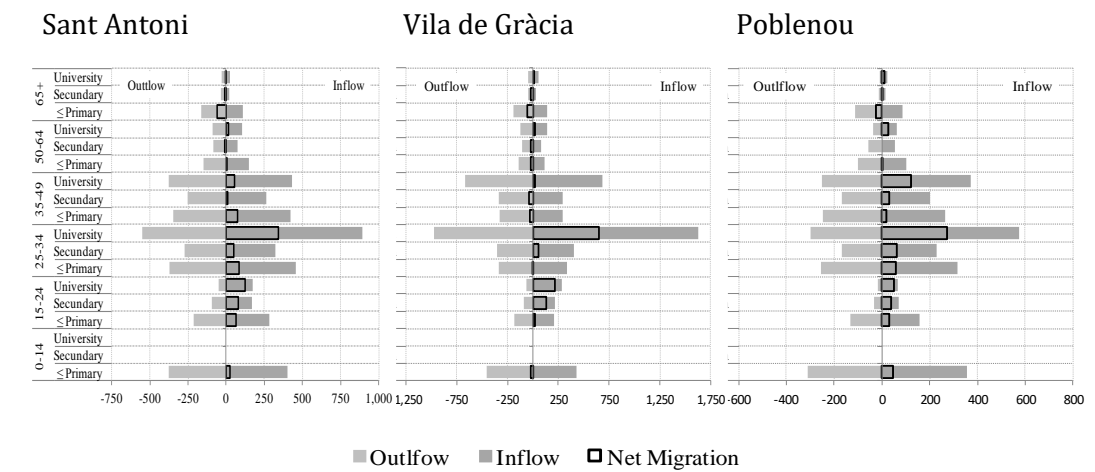


Figure 5.15. Average annual flows (outflow and inflow) and net migration by age group and educational attainment. Sant Antoni, Vila de Gràcia, and Pobleu, 2011-2015. Source: Statistics Department of Barcelona City Council.



In these neighbourhoods, we can observe socio-demographic features linked to gentrification: high concentration of young-adults; positive net migration of individuals with university degrees; and significant presence of European citizens. However, there are several features that are not observed in the Gòtic area. The first point to note is that the presence of local young adults is much higher than in the Gòtic neighbourhood. In Poblenou, for instance, they represent more than the 50% of the population aged 25-39. In Vila de Gràcia they represent 44% while in Sant Antoni the proportion of local young adults is 41%. These figures are far above the 17% observed in the Gòtic area. Secondly, and linked with the higher presence of local population, data shows a lower number of Europeans. They are the most significant international origin in the three neighbourhoods, but they do not represent more than 20% of the population of young adults (25-39). The 20% figure is half of the percentage recorded in the Gòtic area. Gentrification in these neighbourhoods is consequently homegrown.

My hypothesis is that this difference between homegrown and transnational gentrification is better explained by cultural factors rather than by economic ones. I explore this issue in the qualitative analysis but the cost of housing does not seem to be an explanatory variable behind this difference. House prices are somewhat similar in all of the gentrified neighbourhoods that I have compared. In 2016, for instance, the average cost of rent in the Gòtic area was €868 per month while this figure was €842 in Sant Antoni and €800 in both Vila de Gràcia and Poblenou. However, the fact that the Gòtic neighbourhood is slightly more expensive than the others is the result of a dramatic price increase that the area has recently experienced. I show this issue in the next chapter.

A third point of interest is the fact that the presence of children in these neighbourhoods is low compared to the average of Barcelona, but it is still much higher than in the Gòtic area. The ratio of adults (25-59) to children (0-14) in Sant Antoni – the highest among these neighbourhoods – is 5:1, while in the Gòtic area this ratio is 7:1. Data shows a positive net migration of children in these neighbourhoods while in the Gòtic area this migration is significantly negative.

Regarding the patterns observed through residential and migratory flows in these neighbourhoods, data does not show the population losses that the Gòtic area experiences in all ages except for young adults. At the same time, in the 65+ age group, the average annual net migration during the period of 2011-15 in the Gòtic area has been -3%, while in Sant Antoni – the neighbourhood with the lowest net

migration among the selected age group – is -0.9%. Consequently, although negative net migration of the elderly may be a feature of gentrification processes, the intensity in which this process occurs in the Gòtic area is particularly high.

## **5.5. Conclusion**

The analyses of the Census and Population Register shows that the ‘tendency towards gentrification’ (Alabart and López, 1996) noted in the 1980s has been confirmed and generalised across the Gòtic neighbourhood. In the last few years, the area has changed from being inhabited by an aged and low educated population into a place dominated by young adults with university degrees and professional occupations. The Gòtic area seems to follow the demographic implications seen in other gentrification processes, that is, the replacement of a mostly aged population with low educational levels and employed in manual functions by young adults with higher educational levels and employed in professional services (Atkinson, 2000; Lees et al., 2008; Ley, 1996). It also follows the principles of the Second Demographic Transition in terms of family behaviour: young adults with a high proportion of one-person households and low fertility (López-Gay, 2008; Ogden and Hall, 2004). However, data shows that the gentrification process that emerged in the Gòtic neighbourhood during the late 1980s was altered by a number of socio-demographic features that are alien to classical gentrification.

The number of residents and households have experienced a decline of 10.8% and 8% respectively between 2011 and 2015. This decrease has been constant every year. The area also experiences a decline of one-person households and so the decrease in the size of the population is not related to a reduction of the household size as may happen in cases of classical gentrification. The decline in population, moreover, should not be linked to a limited capacity of the neighbourhood to attract residents. The Gòtic area seems to be rather appealing to lifestyle migrants and the flows moving into the area are more intense than the average of Barcelona. As a result, the analysis suggests that population and household decline are linked to a process of out-migration. Data shows a negative net migration occurred in all age and educational groups. Only young adults with university degrees have a positive net migration. These figures confirm that a gentrification process is taking place, but also that population decline is linked to a situation in which residents are moving out of the neighbourhood. This out-migration is especially high among elderly residents. Rather than mortality, the decrease in elderly residents has much to do with migration flows.

Furthermore, data shows a high rate of negative net migration for the 0-14 age group. Consequently, although classical gentrification increases the number of households to the extent that is normally seen by local authorities as a solution to urban decay after abandonment (Lees et al., 2008), gentrification in the Gòtic area shows a different situation in which the neighbourhood is experiencing a progressive population flight. These results confirm the suggestion advanced by Ap and Crompton (1993): one strategy which residents may follow in areas impacted by tourism is withdrawal.

Data shows a progressive internationalisation of the population. This process resulted from transnational migration flows but also from the fact that Spanish residents moved out of the area. Furthermore, it seems clear that moving into the Gòtic area is not in the urban imagination of local young adults. These elements are not seen in other gentrified neighbourhoods across the city. This shows a particular form of gentrification which is transnational rather than homegrown. In addition, both the flows moving into and out of the neighbourhood are more intense than the figures seen in other neighbourhoods. This trend highlights the high mobility and temporality of residents in the Gòtic area. It suggests that transnational gentrifiers are attracted to the neighbourhood as a temporal experience.

As noted by research, transnational gentrification needs to be regarded in the context of tourism related mobility. Therefore, this was an expected outcome in a tourist area such as the Gòtic neighbourhood. However, the following chapters, show the results of the qualitative analysis and further reveal why tourism plays a key role in understanding a case of gentrification that differs from classical manifestation of the process.



## Chapter 6. Tourism, housing and displacement

In this chapter, I explore the links between tourism and housing dynamics. By tourism and housing dynamics I refer to the role of tourism in the rehabilitation of the housing stock as well as to the conversion of housing into tourist accommodation – both holiday rentals and hotels. I particularly focus on how long-term residents have experienced these changes and, in this regard, stress that a central concern is displacement.

I have identified three different phenomena that lead to a process of tourism-driven gentrification. First, I examine how the new consumers of housing tend to be lifestyle migrants. If the demographic analysis illustrated the inflow of a younger and more educated population particularly from Western Europe, this section examines how these new residents fuelled investment in housing rehabilitation. Furthermore, I show that housing rehabilitation for lifestyle migrants was the cause of the displacement of the indigenous residents, particularly the elderly. In other words, I show that a process of transnational gentrification-induced displacement was taking place.

Second, I explore the extent to which housing has been transformed into accommodation for visitors. I emphasise the role that both hotels and short-term rentals play in such a process. Transnational gentrification and the success of the Airbnb phenomenon are notably linked. I show that in Barcelona holiday rentals were introduced by young Americans and, at the same time, a number of affluent migrants have invested in properties that are rented to visitors. Third, I examine how the growth of tourist accommodation produces different forms of displacement. I give voice to residents in order to reveal how they have experienced the expansion of hotels and holiday rentals. My findings suggest that the growth of tourist accommodation has

intensified a process of displacement to a degree that residential life is receding and being substituted by tourism. I suggest that the decrease in both population and households shown in the previous chapter is linked to this phenomenon.

The final section discusses the empirical results and links them with the literature. I present two central contributions. First, I show that gentrification needs to be regarded in the context of the promotion of Barcelona as an international destination, which is a form of tourism gentrification that contrasts with the classical process seen in the Anglo-Saxon world. Second, my contribution links tourism, production of space and displacement. I pay particular attention to how the Airbnb phenomenon undermines the right to housing. Furthermore, I argue that residents seem to be in the way of tourist investors as they need vacant buildings to open new hotels.

I start the chapter by discussing a short case study which is somewhat illustrative of the issues affecting the neighbourhood: *Duc de Medinaceli* square and *Passeig de Colom* street.

### **6.1. Case Study 1: Duc de Medinaceli Square and Passeig de Colom Street**

The *Duc de Medinaceli* square and *Passeig de Colom* street are located in the southern part of the Gòtic neighbourhood, close to the harbour and the waterfront (Figure 6.1). The impacts of both transnational gentrification and the growth of hotels and holiday rentals are presented in different sections of the chapter. However, this case study is useful to show how these issues coexist in time and space. In so doing, they fuel a process of tourism-driven gentrification in which run-down apartments are rehabilitated for wealthier consumers and the indigenous residents are displaced.

Around *Duc de Medinaceli* square there are 10 apartment buildings, each of them with 5 or 6 floors. In 2004, eight buildings were occupied by tenants, one building was a care home and the other was a government building. Since then, the tenants of seven buildings have been displaced and in their place there are now four hotels and three luxury apartment buildings, in which flats have been acquired by affluent migrants and overseas investors. Furthermore, the rear façade of one of the hotels faces a block in which its 16 flats were converted into holiday apartments (Figure 6.2). In the next block (street called *Passeig de Colom*), the situation is rather similar: four out of the five buildings have been transformed into hotels since 2003 (Figure 6.3).



Figure 6.1. Duc de Medinaceli square and Passeig de Colom street in the southern part of the Gòtic neighbourhood. Source: own elaboration.



Figure 6.2. New hotel in Duc de Medinaceli square, 2015. Photograph by A. Cocola-Gant.

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Hotel in progress. The building was bought by an investment fund in 2007. More than a 100 people were living in the building and were displaced. The works to establish the building as a hotel started in 2013 and were completed in 2016. The block behind this hotel was converted into holiday rentals.

Figure 6.3. Passeig de Colom, 2015. Photograph by A. Cocola-Gant.

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Four out of the five buildings have been transformed into hotels since 2003. From left to right:

- (i) New hotel (opened in 2015).  
Previous use: apartments;
- (ii) Hotel (opened in 2003).  
Previous use: apartments;
- (iii) Project for a new hotel.  
Previous use: government building;
- (iv) Residential building;
- (v) New hotel (opened in 2015).  
Previous use: apartments.

The description of *Duc de Medinaceli* square and the adjacent *Passeig de Colom* street shows the coexistence of the three phenomena that are examined in this chapter: new middle-class residences, hotels and holiday apartments. Since 2003, the changes in this small area have meant that 148 large apartments have been removed from the housing stock and converted into tourist accommodation while another 48 have been upgraded for new affluent consumers. The impacts of these investments not only exclude residents from the possibility of accessing housing but also several families and individuals were displaced in the process. In this area there are 8 hotels and 16 holiday apartments. This chapter explores the effects of the 71 hotels and 1,300 holiday apartments that exist in the neighbourhood.

## **6.2. Transnational gentrifiers and housing rehabilitation**

In this section, I explore the dynamics of housing rehabilitation in the Gòtic neighbourhood from the late 1980s to the present day as they are depicted by long-term residents and key informants. The demographic analysis illustrated the inflow of a younger and more educated population. This section examines how the housing stock has been rehabilitated according to the demands of the new residents. The central point is that housing is rehabilitated for wealthier users and, along the way, long-term residents are evicted and displaced. In addition, I show that for lifestyle migrants the decision to move to Barcelona is linked to the promotion of the city as a tourist destination. In this regard, far from being a case of classical gentrification, I suggest that a particular manifestation of tourism gentrification is taking place. This section is structured in two parts. First, I identify three waves of gentrification following the inflow of (i) Catalan-Spanish residents during the early 1990s; (ii) residents from Western Europe and North America since the late 1990s, and (iii) the growth of tourist accommodation since 2008. Second, I explore how these phases have been experienced by long-term residents.

### **6.2.1. Three waves of gentrification, 1986-2016**

Residents describe that the origin of gentrification began when housing was rehabilitated for the local Catalan-Spanish middle-class at the end of the 1980s. It was a classical process of gentrification in which rehabilitation was advanced either by local investors or by new Catalan-Spanish residents searching for houses for personal consumption in a degraded and cheaper area. At this stage, the presence of overseas investors and gentrifiers from the Global North was scarce. As the census shows, transnational gentrification would only start by the late 1990s. The local-state was a key agent in stimulating the first wave of gentrification in the area. I showed in chapter 3 that Ciutat Vella was declared by the city council an Area of Integral Rehabilitation in 1986. The project aimed to make the city centre attractive for both new residents and private investments. It did not focus on housing rehabilitation but on the creation of a new symbolic image in order to promote the area and so it can be regarded as a form of 'symbolic gentrification' (Janoschka et al., 2014). In addition, residents depict that the symbolic transformation involved several media campaigns aimed at showing the benefits of moving to the city centre. Several policy makers, politicians and architects publicly emphasised their decision to move to the Gòtic area after years of degradation.

Since the late 1990s, a second wave of gentrification began when lifestyle migrants started moving to the Gòtic neighbourhood. Long-term residents describe how the arrival of these migrants fed a process of housing rehabilitation that is still ongoing. At the same time, the number of overseas investors and European real estate companies grew during this stage. Real estate agencies from France, the UK or Germany are today a normal element in the landscape of the neighbourhood. It is worth noting that the arrival of both capital and consumers from more advanced economies occurred in the context of the housing bubble and a progressive increase in house prices. Northern European residents with greater disposable incomes had better chances of acquiring flats than Spanish-Catalan residents with 'local' stipends.

Research has suggested that tourism growth in Barcelona is linked (i) to the strategies implemented to promote the city since the early 1990s, in which local authorities made large efforts in city marketing campaigns, as well as in building an image of quality of life, cultural services and a 24 hour fun city; and (ii) to the leisure facilities that the city provides (Palou i Rubio, 2012; Smith, 2005). Interviews with European and North American residents suggest that this representation of Barcelona and the "expectation of having a good time", as a Belgian resident puts it (P42), are the main reasons that explain why transnational gentrifiers have moved to the city. For instance, a Swiss lawyer (P18) stated that she had professional opportunities in different places, but she chose Barcelona because "everybody knows that this is a fantastic place". In addition, 14 out of the 15 European and North American participants stated that they were tourists in Barcelona before settling in the city. I want to emphasise that the consolidation of gentrification in the Gòtic area should be regarded as a consequence of the promotion of Barcelona as a tourism destination. Gentrification progressed side by side with – and can be regarded as the result of – the growth of tourism.

In this second wave of gentrification two further points need to be stressed. The first is that the appeal of Barcelona to young Europeans and North Americans includes a third category. This category is neither new residents nor short-term visitors but travellers, students, skaters, artists, businessmen and other transient individuals who reside in Barcelona for just a few months. During the interviews, several Europeans stated that these transient individuals tend to stay in the Gòtic area because of its central location, but also because of the availability of an informal lettings market for this population. This informal lettings market is rather expensive, but as they stay in the city for just a few months these users are willing to pay high rents. In addition, the mix of people from the global North – visitors, lifestyle migrants and transient individuals – produces a

socio-cultural imagery that further reproduces a phenomenon in which new incomers from the North tend to establish themselves in the Gòtic area rather than in other areas of Barcelona. I return to this issue in the next chapter.

The second point is the role of housing as an investment opportunity. A number of European residents state that an important reason behind moving to Barcelona was the opportunity to buy a house in the historic centre: “I will not be here all my life, but the price of my house will always increase”, as one French woman stated (P28). Also, many individuals from the North buy flats as an investment but do not reside in the neighbourhood. As a real estate agent who works for an agency that focuses on luxury apartments explains (K7), 50% of buyers are from the global North but 90% of them do not reside in Barcelona and rent their property to other users, especially international students, travellers and visitors. The other 10%, the agent states, “use the flat to have a nice accommodation when they come to Barcelona on holiday a few times a year”. Consequently, it is important to note that transnational gentrification is fuelled by the purchasing power of affluent migrants, owners of second homes and temporary users such as international students. However, as a neighbourhood leader states (K9), “this affects rent prices. But also, if you want to buy a house to live in you actually have to compete against people that for us are super-rich”.

After the collapse of the housing bubble in 2008, a third wave of housing rehabilitation took place, but this time fuelled by the Airbnb phenomenon and the conversion of housing into tourist accommodation. Although holiday apartments existed in Ciutat Vella since the late 1990s and early 2000s (Degen, 2004; García and Claver, 2003), short-term rentals have grown following the creation of Airbnb in 2008. I further explore this phase in the final sections of the chapter. Here, I want to emphasise that this phenomenon stimulates investment in the housing market. As a real estate agent states, “the crisis in the Gòtic area has been less intense than in other areas. Housing rehabilitation has been powered by a new wave of investors converting derelict buildings into vacation flats” (K7). In addition, European and North American residents play an active role in the expansion of holiday rentals in the Gòtic area. Residents describe that the phenomenon started at the end of the 1990s when young Americans left flyers in letterboxes which read ‘you live in a goldmine’. Their personal networking with American travellers was central to creating a new business opportunity. Furthermore, several transnational gentrifiers have invested in properties and have open small businesses in the tourist accommodation sector.

## 6.2.2. Experiencing gentrification: the perspective of long-term residents

This section highlights the views of long-term residents who have experienced the three waves of gentrification. Keeping in mind that the effects of short-term rentals and hotels are explored in the following sections, here I offer an overview of the way in which the arrival of gentrifiers have affected long-term residents since the 1990s. The ethnographic approach allowed me to identify two main concerns experienced by residents. First, and regardless of the type of gentrifier who moves into the area, interviews show that in every phase long-term residents experienced processes of direct displacement, especially tenants. Second, gentrification is the cause of an exclusionary pressure that forces young residents to move to a different location when they become independent from their parents. The important point is that the lack of affordable housing means that the community cannot be continued or reproduced and instead is replaced by new affluent residents.

Several residents have experienced the three waves that I have described and define them as a continuous substitution of the social fabric of the neighbourhood. Residents describe, first, how such phases were the cause of a displacement process in which an aged population give way to younger and wealthier users and, second, that this substitution involved people moving involuntarily, especially through evictions. The next quote is illustrative of a gentrification process that has been more and more intense in each of the phases that I described. Furthermore, it confirms that the process particularly affected the elderly:

different waves transformed the demographic picture of my building. I arrived in 1995. There were many people that had joined the city council programme of revitalising Ciutat Vella and I was part of that. 'Cleaning up the city centre', they said. But I saw how the elderly tenants were evicted to prepare flats for people like me. There was a rapid replacement of residents. And that was before the neighbourhood became a trendy place for trendy Europeans. The arrival of these professionals was really difficult for long-term tenants. It accelerated what we unconsciously started (...). But now it is even worse. In 2005 investors started buying flats to make businesses for tourists and soon the building is going to be more like a hotel and less like a residential building. Those who came in the 1990s and 2000s are also moving out (P27).

The displacement process in the first two phases particularly affected tenants. As I show in the next section, displacement in the current phase of tourist accommodation

also affects owners as they are forced to sell their flats. But in 1990, as a resident who was born in the Gòtic area in the 1950s states (P31), “we were all tenants!”. He explains, however, that 90% of the friends he had in 1990 have moved out and that in the majority of cases people moved out involuntarily.

In understanding the process of rehabilitation and gentrification we need to consider letting regulations. In 1985 the government changed the regulations that permitted lifetime tenancies. In 1994 it was established that tenancy agreements could last for a maximum of five years. In spite of this liberalisation, in 2000 tenancy was still prevalent in Ciutat Vella and half of tenancy agreements had been established before 1985 (Fiori, 2010).

In cases in which tenancy agreements were made after 1994, the reason for displacement tends to be due to the unwillingness of the landlord to renew the contract. But as stated, at the turn of the century more than 50% of tenants had guaranteed lifetime tenancies. In such cases, economic compensation given to the tenant if they were forced to leave would have been relocation to a different flat. However, because this option would reduce the profitability of the rehabilitation, the gentrification of the neighbourhood in the late 1990s and early 2000s was preceded by a dramatic period of forced expulsions to such a degree that social movements and academics united to denounce this process of ‘real estate violence’ (Taller Contra la Violencia Inmobiliaria y Urbanística, 2006). Many residents describe how their friends were forced to move through means of harassment and intimidation. Especially important was the process of deliberate degradation as unsafe living conditions were the only ‘legal’ means of evicting lifetime tenants. It is worth noting that this process of degradation, evictions and rehabilitation for wealthier users is still ongoing and abandoned buildings are a noticeable element in the landscape of the southern part of the neighbourhood. For instance, the postman which I interviewed reveals that a landlord has recently destroyed communal areas of a building to make life impossible for residents until they have all ‘accepted’ to leave.

Although lifetime tenancy will come to an end, there are still many elderly residents with agreements made prior to 1986. Every time I have observed or interviewed these tenants they reside in poor living conditions as their flats have not been refurbished for decades. A resident (P31) explains that the last work done to his property was in the 1970s, but that he feels lucky because his landlord has never harassed him. He also states that in 1990, all his neighbours in the apartment building were lifetime

tenants and that he has seen how each time one of them moved out, the landlord refurbished the flat for professionals, of which 60% are Europeans at present. Interestingly, during an interview with an Italian architect who moved into her current flat in 2012 (P34), she stated that all tenants in the building were compensated to leave prior to the rehabilitation. However, a 72-year-old couple with a lifetime tenancy did not want to move out so the landlord completed works while they were living in the flat. I interviewed this couple and they stated: “we are still recovering from the experience, including a month without a ceiling. But we resisted and here we are”.

The gentrification process that has affected the neighbourhood since the late 1980s has also produced an increasingly exclusionary environment. This theme is further explored in relation to the impact of tourist accommodation. However, it is worth noting that this affordability problem has numerous consequences. First, several residents explain that since the late 1990s people have been moving out because they have not been able to afford the rent: “Even if the landlord prefers you to stay, at the end of the agreement the increase is so high that the only option you have is to leave” (P9). Second, in this inaccessible environment, lifetime tenants suffering poor living conditions are actually ‘trapped in space’ as there are not better options to go to. As the elderly couple cited above said, “we needed to resist. Otherwise where we were supposed to go?”.

Third, a central consequence of gentrification experienced by residents is the fact that the escalation in house prices undermines the reproduction of the community as the children of long-term residents are not able to remain in the neighbourhood. This exclusionary displacement intensifies transnational gentrification. As a resident points out (P20), “this place will be a centre for wealthy immigrants from the North. If a flat is rehabilitated only French people and Germans can afford it. Where I live, a whole building is being rehabilitated by a French company. You can imagine who will move in there”.

In sum, this section needs to be related with the data shown by the demographic analysis. Housing rehabilitation was fuelled by the arrival of transnational gentrifiers and, in the process, the indigenous residents were displaced, particularly the elderly. This substitution involved involuntary moves and not only an ordinary generational replacement. In other words, the rejuvenation of the neighbourhood is linked to a process of gentrification. Housing rehabilitation, displacement and the domination of space by transient consumers are especially important in relation to the growth of tourist accommodation. I turn to these points in the next section.



### **6.3. Holiday rentals and hotels: from housing to tourist accommodation**

In this section, I examine the supply of tourist accommodation including both short-term rentals and hotels. I illustrate the spatial imprint of these spaces for tourists and show how they are concentrated in central areas, particularly in the Gòtic neighbourhood. The intention is to explore how the growth of short-term rentals and hotels involves the conversion of housing into accommodation for visitors; a change from being facilities for residents into tourist spaces. Regarding short-term rentals, this change in the use of housing is clear. However, I show that the opening of hotels also entails taking hundreds of residential flats off the market. I present quantitative results based on the resident survey and the hotel survey that I have implemented. Other secondary data has also been used to examine the supply of tourist accommodation, particularly the website Inside Airbnb and the Statistics Department of Barcelona City Council.

