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**Universitat Autònoma
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BACHELOR'S DEGREE THESIS

**TITLE: Neighbourhoods as commodities.
The case of gentrification of Sants-Montjuïc.**

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ABSTRACT

Affordable housing, sustainable cities and decent lives are at the front page of political, social and economic discussions. With the growing number of population living in cities and the growing global inequalities, fair and equal urbanisation needs to be at the chore of the debate. Gentrification is the tag defining the socioeconomic transformations happening in many neighbourhoods worldwide, where the working class is displaced from their place of residence in favour of higher social classes and for the sake of the capitalists' profits. The causes are numerous and diverse, but one of them is repeated in many Mediterranean cities: tourism. This thesis studies the literature on the production of urban space in capitalist economies with the aim of conducting a quantitative analysis of the process taking place in the district of Sants-Montjuïc, Barcelona. Through the elaboration of a gentrification index, we can corroborate how the seven neighbourhoods are undergoing such process. Moreover, through the analysis of the touristification indicators we can prove that tourism has a big impact in our gentrification study case.

KEY WORDS:

Gentrification, urbanisation, capitalism, rent gap, tourism, Sants-Montjuïc.

Acknowledgments:

This thesis is for everyone who fights for their right to the city day after day.

TABLE OF CONTENT

1. INTRODUCTION.....	5
1.1. Objectives	8
1.2. Methodology	8
2. ECONOMIC FRAMEWORK FOR URBANISATION.....	10
2.1. The production of space.....	11
2.2. The circuit of capital	13
2.3. Territorial dimension of late capitalism.....	14
3. GENTRIFICATION.....	17
3.1. Studies and literature review.....	17
3.2. Touristification.....	20
3.3. An example: Barcelona.....	23
4. CASE STUDY: SANTS-MONTJUÏC	26
4.1. Brief history	26
4.2. Special Tourist Accommodation Plan	28
4.3. Method of study	30
4.3.1. <i>Gentrification indicators</i>	30
4.3.2. <i>Touristification analysis</i>	35
4.4. Results.....	40
5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS.....	47
6. REFERENCED BIBLIOGRAPHY	51
7. ANNEXES	55

TABLE OF TABLES

Table 1. <i>Flow of gentrification studies</i>	16
Table 2. <i>Most relevant concepts used in gentrification indicators</i>	31
Table 3. <i>Results for parameters 1 to 4 in each neighbourhood</i>	41
Table 4. <i>Results for parameters 5 to 8 in each neighbourhood</i>	41
Table 5. <i>Gentrification Index (0-1) for every neighbourhood</i>	42
Table 6. <i>López-Gay et al.'s gentrification index results for Sants-Montjuïc</i>	46

TABLE OF FIGURES

Figure 1. <i>Evolution of the number of tourists per year in Barcelona in millions.....</i>	24
Figure 2. <i>Map of the eight neighbourhoods in Sants-Montjuïc.....</i>	27
Figure 3. <i>Number of tourist beds offering in Sants-Montjuïc and long-distance passenger transit in Barcelona-Sants railway station.....</i>	36
Figure 4. <i>Number of Airbnbs and Housing for Tourist Use in 2020.....</i>	37
Figure 5. <i>Evolution of touristic use of land and housing prices in Sants-Montjuïc.....</i>	38
Figure 6. <i>Number of listings where the host has other listings in Sants-Montjuïc.....</i>	39
Figure 7. <i>Evolution of the number of household residences as opposed to tourist bed offerings in Sants-Montjuïc.....</i>	39
Figure 8. <i>Results of the Gentrification Index on the map of the district.....</i>	43
Figure 9. <i>Relative weight of the parameters in the index.....</i>	44

1. INTRODUCTION

Decent, adequate and affordable housing has been a current topic not only in economic discussions but also sociological, political and even ecological ones (Copiello, 2015; Leishmand and Rowley, 2012; Mueller and Tighe, 2007). Although it is mostly regarded as a right, the difficulty to be provided as such and the poor expectations on the subject in the near future have made it turn into an issue.

According to Consejo de la Juventud de España on their 2020 biannual balance report on emancipation, only 17,3% of the Spanish youth has been able to become emancipated¹, the worst figure since 2001. This represents a fall of 1,3% compared to the last report in 2019. It gets even worse if we take a gender-biased look, since the fall in emancipated young men is 1.2%, while it is 1,5% for women.

The inability to leave one's house of origin is generally explained by a high juvenile unemployment rate, precarious job positions, low income, high housing prices in both property and rentals, and other demanding bureaucratic barriers to become a house-owner. However, it is not only a problem of accessing the housing market for first-timers, but also the instability of maintaining it for those who already have a place to live. In 2019, a total of 54.006 evictions were carried out according to Consejo General del Poder Judicial² because of inability to pay the rent or the mortgage instalment. This means that in 2019, 54.0006 people or more had to leave their houses and neighbourhoods so that they could be given to someone in a higher social and economic class.

The problem of securing a living standard for the population is specifically significant in cities, where over half of the world population lives. This percentage rises up to 80% in regions like North-America and Western-Europe, and is expected to grow up to 68% at a global scale by 2050³. Urbanisation is only going to add up to the already existing symptoms of a change of paradigm in cities.

The impulse in real estate production in Spain from the mid-90s to the end of the first decade of the 21st century built up the biggest real estate and credit bubble ever. Ever

¹ Data from: Consejo de la Juventud de España. <http://www.cje.org/descargas/cje7625.pdf>

² Data from: Europa Press. <https://www.epdata.es/datos/desahucios-estadisticas-datos-hoy-graficos-cgpj/230/espana/106>

³ Data from: United Nations. <https://www.un.org/development/desa/en/news/population/2018-revision-of-world-urbanization-prospects.html>

since the burst of that bubble in 2008, the financial crisis coming from the United States plunged the European Union, and especially Spain, into a profound sovereign debt crisis. This crisis, sometimes named “brick crisis” due to its huge impact on the building sector, forced the remodelling of urban space that had been dismantled for the sake of construction.

The remodelling taking place in some of the biggest cities of the world has followed a similar pattern across them, a series of social and economic transformations that turn low-income areas into middle or high-income neighbourhoods: gentrification. This has meant the displacement of the working class to the outer parts of the city with the aggravations that this carries: class segregation, loss of community life, difficult access to public transportation, loss of jobs, and even the “ghetto-ing” of specific neighbourhoods.

Gentrification implies changes in the economic structure of urban space and therefore changes in the lives that inhabit such space. As its effects become more visible, the topic is getting more and more attention every day. This can be seen both in the academic world and social movements. While different geographers and economists have been trying to conceptualize it since the 60s⁴ and discuss its immediate and long-term consequences, social movements have been organising in towns and cities to fight gentrification in the streets, their main focus being on the housing issue.

This phenomenon, as many others, is not evolving at the same pace everywhere, neither in the academic world nor in terms of social awareness. Gentrification has been openly talked about as a process happening in Berlin, Paris, New York, Rio, Barcelona, Amsterdam and even Istanbul or Kyoto (Atkinson and Bridge, 2004). This showcases two basic premises: it is spread worldwide, and it affects cities where tourism is abundant.

The case of Barcelona is quite paradigmatic since the city has been experiencing rapid social and spatial change for almost two decades. Most literature pinpoints the start of these changes at the beginning of the 90s. Barcelona was about to hold the Olympic Games in 1992 and the government promoted a new urban model based almost exclusively on the modifications this international event required in the city. All these transformations put Barcelona under global watch, and while some idolatrised this model

⁴ Ruth Glass created the term gentrification in 1964 in the context of studying urban changes in London.

of growth, known as “Marca Barcelona”, the full consequences of such socioeconomic transformations would still take some years to disclose.

The renaissance of Barcelona as a modern and welcoming city implied trying to move past the image of a poor and decadent southern Europe, especially when the end of the dictatorship in Spain had been just a little over ten years before. In the words of Martín Ayllon (2004), the Olympic period marked the end of Francoist urbanism and the start of a new era equally totalitarian. Moreover, this change of archetype also projected the internationalisation of the city, which quickly became an attraction for tourists who were in search of good weather, nice architecture, and plenty of cultural activities. In the three years after the celebration of the Olympic Games, tourism increased by 65% (Ibelings, 2004).

Almost thirty years later, Barcelona is still promoted as a touristic heaven but with less remains of the Olympic glory day after day. This span of time allows for some analysis of the consequences of the public-private decisions taken at the time, and how they settled the bases of the reconfiguration of the Catalan capital. Opening the door for tourism also opened the door to a very profitable market niche in a city that had lots to offer to national and international capital investments.

The dichotomy of tourist versus neighbour shapes the everyday life of the city. It seems as if every choice is made in the best interest of one group, in detriment of the other. The increasing presence of social movements not only reclaiming the right to decent housing but the right to the city⁵ has put pressure on public and private agents to address the situation.

Furthermore, a global urban conscience is arising. As aforementioned, roughly half of the world population nowadays lives in cities. This figure is expected to grow exponentially to a point where, in developed countries, more than three quarters of the people will live in urban areas⁶. Not only population growth but also increasing international mobility have brought about the rethinking and redesigning of cities. The latent issue is if such a

⁵ The right to the city was introduced by Henri Lefebvre in 1968 in his book *Le Droit à la ville* as the right of urban citizens to build, decide, occupy and create the city for a full and decent life.

⁶ Data from: European Commission. <https://ec.europa.eu/jrc/en/news/how-our-planet-became-more-urbanised-ever>

rapid urbanisation has also led to heightened well-being for the citizens or if, on the contrary, it has worsened living conditions for some, enlarging pre-existing inequalities.

1.1. Objectives

While housing is one of the most compelling problems, it is just the tip of the iceberg. It is important that the focus of the discussion is put on urbanisation, the economic model that shapes and produces cities, and the implications this has for human living.

The aim of this research project is to study urbanisation as a capitalist economic process, learn about the causes and consequences of gentrification and measure the impact of touristification in the process.

Additionally, the case of Sants-Montjuïc, in Barcelona, is of special interest because of its condition of transport hub and its tourist-attractive spots like Parc de Montjuïc and Plaça d'Espanya. It is located a little over three kilometres away from the old town, and is currently reproducing past urban dynamics of that area.

The hypothesis put to test is that the socioeconomic transformations of the neighbourhoods in the Sants-Montjuïc district respond to the pattern of gentrification. Furthermore, how this alleged transformation is happening in response to tourism.

1.2. Methodology

To tackle the topic of urbanisation and see whether the district of Sants is undergoing gentrification, the first step will be to review the existing literature. Literature around urban processes and economic transformations is produced in various academic disciplines such as economics, human geography and sociology.

As a start, this research project focuses on finding an economic perspective for the study of urbanization, geographers such as Henri Lefebvre and David Harvey, of Marxist thought, stand out as the main authors. The theories of surplus value (Marx, 1867) and the production of space (Lefebvre, 1974) start drawing the analytic framework of this paper.

Secondly, there is an approximation to gentrification. This approximation is done both theoretically, following the discussions on the origins of gentrification since the 60s from authors like Ruth Glass, Neil Smith and David Ley; and methodologically, reviewing

mainly the proposal by López-Gay, Sales, Solana and Peralta (2019) to quantify said process in Spanish cities.

Then, I conduct the analysis of gentrification in the district of Sants-Montjuïc with available data from the city Council, the details of which are explained farther down in the paper. Furthermore, I enquire into the concept of touristification –tourism as the main trigger of gentrification- and study the case of Sants to give an overview of the factor in this area. The analysis and qualitative study of the different touristification indicators allows me to prove or dismiss its impact on the districts' gentrification.

Lastly, consulting the results of the analysed data, I derive the final conclusions on the district's urban and socioeconomic transformation and I pose further discussion lines of the topic.

2. ECONOMIC FRAMEWORK FOR URBANISATION

The Cambridge Dictionary defines urbanism as the type of life that is typical of cities and towns.⁷ The same dictionary defines urbanization as the process by which more and more people leave the countryside to live in cities and, as a consequence, the increasing importance of urban areas. Many geographers (Ruth Glass, Henri Lefebvre, David Harvey, Edward Soja and Manuel Castells among others), nonetheless, have been discussing for the past half century how urbanism is highly tied to political economy and is the result of a conflict of interests. Urbanism not just as architecture applied to cities but as a key piece of the economic model and its design. In order to be able to study what is currently happening with housing and tourism in places like Barcelona, it is of utter importance that we understand the configuration of the whole urbanisation process and why economics influences it that much.