#### **6.3.1. Holiday rentals**

The spread of holiday apartments is seen by many participants as the main negative impact of tourism in Ciutat Vella and Barcelona. The phenomenon has been documented since the late 1990s and some authors noted that residents expressed concerns about this issue in the early 2000s (Degen, 2004; García and Claver, 2003). Nowadays, this activity has been facilitated by platforms such as Airbnb and the rhetoric of the 'sharing economy', which allows hosts to share (rent) spare rooms in their houses. I will show, however, that entire flats are being taken out of the housing stock and converted into tourist residences.

The analysis of the supply of holiday apartments is useful to provide a picture of the phenomenon. I gathered data from the portal Inside Airbnb. Inside Airbnb captures the supply of holiday rentals in several cities every few months, including Barcelona. I used the listing captured by Inside Airbnb on 2<sup>nd</sup> October 2015.

On 2<sup>nd</sup> October 2015, there were 14,539 flats listed on Airbnb in Barcelona (Figure 6.4). This number contrasts with the 7,446 flats that on the same day were listed in Madrid, a city with a population twice the size of Barcelona's.

Figure 6.4. Flats listed on Airbnb in Barcelona. 2<sup>nd</sup> October 2015. Source: own elaboration, compiled from Inside Airbnb.

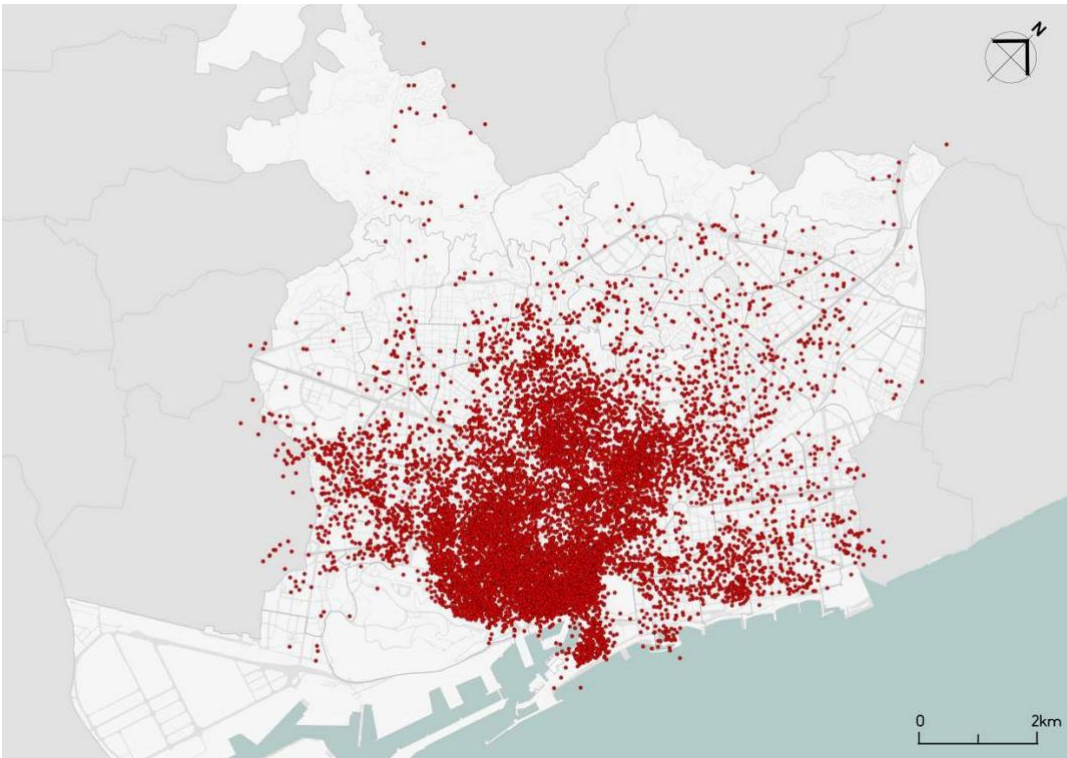
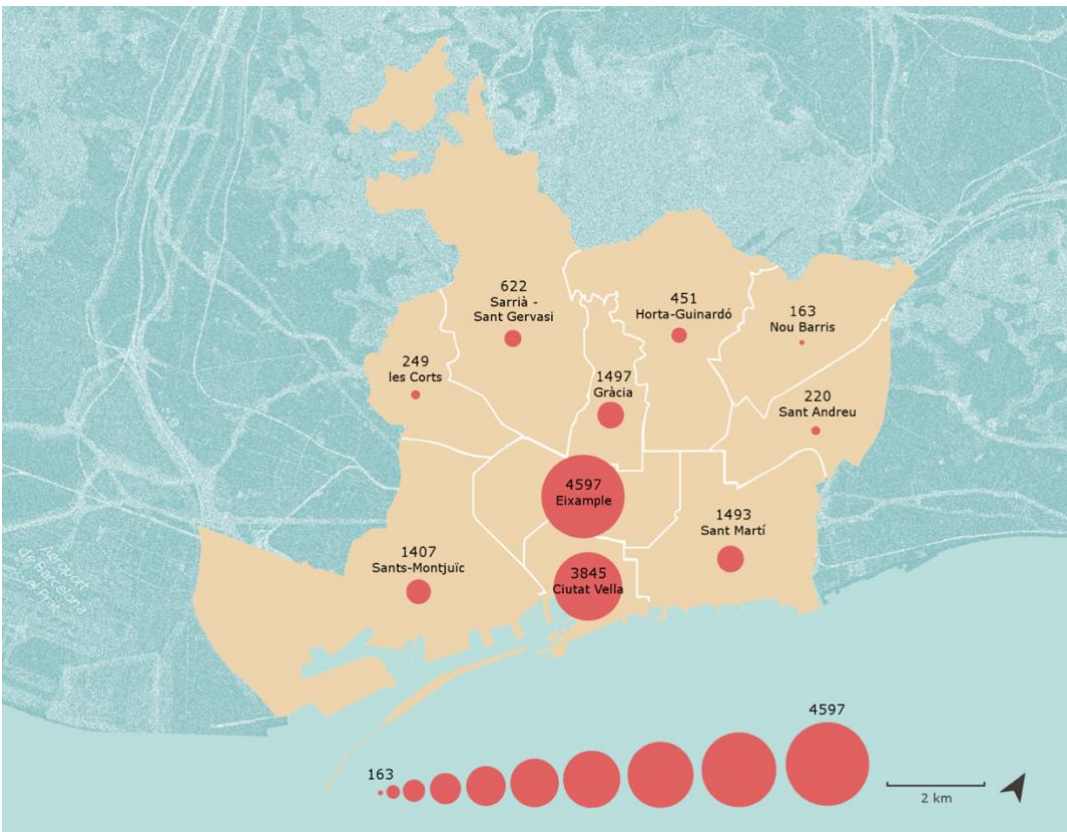


Figure 6.5. Spatial distribution of flats listed on Airbnb, Barcelona. 2<sup>nd</sup> October 2015. Source: own elaboration, compiled from Inside Airbnb.



An exploration of the geographical location of holiday apartments in Barcelona shows that the phenomenon is uneven (Figure 6.5). There is a notable concentration in central areas. I show below that the location of holiday apartments overlaps with the location of hotels. This fact contradicts the rhetoric of the sharing economy which argues that holiday rentals redistribute the benefits of tourism outside the limits of tourist areas.

Although the number of listings is higher in Eixample than in Ciutat Vella, a comparison with the number of households in each district shows that Ciutat Vella experiences the greatest pressure from holiday rentals. In Eixample, the supply of holiday rentals represents 4.1% of households while in Ciutat Vella they represent 9.6% of existing homes (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1. Airbnb listings on 2<sup>nd</sup> October 2015 and households. Source: Inside Airbnb and Statistics Department of Barcelona City Council.

<b>2015</b>	<b>Airbnb listings</b>	<b>Households</b>	<b>Airbnb / 100 Households</b>
Barcelona	14,539	655,175	2.2
Eixample	4,597	112,075	4.1
Ciutat Vella	3,845	39,926	9.6
Gràcia	1,492	52,534	2.8
San Martí	1,493	94,034	1.5
Sants-Montjuïc	1,407	73,671	1.9

Regarding the supply of holiday apartments in Ciutat Vella (Figure 6.6), the number is greater in Raval, but the Gòtic area supports the highest proportion of short-term rentals in relation to the number of households (Table 6.2).

Table 6.2. Boroughs of Ciutat Vella. Airbnb listings on 2<sup>nd</sup> October 2015 and households. Source: Inside Airbnb and Barcelona City Council, Statistics.

<b>2015</b>	<b>Airbnb listings</b>	<b>Households</b>	<b>Airbnb / 100 Households</b>
Raval	1,340	16,776	7.9
Gòtic	1,091	6,461	16.8
S Pere, S Cat, Rib.	1,111	9,869	11.2
Barceloneta	303	6,821	4.4

Figure 6.6. Holiday apartments listed in Ciutat Vella. 2<sup>nd</sup> October 2015. Source: own elaboration compiled from Inside Airbnb.

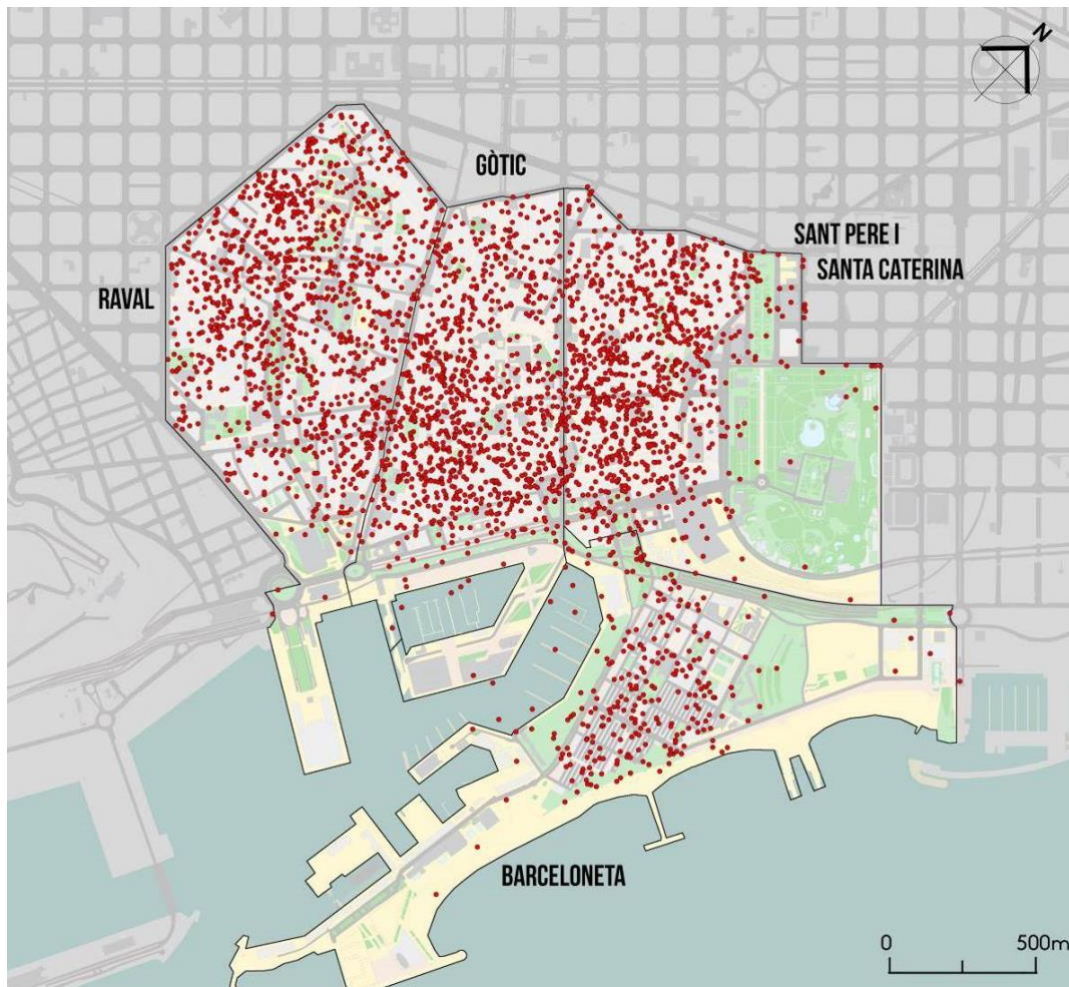


Table 6.2 shows that in the Gòtic neighbourhood the number of holiday apartments represents almost 17% of existing homes. According to Airbnb, almost 60% of listings in the Gòtic neighbourhood on 2<sup>nd</sup> October 2015 were entire flats and circa 40% were private rooms. However, this distinction between entire flats and single rooms is difficult to make. My qualitative analysis reveals that flats are converted into youth hostels. The listing on Airbnb may appear as a room but actually the entire apartment is rented to visitors. This type of hidden youth hostel is common in the Gòtic area. This means that the number of entire flats offered on Airbnb is much higher than 60%. In practice, users of Airbnb do not ‘share’ homes but take entire apartments out of the housing stock and transform them into tourist residences. Furthermore, according to Inside Airbnb, in the Gòtic area 65.8% of hosts list multiple rooms or apartments. This shows that hosts are unlikely to be living in the property and are more likely to be running a business.

Finally, the survey that I implemented reveals that there are holiday rentals in 52.5% of apartment blocks across the Gòtic area. This means that around 50% of the population share their buildings with visitors. The coexistence of tourists and residents in apartment blocks causes daily disruptions for residents. I explore this point in the qualitative analysis below.

This section has shown the spatial imprint of holiday rentals. I have illustrated that in Barcelona the Gòtic area experiences the highest concentration of holiday rental per household. This shows that the area has been significantly affected by a change in the use of housing as a place of shelter for long-term occupation into tourism accommodation. To have a fuller picture of this process, I turn to explore hotel activity.

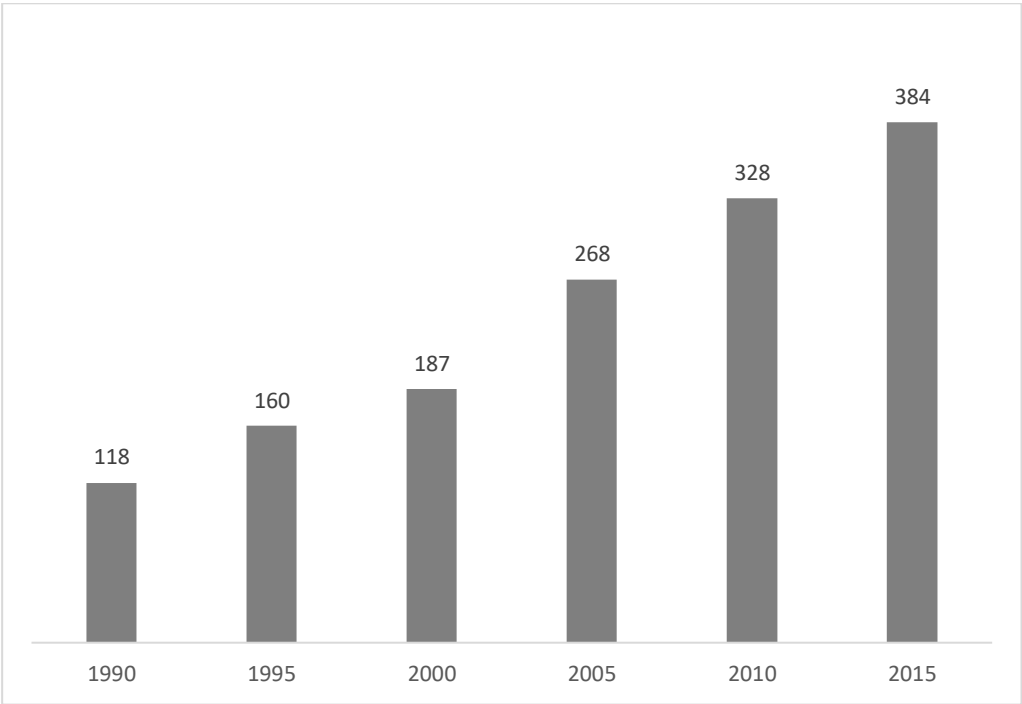
### **6.3.2. Hotels**

As observed in other parts of Spain (Hof and Blázquez-Salom, 2013), in Barcelona the partnership between city council, real estate companies and hotels has traditionally been the local version of growth machine coalitions. Real estate and hotel companies have a strong capacity to influence planning regulations, especially in terms of adapting policy to benefit their private businesses. I show examples of this in the next section. In addition, the neoliberal answer to the post-2008 crisis has been the promotion of further tourism, including a more flexible set of policies implemented after 2010 which relaxed the restrictions that prevented the growth of hotels in the historic city. As a result, the growth of hotels has been constant since 2000 and has not been affected by the post-2008 crisis. Since 1990, the growth rate of the hotel industry has been 225% (Figure 6.7). Additionally, another 51 hotels will be inaugurated by the end of 2018.

I suggest that the fact that the growth of hotels has not been affected by the post-2008 crisis indicates how investment in tourism accommodation changes patterns of real estate investment seen in processes of gentrification. Although real estate investment and gentrification tend to increase during periods of economic growth and diminish during recessions (Hackworth, 2002), this has not been the case in Barcelona where, despite the crisis, mobile capital finds in the hotel industry new investment opportunities. According to Montaner (2014), in 2013 almost half of real estate investment in Barcelona focused on tourism accommodation. Moreover, the consultant Jones Lang Lasalle suggests that overseas investors will continue to invest in the Barcelona hotel market as tourism relies on international visitors rather than the

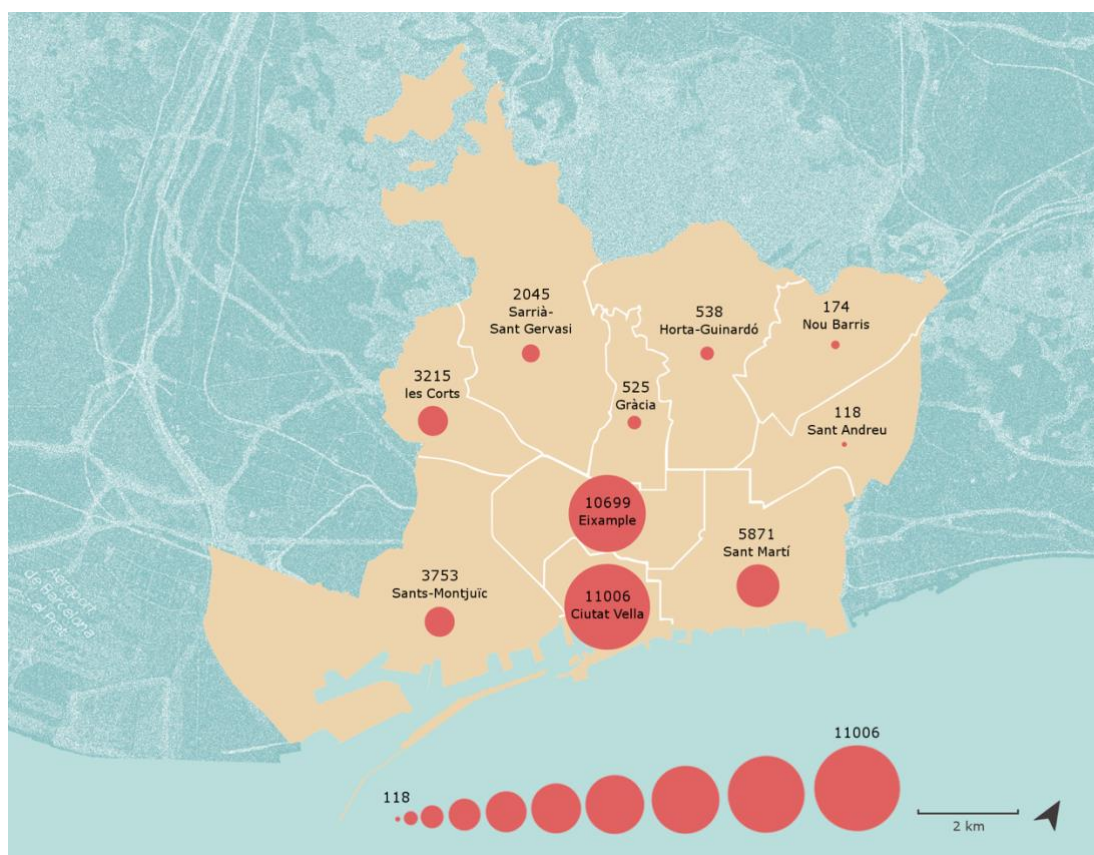
domestic demand. This lack of crisis in the sector is indicated by the 51 new projects that are expected to be finished by 2018. In addition, Jones Lang Lasalle states that in terms of investors, total transaction volumes were split almost equally between investment funds, hotel operators and development / property companies, and that 69% of this capital came from Singapore, USA, Qatar, UK and Germany. This indicates how tourism opens real estate markets and comes to replace the lack of local demand. I develop this point in the final discussion of this chapter.

Figure 6.7. Number of hotels in Barcelona, 1990-2015. Growth rate 225%. Source: Barcelona Hotel Association and Statistics Department of Barcelona City Council.



The spatial distribution of hotel activity in Barcelona shows that the supply of hotels is unevenly distributed throughout the geography of the city (Figure 6.8). The central district of Ciutat Vella has the greatest supply of rooms and beds. When contrasted with Figure 6.5, the locations of hotels and holiday apartments overlap.

Figure 6.8. Spatial distribution of hotel rooms by district, 2015. Source: own elaboration compiled from Statistics Department of Barcelona City Council.

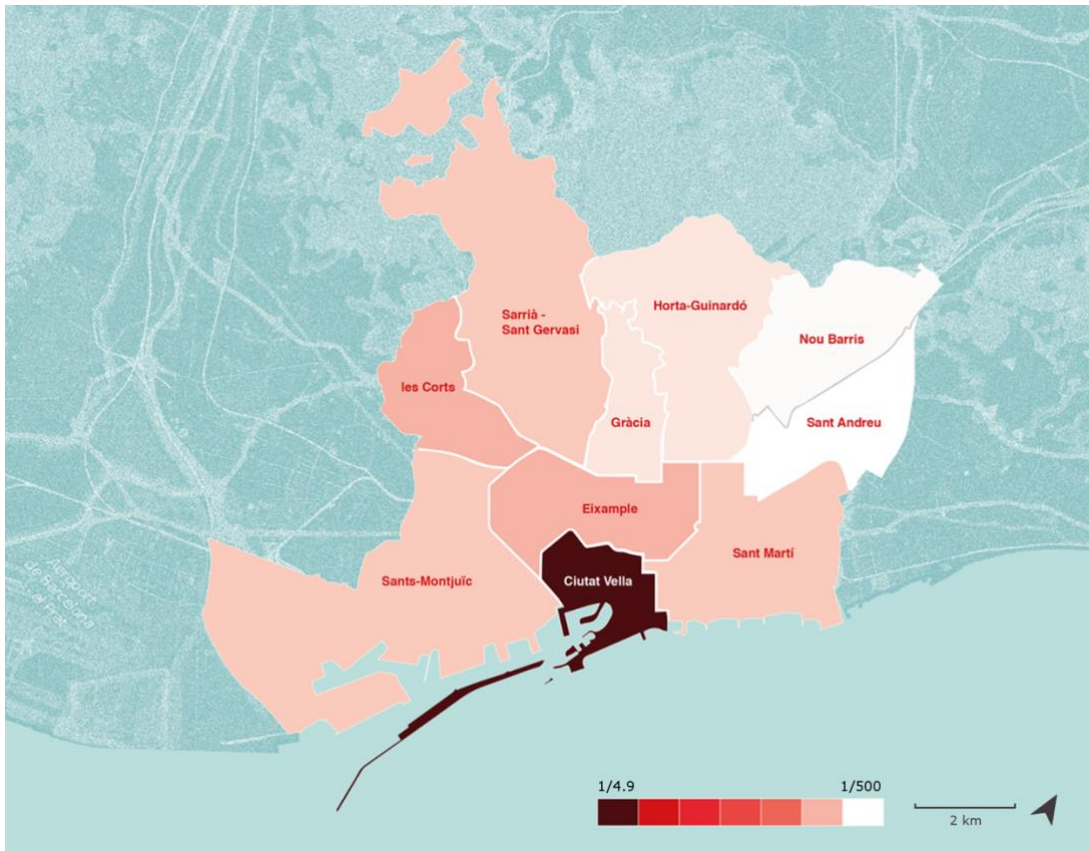


To better grasp the geographical concentration of the hotel industry I consider the relationship between number of hotel beds and population by district (Table 6.3; Figure 6.9). Hotel activity is highly concentrated in Ciutat Vella, where the ratio hotel beds per inhabitant is notably larger than in other districts.

Table 6.3. Number of hotel beds per inhabitant in the districts of Barcelona, 2015. Source: Compiled from Statistics Department of Barcelona City Council.