The first to study urbanism as a product of economic matter was the French philosopher, sociologist and geographer Henri Lefebvre (1901-1991). Of Marxist thought, Lefebvre dedicated a great part of his research to space and time, especially after the 60s. While Marx's analysis went deeply into the mechanisms and processes of production under capitalism, he didn't develop much literature on urban phenomena (Baringo, 2012). Baringo (2012) also states Lefebvre's studies see a convergence of personal interest on Marxist theory and the studies of the reproduction of social relations in capitalism, leading to a production of literature on both. It is not until the works of Lefebvre, Manuel Castells and David Harvey in the 70s and 80s that the study of cities and urbanisation from an economic point of view starts gaining weight to the purely technical perspective.

Despite criticising the lack of urban perspective in Marx's work, it is true that the analysis of the principal 20th century geographers take his theories as a starting point. It is the Labour Theory of Value (LTV) which sets the basis for studying the effects of surplus and use-change value in cities.

In Marx's first volume of *The Capital: A Critique of Political Economy* (1867) he introduced the distinction of the use value and the change value of every commodity. The use value is the qualitative value a certain commodity has to satisfy a need, the characteristics that make it suitable for the fulfilment of a desire, be it physiological like

⁷ Definition from: Cambridge Dictionary. <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/urbanism>

eating or sleeping, or spiritual like leisure or pleasure. On the other hand, the change value is the quantitative value this commodity has in the market, how much of this commodity X is equal to that much of commodity Y. This is generally expressed as the amount of labour socially necessary to produce it, in terms of money.

The specifics of the capitalist system are that labour is also considered a commodity of those who don't have any other means (that is, they do not own the means of production) to get goods and services but to sell their work force. Its value is also determined in the market, but with the uniqueness that labour, besides having value, produces value as well. Labour has both values that Marx explained: a change value, i.e. the salary received by the worker, and the use value, i.e. how this labour force was used to produce other commodities. In turn, these commodities that come from the labour of workers also have change value and use value, but their change value will always be higher than the change value of the labour used to produce them. This difference between the change value of the commodity (earnings for the capitalist) and the change value of labour (salary for the worker) is called surplus. Surplus is the base of capitalism, and its accumulation is what allows growth within the system. This entails that when surplus cannot find a market to reproduce, the economy enters a recession and it will eventually reach a limit when, unable to grow, the system will collapse. Lefebvre (1974) argued that capitalist development had not reached its limits yet as it had accomplished to transform space into a commodity. Capitalism evolved from a system where commodities were produced in a determined spatial location to a system where this spatial location was the product instead.

2.1. The production of space

Until then, space had been defined on three bases: physical (nature), mental (logics and formal abstraction) and social (human relations). According to Lefebvre (1974), these distinctions which had been studied separately, had to be united in a unique theory: the production of space. To support his theory, and following Marx's use of dialectics, he introduces a new distinction for space, the new *trialectics* of spatiality: space representations (conceived spaces, like the planning design of an urban space), representation space (lived spaces, emotional significance of an urban space), and spatial experiences (perceived spaces, common ways of using urban space).

The relationship between the three spaces is generally conflictive and marked with politics and ideology: as the representation space is usually dominated and experienced passively by people, it ends up being seized by the dominant class (Lefebvre, 1974).

Furthermore, Lefebvre (1974) points out that cities are a product of economic history, developing three new definitions of space: absolute, historical and abstract space. The absolute space corresponds to the time where there was almost no human interaction with the territory, mainly dominated by nature. The historical space is where the first Greek and Roman cities started to emerge, expanding through centuries with an incipient political organism which organized and dominated the surroundings. These central spaces of power and accumulation are where the resources of the periphery converged, such as knowledge and wealth. These are known as “pre-capitalist” cities, privileged spaces of primitive capital accumulation.

Lastly, there is the abstract space, the prime capitalist evolution. Associated with capital accumulation, it is where processes of production and reproduction are divided and spaces acquire an instrumental function. The class domination ideology of this space is covered up by the current of urbanism, focused on planning, scientific rationality and deep interest for classification and control. The author finds the capitalist city as an imposition of the abstract space, highly commodified and bureaucratic, from the dominant class (and technocrats) to the working class.

Baringo (2012) states “Lefebvre seeks to adapt Marx’s distinction between concrete labour (creator of use value) and abstract labour (creator of change value) to spatial terms”. Lefebvre also introduces one last space: the differential space. It is the space defined as what “ought to be”, born from the multiple contradictions presented in the abstract one. It fights against the homogenisation of space and to have room and foster differences. Class struggle is the main driving force where the dominated play a crucial role in appropriating spaces from the abstract city to build a differential one. Lefebvre (1974) calls it *le droit à la difference*, a right won through city struggle.

This is especially interesting since one of the most revolutionary concepts he introduced was the right to the city, in his book *Le Droit à la ville* (1968). He defined it as the right of urban citizens to rebuild, decide, occupy and create the city for a full and decent life.

Since urbanisation is used as a way of ensuring the capitalists’ dominant position, according to Marx’s theory, this entails accumulation of surplus value. Therefore, a key

aspect in Lefebvre's theory of the production of space are the circuits of capital, the main mechanisms of accumulation in a capitalist system.

2.2. The circuit of capital

To understand Marx's view on capital accumulation we need to understand his look at the capitalist process of production, based on the following scheme:

$$M-C (lp/mp) \dots P \dots C' - M'$$

Capital goes through three phases: money "M", commodity "C", and production "P". The owner of money, M, buys the productive commodities, C, which take both fixed (means of production) and variable (labour power) form. These two are put together in a productive process, the second phase P, where labour will then produce more value than what it will earn, creating the surplus for the capitalist. This surplus comes in the form of a finished commodity, C', that the capitalist will sell and transform into money again, M'. This M' will be greater than the initial invested M, and thus the owner of money will be able to reinvest it and repeat the whole process again, getting surplus value every time and so accumulating more capital.

Marx (1992) found that, while capitalism's most basic impulse is to accumulate, the highest exponent of the expansion of circuits of capital (which are reproduced in every market) is the international economy. It is key to point out that growth doesn't come from real needs of consumers, but for the sake of growth per se. Capital accumulation is not only subjective but also driven by the factor of competition. As Kettell (2006, pp. 25-26) exposes:

. . . capital can secure a higher rate of profit, and hence a greater level of capital accumulation, by penetrating new markets and by creating production techniques and methods that extract a higher rate of surplus value ... In this way, the competitive dynamic of capitalist competition leads to a continual transformation of the means of production, and to a progressive generalization of more "advanced" productive methods and practices.

The process of accumulation is not linear, though, similarly to economic cycles the circuit of capital, in Marx's words, is "a successive period of moderate activity, prosperity, overproduction, crisis and stagnation" (Marx, 1992, p.580). This entails that crises would be inherent to capitalism, and not something that can be avoided through economic

policies or changes in behaviour of consumers and producers. Harvey (1985) made an important addition to the theory, dividing them in the primary, secondary and tertiary circuits of capital and assigning them different functions. In this sense, he exposed that – despite capitalist crises being a part of the economic cycle- there was a short-term solution to the period of over-accumulation in the primary circuit, which was to direct capital flows into the secondary circuit of capital (Harvey, 1985).

The primary circuit of capital would relate to the classical production process exposed by Marx, the analysis being much focused on commodities that have a one-time period of value. Harvey introduced the circuits of capital as the place capital goes to when there is an excess of it that the primary market cannot absorb. He tried to solve the limit of the one-time period analysis introducing long-term commodities that were used for production or consumption in different circulation periods. These were categorized either as built environment for production, that is, fixed immobile capital used within or as a framework of the production process, or as built environment for consumption, mainly “commodities that function as aids rather than as direct inputs to consumption” (Harvey, 1985). Examples of the latter vary from a washing machine to a house or a sidewalk. It is the capital flows into the built environment assets that form the secondary circuit of capital. He also developed his theory on the third circuit of capital, related to investments in science and technology, but to go into that is of no interest to study the urban process under capitalism. The process of changing capital from the primary to the secondary and to the tertiary circuits is called by Harvey (1985) as capital switching.

Harvey did not give the secondary circuit as much predominance as Lefebvre did, since the French geographer defended it had surpassed in amount the surplus value circulating in the first one but Harvey argued industrial surplus still prevailed (Baringo, 2012). Nevertheless, he did highlight its growing importance in advanced capitalist systems towards attracting excess capital surplus and preventing –or delaying- crises. From an analytic point of view, such distinction of circuits of capital is very interesting because it provides a framework for analysis of urbanization and, specifically, the housing issue.

2.3. Territorial dimension of late capitalism

It is no secret that capitalism has conducted the global West into the financialization of economies, a process of “articulation of rent by means more related to finance than to wages, and the articulation of the economy by means of valuations that are more related

to money than to production” (Rodríguez López and López Hernández, 2010). This is highly related to the secondary circuit of capital, since it is the investment in the built environment that has been characterising such financialization. In words of Lois González et al. (2016),

The goal is the production of urban space coherent with processes of economic restructuring, while configuring territorial expression by means of policies directed fundamentally towards urban promotion and the development of the real estate market, something known as *boosterism*: the promotion of the image created of cities calling for investors of interurban competitiveness (González, 2007).

In European countries in general, and in Spain in particular, the State and financial institutions have been big promoters of capital switches, to the extent of practically specializing their economy in the secondary circuit “giving way to a model of urban development based on financial and real estate speculation” (Rodríguez López and López Hernández, 2010).

The growing importance of investment in the built environment has come to Western cities as a form of neoliberal restructuring, a way of dodging a crisis of over accumulation, giving cities a relevant role in capitalist accumulation processes (Harvey 1989; Brenner, Peck and Theodore, 2015).

The investment in fixed capital means, in a broader sense, that land becomes a commodity. In the case of housing, for instance, it is generally the case that instead of new buildings, the rehabilitation of existing ones is chosen. This is mainly because it is more profitable to renew an old building in the city centre than to build it from scratch in the suburbs of the city. The neoclassical theory assumes that this change of paradigm, the “back to the city movement” as Smith (1979) names it, is only a product of economic and cultural factors. The first, because as aforementioned, it is cheaper to renew buildings in the city centre than to build them, and the latter, because there has been a change of lifestyle that has made middle-class want to live in the urban core again (closer to work, leisure places, etc.) and abandon their suburban residencies.

Smith (1979), a researcher under the guidance of Harvey, however, strongly disagrees with the consumer-induced perception of the capital switches and introduces the role of builders, developers, urban planners, landlords, government agencies and the real estate among others, that is, the producers of space. When the role of producers is taken into

account, it becomes visible that the desire for profit is much more decisive than consumer preference. Despite having different views, what economists and geographers have been trying to theorize as the progressive investment in previously “non-profitable” land is conceptualized as gentrification.

3. GENTRIFICATION

Gentrification as a term was first coined by Ruth Glass in 1964, a British urbanist and sociologist, when studying the changes happening in the city of London.

One by one, many of the working class quarters have been invaded by the middle class - upper and lower ... Once this process of 'gentrification' starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the working class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed (Glass, 1964, p. 17).

The origin of the term comes from its root “gentry”, from the French “genterie”, which defines people from a high social class, born in gentile environments and well-raised. Since then, different scholars and researchers have been studying it and finding different explanations for that phenomena.

Yeom and Mikelbank (2019) defined some criteria that gentrification meets to avoid confusion with other changes in neighbourhoods such as urban development, redevelopment, or renewal. These include that agents involved in gentrification are private and so is their budget (although sometimes government-induced), that there is no planning, the location is already developed but deteriorated and, most importantly, that there is a displacement of residents. The key of gentrification is the substitution of the low-income residents of a neighbourhood for higher-income ones, which makes it a class matter and hence an economic one.

3.1. Studies and literature review

With this distinction made, literature varies around the topic. The three key authors which set the basis for gentrification studies –Ruth Glass, David Ley and Neil Smith- all differ on the causes. Moreover, the literature around the causes of gentrification has experienced some variation through the decades as well. The following table summarises the main currents of gentrification studies.

Table 1
Flow of gentrification studies

Decade	Flow of Gentrification Studies	
1960	The term "Gentrification" was introduced in academia by British Sociologist, Ruth Glass in 1964	Gentrification has been interpreted in a perspective of inequality and injustice of housing and land market under capitalism.
1970	Started looking for a factor causing working class or the low-income class displacement in gentrified neighborhoods	Consumption and production-based approaches <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consumption-based approach: David Ley (1978 & 1981) argued new middle class (gentrifiers) cause the low-income class displacement • Production-based approach: Neil Smith (1979) argued physical change (or improvement) by capital investment causes the low-income class displacement
1980	The renaissance of diverse gentrification studies	The consumption and production-based approaches are often combined when analyzing gentrified neighborhoods.
1990		
2000	Starting discussion about global gentrification and emerging a new factor causing the low-income displacement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gentrification became a significant issue not only in the U.S. or Europe but also many Asian countries. • College students, foreign labor forces, and foreign capital are often considered as the power to drive gentrification.
2010		

From "Gentrification: An Introduction, Overview and Application", by M. Yeom and B. Mikelbank, *The 21st Century American City: Race, Ethnicity, and Multicultural Urban Life* (3rd edition, 256pp, 2019, Kendall Hunt Publishing Company).