2015	Population	Beds	Hotel Bed / Inhabitant Ratio
Ciutat Vella	100,227	20,404	1:4.9
Eixample	263,991	19,751	1:13
Les Corts	81,694	6,139	1:13
Sant Martí	234,124	11,505	1:20
Sants-Montjuïc	181,307	6,889	1:26
Sarrià-Sant Gervasi	147,502	3,832	1:38
Gràcia	120,676	933	1:129
Horta-Guinardó	167,318	1,011	1:165
Nou Barris	165,404	327	1:505
Sant Andreu	147,307	222	1:663

Figure 6.9. Spatial concentration of hotel beds per inhabitant, 2015. Source: own elaboration, compiled from Statistics Department of Barcelona City Council.



Within Ciutat Vella, the location of hotels is also uneven (Figure 6.10). In 2015, the number of hotels reached 122, but 64 of them were in the Gòtic neighbourhood. By the end of 2018, 16 new hotels are expected to be opened, of which 7 will be located in the Gòtic area.

The concentration of the hotel activity in the Gòtic area is significant (Table 6.4; Figure 6.11). The Gòtic neighbourhood has the highest proportion of hotel beds per inhabitant of Ciutat Vella – reaching an astonishing 1:1.6 in 2015 – and there is a notable difference compared to other neighbourhoods.



Figure 6.10. Hotel beds in Ciutat Vella, 2015. Source: own elaboration, compiled from Statistics Department of Barcelona City Council.

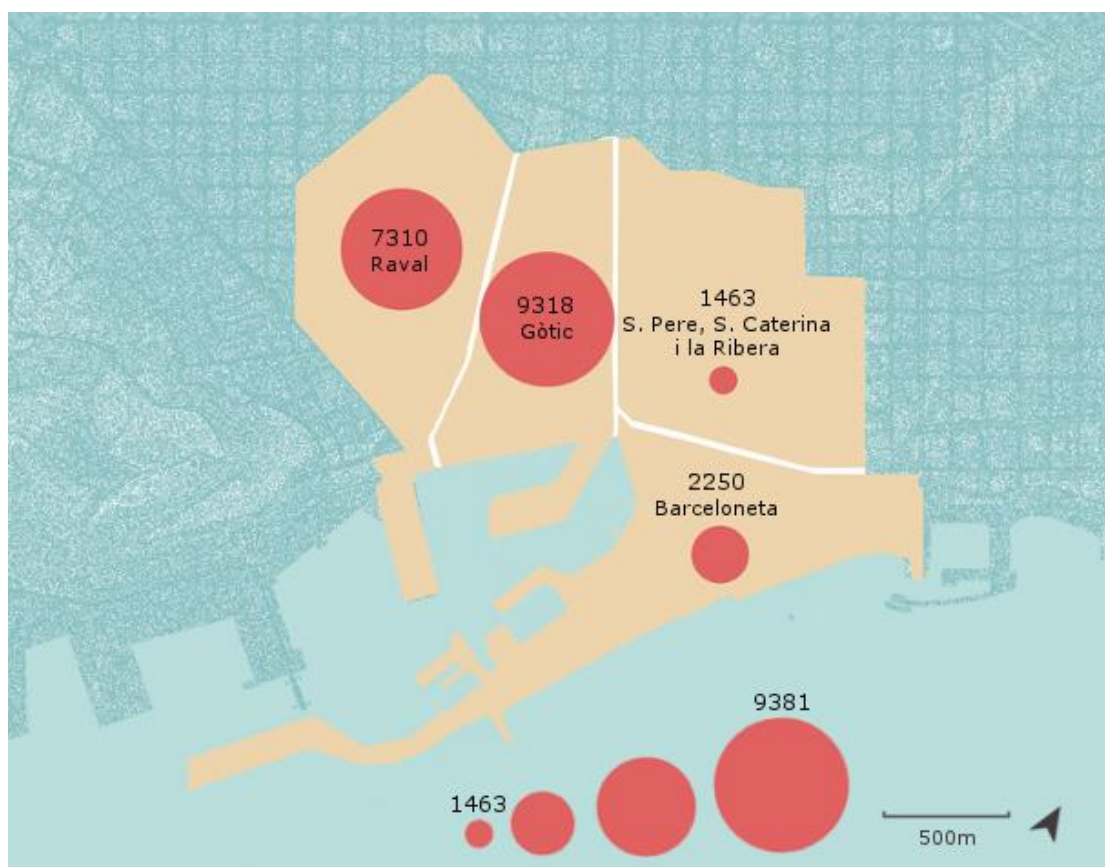


Table 6.4. Number of hotel beds per inhabitant in Ciutat Vella, 2015. Compiled from Statistics Department of Barcelona City Council.

<b>2015</b>	<b>Population</b>	<b>Beds</b>	<b>Hotel Bed / Inhabitant Ratio</b>
Ciutat Vella	100,227	20,404	1:4.9
Gòtic	15,269	9,381	1:1.6
Raval	47,617	7,310	1:6.5
Barceloneta	15,036	2,250	1:6.6
S. Pere, S. Caterina, Ribera	22,305	1,463	1:15

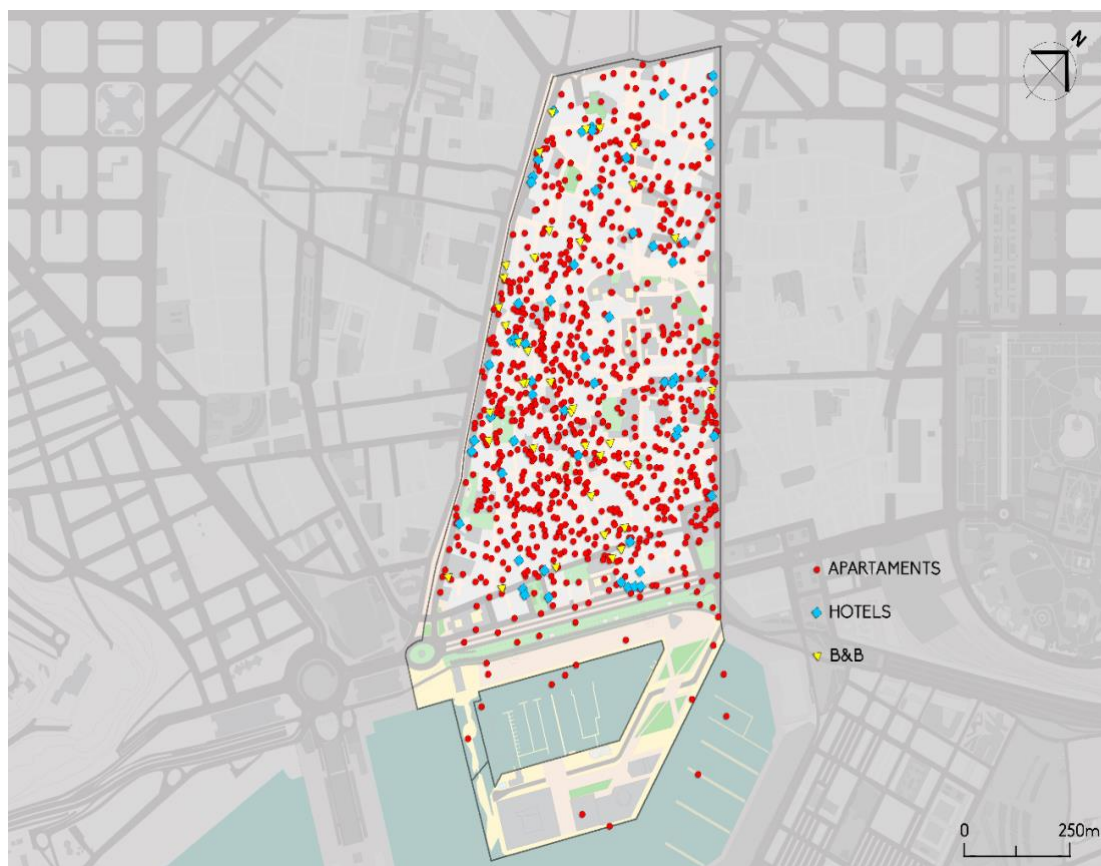
Figure 6.11. Spatial concentration of hotel beds per inhabitant in Ciutat Vella, 2015. Source: own elaboration, compiled from Statistics Department of Barcelona City Council.



I have shown that hotel activity is spatially concentrated in Ciutat Vella. From now on I focus on the Gòtic area, and particularly on the extent to which the growth of hotels has affected the housing stock. At the same time, guest houses and hostels need to be taken into consideration because 50 of these small businesses operated in the Gòtic neighbourhood in 2015. But has this growth affected the rehabilitation of housing and its conversion into accommodation for visitors? In a dense historic area such as the Gòtic neighbourhood there is no space left for new developments. Construction activity means rehabilitation and typically a change from being housing into other uses such as offices or commercial spaces. The hotel survey that I implemented in the Gòtic neighbourhood shows that 38 new businesses have been established since 2000. Importantly, 24 of these buildings were apartment blocks with tenants living in them. Two cases were government buildings and twelve were offices which, at the same time, were previously used as apartment buildings. Although these 24 buildings were run-down infrastructures, they were not completely vacant as several residents were living in them. The next section shows the perspectives of residents regarding this displacement process. Notwithstanding, it is worth noting that in the 24 buildings mentioned there were circa 500 apartments. Furthermore, we need to consider the effects of guest houses and hostels

as they use former residential buildings. Consequently, during the conversion of housing into tourist accommodation, both holiday rentals and hotels play an important role. By considering these activities together, as well as hostels, we can better visualise the spatial imprint of tourist accommodation in the Gòtic area (Figure 6.12).

Figure 6.12. Tourist accommodation in the Gòtic neighbourhood, 2015. Compiled from Inside Airbnb and the hotel survey.



The previous sections have shown that the Gòtic neighbourhood experiences a significant pressure from tourism. The number of flats converted into tourist residences as well as the proportion of beds per inhabitant are higher in the Gòtic area than in any other part of Barcelona. These figures suggest that a change in the use of the neighbourhood is taking place. The supply of housing for residents is decreasing and is being progressively replaced by tourist accommodation. In relation to this, we need to remember the decrease in the number of households shown in the demographic analysis. Such a decrease has been constant since 2010, that is, when the Airbnb phenomenon started to grow. I suggest that the loss of households is linked to the conversion of housing into tourist accommodation. The qualitative analysis further illustrates this issue. Next, I explore how the growth of tourist accommodation has been experienced by residents.

#### **6.4. Tourist accommodation and displacement**

The change in the use of housing shown in the section above is a central concern for long-term residents in the Gòtic neighbourhood. The growth of hotels and short-term rentals has been increasingly contested in recent years. During my qualitative exploration, I was interested in understanding the impacts that this growth had on a daily basis. I did not ask residents about how they were organising their political actions against the growth of tourist accommodation. Instead, I asked why this growth is seen by many as the main cause of distress in the neighbourhood. Importantly, 40 of the 42 interviewees stated that they know cases in which this change in the use of housing has displaced residents. This section explores how such a process of displacement takes place.

In general, as short-term rentals are an appealing business opportunity, long-term residents represent a barrier to capital accumulation. In a similar way, residents are in the way of tourist investors as they need vacant buildings to open hotels. Notwithstanding, the displacement process is not so straightforward and it takes several forms. I identify direct displacement, exclusionary displacement, displacement pressures and what I call collective displacement. While the first three forms of displacement have been noted by the gentrification literature (DeVerteuil, 2011a; Marcuse, 1985; Slater, 2009), in this section I show the specific forms they can take in processes of tourism gentrification. These forms of displacement affect both tenants and owners which contradicts the liberal rhetoric of home ownership as a protection against displacement. Furthermore, I identify a process in which as residents move out the only buyers tend to be tourism investors. In this sense, I argue that the growth of the phenomenon could lead to a process of collective displacement, that is to say, to a substitution of residential life by tourism.

Before examining how displacement take places I want to stress the role that the hotel industry plays in the decision-making process that affects the planning of Ciutat Vella and the Gòtic neighbourhood. Residents and community organisations accuse the local state of governing on behalf of the tourist industry regardless of the consequences that the growth of hotels and visitors have on neighbourhood life. This is a central concern for the community and is crucial in understanding the lack of protection that residents have in processes of displacement.

The coalition between the hotel industry and the local state is the cause of several cases of questionable transparency but also legality. Residents and community

organisations state that the impression is that 'everything' is allowed to attract investment and new hotels. Presently, there are several legal cases taking place in court, but one of the main residential battlefronts in Ciutat Vella is a case in which a social housing project has been turned into a new hotel. The city council sold the plot to the biggest real estate company in Barcelona. Following this, the rules that regulate both the maximum permitted density and use of the plot were changed to favour the interests of the company.

In relation to cases such these, individuals and community organisations make significant efforts to monitor the local state–tourist industry coalition to protect the rights of residents, but the response of the city council tends to consist of administrative hindrances and obscurantism. The lawyer of a community organisation (K3) explains that although any person has the right to obtain information relating to proposals for new commercial activities in a neighbourhood, this information tends to be unavailable if the commercial activity is likely to be a hotel. A resident (P40) states that there are cases in which buildings have been in rehabilitation for years without displaying any required information such as the building company or the purpose of the work but, in the end, neighbours discover that there is a new hotel the day in which it is inaugurated. Importantly, this resident states that

the reason for obscuring this information is because we know that the opening of a new hotel means that residents have to move out and they do not want us to complain about it (P40).

#### **6.4.1. Direct displacement**

Processes of direct displacement are described by residents in relation to both hotels and holiday rentals. I showed that the opening of a new hotel entails the rehabilitation of buildings and that since 2000 twenty-four of such buildings were apartment blocks. In the majority of cases buildings were still in use and so prior to their rehabilitation there was a phase of direct displacement of residents. At the beginning of this chapter I described the case of *Duc de Medinaceli* square (Figure 6.1). According to a resident [informal interview] who moved out from that area due to the construction of a new hotel (Figure 6.2), more than a hundred people lived in the building. All of them were tenants, several of which had lifetime agreements. The first step of the company was to offer economic compensation for the residents to move out. Many of them accepted and, interestingly, the resident I interviewed stated that he does not know a single

case in which residents were able to remain in the neighbourhood due to the difficulty of finding affordable accommodation. However, as the building remained partially empty and so was still in use by several tenants, the company started a process of harassment and intimidation to force those who did not accept the compensation to move. This process marked the beginning of rehabilitation with tenants still living in the building, especially elderly residents who had spent all their lives there.

Interviews and the hotel survey shows that the case of *Duc de Medinaceli* square is paradigmatic and not an exception. In the conversion of housing into hotels different strategies are used to leave the property vacant, but all of them entail a form of pressure in which the resident is forced to move out. If in the case of *Duc de Medinaceli* square an investor buys the property with tenants living there and later forces them to leave, in other cases the pressure of displacement can also be exerted by landlords as vacant properties are easier to sell to hotel investors. In these cases, both deliberate degradation and increased rent occur with the intention of evicting both lifetime and new tenants. A resident explains that landlords know that hotel investors are searching for buildings to be rehabilitated, especially if the building is vacant or partially vacant. She (P40) states that “my landlord has tripled the rent and has not invested anything in maintaining the building. He has an offer from a hotel and so he is waiting for us to move out”.

There are also cases in which residents were owners and not tenants but the pressure of the hotel to displace them remains the same. The strategy of hotels is to buy a number of flats in the property and, once the hotel company becomes part of the residents' association, they cause a situation in which the rest of residents are forced to sell their flats to the hotel. As a displaced resident (P12) explains:

I used to live next to a hotel, but they wanted to expand it and buy our building. We all owned the flats, but when the first neighbour accepted their offer we saw that there was no way back. As they owned more than 50% of the building they had the majority in the residential association meetings. And obviously they voted in favour of a massive investment that nobody could afford. We were all forced to sell our flats and because the hotel was the only buyer the price they offered was laughable.

This process in which residents are forced to sell their flats and give way to tourism investors is explored further in the last section. It is worth noting, however, that as

hotels force owners to sell at a low price this limits the post-occupancy options of residents, which is also related to exclusionary displacement. As I show in the next section, in all of the cases I discovered in which residents were displaced they were unable to find accommodation in the Gòtic area.

Examples of direct displacement are also depicted by residents in relation to holiday rentals. The intensity of the process has grown after 2010 because of the success of Airbnb, but it has been gradually taking place since the early 2000s. Direct displacement particularly affect tenants. There is the need to distinguish between two types of holiday apartments and two types of tenancies as they affect how displacement works. First, there are several cases in which investors, companies or individual landlords convert entire buildings into holiday apartments and, during this process, displace all tenants. This mirrors the displacement process seen in the opening of hotels. Second, tenants are evicted from single flats within apartment buildings. Although the displacement process in the first case may be more visible, the second case is the most common in the neighbourhood. As I showed, there are vacation flats in 52.5% of apartment buildings.

Regardless of the type of holiday apartment, both lifetime and new tenants are experiencing processes of direct displacement. There are cases in which new tenants are economically compensated if they accept to leave prior to the end of the agreement. In other cases, the landlord simply does not renew the contract. For instance, a landlord (K4) explains:

I inherited the building from my mother in 2009. I have five flats there. The agreements with tenants expired in 2010-2011 so for me it was easy to get rid of them.

There are several cases in which the displacement process has been more dramatic and violent, especially for lifetime tenants. Harassment and deliberate degradation is again a common strategy depicted by several residents. The survey reveals that the opening of 8.1% of vacation flats involved harassment, which equates to more than a hundred cases. For instance, a participant (P5) who is experiencing pressure from the landlord states that "this is not the natural replacement of residents. This is expulsion". He (P5) explains that:

one thing is to choose to move out and another thing is not to choose to move out. I do not choose to leave. I feel forced to leave and that is a different thing. We need to make a huge effort every day to stay and try to live with all this.

Housing rehabilitation aimed at opening vacation flats and the displacement of tenants cannot be separated from the gentrification process I have described in the first section in which apartments are rehabilitated for middle or upper income groups. There are cases in which both processes coexist in the same building, including examples whereby the classical process of gentrification is followed by the opening of holiday apartments to such a degree that tourism can be considered a form of super-gentrification. This process, in which pioneer gentrifiers are displaced due to new rounds of investment, is depicted by several residents. For instance, a former gentrifier (P14) who recently moved out explains that

when we moved into the building in 2001 the neighbours were elderly residents. But suddenly tourist investors started buying flats: two, four, then six. When they have the majority in the resident association they can decide everything and if they want to they can make you feel that the best option is to leave.

Consequently, the opening of both vacation flats and hotels has intensified the 'real estate violence' that community organisations depicted in earlier stages of the gentrification process. The strategies to evict residents involves a form of symbolic violence and forced dispossession. It exemplifies the struggle between those for whom housing provides a place to live and those for whom housing is an opportunity to accumulate capital. Ironically, a typical strategy used to harass residents is to open a holiday apartment in the building. The problems caused by cohabitating with visitors encourages both owners and tenants to leave. I focus on this issue below.

#### **6.4.2. Exclusionary displacement**

Although the effects of exclusionary displacement are usually difficult to identify and assess (Marcuse, 1985; Slater, 2009), the growth of tourist accommodation brings exclusionary displacement to the front of the debate. The expansion of hotels and holiday rentals increasingly limits the supply of long-term private rentals and, consequently, excludes residents from the possibility of accessing housing. The conversion of housing into tourist accommodation has dramatically reduced the



housing stock. I showed that in 2015 the supply of holiday rentals was circa 1,100 apartments. In October 2015, I checked the Idealista website – the leading rental portal in Spain – and there were only 450 flats available for long-term occupation in the Gòtic area. As suggested by research (Schäfer and Braun, 2016), in areas with a large number of holiday rentals it is increasingly difficult to find flats available for residents. This is confirmed by my participants. For instance, a woman (P20) explains that “it took me ages simply to find a flat available to long-term residents. But they are so expensive that you cannot afford them with local wages”.

The reduction in the supply of housing for long-term occupation may be a key factor in explaining the rise of the cost of rent (Schäfer and Hirsch, 2017). The fact is that in Ciutat Vella the cost of rent is currently 9% higher than the Barcelona average, while in 2007 it was 3% lower. In the Gòtic area rent increased by 18% in 2015 while in Barcelona the increase was 6.6%. The average monthly rent in the Gòtic neighbourhood is €868, but a landlord states that she obtains €3,000 per month for a three bedroom flat rented on Airbnb (K4).

I identified three different impacts of exclusionary displacement. First, it means that residents who want to remain in the area are unable to find affordable accommodation and, as a result, must move to a different location. All of the cases I found in which residents were displaced were unable to find accommodation within the neighbourhood. One displaced resident explains (P16) that, according to her landlord, the flat was “a goldmine” and, consequently, at the end of the agreement “he wanted to increase the rent by 30%! I moved to a different neighbourhood and now my old flat is a holiday apartment”. At the same time, the difficulties in finding long-term and affordable accommodation affects not only people who have been displaced, but also those who are at the age when people typically move out of their parental home. Exclusionary displacement is the cause of an increased frustration among long-term residents as there is little chance of their children or young relatives being able to remain in the area. As a resident stresses (P40), “they do not want residents. They want to speculate with tourists. My nephews were born here and they cannot find an affordable place to stay”.

Second, exclusionary displacement makes the reproduction of the community increasingly difficult. The growth of tourism intensifies market pressures and creates conditions which further reproduce gentrification. On the one hand, it accelerates ‘classical’ gentrification as only middle and upper-class groups can afford to move to

the area. On the other hand, it means that low and middle-income residents who would like to move into the neighbourhood are unable to find affordable accommodation. For instance, a resident (P36) states that “my friend would like to live closer to us and move into the Gòtic area. Currently she pays €600 but here landlords want €900 for a one bedroom flat! It is not possible! Only upper-class Europeans can pay that amount of money”. I showed that this difficulty of reproducing the community was seen in the early stages of the process. However, it has been accelerated by tourism.

Finally, this exclusion induced by the lack of affordable accommodation is also the cause of several strategies aimed at remaining in the neighbourhood in which ‘staying put’ usually involves the use of survival strategies (Newman and Wyly, 2006). Regarding this, the survey shows that 80% of tenants pay more than the standard 30% of their income affordability threshold on rent and that 31% of tenants pay more than 50% of their income. Strategies to remain also involve accepting poor living conditions in degraded or inadequate houses and, as a resident (P5) states, “it is a hidden pressure. If I demand a certain minimum quality the landlord kindly tells me that if I am not happy I can leave whenever I want. He says that is easy to replace me with tourists”. At the same time, sharing houses is a common practice among residents. This strategy is implemented not only by young residents, but also by middle age professionals, retired people or even families that divide their flats into two separate units to accommodate their children so they can remain in the neighbourhood into adulthood. It is worth stressing that in several cases tenants are able to remain because some landlords do acknowledge that tourism is eradicating neighbourhood life and so they only rent to local residents.

#### **6.4.3. Displacement pressures: cohabitation and noise**

The fact that apartment buildings combine residential and tourist uses is the cause of daily cohabitation troubles that have become the main form of displacement pressure experienced by residents. This issue not only results in numerous disruptions to the private space, but the intensity and routine character of such disruptions have been for many the main reason for moving out of the property. This pressure is the foremost commonality found in the interviews and the survey.

There are several types of disruptions that affect the private lives of residents. The most frequent is noise and the unfeasibility of resting and sleeping at night. Daily

schedules for tourists are different from the routines of people who need to work and wake up early in the morning. But this collision has worsened because of the growth of binge tourism – meaning that young visitors return to the building late in the evening or early in the morning singing and yelling, but also vomiting in hallways or even having sex on the landing as they share rooms with other friends in the flat. Several interviewees explain that sometimes visitors do not even know which flat to go to and try to open the front doors of residents. For instance, a woman (P17) states “they hit my door late in the night and my children woke up terrified. We called the police but they never came. We cannot live like this. I know something else is going to happen tonight”. I interviewed a resident (P10) who decided to sell their flat and move to a different neighbourhood. He explains the reasons:

In my building 14 out of 20 flats were holiday apartments. Some of them were actually youth hostels. And they radically changed our lives (...). Night time became an obsession, a nightmare. It is harmful for your mind, especially if you need to wake up and go to work. We decided to report them to the court. And then you need lawyers, money, further troubles (...). Moreover, the reaction of the guy who was renting the rooms was aggressive. He punched me in my face (...); too much pressure. Life became a real hell.

The coexistence of residential and tourist uses also produces an economic pressure in which residents cannot afford the upkeep of a building increasingly used by visitors. The cost of cleaning, painting communal areas or fixing elevators and steps are usually divided between all members of the residential association. This form of management has not changed even if holiday apartments make a profit from the building and overuse it. Furthermore, as holiday rental entrepreneurs have majority control of the residential association they make decisions regarding several issues, including communal expenses and administration. In this sense, the increase of such costs is pushing several residents into debt, which is a new economic pressure which is affecting their already disturbed everyday life. As a woman (P38) explains:

Ten years ago we spent lots of money as we decided to refurbish all of the communal areas. But now the building is a youth hostel. Between 50 and 60 tourists use it every day and again everything is broken and dirty. I cannot sleep, which is driving me crazy, and now they [the residential association] have decided that we need to refurbish it again! They exploit the building and I have to pay! But I cannot afford it. I know that if I move out my life will improve, but it is my house!

The conversion from residential to tourist use also breaks the familiarity and references by which people control their private environment. The loss of neighbours and their substitution for unknown users is the cause of fears and concerns that affect the lives of several residents, especially the elderly: “When you know your neighbours you feel secure, but when you see scores of different people at the front of your door you do not know what is going on” (P8). This lack of control causes many elderly residents to fear going outside unless a relative or a friend goes to help them.

Finally, the increased disturbances caused by the cohabitation of residents and users discourages potential residents from moving into the building. It is a form of exclusionary displacement as no one would like to live in such an environment. I focus on this process in the next section.

#### **6.4.4. Collective displacement**

The growth of hotels and vacation flats produces conditions which only facilitate the reproduction of further accommodation for visitors, rather than long-term residential uses. It does not only affect single cases but is a snowball process that leads to a form of collective displacement, that is to say, to a substitution of residential life by tourism. I suggest that the population and household loss shown in the demographic analysis is linked to this process, which is caused by two interrelated reasons. First, due to the pressure of tourism investors and because of the routine character of noises and disruptions, the ‘best’ option for several residents is to sell their flats and move to a different location. Second, potential residents are discouraged from the possibility of moving into a place dominated by visitors and, as a result, the only buyers tend to be tourism investors. Below I explain how this process takes place.

The daily troubles that residents experience by cohabitating with tourists is the cause of a progressive out migration from their places but, at the same time, it discourages potential residents from the possibility of moving into such places. It is a form of exclusionary displacement that needs to be added to the exclusion caused by price. The important point is that this process creates a new milieu in which, as a resident (P2) states, “there is no other option than more holiday apartments”. This reproduction of short-term rentals is described by several residents who have experienced how the opening of a holiday apartment tends to convert the whole building into a tourist space. For instance (P2):

At the moment 6 out of 8 flats are for tourists but a few years ago there were 8 families living there, all of which were owners of the flats. An elderly resident died and the new owner rented it to tourists. When the man next door also died they bought the flat and so the entire floor was used for holiday apartments. The neighbours who were living above and below them left because of the noise and now three floors are for tourists. There is only one floor with residents who in fact do not want to live there anymore. If they try to sell the flat, who is going to move in there? Nobody wants to live there! It is the perversion of holiday apartments. There is no other option than more holiday apartments.

A similar process is described by residents who have experienced how the expansion of hotels produces a lack of willingness to move to the area as it effectively resembles a non-place. For instance, a woman (P7) who has lived in the neighbourhood since the early 1990s explains:

In the road where I live there are in total five buildings of which three are hotels. If someone is looking for a flat to live in, do you think they are going to buy a flat in a sea of hotels? Nobody wants to live in a place like this. Hotels will expand and you will disappear. Also, we have lost our neighbours and all the shops have changed. The users of the hotel do not generate any link with the neighbourhood. Would you live in a place like this?

In addition to this new tourist environment that discourages potential residents, it is important to note the pressure of tourism investors who 'force' residents to sell their flats. I have described how the expansion of hotels displaces tenants but also owners who have no other option but to sell their properties to hotels at a price below the market average. A similar situation is also produced by the growth of vacation flats. On the one hand, due to the routine character of noises and disruptions, the 'best' option for several residents is to sell their flats and to move to a different neighbourhood. On the other hand, tourism investors tend to be the only buyers. As a community leader (K9) states, in several cases the "only chance people have is to get into the tourist market. They have to sell their flats to tourism investors because nobody will live in an environment that makes normal life impossible". The 'goldmine' that vacation flats represent leads agencies and investors into a daily search for further opportunities that, in turn, makes residents feel a daily pressure from tourism. As a woman (P1) explains:

I am so tired of living like this but I want to resist because this is my neighbourhood. But it is not a coincidence that every week I find in my post-box an offer to buy my flat saying 'great opportunity!' The thing is that I feel I am trying to resist against something that ultimately says that I am a leftover here. That says what are you doing here? This place is for tourists. As a neighbour I feel I am a leftover.

This reproduction of the phenomenon in which residents are induced to give way to tourism investors is a fact depicted in several interviews. However, there are cases in which, to a certain extent, residents happily sold their flats. Such cases tend to be pioneer gentrifiers who moved to the area ten or fifteen years ago. They tend to see their flats as an investment opportunity. Notwithstanding, the result is again the substitution of residential life by tourism. For instance, a resident (P11) explains that when he went to complain about the troubles that short-term rentals caused in his building, the answer he received was "if it bothers you so much I could buy your flat". And as he states "it was a tempting offer". In fact, house prices in other neighbourhoods went down after the crisis but not in the Gòtic area where the growth of tourism kept investments and prices steady.

The logic of short-term rentals is also reproduced by those who complain about the spread of the phenomenon but rent their spare rooms to visitors rather than to residents. Arguing that "I do not want just to suffer it, I also want to take advantage of it" (P29), some residents reproduce it with resignation while others argue that it is a business opportunity. Regardless of the case, the result is the imposition of a rationale in which "either you get a chunk of the cake or people will think you are stupid" (P29). It is the temptation of a tourism market that further exacerbates its reproduction.

Collective displacement needs to be viewed as the final consequence of a process in which all forms of displacement identified in this section come together. It is a progressive process in which direct displacement, exclusionary effects, the fact that residents are 'forced' to sell their houses, and that residents are discouraged to move to the area all take place at the same time. The process solely enables the expansion of tourism while making it increasingly difficult to reproduce residential life. It is for those reasons that I suggest that population and household loss should be linked to this (López-Gay and Cocola-Gant, 2016). It must be related to the entire transformation of the neighbourhood. I develop this topic in the next chapter. However, the following section relates my empirical findings with the literature on tourism, gentrification and displacement.

## **6.5. Discussion: Tourism, gentrification and displacement**

The description of the empirical results has focused on two main themes. First, I have shown how tourism is central to understanding gentrification. By gentrification I mean a process of capital investment in the built environment that caters to the needs of affluent consumers and, along the way, displaces the indigenous population (Lees et al., 2015a). In this process, tourism plays a key role. Second, I have explored how tourism-driven gentrification is experienced by long-term residents. In particular, I have focused on the extent to which it provokes different forms of displacement. Following these two main concerns, in this section I discuss the empirical results in conversation with the literature on these topics. My aim is to contribute to the debate regarding how tourism gentrification occurs and the effects of this process.

### **6.5.1. Tourism gentrification: insights from Southern Europe**

The literature that links tourism and gentrification notes three important themes. First, both processes can be regarded as the result of the strategies used to revitalise urban cores (Judd, 1999; Mullins, 1991). Second, research notes that investment in tourism is largely driven by firms and corporations who have formed new institutional connections with traditional city boosters to market cities and their neighbourhoods (Gotham, 2005). Third, several authors show that both processes feed each other and overlap in similar urban environments (Maitland and Newman, 2008; Spirou, 2011).

Regarding these three issues, Barcelona is not an exception and the case of the Gòtic neighbourhood illustrates analogous results. Gentrification was seen as a solution to revitalise a degraded area while at the same time the space was promoted as a tourist destination. The Gòtic neighbourhood was both the first area of the city to be gentrified (Aramburu, 2000) and the first tourist destination in the historic centre (Cocola-Gant, 2014a, 2014b; Cocola-Gant and Palou i Rubio, 2015). In addition, neighbourhood change has been facilitated by a coalition of the tourism industry (hotels and real estate companies) and local authorities. However, tourism gentrification in the Gòtic neighbourhood also offers new insights that had not been fully considered by research. I focus on these new considerations below.

I see tourism as a process that accelerates and strengthens gentrification. Tourism not only overlaps with gentrification, but intensifies both investment in the built environment and the pressure of displacement. The first wave of gentrification in the Gòtic area can be seen as an example of classical gentrification in which middle-class

residents moved to working-class neighbourhoods. However, I showed that in the second and third phase, gentrification was consolidated by tourism. Housing rehabilitation intensified from the late 1990s as the result of the influx of new incomers from the global North, lifestyle migrants and visitors alike. Investment in housing rehabilitation consolidated gentrification, but as I showed, such investment focused on the production of housing for transnational gentrifiers as well as on holiday apartments and hotels.

My findings reveal that real estate capital finds in the tourism industry new investment opportunities. This shows how gentrification is accelerated by tourism. We need to consider the way in which tourism investment reacted to the 2008-crisis. The growth of both hotels and holiday apartments were not affected by the crisis. On the contrary – and despite a general deceleration in housing and real estate investment experienced in Spain that slowed gentrification down (Díaz Orueta and Lourés Seoane, 2014) – investment in hotels and holiday apartments grew. This growth was motivated by creating accommodation for visitors and so it changes patterns of real estate investment seen in classical processes of gentrification. As several authors point out (Hackworth, 2002; Hackworth and Smith, 2001), real estate investment and consequently gentrification both increase during periods of economic growth and diminish during recessions to a degree that, for instance, in the recession of the early 1990s many authors wrongly predicted the end of gentrification (see Lees et al., 2008). However, this has not been the case in Barcelona where, despite the crisis, a new wave of investment has been fuelled by the tourism industry, especially because the market relies on international visitors rather than on a domestic demand.

The acceleration of gentrification by tourism can be also understood by noting how residential displacement took place. An exploration of how changes in the neighbourhood was experienced by long-term residents shows that the pressure of displacement parallels the growth of tourism. In the early 1990s, processes of direct displacement were scarce and patchy as well as the exclusionary effects caused by gentrification. But such processes grew and expanded as lifestyle migrants moved into the area to the extent that long-term residents and social movements described the displacement process as ‘real estate violence’. Moreover, the pressure of displacement resurged during the current wave of gentrification in which housing is converted into accommodation for visitors.



Finally, the consolidation of gentrification by tourism is significantly linked to place promotion and lifestyle migration. The literature on gentrification has not paid attention to how city marketing and international promotion change the symbolic image of a place that, in turn, fosters the arrival of transnationally mobile populations. However, this fact is central in understanding gentrification in the Gòtic area. Gentrification was consolidated as a result of the strategies implemented to promote Barcelona after the Olympic Games in which local authorities made significant efforts in terms of city marketing campaigns (Balibrea, 2001; Cocola-Gant, 2009; Smith, 2005). The image of Barcelona was transformed from being a dirty and working-class industrial place to a 'fun' city (Benach, 2000; Ward, 2006) of entertainment, architecture and quality of life. This transformation converted Barcelona into a tourist destination (Palou i Rubio, 2012) that attracted not only visitors, but lifestyle migrants too. As noted by Benson and O'Reilly (2009), tourist destinations become destinations for affluent migrants and this is also the case in the Gòtic area. My findings show that transnationally mobile populations in search of a particular lifestyle triggered a local process of gentrification. However, these new residents were markedly attracted by a touristic representation of the city.

### **6.5.2. Experiencing displacement: capital versus residents**

My empirical findings confirm that displacement is the result of the strategies used by capital in the search for growth and profits. I see displacement as an example of the inherent struggle under capitalism in which capital searches for exchange values at the expense of expropriating the use values of neighbourhoods (Lefebvre, 1991; Logan and Molotch, 2007; Slater, 2017). I see displacement, therefore, as a form of accumulation by dispossession (Harvey, 2003). In this regard, the literature on tourism gentrification has explained displacement as a result of the rise of house prices that usually takes place in tourist areas (Gladstone and Préau, 2008; Gotham, 2005). In tourist destinations, places become unaffordable for low-income people. My findings confirm this outcome, but my contribution reveals that displacement is driven especially by the growth of accommodation for visitors. This growth brings new forms of displacement that have not been considered by research before.

I showed that direct displacement and the violence experienced by residents such as deliberate degradation, landlord harassment or massive rent increases are a dramatic impact of tourism-driven gentrification (Marcuse, 1985; Slater, 2017). However, my empirical results show outcomes beyond direct displacement. Firstly, I showed that

the expansion of both hotels and holiday apartments forces residents to sell their flats. Although this is a form of direct displacement, it is also a type of exclusionary displacement that resembles what López-Morales calls “gentrification by ground rent dispossession” (2011, 2015). Apartments are taken out of the housing stock, but also, residents are forced to sell at a low price and so they are unable to find accommodation in adjacent areas. I showed that hotels and holiday rental investors use deliberate strategies to harass residents to an extent that the ‘best’ option they have is to sell their houses and move out. However, as those who exert the pressure are the only buyers, when residents come to sell their flats the price does not result from competitive bidding but instead they are forced to sell at prices below the market. In turn, this limits their options of finding accommodation. As noted by López-Morales (2011, 2015), this form of accumulation by dispossession works as a process of class-monopoly absorption of the rent gap that expropriates the use values of residents while making it increasingly difficult for them to survive in the ‘free’ market for houses. Interestingly, the fact that flat-owners are compelled to sell and move contradicts the assumption that involuntary moves caused by gentrification mainly affects poor tenants. The pressure of the tourist industry also affects middle-class households, including those who were gentrifiers during earlier stages of the process.

Secondly, I argue that in processes of tourism gentrification exclusionary displacement is a central consequence and the one that may affect a larger number of residents. The growth of both hotels and holiday apartments remove hundreds of flats from the housing stock. Data indicates that this conversion of housing into tourism accommodation may intensify the escalation of rent prices. As a result, there is a lack of affordable housing but, importantly, there is a lack of apartments available for residents. The growth of holiday rentals is leading to a change in a private rental market that is increasingly focused on short-term consumers rather than on long-term occupation. We need comparative studies to check whether this process of a declining number of apartments available for residents is taking place in other tourist destinations. Furthermore, tourism-driven exclusionary displacement has to be related with those residents that make significant efforts to adapt and resist in their homes as they are effectively ‘trapped’ in space. As one of the couples that was suffering from landlord harassments said, “we needed to resist. Otherwise where are we supposed to go”?

Thirdly, my empirical work offers new insights in understanding the impacts of Airbnb. Apart from a shortage in the housing stock and price increase, I showed that the

disruptions caused by sharing buildings with visitors is a dramatic daily pressure experienced by residents. It undermines the quality of life and mental health of people to an extent that for many this is the reason to move out of the place. Ironically, the pressure of sharing apartment buildings with visitors contradicts the rhetoric of Airbnb which states that the experience of sharing houses with locals is the company's *raison d'être*. I remind the reader that in the Gòtic area around 50% of the population share their buildings with visitors.

Daily disruptions need to be related to the change in the use of housing from being residential facilities into commercial spaces for tourists. My qualitative work reveals that disruptions caused by tourism lead to a situation in which residents are not willing to share the space with visitors. Put simply, people do not want to live in the area. This may explain the process of population flight identified in the demographic analysis; a process of substitution of residential life by tourism which I call collective displacement. The next chapter further explores this phenomenon. However, this change in the use of a space from being residential into commercial can be regarded as an attack on the use value of neighbourhoods as spaces for social reproduction. It involves a qualitative leap never seen in classical gentrification. If classical gentrification displaces a working-class community with a middle-class community, tourism gentrification may make long-term residential life impossible. It may lead to a space dominated by transient visitors and the spaces that they need – a space that resembles a theme park more than a residential place.

## **6.6. Conclusion**

This example of tourism gentrification shows how the space is marketed according to political and economic factors and not according to the individual decisions of consumers who would respond to the spontaneous function of free market. If in processes of classical gentrification there is room for the agency of gentrifiers and their search for urban living, I suggest that the tourist – as a gentrifier – is more a 'victim' than an agent. Barcelona as a tourist destination has been planned by local authorities whose aim was to put an industrial and working-class city on the map through the means of entertainment and consumption (Cocola-Gant, 2014a, 2014b; Cocola-Gant and Palou i Rubio, 2015; Palou i Rubio, 2012). The growth of both visitors and transnational gentrifiers needs to be understood in the context of this instrumental use of tourism that has been promoted as a solution to deindustrialisation. There is nothing natural in the success of Barcelona as a tourist

destination since it is a product designed by local authorities. Furthermore, the resultant displacement of residents is not the consequence of simply a fluctuating supply and demand of the housing market. Rather, there are companies and individuals that, in their search for profit, force people to leave. Therefore, the occurrence of tourism gentrification relies on the decisions made by local authorities, corporations and landlords to commodify a residential place. It is important to note this point as many residents blame visitors personally and so have been accused of xenophobia. As I mentioned, I suggest that the visitor is in fact a victim of a market that appears objectified: the commodity appears to be a natural property for visitors to consume, but does not reflect how it was produced, especially the amount of displacement required for its production. It is the naturalisation of market behaviour, or commodity fetishism, in which tourism gentrification appears to be independent of the initiative of the capitalist producers.

## Chapter 7. Place-based displacement

I have shown how tourism opens investment opportunities in the housing market and how such investment leads to different forms of displacement. By doing so, I have followed the rationale of the gentrification research, that is to say, the exploration of a process of housing rehabilitation for wealthier users. However, my findings suggest that to understand the impacts of tourism gentrification closer attention must be paid to changes at the neighbourhood scale rather than to changes in the housing market. This is related to the fact that urban tourism does not evolve in tourist precincts isolated from the rest of the city but in residential environments without previous tourist infrastructures. While some places are built for tourism (Mullins, 1991), the development of tourism in residential areas implies the mutation of residential infrastructures into spaces for visitors. If in the last chapter I showed a change in the use of housing from being residential to touristic, this chapter focuses on how this change takes place at the neighbourhood scale. I particularly explore how the transformation of the place is experienced by residents.

I show that tourism causes several daily disruptions that make the area unliveable. In this context, processes of direct displacement, that is, the out-migration of residents, are linked to the appropriation of the neighbourhood by tourism. Many people decide to move away. However, the majority of participants are not spatially displaced and they wish to remain. I suggest that it is for this reason that what they experience is a process of place-based displacement. Regardless of whether spatial dislocation takes place, participants feel a sense of dispossession due to the alteration of a familiar place. It is not an impact that can be measured but it is bodily experienced on a daily basis. The disruptions caused by tourism lead to an emotional loss that is experienced as a sense of expulsion. It causes anger and frustration due to the destruction of one's

beloved place. In relation to this, I relate the interaction between residents and visitors with the literature on 'spaces of encounter' (Valentine, 2008).

The chapter suggests that the loss of place needs to be viewed as a form of accumulation by dispossession. Although residents emphasise the feeling of frustration that results from being dispossessed from their places, these feelings are experienced as manifestations of structural inequalities. This is related to the role played by the local state. Residents link their sense of expulsion to several policies aimed at facilitating the extraction of profits from the neighbourhood despite being antagonistic to the well-being of the population. The loss of place is experienced as the result of the coalition between the city council and the tourist industry and the power they have to make residents feel that they are in the 'wrong' place.

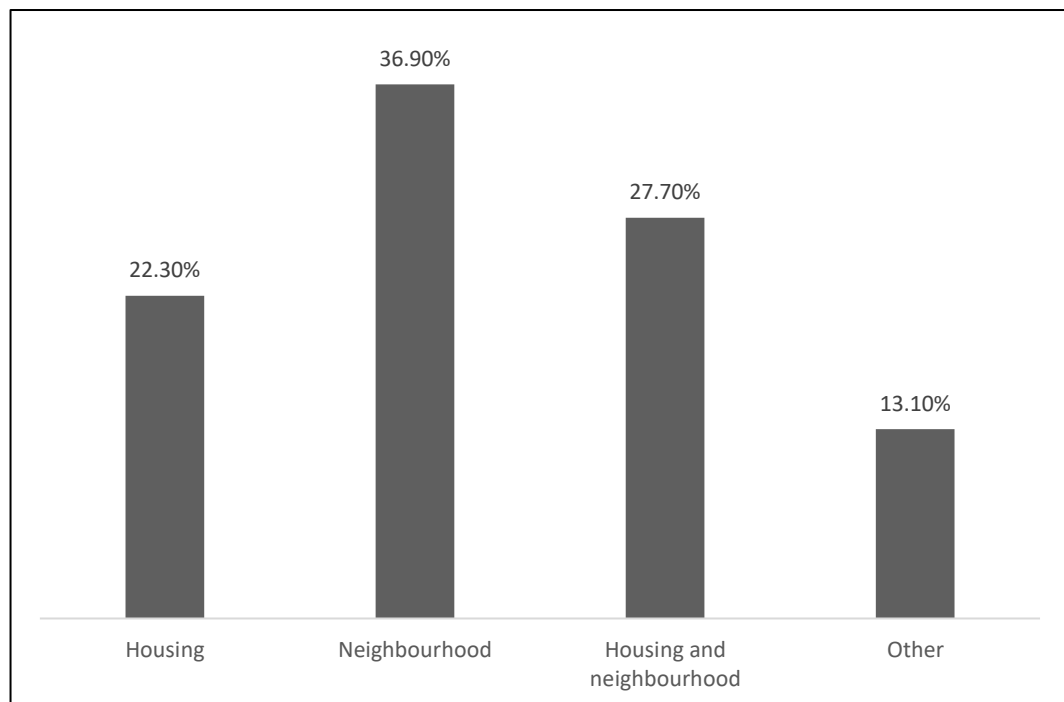
The chapter starts by showing the results of the survey that I implemented. This is because the results indicate the importance of considering neighbourhood life when trying to understand displacement. The second section presents a short history and description of George Orwell square. The structured observation I conducted in the square provides a detailed picture of the place. I observed different squares at different times and my conclusion is that all of them are used in a similar way and have experienced similar changes. For this reason, the description of George Orwell square aims to depict neighbourhood life. The following sections of the chapter analyse the views of residents and how they try to cope with the mutation of the neighbourhood on a daily basis. I scrutinise the way in which changes in commercial facilities, public space, noise, and community life affects their everyday lives. Finally, I describe some attempts to re-conquer the place and re-establish spaces for the community.

### **7.1. Why residents move out**

The demographic analysis has shown that the neighbourhood is experiencing a period of population and household decline. This is also a concern expressed by all participants. Residents have witnessed their friends moving out. In investigating why residents move out, I usually started the interviews by asking about housing issues. However, interviewees emphasised that although the impacts of holiday rentals and hotels are dramatic, their fears are linked more to the transformation of their place into a space for tourism consumption and the impossibility of living in such an environment.

In the survey that I conducted, 64% of respondents stated that in the last 10 years at least one friend or associate from their daily social networks have moved out of the neighbourhood. The survey shows that on average each resident has lost 5.2 friends and/or associates from their community. In the questionnaire, I included an open-ended question asking why their friends left the neighbourhood. Based on all answers, I made four groups of reasons given by residents as to why their friends moved out (Figure 7.1). Housing related issues, such as increased rent, the unwillingness of the landlord to renew the contract, or harassment were cited in 22.3% of responses. Deterioration of the conditions of neighbourhood life was cited in 36.9% of responses. Such conditions are analysed in this chapter, but it is important to note that changes at the neighbourhood scale have more weight than housing dynamics in the decision to move out of the Gòtic area. Interestingly, 27.7% of respondents state that the decision to move is related to both housing and neighbourhood problems. This data is useful to highlight that the pressures in the housing market seen in the last chapter, and the loss of place that I show in this chapter, occur at the same time and reinforce each other. Finally, 'other' situations such as family or job-related issues were cited in 13.1% of responses.

Figure 7.1. Results of the survey asking: 'Why do residents move out?'. Source: survey implemented by the author, February-May, 2015.



Consequently, the survey shows that the loss of place experienced by residents plays a crucial role in processes of displacement. My findings confirm Marcuse's (1985) suggestion that neighbourhood dispossession is likely to lead to direct displacement. As Marcuse (1985: 207) stated, those who avoid direct residential displacement may suffer the displacement of their community, traditional retail, public facilities, as well as the upgrading of stores and services, and as the area becomes "less and less livable, then the pressure of displacement already is severe. Its actuality is only a matter of time". In what follows, I explore how this process occurs in the Gòtic area.

## **7.2. Case study 2. George Orwell square**

A short history and description of George Orwell square illustrates how the neighbourhood caters to the needs of tourists rather than residents. George Orwell square is located in the southern part of the Gòtic area (Figure 7.2). The square was created in 1990 following the demolition of a block of derelict buildings. As shown in chapter 3, the Barcelona model focused on the production of new public spaces by opening up what had been regarded as closed and insidious environments, especially in areas with high levels of prostitution and drug-related crimes. In Ciutat Vella, 23 squares were created via the demolition of derelict housing from 1981 to 2001 (Hernández-Cordero and Tutor-Antón, 2014).