While the main two currents are often combined nowadays, it is still quite determinant whether we take the consumption-based approach or the production-based approach. Ley (1981) argued that behavioural and consumer changes were the key to gentrification. This change in consumer preference came from the evolution of industrial to post-industrial cities and the subsequent change in the job structure. Former manual and low-skilled occupation gave way to higher technically-skilled professions, a new middle-class which preferred to live in the cities rather than in the suburbs.

The critique to this theory, introduced before, is posed by Neil Smith in 1979. The production-based approach pinpoints capital investment as the driving force of gentrification, relating to the theory of the circuits of capital and the argument of capital switches to the secondary circuit: the built investment. This, as stated by Rodriguez López and López Hernández (2010), is the turn most Western countries are taking, and predicted by Lefebvre (1972) when he talked about cities as modern commodities.

Smith (1979) questioned that the "urban renaissance", while taking place globally, if powered by consumer preferences implied that the change in lifestyle and cultural habits need to be equal around the planet. Due to human nature, this was mostly impossible. To

define his take on gentrification, he introduces the concept of ground rent. The key aspect of ground rent is private property, “private property rights confer on the owner near-monopoly control over land and improvements” (Smith, 1979, p. 541), and thus a capacity to extract profit from such ownership based on the uses the land is given. He then exposes two distinctions: capitalized ground rent, which is the actual amount of rent appropriated by the landowner, and the potential ground rent, which is the amount they could be getting with a better use of the land. The difference between the two is the rent gap.

To explain where this rent gap comes from, Smith (1979) divides the depreciation of the inner city in four stages. While he bases his theoretical approach on the city centre, it can also be applied to other areas in the process of gentrification.

The first stage is the “new construction and the first cycle of use” (Smith, 1979, p. 543), that is when the neighbourhood is new, depreciation is still minimum, and ground rent is bound to increase in a short period of time as new constructions are built. This leads to a sale price increase. The second stage is “landlordism and homeownership” (Smith, 1979, p.543). In this stage he highlights the effects of initial depreciation, in which case, homeowners are likely to move out and buy other houses where their investment is safer, rather than carrying out reparations. The third stage is “blockbusting and blow out” (Smith, 1979, p. 544), real estate agents start buying under-maintained houses at a cheap price with the argument that they are not a good-enough place for non-immigrant families. Then, they sell them for a higher price to immigrants or non-white residents. Lower-income families keep their homes in even more under-maintained states and the neighbourhood starts to wear out. As a consequence, the remaining middle-class residents sell and move out to the suburbs or other newer and wealthier areas. This leads to the fourth stage: “redlining”,

... house value and capitalized ground rent fall, producing further decreases in sale price. Disinvestment by landlords is accompanied by an equally “rational” disinvestment by financial institutions which cease supplying mortgage money to the area. ... Ultimately, medium and small-scale investors also refuse to work the area, as do mortgage insurers. ... eventually landlords will disinvest totally, refusing to make repairs and paying only the necessary costs-and then often only sporadically for the building to yield rent. (Smith, 1979, p.544).

Redlining is breeding ground for the last stage, abandonment. Smith (1979, p.544) makes a very interesting clarification: “Much abandoned housing is structurally sound ... But then buildings are abandoned not because they are unusable, but because they cannot be used profitably.”

Adding the factor of urban growth to the depreciation of city centres has opened the door to much profitable reinvestments, precisely because it is there where the rent gap is bigger. This does not deny the fact that economic restructuring has influenced the shape of cities, and that previously manufacturing centres where the working class lived are now services and business centres (Preis, Janakiraman, Bob and Steil, 2020), it only emphasizes the role of capital accumulation in said process of change.

Many discussions have followed Smith’s theory of inner-city depreciation and the rent gap, the biggest opponent being David Ley who tried to operationalize the theory through education and occupation indicators (Ley, 1986). He defended these measures as very much related with social status and thus, gentrification. These were, as expected, dismissed by Smith (1987) who insisted on the roles of rent and income instead.

The factors which widen the rent gap, meaning they increase land value and facilitate gentrification, are numerous. Díez González (2017) points out some of them: “studentification”, that is, the arrival of students looking for a place to live, international immigration, economic revitalisation, shift from ownership to rental housing, high urbanisation, lifestyle changes, new cultural classes such as the *hipster* phenomenon, and, last but not least, touristification.

3.2. Touristification

The concept is not exempt from discussion, and has often been related –or even mixed up- with gentrification, tourism-phobia and over-tourism as Ojeda and Kieffer (2020) expose. The truth is that the tie between them is very strong, to the point that some Spanish politicians like Gala Pin, activist and former councilwoman at the Barcelona City Council, talk about “gentrification 4.0”, a term which includes tourism as the determinant factor for this phenomenon.

The definition of touristification issued from the huge amounts of tourism arriving in some European cities. It is considered worse than classic gentrification because the working class is not substituted for a higher-income local class but a floating, non-

constant population: tourists. This poses a threat to neighbourhoods and their everyday life, turning them into thematic urban spaces without the bare minimum such as local businesses, affordable housing prices and conditions for daily leisure and rest.

As a consequence, touristification implies a negative connotation when talking about tourism, especially in places like Spain where the economic planning and resources have been almost fully devoted to tourism for years. Touristification, then, refers to the impact that mass tourism has had in the economic, social and urban structuring of particular areas or cities.

Gentrification and touristification are two sides of the same coin. It is common to see that in advanced capitalist economies, both tend to coexist and feed back into each other. Classic gentrification provides a clean, gentile, middle-class environment in cities that is very attractive for tourism (Cócola-Gant, 2018). Tourism gentrification is a phenomenon in advanced capitalist countries but also in peripheral economies, where they rely on tourism for growth.

The emergence of urban tourism comes with the new middle-class whose occupations are linked to the tertiary sector and are more educated than the old working class, as well as being more concerned for culture, travel and entertainment (Fainstein and Gladstone, 1999; Meethan, 2001), as well as with a program of revitalization of urban centres in post-industrial cities. While in the industrial era cities depended on being a place to live and work, for the past decades, cities have been competing to be the best place to consume and visit.

This takes us back to the Lefebvrian concept of production of space, only that it is a touristic production of space. Services and activities are designed to make a place attractive for consumption, so that tourists and visitors want to consume in that area. This implies that neighbourhoods or even cities are turned into commodities not for local residents but for foreigners. The concept of the rent gap (Smith, 1979) is also valid for tourism gentrification, since there is a gap between the demand capacity of local residents and the potential demand from visitors. Such a gap is appealing for tourism and housing realtors, who see in the production of space for tourism a huge business opportunity.

The evolution of “gentrification 4.0” hasn’t been equal across countries. As aforementioned, while tourism and gentrification feed back into each other in advanced capitalist countries, in peripheral economies they are highly linked with uneven capitalist

development. Lefebvre (1991) pointed out that uneven capitalist development divided regions into two classes: those which were exploited for their means of production (industry) and those exploited for their means of consumption (tourism). Southern European countries were becoming what he called “vacationland” for people from richer regions, especially Northern countries. In the end, it is all a competition to attract investors, financial services and high-tech companies. For peripheral economies, this is only possible by means of creating touristic destinations.

Cócola-Gant (2018) explains that touristification is a process by which the production of space for tourists implies the displacement of local population. Said displacement can be categorised in three ways: residential, commercial and symbolic.

Residential displacement is probably the most controversial one as well as the one that affects more people. The fact that space is turned into a commodity for touristic consumption implies an intensification of land value and consequently a higher price. The obvious consequence is an increase in housing prices, which in many cases leads to inability to pay monthly rent for many residents who end up moving out of their neighbourhood. In this sense, touristification accelerates gentrification. Airbnb, Homeaway, and other sharing economy platforms have intensified residential displacement through the switch from residential to holiday house rentals, which reduces the supply of permanent housing. The Airbnb phenomenon has implied in many times that investors and homeowners have found new ways of accumulating capital – the real estate becomes an asset where to invest money- while vulnerable tenants are the most affected by price increases.

The loss of housing is not the only issue with touristification, as the close-downs of many local, small businesses is a daily reality. The appreciation of land value means a higher rent for stores as well, with a substitution of small, family businesses for huge store chains and big companies. All of these changes happening in an area make it become unrecognisable for the neighbours who inhabit it, who slowly start to feel out of place and at a loss of personal connections with their surroundings. They see their neighbourhood devoted to those who only consume it for a few days. This last –many times invisible- consequence is symbolic displacement: the appropriation of space that affects local businesses, public space, mobility, the neighbours’ rest and also disrupts community life. Cócola-Gant (2020) explained how many residents in Barcelona told him they were only staying in their neighbourhood as a political statement, as resistance.

3.3. An example: Barcelona.

Barcelona is one of the biggest cities in the Mediterranean area, the second largest city in Spain and the second city of Europe in number of incoming tourists. This has meant that for the past years Barcelona has been in the spotlight of gentrification and urban studies.

While tourism as the main economic force is recent, the history of tourism in the Catalan capital goes back to the beginning of the 20th century. In those times, Barcelona was still a semi-rural city with no particular attractiveness, a strong labour movement, social conflicts and class struggle very tangible in the streets. The appearance of the city was quite decayed, and the centre was a place of marginalisation and poverty (Cócola-Gant and Palou, 2015). At that moment it was not a place for visitors, with the rise of *pistolerisme*, unsafety was Barcelona's weakness. The image of the city was far different from what we would envision currently.

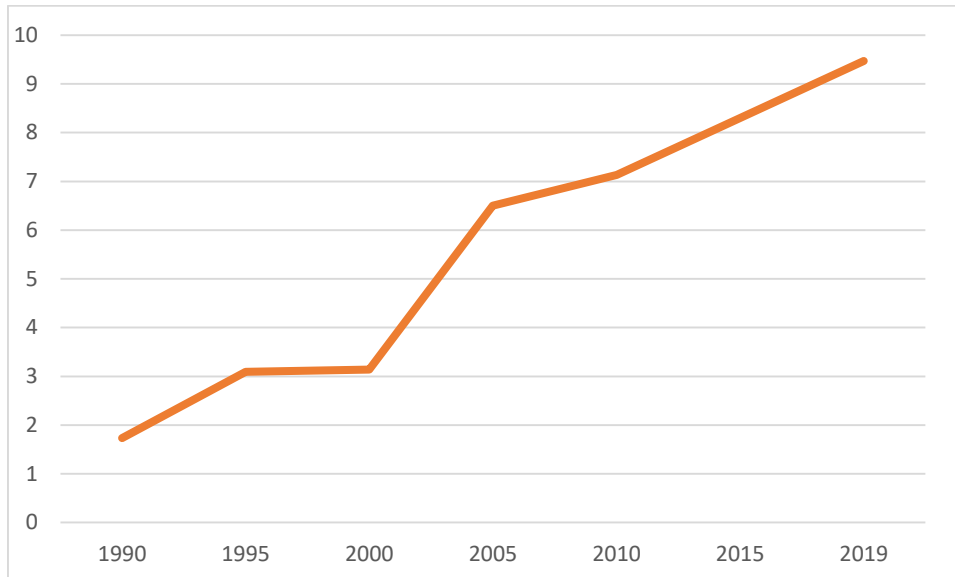
Smith (2005) pointed out that in modern, post-industrial cities the urban image is their main factor of competition, and Barcelona made an effort to leave the “city of prostitution, depravity and corruption” as many authors defined it behind (Smith, 2005, p. 19). The Spanish context at the beginning of the 20th century was the loss of the colonies to which Catalonia shipped most of their exports. Such loss implied a downturn in the economic growth of the region, and tourism began to be a solid option for the future of the area.

Barcelona did not only have to fight its image, but also restructure its own city to make it appealing to foreigners. Different authors (Cócola-Gant and Palou, 2015; Richards, 2001) agreed that having a monumental historic centre became the strategic factor of competition, and it was because of this that the old city centre –the district of Ciutat Vella– became a key piece of the transformation and has experienced the most rehabilitation in the city for the past century.

The decision to promote Barcelona as a touristic destination and make it attractive to people worldwide has implied, in Cócola-Gant and Palou's (2015, p. 466) words, “the creation of new international relations, the attraction of capital and commercial exchanges, as well as urban restructuring and the creation of a prestigious city”. The most interested agents in this promotion, and who advocated for “*marca Barcelona*” in the early years, were the City Council and the CAFT (Commission for the Attraction of Foreigners and Tourists).

Figure 1

Evolution of the number of tourists per year in Barcelona in millions



Source: Own elaboration based on data from the Barcelona City Council.