Following the creation of George Orwell square retail activities barely changed. They consisted mainly of family business that provided daily services for low-income residents. In terms of the use of the new square, it became a gathering place for youths and especially for homeless people. Both groups used to sit down on the steps of the squares to drink and chat during the evening. Following the turn of the century, the use of the square and its services started to change. New bars and restaurants opened but an important alteration occurred in 2005 when the city council approved the so-called *Ordenanzas Cívicas*. This law aimed to regulate the use of public spaces but it is actually an example of 'punitive urbanism' (Mitchell, 2003). The law criminalises homelessness, drinking in public areas and sitting on the floor or on steps. Given that the city council did not provide the square with any public benches or facilities to sit down, the new law undermined the ability of the square to continue as a gathering place. The situation was further intensified after 2008. First, since people still used the steps to sit on, the city council removed them. Second, and due to the pressure of new bars and restaurants, the installation of terraces was allowed. Furthermore, one of the buildings was converted into a luxury hotel in 2013 (Figures 7.3 and 7.4).



Figure 7.2. Southern part of the Gòtic neighbourhood. Source: own elaboration.



Figures 7.3 and 7.4. George Orwell square, 2008 and 2013. Source: Hernández-Cordero and Tutor-Antón, 2014. Used with permission.

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Note the removal of steps, new terraces for bars and restaurants and the rehabilitation of the building on the left which is now a luxury hotel.

The installation of terraces is the result of the tourist-oriented commercial gentrification experienced in the square. After the demolition of the block, there was a mix of industrial and commercial activities, especially workshops, working-class bars and food stores catering to residents such as a bakery and a few greengrocers. Nowadays there are 16 businesses in the square of which 10 are bars and restaurants, 2 are clothes stores, 1 is a tattoo parlour, 1 is a tourist oriented bike rental shop, 1 is home store and another is a bakery. A resident describes how the stores changed in recent years and gives a revealing 'before and now' picture:

The tourist-oriented ice tea shop was a butcher's shop which sold pork; the middle-class restaurant was a working-class snack bar; the bike rental shop was a grocery store; that hipster shop that only sells vegan juices was another grocery store; the fast-food restaurant was a working-class bar where we used to go to meet our friends every day; the ground floor of the new hotel is now an upper-class tourist-oriented tapas bar but this space was formerly a warehouse; that restaurant was another butcher's shop; the one next to it was a porn cinema; and the tattoo parlour was a working-class bar. From 1990, only two bars and the bakery remain and it is because they own the building. Those who were renting had to move out (P4).

Observing the square during the summer time provides a revealing picture of use and users of the space. At the beginning of July 2015, terraces had 192 chairs and there was not a single public bench in the square. Interestingly, the users of the terraces were mostly young visitors while middle aged and elderly residents used the old working-class bar that still remains. During the time I spent in the square (several hours during different days) I did not see visitors in the working-class bar or elderly residents using the terraces. One characteristic of the square is the lack of physical space. The terraces occupy a big portion of the space available and the rest is generally used by bike rental costumers when they visit the shop. This sense of congestion in a small place combined with the lack of benches deters the elderly from using the square. At the same time, there is a small playground in the square that was conceded to the neighbours in 2012 after years of demanding places for children. Ironically, the playground is used by the children of visitors while they drink on the terraces (Figures 7.5 and 7.6).

Figure 7.5. George Orwell square, July 2015. Photograph by A. Cocola-Gant.

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Note the small fence around the playground surrounded by lively bars and restaurants.

Figure 7.6. George Orwell square, July 2015. Photograph by A. Cocola-Gant.

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Note the semi-abandoned block. Residents are suffering deliberate degradation.

The description of George Orwell square shows how the space has changed from being a place that provided services and gathering areas for the community into a space dominated by visitors and facilities catered to them. This change is the result of both the growth of tourism demand and the role of the local government in adapting the space for the needs of the tourist industry. The result has been commercial gentrification, privatisation of public space, a lack of facilities to sit on, over-crowding of public areas and a continuous movement of transient consumers. Moreover, informal interviews undertaken in the square reveals that visitors play a central role as consumers of housing since there are holiday apartments in every building (except for the hotel and a building which contains offices belonging to the city council). Observations of other squares confirms that these characteristics are the norm and not the exception in the everyday life of the area. Indeed, George Orwell square is not a must-see attraction for visitors. In other areas of the Gòtic neighbourhood the number of visitors and services catered to them are much larger. In the *Plaça Reial* square, for instance, there are 1,600 chairs belonging to bars and restaurants and 9 individual public benches (Figures 7.2 and 7.9).

The remaining part of this chapter explores how these changes at the neighbourhood scale affect the lives of residents on a daily basis.

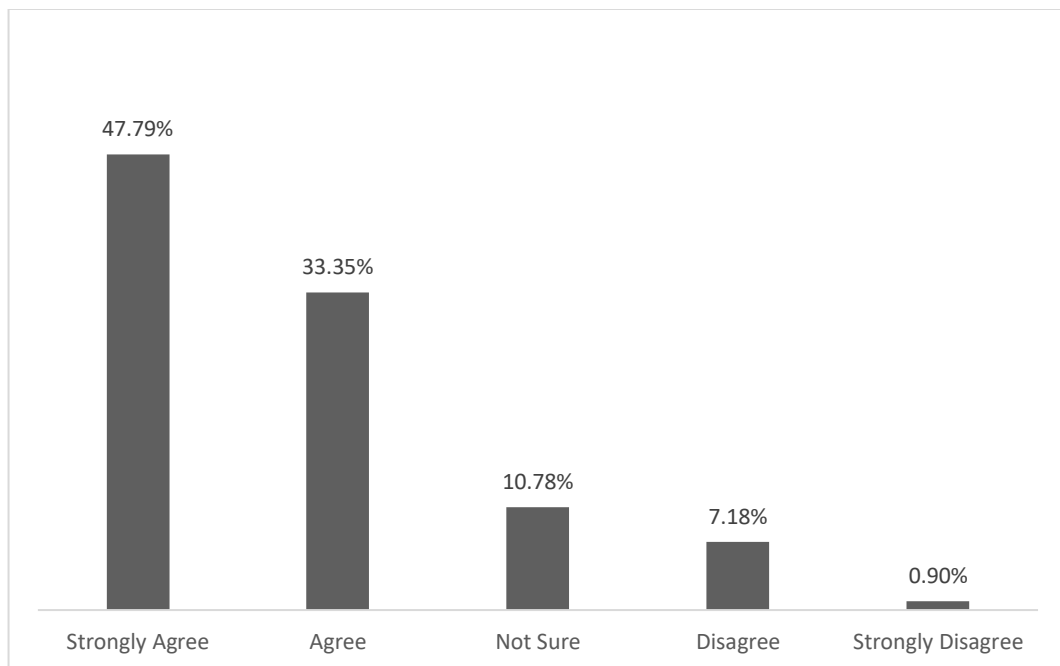
### 7.3. Consumption facilities

Shops are for tourists. But I am not interested in them. And there are many. And bars, those which used to sell sandwiches now sell tapas and inauthentic food. The restaurants we use are disappearing. And we are lost like we are in a desert (P3).

For me it is the most conflicting part, because the biggest supermarket we have is full of tourists. It is really cramped. I cannot go there to do my daily shop with my daughter. Indeed, they have refurbished it, and now it focuses even more on tourism. Now you can eat fast food there and it is notably more expensive than others (P27).

Changes in commercial services are a central concern expressed by residents. The facilities that residents need on a daily basis such as bakeries, greengrocers, pharmacies or supermarkets are disappearing (Figure 7.7). Instead, the new shops cater to visitors. In this section, I show the extent to which this retail change undermines the quality of life of residents. In addition, I illustrate that it is an example of how the place increasingly belongs to 'other' users. This causes residents to feel that they are being dispossessed.

Figure 7.7. Results of the survey asking: 'Stores I used to patronise have disappeared in the last five years'. Data collection: February-May, 2015.



The retail change that took place in the area is a form of tourist-oriented commercial gentrification. For instance, the food market – the so-called *La Boqueria* – is now a gourmet venue and a tourist attraction (Figure 7.8). A resident (P4) states that in *La Boqueria* “25 stalls have been converted into restaurants. Products such as fresh juices for visitors substitute fresh fruit for residents”. According to residents and shopkeepers, there are two main reasons that explain tourist-driven commercial gentrification in the Gòtic neighbourhood. Firstly, the increase in the rent of commercial properties makes them unaffordable for family businesses. Instead, they tend to be replaced by franchises and by upper-class and tourist-oriented stores. Secondly, if some stores have been resilient it is because they have adapted their business to suit the demands of visitors. This particularly applies to bars and restaurants that have been upgraded by their owners.

Retail change is experienced by residents as a daily disruption. Among the practical situations that undermine the quality of life of residents, the most common one is the need to do weekly and daily shopping in a different neighbourhood:

In the Gòtic area shops are for visitors. If you want to buy groceries, you need to walk for fifteen minutes and then back with all the shopping. If you do the weekly shopping like that it is fine. But if one day you just need milk you also need to walk for fifteen minutes. It does not make any sense (P31).

Travelling to a different neighbourhood to buy groceries is a significant disruption for the elderly and people with children, particularly women. Elderly residents are unable to walk long distances, especially if they carry shopping bags and there are no benches to sit down on to rest. Furthermore, as I show later, the overcrowding of public space makes it increasingly difficult for them to move. By the same token, daily shopping is especially difficult for someone that needs to carry a child and walk long distances in overcrowded streets. As one woman (P27) describes:

I am sick and tired of daily situations such as when I go to leave my child at school or when I go to the supermarket and come back with an ulcer in my stomach. It is a fight.

Figure 7.8. Northern part of the Gòtic neighbourhood. Source: own elaboration.



Beyond practical disruptions, tourist-oriented commercial gentrification is experienced by several residents as a situation that effectively displaces them from their place. As one resident explains, the sense of loss is related to the fact that “you see how stores are not for you and so you do not have places to go to” (P4). The feeling of dispossession is notably related to the role of stores as spaces for encounters with other members of the community. The retail change has resulted in the loss of practices and relationships that are central for place attachment and that, ultimately, are the basics of place-making. As a community leader states, “for us, local stores have the value of social cohesion” (K9). The displacement of traditional stores means the destruction of the places where community embeddedness occurs.

In terms of meeting points for the community, probably the most important places are bars. Bars are the places in which social life occurs. Going to a family-owned bar that caters to low-income customers is an important cultural practice in Spain as well as in many other parts of the Mediterranean region. But bars mean more than a cultural practice and the place where people meet their neighbours. For many, they are also a point of informal information about jobs, rooms to rent or, as a resident (P6) states, “for me it is also my office”. Bars are, however, the facilities that have been most gentrified in the neighbourhood. A resident (P36) explains that “in recent years, the speed with which some bars have closed down has been incredible. They have opened super-modern premises totally focused on visitors”. This view is shared by the majority of participants. The general opinion is that bars are not for residents:

Bars are not a reference point for us anymore because the people you meet there [tourists] are precisely the people that you want to escape from (P31).

There are fewer and fewer places where you can feel comfortable (P33).

The gentrification of bars shows how people experience a sense of dispossession as it means that residents are not allowed to engage in activities that are important in their everyday life. As one resident explains:

When you see that something so basic like having a place to have breakfast or a drink is something that you simply cannot do in your neighbourhood, then you wonder: why do I live in this place? (P25).

In addition, the sense of dispossession becomes in some cases a direct process of expulsion. As tourist-oriented bars want to maximise profits, they have imposed a new



rule meaning that at certain times customers must eat otherwise they are invited to leave. However, this collides with local cultural practices in which, for instance, people go to bars to have a drink with friends rather than eating. It also collides with the needs of people for whom the bar is an informal office [including myself that was kicked out from a bar at 1pm while interviewing a research participant] and for someone that simply wants to have a coffee and rest for ten minutes. As a resident states:

I have an hour-long break at midday. I usually bring a sandwich and then drink a coffee in a bar before going back to work. I have been going to the same bar for years. Now they have a new management team and it is for tourists. Because they want you to eat I am not allowed to drink my coffee anymore! This is too much. It is clear this neighbourhood is only for tourists. But it hurts to see how you lose more and more places that are important to you (P17).

For residents, tourist-oriented commercial gentrification means practical disruptions that are especially significant for people with mobility difficulties such as the elderly and those who carry children. Although it is true that several residents stressed that daily products are more expensive in the Gòtic area than in other neighbourhoods, the local cost of living (beyond housing) is not seen as a drastic practical problem. The retail change that took place in the area is experienced as a central loss and, indeed, it leads to the expulsion of residents from certain businesses. Residents are displaced from the places they have been frequenting such as bars or the food market. In this regard, they lose a gathering place and a central element for community life. In terms of community embeddedness, public space is also central. I turn to this point below.

#### **7.4. Public space**

Public space? There is nothing left. They [local authorities] are shameless. And I feel overwhelmed when I see the herds of bikes. For an elderly person it is terrible. And the number of terraces... We need public spaces for us. We need benches! The main problem is the feeling that we cannot use the streets (P15).

We had gathering places where you could talk to people. Now, public space is inhospitable. There is no way of socialising with people in public spaces (P1).

Changes in the use of public space are a central concern for the community and it was a point highlighted by all participants. The general impression is that public space has receded. Residents experience the transformation in the use of public space as a process of dispossession. My findings suggest that there are two connected forms of dispossession: physical and emotional. On the one hand, the loss of 'physical space' causes several disruptions, especially because the large number of visitors makes mobility extremely difficult. Moreover, squares have been 'rented' to bars and restaurants. This lack of physical spaces leads to a lack of communal spaces as streets and squares are the places in which community life occurs. On the other hand, this process is experienced as an expulsion from residential places. It is lived as an emotional loss, as another ingredient that feeds the sense of being displaced.

As the Gòtic neighbourhood is the oldest part of Barcelona its streets are narrow and public space is scarce. There are no parks in the neighbourhood nor a significant square. Despite this lack of physical space, the Gòtic neighbourhood is probably the most visited area in Barcelona. At the same time, the liberalisation of tourist-oriented activities has meant the proliferation of bike rental and segway rental shops, which means that groups of visitors travel around the place using these vehicles. In addition, as the harbour is next to the neighbourhood, the arrival of cruise ships means that visitors tend to cross the Gòtic area even if they are on their way to visit other places around the city. It should be noted that in 2016 the number of cruise ship passengers visiting Barcelona during this year reached 2.6 million (Barcelona City Council, 2018).

The overcrowding of public space causes mobility disruptions that severely undermines the quality of life of residents. I want to emphasise that this issue is a central point of distress and has been highlighted by several residents as a daily annoyance that makes the area increasingly unliveable. For instance, a woman stresses that

there are a few places in which, as a resident, you know that you need to avoid. Not only because you are overwhelmed, but also because if you carry, for instance, shopping bags it is impossible to pass through. I know residents that have moved out because they were not able to get to school physically carrying the child. The simple fact that there are so many tourists is a form of expulsion. There are moments in which physically you do not fit (P40).

The continuous movement of transient visitors is described by some residents as a permanent 'tsunami' that 'needs to be avoided'. In other words, residents adapt their

daily mobility to avoid tourists and encounters with visitors. This fact contradicts the assumption that the sharing of space between tourists and residents leads to convivial links (Hayllar et al., 2008; Maitland, 2010). Indeed, my findings suggest that the norm is a lack of encounters between locals and visitors. I return to this point in the theoretical discussion that closes this chapter.

Together with the large number of visitors, changes in the use of public space are related to punitive urbanism policies and the privatisation of squares. Firstly, as mentioned earlier, in 2005 the city council approved the so-called *Ordenanzas Cívicas*. This regulation not only criminalises activities that homeless people ‘must do in order to live’ as Mitchell states (2003), but it also condemns a central cultural practice, that is, gathering in and enjoying a public space with low levels of consumption. The *Ordenanzas Cívicas* bans prostitution and homelessness but also everyday activities such as sitting down on a step to eat a sandwich. It even bans children from playing in ‘unauthorised spaces’. The *Ordenanzas Cívicas* were supplemented with the removal of places to sit down. Instead, public benches for just one person were introduced, more as a decorative element rather than a place to gather with friends (Figure 7.9).

Figure 7.9. Chair in *Plaça Reial* (see Figure 7.2). In this square there are 9 individual public chairs and 1,600 restaurants chairs. March 2015. Photograph by A. Cocola-Gant.



Secondly, squares are increasingly 'rented' to bars and restaurants. This private ownership and management of public areas that were once used as free communal facilities was first introduced as a central policy in the 1990s. However, as the neoliberal answer to the post-2008 crisis has been the promotion of further tourism growth and liberalisation of commercial activities, the number of terraces has grown dramatically since 2010.

The combination of the so-called *Ordenanzas Cívicas*, removal of places to sit down, and the growth of terraces means that public space is no longer a place for encounters and communal use. Rather, public areas have become spaces for transient consumers. In the process, residents have been displaced from a place that is central to everyday life:

We lived in the streets. Now it is not possible because reference sites have gone. Bars, shops, places to sit down in the shade where people can rest and talk – we do not have them anymore. New benches are individual seats and in the sun. There is no way you can sit there and socialise. There are new public spaces but they are occupied by terraces. The urban landscape has changed 100%. It has gone from being a place to be in and to socialise, to a place either to pass through or to consume and leave (P31).

Participants highlight that both overcrowding and privatisation of public spaces are experienced as processes of expulsion. This feeling is in fact shared by residents of different age groups. For instance, a resident (P36) in his thirties and that was born in the neighbourhood experiences the implementation of *Ordenanzas Cívicas* and the opening of terraces as a criminalisation of what young people do to socialise. He describes being expelled from every public space in which he used to gather with his friends in a sort of 'persecution' by the police and local authorities:

We used to go to the square [*Plaça de la Verònica*. Figures 7.2 and 7.10] and sit down on the steps at the front of a building. However, in 2005 the police began fining us for 'illegal use of public space' and the city council put a fence around the steps so that people were unable to sit down. Then people sat down on big pots that were in the square but the city council also removed them. Finally, a terrace opened (P36).

Figure 7.10. *Plaça de la Verònica*, June 2015. Photograph by A. Cocola-Gant.



He continues the description of his experience by saying:

So people stopped gathering there and moved to different squares. The funny thing is that they did the same in every place in which people used public spaces as meeting places (P36).

In *Plaça del Pi* square [Figure 7.8], steps around a monument were also removed, there are no public benches to sit down on, but bars and restaurants have 184 chairs. By observing how people use the square, I barely noticed any Catalan-Spanish speakers using the terraces. Also, groups of visitors continuously passed through the square as there is a gothic church that is a must-see attraction. In the early evening, I did notice elderly residents going to the square for a walk and to gather with friends. However, as they do not have places to sit down their presence in the square is brief. Some residents rest in big pots as they are the only places available to sit on. Ironically, tourism produces a situation in which the permanent user (resident) becomes the transient user and the transient user (tourist) becomes the permanent user. It is also worth noting that the loss of public space and the loss of stores occurs simultaneously. According to a shopkeeper that has worked in *Plaça del Pi* for more than thirty years (K13), of the 31 shops that are located in the square only 4 have not changed since 2000: “even the pharmacy has closed down. Now you can get an ice-cream instead”.

Interestingly, the *Angel Baixeras* primary school also experiences conflicts over the use of public space (Figure 7.2). The school does not have a playground. Children usually play on the rooftop terrace. However, the city council opened a new space in front of the school by bulldozing a group of houses. The aim was to make the ancient wall of the city visible and create a new square. To prevent the space from being 'rented' to a tourist-oriented activity and to make the space available for the community the school launched the *Vivim Aquí* [we live here] campaign. Among tourist-oriented services, the school is particularly worried about segways. There are segway rental shops near the school that continuously search for places to teach visitors how to use segways (Figures 7.11, 7.12 and 7.13). As a user of the school stated (P34):

The new space may be conquered by them. Instead, *Vivim Aquí* reminds local authorities that this is a neighbourhood and that we need facilities. It is sad that we have to fight for space, but they have forgotten about us.

Figure 7.11. *Vivim Aquí*. Mural in front of the *Angel Baixeras* school, June 2015. Photograph by A. Cocola-Gant.

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Figure 7.12. Visitors looking for a place to practice how to use segways. *Angel Baixeras* school is on the left. June 2015. Photograph by A. Cocola-Gant.

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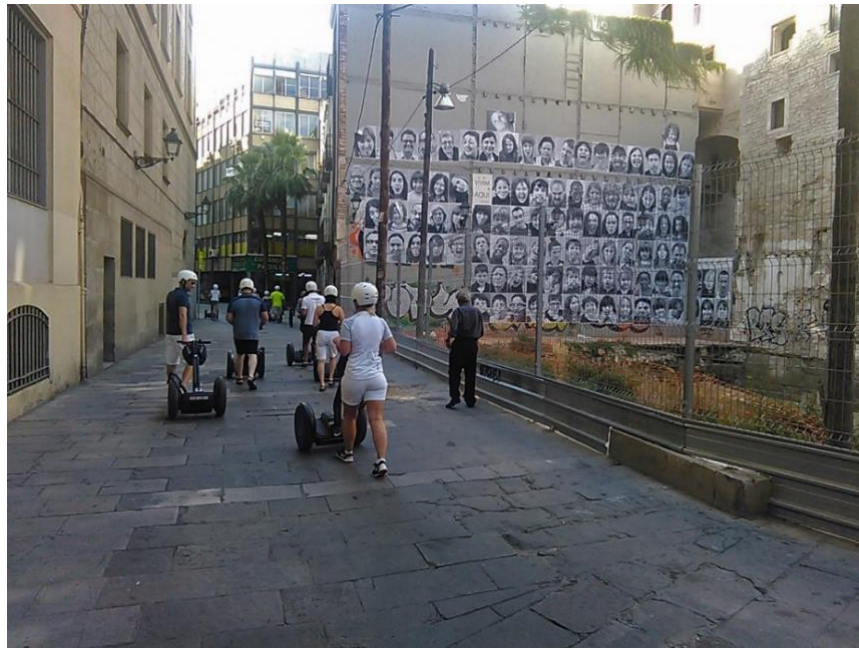


Figure 7.13. Visitors on segways in *plaça Traginers* near the *Angel Baixeras* school (see Figure 7.2). June 2015. Photograph by A. Cocola-Gant.

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Note the white sign by the green door with a red band through middle of it. It was put up by the city council after the introduction of *Ordenanzas Cívicas*. It reads “ball-games are forbidden in the square”.

Finally, the loss of public space and places to sit down, together with the congestion of streets, particularly affects the elderly and residents with mobility difficulties (Figure 7.14). As a participant states, “my mum, who is 78, needs facilities to rest in public spaces. She cannot sit down on the steps of a building! The simple act of going outside is dangerous for her because the tsunami of tourists may knock her over” (P37). As a result, the participant continues, “she is more and more isolated at home and there is no possibility for her to meet her friends”. As mentioned earlier, I noticed elderly residents that ‘adapt’ to the situation and use whatever they can to sit on and rest. For instance, I interviewed an 80 year-old woman who, probably in a naïve way, stated:

Yes, there are places to sit down. I use the benches of bus shelters and many elderly residents do it as well. If the driver stops, we just say that we are waiting for the next bus. This is not forbidden. I do not do anything illegal (P41).

Figure 7.14. A resident finds a place to rest. July 2015. Photograph by A. Cocola-Gant.

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In sum, the loss of public space causes daily mobility disruptions that are a central point of concern for residents. There are cases in which residents have moved out of the neighbourhood due to their inability to walk with their children. The situation is more problematic for elderly people. The loss of public space means that residents lose gathering places and opportunities to engage in community life. These disruptions reinforce the idea that the neighbourhood is now a space used by the leisure industry and so it strengthens the sense of expulsion and dispossession. The role played by the local state in the process is undeniable. Residents recognise the impact of *Ordenanzas Cívicas*, the removal of places to sit down as well as the liberalisation of terraces.



## 7.5. Noise

We deal with noise very badly. Crying all night, parties, cleaning services, etc. If you say something to them they laugh at you. It is unliveable here. We sleep in the room that faces the backyard. Otherwise we would not live here (P4).

Noise is probably the most dramatic disruption that undermines the quality of life of residents. The majority of participants agree that noise makes the neighbourhood an irritating place to live in. It is a public health issue that affects the daily well-being of the community. In this regard, the survey shows that 77.6% of the population are dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the level of noise (Figures 7.15 and 7.16). A resident describes it in this way:

Noise is what we are absolutely fed up with because there is no way to sleep here. And this is what expels us. When you must battle every day just to be able to sleep, you have enough. Not sleeping affects your health (P35).

Figure 7.15. Results of the survey asking: 'Please indicate how satisfied or dissatisfied you are with the level of noise in your local area'. Source: survey implemented by the author, February-May, 2015.

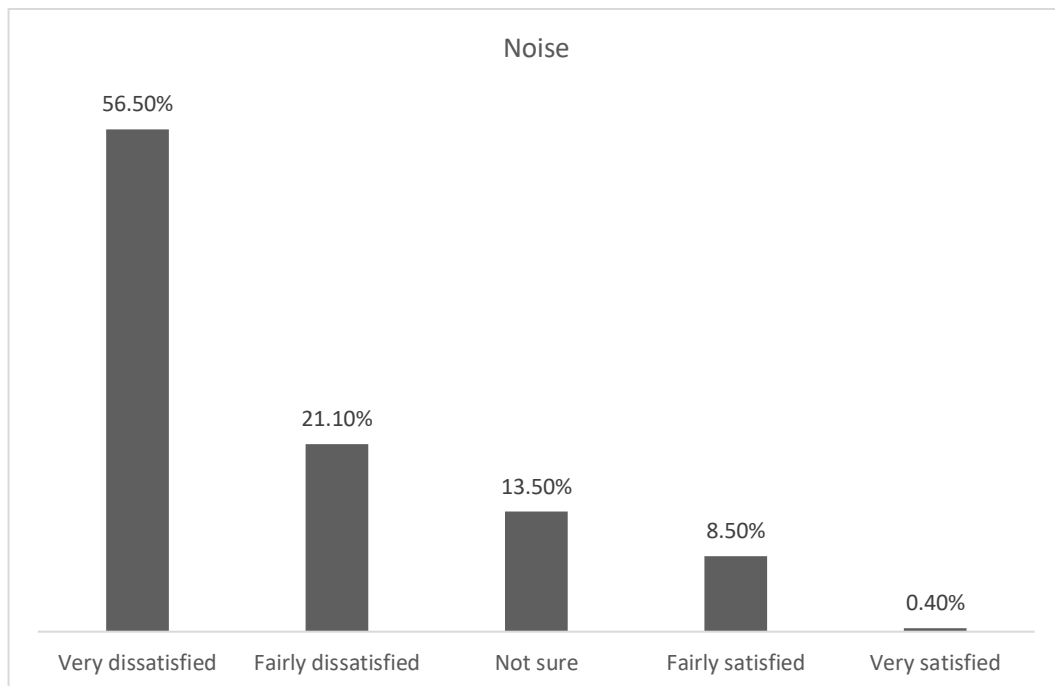


Figure 7.16. 'Residents have the right to rest', October 2016. Photograph by Geoffrey DeVerteuil.

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Noise pollution is caused by the leisure industry. This includes noise produced by people but also by the music of clubs and parties in holiday apartments, by ambulances, cleaning services using trucks and their workers, or the delivery of supplies for restaurants early in the morning. The acoustic pressure, however, is linked significantly to low cost and 'party tourism', which according to residents have worsened since 2010:

Trying to live here is almost heroic, especially because of what happens at night. There are travel agencies that offer stag and hen parties in Barcelona. But if you look at what they offer it is just the flights and information about where to buy alcohol. It means that tourists do not use any kind of accommodation. They spend all night singing in the street and they use the lobbies of apartment buildings to have sex. In the summer, you have this situation every day. If you say something to them, they just laugh at you. And all this happens in front of the police station but they [the police] do not care (P40).

Participants agree that visitors pay little attention to residents and do not show respect for them. It seems that for visitors the area is a space for entertainment rather than a residential neighbourhood. In this context, the feeling of participants is that local authorities are generous to visitors and tourist-oriented night-time activities whereas

the *Ordenanzas Cívicas* seem only to apply to residents. This emphasises a sense of expulsion and the impression that the neighbourhood belongs to the leisure industry. Regarding *Las Ramblas* – the main boulevard in the neighbourhood (Figures 7.2 and 7.8) – a resident states:

At night it is a lawless territory. Here you can do whatever you want and nothing happens to you. The feeling is that there is total impunity (P35).

By the same token, several participants had a clear sense that the interests of the economic elites take precedence over the interests and wellbeing of local residents. As a resident explains:

The impression is that there is no political will to solve noise pollution. For local authorities our wellbeing does not matter; it does not generate money for them. What generates money is something else (P1).

Importantly, noise displaces residents. Several participants depict how friends and relatives have left the neighbourhood because of noise. As one resident describes,

the ‘tsunami’ you find in the streets enters your house and there is no way of escaping from it. The expulsion is not only because of the housing market. It is because of the lack of public space and the lack of private space (P17).

This affects residents of all ages, income, gender or nationality. I interviewed two residents that once were pioneer gentrifiers but then decided to sell their flat and move to a different neighbourhood. Noise was a central issue in the decision to move. One of them states that his old flat is now a tourist apartment (P10). The other participant depicts her case and relates it to a situation in which the goal of local authorities is to extract profits from the place:

Underneath my house there were warehouses belonging to several bars. In the summer they needed extra refrigerators and electricity so they used generators all night! That caused an incredible amount of noise and indeed my house vibrated. It was very stressful. I reported them, but the city council ignored me. Here everything is allowed. We lived with daily tension and mental strain. But that was not important for the city council. For them the city is a business (P14).

Finally, the pressure of noise has socio-economic and environmental components. Residents with high incomes can afford double glazed windows and can protect themselves while lower income residents are exposed to continuous noise. However, closing the windows in a place like Barcelona means that air conditioning is a must. A resident explains:

I find it quite unfair that we have to install air conditioning and consume a lot of energy because drunk people from the North of Europe want to have a good time in my neighbourhood (P8).

In conclusion, noise emphasises the two aspects of the loss of place. First, it is a physical disruption that undermines the quality of life of residents. Indeed, this disruption has been for many the main reason behind leaving the neighbourhood. Second, it underlines a symbolic disorder, that is, a lack of control over the place – a sense of dispossession and the feeling that the neighbourhood belongs to others. This section has confirmed the impression held by residents regarding the role played by local government – that it is more concerned with facilitating tourism than improving the wellbeing of the population. In addition, this section has shown that several residents perceive living in the neighbourhood as a heroic act. I examine this point in the following sections.

## **7.6. Loss of community life**

When you have a relationship with your neighbours, shopkeepers, etc., and that relationship breaks, you feel you are dislocated. And more and more the relationship with your community vanishes. Because we do not have places to meet. Because people lock themselves in their house, they do not want to go out. There comes a moment when you disconnect, you walk fast in the street because the less you share the streets with tourists the better. We have no social life. I feel out of place (P1).

By loss of community life, I refer to the disintegration of the community experienced by long-term residents, to the rupture of the social fabric of the place. I show that the loss of social networks, relationships and familiarity have been highlighted by participants as a form of dislocation that strengthens the sense of loss and dispossession. As a resident puts it:

There was a community, a neighbourhood, trust, joy. You went to the shop and talked to people. They knew you. There was trust and mutual support. Today there is nothing, we have nothing. There are few neighbours left. We feel like a group of Copts in the desert (P2).

I show that the disintegration of the community is lived as a displacement pressure. My findings confirm Marcuse's (1985: 207) suggestion in regard to the role that the loss of community life plays in processes of displacement: "when a family sees the neighborhood around it changing dramatically, when their friends are leaving the neighborhood, when the stores they patronize are liquidating (...) [the family] may move as soon as they can, rather than wait for the inevitable". I illustrate how the loss of mutual support that results from the disintegration of the community and the consequent erosion of the place make residents question whether it is convenient to continue living in the area. As a neighbourhood leader points out, a sense of community is needed to enable the reproduction of daily life:

We need neighbourhoods in which everyday life is endorsed and facilitated. And for that we need people, children, local stores and public space. We need what we have lost: the axes that link a place, and that make it suitable as a place to live in (K9).

Participants relate the loss of community life to the tourism-driven gentrification experienced in the neighbourhood: "I always say 'I do not live in a neighbourhood. I live in a tourist site'. For me a neighbourhood is a place inhabited by a community" (P2). In understanding the connection between tourism and loss of community we must consider two points. Firstly, as I showed in earlier sections, the lack of gathering places is crucial. Such spaces of encounters for the indigenous community were squares, bars, shops, and ultimately the streets. However, many of these places have disappeared or residents have been displaced from them as they are now increasingly used by visitors:

We used to buy the newspaper in a lady's shop but she had to close it down. People gathered to buy the newspaper and chatted. Now it does not exist, do you understand? It is a sad thing. Also, after work we used to say 'what shall we do, have a beer?' That is no longer an option. There are no places to go (P15).

Secondly, for long-term residents the loss of community is linked to the lack of mixing between them and both visitors and lifestyle migrants. A first point of interest is that there is little chance of having encounters with the 'tsunami' of visitors. Indeed, residents try to avoid them as I showed above. In addition, the growth of low cost tourism leads to a situation in which the activities of visitors collide with what residents do: "many tourists live at night. We live during the day, then there is a total dislocation. Coexistence? None. With residents there is no coexistence" (P4). Regarding the users of a hotel, a resident explains:

The circulation of the street is transformed. They are not neighbours that go from one shop to another. But it is transformed into a thematic street for the procession of bicycles, segways or hordes of visitors. It is impossible to generate some kind of bond with these people, when also the people who use the hotel evidently do not have an affective bond with the neighbourhood (P25).

A second point to note is the fact that although lifestyle migrants represent a central group of residents in the neighbourhood, long-term residents usually do not see them as part of the community. So far, I have shown different disruptions caused by tourism which affect all residents, including transnational gentrifiers. However, the lack of mixing between this group and long-term residents is a situation which is particularly important for the latter. Transnational gentrifiers are perceived as 'permanent tourists' and this indicates a sense of dispossession. A resident explains that there are no holiday apartments in his building but that, instead,

we have 'semi-holiday apartments'. They are from France, Germany, UK, etc., and apparently they live here but we do not have any contact with them. They do not care about the neighbourhood. They speak their language and have a different social life. They live here but they are not my neighbours (P35).

Lifestyle migrants are notably mobile and so represent a group of temporary residents. As shown in the first empirical chapter, migration rates illustrate the high mobility of the individuals living in the Gòtic area. In relation to this, a teacher who has been working in the *Angel Baixeras* school for thirty years notes that "European children are mobile like their parents. It is not the norm that they start school and finish six years later" (informal interview). As a French resident states, "career opportunities in Barcelona are not great. After a few years I will leave" (P28). In addition, the appeal

of Barcelona to young Europeans and North Americans includes travellers, students, artists and other transient individuals who reside in Barcelona for just a few months.

The combination of visitors, lifestyle migrants and other transient groups form a new community that displaces, rather than mixes with, the community of long-term residents. In this regard, the level of mobility of these groups, as well as cultural and language differentiation, are central to understanding the lack of mixing with the indigenous population:

When someone leaves the neighbourhood, they are usually replaced by people from abroad that have nothing to do with us. Those who move in disappear before you even try to get to know them (P3).

Several residents explain that it is increasingly difficult to live in a place without neighbours and surrounded by a floating population:

As the floating population grows more and more we remain diluted within the tourist mass. We are invisible (P1).

It is very difficult to live in a community where there are no permanent neighbours. If you do not have neighbours, then coexistence is very difficult, because you do not have the ability to make dialogue with these transient people (P40).

The apartments are occupied, but they are not occupied by neighbours. A distinction must be made between the more permanent people and the ones who are passing through (P31).

The lack of mixing between long-term residents and lifestyle migrants need to be linked to the results of the demographic analysis. I showed that the presence of lifestyle migrants in the Gòtic neighbourhood is particularly high while the rate of young adults born in Barcelona is significantly low. My findings suggest that this form of transnational gentrification is not explained by exclusion through rent but has a much to do with the creation of a socio-cultural milieu caused by tourism. Lifestyle migrants seem to choose the Gòtic area because it is a place in which they feel more comfortable. As an Italian resident states, "here we are surrounded by people like us" (informal interview). The mix of visitors, transnational gentrifiers and other transient

individuals, as well as the services and facilities that they use, creates a touristic cultural environment. My findings suggest that this cultural milieu further reproduces a phenomenon in which lifestyle migrants tend to establish themselves in the Gòtic area rather than in other parts of Barcelona. As an American businessman who rents holiday apartments explains:

I moved to Barcelona in the 1990s and lived in San Gervasio [a middle-class suburb]. But there I felt that I was a tourist. I was the only American. I didn't like it so I moved to the Gòtic area. Here there are more people like me and I feel more integrated (P39).

By the same token, lifestyle and culture rather than socio-economic status explains why the rate of young local adults is notably low in the Gòtic neighbourhood. Participants describe that their friends wonder why they live in a place that is viewed as being extremely touristic. In the Gòtic area long-term residents do not mix with lifestyle migrants and try to avoid spaces used by tourists. It seems that for similar reasons the local middle-class is not attracted to the Gòtic neighbourhood.

Authors have suggested that social and cultural capital play key roles in establishing the conditions and reproduction for middle-class life in a process in which gentrifiers move to certain neighbourhoods to be with 'people like them' (Bridge, 2006a, 2006b; Butler, 2003; Butler and Robson, 2001). This interpretation may explain the fact that lifestyle migrants tend to settle in the Gòtic area as a strategy of self-protection and cultural reproduction. However, my findings suggest a different scenario. I found a situation in which local middle-class gentrifiers avoid other middle-class people precisely because they do not feel comfortable with their culture and lifestyle. It leads to a social 'tectonic' among the middle-classes rather than between the middle-class and the working-class, as is usually the case in classical gentrification. This point requires further research but it may be useful to interpret other cases of transnational gentrification in tourist destinations.

However, I note that the loss of community life is described by long-term residents as a displacement pressure. This is related to the fact that long-term residents are increasingly isolated and have lost the help and support that social networks provide. As authors note (Bridge, 2002; Fullilove, 2016), the neighbourhood provides practical relations which contribute to security, well-being and survival. Problems arise when these relations are broken:



The social fabric of the neighbourhood is critical to feeling that you live in a neighbourhood. The daily encounters with your community are a basic thing. It also creates solidarity. You help the elderly and ask them if they need something (P38).

We have lost the community networks. It was a place where everyone knew each other. For instance, if my daughter was ill and I could not stay with her I only had to go to the butcher's and say please find me somebody, and they would call someone and immediately I had a girl at home to stay with my daughter. This mutual aid, this consideration for each other, is really important. Now it is not possible because we are isolated at home and the butcher's has gone (P37).

For many residents the loss of solidarity and mutual consideration within the community have been a key reason for leaving the neighbourhood. A couple who are trying to sell their flat and move out of the Gòtic area explains:

When my son plays in the street I would feel safe if my neighbours and the shopkeepers knew the children. But now we do not have the neighbours nor the shopkeepers. Instead, we have a human tide that changes every minute. One day my son will be run over by a horde of visitors and will end up on a cruise ship. That is our sense of danger. The danger of an environment in which the community does not exist. So it is difficult for the community to play its role of protection and accompaniment (P27).

The loss of community life and the consequent loss of mutual help and isolation particularly affects the elderly. The manager of the Department of Social Services in the Gòtic area states that more than a thousand residents a year use the service (K2). She reveals that in most of cases users are elderly residents without social links and without relatives or friends that can assist them. She stresses that for the elderly the lack of social bonds is the main mechanism of exclusion. This view is also shared by some residents. For instance, a woman explains:

Living with neighbours is not the same as living with transient people. My dad is 82. I was not worried too much because I knew I had Eva [his next-door neighbour]. But now he does not have her anyone. In the building there are tourists and newcomers from Europe. Probably they are nice people but my

dad does not feel he is accompanied in the neighbourhood. That mutual help is crucial. It is a form of social exclusion which is not economic. The elderly person who is left without a familiar environment, without a neighbour. It is the rupturing of social bonds (P8).

In sum, for long-term residents the growth of tourism has been proportional to the loss of their community. Here, by tourism I refer to both visitors and lifestyle migrants. Long-term residents are increasingly isolated and lack the mutual support and accompaniment that social networks provide. In addition, I suggest that the population loss that long-term residents witness is linked to the loss of community life. The slogan 'the neighbour – a species threatened with extinction' is related to this process and not only to the number of people who live in the area. As a resident puts it "the neighbourhood is not uninhabited but is inhabited by a different reality, which has no root in it or aspiration to have one in it" (P31). The loss of community life, ultimately, adds its weight to the loss of place experienced by residents. The growth of transient users and a floating population that does not mix with long-term residents strengthens the sense of displacement from the place they belong to. Also, for some residents this is another displacement pressure and a reason to leave the place.

### **7.7. Dispossessed by accumulation: frustration and hopelessness**

When I think of all the places that I cannot go to anymore, I feel a lot of anger. I get angry because they are turning the city into something that is less and less yours. It also makes you nostalgic because you lose the fabric of the neighbourhood. And a lot of impotence. I do not know what I can do (P15).

So far, I have shown how tourism affects different dimensions of the everyday life of residents that in some way can be numbered and identified: commercial facilities, public space, acoustic pollution and loss of community. I have also stated that such disruptions are experienced as examples of how residents have been dispossessed and the way in which the place now belong to 'others'. In this section, I show how residents also refer to a sense of loss that is not linked to any specific disruption, but probably to all of them. Essentially, participants express a sense in which they are overwhelmed by the commodification of their place; by the fact that the Gòtic area has gone from a parochial place with a sense of local belonging to a forcibly-made cosmopolitan place of transient ties, as has been noted in other places (DeVerteuil et

al., 2017). It produces a sense of disintegration within the place that leads to anger and frustration. Although this sense of loss cannot be quantified or numbered, it is crucial because it causes invisible damage which leads to nostalgia, despair, loneliness, the destruction of familiar environments, and, ultimately, undermines the well-being of the population.

Participants agree that the loss of place results from the transformation of their former residential area into a space for tourism consumption. In the commodification of the neighbourhood, several residents highlight the role played by the local state and private investors. The process of being dispossessed by tourism is, in fact, a manifestation of power structures:

Imagine that in your residential area there are hordes of people and bars, parties, noise. So you as a resident just want to move from that place. It is a total corruption of people's spaces. But as tourism is the only business that works in Barcelona they milk it well. But who takes the biggest slice of the cake? Hotels, investors, politicians. They say tourism is good for us but we only receive the damage. The benefits are for them and the harm is for us (P6).

People can fight against crime, but you cannot fight against tourism. Before 1992, we had criminality, a stigmatised neighbourhood. So the official discourse was 'fighting against crime to improve the neighbourhood'. Now all the powers are in favour of tourism. It is paradoxical because I had no problem with crime, but now I cannot live in this neighbourhood (P5).

The growth of tourist-oriented commercial activities is experienced as a visible force. Residents link the commodification of the area with a force that leads to the destruction of the place.

You feel the impact. It is like a bombing that has incredible force. The pressure of both visitors and tourist-oriented activities. It is not people that comes to visit the city quietly. It is an extraction activity. They bring people and say to them: 'hurry up, you have a day to visit everything. Rush, buy and go back home'. They just want to extract money quickly. And this activity has an identity, a colour, a flavour. You can feel it. It has speed, anxiety. It is something that passes through and sweeps everything away (P1).

The important point is that living under the pressure of such a force and the consequent process of dispossession results in anger and hopelessness. There is an increasing feeling that residents have been left behind by local authorities.

The thing is that we feel harassed by local authorities. Instead of feeling that they represent us, we feel they harass us. It seems they want us to leave. The impression is that they want you to go and clear the space for the tourist industry (P2).

You should feel that you are included in the environment because this is where you live. But I feel questioned. I feel like local authorities wonder 'why are you still living here. You do not see that the place is not for you'. So I feel completely alone in my house, isolated from the rest. That feeling is very strong. And every year, when the tourist season arrives, it is like another twist – more people and more terraces. That feeling of more and more and that every year there is a little more (P7).

The loss of place is an emotional loss experienced by residents on a daily basis. These feelings are actually lived as a manifestation of structural inequalities in which the local state facilitates the extraction of profits from the neighbourhood despite being antagonistic to the wellbeing of its population. It leads to frustration and hopelessness and to the belief held by residents that they are being questioned by local authorities. As suggested by Fullilove (1996, 2016), my findings confirm that the loss of place leads to a situation of mental distress and vulnerability. However, it also leads to attempts to reconquer the place. In what follows, I show examples of grassroots initiatives aimed at re-establishing a sense of familiarity and community life.

### **7.8. Rebuilding a place: community life as a form of activism**

In the previous sections, I presented all of the elements that I identified across the interviews which lead to the loss of place experienced by residents. As I have shown, the feeling of dispossession has much to do with the loss of social bonds and community life. According to Fullilove, "perhaps the most serious threat to human wellbeing is the disintegration of communities" (1996: 1521). She highlights that the loss of the familiar environment and social networks lead to the sense that one is without a place to be. For this reason, Fullilove (1996) suggests that re-establishing familiarity and repairing attachment to place is central to a person's wellbeing. She stresses that

this reconstitution of order may be achieved through a strategy called ‘empowered collaboration’: “one important thing is for people to start working together on rebuilding activities of all kinds” (Fullilove, 1996: 1521).

Probably without knowledge of place-related psychological theories residents in the Gòtic neighbourhood are aware of the importance of rebuilding their place. Accordingly, residents have undertaken different initiatives aimed at re-establishing order, that is, community life and the spaces that make it happen. In the reconstitution of a familiar habitat, the reconquering of the public space as a gathering place for the community has been crucial. In this section, I show two grassroots efforts that are significant in this process of repairing attachment to place: *Cruilles* and *Fem Plaça*. Both *Cruilles* and *Fem Plaça* are examples of place-making activities in which people gather in a square with the sole intention of being in it rather than consuming in it. Ironically, what once were unplanned everyday activities, such as being in public space and meeting the neighbours, are now conscious strategies to reconquer a place that has been taken over by ‘others’.

I see these grassroots activities as examples of critical resilience (DeVerteuil, 2015; DeVerteuil and Golubchikov, 2016; Katz, 2004). These authors argue that by actively finding ways to adapt and survive this can enable people to resist oppression. Critical resilience is the activities that allow people to stay put. It is a daily process that is usually ignored but becomes “a prerequisite for eventual transformation” (DeVerteuil, 2015: 219). In the Gòtic neighbourhood, rebuilding community life – rather than undertaking more visible resistance practices – is performed as a form of activism. *Cruilles* and *Fem Plaça* do not assume the form of demonstration or protest, but they are consciously organised to reclaim a place. The loss of place is contested by bottom-up place making practices and by doing what the community used to do. They are resilience practises aimed at improving the prospects of staying put over time. These activities are ways of surviving and challenging oppression and, consequently, to resist it.

*Cruilles* – meaning ‘crossroads’ – started in 2002 when a group of residents decided to take some chairs, sit down, and simply talk in the small *Sant Francesc* square (Figure 7.2): “It is not a protest, but it is an activity to reclaim the square as a place to meet the community because we do not have places to do so” (P4). Residents meet every Tuesday in the evening and any person is welcome. They simply talk and spend time together. *Cruilles* has become a new reference of togetherness and a means of regaining community life:

People do not gather in public space any more. It is for this reason that we look like a weird entity in the city. People wonder, what are they doing there? We have assumed that the street is an inhospitable space; that we only have to pass it through, and as quickly as possible. We want to gather there because we want to meet each other in a public space and without restrictions (P4).

Although *Cruilles* is an activity whereby everybody is welcome, it strengthens the division between the loss of place experienced by residents and the conquering of space by tourism; a division between 'we' and 'others'. There are two ironic facts to illustrate this. First, despite *Cruilles* not being a protest but a group of residents that gather to talk, the police threatened to fine them as such an activity is banned by the *Ordenanzas Cívicas*:

They said we invade the public space. Terraces are not an invasion of public space but apparently we are. So every year we have to go to the city council and ask for a licence to sit down in the square. We actually have a licence to do it [laugh] (P6).

Second, a tourist-oriented bar has recently opened in *Sant Francesc* square. Given that the square is a tiny space, the opening of this bar means that residents literally fight for space with costumers as well as with the bar's owner who stated that "those residents gathering there are not good for my business" (informal interview). These facts are significant as they show, on the one hand, the extent to which the possibilities to rebuild community life are undermined by a city that favours tourism and questions residents. On the other hand, it strengthens the idea of consciously organising place-making activities as a way to survive. Talking to a neighbour in a square was once an unplanned daily encounter but nowadays is lived as a form of activism.

*Fem Plaça* – meaning 'square making' – is a ludic rally in which residents 'occupy' a square for a few hours (Figure 7.17). A participant explains that the intention is to visualise the privatisation of public space and the difficulties in engaging in community life:

We choose a square that is usually 'rented' to bars and restaurants and used by tourists and go there with our children just to play and talk. We go to the square and use it with the intention of saying: 'here we are, we live here, and we are alive' (P34).

Figure 7.17. A poster announcing 'fem plaça' in *Duc de Medinaceli* square. April, 2015.



The poster reads: “We gather to construct public space as a meeting place. Let’s give life to a square that has become empty of residents! Come along and bring something to share”.

The initiative started in 2013 when different community associations in Ciutat Vella gathered to complain about the liberalisation of terraces and the resultant lack of public space:

As the city council does not listen to our demands, so we simply use squares in a way we think is right for the community. Instead of demanding legal changes to local authorities, we reposition ourselves in places that belong to us (K11).

Residents also describe the contrast between what has become the ‘normal’ use of squares and the ‘occupation’ of squares by the community:

It is funny to see how we actually seem to be the people who are doing something wrong. The police do not expect people to use a public space to gather and talk. So they come to check what is going on and as they see we are families playing with our children they leave (P2).