Since then, tourism has kept growing exponentially and has become an essential economic sector in the city. Nowadays, tourism represents 14% of the GDP of the city and employs more than 150.000 people⁸. In Figure 1, one can see how the evolution of tourism figures makes an important turn at the beginning of the 21st century. Such growth is analogous to the growing trend in Spain, where the number of incoming tourists in the 90s was around 60 million, and boosted up to 75 million in the year 2000 following an important marketing campaign (Vizcaíno, 2015). Up to 2019, the number of tourists has grown nonstop and reached a historical maximum of 9.472.562 in the Mediterranean capital.

This has come at a cost, as Barcelona is currently the city with the most expensive rent housing of Spain (in euros per square metre)⁹ and also in the top three of overall living costs. It is also one of the most attractive cities worldwide, with very loyal visitors: almost 47% of the tourists that came to Barcelona in 2018 had already been there at least once.¹⁰

⁸ Data from: Barcelona City Council. <https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/economiatreball/en/tourism-0>

⁹ Data from: Idealista. <https://www.idealista.com/news/inmobiliario/vivienda/2020/10/30/787650-las-zonas-mas-caras-y-demandas-del-mercado-de-la-vivienda-en-venta-y-alquiler>

¹⁰ Data from: Barcelona City Council.

<https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/turisme/sites/default/files/infografia-destinaciobcn2018-cat.pdf>

It is relevant as well to notice that according to the last report on the profile of visitors¹¹, around 68% of them were tourists on holidays (in contrast to the 20% of professional trips), the average age is around 37 years old, and over 70% of them have university studies. The predominant profile indicates, therefore, that the characteristics of tourists are very similar to the gentrifying classes according to the literature review.

The touristification factor –and even classical gentrification- is not homogeneous across districts. For many years, Ciutat Vella has been taking a big part of the hit, a quarter in the city centre which contains many of the historical monuments. While the attempt of closing the rent gap through touristification started there, a rather abandoned area, displacement of local residents has been taking place more extensively every day. Even though there may not be regular tourist attractions in each suburb, the marketing of the Barcelona brand as a cosmopolitan, modern and Mediterranean lifestyle has meant that all districts are bound to be touristic just because of their *thematization*. Neighbourhoods not as authentic places to live but to visit, neighbourhoods as space to be produced and then commodities to be consumed.

¹¹ Data from: Barcelona City Council.
https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/turisme/sites/default/files/informe_perfil_barcelona_ciutat_2018_19_3.pdf

4. CASE STUDY: SANTS-MONTJUÏC

4.1. Brief history

Sants-Montjuïc is one of the ten districts dividing Barcelona, and it contains eight of its 73 quarters or neighbourhoods. Sants was a small agricultural village existing, at least, since the 11th Century, and slowly turned into an industrial town with the emergence of various small textile workshops.

In the 19th century, the town had already grown into an industrial hub and became home of numerous big factories like Vapor Vell (in Sants), l'Espanya Industrial (in Hostafrancs) and Can Batlló (in la Bordeta), most of them specialised in the printing of clothing.

The considerable size of the manufacturing sector brought two things: a rapid demographic increase with immigration from many parts of Catalonia and Spain, and a configuration of a deeply working class environment, breeding ground for the birth of diverse social movements.

Up to the end of the 19th century Sants was an independent municipality which had only exchanged some land with Barcelona to better define its limits. In 1839, the Sants City Council aggregated the town to the city of Barcelona, but this was nullified by the government. It wasn't until 1897 that a royal decree annexed the town of Sants –along with Sant Martí, Sant Andreu, les Corts, Gràcia and Sant Gervasi- to the capital city, becoming part of Barcelona. After some reconfiguration years, the current administrative distribution of the district is the division in eight neighbourhoods.

The most recognizable feature of the district would have to be the Montjuïc hill that, due to its strategic location next to the sea and 177 metres high, saw the birth of the city around it.

While the whole district has experienced urban changes for the past century -despite being left out of Pla Cerdà (the iconic distribution of Eixample)-, it is Montjuïc which has hosted the most eventful occurrences. The two main events which shaped its architecture were the International Exposition in 1929 and the Olympic Games in 1992.

Figure 2

Map of the eight neighbourhoods in Sants-Montjuïc



Source: Wikipedia.

The first led to the construction of the National Palace, the Magic Fountain, the Greek Theatre, the Barcelona Pavilion by van der Rohe, *Poble Espanyol* and the Olympic Stadium (which, contrary to popular belief, was built for the Exposition and not the '92 Games). All of these shaped in huge measure the skyline of the area and the entire city and were a plan of its internationalization.

The Olympic Games opened the door to a new era of international visitors not only for the ceremony but also for all the new monuments it came with. The economic impact of the celebration of the games was 21.641 million euros and the creation of 20.230 permanent jobs (Brunet, 2002). The hotel offering went from 118 in 1990 to 223 in 2002 and the overnight stays almost tripled (Duran, 2002). Since then, Sants-Montjuïc has experienced a big growth in tourism just as the rest of the city.

The consequences, in line with the literature research, have been a rise in housing prices and a displacement of the working class that built Sants as it is today. Different platforms like Fem Front a Turisme (Let's confront tourism) and Assemblea de Barris pel

Decreixement Turístic (Neighbourhood association for tourism degrowth), or social movements as Grup d'Habitatge de Sants (Sants Tenants' Union) and Assemblea de Barri de Sants (Sants Neighbourhood Association) have been trying to draw attention to the issue. Their labour has been to make up for what the authorities miss, demonstrating discontent, stopping mass evictions, and palliating the consequences through squatting empty apartments and reallocating families. The political activity of housing unions is encompassed in a fight against the whole system, addressing not just the housing issue but also the whole urbanisation process in capitalist systems. The 1st Housing Congress of Catalonia came up with a presentation of what their goals were: ending the rental housing bubble and fighting the dispossession touristification gives rise to.¹² With this, they sentenced speculation and tourism as the driving forces of displacement.

4.2. Special Tourist Accommodation Plan

Barcelona's City Council passed a Special Tourist Accommodation Plan (PEUAT for its Catalan acronym) in 2017¹³ with the aim of regulating the proliferation of tourist accommodation in the city. By dividing the city in four areas¹⁴ in terms of intensiveness of touristic use (including hotels, pensions, residences, youth hostels, and housing for tourist use –HTUs), their goal was to reduce pressure in the over-touristic neighbourhoods and equilibrate it across the city.

Their indicators for the definition of the PEUAT are based on a radial methodology: establishing a minimum distance between tourist accommodations (except for HTUs) and adapting each zone's regulation to its touristic saturation.

ZONE 1: Degrowth zone.

The goal of the PEUAT in this area is for the tourist accommodation offering to diminish. As per this, it is not allowed to open or enlarge any existing accommodation, so when an existing one closes down, the establishment of a new one is prohibited.

Furthermore, if an open establishment wants to carry out an improvement job which comprises an intervention in the whole building, they are forced to reduce the vacancies by 20%.

¹² Info from: I Congrés d'habitatge cgt /wp-de Catalunya . content/uploads/2020/06/PONENCIA-CAT-FINAL-2020.pdf

¹³ PEUAT website: <https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/pla-allotjaments-turistics/en/>

¹⁴ Mapping of the zones in the annexes.

This area encompasses the neighbourhoods with a higher proportion of tourists with respect to local residents, reaching an astonishing 68,85% in the Gothic Quarter. The average of the whole area is 27% of visitors with respect to locals.

Zone 1 includes two neighbourhoods in the Sants-Montjuïc district: Poble Sec and Hostafrancs.

ZONE 2: Maintenance zone.

The goal is to maintain the existing vacancies and tourist accommodation offering. It is not allowed to open new vacancies in this area, and in the event that there is a close-down, only a tourist accommodation with the same number of vacancies and similar dimensions is allowed to open up.

The maintenance zone also includes aggrupation areas; these areas are destined to HTUs so that they can all be put together in buildings which are not meant for residents.

The Sants-Montjuïc neighbourhoods qualified as Zone 2 are La Font de la Guatlla and Sants.

ZONE 3: Growth zone.

The neighbourhoods under Zone 3 regulation are subject to controlled tourist accommodation growth. The tourist licenses are given taking into account radial distances and the number of vacancies each accommodation has. The maximum number of new vacancies allowed in the growth zone is 4.030 without the HTUs, and they are distributed in relation to the number of closings in zones 1 and 2. As a consequence, the number of tourist accommodations in Barcelona is kept constant.

La Marina de Port, la Bordeta and Sants-Badal are regulated according to Zone 3. The maximum vacancy growth in these three neighbourhoods is a total of 456. The others (up to 4.030) are located in the remaining districts.

ZONE 4: Specific regulation areas.

These areas are currently experiencing a profound urban transformation and thus require specific regulation: la Marina del Prat Vermell (Sants-Montjuïc), la Sagrera (Sant Andreu), and the 22@ (Poblenou). In la Marina del Prat Vermell, the ratio of tourists per total residents (tourists plus locals) cannot go over the city average of 6%. This means

that out of a population prevision of 24.700 inhabitants, the number of tourist spots is limited to 1.480.

ATE: Special Treatment Areas.

These are small areas around the city which require different criteria because of their urban morphology and uses. The establishment of new accommodation is limited and under special conditions.

Historic neighbourhood centres are the main areas under special treatment. In the case of Sants-Montjuïc, the area around Sants Square is qualified as an ATE.

Overall, the aim of the PEUAT is to use the power of public regulation to limit tourist accommodation growth to be able to guarantee a decent life and the right to housing. Moreover, the territorial distribution of both tourist accommodation offering and vacancies will force the appearance of tourists in the –until then- tourism-free suburbs.

4.3. Method of study

4.3.1. Gentrification indicators

While theoretical studies of gentrification have been very numerous (Atkinson, 2003; Barton, 2016; Clark, 2005; Davidson and Lees, 2005; Freeman, 2009), the application of such literature is less abundant, even lesser if we are looking for such application in Spanish territory.

López-Gay, Sales, Solana and Peralta (2019) made a very promising proposal to quantify gentrification in neighbourhoods of different cities in Spain. They focused on Barcelona and Madrid because of their composition: big cities, lots of movements of inhabitants, relatively high social and economic importance, and a tensed housing market. However, their indicators can be used on any city or neighbourhood that there is available data of.

In their study, they followed the Urban Displacement Project (UPD) standards of approaching gentrification. The UPD is a “research and action initiative of UC Berkeley. UDP conducts community-centred, data-driven, applied research toward more equitable and inclusive futures for cities.”¹⁵ These are the relevant indicators that, according to this method, are significant when talking about gentrification.

¹⁵ Available at: Urban Displacement Project. <https://www.urbandisplacement.org/>.

Table 2*Most relevant concepts used in gentrification indicators*

Concept	Authors
Population's nature	Atkinson, 2000; I-team, 2016; Bianco et al., 2018; Verma et al., 2018.
Socioeconomic background	Freeman, 2005; Sorando and Ardura, 2016; Ding et al., 2016; Martin and Beck, 2018
Households and change of values	Hall et al., 1997; Atkinson, 2000; Ogden and Schnoebelen, 2005; Atkinson et al., 2011.
Age structure	Atkinson, 2000; Atkinson et al., 2011; Moos et al., 2018; Riera, 2018.
High mobility and rotation	Newman and Wyly, 2006; Atkinson et al., 2011; R�erat and Lees, 2011
Household characteristics	Freeman, 2005; I-team, 2016; Verma et al., 2018; Riera, 2018.
Location	Freeman, 2005; I-team, 2016; Bianco et al., 2018; Verma et al., 2018.

Source: "Measuring the processes of gentrification in Barcelona and Madrid, a methodological proposal" by A. L opez-Gay, J. Sales i Fav a, M. Solana and A. Peralta. *International Conference Virtual City and Territory*. (2019).

Looking at the parameters measuring each indicator in their proposal, one can see they are influenced by Ley's approach. This can be detected because up to three of the seven measurements are based on educational data, whether it is the academic level or the arrival of people with university degrees, contrasting with the only economic indicator: housing prices.

This is not, by far, the only methodology that has been applied when testing gentrification. The main reasons explaining the lack of a common process are the variety of data across countries and the difficulty of going beyond numbers to quantify class substitution (L opez-Gay et al., 2019), the class' definition itself having various nuances.

Other methodologies, broadly carried out in the United States, include in their approach indicators with reference to "potential causes of gentrification including private real-estate investment, state-led capital investment and the role of creative industries" (Preis et al., 2021, p. 408). Most studies are powered by the public sector in order to analyse which policies would be most adequate for each case, and so they miss the perspective of the influence of the Administration in gentrifying neighbourhoods.