*Cruilles* and *Fem Plaça* are examples of how resilience and resistance mutually reinforce each other (DeVerteuil, 2015; DeVerteuil and Golubchikov, 2016; Katz, 2004). Organising activities to survive despite the growing use of the public space by the tourist industry is a way residents resist it. They are attempts to reclaim the right to a place that has become a source of profit making at the expense of the wellbeing of the community. As a participant states, these activities are a way of saying “this is our place and we are not going to leave” (P4). This view is shared by some residents that do not take part in *Cruilles* or *Fem Plaça*. Even if living in the Gòtic area can be a traumatic experience, for many staying put is a conscious strategy to resist the oppression of accumulation by dispossession. As an elderly resident told me, “living in this neighbourhood is a form of activism” (informal interview).

### **7.9. Displacement pressures and place attachment**

Yes, I know people who have left. It is a permanent flight. And they have left because of noise, lack of facilities, mobility problems – especially if you have children. This is not a place to have children. To take your children to school without distress is important! The neighbourhood is not a place where you can live in a comfortable way. It becomes a daily fight (P36).

I have considered the idea of leaving the neighbourhood. But it hurts. Where am I supposed to go? I do not want to go! I am rooted here (P40).

The empirical analysis has shown the way in which long-term residents experience the impacts of tourism. I have emphasised that the tourist-oriented transformation of the neighbourhood causes daily disruptions, leads to the disintegration of the community and results in a feeling of loss and dispossession. In this final section of the empirical analysis I stress, first, that the loss of place experienced by residents is a dramatic displacement pressure. It is, in fact, the main reason to explain why several residents are moving out as I showed at the beginning of this chapter. Second, I illustrate the existing tension between loss of place and place attachment. Although the place is less and less liveable, the majority of participants agree that they will not move out of the Gòtic area because it is the place in which they belong. I show that ‘staying put’ becomes a ‘daily fight’ or a ‘battle to remain’. In other words, as noted by Newman and Wyly (2006), the lack of direct displacement is not a test for gentrification. Instead, residents do daily efforts to remain.



The loss of place experienced by residents is a crucial reason which explains why people are moving out of the neighbourhood. It works as a displacement pressure and as a form of expulsion. The loss of place comes from the daily disruptions caused by tourism and the resultant emotional sense of dispossession: "We become Martians in our own place" (P1). All the disruptions that I have analysed throughout the chapter coexist at the same time. Displacement results from a cumulative process in which the neighbourhood becomes less and less liveable:

The expulsion is for many reasons. It is a heap of different things. It is the hostility of the environment that makes you feel that this place is not for you. It is aggressiveness. Many people with children have left because they could not stand it anymore. You have to fight with hordes of people. Some of them say 'I want my child to be able to walk back from school on their own' but in this neighbourhood it is unthinkable. I cannot go to drink coffee, and I do not want to go back home because I have a problem with the people partying in the tourist apartment. So you feel that it is impossible to live here. Where do I buy the fish? Where do I buy tomatoes? When I come back from work I cannot cross the street. Every move I make involves drama, and then when I get home I cannot sleep. It is the accumulation of these situations that expels us (K9).

Most of the people we know have gone because they are tired of living here. It is not down to a single reason. It is because of everything (P27).

If you put all these issues together you see that you are losing everything here; that you do not live in a neighbourhood anymore (P10).

We need to consider that the daily pressure caused by disruptions is reinforced by the pressure of tourism investors that search for apartments in the area. As I showed in the last chapter, this point is important in understanding why people sell their flats and leave the neighbourhood:

I want to stay but every week I find in the mailbox a piece of paper that says 'we are looking for a flat in this area' and they offer me what I want. It is tempting. To think that you are going to be struggling all your life when you see that by going to another neighbourhood you could live much better... In the end, it is clear that people are fed up and leave (P37).

Despite the pressure from tourism, a large number of participants agree that they are rooted in the place and, consequently, that they will remain:

Sometimes I wonder 'what are you doing here? Go!'. But to think about leaving the neighbourhood is depressing and it hurts. Emotionally it hurts a lot. That is the only reason why I stay" (P1).

I try to live with a certain normality but there are forces that make me feel that I should not be here. There is a rational part and an emotional one. The rational part tells me that I should go. The emotional one distresses me. I feel really bad about it because I want to stay (P36).

We are having a hard time. It is not possible to live here without being angry. But I do not want to leave. It is not fair. It would be really difficult for us to leave. I bought this house twenty years ago. All my time, effort, and love is invested in this place (P38).

Consequently, in understanding the impacts of tourism place attachment matters. If people are not spatially displaced it is not because of a lack of pressure, but because of the daily efforts they make to remain in what they consider to be the place they belong to. Residents prefer to remain in a state of continuous distress rather than moving out. For many residents everyday life becomes a 'battle to remain'. Many use war-like terminology such as 'heroic task', 'struggle', or 'daily fight':

I have the feeling we are like the last of the Philippines, warriors, heroes, irreducible Gallic (P31).

I will not leave this neighbourhood. They will have to carry me out of here in a box (P3).

In sum, this section has shown the tensions between displacement pressures and place attachment. All participants agree that the area is not a liveable place. However, the way in which residents respond to such a threat differs. Some of them cannot resist the pressure and leave but the majority of participants wish to remain.

## **7.10. Discussion: place-based displacement**

The empirical analysis suggests that changes at the neighbourhood scale are a dramatic consequence of tourism-driven gentrification. My findings show that in the Gòtic area, residents are moving out more because of the transformation of uses and users in the neighbourhood and not only due to the dynamics of the housing market. In other words, the empirical analysis challenges the mainstream interpretation of displacement as a housing-related involuntary dislocation. In this regard, it confirms the suggestions first advanced by Marcuse (1985) and later emphasised by several different authors (Davidson, 2008, 2009; Davidson and Lees, 2010; DeVerteuil, 2011a, 2012, 2015; Shaw and Hagemans, 2015; Slater, 2009) according to which gentrification causes displacement pressures that makes it progressively difficult for indigenous residents to remain over time. The disruptions of place caused by these pressures leads to a sense of dispossession. Here I suggests the need to emphasise Valli's (2015) 'sense of displacement' or Stabrowski's (2014) 'everyday displacement', that is, the feeling of ongoing loss experienced by indigenous residents in gentrifying neighbourhoods. From this perspective, the out-migration from a place is the final outcome of a long-term process of gentrification that is actually experienced by residents since the moment in which both capital and new privileged users arrive on the scene.

In the literature review I identified a set of pressures that form the basis of indirect displacement according to gentrification research. Such a framework was useful to approaching the collection of data. Many of these pressures occur in the Gòtic area. However, they take place in a different way and, in addition, there are other forces that are not present in processes of classical gentrification. In what follows, I suggest an analytical framework that may be useful to understanding the impacts of tourism gentrification at the neighbourhood scale.

My analytical framework is described in Table 7.1. The pressures include noise, overcrowding, affordability, commercial, cultural, privatisation of public space, meeting places and lack of community.

Table 7.1. Place-based displacement pressures identified in the analysis.

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Physical-spatial	Overcrowding and mobility disruptions Privatisation of public space Noise Lack of meeting places
Economic	Lack of consumption facilities Affordability
Socio-cultural	Exclusion from places dominated by visitors Lack of community and social bonds

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Noise. This is probably the most dramatic pressure that undermines the quality of life of residents. It constitutes a public health issue. There are cases in which residents have left their places mainly because they were unable to sleep.

Overcrowding. This is a significant daily disruption that differs from cases of classical gentrification. The large number of visitors and the use of bikes and segways cause mobility problems. Mobility problems are particularly relevant for the elderly and children.

Affordability. Services and facilities become more expensive. However, in contrast to cases of classical gentrification, in my case study this pressure was not a major problem for residents. This may be related to the fact that the Gòtic area is a middle class neighbourhood.

Commercial. The lack of services that residents need on a daily basis is a key issue. The literature on classical gentrification noted that working-class residents usually lose the stores that they need. In my case study, this issue is especially relevant as all residents, not just the poor, experience this problem. This is related to the fact that in tourism areas processes of commercial change tend to be more intense than in examples of classical gentrification.

Privatisation of public space. Tourism gentrification involves a notable and visible management of squares by the private sector and are rented to cafes and restaurants. This also leads to overcrowding and a lack of meeting places for residents. This pressure is also more intense in the Gòtic area than in cases of classical gentrification.

Cultural. Tourist-oriented commercial change leads to an increase in the number of places in which residents feel excluded, not because of price but because they feel uncomfortable in terms of language, aesthetic or use of space. This refers to bars, restaurants and public squares dominated by the consumption practices of visitors. As stated by several participants, residents tend to avoid the places used by visitors.

Meeting places. Gathering places for residents such as public squares, family-owned stores and bars disappear. This pressure is particularly important as residents lose places in which they can socialise with their neighbours. This is a form of exclusion that needs to be related with lack of community.

Lack of community. The lack of places to gather with other residents, cultural differences with visitors and the lack of mixing with transnational gentrifiers leads long-term residents to feel increasingly isolated. Residents lose social bonds and networks of solidarity. This is a critical form of exclusion that makes long-term residents increasingly vulnerable, particularly the elderly.

My findings show that all these forces take place simultaneously and lead to a feeling of dispossession or loss of place. Residents feel displaced from their neighbourhood or, as Shaw and Hagemans (2015: 339) put it, residents lose their “entitlement to be there”. Regardless of the occurrence of a final residential out-migration, these pressures are experienced by long-term residents on a daily basis. Here I align with Davidson’s (2009) suggestion according to which people can feel displaced without spatial dislocation. Tourism gentrification precipitates a very real sense of loss. The loss of place and the feeling of an ongoing loss are, in fact, the most palpable consequences felt by residents. As the empirical analysis shows, it leads to anger, frustration and hopelessness. Sometimes this also leads to initiatives aimed at reconstructing the place.

I relate my findings to the contribution of the psychology of place, particularly to the work of Mark Fried (1966) and Mindy Thomson Fullilove (1996, 2016). In processes of neighbourhood destruction, Fried (1966) stresses that residents experience an intense personal suffering – a ‘pathology’. Like Fried, Fullilove (2016) concluded that when neighbourhoods are destroyed, what results is pain, grief, and a sense of loss that usually stays with the individual for a lifetime. To better understand the disorders that follow the rupture of person-place relationships, Fullilove gives primary importance to the loss of familiarity and community life. Familiarity is the intimate

knowledge of the immediate environment and is a source of ease, comfort and protection. Community life is the social capital created over time and that leads to emotional links, mutual aid and reciprocity (Bridge, 2002; Fullilove, 1996). As Fullilove suggests, human relationships – a community of people – is the “higher power that helps each person to survive and thrive” (2016: 199).

The loss of familiarity and community are important elements in understanding why tourism destabilises everyday life in the neighbourhood and leads residents to feel dislocated from their places. The increased number of visitors and tourism-oriented activities, together with the loss of consumption facilities and public spaces, involves a massive alteration in a familiar place that leads to disorientation and confusion. For instance, for elderly residents the loss of familiarity is the cause of a daily fear that causes them to be isolated at home. Similarly, the loss of community and places to go causes the sense that one is without a place to be. Again, the loss of social bonds is particularly important for the elderly. These elements may explain why the area has experienced a notable loss of elderly residents. However, I have shown how these changes affect residents of all ages. Although the majority of participants state that they will not leave the area, what is true is that all of them experience a sort of emotional confusion that results from the invasion and mutation of their place. I suggest that tourism gentrification causes a process of upheaval that mirrors the experiences lived by residents in processes of urban removal. It destroys the references by which people define their daily life, fractures relationships and bonds, destabilises the emotional ecosystems of residents, leads to anger, anxiety and stress-related disease, annihilates spaces and possibilities for encounters with the community, and effectively displaces people from the places they are emotionally and materially attached.

The loss of place occurs at two levels that mutually reinforce each other: a material loss and an emotional loss. Residents have lost critical resources for their everyday lives such as public space, stores, or human bonds. In addition, tourism causes other disruptions such as noise and overcrowding. These material resources are essential for their quality of life and survival. They provided the sense of familiarity and social networks that are resources for protection and stability. Furthermore, following Fried and Fullilove, these elements are the material foundations to any sense of belonging in which one feels at home. The loss of these material resources leads to an emotional upheaval that is expressed in frustration, hopelessness and despair. These material resources were the familiar environment in which they were attached and so their

disintegration produces an emotional loss. It leads to anger, mental stress, and to the feeling that the place now belongs to others. The loss of place, I suggest, should be understood as the combination of these two interwoven senses of loss.

The state paid an active role in the process of place-based displacement. The city council activated a new round of flexible policies which licenced all types of tourism-oriented commercial activities. The local state also banned activities that residents do by imposing the *Ordenanzas Cívicas*. Furthermore, chapter 6 showed that the city council relaxed the restrictions that prevented the growth of hotels in the historic city and adapted planning regulations to the needs of tourism investors. From the perspective of residents, the role played by the state emphasises the 'sense of displacement'. It seems that local authorities are interested in facilitating tourism growth but in doing so residents have been left behind. As other authors have suggested, the state can be seen as a key agent of tourism-driven gentrification (Janoschka et al., 2014; Lees et al., 2016).

Finally, I link place-based displacement to current theories regarding spaces of encounter. In recent years, cultural and social geographers have paid attention to ideas of encounter and have stressed the implicit role of shared space in providing the opportunity for encounters between strangers (Valentine, 2008; Wilson, 2016). Despite the fact that at the heart of tourism is consumption of spaces and, consequently, encounters (Gibson, 2010), very little has been said about everyday interactions between visitors and host communities. The literature has focused on the tourist's experience of encounters but the vision of the host community has been overlooked. Narratives of encounters in the hospitable city have sustained the notion that commercial spaces generate moments of togetherness, conviviality, and a greater sense of belonging between users (Bell, 2007). This view is shared by Maitland (2008, 2010) who suggests that the sharing of space between tourists and residents leads to convivial links. By the same token, Hayllar et al. argue that urban tourism repositions the traditional visitor–host relationship that “moves from one being marked as the ‘other’, towards a form of mutual reconciliation” (2008: 361).

My findings contradict those views. I suggest that due to the increase of urban tourism in residential neighbourhoods, to focus on the way in which everyday encounters with visitors are experienced by long-term residents is crucial for critical research. The lack of consideration for way the host community's space and cultural practises are exposed to the arrival of visitors implies a colonialist point of view. It is another

example of a research agenda increasingly concerned with the consumption practices of the middle-classes that, in turn, reflects the lifestyles of its middle-class intelligentsia (Allen, 2008; Slater, 2006).

By exploring the experiences of the host community, I found empirical evidence that contradicts the assumption according to which shared spaces and encounters become possibilities for togetherness and geniality. On the contrary, my findings suggest that the encounters with visitors are experienced as the moment in which structural inequalities arise and become visible. For instance, the emergence of bars and restaurants in the Gòtic area have been possible after the displacement of commercial services used by long-term residents that, paradoxically, formed their spaces of encounter. Indeed, the fact that visitors dominate the space reminds residents how local authorities have implemented numerous policies aimed at facilitating the extraction of profits from the neighbourhood despite being antagonistic to the well-being of the population. Encounters with visitors is experienced as a process in which residents feel that their place has been taken by 'others'. That is, it is viewed as a process of expulsion and dispossession. My empirical analysis confirms Valli's (2015) suggestion of a 'sense of displacement' according to whom the encounter of long-term residents with new dominant groups brings up feelings of exclusion, frustration, or anger. As she states, "the triggering event that engenders immediate and visceral feelings of displacement for long-time residents is the encounter with newcomers" (Valli, 2015: 1199). In the Gòtic area, the encounter with visitors activates a sense of displacement that is fundamental in understanding the impacts of tourism gentrification, regardless of the occurrence of spatial dislocation.

The encounter with visitors, however, may not occur. In other words, residents avoid such encounters as it is considered to be a disruptive experience. As a resident stated, "bars are not a reference for us anymore because the people you meet there [tourists] are precisely the people that you want to escape from" (P31). I showed that the continuous movement of transient visitors is described as a 'tsunami' that needs to be avoided and that residents adapt their daily mobility to avoid tourists. Similar outcomes have been found in Paris, where research shows that residents adapt their everyday mobility and practises precisely to avoid encounters with visitor spaces and flows (Gravari-Barbas and Jacquot, 2016).

I believe that further research is needed about how the shared space with visitors may be for many host communities a space of conflict and friction. As DeVerteuil et al.



suggest (2017) in the context of Koreatown in Los Angeles, “we need more emphasis on the local, the provincial, the immobile, belonging, and the place-based”. It seems to me that the question needs to be focused on how locals experience the growth of urban tourism. It is to be hoped that research produces a better understanding of the potential of tourism to prompt urban inequalities, for this remains both a theoretical and a political prerequisite for a more just society.

### **7.11. Conclusion**

The growth of tourism in a residential environment leads to a process of place-based displacement. The liberalisation of tourism-oriented activities has in practice implied a change in the use of the neighbourhood which, rather than being a residential area, is now a tourist district. The increased conversion of housing into tourist accommodation has been mentioned. In this chapter I showed a similar conversion process that affects spaces and facilities in the neighbourhood. This substitution of residential facilities by tourism spaces better explains the process of population flight identified in the demographic analysis. People are moving out and potential residents are discouraged from moving into such a disruptive environment. Only lifestyle migrants tend to move into the Gòtic area, but mainly as a transient and temporal experience. I called this process ‘collective displacement’ – a scenario in which residential life is substituted by leisure services and spaces.



## Chapter 8. Conclusions

The aim of this research was twofold. First, to explore the socio-spatial impacts of urban tourism. Second, to provide a comprehensive understanding of tourism gentrification. I have shown how tourism and gentrification are related in several ways in a central neighbourhood of Barcelona. In particular, I have discussed how processes of gentrification-induced displacement are shaped and accelerated by tourism. By doing so, my intention has been to contribute to both strands of research. On the one hand, my empirical findings suggest the need to put tourism at the centre of critical urban theory. The tourism industry is one of the biggest sectors in the world, but there is evidence to suggest that this industry is just another example of accumulation by dispossession. On the other hand, this work has revealed other forms and geographies of gentrification that differ from classical manifestations of the process. In this final section, I go back to my research objectives and by bringing together the different chapters of the dissertation I highlight my empirical and theoretical contributions. I also suggest policy recommendations. I conclude the dissertation by acknowledging a number of limitations and suggesting ideas for further research.

### 8.1. Tourism and population change

The demographic analysis showed that the Gòtic neighbourhood experienced a process of gentrification from the late 1980s. Here by gentrification I refer to the substitution of low skilled individuals, particularly elderly residents, and manual labourers by younger and more educated residents employed in professional activities and with family patterns linked to the Second Demographic Transition. However, the analysis also showed other elements that differ from cases of classical

gentrification. I refer to the substitution of Spanish-Catalan residents by lifestyle migrants; loss of households and population decline; negative net migration of children; and a notable larger negative net migration of elderly residents compared to other gentrified neighbourhoods in Barcelona. In this regard, the qualitative analysis suggests that tourism is crucial in understanding these demographic changes and the way in which gentrification took place. Therefore, in relation to Objective 1 of the dissertation, the observation of these distinctive shifts suggests the existence of a distinguishing socio-demographic output of tourism gentrification compared to the classic socio-demographic scheme of gentrification. In this section, I discuss such differences and suggest how tourism gentrification evolves from a socio-demographic perspective.

A first point to note in a case of tourism gentrification is population and household decline. This decline is not the result of the rise of one-person households as may happen in cases of classical gentrification (Ogden and Hall, 2004; Ogden and Schnoebelen, 2005). Rather, we face a process of population flight that particularly affects the elderly and families with children. Scarcity of children and elderly residents may be normal in classical gentrification. However, in this case the high levels of negative net migration of both groups is related to the difficulties encountered in living in an area of tourism consumption. Put simply, people are leaving because the area has turned into an irritating place to live in. In addition, this decline should be linked to changes in the housing system which, rather than providing shelter for residents, is increasingly becoming a commercial service for visitors. Household and population decline have taken place particularly since 2010, that is to say, after the success of the Airbnb phenomenon and the promotion of further tourism growth as a solution to the financial crisis.

This process of population and household loss is particularly relevant. Classical gentrification is usually depicted as a cure for abandonment and an opportunity to retain middle-class residents in the urban core (Lees et al., 2008; Ley, 1996). However, what I showed are middle-class residents moving out and being replaced by transient users and the services and spaces that they need. Here by transient users I refer to a floating population of both visitors and transnational gentrifiers who are increasingly temporal and mobile. Therefore, if in classical gentrification the middle-classes displace working-class residents, in tourism gentrification residential life may be increasingly displaced by tourism.

A second important question is the internationalisation of the population and the resulting scarcity of Spanish-Catalan adults. In both classical and tourism gentrification incoming residents tend to be highly educated young adults. However, in this case of tourism gentrification gentrifiers are increasingly transnational lifestyle migrants while the local middle-class prefers other locations. The large number of visitors and spaces for tourism consumption provides a cultural environment in which Europeans and North Americans feel more comfortable by living with 'people like us'. In contrast, tourist areas are perceived by locals as spaces that have been taken over by 'others' and in which there exists a cultural environment that makes them feel uncomfortable. My findings suggest that the Gòtic area is not attractive for local young adults because Spanish-Catalan residents tend to avoid areas of tourism.

This results in a form of gentrification which is transnational rather than homegrown. Transnational gentrifiers have been reported in global cities such as London or Los Angeles (DeVerteuil et al., 2017; DeVerteuil and Manley, 2017) and authors have suggested the existence of a global gentrifier class formed by managers and professionals in advanced services moving between global cities (Bridge, 2007; Rofe, 2003). However, my findings reveal that this is a different scenario that must be related to migration flows seeking a better quality of life in tourist destinations (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009; Hayes, 2015b; Janoschka et al., 2014; Sigler and Wachsmuth, 2016; Williams and Hall, 2000). I suggest that transnational gentrification is as a particular manifestation of tourism gentrification.

In conclusion, greater attention should be paid to the relationship between tourism and population change. This relationship has usually been addressed from the demand's point of view, an approach that focuses on how changing demographic structures influence tourism consumption (Bernini and Cracolici, 2015). In other words, research has suggested that demography matters to tourism. However, my findings reveal that the relation may be the other way around: tourism matters to demography. It seems to me that this is a crucial question that may affect a number of tourist destinations. For instance, the media has reported how a city such as Venice has a declining population and that residents blame tourism for this situation (Giuffrida, 2017). In a working paper about Zagreb, authors have also noted a fall in the city's population and suggest that tourism plays a central role (Kesar et al., 2015). We need empirical studies that explore this relationship. In-depth quantitative studies may provide new evidence regarding how population change takes place in contexts of urban tourism.

## 8.2. Tourism and displacement

A significant aim of this dissertation was to explore how long-term residents cope with tourism in their everyday life (Objectives 2 and 3). My empirical findings suggest that residents experience tourism as a force that leads to different forms of displacement. In some cases, tourism-driven displacement provokes the out migration of residents. This process of spatial dislocation needs to be related to demographic changes, particularly to population and household decline. However, in other cases residents remain. In fact, most participants stated that they will not leave the neighbourhood. Regardless of whether spatial dislocation takes place, disruptions caused by tourism lead to an emotional loss that is experienced as a sense of expulsion. As Marcuse (1985) suggested, if people remain it is not because of a lack of pressure. Furthermore, several residents affirm that although the everyday pressure of tourism makes the area unliveable, they will not leave because the neighbourhood is their place. Here 'staying put' is notably linked to place attachment. Consequently, displacement means a lot more than spatial dislocation (Davidson, 2009). What I want to stress in this section is how tourism is experienced on a daily basis regardless of the occurrence of direct displacement. In other words, I want to provide a framework towards understanding the impacts of tourism in residential areas. Research has noted that residents in several destinations are protesting against tourism growth (Colomb and Novy, 2016). It could be that my findings may help to better understand this increased social mobilisation.

Tourism has an impact on both housing dynamics and neighbourhood life. Firstly, and regarding Objective 2 of this dissertation, I find that tourism undermines the right to housing for a number of reasons. This is especially linked to the conversion of housing into tourist accommodation, in the form of both holiday rentals and hotels. This conversion involves cases of direct displacement. In the case of holiday rentals, landlords and investors convert entire properties into tourist accommodation and in the process residents are forced to move out. This challenges the rhetoric of the sharing economy according to which families share the homes in which they live. A similar process is seen in the opening of hotels, which also affects homeowners that are forced to sell their flats. Therefore, direct displacement needs to be related to the strategies used by real estate capital in the search for profit and, as Slater (2017) reminds us, to the rent gap theory. The realisation of value, or the closing of the rent gap, is only achieved when poorer residents give way to wealthier consumers as the former represent a barrier to capital accumulation.

The growth of tourism accommodation is at the primary reason for a shortage in the housing stock which emphasises the effects of exclusionary displacement. This process, I suggest, has two interrelated consequences. The first is an increase in rent prices. I do not mean that this increase is caused solely by the shortage in the housing stock. What is true, however, is that the area has been experiencing a rise in rent prices which matches the success of the Airbnb phenomenon and this rise has been more intense in the Gòtic area than in the rest of Barcelona. The second consequence is the fact that it is rather difficult to find apartments available for long-term occupation. This also affects middle-class residents and not only poor tenants, which is an example of how the substitution of residential life by tourism takes place. In conclusion, the shortage in the housing stock severely restricts housing opportunities for residents reliant on (affordable) rental properties.