After reviewing different proposals, the most suitable methodology to test my hypothesis is that by López-Gay et al. (2019), since it is one of the few using available Spanish data. Despite following their methodology, I am going to be substituting some of the indicators to make up for the aspects relevant to my research that their work is missing: income, rent and touristification.

The gentrification index will be composed of seven different indicators, the data of which will be gathered from official local statistical sites. Through the analysis of the data, I will study the differences of gentrification between the years 2011 and 2019 (the site takes 1st of January as the reference date) in some neighbourhoods of the district of Sants-Montjuïc, Barcelona. The years 2011 and 2019 have been chosen as the cut because of data availability across parameters and their wide-enough gap to observe for relevant transformations. The chosen neighbourhoods are those with a population of 10.000 or higher, which are Poble Sec, la Marina de Port, la Font de la Guatlla, Hostafrancs, la Bordeta, Sants-Badal and Sants, because of their more visible changes. The only neighbourhood which is left out is La Marina del Prat Vermell-Zona Franca, because it is mainly an industrial, port zone with very few inhabitants (around a thousand) and is not considered a residential neighbourhood in its ordinary sense.

The following indicators are going to be tested. Parameters 1, 2, 3 and 4 are by López-Gay et al. (2019), and parameters 5, 6, 7 and 8 are the ones I modified to test better my hypothesis.

1. Rejuvenation of the population. It is commonly argued in the literature that those areas experiencing gentrification, do also experience growth of population of young adults (López-Gay et al. 2019). To check this, the generations born between the years 1979 and 1999 will be compared in 2011 and 2019. Those neighbourhoods with a higher proportion of growth of these generations will have a higher gentrification indicator.

Parameter 1: _____

2. Population's origin. In the Spanish context, López-Gay et al. (2019) argue that literature has been increasingly pointing at highly-qualified international

immigration as one of the causes of gentrification in Southern European countries. Since the census doesn't offer such data related to socioeconomic status, the United Nations' Human Development Index (HDI) is chosen as the parameter. Neighbourhoods with more population coming from a country with a high HDI (>0,825) account for higher gentrification.

Parameter 2: _____

3. Household structure. As seen from the literature review, gentrification has been studied from many perspectives. Geography studies have shown that gentrification processes are highly tied to the arrival of population with new lifestyles, tied to the Second Demographic Transition (López-Gay et al., 2019). Some characteristics include an increasing number of unipersonal households, couples without children and shared apartments with roommates. Nonetheless, household structure is also related to economics. Low-income households tend to be more numerous, since they require a higher proportion of salary to pay rent or mortgage, while affording a house for oneself is more usual among higher classes. In the case of Barcelona, the census only provides information about unipersonal households. Those neighbourhoods with higher proportion of unipersonal households (ages 16-64) between 2011 and 2019 will have a higher gentrification index.

Parameter 3: _____

4. Qualified population. According to Atkinson et al. (2011), the population with tertiary education is very common among gentrification indicators. Generally, this is related to higher earnings and thus a higher class. For that, the level of inhabitants with university or other highly-qualified studies will be computed with respect to the total population.

Parameter 4: _____

5. Population substitution. It has been mentioned numerous times that the key aspect of gentrification is the substitution of the working class for a higher income class in a specific area (Glass, 1964; Smith, 1979; Yeom and Mikelbank, 2011). This is the reason why so as to measure the change in social class, we check the change in the available family income index (RFD for its acronym in Catalan) through the years 2011 and 2017, as there is no available data further in time. The base (=100) of the index is the arithmetic mean of family income in Barcelona in each year.

Parameter 5: _____

6. Housing prices. This indicator will showcase the transformations and possible tensions in the housing market derived from gentrification, since it is one of the most relevant factors (Smith, 1987). The higher positive variation in housing rental prices a neighbourhood experiences, the more advanced the process of gentrification. Data started to be collected at neighbourhood scale in 2014.

Parameter 6: _____

7. Speed of substitution. The speed of the process is a key piece in gentrification studies because usually the neighbourhoods where urban transformation is happening, experience rapid change (Rérat and Lees, 2011). To measure such speed, a valuable piece of information is the year of registration in the city census. Those neighbourhoods with more people registered recently (<5 years) in 2019 than in 2016 (the first year data was collected), are experiencing faster substitution.

Parameter 7: _____

8. Touristification. The relevance of this indicator becomes clear when six out of the eight neighbourhoods in Sants-Montjuïc have limited touristic accommodation

growth or are even under a degrowth regulation. To be able to see whether touristification is a driving factor of the district's gentrification, the number of tourist vacancies (that is, the floating population) in the different neighbourhoods will be computed in relation to the population of the area. This will allow us to check the tourist/resident ratio and compare it to the municipal average, 8.3%. Such a ratio is important because it gives an overview of the substitution of the local population for tourists. The data is from the year 2016 because after that, in 2017, the PEUAT was introduced and the number of vacancies has not increased – even decreased in some cases of the district. The evolution of parameter 8 cannot be studied because overall data on tourism only started to be collected at the neighbourhood-scale in 2016, precisely because of the elaboration of the PEUAT.

Parameter 8: _____

After all the parameters are calculated for each of the seven neighbourhoods, the results are normalised to a scale of 0-1¹⁶. This will allow us to add the parameters up to construct the index and then normalise it again on a scale of 0-1 to be able to compare it across neighbourhoods. Moreover, the percentage weight of each parameter on the gentrification index is also computed to see which variable predominates the most in these cases.

The results are discussed farther in the paper.

4.3.2. *Touristification analysis*

In a city with exponentially growing international mobility, Sants' Achilles heel is the train station. Barcelona-Sants is the biggest railway station in Catalonia, offering high-speed rail (AVE and Avant for long distances) and also medium-distances and regional train services. It is linked with the Sants Estació metro station as well, providing entrance to two different underground lines (L3 and L5), and with the urban bus services. Moreover, it has an adjacent bus station with international bus services linking the city with many European neighbours. In 2018, the station was used by more than 30 million¹⁷ passengers, raking the second biggest station in Spain in terms of circulation. This has all contributed to making Sants the most important transport hub of Barcelona.

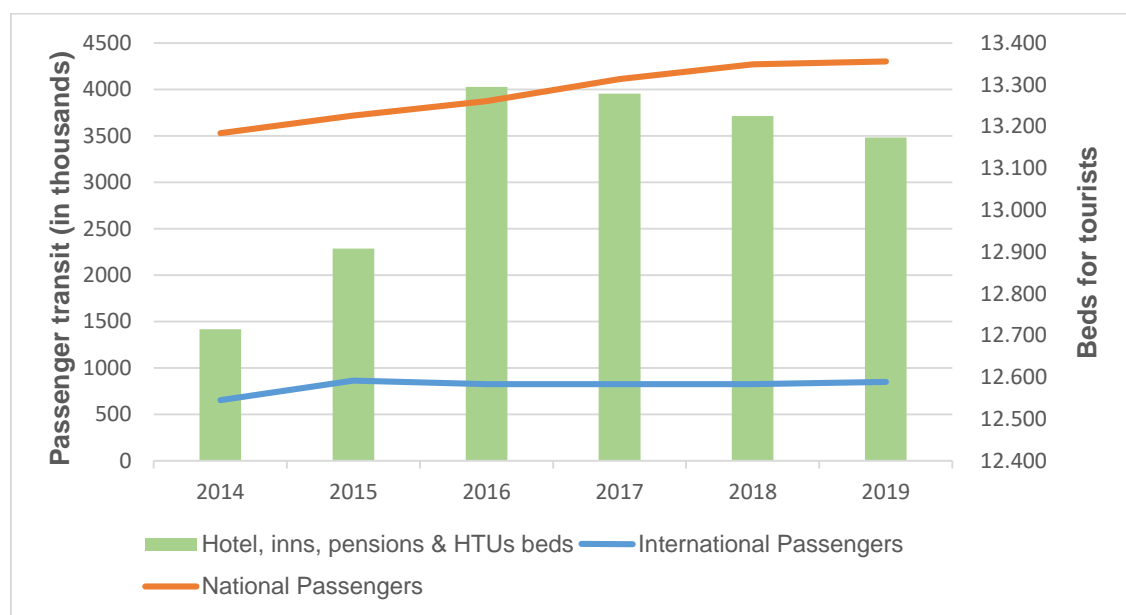
¹⁶ The tables with the results for each parameter can be found in the annexes.

¹⁷ Data from: INECO Engineering.

Such an important movement of passengers in the district has had an impact on tourist accommodation, since many find it convenient to stay in the area close to the railway station for its many connections. According to data from the City Council, Sants-Montjuïc is the second district in number of tourist accommodation establishments (after Eixample) and the fourth in number of total bed spots¹⁸. While it only has the 6,7% of tourist establishments, it represents 9% of all the bed offerings in Barcelona.

Figure 3

Number of tourist beds offering in Sants-Montjuïc and long-distance passenger transit in Barcelona-Sants railway station



Source: Own elaboration based on data from the City Council and the Barcelona Observatory for Tourism.

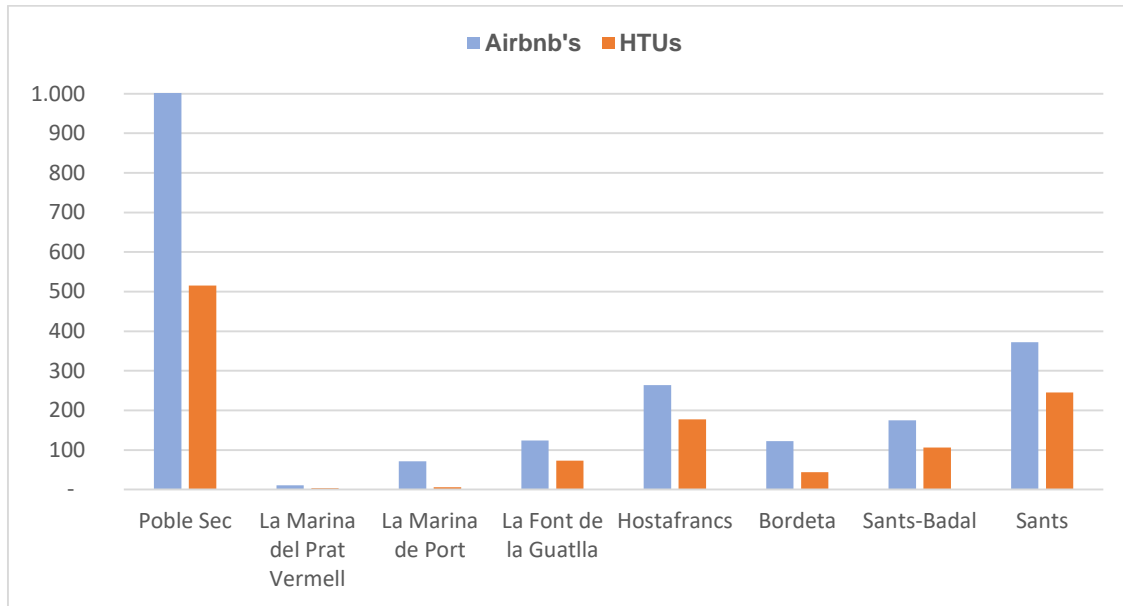
Right around the station, in its immediate surroundings, one can find seven hotels –out of a total of 26 in the district. If we take a look at the whole neighbourhood, Sants, there can be found 245 houses for tourist use.

However, most tourist apartments are booked through sharing economy platforms like Airbnb and many do not have a legal tourist license. This produces a gap between the official figures and the real ones. The following graph displays the number of HTUs with data from the City Council and from insideairbnb.com, a website which gathers all Airbnb postings in each city (whether they have a license or not).

¹⁸Data from: Barcelona City Council.
https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/economiatreball/sites/default/files/documents/cc_informe_allotjament_2019.pdf

Figure 4

Number of Airbnbs and Housing for Tourist Use in 2020



Source: Own elaboration based on data from the Barcelona City Council and insideairbnb.com

In spite of the difference between official HTUs and the Airbnb count, one can see that the neighbourhoods with a higher sum of tourist apartments are Poble Sec, the closest one to the city centre –bordering Ciutat Vella, and Sants, where the railway station is located.

An important factor to take into account is the effect this has on housing prices. As touristification theory exposes, the fact that some neighbourhoods are converted into commodities through urbanisation intensifies land use, which increases land value.

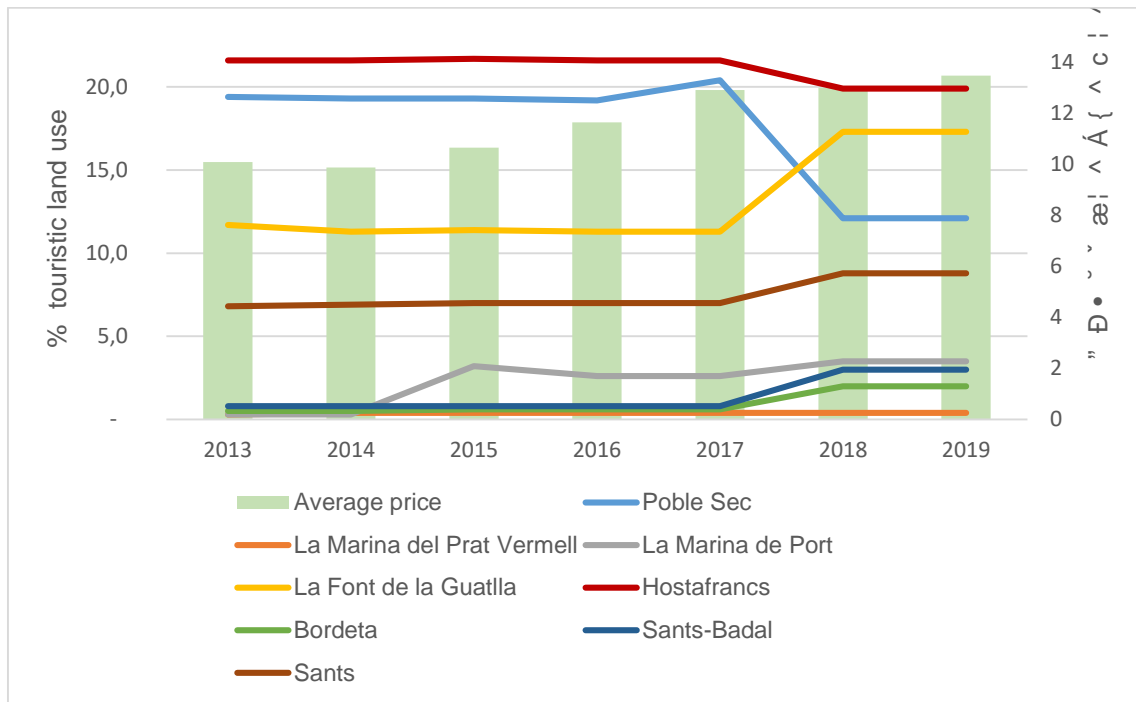
In the case of Sants-Montjuïc, all neighbourhoods have experienced rent price increases for the past decade, which is why the average increase of the district is also positive.

On the other hand, the percentage of land¹⁹ that is devoted to touristic uses has not followed the same trend across neighbourhoods. Looking at Figure 3, one can see that from 2013 to 2017 all neighbourhoods –except for La Marina de Port’s increase in 2015– have a stable percentage of touristic land use. Nevertheless, in 2017 most of them experience an increase: only two neighbourhoods experience a decrease, Poble Sec and Hostafrancs.

¹⁹ Percentage of the cadastral surface destined to commercial activities, without residential use.

Figure 5

Evolution of touristic use of land and housing prices in Sants-Montjuïc



Source: Own elaboration based on data from the Barcelona City Council.

It is not a coincidence that such variation happened in 2017, the year the PEUAT was implemented. The special plan classified Poble Sec and Hostafrancs as Zone 1, neighbourhoods where the number of tourist accommodations had to go down, and so the establishing of new accommodation isn't allowed. Furthermore, the neighbourhoods which have experienced an increase in the percentage of land destined to tourism are those in zones 2 and 3, where new tourist vacancies are allowed under regulation.

Overall, it makes sense that if average land use for tourism increases in the district, rent does as well. This is a reaction of landlords to the intensification of land use and the potential rent capitalisation, they could be getting higher returns if instead of small businesses and local tenants they switched to touristic uses.

A factor which also influences such switches is the business model. Sharing economy platforms are based on allowing others to enjoy a service we own and fail to put to use (housing, vehicles...) in exchange for money. The standard sharing model would assume numerous, small, different owners with few properties, earning an extra small amount of money every month. The site insideairbnb.com allows us to test the model by checking

the number of hosts with single listings, those who only own one tourist apartment or room, and multiple-listings, those hosts who offer at least two different accommodations.

Figure 6

Number of listings where the host has other listings in Sants-Montjuïc



Source: Own elaboration based on data from insideairbnb.com

Out of the 2.145 Airbnbs listed in the district of Sants-Montjuïc, in 820 of them the host has more listings. In absolute figures, this means that while 38.2% of hosts only have one property on the platform, 61.8% of apartments are from multi-listing owners. These statistics are close to the average of Barcelona, which is 65.3% for multi-listings and 34.7% for single listings.

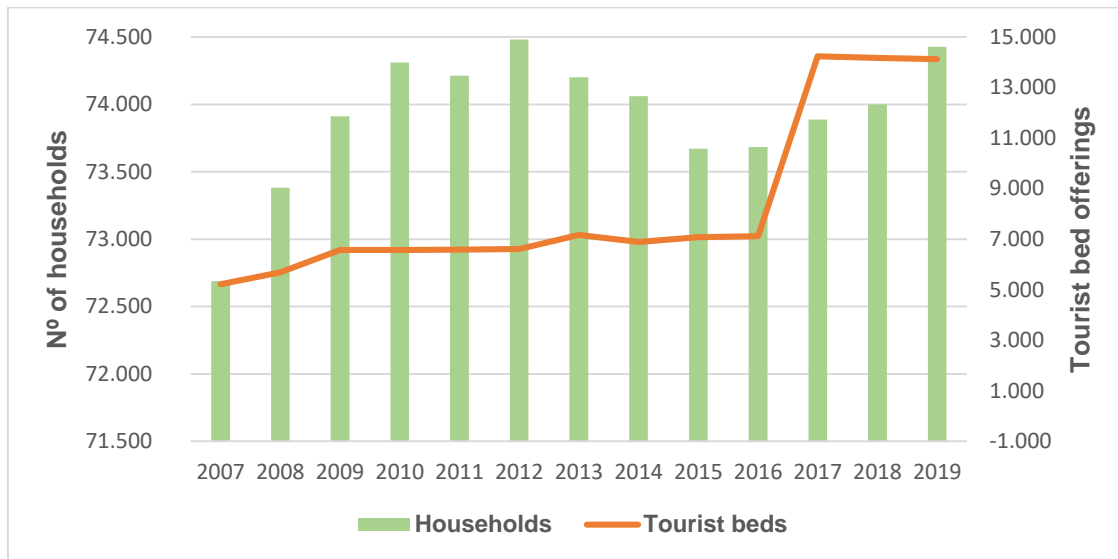
Furthermore, around half of all the listings are entire homes or apartments, and the average availability is 166.9 days per year. Entire homes with high availability (which make up for 66.9% of all the listings) are likely to be part of a business. On top of that, a landlord can earn up to 1.500-2.000 euros per month with holiday rentals, which is more than double the average monthly rent in Barcelona.²⁰

On the whole, touristification is a specific method of gentrification in which the local, permanent population is substituted for the so-called floating population, tourists. Besides including this parameter in the Gentrification Index, it is convenient to analyse the evolution of “beds” in the district given to visitors versus those given to residents.

²⁰ Data from: Diario Público. <https://blogs.publico.es/dominiopublico/17867/lasconsecuencias-de-la-gentrificacion-y-de-la-turistificacion-de-las-ciudades-en-eeuu-y-espana/>

Figure 7

Evolution of the number of household residences and tourist bed offerings in Sants-Montjuïc



Source: Own elaboration based on data from the Barcelona City Council.

The analysis of different data regarding tourism, demography and economic activity has drawn an outline of touristification in the district. Digging into the number of tourists, accommodations and tourist bed vacancies in relation to local residents, the growing number of holiday rentals versus permanent housing, and the economic distribution of land uses is useful to build parameters capable of being checked and discussed. The following results are derived from the analysis of such data retrieval.

4.4. Results

As aforementioned, the case study of Sants-Montjuïc has been conducted through the elaboration of an index to test gentrification and data analysis to see the impact of touristification.

The next tables display the eight parameters conforming the index and the result for each of them in every neighbourhood. The results are presented in percentages because all of them refer either to ratios or variations. Data from Barcelona has been introduced as well to be able to compare the district's results with the city average.

A quick glimpse at Table 3 and Table 4 already tells that there are two predominant neighbourhoods in which all parameters rank higher, Poble Sec and Hostafrancs.

Table 3*Results for parameters 1 to 4 in each neighbourhood*

	P1. Rejuvenation	P2. International origin	P3. Household structure	P4. Education
Poble Sec	12,41%	4,20%	1,49%	8,07%
La Marina de Port	2,97%	0,37%	-0,16%	4,53%
La Font de la Guatlla	8,43%	1,73%	-1,15%	8,18%
Hostafrancs	11,04%	2,73%	0,97%	9,15%
Bordeta	6,36%	0,51%	-0,64%	7,30%
Sants-Badal	7,70%	0,78%	-0,22%	7,38%
Sants	8,94%	1,58%	0,21%	8,12%
BARCELONA	7,41%	1,70%	-0,15%	6,57%

Source: Own compilation.

Table 4*Results for parameters 5 to 8 in each neighbourhood*

	P5. Income	P6. Housing price	P7. Substitution speed	P8. Tourism
Poble Sec	12,60%	40,91%	1,12%	14,68%
La Marina de Port	-2,12%	35,50%	1,47%	0,17%
La Font de la Guatlla	11,13%	25,42%	0,38%	9,05%
Hostafrancs	30,09%	34,69%	1,07%	20,97%
Bordeta	11,11%	37,02%	2,25%	1,56%
Sants-Badal	5,06%	39,02%	1,77%	2,93%
Sants	14,58%	37,47%	2,66%	8,79%
BARCELONA	BCN=100²¹	31,89%	1,82%	8,30%

Source: Own compilation.

On one hand, Poble Sec leads in half of the parameters: rejuvenation of the population, number of inhabitants from high HDI countries, number of unipersonal households, and the increase in housing price. Close enough, Hostafrancs has the highest percentage of change in three of the eight parameters: increase in the number of population with tertiary studies, income growth, and touristification. On the other hand, there is La Marina de

²¹ Income in each neighbourhood is computed yearly with the average of Barcelona as the base (=100), which is why we cannot assess evolution in the city average.

Port, the lowest ranking in five of the parameters and thus the neighbourhood with less socioeconomic transformations due to gentrification.

The neighbourhoods with the lowest and highest results in each parameter are assigned values 0 and 1 respectively, and the others are normalised accordingly. Then, the eight normalised values are aggregated for each neighbourhood and normalised within the 0-8 scale to obtain the Gentrification Index. The index takes the form of a value from 0 to 1 for each of the seven neighbourhoods analysed in the case study.

The results of my gentrification index show a clear difference among neighbourhoods, with a maximum of 0,77 versus a minimum of 0,18.

Table 5

Gentrification Index (0-1) for every neighbourhood

		Gentrification
#	Neighbourhood	Index
1	Poble Sec-Parc de Montjuïc	0,7806
2	Hostafrancs	0,7718
3	Sants	0,6185
4	Sants-Badal	0,4267
5	Bordeta	0,4044
6	La Font de la Guatlla	0,3202
7	La Marina de Port	0,1877

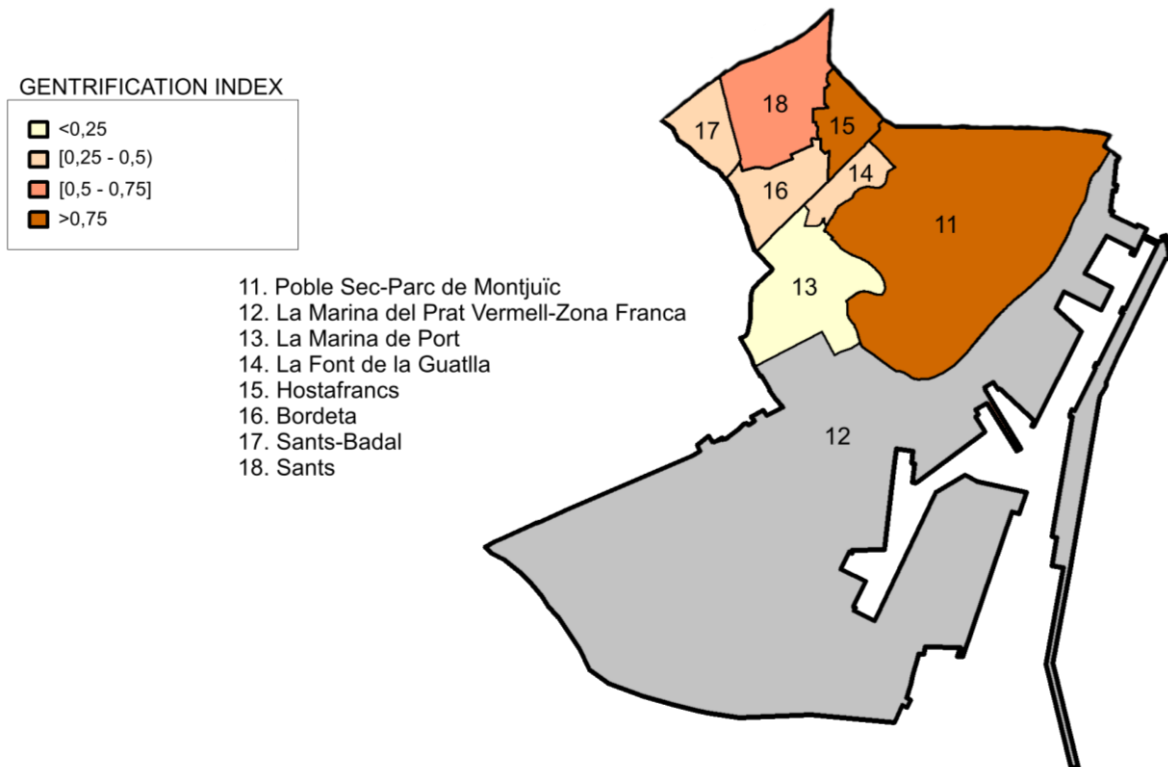
Source: Own compilation.

The ranking makes sense with the PEUAT, which classified Poble Sec and Hostafrancs as zone 1 (touristic degrowth), Sants as zone 2 (maintenance) and la Marina de Port as zone 3 (touristic growth). However, it is not as exact with the other neighbourhoods.

La Font de la Guatlla, for instance, has only a 0,32 gentrification index and is in zone 2 as well, while Sants-Badal and Bordeta rank higher in gentrification but are under regulated growth (zone 3) in the PEUAT.

Figure 8

Results of the Gentrification Index on the map of the district



Source: Own elaboration.

The answer to this may lay in the weight of the different parameters, since the special plan from the city council only takes into account touristification. La Font de la Guatlla ranks third in parameter 8, touristification, and is above the city average of 8,3%. The meaning is that the relative level of floating population is higher than elsewhere and the urban configuration reflects it.

While other socioeconomic factors may not have changed enough to show high gentrification, touristification is indeed manifesting a big impact. Therefore, it makes sense that it is regulated as a zone 2 neighbourhood to try and slow down the proliferation of tourism in the area. For Bordeta and Sants-Badal, on the contrary, the increase in housing prices and the arrival of people with more academic preparation have weighted more in gentrification.

Overall, parameter 6, housing price, is the one accounting for the highest increase in the whole district. With increases of 25% to 40%, the price per square metre in rental houses stands out as the big gentrification indicator, as well as changes in income, parameter number 5.

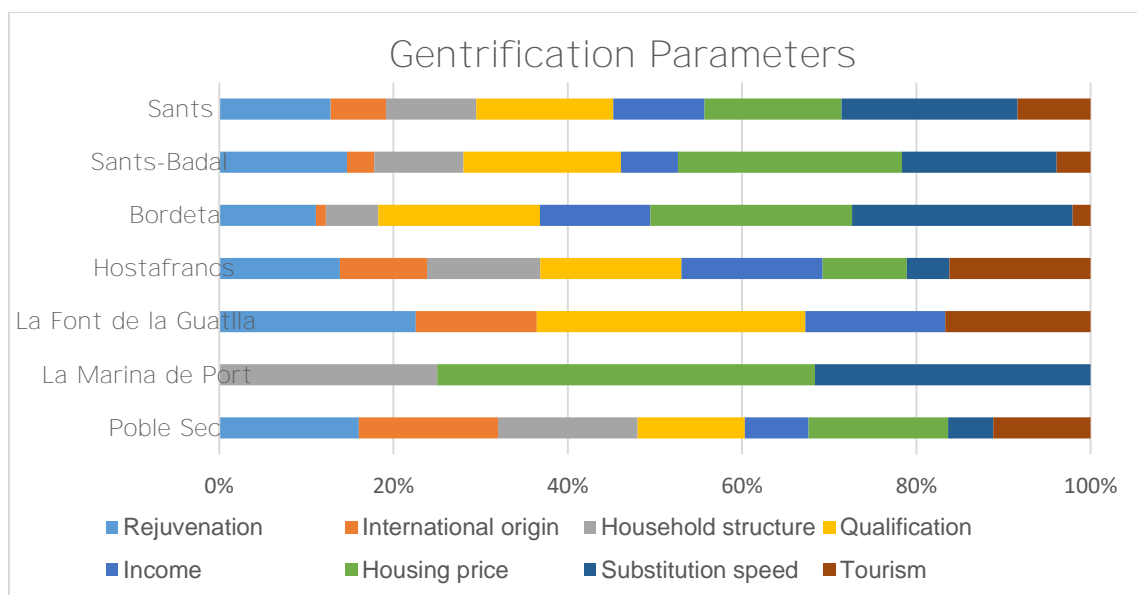
The fact the two economic indicators, income and rent, stand out as the ones experiencing more changes, reinforces Smith’s (1987) idea that it is the rent gap –the chance of increasing the capitalist’s surplus from land property- what induces gentrification. However, Ley’s (1987) approach through demographic indicators has mixed results.

While education has proven to be increasing more in those neighbourhoods with a higher increase in the economic indicators, household structure has come out decreasing in most of the areas. This illustrates that, in the case of Sants-Montjuïc, gentrification is not coming from a “back to the city movement by people”.

The figures indicate that the change from industrial cities –where people used to live in colonies- to service sector cities –where households are getting smaller- is the least relevant parameter.

Figure 9

Relative weight of the parameters in the index



Source: Own compilation.

Another interesting analysis is the velocity of substitution, the speed at which gentrification is taking place. In this indicator, Hostafrancs and Poble Sec show the lowest figures (except for La Font de la Guatlla which marks 0) while speed high-rockets in la Marina de Port, Bordeta and Sants-Badal.

Such differences could mean that Hostafrancs and Poble Sec are at advanced stages of gentrification, where the urban and socioeconomic transformations are settled, while the

other neighbourhoods have less gentrification but growing faster. In addition, parameters are of similar relevance in the neighbourhoods of Hostafrancs and Poble Sec, where all of them weigh around 10-15%. This finding also resonates with the logic that Poble Sec and Hostafrancs are in advanced gentrification, parameters are balanced out, and maintain a stable level of urban transformations.

For now, it is clear that Poble Sec and Hostafrancs are experiencing the most gentrification of the whole district and, even more, in an advanced stage. However, this gradation is only among neighbourhoods in Sants-Montjuïc. To assess the state within a wider framework, it is necessary to compare this case study with the other neighbourhoods in Barcelona.

Precisely Poble Sec and Montjuïc are above the city average in all parameters except for number 7, the speed of substitution. There are others, however, like the increase of academic level, in which all of the neighbourhoods in Sants-Montjuïc are above the city average of 6,57%. In general, out of the seven neighbourhoods, between three and four of them are consistently above the average.

The parameters in which the district stands the most against Barcelona are the rejuvenation of the population, the increase in population with tertiary education and the increase in housing price. The change in rent cannot be compared to the city average since it is such average which is taken as the base year for computing the available family income. Nonetheless, five of the seven neighbourhoods experiencing over a 10% increase is already significant.

López-Gay et al. (2019) publish in their study the list of the 204 neighbourhoods' (73 in Barcelona and 131 in Madrid) gentrification index. With their methodology, in the top 5 gentrified neighbourhoods one can see Poble Sec and Hostafrancs in the fourth and fifth position respectively.

To find the next Sants-Montjuïc neighbourhood, we descend to position 19, Sants-Badal. Sants is in the position 22, Font de la Guatlla is number 27, and Bordeta takes up spot 48. Lastly, La Marina del Prat Vermell and Marina de Port, which were analysed jointly, are 56th in the ranking.

Table 6*López-Gay et al. 's gentrification index results for Sants-Montjuïc*

#	Neighbourhood	Gentrification
		Index
4	Poble Sec-Parc de Montjuïc	0,767
5	Hostafrancs	0,736
19	Sants-Badal	0,564
22	Sants	0,554
27	La Font de la Guatlla	0,523
48	Bordeta	0,424
56	Marina del Prat Vermell & La Marina de Port	0,372

Source: “Measuring the processes of gentrification in Barcelona and Madrid, a methodological proposal” by A. López-Gay, J. Sales i Favà, M. Solana and A. Peralta. *International Conference Virtual City and Territory*. (2019).

The first noticeable difference between their index and mine is the order of the ranking. This is a result of the modifications I introduced so that my index captured changes in the residents’ income and the neighbourhoods’ touristification as well. Nonetheless, the distances are not too big and the extremes of high gentrification and low gentrification are assigned to the same neighbourhoods.

On the whole, Poble Sec and Hostafrancs are indeed very gentrified even in the general outlook of the city. Barcelona’s gentrification, though, is led by the district of Ciutat Vella (the podium is for three of its neighbourhoods). This does not come as a surprise since it is the old city centre and, as reviewed in literature, many urban studies are centred in this area.

The district of Sants-Montjuïc has two of its neighbourhoods in the first decile, one in the third, two in the fourth decile, one more in the seventh, and another one in the eight decile. Such distribution means that Sants-Montjuïc has half of its neighbourhoods on the top half gentrified areas in Barcelona, along with the districts of Ciutat Vella, Eixample, Gràcia and Sant Martí. This demonstrates a tendency of radial expansion of gentrification, starting in the centre of the city where it’s more blatant and is now settling in the neighbouring districts.

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The current economic system has been shaping urban transformations for decades, and with the growing population in cities, it is a challenge to guarantee a decent living for everyone. Uneven urban development has been one of the hot issues, since the increasing pressure on land in cities has led to economic and social tensions, especially in the housing market.

The aim of this thesis was to determine whether the district of Sants-Montjuïc was undergoing a process of gentrification and in what way tourism was influencing it. The review of different literature gives a glance of this modern phenomenon, but there is not a consensus on which are the causes of such. Despite the different currents, most academic dissertations on the economics of urbanisation show Marxist trends, or are, at least, critical with neoliberalism.

The result of said academic line is that, besides the specifics of each case, the basis for gentrification is the production of space. Land goes from site of production to product, and everything on it becomes a commodity. The implications of cities and neighbourhoods being a commodity are that they become a key piece of capital accumulation (the secondary circuit of capital) and lose their use value for the predominance of their exchange value.

After carrying out the quantitative study and analysing the results, we can conclude that gentrification is indeed what some neighbourhoods of Sants-Montjuïc are enduring. Poble Sec and Hortafrancs, where Parc de Montjuïc and Plaça d'Espanya are located, are not only the district's gentrification leaders but also on the top 5 most gentrified neighbourhoods in Barcelona. Sants does not lag far behind in gentrification terms, and Sants-Badal, Bordeta and la Font de la Guatlilla are somewhat gentrified. At the end of the line, there is la Marina de Port and Marina del Prat Vermell, which are experiencing similar socioeconomic transformations as the other neighbourhoods but not intensively enough to be considered gentrification (less than 0,25 on the index).

One additional major line of study has been touristification. A city which receives over 9 million tourists yearly and where the sector represents over 10% of the GDP, it is expected that tourism influences its urbanisation. The addition of a touristification parameter to López-Gay et al.'s index –along with the substitution of two parameters measuring

education level for two measuring rent and income changes- has proven an effect: gentrified neighbourhoods got an even higher result in the index when tourism was taken into account.

Sants-Montjuïc is not in the city centre, the typically tourism-gentrified zone according to literature, so why is it undergoing such a process? The findings of the analysis tell us it is probably the railway station. The number of hotels, inns, pensions, and other tourist accommodations have grown at the same pace as the number of national and international visitors arriving at the city by train for the past years. Even more, almost 30% of all the hotels of the district are in the immediate surroundings of the station.

Furthermore, the numerous train connections in the district make it really easy and fast to get to the other neighbourhoods of the city, including the old town Ciutat Vella. Great commuting without massive crowds makes up for the lack of emblematic attractions and highlights Sants-Montjuïc as a great place to stay in Barcelona.

An important part of the analysis of touristification is shared with gentrification: population substitution. The spread of housing for tourist use and tourist apartments has meant the switch from traditional, residential rentals to holiday rentals for many landlords. In Sants-Montjuïc, at the beginning of the decade the ratio between the two types of rentals was around 8% of tourist apartments per residential households. Currently, it is around 16%.

Since over half of the apartment listings for Barcelona on the Airbnb platform have hosts with more than one listing, it is likely that they are running a business. Moreover, the data presented regarding high availability and the characteristics of the listings help reinforce this theory.

The statistics dismantle the sharing economy business model, since it is hardly impossible for the owner to co-live with the tourists and rent their house partly to gain extra income. If the owner is not present, has more than one apartment, and all of them are highly available all year round, it is likely that the owner is not a person but a company. This has bad connotations for the housing market, since some of them are illegal²² and, most importantly, are displacing residents and transforming the urban landscape.

²² Info from: Barcelona City Council. https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/turisme/es/noticia/llamamiento-a-la-colaboracion-ciudadana-para-combatir-las-viviendas-turisticas-ilegales_368904

The Airbnb business model is also relevant for gentrification literature discussions, including this thesis. If tourism has an important weight in gentrification and behind most holiday rentals there are companies looking for profit, this gives credit to Smith's (1979) approach. By switching from traditional rentals to apartments for tourist use, landlords are trying to capitalise their potential ground rent, that is, get the maximum surplus. In doing so, they are closing the rent gap by means of touristification. Such choices do not come from the tourist or the neighbour, but from the capital owner: supply-side induced gentrification.

Local authorities are not blind to the problem of gentrification, but the policies implemented up until now have not been enough to put a halt on neighbour displacement. Barcelona's City Council has a team of inspectors whose job is to find and denounce illegal HUTs. Since 2016, over 6.000 tourist apartments without license have been detected and almost 5.000 of them have been closed down²³.

Some authors highlight the importance of the tourist fee in addressing mass touristification (Navarro, 2016). In Barcelona, the "taxa turística" (tourist tax or fee) is set between 0,65 and 2,25 euros per night. Compared to other cities on a global scale, it is quite low. The case of New York, for instance, is that visitors pay a 7% of their hotel bill to the local council. Furthermore, Barcelona's tourist fee is shared with the Catalan government and it is compulsory that the tax revenue is invested in tourism promotion. That way, it is the city council who ends up subsidising tourists, instead of them being the ones who contribute to the citizens' wellbeing.

Overall, Barcelona's attempt at regulating tourism accommodation is reduced to the PEUAT, the implications of which still need to be discussed. Those areas qualified as Zone 3, according to the plan, will see an increase of tourism promotion in their neighbourhoods and the opening of new accommodations. Who can promise that this is not sentencing them to a future of gentrification? It may be especially concerning for the northern districts, which have the highest rates of poverty and lowest rates of income and rent prices.

One more latent issue is the remodelling of the Barcelona-Sants railway station and its surroundings. The project is still at a premature stage, but the negotiations between the City Council and ADIF, the public railway administration company, are advancing at a

²³ Data from Betevé. <https://beteve.cat/economia/pisos-turistics-illegals-tancats-pla-xoc/>

good pace. The most recent draft includes an enlargement of the main hall by 40 metres, doubling space for shops inside the station, the design of new green spaces, the burying of the surrounding roads and parking lots, and moving the bus station to Plaça d’Espanya.

While it may seem attractive at first, the consequences of such remodelling need to be carefully considered. A bigger station will probably entail more international passenger traffic and increase tourism, green spaces will possibly “beautify” the area and appreciate land value and price, and doubling the space dedicated to shops (all of them big multinational companies) will most likely harm small businesses and local retail companies.

These last items are too recent for this thesis, but would most certainly be adequate for future lines of study and further discussions regarding the paper of the Administration and public policies. As per now, while politics take time, social movements organised by people continue to fill the spot and try to build a city for everyone.



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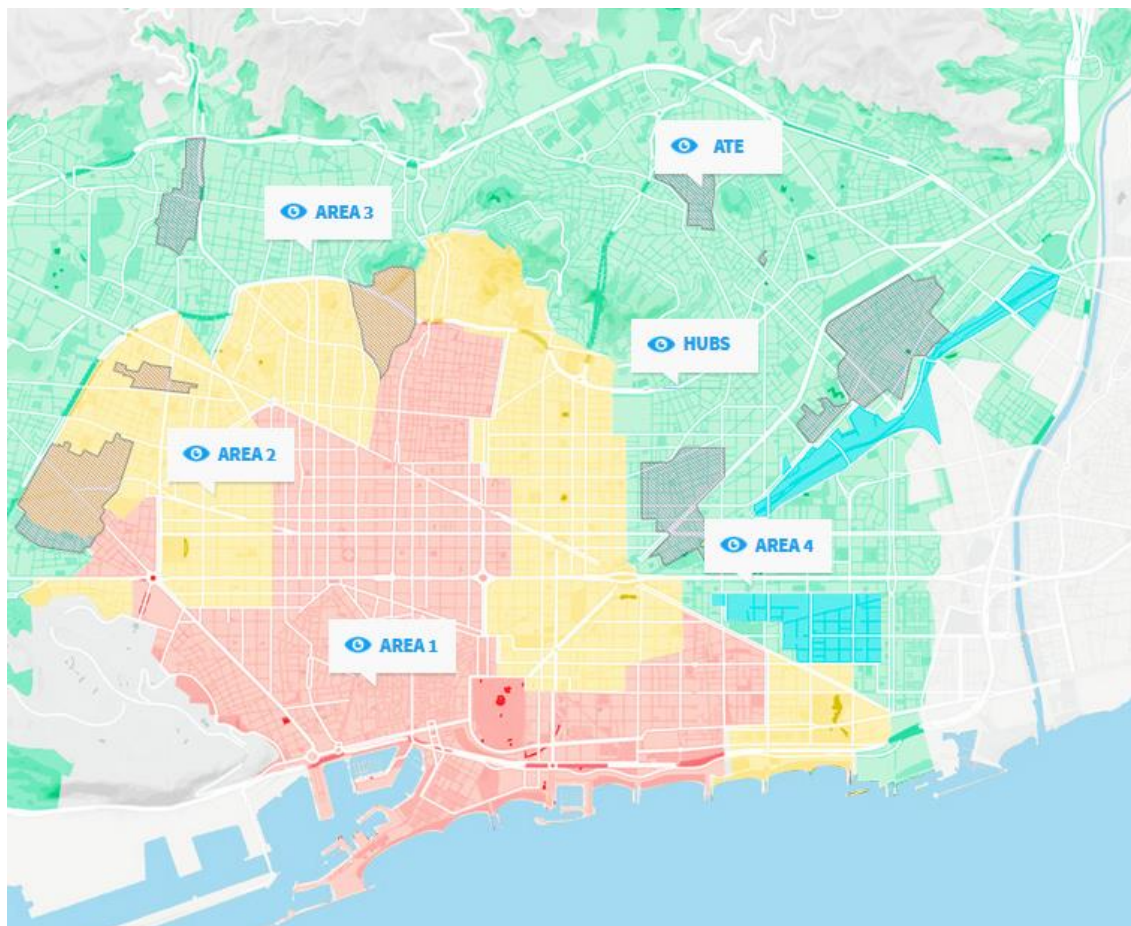
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7. ANNEXES

Figure 10

Map of the different areas in the PEUAT



Source: PEUAT by the Barcelona City Council.

Table 7

Data for Parameter 1 of the Gentrification Index

POPULATION				
Neighbourhood	2011		2019	
	1980 - 1999	TOTAL	1980 - 1999	TOTAL
Poble Sec	8.556	40.704	13.507	40.409
La Marina de Port	6.432	30.290	7.524	31.087
La Font de la Guatlla	2.098	10.222	3.003	10.373
Hostafrancs	3.378	15.955	5.204	16.155
Bordeta	3.711	18.431	5.152	19.443
Sants-Badal	5.010	24.431	6.903	24.474
Sants	8.635	41.666	12.551	42.310

Source: Own elaboration with data from the census of the Barcelona City Council.

Table 8*Data for Parameter 2 of the Gentrification Index*

LIST OF COUNTRIES HIGH HDI		2011						
COUNTRY	HDI	Poble Sec	La Marina del Port	La Font de la Guatlla	Hostafrancs	Bordeta	Sants-Badal	Sants
Germany	0.947	213	28	31	40	36	47	134
Sweden	0.945	52	7	20	17	7	14	33
Netherlands	0.944	44	6	12	10	13	13	29
United Kingdom	0.932	230	24	32	52	28	35	106
Belgium	0.931	41	14	6	15	10	14	12
United States	0.926	64	12	11	16	22	19	59
France	0.901	422	52	80	112	73	104	252
Italy	0.892	791	133	136	204	133	167	463
Poland	0.880	89	36	29	29	28	63	34
Portugal	0.864	115	55	31	36	20	42	64
Chile	0.851	169	69	42	58	65	65	112
Argentina	0.845	263	86	63	65	95	103	210
TOTAL PopHiDH		2493	522	493	654	530	686	1508

Source: Own elaboration with data from the census of the Barcelona City Council.

Table 9*Data for Parameter 2 of the Gentrification Index*

LIST OF COUNTRIES HIGH HDI		2019						
COUNTRY	HDI	Poble Sec	La Marina del Port	La Font de la Guatlla	Hostafrancs	Bordeta	Sants-Badal	Sants
Germany	0.947	292	25	44	66	42	52	137
Sweden	0.945	100	9	7	25	9	8	34
Netherlands	0.944	101	15	13	34	15	24	66
United Kingdom	0.932	396	33	44	84	46	47	150
Belgium	0.931	63	5	9	20	11	19	38
United States	0.926	169	20	13	42	18	29	58
France	0.901	706	78	92	185	109	135	398
Italy	0.892	1634	252	297	448	256	307	799
Poland	0.880	125	45	28	47	26	40	80
Portugal	0.864	153	60	43	57	28	67	144
Chile	0.851	164	36	35	43	38	62	94
Argentina	0.845	269	74	55	53	61	88	200
TOTAL PopHiDH		4172	652	680	1104	659	878	2198

Source: Own elaboration with data from the census of the Barcelona City Council.

Table 10*Data for Parameter 3 of the Gentrification Index*

UNIPERSONAL HOUSEHOLDS	2011		2019	
Neighbourhood	Unipersonal	TOTAL	Unipersonal	TOTAL
Poble Sec	3.272	16.389	3.430	15.985
La Marina de Port	1.666	11.574	1.708	11.997
La Font de la Guatlla	808	4.283	758	4.279
Hostafrancs	1.284	6.591	1.366	6.679
Bordeta	1.209	7.479	1.219	7.850
Sants-Badal	1.749	10.051	1.723	10.031
Sants	3.309	17.418	3.292	17.143

Source: Own elaboration with data from the census of the Barcelona City Council.

Table 11*Data for Parameter 4 of the Gentrification Index*

HIGHLY QUALIFIED	2011	2019
Poble Sec	6.888	10.100
La Marina de Port	2.838	4.322
La Font de la Guatlla	2.065	2.944
Hostafrancs	3.109	4.626
Bordeta	2.755	4.326
Sants-Badal	4.072	5.885
Sants	8.852	12.425

Source: Own elaboration with data from the census of the Barcelona City Council.

Table 12*Data for Parameter 5 of the Gentrification Index*

FAMILY INCOME INDEX (RFD)	2011	2017
Poble Sec	73,0	82,20
La Marina de Port	70,8	69,30
La Font de la Guatlla	74,6	82,90
Hostafrancs	76,1	99,00
Bordeta	71,1	79,00
Sants-Badal	77,1	81,00
Sants	86,4	99,00

Source: Own elaboration with data from the census of the Barcelona City Council.

Table 13*Data for Parameter 6 of the Gentrification Index*

HOUSING RENT PRICE	2014	2019
Poble Sec	10,19	14,36
La Marina de Port	7,99	10,83
La Font de la Guatlla	10,62	13,32
Hostafrancs	10,27	13,83
Bordeta	9,31	12,76
Sants-Badal	9,94	13,82
Sants	10,07	13,84

Source: Own elaboration with data from the Department of Housing of the Catalan Government.

Table 14*Data for Parameter 7 of the Gentrification Index*

RECENT CENSUS REGISTRATION	2016		2019	
	Recent	TOTAL	Recent	TOTAL
Poble Sec	14.111	40.104	14.671	40.409
La Marina de Port	7.011	30.397	7.626	31.087
La Font de la Guatlla	2.966	10.316	3.022	10.373
Hostafrancs	5.265	15.915	5.517	16.155
Bordeta	4.497	18.518	5.159	19.443
Sants-Badal	6.614	23.935	7.195	24.474
Sants	11.810	40.831	13.365	42.310

Source: Own elaboration with data from the census of the Barcelona City Council.

Table 15*Data for Parameter 8 of the Gentrification Index*

TOURISTIFICATION	2016	
	Floating Pop	TOTAL Pop
Poble Sec	5.886	40.104
La Marina de Port	52	30.397
La Font de la Guatlla	959	10.592
Hostafrancs	3.337	15.915
Bordeta	288	18.518
Sants-Badal	702	23.935
Sants	3.589	40.831

Source: Own elaboration with data from the department of Urban Ecology of the Barcelona City Council.