I want to stress that the reduction in the supply of apartments in the private rental market and the fact that people are unable to find flats for long-term occupation is an outcome never seen in classical processes of gentrification. I suggest the need to further explore how this situation may affect other tourist places. For instance, in Ibiza the media has reported that workers such as teachers and doctors refuse to work on the island because they cannot find a house to live in (Colmenero, 2016). This is a dramatic situation in which the response of the city council has been to install beds in sports halls for strategic workers that need to spend a few weeks in the area. Also, Schäfer and Braun (2016) noted that in some streets of central Berlin all available flats are let out to tourists. As stated, I suggest that a substitution of the rental private market by holiday rentals may be taking place.

The sharing of apartment buildings with tourists is a daily disruption for residents which also affects the right to housing. There are cases in which residents move out to avoid encounters with visitors. Ironically, this fact contradicts the rhetoric of Airbnb which states that sharing houses provides authentic experiences for both hosts and guests. This situation particularly affects elderly residents as they lose the sense of familiarity that is crucial for their quality of life. Disruptions in the quality of life of residents need to be related to changes at the neighbourhood scale. I now focus on this second issue, which is related to the Objective 3 of the dissertation.

My findings show that the transformation of the nature of the place is key to understanding the impacts of tourism in residential areas. The fact that residential neighbourhoods become spaces of entertainment and consumption for visitors leads to a daily pressure that dramatically undermines the quality of life of residents. For some

residents tourism becomes a public health issue. This pressure, I suggest, needs to be understood as the consequence of two interrelated phenomena. Firstly, the growth of tourism causes daily practical or material disruptions that make everyday life increasingly unpleasant. As I showed, such disruptions include lack of stores, noise, overcrowding, lack of public space and gathering places, and, ultimately, loss of community life and social bonds. For many, living in such conditions is a heroic act.

Secondly, the practical problems linked to these disruptions causes a sense of emotional loss whereby residents feel that they are dispossessed from their place. This is also facilitated by a cultural pressure in which residents do not feel comfortable in spaces frequented by visitors. The emotional loss leads to frustration, anger and hopelessness. Anger is also linked to the fact that the local state has facilitated tourism growth despite the fact that residents have been complaining about the impacts of tourism for more than 15 years. This daily pressure of tourism and the resultant process of place-based displacement have been for many the main reason for leaving the area.

Consequently, in understanding the impacts of urban tourism it is crucial to consider both the housing and the neighbourhood scale. In this regard, my findings confirm the validity of the conceptualisation of displacement advanced by Marcuse (1985), that is to say, that a full understanding of the process needs to pay attention to both direct and indirect forms of displacement. As stated, direct displacement is an important outcome since the area is losing both population and households. But at the same time, for many residents the reaction to the pressure of tourism is to find ways to remain and, indeed, to defend their place. As Davidson (2008: 2401) suggested, “an obvious absence of direct displacement cannot be interpreted as a lack of displacement altogether. This stated, it must be recognised that other aspects of displacement are more difficult to identify, measure and conceptualise”. In this regard, this research has contributed towards identifying and conceptualising these ‘other aspects’ that, in fact, in processes of tourism gentrification are particularly important.

### **8.3. Tourism and production of space**

The example of Barcelona shows that tourism plays a crucial role in opening new real estate markets. Firstly, housing rehabilitation was fuelled by the demand of affluent migrants that acted as pioneer gentrifiers. Secondly, in a recession period in which the real estate market would have been depressed based on local demand, tourism provided the consumption power that real estate capital needed for the realisation of



surplus value. Visitors came to supplant the demand of the local middle class and, in doing so, tourism fuelled real estate investment through the rehabilitation of housing to be converted into hotels and holiday rentals.

I have shown that investors find in tourist accommodation a post-crisis market that challenges the way in which the waves of classical gentrification are understood (Hackworth and Smith, 2001; Lees et al., 2008). I suggest that for this reason tourism needs to be viewed as a spatial fix. In the 1970s – describing how tourism was the main urbanising force in the Mediterranean coast – Lefebvre (1991) noted that tourism and the production of space go hand-in-hand; and that the link between tourism and real estate investment was becoming the main economic sector in some areas. This interpretation of tourism urbanisation has been particularly relevant in Spain, where a ‘tsunami’ of hotels, large-scale resorts and second homes has consumed the Mediterranean coast, including the Balearic Islands (Hof and Blázquez-Salom, 2013; Pons et al., 2014; Vives Miró, 2011; Yrigoy, 2014). However, my findings show that tourism is also important in housing rehabilitation in historic areas, particularly during a period of crisis. It can be regarded as a switch from investment in the ‘residential’ market to the ‘vacation’ housing market. The international demand that tourism offers allows investors to find new business opportunities in the built environment.

The fact that tourist-oriented production of space involves housing rehabilitation in historic centres affects an element that has traditionally been the focus of gentrification analysis. In other words, tourism should be related to rent gap theory. Following the work of Smith (1996), supply-side theory of gentrification explains investment in the built environment as determined by where rent gaps can be created and appropriated. Smith (1996) applied rent gap theory to explain housing rehabilitation in American inner cities, in which previous disinvestment created an opportunity for profitable reinvestment. More recent works note that the underdevelopment of the South has produced planetary rent gaps and, consequently, the remaking of cities in developing countries is a significant investment opportunity (Lees et al., 2016; Slater, 2017). For the realisation of value, however, an effective demand is needed (Aalbers and Christophers, 2014; Harvey, 1999). Rent gaps may exist in several places, but capital would fly back to disinvested areas when investors can guarantee that an effective demand would consume the final product. It is here where the purchasing power of visitors has a crucial role to play, even if more as consumers rather than producers of the process. The important point is that tourism fills the lack of local demand and, consequently, it plays a crucial role in closing both

inner-city and planetary rent gaps. In the Gòtic area, the rent gap was notably closed by tourism investors. It seems to me that the increased mobility of the middle-classes around the world will have the potential to fuel housing rehabilitation in numerous places, particularly in peripheral economies of the Global South where the lack of highly paid professional jobs undermines the purchasing power of the local population. This point is key to understanding a geography of tourism gentrification.

I suggest that the stimulation of the real estate market by tourism may be replicating the same speculative practices that led to the 2008 crash. After the collapse of the housing bubble, has a 'hotel bubble' been created based on the illusion of an endless growth of visitors? In the case of Barcelona, given the expected growth in the number of hotels the city would need to increase its efforts to attract further visitors to avoid a crisis of over-accumulation. Holiday rental investors would also face a crisis if tourism does not grow. Further tourism growth would be unsustainable for local communities for whom new visitors and tourist accommodation would imply additional displacement pressures. Tourism growth may also be creating a barrier for future growth. As Harvey (1999) explains, there are limits to the expansion of capital and a crisis of over-accumulation and consequent devaluation will take place. However, what would the crash of a hotel bubble imply? Considering that the expansion of tourist accommodation relies on liquidity borrowing, who is going to pay the debt? In sum, it makes sense to assume the need for a strategy aimed at the progressive de-growth of tourism. Otherwise – and although capital would move to a different location to find a new spatial fix – the foreseeable process of creative destruction may have catastrophic consequences.

Finally, I suggest that as tourism has the ability to increase property values (Gotham, 2005; Logan and Molotch, 2007; Schäfer and Hirsch, 2017) it allows investors to store their surplus capital in the real estate market of tourism destinations. Different authors note that financial institutions see the housing market as an asset in which money can be invested and stored, and that this process particularly takes place in global cities as their dynamic housing markets work as a safe deposit box to park surplus capital (Aalbers and Christophers, 2014; DeVerteuil and Manley, 2017; Fernandez et al., 2016). I believe that this also applies to tourist areas. What I noticed in Barcelona is that the growth of tourism since 2010 was paralleled by a growth in investors buying and rehabilitating properties with the sole purpose of parking their money. The properties are not put in the market and are not even are rented as holiday apartments. In some cases the properties are used as second homes. I suggest the need to explore this point as this may be the case in several destinations. Also,

speculative investment affects property values. The local population may be competing for houses against both weekend visitors and the super-rich.

#### **8.4. Tourism gentrification**

This research departed from a definition of gentrification as a process of capital investment in the built environment that caters to the demands of affluent users and which makes it increasingly difficult for indigenous residents to remain (Davidson and Lees, 2010; Lees et al., 2015b). From this point of view, gentrification involves more than simply providing gentrified housing in run-down inner-city areas (Lees et al., 2008). Instead, it has been interpreted as a displacing process that results from the production of urban space for middle-class consumers and, in this sense, it can take a myriad of forms in different geographical contexts (Atkinson and Bridge, 2005; Janoschka et al., 2014; Lees, 2012; Lees et al., 2016). Following the contribution of several authors (Clark, 2005; Davidson and Lees, 2005, 2010; Lees et al., 2008), I showed that any form of contemporary gentrification should include: (i) capital-led restructuring of the built environment; (ii) upper or middle-income newcomers; (iii) displacement of the indigenous inhabitants; and (iv) landscape change.

These four analytical points are precisely the topics that I have shown so far in this conclusion: (i) tourism-driven real estate investment; (ii) the arrival of wealthier consumers – both transnational gentrifiers and short-term visitors; (iii) the displacement of the indigenous community; and (iv) housing rehabilitation and commercial change. I suggest that because urban tourism is displacing communities it needs to be regarded as a form of gentrification precisely because the marketing of tourist destinations is strongly connected to the production of space. What may be seen as ‘touristification’ should be defined instead as a process of tourism gentrification.

In tourism gentrification, the new affluent users are increasingly transnational consumers. By transnational consumers I refer to a mix of visitors, lifestyle migrants, international students and other short-term users such as travellers and artists. Research concerning tourism gentrification has explored the effects caused by visitors and the spaces catered to them (Colomb and Novy, 2016; Füller and Michel, 2014; Gotham, 2005; Gravari-Barbas and Guinand, 2017). However, a complete understanding of the process should consider that tourist spaces not only attract visitors but lifestyle migrants and other transient individuals. My findings show the coexistence of these users in a tourist area. Consequently, by tourism gentrification I

refer to a process in which the space is dominated by the consumption practices of a blend of users from advanced economies that displace the indigenous population.

From this perspective, the difference between classical and tourism gentrification lies in the ephemeral and provisional status of new users. Tourism can be regarded as a 'back to the city' movement of both capital and people, but in a process in which the space is produced by and for transient consumers of urban experiences, rather than new stable residents. If classical gentrification brings together a new community of middle-class people, tourism gentrification creates an array of consumers which forms a floating population that continuously passes through and changes on a weekly basis. This is crucial to understanding the impacts of the process. Lifestyle migrants are notably mobile and the lack of mixing between them and long-term residents is a major cause of the loss of community life and the loss of mutual help that the community once provided. In addition, from the perspectives of long-term residents, the mass of visitors is an overwhelming force that must be avoided and in which opportunities for encounters are non-existent. Indeed, for visitors the area is a space of entertainment and fun, and so little care is given to locals. The area becomes less a residential neighbourhood and more a festival. This situation feeds the feeling of dispossession and that the space has been taken by 'others'. As expressed by Miles (2010), what emerges in these 'spaces for consumption' is a non-place, a place where no organic social life is possible and "a world thus surrendered to solitary individuality, to the fleeting, the temporary and the ephemeral" (Auge, 1995: 78; quoted by Miles, 2010: 28).

### **8.5. The geography of tourism gentrification**

By exploring a case of tourism gentrification this research has contributed to better understanding a geography of gentrification that differs from conceptualisations originating in the Anglo-Saxon world (Lees, 2012). In the Anglo-American literature, the first wave of gentrification was interpreted as a process in which a rent gap is closed by the purchasing power of young professionals in post-industrial cities, particularly in contexts in which rent controls were liberalised. This interpretation does not explain gentrification in the historic centre of Barcelona. The Gòtic area presented the typical pre-conditions for classical gentrification to happen: located centrally within the city; populated by working class and elderly residents; had a run-down built environment; a wave of real estate investment was expected as the result of rehabilitation programmes; and the rental market was liberalised. However, classical gentrification did not happen.

In the 1990s, the consolidation of gentrification in the Anglo-Saxon world was linked to the triumph of the neoliberal state and the incorporation of gentrification as a positive policy solution. In Barcelona, the role of the state played a central role in preparing the way for a desired 'back to the city'. For instance, the local state was the main actor in funding regeneration programmes as it was too risky for private investors. However, the consideration of the state as a central actor is not enough for a complete explanation of how gentrification took place.

In the 2000s, the literature in the Anglo-Saxon world noted a global expansion of gentrification (Atkinson and Bridge, 2005; Smith, 2002). This expansion was explained as the result of (i) the globalisation of neoliberal urbanisation (Atkinson and Bridge, 2005; Lees et al., 2008; Smith, 2002); (ii) the globalisation of real estate markets and the central role that the production of space plays in the reproduction of capitalism (Lees et al., 2016; Slater, 2017; Smith, 2002); and (iii) the emergence of a global gentrifier class and consumerist elite with preferences for familiar landscapes in urban spaces (Bridge, 2007; Rofe, 2003). The first two points are important in understanding gentrification in Barcelona. The last point is an interesting one for my case study as it involves transnational mobility. However, by a global gentrifier class the literature refers to managers and professionals in advanced services and usually living in or moving between global cities, which is not the case in Barcelona.

I want to stress that the main point which explains gentrification in the historic centre of Barcelona that differs from the explanations seen in the Anglo-Saxon world is uneven geographical development and the different roles that places play in the spatial division of labour. This point has not been considered by gentrification research and is also missing in planetary interpretations of the process (Lees et al., 2016; Slater, 2017). Firstly, the failure of the industrial revolution in Spain (Nadal, 1975) and the historic underdevelopment of the region in comparison to Northern Europe is key to understanding why tourism has been the main tool for achieving economic growth and development (Murray-Mas, 2015). Secondly, the gap in the purchasing power between the local population and transnational consumers explains why it is difficult for the former to compete in an increasingly expensive housing market. The creation of a housing market that catered to transnational consumers better explains how gentrification took place.

In relation to uneven geographical development two other points need to be stressed that differ from explanations given in the Anglo-Saxon literature. The first point is

strategies of international representation aimed at creating new tourist destinations. The symbolic power of images that are so important in facilitating the occurrence of tourism also facilitated gentrification. It seems to me that an understanding of the way in which gentrification took place in the Gòtic area needs to consider place promotion campaigns undertaken by local authorities and the related Barcelona model of culture and spectacular buildings (Palou i Rubio, 2012; Smith, 2005). The second point is lifestyle migration and leisure mobility (Janoschka et al., 2014). This may include the mobility of a global gentrifier class of wealthy professionals, but I particularly refer to the mobility of an array of not-so-wealthy individuals from the North that includes people from the middle-classes to precarious young travellers in search of a better lifestyle. As shown in this research, these individuals from the North are the gentrifiers of southern locations such as Barcelona. These two points are notably linked as there is a significant relationship between the reception of tourism images and where leisure migrants wish to locate (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009; Williams and Hall, 2000).

In conclusion, I suggest that this understanding of tourism gentrification as an outcome of uneven geographical development, tourist promotion and leisure migration may also explain how the process takes place in other 'peripheries of pleasure' (Turner and Ash, 1975). It makes sense to assume that the results shown in this research may be similar in other southern European and Mediterranean cities, but also in other peripheral economies such as Latin America or the Asia-Pacific region. Further comparative analyses are needed to explore how tourism and gentrification intersect in different geographies around the world.

## **8.6. Policy recommendations**

Tourism gentrification causes different forms of displacement, especially residential, commercial and place-based displacement. In other words, for many tourism gentrification is a process of exclusion. In this section, I propose a number of policy suggestions that may mitigate the negative consequences of the process as well as to better combine tourism and residential uses of urban space. It is worth keeping in mind that the occurrence of tourism gentrification in Barcelona is not a spontaneous outcome of the market but is related to (i) the role that tourism plays in real estate market; (ii) the transformation of residential areas in spaces of entertainment for visitors; and (iii) the creation of destinations by social institutions. If we are to counterbalance tourism-driven displacement policy makers should consider those three themes.

Regarding tourism and real estate markets, the main problem arises from the fact that tourism is used as an opportunity for rent extraction. Here the issue is not tourism itself but the existence of a liberalised housing market. Three points should be considered. Firstly, rent control regulations should be introduced that limit the capacity of landlords to end tenancy agreements and to raise the cost of rent. This point should apply to commercial properties too. Secondly, more public housing must be provided as nowadays this represents just 1% of the housing stock. Thirdly, the conversion of housing into tourist accommodation must be limited. The combination of tourist and residential uses in a building should not be allowed.

Changes at the neighbourhood scale represent significant impacts of tourism. The liberalisation of tourist-oriented activities that were licenced without limitations is the main cause of several concerns expressed by residents. There should be more regulation of the activities that are licenced with the intention of protecting the facilities that residents need, particularly stores and public spaces. Local authorities should provide more public benches and facilitate the existence of spaces of encounter for the community. In relation to noise, local authorities should be less lenient with visitors when it comes to following the so-called *Ordenanzas Cívicas*. Furthermore, since visitors show disregard for residents, local authorities should initiate a campaign informing tourists that they are in a residential area.

Finally, I believe that regulation of both the housing market and neighbourhood activities – which aims to protect residents from the contradictions of the market – is not enough to alleviate the problem. The area has too many visitors and tourist-oriented services and so real change can only come from a phase of tourism de-growth. The issue of overcrowding, for instance, results from the fact that there are too many visitors. In this respect, a recent survey implemented by the city council suggests that more than 50% of the population in Barcelona wants to limit the number of visitors to the city (Suñé, 2017). According to the results of this survey the most important problem that Barcelona has is tourism. However, although residents in Barcelona are increasingly opposed to tourism, the industry is still growing. I suggest, instead, that moving to a de-growing tourism phase is a critical necessity if we want to guarantee the right to the city and a more sustainable urban future.

## 8.7. Limitations and further research

In terms of methodology, the weight of this research has been qualitative. It is for this reason that a quantitative exploration could supplement several points explored in the dissertation. In particular, a more comprehensive understanding of the impacts of holiday rentals should examine the way in which they affect the rental market for long-term occupation in different areas of the city. This sort of analysis is needed to assess how holiday rentals should be regulated in each neighbourhood. To complete this task, web scraping techniques should monitor the activity of the Airbnb website daily for at least a year. To estimate how much rented housing is used as tourist accommodation, this technique may consider all listings occupied for more than three months during the period of the research. At the same time, this exploration should monitor housing available for long-term occupation, as well as rent prices in the 'regular' housing market by scraping traditional letting websites during the same period. Finally, this exploration should implement a regression analysis using holiday rentals and traditional rentals as variables. This could estimate the relationship between short-term lettings and housing supply and affordability for long-term occupation.

An exploration of the suppliers of holiday rentals is also needed. My findings suggest that Barcelona is attractive to investors that buy entire apartments and rent them in the vocational market. However, further research should explore the extent to which this takes place as well as the number of holiday rentals are supplied by families who rent spare rooms. This distinction is needed to provide better regulation.

I focused on how residents experience different forms of displacement. This perspective allowed me to understand the impacts of tourism gentrification. However, there are a large number of organisations that rent spaces in the area and that are also displaced by tourism gentrification. I mentioned that retail gentrification and the resultant displacement of the stores and facilities that residents need is a crucial issue. How this process occurs deserves further attention. In addition, residents described that all sorts of organisations have been displaced including office spaces for small businesses, warehouses, charities, sports clubs and various cultural and political associations. Apart from being family businesses, these places are important to community life. An exploration of how these activities are displaced is needed for a more comprehensive understanding of tourism gentrification.



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## Appendix 1. Questionnaire

Note: I delivered a Spanish version of this questionnaire.

### Part One. Personal Information

1. How long have you been living in the Gothic district for?

Less than 3 years

3 – 5 years

6 – 9 years

10 – 19 years

Over 20 years

2. What is your gender?

Female

Male

3. What is your age?

18 or below

19-39

40-64

65 or more

4. What is your place of birth?

Catalonia

Spain

Other                      Detail

5. What is the highest level of education you completed?

None

Primary School

Secondary School

Further Education College

University/Higher Education

Other                      Detail

6. Are you employed?

Yes - Go to section 5a

No - Go to section 5b

6a. Employed

a. What is your employment status?

Part-time employee

Full-time employee

Self - employed

Other [Details](#)

b. What is your occupation?

[Details](#)

6b. Not employed

What is your non-employed status?

Unemployed

Student

Retired

Long-term sick/disabled

Other [Details](#)

7. Could you estimate your annual net income?

[Show card](#)

Less than 8.999€

9.000€ - 13.999€

14.000€ - 19.999€

20.000€ - 29.999€

30.000€ - 49.999€

More than 50.000€

## Part two. Household information

8. For internal control purposes, could you please tell me your address?

Street

Number



9. How many times have you moved home over the past 5 years?

0

1

2

3

4

More than 4                      Details

10. In the last 10 years, have you moved involuntarily, by example by failing to pay the rent or because the landlord did not want to renew the contract?

No

Yes                                      Details

11. Where was your previous residence located?

In the same neighbourhood

In other part of Ciutat Vella

In other part of Barcelona

Outside Barcelona                      Detail

12. Did some of your friends or someone who was relevant for you move out from the neighbourhood in the last years?

No

Yes

12.1. Could you state how many people you know that have moved out?

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10    More than 10

12.2. Could you explain why they have moved out?

13. What is the status of your residence at this property?

Owner Outright (No mortgage)

Owner Buying (Mortgage)

Renting - Privately

Renting - Council/Local Authority

Rent Free                      Details

Other                              Details

14. Do you share the house with other tenants?

Yes

No

15. How many people live in your home, including yourself?

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

More than 8                      Details

16. How many bedrooms there are in the house?

0

1

2

3

4

5

More than 5                      Details

17. What percentage of your income do you spend on your household rent / mortgage and any other utility costs? Show card

Less than 20%

20% - 29%

30% - 39%

40% - 49%

50% - 59%

Over 60%

18. Do you have any of these problems with your accommodation? Show card

Space	shortage of space
Dark	too dark, not enough light
Damp	damp walls, floors, etc.
Ventilation	not enough ventilation
Mould	mouldy walls, bathroom, etc.
Adapt	accommodation not adapted to my health/disability circumstances
Heat	lack of adequate heating facilities
Leak	Leaky roofs, pipes, taps, etc.
Electricity	unsafe
Furniture	lack of furniture, bad conditions
Appliance	lack of appliances, not working
Other	Detail
None	none of these problems

19. How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with your home as a place to live?

1. Very satisfied
2. Fairly satisfied
3. Not sure
4. Fairly dissatisfied
5. Very dissatisfied

20. If you are dissatisfied, can you explain why?

21. Are there any holiday apartment in your building?

- No                                      If no go to section 22
- Yes                                        How many

22. Has any neighbour in your building been evicted because of holiday apartments?  
If yes, can you explain what happened?

- No
- Yes

23. Have you ever considered moving out from the building?

- No
- Yes                                        Details

24. If there any other circumstance you would like to say about your accommodation?

### Part three. About your neighbourhood

25. Please indicate how satisfied or dissatisfied you are with each of the following facilities in your local area.

	<b>Very satisfied</b>	<b>Fairly satisfied</b>	<b>Not sure</b>	<b>Fairly dissatisfied</b>	<b>Very dissatisfied</b>
Facilities for children					
Schools and education provision					
Parks and open spaces					
The level of noise					
The level of hygiene					
Supermarkets					
Shops selling fresh food and vegetables					
Shops you need in your everyday life					
Local cost of living					

26. Here are some things that residents have said about your neighbourhood.

To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

"Stores I used to patronise have disappeared in the last five years"				
1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree

"I use terraces of restaurants and cafes in my neighbourhood"				
1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree

"I need places to sit down and rest in public spaces"				
1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree

"I feel I belong to this neighbourhood"				
1 Strongly Agree	2 Agree	3 Not sure	4 Disagree	5 Strongly disagree

"Over the last 10 years, the area has got a better place to live"				
1 Strongly Agree	2 Agree	3 Not sure	4 Disagree	5 Strongly disagree

"Given the opportunity, I would like to move out of this neighbourhood"				
1 Strongly Agree	2 Agree	3 Not sure	4 Disagree	5 Strongly disagree

"I'm satisfied with my neighbourhood as a place to live"				
1 Strongly Agree	2 Agree	3 Not sure	4 Disagree	5 Strongly disagree

27. Can you explain why you are satisfied or dissatisfied living in your neighbourhood?

--

28. If there any other circumstance you would like to say about your neighbourhood?

--



This questionnaire will be followed up by a series of interviews, discussing some of the themes covered here. If you would be available for an informal interview, please leave your contact details below:

Name:  
Phone:  
Email:

End of questionnaire!  
Thanks!!

If there is anything else you would like to add, please write in below: