

The Impact of Tourism in Barcelona: Local Community Perceptions, Attitudes, and Behaviours

Jordi Datzira-Masip

M.Sc. (Tourism planning and development), University of Surrey, England, 1996

Master (Urban tourism management), University of Barcelona, Spain, 2001

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Department of Management and Marketing

College of Arts, Social Science and Commerce

La Trobe University

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Abstract

This study investigates how tourism development and its impacts affect the way local stakeholders perceive tourism development and how they react to the increased number of tourists. This will be achieved through using stakeholder theory as a lens to examine this relationship and its association with life cycle theory and carrying capacity theory. The relationship between these theories, shed light on how stakeholders perceive the impacts of tourism in different stages of development. In doing so, the contribution of this study is to explain the relationship between these theories from a local community perspective and stakeholders perceptions, attitudes and behaviour towards tourism in urban areas in Barcelona.

Barcelona is a good case study because the number of tourists in the city is increasing, which creates important impacts for local stakeholders, and because the city has a limited physical space to expand, make it a place where friction between different activities can boil-over. The findings of this study are important because they provide insights into the way local stakeholders react toward tourism development and its impact in Barcelona as a case study. The characteristics of local stakeholders and the concentration of attractions in certain areas of the city has resulted in a high level of tourist concentration. In these areas, residents have negative perceptions, attitudes and behaviour towards tourism development because it leads to a deterioration in their quality of life.

This study develops a conceptual framework based in the review of the literature and the results from the analysis of the data collected, that examines the way tourism development in urban areas and its impacts are affecting the perceptions, attitude and behaviour of local stakeholders. The conceptual framework proposes to examine this relationship by developing two main concepts, namely the intensity of reaction of residents and the frequency of interaction between them and the tourists.

Understanding how residents react to tourism in their neighbourhood helps to conceptualise the relationship between development, impacts, and stakeholders, and reveals that Barcelona has different perceptions of the role of tourism in the city. The results of this study provide interesting insights that can benefit public administration, the private sector, and the local community in Barcelona.

Student declaration

Except where reference is made in the text of the thesis, this thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma. No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgment in the main text of the thesis. This thesis has not been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution. This work was supported by an Australian Government Research Training Program Scholarship.

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List of working papers presented at conferences

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List of concepts

Tourism system	Demand-supply system to define tourism elements, characterises and how tourism works
Tourist destination	A place that receives tourists
Stakeholders	A group of people sharing interests and values. Public, private, and residents are included.
Life cycle theory	Stages that define the tourism development process
Interaction process of absorbing tourism	Conceptual framework to analyse how the development of tourism and its impacts affect and change the local stakeholder environment
Community reaction	Residents' reaction to the development of tourism.
Tourist pressure	Tourists visiting a destination and increasing pressure over the existing local resources
Intensity of reaction	A ratio that measures the number of tourists overnight stays by territory
Frequency of interaction	A ratio that measures the frequency of interaction between tourists and residents

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Introduction to the research

According to the World Tourism and Travel Council (WTTC), tourism is becoming one of the world's largest industries, generating 123 million direct jobs, with a total of 319 million direct, indirect jobs, representing 10% of the total employment in 2018 (WTTC, 2019). The direct contribution of travel and tourism to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was \$2.8 trillion in 2018, which is more than twice of the size of the automotive manufacturing sector. The overall contribution of direct and indirect tourism to GDP was \$8.8 trillion, representing 10.4% of the world's total GDP in 2018 (WTTC, 2019).

In the European Union (EU), the direct GDP contribution of travel and tourism in 2018 was estimated at 730 billion euros, 50% larger than banking, and more than twice the size of automotive manufacturing (WTTC, 2019). The total GDP impact (direct, indirect and induced) is estimated at 1.9 trillion euros (WTTC, 2019). This means that travel and tourism generate 10.1% of the total GDP in the EU, which created 12.2 million direct jobs and 27.3 million direct, indirect and induced jobs in 2018, representing 11.6% of the EU's employment. During the next decade, travel and tourism is estimated to increase by 2.1% per annum (WTTC, 2019).

In the case of Spain, the contribution of travel and tourism to GDP was 14.6%, with an increase of 2.4% in 2018 (WTTC, 2019). Travel and tourism generate 14.7% of total employment, representing more than 2.8 million jobs, and are expected to be more than 3.4 million jobs in 2019. Tourist expenditure is estimated at 68.4 billion euros, representing a total of 16.6% of total exports, with an expected 85 million international arrivals for 2019 (WTTC, 2019). Leisure related expenditure accounts for 88% of total expenditure, while the remaining 12% is from business. Forty-five percent of tourists are domestic and 55% are international. The main source markets are the United Kingdom (23%), France (15%), and Germany (15%) (WTTC, 2019). In 2018, Catalonia received 38.7 million tourists, 49.5% of which were international, while the remainder were from Catalonia (38.1%) and from Spain (12.4%) (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2019). The contribution of travel and tourism to GDP was 12%, with tourist expenditure of more than 24 billion euros, 85% of which was international, representing 13.3% of total employment (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2019).

These data highlight the importance of travel and tourism worldwide and in the EU they are more than 10% of total GDP, and more than 10% of total employment, with an increase

forecast in the next few years. This is even more important in Spain, where both GDP and employment account for more than 14%.

With regard to urban tourism, nearly half of international tourists visit cities, which are recognised as powerful destinations, and serve as gateways to other destinations (WTTC, 2019). Cities provide important infrastructure to welcome tourists, comprising airports, harbours, and road infrastructure including motorways. According to the WTTC (2019) study of 73 cities, they received 44% of international arrivals, representing a direct contribution to GDP of 25%. Barcelona, the focus of this study, is the 25th highest city with direct travel and tourism GDP of \$9.3bn, representing 5.2% of the city's direct GDP in 2018. International expenditure is 82.9%, while the rest is domestic (17.1%). It generates 111,000 jobs in direct employment, or 5% of the total employment in the city. It is estimated that Barcelona is receiving more than 30 million tourists and visitors per year (with nine million stay in hotels, nine million stay in tourist apartments, and the rest are day-trippers) (Burgen, 2017). This represents an increase of 17% during the last 5 years (Memòria de Sostenibilitat Turística, 2016).

These statistics indicates why many destinations around the world encourage the development of tourism to contribute to socio-economic and cultural development in order to improve their quality of life. In doing so, they often focus on the degree of economic prosperity such development creates (Ashworth & Page, 2011; Jurowski & Gursoy, 2004; Postma, Buda, & Gurgerell, 2017; UNWTO, 2018). Tourism development contributes to an increase in the GDP and helps to create employment, increases investment, increases tax revenue for governments, and improve infrastructure and services (UNWTO, 2018).

In their analysis of tourism destinations, researchers have defined tourism development as an agent of change and transformation, because it changes the characteristics of a destination, its economy, society, and environment (Ahn, Lee, & Shafer, 2002; Butler, 1975, 1991; Deery, Jago & Fredline, 2012; Duffield, 1982; Duffield & Long, 1981; Koens, Postma, & Papp, 2018; Lanfant, 1980; Murphy, 1983; Novy, 2018; Novy & Colomb, 2017; Park & Stokowski, 2009). Tourism products and services are largely based on its physical, natural, and socio-cultural resources. The resources are transformed as commodities to assist the development of facilities and infrastructure, and to create tourist products and services, which need to be shared by the different stakeholders representing the supply and the demand side (Butler, 1974; de Kadt, 1979; Foster, 1964; Graham, Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2000; Ho & McKercher, 2004; Koens, Postma, & Papp, 2018). Therefore, 'impacts are felt when place changes, especially when a non-tourism place is transformed into either shared or tourism place'

(McKercher, Wang & Park, 2015, p. 52). This has important implications in the case of Barcelona, where tourist activity is concentrated in specific areas of the city, and consequently local community in those areas have to adapt to the negative impact of such development. This is because the tourism industry has great potential to affect the lives of community residents, because the behaviour of one, conditions the behaviour of the other (Andereck, Valentine, Knopf, & Vogt, 2005; Presenza & Cipollina, 2010). In Ciutat Vella and Eixample districts the level of pressure and crowdedness is much higher than in the rest of the city. More than 70% of the hotel supply and seven out of ten of the most visited tourist attractions in Barcelona are concentrated in these areas (Memòria de Sostenibilitat Turística, 2016). Importantly to this debate, the impacts of tourism affects local stakeholders differently, within 'the tendency for the direct benefits of tourism to be concentrated in specific economic sectors, while the costs tend to be more diffuse' (Ashworth & Page, 2011, p. 11)..

Within this overall context, the thesis will focus on tourism in the city of Barcelona, as an important example of urban tourism which has been growing very fast since the organisation of the XXV Olympic Games there in 1992. Since then, the city's tourist attractions have been visited by an increasing number of tourists, who enjoy the city's unique characteristics and atmosphere. At the same time, there are also challenges. As a Mediterranean city, Barcelona has a compact urban setting, located in a relatively small territory, making it difficult for the city to expand to accommodate more tourists.

The increasing number of tourists is creating important negatives impacts that affect the local stakeholders' quality of life. Understanding this relationship can help to unravel the phenomenon of mass tourism in urban settings, and how the impact of tourism is affecting local stakeholders' perceptions, attitudes and behaviour. Thus, the case of Barcelona can provide insights into how one city is seeking to cope with the development of tourism from the local stakeholders' point of view (Muñoz, 2015; Saurí, 2015). While not directly generalisable to other cities, the experience of Barcelona may provide insights that are relevant to other cities facing similar issues.

To analyse the relationship between tourism development and the impact of tourism, and how they affect local stakeholders perceptions, attitudes and behaviour, this study engages with stakeholder theory because it helps to conceptualise the relationships between the different stakeholders that can affect, or are affected by, organisational objectives (Freeman, 1984). This provides an opportunity to assess each stakeholder group type and importance in the development of tourism in Barcelona, with the aim of reaching a balance between the different, and sometimes contradictory, stakeholder interests and needs.

Recent research examine urban tourism from the perspective of local stakeholders and the exponential increase in tourist pressure on urban areas, especially in Europe. Researchers have looked at the phenomenon of protests and resistance from local community groups. New terms has been coined, including tourism-phobia, anti-tourism, over-tourism, overcrowding (García-Hernández, de la Calle-Vaquero, & Yubero, 2017; Koens, Postma, & Papp, 2018; Martín Martín, Guaita Martínez, & Salinas Fernández, 2018; Novy & Colomb, 2017; Seraphin, Sheeran, & Pilato, 2018), as a way of defining congestion management and carrying capacity (UNWTO, 2018). Most of these studies are based on areas where tourists concentrate, especially historical centres, and have concluded that in certain destinations, including Amsterdam, Barcelona, and Venice, the carrying capacity has reached a threshold that is affecting the resources, attractions, and infrastructure of destinations, and the capacity of residents to cope with the increased number of tourists. The effect of negative impacts has been translated into demonstrations and protests by local residents against the development of tourism in urban areas which are associated with lack of planning and management (Koens, Postma, & Papp, 2018; Novy & Colomb, 2017).

This discussion demonstrates that tourism impacts cannot be isolated from one another and they are interconnected (Horváth, 2018). Therefore, understanding how they affect local stakeholders' perceptions, attitudes and behaviour is critical in implementing management tools for tourism development in urban settings (Horváth, 2018). To achieve this outcome, the current study combines stakeholder theory, life cycle theory, and carrying capacity theory to unravel the relationship between tourism development, its impacts and local stakeholder perceptions, attitudes and behaviour towards this phenomenon from a local community perspective. Understanding these relationships could help destinations and stakeholders to better adapt to the tourist environment and contribute to increased knowledge from a theoretical and empirical perspective.

1.2. Justification for the research

According to UNWTO (2018), the rapid growth of tourism in urban areas during the past few decades is due to several factors, including rapid urbanisation and the growth of population in urban areas, higher disposable income, and an increase in the middle-class. Other important factors are the investment in infrastructure, such as airports, ports, roads; the decrease in transportation prices with the introduction of low cost airlines; and internet platforms that allow customers to book online tourist services, especially important for accommodation supply (UNWTO, 2018). The importance of urban tourism was not recognised until the end of 1980s

with publication of the seminal work of Ashworth (1989), which highlighted the importance of understanding the impacts of tourism in urban settings. However, according to Edwards, Griffin, & Hayllar (2008) there is a knowledge gap in the way urban areas develop tourism, the impact and effects on local stakeholders, because 'many of the requirements for profitable and sustainable tourism development in urban areas are not well understood' (p. 1033).

The rapid growth of urban tourism has had a major impact and disruption on provision of services for local stakeholders, because tourists make intense use of facilities and services that were not developed for tourist purposes (Ashworth & Page, 2011; Edwards, Griffin, & Hayllar, 2008). This has created new dynamics in cities that alters the atmosphere for and life-style of local stakeholders, and challenges the way tourism development in urban settings is managed, planned, and developed. Thus, the complexity of urban tourism and its economic, social and environmental impacts makes 'urban tourism research essential' (Edwards, Griffin, & Hayllar, 2008, p. 1034), because the 'existing conceptual and theoretically-informed research does not sufficiently explain the evolving world order of city-based tourism' (Ashworth & Page, 2011, p. 2). This illustrates the importance of better understanding how tourism development, and its impact in urban areas are affecting local stakeholders, both from their perceptions of tourism and the way tourism has influenced their relationships, which is the focus of this study.

Urban tourism research is consider fragmented, incipient and limited in scope (Ashworth & Page, 2011; Novy, 2014), which indicates the limited knowledge about urban areas that have developed tourism very rapidly and its effects on local stakeholders who need to adapt to these changes. Despite the volume and scope of research about local community perceptions and attitudes, 'the extent to which understanding of residents' perceptions of tourism has been enhanced remains uncertain' (Sharpley, 2014, p. 37), because there are few studies that look at tourism development in urban areas and effects on stakeholders (Horváth, 2018). Therefore, attitude change and adjustment is 'rarely explained convincingly' (McKercher, Wang, & Park, 2015, p. 53). Consequently, a better understanding of the perceptions and attitudes of the local community towards tourism and tourists 'is considered a vital ingredient of tourism planning and management' (Sharpley, 2014, p. 46). This suggests that more research is needed about the way the local community responds and reacts to the development of tourism as in the case of Barcelona in order to enhance the value of research (Sharpley, 2014).

Most research about perceptions and attitudes of the local community towards tourism use quantitative methods to collect and analyse data (Nunkoo, Smith, & Ramkisson, 2013),

providing a description of what residents perceive, instead of explaining why they perceive it, and the reasons behind a positive or negative reaction, or the factors that make local residents become accustomed to, or adapt to, the tourist environment (Deery, Jago & Fredline, 2012; McKercher, Wang, & Park, 2015; Sharpley, 2014). Therefore, this study uses qualitative research to better understand the reasons why local stakeholders perceive the impacts of tourism and its development in the case of Barcelona in a certain way.

Most of the research analysing perceptions, attitudes, and behaviour of the local community towards tourism has been carried out in rural areas or island destinations (Aguiló Pérez & Rosselló Nadal, 2005; Cooke, 1982; Duffield & Long, 1981; Johnson, Snepenger & Akis, 1994; King, Pizam & Milman, 1993; Liu & Var, 1986; Long, Perdue & Allen, 1990; McGehee & Andereck, 2004; Pizam, 1978; Sheldon & Var, 1984; William & Lawson, 2001). Consequently, there is limited data regarding the relationship between the local community and the tourists in urban areas (Andriotis & Vaughan, 2003; Haley, Snaith & Miller, 2005; Harril & Potts, 2003; Madrigal, 1993), and the crowding conditions (Neuts & Nijkamp, 2012; Neuts, Nijkamp & Leeuwen, 2012). Moreover, few studies have used stakeholder theory to analyse stakeholder perceptions, attitudes and behaviour towards tourism development and its impacts (Butler, 1991; Chambers, 2000; Goeldner & Ritchie, 2009; Ioannides, 1995; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Robson & Robson, 1996; Sautter & Leisen, 1999; Sheenan & Ritchie, 2005). However, none of them have used stakeholder theory and carrying capacity theory to analyse this phenomenon. Few studies have focused on the way tourism development is influencing stakeholders' perceptions, attitudes and behaviour (Andereck, Valentine, Knof & Vogt, 2005; Ahn, Lee, & Shafer, 2002; Choi & Sirakaya, 2005; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Neuts, Nijkamp, & Leeuwen, 2012; Postma & Schmuecker, 2017).

While numerous studies have examined the impacts, few have focused on urban areas (Andriotis & Vaughan, 2003; Ashworth & Page, 2011; Neuts, Nijkamp, & Leeuwen, 2012; Popp, 2012; Postma & Schmuecker, 2017; Sommer & Helbrecht, 2017; WTTC & McKinsey, 2017) and, most importantly, on the way assessment of impacts can help to define the current stage of development (Dietrich & García-Buades, 2009). Because of the growth of urban tourism, destinations are facing the challenge of managing and monitoring the way local stakeholders adapt to the tourist environment.

1.3. Research problems/gaps

As discussed above, understanding urban tourism development and how its impacts can affect local stakeholders' perceptions, attitudes and behaviours is critical. In general, governments in urban areas are more concerned about marketing and promoting their destinations for leisure and business, because the economic impacts dominate local government agendas over social, political or environmental impacts (Ashworth & Page, 2011). Consequently, governments have approached tourism development in a more liberal and laissez faire way (van der Borg, Costa, & Gotti, 1996) rather than managing tourism to minimise its negative impacts. Thus, more effective management, leadership and innovative policies to address the negative impacts of urban tourism are needed (Garcia-Hernandez, de la Calle-Vaquero, Yubero, 2017; Horváth, 2018; Koens, Postma, Papp, 2018; Novy, 2018; Seraphin, Sheeran, & Pilato, 2018), for 'the long-term sustainability of tourism' in urban areas (Edwards, Griffin, & Hayllar, 2008. p. 1034).

Recent studies have examine the way tourism is developed in urban areas, and how local stakeholders perceive tourism development, focusing on over-tourism, touristification, and overcrowding. These concepts can be associated with the carrying capacity theory, as the limits of capacity of tourist destinations (Seraphin, Shreeran, & Pilato, 2018), which are more suitable to deal with tourist pressure (Koens, Postma, & Papp, 2018).

Smith, Sziva, & Olt (2019), examined overtourism and the causes of increasing resident resistance to the development of tourism, using Internet sources and questionnaires to the local community. Seraphin, Sheeran, & Pilato (2018) examined over-tourism in the case of Venice (Italy), from a theoretical perspective using secondary data. Koens, Postma, & Papp (2018) discussed overtourism and its impacts in urban areas, using interviews to stakeholders, including public authorities and private businesses in 13 European cities.

Martín Martín, Guaita Martínez, & Salinas Fernández (2018) have studied the factors influencing residents to reject tourism from an economic perspective, using face to face interviews with residents in the historical centre of Barcelona, and questionnaires with residents in the city. García-Hernández, de la Calle-Vaquero, & Yubero (2017) have examined the impact of tourism in historical centres, such as the Parte Vieja of Donostia (Spain), that are facing the increasing pressure from tourism development. They analysed this phenomenon from a geographical perspective, using statistical data and GIS (Geographic Information Systems), as well as semi-structured interviews with local stakeholders, including public authorities, trade and resident associations. Horváth (2018) has explored the

relationship between tourism impacts and the emergence of social movements in the case of Venice, using interviews with public administrators, the private sector, and academics, which did not include the opinions of the residents. None of these studies have examined the way tourism development in urban areas is affecting local stakeholders' perspectives, attitudes, and behaviour from a local community perspective, using stakeholder theory, life cycle theory and carrying capacity theory, as will be used in this study. In doing so, it will increase our understanding about the way urban tourism is developed and the importance of defining the stages of development of urban areas which start causing important negative impacts to local stakeholders, especially the local community. Thus, the following important gaps need to be taken into consideration:

Gap 1: Lack of understanding of stakeholders' conflicts that arise as a result of tourism development, especially from a local community perspective. It is important to understand the causes that contribute to conflict between hosts and guests (Deery et al., 2012; Postma & Schmuecker, 2017). Increasing residents' support can help to achieve desirable sustainable tourism development (Nunkoo, Smith, & Ramkisson, 2013).

Gap 2: To define the level of tourism development which can cause important negative impacts for local stakeholders, with especial focus on the local community. This is important because there is a need to examine how to prevent critical thresholds of development, which are significant and scarce (Berry, 2006; Dietrich & García-Buades, 2009; Manente & Pechlaner, 2006).

This study aims to fill these important gaps by exploring the stages of tourism development and their impacts. The results can help to define the stages of development in Barcelona using carrying capacity theory. By addressing these gaps, Barcelona can develop tourism in a more sustainable way, by including all stakeholders affected by or who can affect tourism in decision-making.

1.4. Research aims, question, and objectives

The perceptions, attitudes, and behaviour of local stakeholders in relation to tourism development and its impacts should be a matter of concern for community leaders, professionals, and politicians, in order to better manage their relationship at a specific time and in a specific space. This will be achieved through the incorporation of stakeholder theory as a lens to examine how tourism development and its impacts are affecting the perception,

attitude and behaviour of local stakeholders, while also combining life cycle theory and carrying capacity theory. The aims of this study are:

- (1) To understand how tourism development and its impacts are affecting stakeholders' perceptions, attitudes and behaviour, and
- (2) To propose a conceptual framework of tourism development that assesses the way destinations develop tourism, its stages, and impacts, to define the way this development can be defined and carrying capacities better understood.

To achieve this aim, the following research question has been formulated:

- How has tourism development and its impacts affected the perceptions, attitudes, and behaviour of local stakeholders, from a local community perspective?

To achieve this research question, four research objectives have been formulated:

- To define what are the impacts of tourism development in Barcelona;
- To examine how tourism development and its impacts are affecting stakeholders' perceptions, attitudes and their relationships;
- To define the way local stakeholders behave towards tourism development and tourists; and
- To develop an integrated conceptual framework to explain how tourism development, its stages, and impacts are affecting the local stakeholders' perceptions, attitudes and behaviour.

The research question and objectives aim to answer the way in which stakeholders act and react towards tourism development and its impacts, and to identify the factors that influence their perceptions, attitudes, and behaviours. In answering these, the thesis will make a theoretical and empirical contribution to the literature by combining stakeholder theory, life cycle theory and carrying capacity theory to analyse this phenomenon. In particular, this study develops a conceptual framework to examine the interaction between stakeholders, and tourism development and its impact in Barcelona, as an example of urban tourism.

Table 1.1. Summary of the research gaps, question and objectives

Research gaps	Research question	Research objectives
<ul style="list-style-type: none">Lack of understanding of stakeholders' conflicts that arise as a result of tourism development, especially from a local community perspective	<ul style="list-style-type: none">How has tourism development and its impact affected the perceptions, attitudes, and behaviour of local stakeholders, from a local community perspective?	<ul style="list-style-type: none">To define the impact of tourism development in Barcelona
<ul style="list-style-type: none">To define the level of tourism development which starts causing important negative impacts for local stakeholders, with especial focus on the local community		<ul style="list-style-type: none">To examine how tourism development and its impact are affecting stakeholders' perceptions, attitude and their relationships
		<ul style="list-style-type: none">To define the way local stakeholders behave towards tourism development and tourists
		<ul style="list-style-type: none">To develop an integrated conceptual framework to explain how tourism development, its stages, and impacts are affecting local stakeholders' perceptions, attitudes and behaviour.

1.5. Self-reflexivity

As a researcher, an important step in the research process is to consider how my own social position and experience influences the research. I began living in the Ciutat Vella district of Barcelona in 1989, when I started my bachelor's degree in tourism management. Since then, I have observed some of the changes and transformations that tourism development has produced in the city. I experienced the rapid growth of tourism, and some of its impacts, which have been more evident since the turn of the twenty-first century, especially the negative socio-cultural and environmental impacts. Nevertheless, tourism in Barcelona has been steadily rate in terms of tourist numbers, the number of lodging facilities, food and beverage outlets, and retail stores.

Living in 'downtown' Barcelona offered me the opportunity to witness first-hand the changes in the area. Local shops were closing or switching their activities to focus on tourist demand, which transformed the type of commercial supply. The process started in the most popular street, where tourists concentrated. This was progressively extended throughout the Ciutat Vella district. Increasing tourists gave me the impression that, in certain areas, and during certain daily schedules, tourist areas began to become overcrowded, and locals would avoid passing through them. These are all aspects that directly affect the quality of life of people living in tourist areas which, if not properly managed causes friction and resentment between the hosts and the guests.

In my professional career, I gained knowledge about tourism in Barcelona, and met with tourism authorities and representatives, and especially Turisme de Barcelona and the Barcelona City Council. They were included in some of my previously published research (Datzira-Masip, 1998; Datzira-Masip, 2005; Datzira-Masip, 2006; Datzira-Masip & Poluzzi, 2014). However, I have undertaken this research in a rigorous and systematic way, which has benefited from the physical distance between Barcelona and Melbourne, where I have been living since the start of this doctorate.

1.6. Contribution of the study

Contribution and significance of this research study

The contribution of this study can be considered from both theoretical and significance perspectives, and follows from engaging with the overall aim and the research question and objectives. This study will develop a conceptual framework that examines how tourism development in an urban setting and its impacts are affecting the perceptions, attitudes and behaviour of local stakeholders. The findings of this study are important because they will provide insights into the way local stakeholders react toward tourism development and its impacts in the case of Barcelona.

Theoretical Contribution

The theoretical contribution of this study is to combine three theories, namely stakeholder theory, life cycle theory and carrying capacity theory, to examine how the development of tourism and its impacts are affecting stakeholders' perceptions, attitudes and behaviour in Barcelona. The relationship between these theories sheds light on how stakeholders perceive the impacts of tourism in different stages of development. In doing so, the contribution of this study is to explain the relationship between the theories and how stakeholders perceive and react to tourism in urban areas in Barcelona, from a local community perspective, based on the literature and analysis of the data collected. Because there is no research that has looked at this relationship from this perspective, this study will contribute to a better understanding of the way tourism develops, has impacts and produces reactions from the destination stakeholders with positive and negative outcomes, by examining this relationship from a theoretical and practical perspective. The theoretical framework aims to analyse and better understand the relationship between the development of tourism, its stages, and the way impacts are affecting stakeholders at the destination level, with special focus on the local community. This includes the way impacts of tourism can be used to define in which stage of development a tourist destination is sitting, and when carrying capacity limits can be determined.

The conceptual framework is based on the idea that when tourists visit a destination, they exercise pressure on resources, which provokes the reaction from local stakeholders that are dealing with changes in tourism development. To develop this idea, the conceptual framework proposes to examine the relationship by advancing two main concepts, namely intensity of reaction of the local community and the frequency of interaction between them and the tourists. Both can help to explain how this relationship is affected by the stages of development, carrying capacity limits and relationships to better understand the phenomenon under study.

Significance

Better understanding of the way tourism is developed and how the impacts affect local stakeholders, with special focus on the local community, and the carrying capacity limits, can be used to define stages of development within an urban destination. The results of this study can provide interesting insights and benefits for public administrators, the private sector, and the local community in Barcelona.

The public administration

This study will contribute to better understanding of the impacts of tourism in Barcelona, and how the local community perceives and reacts to tourism in the different areas of the city included in this study. By knowing the opinions of residents, and when they start complaining about tourism, Barcelona can define in which stage of development the different areas of the city are sitting. This information can help to better define sustainable development policies and plans that can be implemented and managed in a more balanced way, by taking into consideration all stakeholders that are affected or can affect tourism in Barcelona. It can also help to define objectives and strategies with the aim of limiting or reducing the negative impacts of tourism in different areas of the city, namely Ciutat Vella and Eixample district. Therefore, a better understanding of this phenomenon can help to increase the management of tourism with the aim of achieving more balanced and sustainable development. In doing so, it can define more appropriate development planning, policies and strategies to improve the destinations attractiveness by enhancing positive impacts while minimising the negative ones. At the same time, this can help to ensure that all stakeholders' interests and needs are taken into consideration when developing tourism.

Private sector

The expected results can help the private sector to acknowledge that its activity is partially responsible for the positive and negative impacts of tourism in Barcelona. The private sector can use this knowledge to design policies and strategies to manage businesses in a more inclusive way that addresses the different interests and needs of all stakeholders to achieve more balanced and sustainable development of tourism in Barcelona.

Local community

The expected results can help the local community to have a better understanding of the way Barcelona develops tourism, and how they perceive and behave towards tourism and its impacts on their neighbourhood. This includes how tourism contributes positively by creating business opportunities and labour, while improving infrastructure, services and attractions that can also be used by residents. Knowing the positive and negative impacts of tourism, and how they affect residents, can improve understanding about how they react and adapt to tourism development.

Destination

The conceptual framework demonstrates that stages of development are the key factors affecting the type and nature of impacts, and how they affect stakeholders' perceptions, attitudes and behave toward tourism development. Therefore, the conceptual framework is examining how destinations can define their level of tourism or in which stage of tourism they are sitting. This is possible by combining stakeholder theory, life cycle theory and carrying capacity theory that can be applied to other destinations that are facing similar development issues to Barcelona.

This allows researchers and practitioners to have an overall picture of the development of tourism within a destination, and to make informed decisions about how tourism should be developed in the future, defining thresholds of carrying capacity by each stage of development, as well as policies and planning tools that can prevent or minimise negative effects of tourism development.

1.7. Thesis structure

This study is organised in eight chapters. The first chapter presents an overview, which resulted in a number of key concepts that form the basis of this study. It also defines the research gap and justifies the need for this study, defining research aims, objectives, and questions, as well as its theoretical contribution and significance.

Chapter 2 presents a literature review which critically analyses relevant theories, including stakeholder theory, life cycle theory and carrying capacity theory and limits of acceptable change. It also reviews the impact of tourism and residents' perceptions, attitudes, and behaviours. A conceptual framework is developed, which is based on the literature that shows how the stage of tourism development influences tourism impacts, and at the same time how impacts influence stakeholders' perceptions, attitudes and behaviour.

In Chapter 3, the research methodology is addressed, including the interpretative research paradigm. In order to develop in-depth knowledge, it uses a qualitative research approach, applying a case study as a methodological tool which is useful to understand social issues.

Chapter 4 provides an overview of the city of Barcelona as a case study, including information about the city's socio-economic characteristics, historical background, and the current administrative and managerial characteristics. Extended data on tourism development during the last decades is reviewed, with a specific focus on the tourist supply, which emphasises the importance of tourism development for the city.

Chapter 5 addresses the first research question by examining the impacts of tourism, and how it is affecting the local stakeholders in Barcelona.

Chapter 6 addresses the second research question, by analysing how the development of tourism and its impact are affecting perceptions, attitudes and behaviours of local stakeholders.

Chapter 7 addresses the third research question about how the local community is reacting to the changes provided by tourism, and the adaptation process. The conceptual framework is tested in the case of Barcelona, including field research findings that help to determine the concepts and measurement methods.

Chapter 8 concludes the thesis by highlighting the most important findings of the study, from a theoretical and empirical perspective, and by relating them back to the existing literature. The limitations of the study are presented, as well as future research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

This chapter reviews the relevant literature regarding the development of tourism and how its impacts influence stakeholder perceptions, attitudes, and behaviour towards tourism, through the lens of stakeholder theory. It also reviews carrying capacity theory and the limits of acceptable change as a management tool, including the threshold or level beyond which negative impacts become an important issue to be taken into consideration when developing sustainable tourism.

When a tourist visits a destination, there is interaction between the tourist and local stakeholders. This has important effects on the way stakeholders perceive each other and the way they develop their relationships. One important outcome of this literature review, is a proposed conceptual framework about how the development process and its impacts influence stakeholders' perceptions, attitudes and reactions to tourism development.

This chapter comprises four main parts. The first part reviews tourism development theories including tourism as a system and analyses its stages with regard to carrying capacity theory in order to provide a justification of why Barcelona was selected as the research context. The second part introduces stakeholder theory as a lens to examine the way stakeholders perceive and react to tourism development, by combining stage of development theories and carrying capacity theory, and how the three theories can be used to shed light on these important issues. The third part will review tourism impacts, host-guest interaction, and local community perceptions, attitudes, and behaviour. The last section will present the conceptual framework that emerged from the literature review.

2.2. Becoming a tourist destination

Researchers have not been able to agree on a definition of a tourist destination (Saraniemi & Kylänen, 2010). Rather, several approaches exist, including a place or region, communities, stakeholders, type of development, and life-cycle (Weaver & Lawton, 2006). For the purpose of this study, a tourist destination can be defined as the place in which tourism development is taking place, where demand and supply meet, and the encounter between hosts and guests occurs, and where the conditions and environment of the place will influence the relationship between supply and demand. Thus, it is critical to better understand the way tourism is developed, its characteristics as a system, and its consequences in increasing our knowledge about the way tourism development and its impacts influence stakeholders' perceptions, attitudes, and behaviour.

By becoming a tourist destination, a place experiences important changes and transformation within its resources and attractions. Consequently, 'impacts are felt when place changes, especially when non-tourism place is transformed into either shared or tourism place' (McKercher, Wang, & Park, 2015, p. 52). This is even more relevant during periods of rapid growth, which can have an effect on how a local community adapts to these changes (McKercher, Wang & Park, 2015). Place can be divided into three types, namely, tourism place, non-tourism place, and shared place, which are differentiated by the number of tourists, the characteristics of the destination, and the tourism industry's stage of development (McKercher, Wang & Park, 2015).

Importantly, as discussed later in this chapter, stakeholder theory is increasingly relevant, because to develop tourism, private and public organisations take advantage of the natural, socio-cultural, and economic resources of the destination. This helps these organisations to develop facilities and infrastructure which create tourist products and services. Through this process, tourism stakeholder groups are monopolising the kind of resources that were once consumed by the local community. As a result, resources are shared with tourists, because they consume the same goods and services that are used by the local community, increasing its competition (Ashworth & Page, 2011; Butler, 1974; de Kadt, 1979; England, 1980; Forster, 1964). This indicates the importance of stakeholders understanding how to control their own economic development. In selling or leasing their land or their homes, locals often find themselves no longer able to afford to live, let alone build a house, in their own district, because of the high land prices and rents paid by non-residents (Krippendorf, 1987). Butler (1974) argued that such situations inevitably create resentment among local residents who are not benefitting directly from tourism, which may explain why Andereck, Valentine, Knopf, & Vogt (2005) conclude that the industry has great potential to affect the lives of community residents. Therefore, the existence of relations between different actors and networks, and the collaboration among the players, implies that the behaviour of one player conditions the behaviour of the other (Presenza & Cipollina, 2010).

In today's world, with globalisation and increasing connectivity, this interaction is inflated, as individuals and societies are interconnected via the internet. One of the examples where globalisation through the use of the internet is clear in the tourist industry is on-line accommodation service platforms, such as Airbnb. These are offering apartments anywhere in the world, with daily rates that are especially designed for tourists. This is having an important impact on the lifestyle of local communities (Arias Sans & Quagliari Domínguez, 2016; García-Hernández, de la Calle-Vaquero, & Yubero, 2017; Gutiérrez, García-Palomares, Romanillos, & Salas-Olmedo, 2017; Horváth, 2018; Koens, Postma, & Papp, 2018; Smith, Sziva, & Olt, 2019).

The following section reviews the importance of tourism as a global phenomenon, and its development in urban areas.

2.2.1. Tourism as a system

To better understand and analyse the tourism phenomenon, its development and its impacts, tourism can be analysed as a system, by defining its basic elements. Pearce (2014) divided tourism in two different ways, first, as supply-demand systems which are related to the relationship between providers and consumers (Gunn, 1988, 1997; Mill & Morrison, 2009; Murphy, 1985), and second, as spatial systems, which are concerned with the physical environment (Leiper, 1979). As Figure 2.1 shows, the spatial system is based on the geographic elements of tourism and includes three components, the tourists (generating region), the transportation (transit routes), and the destination, which are the necessary elements for tourism to take place (Leiper, 1979). Both systems, supply-demand and spatial can be conceptualised as one system. Demand is defined as the generating region, where tourists come from, and supply as the destination region, where tourists go to visit the place, in which they interact with the local stakeholders and their resources, attractions, and services. These models are relevant to this study because they provide the basis on which to identify the elements influencing the way tourism is developed and how its impacts influence stakeholders' perceptions, attitudes and behaviour.

Figure 2.1. The Destination's Tourist System



Adapted from Leiper (1979).

The tourism system, and the way destinations develop tourism, has been associated with how stakeholders and tourist interact, and their perceptions, attitudes, and behaviour towards tourism development, its impacts, and type and behaviour of tourists (Butler, 1980; Cohen, 1972; Cole, 2012; Cooke, 1982; Dietrich & García-Buades, 2009; Doxey, 1975;

Farrell & Twining-Ward, 2004; Getz, 1983; Haywood, 1986; Long, Perdue, & Allen, 1990; Lundtorp & Wanhill, 2006; Ma & Hassink, 2013; Murphy, 1985; Noronha, 1979; Papatheodorou, 2004; Plog, 1979; Russell & Faulkner, 2004; Shaw & Williams, 1994; Singh, 2011; Smith, 1977; Tooman, 1997; Williams, 1979). This shows the important role that the stages of development play in the analysis of how tourism development and its impacts influence local stakeholders, which is reviewed in the following section.

2.2.2. Stages of tourism development

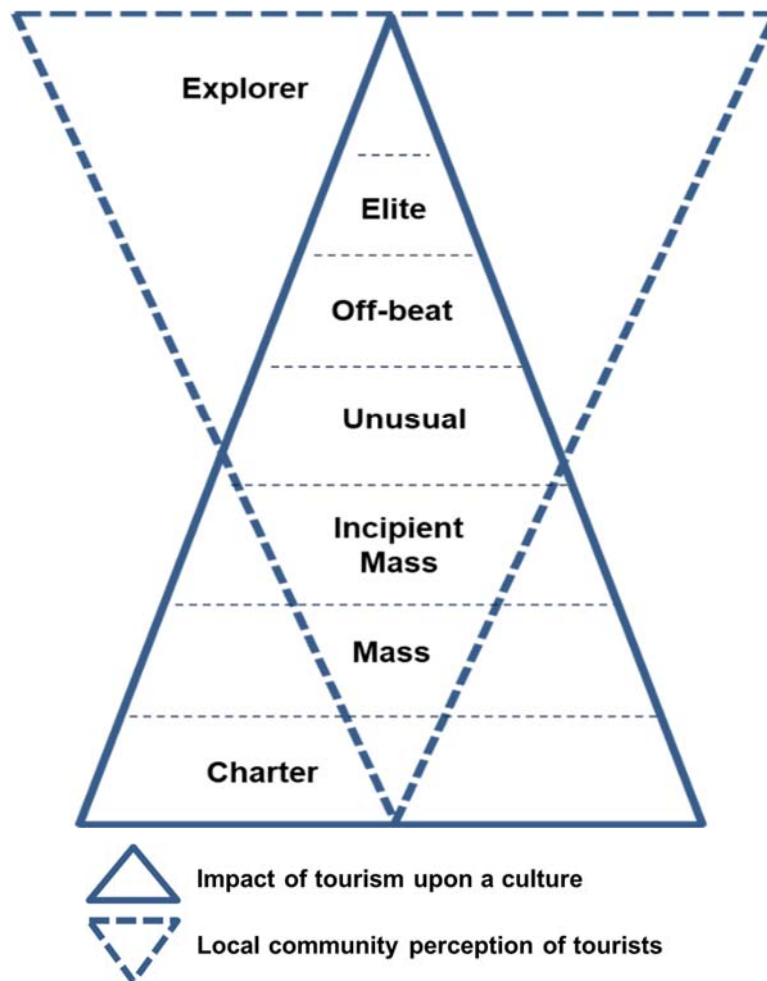
Researchers have developed important theoretical approaches that have conceptualised the development process which follow when tourism is developed. There appears to be a pattern which tourism destination passes through, from initiating stage to the development stage, the maturity or consolidation stage, and finally the decline or rejuvenation stage (Ap & Crompton, 1993; Butler, 1980; Cohen, 1972; Doxey, 1975; England, 1980; Noronha, 1979; Plog, 1994; Shaw & Williams, 1994; Smith, 1977; Williams, 1979). Each of these stages of development has different consequences for the destination (supply) and the tourists (demand). The most relevant models for the purpose of this study are Doxey's Irridex (1975), Smith's model (1977), Williams's interrelation model (1979), and Butler's TALC theory (1980).

The Irridex model (Doxey, 1975) is one of the key models that explain the reactions of the local population towards tourism development. Doxey (1975) defines Irridex as a tool that measures the irritation intensities and is important for monitoring the feelings of the local population. Therefore, Irridex is a tool used by social scientists and researchers to explain the social impacts of tourism by focusing on various stages of feelings of residents towards tourists (Fridgen, 1996). Doxey argued that 'what is important is the extent that, in the minds of the residents, the outsiders represent a challenge to the life-style of the destination' (1975, p. 195). Irridex includes four phases that are linked to the destination's stages of tourism development, namely euphoria, apathy, annoyance and antagonism. The initial stage, euphoria, is where visitors and investors are welcome. The second stage, apathy, is where tourists are taken for granted and contact between residents and tourists becomes more formal. The third stage, annoyance, is where a saturation point arises, residents begin to show misgivings about tourism, and policy-makers solutions in increasing the infrastructure rather than defining limits to growth. The fourth stage, antagonism, is where irritation is openly expressed verbally and physically, with mutual antagonism. The outsider is seen as the cause of both the personal and social problems. However, Lankford and Howard (1994) have criticised Irridex for being too simplistic and linear, only considering one particular direction. As the destination increases the number of tourists, irreversible and progressive negative behaviour from the local community will

arise. Thus, 'it ignores the complexity of factors that can influence, either positively or negatively, resident attitudes toward tourism' (Lankford & Howard, 1994, p. 135). This is why Sofield (2003) developed the 'Adaptindex', arguing that the process from euphoria to antagonism is not linear, and the process within the community will adapt over time.

Smith's (1977) model associates the development of tourism in reference to the impact on the local population, and its perceptions about the type of tourists visiting their destination, as shown in Figure 2.2. Smith (1977) classified tourists into seven different types and described the number of tourists, and the level of adaptation to local norms, for each of these types. She asserted that the stressful contact between hosts and guests increased proportionally to the increase in the number of tourists. In the case of explorers and elite travellers, by virtue of their limited number, there was usually little impact on the local community. As the number of tourists progressively increase, different expectations emerge, where more facilities are developed, leading to changes in view about tourists, who cease to be individuals and become stereotypes. Smith (1977) defined a critical threshold in the development of successful tourism that 'occurs at, or near, the intersection of the two triangles, when members of Incipient Mass tourism 'seek' Western amenities' (Smith, 1977, p. 12). At this point, Smith (1977) claimed that the local culture had to decide between two different scenarios or strategies of development, such as: consciously controlling or even restricting tourism to preserve their economic and cultural integrity, or encouraging tourism as a desirable economic goal and restructuring their culture to absorb it.

Figure 2.2. Impact of tourism and local perception of visitor by types of tourism



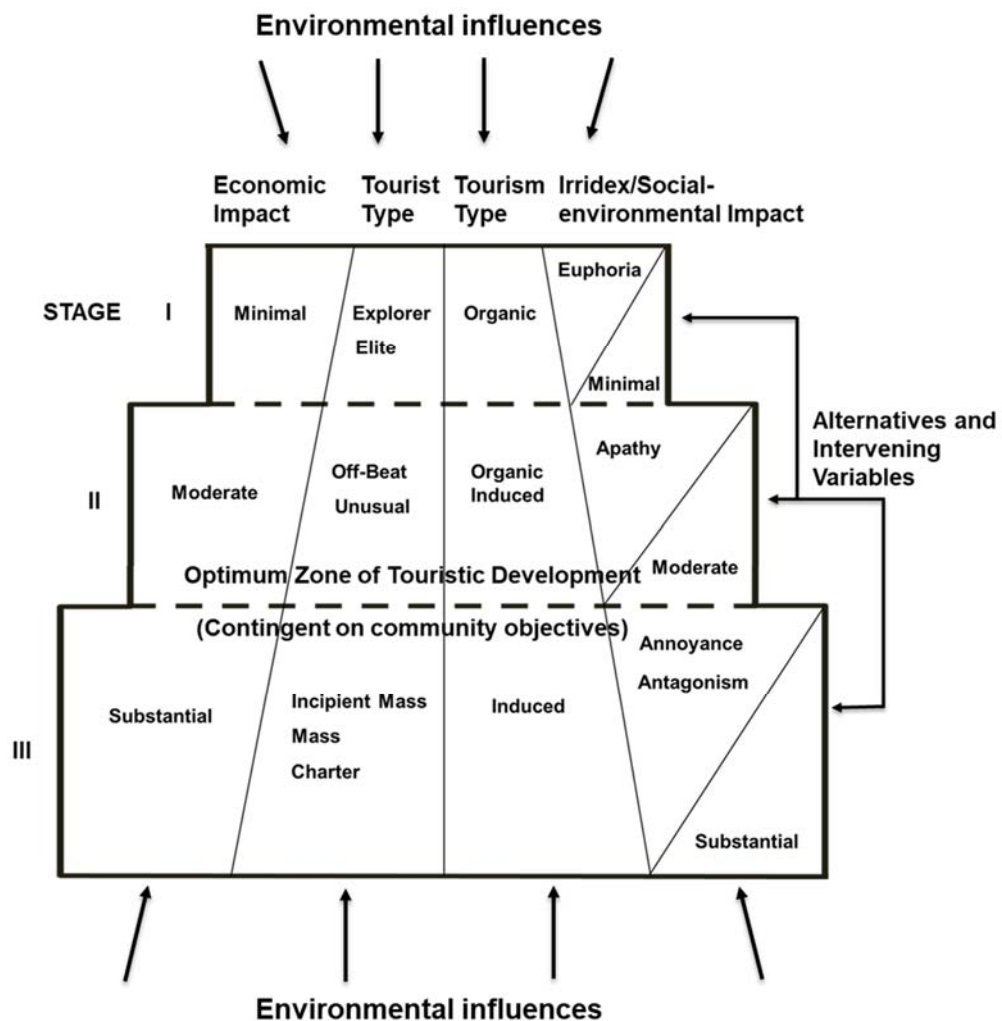
Source: Smith (1977, p. 11)

Chambers (2000, p. 21) argued that Smith (1977) provided a typology that largely distinguished modern tourists primarily on the basis of their quantity and their willingness, or ability, to adapt to local community conventions. She defined Smith's analysis as brief, and stated that 'it is difficult to judge how she actually arrived at a sense of how local population might regard the tourists in their midst' (Chambers, 2000, p. 21).

Later, Williams (1979) developed an interrelation model for tourism development and impact with four major components, including the stages of development from Greenwood (1972), the type of tourists from Smith (1977), the type of tourism from Noronha (1979) and the type of impacts from Doxey (1975). Williams's (1979) model reveals a consistent pattern of interrelationship between these four components. Later, Duffield (1982) adapted this model, reorganising the content and dividing the elements by the nature of tourism (type of tourist and type of tourism), and by the nature of the impact (social and economic impacts), without changing the basics of Williams's (1979) model. In his model, Williams (1979, p. 19) not only connected the stages of development to the impacts of tourism and the type of tourists the destination received, but also established an 'optimum zone of

touristic development' as being in the middle of the stage II, the development stage, as Figure 2.3 shows.

Figure 2.3. Interrelation model for tourism development and impact

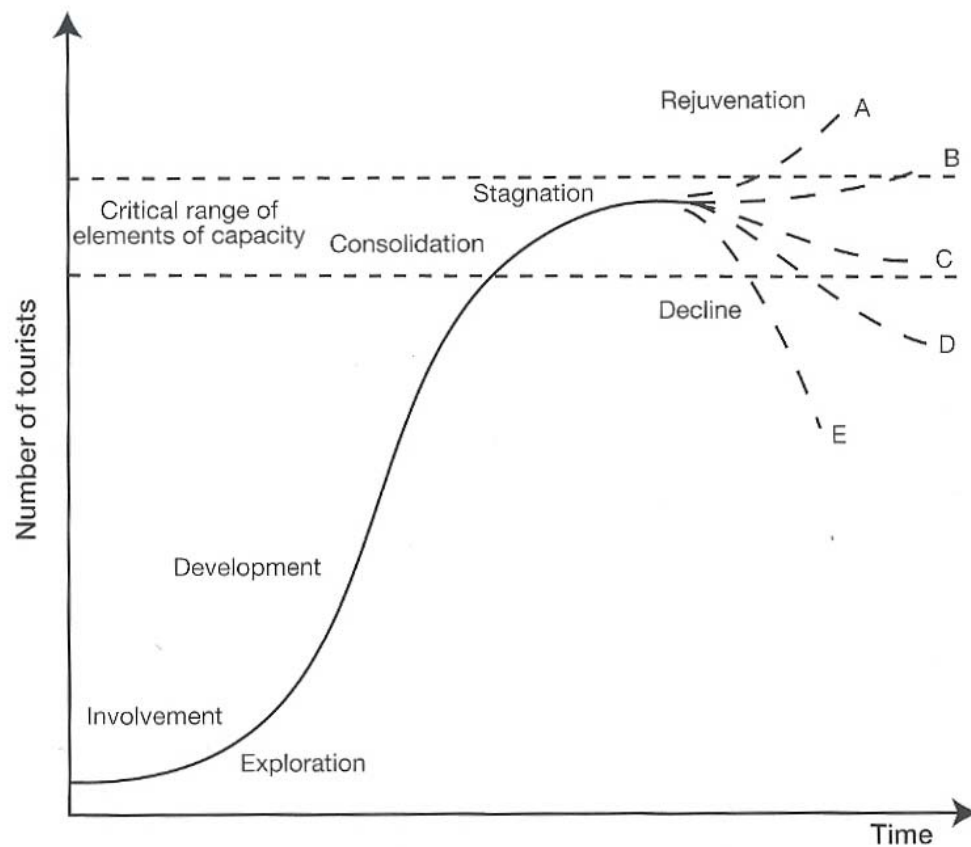


Source: Williams (1979, p. 19)

One of the most recognised theories for tourist destinations is the Tourist Area Life Cycle of Evolution (TALC) (Butler, 1980), which defines the different stages that a destination might face in the development of tourism, including the general pattern of tourist area evolution. Figure 2.4 shows that TALC has two axes representing the number of visitors and time, with six stages of development, namely exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation, and decline or rejuvenation. An increase in either direction may imply a general decrease in the quality and attractiveness of the destination after capacity levels are reached. In the case of visitors, they will arrive at a destination in small numbers initially, and will be restricted by lack of access, facilities, and local knowledge. As facilities are provided and awareness grows, the number of visitors will increase, and with marketing and further facility provision, the destination's popularity will grow substantially.

Once the consolidation stage is reached, destinations will face a critical range of elements of capacity that can affect how destinations further develop tourism.

Figure 2.4. Tourist area life cycle of evolution (TALC)



Source: Butler (1980, p. 7)

Models such as Butler's Tourist Area Life Cycle of Evolution (TALC) (1980) have been criticised for providing insufficient insight into the development of policy and planning (Haywood, 1986), for being more descriptive than normative (Haywood, 1986; Oppermann, 1995), and having insufficient empirical evidence to define the shape of the life cycle (Choy, 1992). Researchers argue that tourism is an area of study which is complex, nonlinear, uncertain, disordered, unpredictable, and has multiple outcomes from an initial action, leading to certain disequilibrium (Farrell & Twining-Ward, 2004; Russell & Faulkner, 1999). Therefore, to take this into consideration, more complex, adaptive and non-linear systems are required to include unexpected or crises process and events (Farrell & Twining-Ward, 2004). However, the life-cycle model was conceived 'on the basis that when a destination reached or was reaching its limits of development, factors such as lack of space, high land costs and need for new development would encourage development of new destinations in proximity to the original site' (Butler, 2009, p. 348). Therefore, what is important for the purpose of this study is that 'the cycle of development

is matched by a cycle of attitude change' which generally reflects the nature and scale of the development of tourism (Butler, 2009, p. 351), as Doxey (1975) has already defined.

For Tooman (1997, p. 218), in a product life-cycle, the product remains unchanged, while marketing strategies adapt for each stage, recognising that businesses and stakeholders tend to adapt to their environment, regardless of the stage of life-cycle, an argument shared by Lundtorp & Wanhill (2006). This has also been the case in Hawaii (Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997), and Australia's Gold Coast (Liu & Var, 1986) where perceptions of residents in mature tourism destinations are not always negative, suggesting that the adaptation process provides them the opportunity to balance in a more accurate way the positive and negative impacts of tourism.

There are examples in the literature that have applied Butler's theory. Dietrich & García-Buades (2009) applied TALC in the case of five coastal destinations in Belize and concluded that some destinations were in the early stages of tourism development while others were in the late stages of development. Importantly, they found that local community perceptions of tourism impacts can define the stages of tourism development (Dietrich & García-Buades, 2009). Other authors have considered the TALC model from an economic viewpoint, taking into consideration the supply, or the industry. Cole (2012) applied a logistic equation to measure development growth, which takes into consideration synergies and congestion, understood as the tourist pressure to define the growth of tourism development in a destination, using intensity variables, such as room or hotels by area, or population.

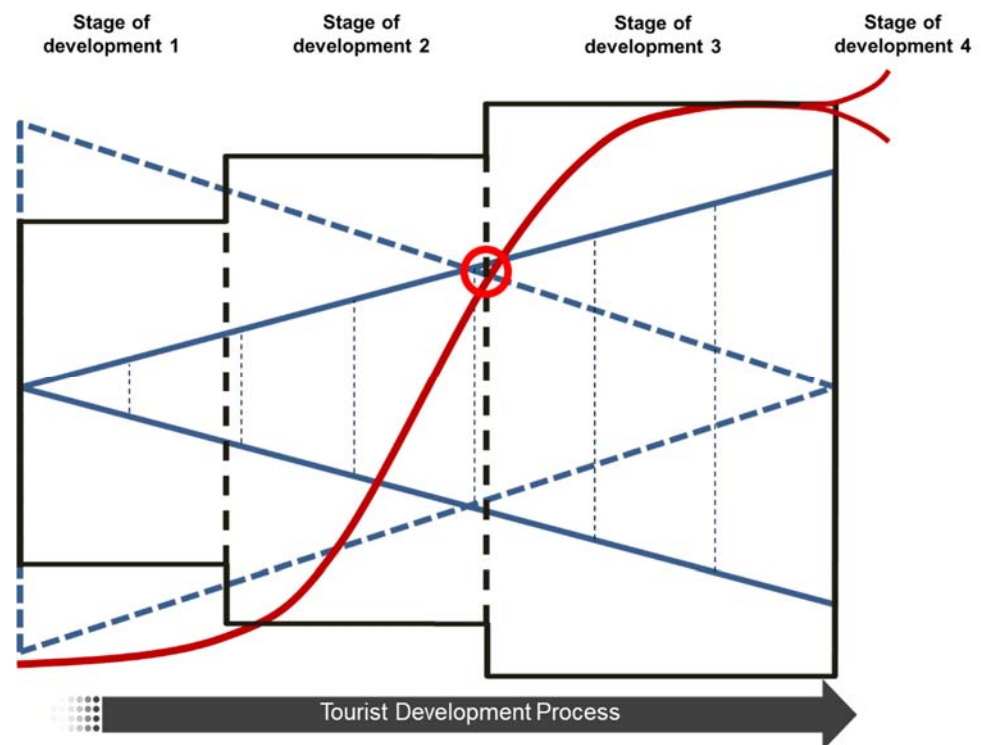
There is a relationship between the models presented by Smith, Butler, Doxey, and Williams. Combining these models that use life cycle theory to explain how tourism develops, how residents react, and the type of tourist, a more advanced model explains their relationship (Figure 2.5). The model combines eight theories and models (Figure 2.5) that can help to shed light on the way destinations develop tourism, by demonstrating that, as Williams (1979) found, there is a consistent pattern of development in which tourism is conceptualised. The combination of Smith's (1977), and later Williams' (1979) and Butler's (1980) models are linked to the stage of development, and the carrying capacity theory. Based on previous studies, Figure 2.5 shows how these models can be combined to develop a more complex model that corroborates these theoretical models to show the relationship between the stages of development, impacts of tourism, reaction of the local community, carrying capacity, and the type of tourists.





An optimum development of tourism within a destination is defined as carrying capacity threshold. This threshold is the level in which further development can bring major disruption and negative impacts to the destination and its local community, and is predicted

to occur at the end of stage of development II, which is highlighted with a red circle. This provides one of the clues to where to look for the limits and the carrying capacity of a destination towards tourism development, from the physical, environmental and social point of view.

From left to right, and top down, Figure 2.5 describes Stage I, the initial stage, as defined by exploration (Butler, 1980) or discovery (Noronha, 1979), with an organic type of development, having minimal impacts (Williams, 1979). Where the local community is having a positive perception of tourism, euphoria (Doxey, 1975) and embracement (Ap & Crompton, 1993) are expressed. Tourists are defined as explorers (Cohen, 1972), drifters (Simth, 1977), and allocentrics (Plog, 1994). As tourism develops, the impacts and type, number and behaviour of tourists and residents responses change to adapt to the next stage of development, until reaching a carrying capacity threshold.

Figure 2.5. Relationship between stages of development, impacts and type of tourists



Stage of development, impacts, and reaction						
Bultler (1980) Williams (1979) Norohna (1979) Doxey (1975) Ap and Crompton (1993)	Exploration	Involvement	Development	Consolidation	Stagnation	Decline/ Rejuvenation
	Organic		Organic induced		Induced	
	Minimal impacts		Moderate impacts	Substantial impacts		
	Discovery		Local responsive initiative	Institutionalisation		
	Euphoria	Apathy	Annoyance	Antagonism		
	Embracement	Tolerance	Adjustment	Withdrawal		
Type of tourists						
Cohen (1972)	Drifter	Explorer	Individual mass		Organised mass	
Smith (1977)	Explorer Elite	Off-beat	Unusual	Incipient mass	Mass	Charter
Plog (1994)	Allocentric		Midcentric			Phychocentric
Legend						
	Smith (1977)					
	Williams (1979)					
	Butler (1980)					
	Carrying capacity threshold					

Adapted from Ap & Crompton (1993); Butler (1980); Cohen (1972); Doxey (1975); Noronha (1979); Plog (1994); Smith (1977); Williams (1979).

Figure 2.5 shows how the development of tourism, its stages, impacts, and type of tourists, influence the way stakeholders perceive and react to tourism development, by identifying the parameters that researchers have defined in each stage of development (Table 2.1). This is useful to understanding how tourism is developed and influences stakeholders that are affected or can affect tourism, can be used to define the most appropriate strategies to adapt to tourism development and its impacts, and to achieve a more balanced and sustainable development.

Table 2.1. Tourism development path

Stage of development 1: Initial or incipient stage	
Stage names	Discovery (Noronha, 1979), organic (Williams, 1979), involvement and exploration (Butler, 1980), and euphoria (Doxey, 1975).
Type of tourists	Drifter, explorer, elite, and allocentric (Cohen, 1972; Plog, 1994; Smith, 1977). Travelling style: leisure, exploratory, multipurpose, and multidimensional (Noronha, 1979), and based on individuals (Smith, 1977). Destinations offer rest and relaxation that provides an escape for wealthy tourists (Shaw & Williams, 1994). Unspoilt places with unique character attract tourists, and new buildings and amenities necessary to house tourists bring about change (England, 1980).
Number of tourists	Limited, occasional (Smith, 1977) and small number (Butler, 1980).
Adaptation to local norms	Accepts and adapts fully (Smith, 1977).
Host-guest encounter	Encounter is face-to-face (Noronha, 1979).
Type of impacts	Minimal (Williams, 1979). The nature and extent of the impact of tourism depends on the population density and its resources (Noronha, 1979). Investors are welcomed (Doxey, 1975). Provision of facilities is minimal, although by the end of this stage, some facilities will be provided to tourists (Butler, 1980).
Local community involvement	Local decision-making, control of tourism, and local ownership (Butler, 1980). The use of local facilities and contact with local residents is likely to be high (Butler, 1980).
Local community response	Locals welcome tourists with an attitude of euphoria (Doxey, 1975), in which visitors are welcome. The local community embraces tourism (Ap & Crompton, 1993). The social structures are not changed because of tourism development (Butler, 1980).

Stage of development 2: Development stage	
Stage names	Local response initiative (Noronha, 1979), organic induced (Williams, 1979), development (Butler, 1980), and apathy and annoyance (Doxey, 1975).
Type of tourists	Individual mass, incipient mass, mid-centric (Cohen, 1972; Plog, 1994; Smith, 1977). Tourists are taken for granted (Doxey, 1975). Tourist promotion attracts tourists of middle income, who come for rest and imitate the rich tourists (Shaw & Williams, 1994). The increase in the number of tourists produces more changes, with a loss of initial attractive character (England, 1980).
Number of tourists	Steady flow (Smith, 1977). The destination attracts a larger number of tourists, which grow over time (Butler, 1980). The number of tourists at peak periods can equal or exceed the local residents (Butler, 1980).
Adaptation to local norms	Seeks Western amenities (Smith, 1977). The tourists' adjustment to the host culture is almost as great as the host population's adjustment to the tourists.
Host-guest encounter	Balance between the host-guest encounter, but towards the end of this stage the interaction between tourists and the local community becomes increasingly impersonal and formal (Doxey, 1975; Noronha, 1979)
Type of impacts	Moderate (Williams, 1979). No standardisation of tourism resources and services (Noronha, 1979). Planning concerned with marketing (Doxey, 1975). Destinations try to increase the infrastructure rather than defining limits to growth (Doxey, 1975). More hotels built, transform original character away from 'escape paradise' (Shaw & Williams, 1994). Natural and cultural attraction will be developed and marketed for tourists, changes in the physical appearance of the area will be noticeable, and not all of them will be approved by local residents (Butler, 1980).
Local community involvement	Local decision-making and control of tourism, and local ownership (Noronha, 1979). Residents begin to show misgivings about tourism and policy-makers (Doxey, 1975). Local involvement and control of development will decline as this stage progresses (Butler, 1980).
Local community response	Increasing number of tourists produces a change in the attitude of the local community towards tourism from 'euphoria' to 'apathy'. At the end of this stage, as the saturation point increases, locals show signs of annoyance (Doxey, 1975). There is a tolerance and adjustment of the local community to tourism (Ap & Crompton, 1993).

Stage of development 3: Maturity or consolidation stage	
Stage names	Institutionalisation (Noronha, 1979), induced (Williams, 1979), consolidation, stagnation (Butler, 1980), and antagonism (Doxey, 1975).
Type of tourists	Individual and organised mass tourist, charter, and mid-centric (Cohen, 1972; Plog, 1994; Smith, 1977). The travelling style is generally rapid and fast-paced. Become stereotypes of tourists (Smith, 1977). Destinations develop mass tourism, attracting a wide variety of tourists (Shaw & Williams, 1994). The loss of character becomes the element responsible for departure of tourists (England, 1980).
Number of tourists	Steady and continuous flow and massive arrivals (Smith, 1977). This stage implies more than an increase in the number of tourists.
Adaptation to local norms	Expect and demand Western amenities (Smith, 1977).
Host-guest encounter	Formal contact between tourists and hosts. Host-guest encounter becomes increasingly impersonal. Mutual antagonism, where the outsider is seen as the cause of the problems, both personal and social.
Type of impacts	Substantial (Williams, 1979). Standardised tourist facilities and services. Important impacts on economic, social, and political areas of the tourist destination (Butler, 1980; Noronha, 1979). Social and environmental degradation (Shaw & Williams, 1994). Planning must be remedial (Doxey, 1975).
Local community involvement	Loss of local control over the development of tourism, and an increased economic dependence on individuals and groups outside the destination area (Noronha, 1979).
Local community response	<p>The large number of tourists received produces a change in the attitude of the local community towards tourism, from 'annoyance' to 'antagonism', and irritation is openly expressed verbally and physically (Doxey, 1975).</p> <p>There is an adjustment and withdrawal of the local community from the area (Ap & Crompton, 1993).</p> <p>Resentment and friction arise (Butler, 1974; Noronha, 1979). The large number of tourists and facilities can arouse some opposition and discontent among local residents (Butler, 1980).</p> <p>Tourists cease to be individuals and become stereotypes (Smith, 1977). When a certain threshold of development is achieved, residents perceive tourism development more negatively, and impacts of tourism become more noticeable to them (Dietrich & García-Buades, 2009; Long, Perdue, & Allen, 1990; Mansfeld & Ginosar, 1994).</p>

	Carrying capacity threshold is surpassed when residents enthusiasm and support for tourism becomes less favourable, negative attitudes are manifested, and unacceptable levels of disruption are perceived, which results in irritation (Butler, 1980; Cooke, 1982; Dietrich & García-Buades, 2009; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Long, Perdue, & Allen, 1990; Postma & Schmuecker, 2017; Smith, 1977; Williams, 1979).
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Stage of development 4: Decline or rejuvenation	
Stage names	Decline or rejuvenation (Butler, 1980).
Type of tourists	Psychocentric (Plog, 1994).
Number of tourists	Social and environmental problems, most tourists exit (Shaw & Williams, 1994). The departure of tourists results in environmental, social, and economic degradation (England, 1980). The area will no longer appeal to the same type of tourists, but can attract other markets (Butler, 1980).
Adaptation to local norms	-
Host-guest encounter	-
Type of impacts	Tourists exit, leaving behind derelict tourism facilities (Shaw & Williams, 1994). Ultimately, the area may become a tourist slum, or lose its tourist function (Butler, 1980). To rejuvenate, there are two primary methods – add a man-made attraction, or take advantage of unexploited resources (Butler, 1980).
Local community involvement	Increase the local community involvement, as residents can purchase facilities at lower prices as the market declines (Butler, 1980).
Local community response	Most of the population cannot return to their original way of life (Shaw & Williams, 1994).

As Table 2.1 shows, in the initial stage, the number of tourists is still limited. Therefore, in order to attract more tourists and develop the tourism industry, residents have the tendency to embrace, accept, and adapt to the development of tourism and its limited impacts (Ap & Crompton, 1993; Butler, 1980; Doxey, 1975; Smith, 1977). When the destination is in the second stage, the destination attracts a larger number of tourists, where the number of tourists at peak periods can equal or exceed local residents (Butler, 1980). Towards the end of this stage, host-guest interaction becomes increasingly impersonal and formal, where the local community is showing signs of annoyance (Doxey, 1975; Noronha, 1979).

The third stage can attract a steady and continuous flow and massive arrivals (Smith, 1977). This stage implies more than an increase in the number of tourists. The adaption of tourists is expected and they demand Western amenities (Smith, 1977). The interaction of host and guest in this stage is becoming impersonal, with mutual antagonism, where the outsider is seen as the cause of the problems, both personal and social (Doxey, 1975). The local community show signs of antagonism, where irritation, resentment and friction arise, with major adjustments, and withdrawals (Ap & Crompton, 1993; Butler, 1974; Doxey, 1975; Noronha, 1979). The last stage is decline or rejuvenation. There are many social and environmental problems when tourists exit (Shaw & Williams, 1994), which results in environmental, social, and economic degradation (England, 1980). The area will no longer appeal to the same type of tourists, but can attract other markets (Butler, 1980), unless there is a strategy to rejuvenate the destination by building new attractions or developing new products that are attractive to similar types of tourists. In conclusion, in each stage of tourism development, the demand and supply changes along with the stakeholders' relationships. As has been argued, tourism development and its stages can be defined by local community perceptions of tourism impacts (Dietrich & García-Buades, 2009), which are aligned by the way the stages of development matches with the attitudinal changes of stakeholders (Butler, 2009). This is especially important when destinations experience rapid growth (Park & Stokowski, 2009), such as the case of Barcelona. This is why it is critical to understand how stages of development and its impacts influence stakeholders' perceptions, attitudes and behaviour from a carrying capacity perspective.

2.3. Carrying capacity and the limits of acceptable changes

Carrying capacity can be defined as 'the level of use beyond which impacts exceed acceptable levels specified by evaluative standards' (Shelby & Heberlein, 1984, p. 441). This includes the notion of limits or thresholds beyond which development, use, growth, or change should not be permitted (Yong, 1973; Getz, 1983). Therefore, carrying capacity applies not only to the maximum number of tourists, or the extent of tourist accommodation, but also to the maximum rate of growth above which the growth process itself would be undeservedly disruptive (Butler, 1980; de Kadt, 1976; O'Reilly, 1986). Therefore, carrying capacity can be defined as the level or threshold of tourists that a destination can absorb without producing disruptive impacts in the social, economic, and environmental context.

Traditionally, carrying capacity looked at wildlife environments and management of protected areas, and was based on how 'the ability of suitable conditions for living determines the number of organisms that can exist in an environment' (Carey, 1993, p. 141). However, because of the evolution of environments and the changes in the conditions, management, and advance in technology, the 'determination of a single carrying capacity is all but impossible' (McCool & Lime, 2001, p. 374). Because no single number to determine a limit has been achieved, different capacities with regard to the type of impact, visitors' experiences and satisfaction, and perceived crowding could be defined (Farrell & Twining-Ward, 2004; Graefe, Vaske, & Kuss, 1984). This is why Farrell & Twining-Ward (2004, 284) defined the term 'adaptive carrying capacity' to consider the continuous changes that destinations are facing, as a means of identifying the critical thresholds (O'Reilly, 1986). Thus, carrying capacity can provide a 'powerful and useful tool to address unacceptable tourism induced impacts' (McCool & Lime, 2001, p. 373). To achieve this aim, management tools such as the Limits of Acceptable Change (LAC) have been developed to seek more sustainable development and planning (McCool, 1994). LAC is based on an integrated system that includes parameters that can be revised to adapt to the environments over time (Farrell & Twining-Ward, 2004) to define acceptable amount of changes that are adequate to stakeholders (Ahn, Lee, & Shafer, 2002).

Because different capacities can coexist in a tourist destination, Stonich (1998) in Honduras found that even though at the national level tourists have a relatively low impact, when the data is analysed by zones, it shows a much higher impact, with the number of tourist per resident as well as the number of tourists per square kilometre rising exponentially. These results show the importance of disaggregating the data regarding the different areas of a destination and, consequently how the impacts may also be different

in terms of intensity and weight towards the local stakeholders. In the case of three different communities on the coast of Texas, Ahn, Lee, & Shafer (2002) discovered differences in the way residents felt about tourism, and advocated using zoning techniques to differentiate development and activities to understand the different conditions of each community under study.

2.3.1. Carrying capacity threshold

One of the problems in accepting carrying capacity as a tool for controlling the number of tourists is that the threshold needs to be identified in advance, achieving agreement among stakeholders (Butler, 1991). And therefore, the question is who would define the limits or thresholds, and implement, and monitor them? (Butler, 1991). This requires subjective and judgemental decisions, and therefore, objectivity and transparency about where the limits of capacity should be placed and the reasoning behind this decision are not clear (Graefe, Vaske, & Kuss, 1984; Lindberg, McCool, & Stankey, 1997). In this regard, empirical research has discovered that residents perceive tourism development more negatively when a certain threshold of development is achieved and impacts of tourism become more noticeable to them (Dietrich & García-Buades, 2009; Long, Perdue, & Allen, 1990; Mansfeld & Ginosar, 1994). Therefore, carrying capacity threshold for sustainable tourism can be defined when residents' enthusiasm and support for tourism become less favourable, negative attitudes are manifested, and unacceptable levels of disruption are perceived, which results into irritation (Butler, 1980; Cooke, 1982; Dietrich & García-Buades, 2009; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Long, Perdue, & Allen, 1990; Postma & Schmuecker, 2017; Smith, 1977; Williams, 1979). This is the moment when a destination's stakeholders have to decide between accelerating development, and develop tourism as a desirable goal and seeking to become a service centre, or preserving local culture, which draws visitor admiration (Doxey, 1976; Smith, 1977). These two opposite strategies need to be carefully considered for any destination, in order to establish the most appropriate policies that can help to achieve the most appropriate development according to the needs of the destination and its stakeholders. We can therefore ask: 'how can one put a figure on the profound change that tourism may cause in the society of the host country?' (Krippendorff, 1987, p. 51).

In Cyprus, Saveriades (2000) suggested that tourism development had brought changes to the social character of a destination which depending on the direction were positive or negative, and the magnitude of these changes can be measured using carrying capacity with regards to the volume of tourists and visitors. Saveriades (2000) argued that each destination had its own level of acceptance of tourism development beyond which deterioration of quality of life and experiences by tourists can negatively affect such

development. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, carrying capacity threshold can be defined as the point when stakeholders perceive the negative impacts to be more noticeable than the positive ones, and when the negative impacts are diminishing residents' quality of life.

2.3.2. Measuring carrying capacity

There have been few attempts to measure carrying capacity in the tourism literature. Capacities can be defined as multiple, because destinations have different characteristics and zones which may have different types of physical and social conditions (Lime, 1970), and because capacities are different throughout the life cycle. Consequently, it is critical to consider carrying capacity as a management and planning tool to alleviate negative impacts produced by the development of tourism (Getz, 1992).

For the purpose of this study, physical and social carrying capacities (Hall, 1974; O'Reilly, 1986; Shelby & Heberlein, 1984) are relevant to understanding the reasons residents' perceptions, attitudes and behaviour to tourism development and its impacts in the different districts of the city. Physical carrying capacity can be defined as the capacity of physical characteristics of the destination, including space parameters such as people per square km, number of people in critical areas, capacity of roads, airlines, accommodation facilities, parking spaces, number of beds, labour, and water and energy supply (Hall, 1974; Shelby & Heberlein, 1984). This can be measured by looking at which level of use or congestion is discouraging users and annoying residents (Hall, 1974).

Social carrying capacity can be defined as the way tourists feel welcome, and includes experience and attitude parameters, including the level of use that brings congestion and deters users and annoy residents, the level of local community hostility to tourists, and the level of overcrowding, and scarcities. It is also important to look at the encounter with other parties per hour or day, number of encounters with groups of a particular size and type, and the number of people encountered at an attraction site (Hall, 1974; Shelby & Heberlein, 1984).

Researchers have proposed carrying capacity measures to reduce the negative impacts of tourism development. These include a reduction in the number of tourists that can be achieved by increasing the price of goods and accommodation; the dispersion of visitors to an area to reduce encounters with others by designing new attractions away from tourist spots; encouraging relocation; zoning; scheduling times of visits; hardening the site by regulating the admission to an attraction; changing the type of tourists to a more cultural and environmentally concerned group; changing the information given to tourists; and education of visitors to improve behavioural outcomes while visiting a destination, although

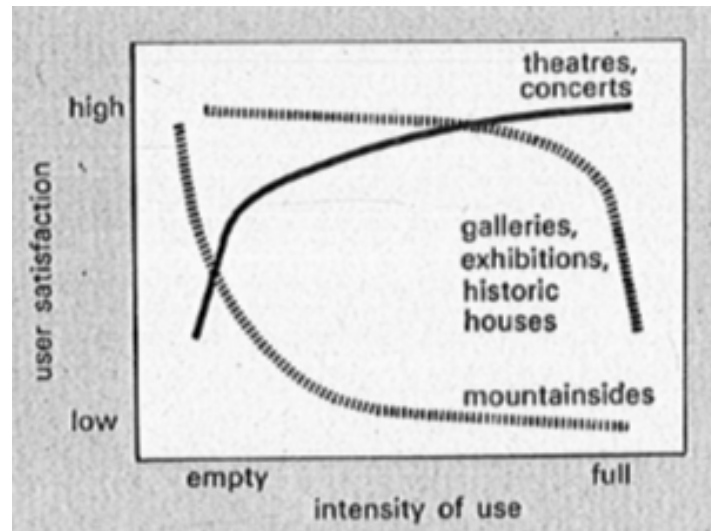
education is a more long term view (Becker, Jubenville, & Burnett, 1984; Butler 1991; Hall, 1974; Shelby & Heberlein, 1984). These proposals are an interesting approach to implementing carrying capacity measures, although some of them could result in the opposite outcomes, or could be impractical (Butler, 1991). This is the case of dispersing the tourists, for example, which can result in spreading the impacts, positive and negative, to non-tourist areas. Reducing the number of tourists can be very controversial from the point of view of the different interests of the stakeholders involved in tourism. Thus, each destination should define the best ways to develop tourism with the aim of minimising negative impacts, while increasing positive ones.

Saturation can be defined as the degree of tourist penetration which can be measured by the degree of physical space occupancies (Hills & Lundgren, 1977). This comprises all those social, cultural, and political variables on which the impact of tourism could lead to friction between tourists and residents. Space and territory are also used by McElroy, de Albuquerque, & Dioguardi (1993) who, in the case of the Caribbean Islands, defined the density ratio as the number of tourists per square kilometre, and the penetration ratio as the number of tourists per resident. Stonich (1998) defined two ratios that can be applied to measures and compare the impact of tourism. These are the Tourist Intensity Ratio (TIR), which measure the percentage of tourists to the local population, and the Tourist Density Ratio (TDR), which measures the number of tourists to land area. Saveriades (2000) used similar ratios to measure carrying capacity, including the contact ratio between hosts and guests, and the tourist function index defined as the number of tourist beds divided by the local population, and multiplied by 100. In Cyprus, Saveriades (2000) defined the optimum sociological contact ratio to avoid exceeding carrying capacity threshold at 5.20, but no clear reasoning is provided about why this was the optimum contact ratio, which becomes a major limitation to understanding the rationale behind this threshold.

These examples show that to date, it is not clear how to measure carrying capacity thresholds, because it is a complex issue that has been researched from different approaches. Hall (1974) demonstrates the complexities of defining capacities by using a hypothetical relationship between physical capacity levels and user satisfaction in three different scenarios. These include theatres, exhibitions centres, and mountainsides. Hall (1974) used the concepts of intensity of use versus user satisfaction and compared them to events such as theatrical events and concerts. The results showed that when the intensity of use is low, the satisfaction is also low, and satisfaction increases with the growth of the intensity of use. In the case of mountainsides, when the intensity of use is low, there is a high level of satisfaction that decreases rapidly as the intensity of use increases, as shown in Figure 2.6. This demonstrates that 'undercrowding may be as

annoying as overcrowding' (Hall, 1974, p. 392) depending on the context that is applied. In the case of urban areas, Neuts, Nijkamp, & Leeuwen (2012) found that a certain amount of crowding is observed as positive. However, after a certain level of use, rivalry over the saturated spaces results in a negative perception by the users.

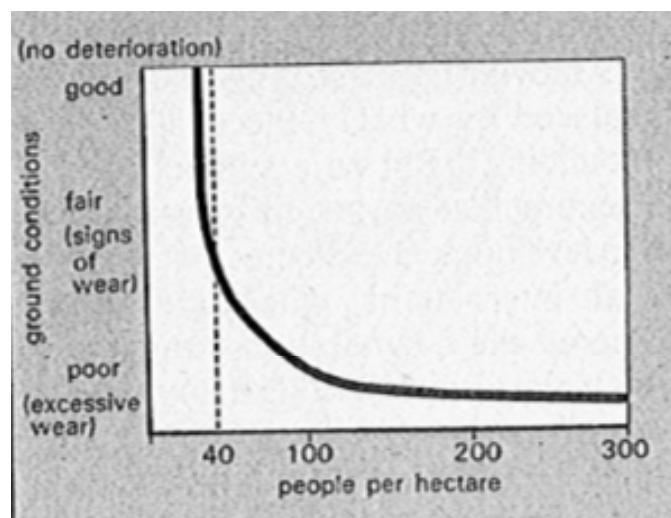
Figure 2.6. User satisfaction against levels of use



Source: Hall (1974, p. 392)

A practical example is the case of the management of Sharwood Forest, which looked at the relationship between ground conditions and people per hectare, and arrived at the conclusion that the vegetation was damaged after the visitor density exceed 40 people per hectare (Hall, 1974), as shown in Figure 2.7.

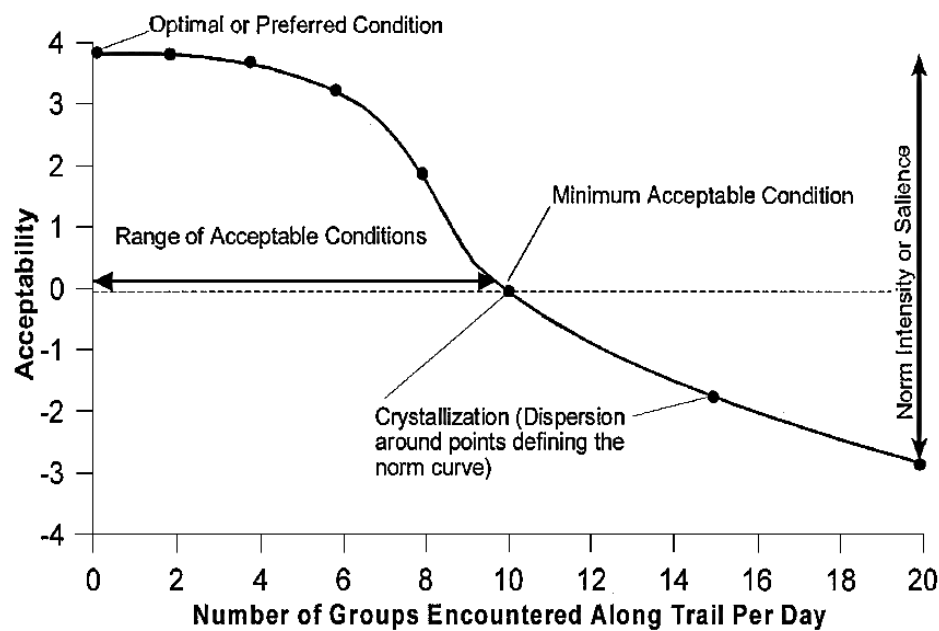
Figure 2.7. Sharwood Forest: density of use and ground conditions



Source: Hall (1974, p 395)

Manning, Valliere, & Wang (1999) defined a model of acceptability of crowding perception in a trail. They discovered that the 'norm curve' follows the average of acceptability of some recreationists that encounter a range of groups of other visitors along a trail per day. The range of acceptable conditions includes the points on the norm curve above zero, ranging from 0 to a maximum 10 users (Figure 2.8). Thus, congestion seems a better concept than carrying capacity because it entails a process rather than a limit, which is linked to the intensity of tourism activity (Cole, 2012).

Figure 2.8. Hypothetical social norm curve



Source: Manning, Valliere, & Wang (1999, p. 99)

Long, Perdue, & Allen (1990) in their research on rural communities noted that the most important outcome is to determine the level of acceptance of change in a destination, and confirmed that the 'perception of tourism impacts, both positive and negative, increased significantly with increasing levels of tourism development' (1990, p. 8). Therefore, they defined the threshold of development beyond which resident attitudes towards additional development became less favourable as when approximately thirty percent (30%) of local retail sales were focused on tourism demand.

These examples demonstrate that, although social carrying capacity is a complex issue, it is possible to measure. However, it also demonstrates that there is no single way of measuring the carrying capacity and limits of acceptable change, although it can help researchers and practitioners to be aware of the way tourism is developed, its type and nature of impacts, and to have information that can help to define the appropriate policies, strategies and action plans that can benefit all stakeholders involved in tourism development.

Stakeholders can be used as an overall framework of analysis, because they are a key part of tourism development, and their characteristics and relationships become critical to better understanding the phenomenon under study.

2.4. Tourist destination stakeholders

Stakeholder theory is a theory of organizational management and business ethics that accounts for multiple constituencies impacted by businesses (Lim 2018), in which an organisation is characterised by its relationship with various individuals and groups. Today, the globalisation of tourism is demanding new approaches to managing corporations and governance, and a better way to balance the different stakeholders' interests, especially important in tourist destinations. From the viewpoint of proponents of stakeholder theory, there is a need to consider 'the arguments of various interest groups claiming the resource, and the social benefits of the competing claims as perceived by decision-makers' (Becker, Jubenville, & Burnett, 1984, pp. 479-480).

For Freeman (1984), a key figure in the development of stakeholder theory, the potential demands from external sources means that there is pressure to find new ways of managing organisations, based on today's management needs. A stakeholder can be defined as: 'any group or individual who can affect, or is affected by', the success of any organisations' objectives (Freeman, 1984, p. 6), and can be any individual or group that 'have, or claim, ownership, rights, or interests' in any organisation's past, present, or future activities (Clarkson, 1995, p. 106). For the purposes of this study, stakeholders are defined as those individuals or groups that affect, or are affected by, the decision-making of the organisations that manage and control the tourism development process within a destination. The next part of this chapter will introduce a classification of stakeholders by type.

2.4.1. Type of stakeholder

In order to classify stakeholders, Freeman (1984) defined several stakeholder groups, including owners, shareholders, employees, suppliers, customers, competitors, local community, government and political parties, media, consumer advocates, not-for-profit organisations, activist groups, and in some cases, unions and financial communities. However, these categories have been defined by others as reductionist, because they do not show the existing complexity and heterogeneity within the different stakeholder groups (Wolfe & Putler, 2002). Stakeholder groups overlap in their interests, (Garrod, Fyall, Leask & Reid, 2012). For example, a client can be also an employee, or some members of the local community can work in the tourist industry, including hotels, restaurants or guiding

services. Therefore, the individuals in each group of stakeholders are all different, with sometimes diverse, or contrary interests, creating multiple stakeholder group possibilities.

In tourism, five stakeholder groups can be included, namely, the public administrators, the local community groups, the tourist demand, the tourist industry, and other private sectors (Figure 2.9). However, for the purpose of this study, only the local stakeholders involved in tourism are included, namely, the public administrator through the municipality of Barcelona, the residents, through the local neighbours associations, and the tourist industry, through Turisme de Barcelona, which represents the interests of the municipality and the local hotel association and trade groups. They are explored in more detail in the empirical chapters of this thesis.

Figure 2.9. Stakeholders of tourism destinations



Adapted from Chambers (2000); Freeman (1984); Goeldner & Ritchie (2009); Robson & Robson (1996).

2.4.2. Stakeholder theory in tourism research

In tourism, stakeholder theory has been applied in different disciplines, including planning, public participation, and the management of tourist destinations (Ioannides, 1995; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Robson & Robson, 1996; Sautter & Leisen, 1999; Sheenan & Ritchie, 2005). Approaches to stakeholder theory are twofold. First, there is the classical idea of stakeholder management in which the organisation considers the interest of the stakeholders and develops policies based on the power and influence of each stakeholder (Byrd, 2007). Consequently, the level of power of stakeholders determines the level of dependency of one organisation on different stakeholders (Savage, Nix, Whitehead &

Blair, 1991). Those with more power will have more influence than those with less power (De Lopez, 2001). Second, there is the collaborative approach (Jamal & Getz, 1995), in which all interests are included, and no one set of stakeholders has more influence over other stakeholders (Sautter & Leisen, 1999). This means that stakeholder theory should be used as a counterbalance to the conceptual 'buy low and sell high' philosophy of business (Campbell, 1997). However, 'an organisation that is accountable to everyone is actually accountable to no one' (Sternberg, 1997, p. 5), which is one of the most important challenges that organisations dealing with tourism management and marketing are facing, because the more stakeholders they 'choose to collaborate with, the greater the risk that there will be in the untenable situation of trying to reconcile incompatible interests' (Sheenan & Ritchie, 2005, p. 727). Therefore, it is critical to assess the level and type of relationship of each stakeholder, which can help to define the appropriate strategic approach to manage stakeholders in a more effective way (Sheehan & Ritchie, 2005), because it is important to consider an equitable outcome for stakeholders that are affected or can affect tourism and compare inputs and outcomes in their involvement in tourism (Adam, 1965).

Stakeholders' participation and empowerment

Stakeholders' participation is critical when considering the benefits and costs that tourism development brings to a destination and its stakeholders (Andereck, Valentine, Knof & Vogt, 2005; Choi & Sirakaya, 2005). Arnstein (1969) defined participation as the citizens' power to influence a decision-making process. Depending on the way power is distributed, local residents may find a voice in the political and economic process. There are three main categories of participation: 'non-participation', where no residents can participate, 'degree of tokenism', where there is a level of participation but without power to influence the decision-making process, and 'degree of citizen power' which includes not only a voice in expressing interests but actual influence in the decision-making process (Amstein, 1969). This classification can help to illustrate the different gradations of citizen participation and levels of power that can exist in society, and shed light on the way stakeholders involved in tourism can be considered in the participation process.

To achieve sustainable tourism all stakeholders that are affected or can affect tourism need to be included in decision-making, with the aim of achieving a balance between the different and contradictory interests of stakeholders (Edwards, Griffin, & Hayllar, 2008; Koens, Postma, & Papp, 2018; Seraphin, Sheeran, & Pilato, 2018). Residents support and participation in decision-making is critical for implementing successful sustainable tourism development (Gursoy & Rutherford, 2004; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011; Yu, Chancellor, & Cole, 2011), where all stakeholders have an influence in the planning and policy process,

and benefits can be fairly distributed (Choi & Sirakaya, 2006). This is echoed by Postma & Schmuecker (2017) in their study about Hamburg (Germany) where the social dimension, defined as the acceptance of tourism development and increased quality of life, and the economic dimension, defined as the facilitation of the industry to develop, should be accepted by residents.

By expressing their opinions, and having a voice, residents increase their pride and self-esteem (Boley, McGehee, Perdue, & Long, 2014), which can help to achieve a more favourable perception of the impacts of tourism development, where residents can be more likely to support the development of tourism, avoiding major conflicts between stakeholder groups (Healey, 1998). However, 'participation without redistribution of power is an empty and frustrating process for the powerless' (Arnstein, 1969, p. 216), because there is a need to empower (Cole, 2006; Scheyvens, 1999; Sofield, 2003) to achieve higher levels of acceptance of tourism development (Boley, McGehee, Perdue, & Long, 2014).

In the case of Barcelona, the relationship between stakeholders that are affected, or that can affect tourism development, and the power relationship among them, will be analysed. As such, stakeholder theory can help to better understand the underlying power relationships that influence the aims, values, responsibilities, and roles of stakeholders. At the same time, how these relationships operate in practice and develop over time, are empirical questions, requiring analysis of specific situations. This calls for an analysis of the stakeholders' level of involvement, participation, and empowerment in the tourism development process, and how their diverse interests can be accommodated to define the most appropriate development path, and policy to implement it.

Having set out the value of a stakeholder approach as an overarching theoretical framework for the study of tourism, attention is now turned to analysis of the impacts of tourism development.

2.5. Impacts of tourism development

Tourism is conventionally portrayed as an agent of change and transformation within tourist destinations, because it changes the characteristics of the destination, its economy, society, and environment (Ahn, Lee, & Shafer, 2002; Butler, 1975, 1991; Cohen, 1972; Deery, Jago & Fredline, 2012; Duffield, 1982; Duffield & Long, 1981; Lanfant, 1980; Murphy, 1983; Park & Stokowski, 2009; Saveriades, 2000). Impacts of tourism can be regarded as the changes brought by the process of tourism development, and can be divided into three categories; economic, physical, and social (Mathieson & Wall, 1982). Impacts are never universal, are difficult to measure and to a large extent, are indirect, and therefore, they are difficult to generalise and isolate. Tourism is not the only sector of

change and other sectors commonly develop simultaneously, competing with other industries for resources such as labour and land (Ashworth & Page, 2011; Chambers, 2000; Edwards, Griffin, & Hayllar, 2008; Lanfant, 1980; Noronha, 1979; Pizam & Milman, 1984).

With regard to social change, tourism and its impacts are a consequence of the interaction between tourists and residents, as a result of their proximity (Butler, 1991; Mathieson & Wall, 1982). This social impact is more subjective and intangible (Haley, Snaith & Miller, 2005). Key aspects of socio-cultural impacts associated with tourism destination development relate to local quality of life and sense of place, have more personal interpretation, take longer to appear, and are difficult to measure (Beeton, 2006; Godfrey & Clarke, 2000). Because residents are an important part of the destination (supply), they can be largely impacted by the changes that occur when tourism is developed (Ahn, Lee, & Shafer, 2002).

As a result, the impacts of tourism are affecting local community perceptions, attitudes and behaviour with regards to their quality of life, which can result in support or non-support for tourism development (Deery, Jago & Fredline, 2012). Butler (1975), and later Sharpley (2014), defined social changes derived from tourism development, and divided resident perceptions into extrinsic and intrinsic variables (Table 2.2).

- Extrinsic variables (external to the destination): stage of development, type and density of tourists, seasonality, and activities.
- Intrinsic variables (internal to the destination): economic dependency, community involvement, spatial characteristics, the interaction process, strength of local culture, and demographic characteristics.

These variables are key to understanding the complexity of the social changes and residents' perceptions, in analysing tourism development and its impacts.

Table 2.2. Variables in social change and resident perception

Variables in social change and resident perceptions	
Extrinsic	Intrinsic
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Stage of tourism development	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Economic dependency on tourism
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Type of tourists (length of stay, racial and economic characteristics)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Community involvement in tourism
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Density of tourists	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Spatial characteristics of development (distance from tourism zone)
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Seasonality	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Interaction with tourists
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Activities of visitors	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Strength of local culture (values, social identity, status)
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• National stage of development	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Demographic: age, gender, education

Adapted from Butler (1975, p. 86); Sharpley (2014, p. 43).

With regard to the impact of tourism, residents tend to agree that tourism increases both positive and negative community impacts (Andereck, Valentine, Knopf, & Vogt, 2005). However, impacts affect local stakeholders differently, with ‘the tendency for the direct benefits of tourism to be concentrated in specific economic sectors, while the costs tend to be more diffuse’ (Ashworth & Page, 2011, p. 11). The growth of tourism can also bring an inequitable distribution of positive and negative impacts, which can result in conflict among the local community and other stakeholders within a destination (Park & Stokowski, 2009).

Positive impacts include a better international atmosphere, an increased number of events, an increase in a positive image, protection of historical areas and sites and conservation and restoration of traditional architecture (UNWTO, 2018), as well as an increase in the number of shops, restaurants, festivals, fairs, and museums (Andereck, Valentine, Knopf, & Vogt, 2005). In Scotland, for example, the population has increased as a result of tourism development and its positive impact on the economy and society (Duffield & Long, 1981).

Negative impacts include the disruption that residents face as a result of tourism, negatively affecting their quality of life (García-Hernández, de la Calle-Vaquero, & Yubero, 2017; Martín Martín, Guaita Martínez, & Salinas Fernández, 2018; Novy, 2018; Seraphin, Sheeran, & Pilato, 2018). In Honduras, Stonich (1998) found that impacts of tourism were associated with social differentiation, increasing the gap between rich and poor with low paid and temporary jobs. There was also a reduction of local access to natural resources, affecting traditional activities such as fishing, hunting and gathering, as well as increasing

the price of food, goods, and housing, land speculation and increased land costs. Tourism increased foreign ownership of local resources, and contributed to degradation of the biophysical environment and its rapid and uncontrolled growth negatively affected residents' quality of life (Stonich, 1998).

In the case of Cyprus, Saveriades, (2000) found that impacts included increasing the cost of living (inflation), land values and speculation, beach congestion, and compromised services in hotels and restaurants, which changed local traditions, social behaviour, and moral standards. As Saveriades, (2000) highlighted, during the peak season locals felt like foreigners in their own town. However, even for the residents that consider tourists impeded their normal life-style, there were no feelings of resentment or irritation in the three Cyprus coastal resort. Therefore, some strategies need to be put in place by the different stakeholders involved in tourism development, in order to avoid or at least minimise negative impacts of tourism development (Butler, 1980; Choy, 1992; Cohen, 1972; Cole, 2012; Dietrich & García-Buades, 2009; Doxey, 1975; Farrell & Twining-Ward, 2004; Forster, 1964; Greenwood, 1976; Haywood, 1986; Lundtorp & Wanhill, 2006; Plog, 1994; Shaw & Williams, 1994; Smith, 1977; Tooman, 1997; Williams, 1979). Thus, researchers have found diverse impacts, both positive and negative, as a result of tourism development.

In urban areas, tourism commodifies local resources, attractions and services (García-Hernández, de la Calle-Vaquero, & Yubero, 2017), which can result in a loss of authenticity and local identity (Cole, 2007; Koens, Postma, & Papp, 2018) and boost the process of homogenisation of the landscape and its culture (García-Hernández, de la Calle-Vaquero, & Yubero, 2017; Horváth, 2018). As a consequence, there is growing competition between tourists and local stakeholders for public spaces (García-Hernández, de la Calle-Vaquero, & Yubero, 2017). Competition for land can result in an increase in speculation, and in prices of services, including restaurants, bars, shops, residential accommodation, and transport (UNWTO, 2018).

This increases the gentrification process which is affected by different factors, including the reduction of residential accommodation supply, which displaces residents to accommodate tourists, changes from traditional shops to a more tourist oriented supply, the behaviour of tourists that do not respect local customs and traditions, increased noise and litter in neighbourhoods, and an increase in crime (García-Hernández, de la Calle-Vaquero, & Yubero, 2017; Horváth, 2018; Koens, Postma, & Papp, 2018; Novy, 2018; Martín Martín, Guaita Martínez, & Salinas Fernández, 2018; Smith, Sziva, & Olt, 2009; van der Borg, Costa, & Gotti, 1996).

The concentration of tourism in certain areas increases the sense of overcrowding affecting traffic and mobility, in which tourism becomes a monoculture activity (García-Hernández, de la Calle-Vaquero, & Yubero, 2017; Horváth, 2018), that can transform these areas into theme parks (Horváth, 2018).

According to Koens, Postma, & Papp (2018), rather than the number of tourists, residents are concerned about the rapid and unexpected growth of tourism, especially in areas with low levels of tourism development, and the ones that concentrate tourists in certain periods of time or during certain events, which increase the perception of so called 'overtourism'. The effects of these impacts have led to demonstrations and protests of local residents against the development of tourism in urban areas, which are associated with lack of planning and management in urban areas (Colomb & Novy, 2017; Koens, Postma, & Papp, 2018).

2.6. Interaction process host-guest

Once the development of tourism and its impacts are defined through the lens of stakeholder theory, it is important to look at the way the local community and tourists interact, and what are the impacts. For Sutton (1967, p. 220), 'touring means juxtaposition' between the tourists that visit a destination, and the residents who have the function of supplying visitors' needs. The interaction process host-guest includes the local community, the tourists, and the place or destination where the encounter takes place. Therefore, the social interaction cannot be understood without analysing the social context and the physical environment in which they are embedded (Cairns, 1979; Noronha, 1979). Consequently, the host culture is altered by the influx of tourists, particularly in those spheres in which the greatest amount of contact and exchange occurs (Meyersohn, 1981).

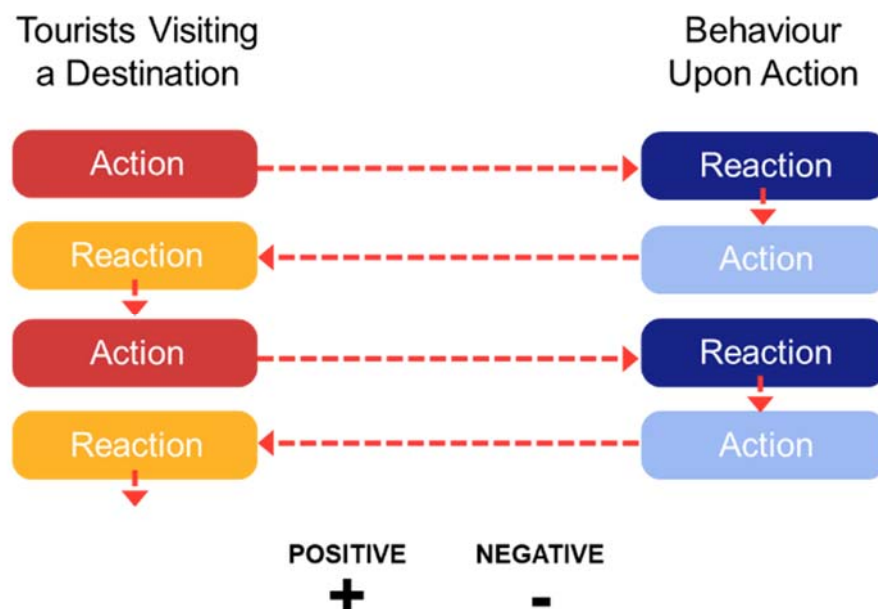
Encounters between hosts and guests are defined as social relationships characterised by being impersonal, transitory (constraints in terms of time and space), superficial, and non-repetitive, which can lead to an unequal and non-spontaneous relationship (Foster, 1964; UNESCO, 1976; MacCannell, 1984). Host-guest encounters occur when tourists purchase goods and services, when tourists and locals find themselves in a destination, and when both parties encounter each other in exchanging information (de Kadt, 1979). For Naronha (1979), encounters can breed either good will or resentment, depending on the duration of the encounter, type of tourist, and the person the tourist encounters. And although there are benefits from intercultural encounters, they are not without their problems (Hottola, 2004). This relationship can affect both parties – the locals and the tourist, and can be the primary breeding ground for deceit, exploitation, mistrust, dishonesty, and stereotype formation (Foster, 1964; UNESCO, 1976; MacCannell, 1984). Moreover, this relationship can be voluntary or involuntary. Voluntary interaction occurs in

providing services, such as shopping, accommodation, food and beverages or information. Involuntary interaction occurs without a purpose of this exchange, when hosts encounter guests in the streets, shops, attractions or public transport.

The interaction can be conceptualised as the quantity of activity or sentiment a person emits to the other, and the other to that person (Homans, 1961). This considers that quantity is equal to frequency and understood as the number of acts, where the amount of contact between the person and the other is the frequency of the interaction (Homans, 1961). Therefore, frequency of encounter is critical to assessing the way the local community will accept or reject tourism development and tourists within a destination (Ko & Stewart, 2002).

For the purpose of this study, this conceptualisation is critical, because the quantity of activity can be defined as the pressure of tourists visiting a destination and the number of times residents meet with tourists. Thus, the higher the number of encounters, the higher the impacts, positive or negative, of such encounters. As Figure 2.10 shows, in the physical sphere tourists, by visiting a destination act, and by acting behave in a certain way which will contribute to, and is the basis for, the reaction of the local community towards tourism, which can be either positive or negative.

Figure 2.10. Host-guest interaction process

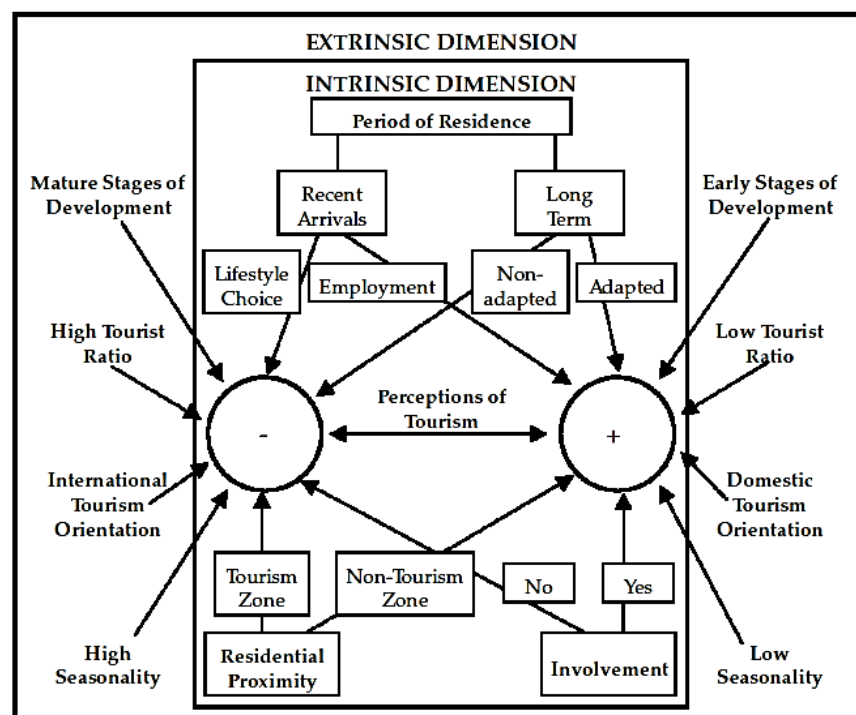


Adapted from Carmichael (2000); Homans (1961); Hottola (2004);
Sofield (2003).

In the case of the Gold Coast, for example, Faulkner & Tideswell (1997) presented one of the most comprehensive models to describe local community reaction to tourism. The factors were divided between extrinsic and intrinsic dimensions, which resulted in a

positive or negative reaction. Figure 2.11 shows that there is a relationship between extrinsic and intrinsic dimensions that are linked to the positive or negative reaction to tourism. The extrinsic dimension comprises the destination's characteristics, including the nature and the stage of tourism development, as well as the type, level, and seasonality of tourist activity. The intrinsic dimension includes local community characteristics, considering variables such as period of residence, physical distance from the tourist area, and local community involvement. As Figure 2.11 shows, Faulkner & Tideswell (1997) found that residents will have a more negative perception of tourism development and its impacts if, in terms of extrinsic variables, they are living in a destination with mature stages of development that have a higher tourist ratio, with a high percentage of international tourists, and high seasonality. On the other hand, destinations in an early stage of development, with a low level of tourist ratio, receiving domestic tourists during low seasonality, can expect a more positive reaction from the local community. In terms of intrinsic variables, residents will have a more negative perception of tourism development and its impacts, which will be influenced by the period of residence, economic dependency, the proximity to tourist areas, and the level of community involvement (Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997).

Figure 2.11. Factors affecting resident reactions to tourism



Faulkner & Tideswell (1997, p. 10).

This study reflects the difficulties and challenges in creating a theoretical model to assess the relationship between hosts and guests in a tourist destination, and residents' perceptions, attitudes and behaviour to tourism development and tourists.

2.7. Local community perceptions and attitudes

Attitudes can be defined as ‘an enduring predisposition towards a particular aspect of one’s environment’, reflected in the way a person thinks (cognitive component), feels (affective component), and behaves (behavioural component) (McDougall & Munro, 1994, p. 116). In tourism, research has demonstrated that there are some important factors that influence the perceptions and attitudes of the local community towards tourism. These factors include the physical, cultural, and economic distance; level of economic dependency; level of exposure and contact between hosts and guests; type and motivation of tourists; level of tourism development or lifecycle, including speed and intensity of development; level of tourism concentration; length of residency; level of knowledge; perceived ability to influence policy and planning; and the capacity of the destination and local community to absorb tourists without undermining desirable local activities (Ap, 1990; Beeton, 2005; Lankford, 1994; Madrigal, 1995; Pizam, 1978; Pizam & Milman, 1984; Sheldon & Var, 1984; William & Lawson, 2001).

Researchers have found that there is a strong correlation between personal economic benefit from tourism and support for it (Boley, McGehee, Perdue & Long, 2014; Chambers, 2000; Haralambopoulos & Pizam, 1996; Jurowski & Gursoy, 2004; Jurowski, Uysal, & Williams, 1997; Knox, 1978; Lankford & Howard, 1994; Martín Martín, Guaita Martínez, & Salinas Fernández, 2018; McGehee & Andereck, 2004; Pizam, 1978), in which the less dependent a resident is economically on tourism, the more negative their attitude is towards it. With regard to the distance from tourist areas, in general residents living close to the attraction are more concerned about the negative impacts of tourism on resource use (García-Hernández, de la Calle-Vaquero, & Yubero, 2017; Jurowski & Gursoy, 2004).

For example, in the case of distance from tourist spots, there are contrasting results. In general, residents living close to the attraction are more concerned about the negative impacts of tourism with regards to resource use (Jurowski & Gursoy, 2004). By contrast, in the case of Santa Marta (Colombia), Belisle & Hoy (1980) suggested that the greater the distance from the tourist destination, the more the impact of tourism was perceived as less favourable, which could be a function of the incipient stage of tourism development in the area, where local communities embrace tourism development. In the case of Cyprus, Akis, Peristianis, & Warner (1996) discovered that increased exposure to tourists made local residents more positive towards them. In their view, ‘as frequency of contact with tourists increases, the proportion of respondents seeing the contacts as positive also increases’ (1996, p. 491). Factors influencing this result could be the seasonality of the tourism business, the political arena, and economic dependency on tourism, with few alternatives to tourism development. However, heavy tourism concentration on a

destination area leads to negative resident attitudes towards tourists and tourism, having a detrimental effect on major components of social life, where tourists may become targets for hostility (Pizam, 1978; Ross, 1992).

There is a need to find an equilibrium between factors affecting negative effects of tourism, including the stage of tourism development, the type of tourists, the expectations of the host, and the intentions of the tourists (Berno, 1999). A balance must be achieved by the different stakeholders in relation to local community priorities, interests, and needs, and local community perceptions of the benefits and disadvantages of tourism (Deery, Jago, & Fredline, 2012).

Researchers have assessed the benefits and costs of tourism development with regards to how it affects the personal welfare or lifestyle of residents (Jurowski, Uysal, & Williams, 1997; Lankford & Howard, 1994). This is why social exchange theory has been frequently used to analyse local community perceptions, attitudes, and behaviours. Some researchers see a strong correlation between personal economic benefit from tourism and support for tourism (Boley, McGehee, Perdue & Long, 2014; Chambers, 2000; Jurowski & Gursoy, 2004; Jurowski, Uysal, & Williams, 1997; Haralambopoulos & Pizam, 1996; Knox, 1978; Lankford & Howard, 1994; McGehee & Andereck, 2004; Pizam, 1978), and the less dependent a resident is economically on tourism, the more negative their attitude is towards it. Therefore, tourism development and its impacts can contribute to increased social distance, and an increase in the degree of inequality between the members of the community who directly benefit from tourism, and those who do not (Chambers, 2000). Acceptance of these changes is likely to be influenced by perceptions of the benefits residents receive in exchange for the costs to local values.

Once the perceptions and attitudes of the local community are reviewed, it is important in the following section to analyse the way local communities have been classified over time in different tourist destinations.

2.7.1. Classification of residents' attitudes

Researchers have used different theories and techniques to classify residents' perceptions and attitudes in the context of tourism, including social representation theory and cluster analysis. Social representation theory seeks to understand the concepts, statements, and explanations that originate in everyday life throughout the course of inter-individual communications (Moscovici, 1981). The theory is based on the idea of grouping individuals that have similar values, beliefs, and attitudes, in order to create different social representation groups. In terms of tourism, social representation theory was adapted by Pearce, Moscardo & Ross (1996) and Beeton (2005) as a tool to understand how

community groups think about and react to tourism development. In the case of Cairns (Australia), Pearce, Moscardo & Ross (1996) defined three groups; negative economic impacts, moderates, and negative environmental impacts. Beeton (2005) characterised local residents in Barwon Heads (Australia) in different groups according to their average residency, former residency (urban), and preference for tourism. This suggests that groups are often divided by positive and negative worldviews, but that people will also harbour flexible opinions about matters concerning changes to their surrounding environment. Therefore, 'theory could be a potent force for empowerment if utilized to assist the communities to understand themselves and their attitudes towards tourism' (Sofield, 2003, p. 102).

Cluster analysis 'is the technique used to group residents with similar perceptions of tourism impacts' (Madrigal 1995, p. 91). Fredline & Faulkner (2000) recognised for example, that it is relatively easy to identify corresponding groups among those who have extreme views, such as lovers and haters, but more complex to define the views among the remaining groups. However, as highlighted by Sharpley (2014), this classification is unable to explain why the members of each cluster associate with particular perceptions. Although this is true, what is important for the purpose of this study is that these classifications can help to shed light on the proportion of residents in favour of or against tourism development and its impacts. In classifying residents into groups, social identity theory can help us understand that identity groups share emotions and values, and can have similar perceptions (Tajfel, 1982) about a phenomenon like tourism. Social identity is 'part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership' (Tajfel, 1978, p. 63).

2.8. Local community reaction

Throughout history, social groups have adjusted their ideas, and material objects, after contact with strangers, developing a ritualised pattern of response (Machlis & Burch, 1983). As a consequence, 'the tourist self is modified very little, while the native experiences profound change' (Bruner, 1991, p. 248), because the tourist is not expected to make the adaptations for involving themselves in the life of the host society (Nuñez, 1989; Nash, 1989). The changes produced by tourism development 'are an important source of psychological tension', where adaptation strategies are developed to decrease this tension (Dogan, 1989, p. 217). To the extent that the impacts of tourism are perceived as positive, their reactions take the form of acceptance of change. To the extent that it is perceived as negative, their reaction becomes a form of resistance, which can vary from one community or group to another (Dogan, 1989).

Adjustment is linked to the degree of autonomy residents have in deciding for themselves about tourism, including 'the ability to determine how and when tourists are admitted to a place, the ways in which particular parts of a culture can, or should not be marketed and fashioned into commodities, and the determination of appropriate rules governing relationships between tourists and hosts' (Chambers, 2000, p. 123).

Researchers have identified the behavioural strategies that residents are implementing to adapt to tourism development (see Ap & Crompton, 1993; Boissevain, 1996; Dogan, 1989; and Doxey, 1975). These models can become tools used by social scientists and researchers to explain the social impacts of tourism (Fridgen, 1996), because they help to monitor feelings, perceptions, and attitudes of residents, and define to which point, 'the outsiders represent a challenge to the life-style of the destination' (Doxey, 1975, p. 195), and residents can display aggressive, unhelpful, and discourteous behaviour towards tourists in their neighbourhood (Furnham, 1984).

In the case of old Yapese, they felt offended when tourists did not follow local customs, or were not quiet. Locals became 'very annoyed when tourists wander off the trail and intrude upon their personal living areas to take photographs' (Manperger, 1995, p. 89-90). Mordue (2001) discovered how the local community changed the way they used the internal spaces of their houses to avoid the intrusion of people visiting the area. Residents moved their living rooms to the other side of the house, in order to maintain the kind of private spaces that could not be observed by the tourist gaze. However, there is limited research regarding how local communities adapt to the development of tourism and the strategies that they implement when reacting to tourism development. This is an important issue that will be analysed in this research.

Table 2.3 combines the different theories defining the reaction of residents towards tourism. Ap & Crompton (1993) and Doxey (1975) defined the strategies in a continuum, which follow the development stages reviewed earlier. As a result, the more tourists a destination is receiving, the higher the impact they have on the residents in terms of the reactions. However, resident attitudes and behaviour towards tourism is dynamic, because residents tend to adapt to the changes in tourism development over time (Perdue, Long, & Allen, 1987; Boyd & Singh, 2003). This is why, Faulkner & Tideswell (1997) in the case of the Gold Coast, and Saveriades (2002) in the case of Cyprus, found that, contrary to Doxey's (1975) research, in mature tourist destinations residents do not become more antagonistic towards tourism development, suggesting that the stages of feelings and residents reactions are varied and tend to adapt over time.

Dogan (1989) and Boissevain (1996) concur in their assessment in most of their strategies, and while Dogan defines adoption, Boissevain defines organised protests and aggression.

At the final stage, both authors agreed that both Resistance (Dogan, 1989), and Aggression (Boissevan, 1996) take the form of hostility and violence towards tourists, showing a high degree of similarities between them.

Table 2.3. Local community responses to tourism development

Doxey (1975)	Ap & Crompton (1993)	Dogan (1989)	Boissevain (1996)
Euphoria: Initial stage of development of tourism. Visitors and investors are welcome.	Embracement	-	-
Apathy: Tourists are taken for granted and contact between residents and tourists become more formal	Tolerance	-	-
Annoyance: As the saturation point is reached, residents begin to show misgivings about tourism and policy-makers see solutions in increasing the infrastructure rather than through defining limits of growth	Adjustment	Retreatism: The local community can close into itself, avoiding contact with tourists, increasing cultural consciousness.	Hiding: Community, unenthusiastic about tourist, and hide aspects of their culture from visitors.
		Boundary maintenance: Create a boundary between tourists and the local community to preserve the local traditions and minimise the effects of tourism development on the local culture.	Fencing: Fence the private spaces and events.
		Revitalisation: Tourism can be a factor in the preservation of the traditional culture.	Covert resistance: Values, habits, and customs are defended in terms of resistance from the local community.
		Adoption: The local community can take a position favouring the adoption of Western culture symbolised by tourism.	Ritual: Creation and performance of rituals to reinforce community identity and to cope with the stress caused by uncertainty.
			Organised protest: The local community organises protests and demonstrations against tourism development.
Antagonism: Irritation is openly expressed verbally and physically. Mutual antagonism, where the outsider is seen as the cause of the problem, both personal and social. Planning has to be remedial	-	Resistance: Tourism development can result in widespread hostility and aggression towards tourists and tourist facilities.	Aggression: Violence can appear towards tourists to defend the local community and the destination.
-	Withdrawal	-	-

Adapted from Ap & Crompton (1993); Boissevain (1996); Dogan (1989); Doxey (1975).

These models seek to improve our understanding of the way residents react towards tourism, while explaining why individuals adopt certain behaviours in order to adapt to tourism development and its impacts.

A conceptual framework based on this literature review is now presented as a way of increasing our understanding of how the development of tourism and its impacts is affecting stakeholders' perceptions, attitudes and behaviour.

2.9. Conceptual framework

This literature review has considered the importance of developing a conceptual framework to explain the way tourism is established, and how its impacts influence stakeholders' perceptions, attitudes, and behaviour, from a local community perspective. The development of social theory has helped humanity to evolve, serving as a reference to settle the foundations of social life, in which theoretical principles guide social research (Seidman, 2004). Therefore, social theory can provide ideas that help create a better place to live, in which theorists have tried to analyse and understand the underlying principles of social change, which is one of the main objectives of the formulation of theoretical frameworks (Seidman, 2004). In tourism, 'it is necessary to analyse tourism with a theoretical and methodological framework that considers both its global and its multinational character' (Lanfant, 1980, p. 34).

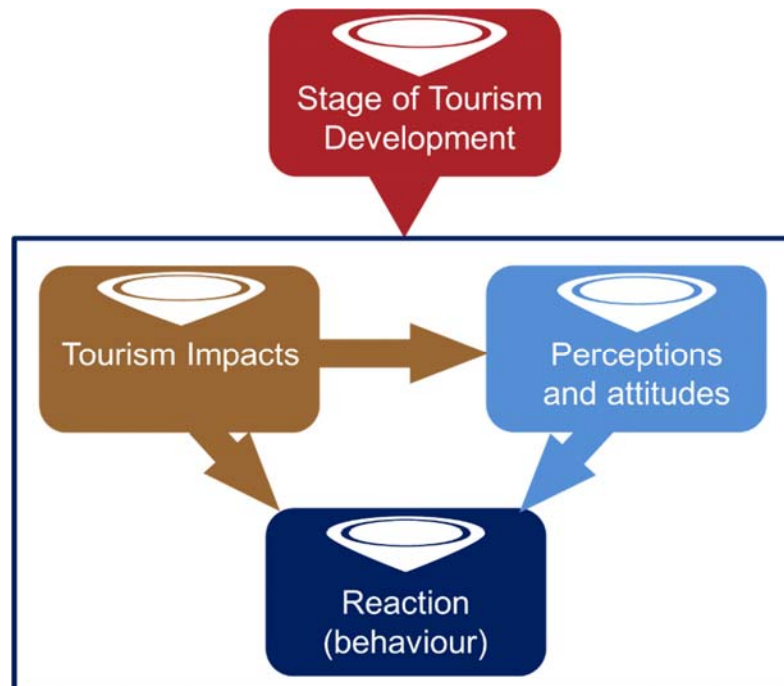
A review of tourism theories includes the stage of development theory, and the carrying capacity theory, through the lens of stakeholder theory. The combination of these theories has helped to unravel the importance of using theoretical backgrounds to better understand how tourism development and its impacts affect local stakeholders' perceptions, attitudes and behaviour.

A major limitation to better understanding resident perceptions of tourism impacts is the lack of linkages to a theoretical framework, in which existing theories are fragmented and need to be better integrated into a general framework (Ap, 1992; Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997). Thus, there is a lack of understanding about the causes that contribute to the conflicts between hosts and guests (Deery et al., 2012; Postma & Schmuecker, 2017). This can be achieved by both integrating residents' perceptions and attitudes to the stages of tourism development (Dietrich & García-Buades, 2009; Ko & Stewart, 2002), and looking at how to better predict or prevent critical thresholds of development (Berry, 2006; Dietrich & García-Buades, 2009; Manente & Pechlaner, 2006).

This is why the conceptual framework developed in the current study looks at reducing the gap by combining three important theories, namely stakeholder theory, stage of development theory and carrying capacity theory with regards to the relationship between the stages of development, its impacts and stakeholders' perceptions, attitudes and behaviour towards tourism development.

It is clear from the literature review that, as consequence of tourism development, destinations pass through different stages of development, in which at the consolidation stage there is a threshold of capacity to absorb more tourists. This has consequences for the type and intensity of impacts, both positive and negative, and the reactions of the stakeholders that are affected or can affect tourism development. In doing so, a better understanding about the relationship between stages of development, impacts and stakeholders' reactions can be achieved. Defining the causes and consequences of this relationship can help to improve the management of tourism that aims to develop tourism in a more holistic, balanced and sustainable way. As Figure 2.12 shows, a review of the literature has revealed that the stages of development are the key element affecting tourism impact. At the same time, tourism impacts have a strong effect on perceptions and attitudes. Both, also have an effect on the behaviour of residents to tourism development.

Figure 2.12. Stage of tourism development influencing impacts, perceptions, attitudes and behaviour

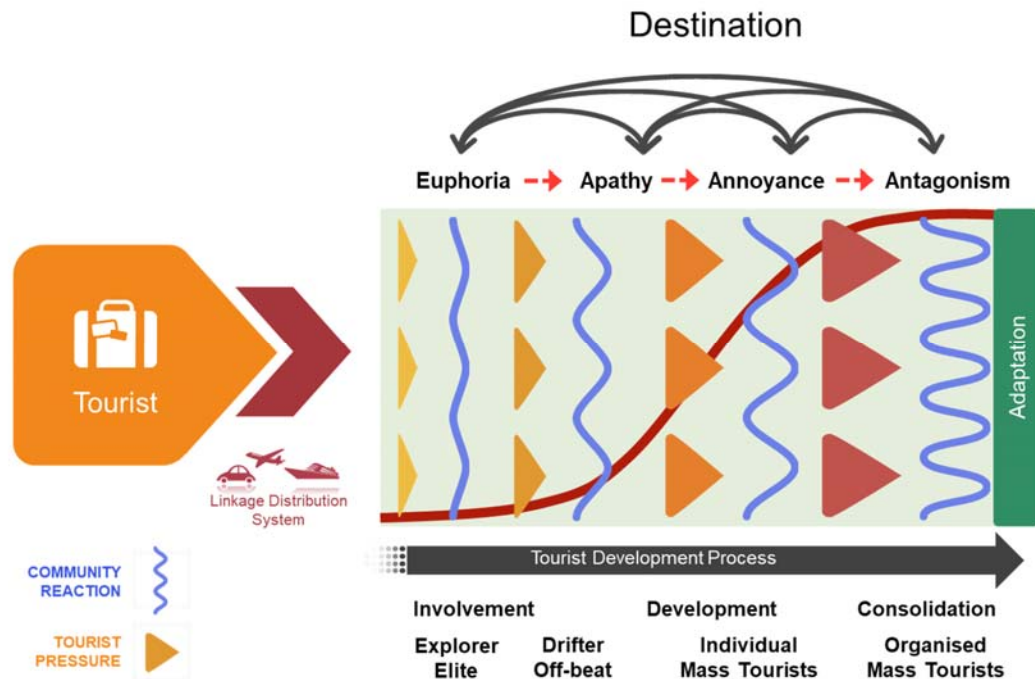


The conceptual framework presented here is designed to be simple, clear, concise, and flexible, and should be viewed as descriptive, explorative, and explanatory in nature. By creating a conceptual framework, 'much of the material should fall into place, where patterns can be discerned, gaps located, inconsistencies exposed, and studies then replicated' (Rapoport, 1973, p. 126). The conceptual framework shows the interaction process of absorbing tourists following the development path defined to analyse the tourism phenomenon (Williams, 1979). It is based on Leiper's tourism system (1979), is affected by and depends upon the stage of development from Butler (1980), is defined by Doxey's (1977) and Sofield's (2003) stages of feelings, and is influenced by the type and characteristics of tourists (Cohen, 1972; Smith, 1977).

From left to right, Figure 2.13 describes how from the initial motivation to travel, tourists traveling to a destination have an impact on the destination and the local stakeholders' perceptions, attitudes, and behaviours. As the destination continues to develop tourism, there will be a higher interaction between hosts and guests, and further need for collaboration among the different stakeholders involved in tourism development, which can result in an adaptation to tourist destinations.

The destination, therefore, is developing tourism in different phases (Table 2.3), in which different factors are affecting the way destinations develop tourism, its impacts and the consequences for the stakeholders. Following stage of development theory and carrying capacity theory, Figure 2.13 shows, for example, that for each development stage, different levels of tourist pressure and community reaction exist and therefore at the early stages of development the colours of the symbols are lighter and the width is narrow. As the destination continues to develop tourism, at the consolidation stage of the development, for example, tourist pressure would be higher with a larger number of tourists visiting the destination. At this point, the destination is reaching its carrying capacity threshold, where residents perceive the negative impacts of tourism to be more important than the positive ones, and where they have a stronger reaction to tourism, which is why the colours become darker, and the waves become wider, simulating the stronger impacts that tourism is having on the destination. The conceptual model presented in Figure 2.13 seeks to add to the literature by presenting a way of analysing tourism development in a more comprehensive and holistic way, by combining stakeholder theory, stage of development theory and carrying capacity theory.

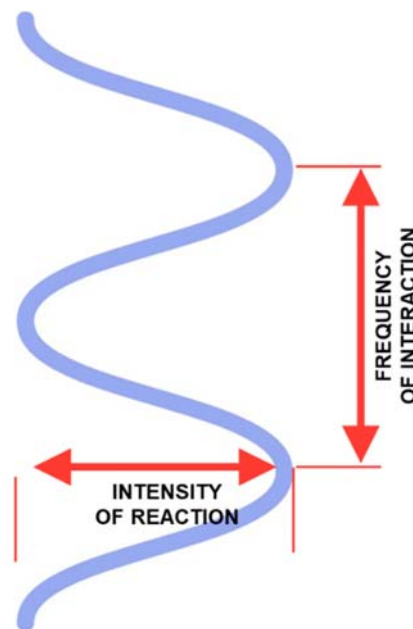
Figure 2.13. A Destination's Interaction Process of Absorbing Tourists (IPAT)



The conceptual framework has defined two major concepts that focus on the local community's perceptions, attitudes and behaviour towards the development of tourism, namely Community Reaction, and Tourist Pressure. In the interaction process, there is a community reaction to the tourists visiting a place (Figure 2.10), which is influenced by the stage of development and its impacts, the tourist type and behaviour, and the destination's carrying capacity. The community reaction can be conceptualised as the tourist placing pressure on the destination's resources, including the local stakeholders, which results in a transformation of the tourist destination, and an increase in tourism impacts. To measure tourism development, researchers have used the physical space, the number of tourists visiting a place, the number of local population living in a place, and the supply that is developed to welcome tourists (Cole, 2009; Farrel, 1977; Hills & Lundgren, 1977; McElroy, de Albuquerque, & Dioguardi, 1993; Long, Perdue, & Allen, 1990). However, there are two important ratios that can be applied to measure and compare tourism impacts. These are the Tourist Intensity Ratio (TIR), which measures the percentage of tourists to the local population, and the Tourist Density Ratio (TDR), which measures the number of tourists to land area (Stonich, 1998). These are important measurement tools to shed light on the different levels of tourist pressure that the destination and its different zones are supporting, which will result in a reaction from local stakeholders, especially important from the local community perspective.

As Figure 2.14 shows, to visualise the community reaction, a wave symbol is used to indicate the different levels of community reaction to tourism. Thus, community reaction is defined by two main concepts, namely Intensity of Reaction, and Frequency of Interaction. Intensity of Reaction is defined as the level of reaction that residents have to tourism and tourists, while the Frequency of Interaction, can be defined as the number of times tourists and residents encounter. In the example of Figure 2.15, Intensity of Reaction has a frequency of two waves, with a level of intensity that depends on the width of the waves, as a more intensive, higher wave width. The Frequency of Interaction has two waves, and their width will depend on the level of reaction of residents to tourism development and tourists.

Figure 2.14. Community reaction towards tourism development



This waves symbol is used because the Community reaction is dynamic and changes over time, showing a flexible model that can explain this phenomenon over time. It is also relevant that the model can be used in different areas (zones) of the destination, and also in different periods of time, depending on the needs and characteristics of the destination. Therefore, it incorporates flexibility by allowing changes to the outcomes of the model, because local stakeholders can develop strategies to adapt to tourism development, and their reactions can also change. This can be shown in the way the wave changes according to the changes and adaptation process of local stakeholders to tourism development and its impacts.

2.10. Conclusion

This chapter has drawn attention to critical issues related to how tourism development and its impacts are affecting local stakeholders and their perceptions, attitudes, and behaviours. It has provided a critical review of the literature, focusing on stakeholder theory, and the way the different stakeholders participate in the decision-making process, including the local community, the tourists, and the destination. The chapter has also provided a careful review of the literature related to the development of tourism and how its impacts influence the stakeholders' relationship, with the aim of identifying gaps leading to the research questions.

A review has been conducted to provide the basis for developing the conceptual framework of this study, to describe how the stages of development and their impacts influence stakeholders' perceptions, attitudes and behaviour to tourism development. The model includes two main concepts, the Intensity of Reaction and the Frequency of the Interaction, that can be used to measure the development of tourism and its effects on local stakeholders.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1. Introduction

This chapter outlines and justifies the methodology to address the research question and research objectives in the thesis. Its objective is to propose and test the conceptual framework to investigate the relationship between the development of tourism, its impacts and the way they influence local stakeholders' perceptions, attitudes and behaviour. The conceptual framework developed by the researcher was presented in Chapter 2.

The chapter is structured in four parts. The first part discusses the research paradigm that underpins this study as being interpretivist. The second part is devoted to introducing case study inquiry as a methodological tool. The third part examines the data collection techniques and research methods, including direct observation, photographs, and interviews, as a form of triangulation for greater trustworthiness in the research process. The fourth part presents the methods of data analysis, using thematic network analysis to interpret and present the data. The last part explains the ethics process of this study.

3.2. Research paradigm

Guba and Lincoln (1994, p. 107) defined a paradigm as a 'set of basic beliefs', or metaphysics that represent a view that defines the nature of the world. In other words, the paradigm influence the world view of researchers and how they construct their behaviours. Hence, it is important to understand the research paradigm as it allows the researcher to be consistent with the research process and is reflected in the way the researcher structures, implements and reports on the research (Veal, 2011). Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999) defined a paradigm as a basic belief system and theoretical framework with three assumptions about ontology, epistemology, and methodology; whereas, Lincoln and Guba (1985) defined it with four assumptions about ontology, epistemology, methodology and axiology.

In terms of philosophical assumptions, the research works with an understanding of ontology as 'the nature of reality' (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Veal, 2011). Realities are multiple, can be constructed and can be studied in a holistic way (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Thus, realities are captured in the form of multiple and intangible mental constructions which depend on individuals holding these constructions (Creswell, 2007). These are not the ultimate truth, but are informed and sophisticated, which can be altered as realities may change (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Reality, therefore, can be perceived differently by different types of people (Veal, 2018),

and thus prediction and control are difficult to achieve, although it is possible to arrive at some degree of understanding (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The research also assumed an epistemological view as the 'relationship between the researcher and the phenomenon being studied', in which the researcher and the object of inquiry are interactive and inseparable in influencing one another (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Thus, the researcher is 'subjective and engaged with the subjects of the study' (Veal, 2018, p. 39).

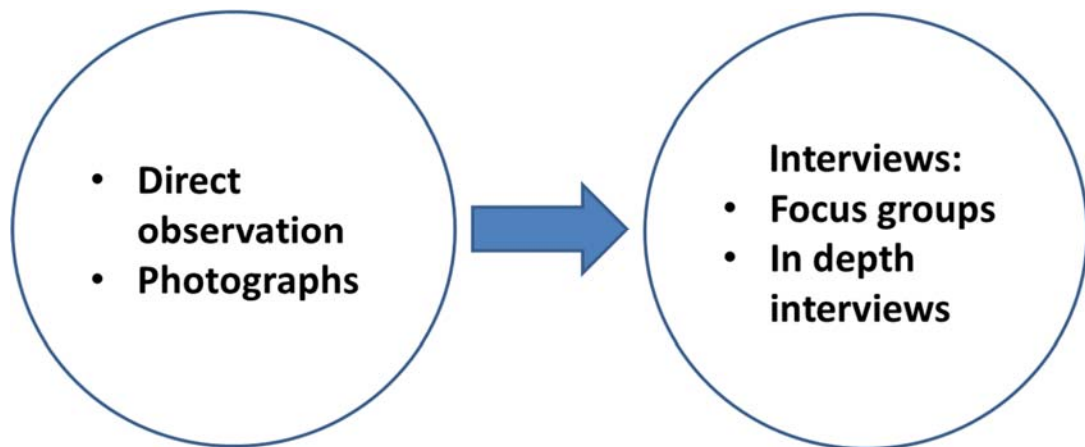
In this study, the interpretivist paradigm has been adopted because it helps to interpret and find explanations about the phenomenon under study (Jennings 2010). Individuals seek to understand the 'world in which they live and work' in order to comprehend the historical and cultural setting of participants (Creswell, 2007). The interpretivist paradigm relies on 'people providing their own explanations of their situations or behaviours' (Veal, 2018, p. 40), allowing the researchers to gain in-deep understanding of the phenomenon under study using few samples or cases (Neuman, 2006).

3.3. Methodological design

The research design is a set of guidelines for conducting research that help to define a logical plan to undertake a research study (Jennings, 2005; Yin, 2003). Thus, it connects the paradigm to the inquiry process, and defines how the researcher views the world and, therefore, the methodology to be used (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). The research design is based on the ground to test and validate the data collection techniques. Two main research techniques were used, observations and interviews (focus groups and in-depth interviews), which reinforced the way data was collected and allowed the researcher to address a broader range of historical, attitudinal, and behavioural issues (Yin, 1994).

In order to increase credibility, two main steps were taken (Figure 3.1). Firstly, direct observation in the field was undertaken, along with taking photographs to capture the places and people which helped to illustrate the phenomenon under study. Secondly, once observations were performed and pictures taken, together with the review of the existing literature, interview questions were developed. This process helped to inform the first draft of questions to be included in this study that could help to better answer the research questions and understand the phenomenon of tourism development and its impacts.

Figure 3.1. Collection of data sources



3.3.1. Methodological approach

The research uses qualitative methods because they facilitate an in-depth study of issues, openness and detail without being constrained by predetermined categories of analysis (Patton, 2002). Qualitative methods are useful in discovering and understanding the phenomenon under study along with supplying rich validity (Babbie, 2016). Thus, qualitative research is useful for this study because seeks to know how people understand and make sense of their social context, close to where participants live and work (Creswell, 2007), and helps to explain the complex issues that arise from the research problem. Because qualitative research is grounded in the interpretative social sciences, is inductive in nature, and is based on textual representations, this study seeks to find meanings in participants' opinions, and to interpret those meanings, while conducting the research in its natural setting, in this case in Barcelona (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Jennings, 2010). Therefore, in order to cope with the complexities of the research, it is helpful to develop in-depth knowledge about context, or more specifically the ways in which tourism development and its impacts are perceived by local stakeholders in Barcelona and how they react to them.

Different approaches including Ethnography, Grounded Theory, and Case Study can be applied in qualitative research to the study of tourism development. Ethnography focuses on a cultural group in which the researcher describes and interprets the shared and learned patterns of values, behaviours, beliefs, and languages of a cultural group (Harris, 2001). Ethnography can be defined as 'the study of social interactions, behaviours, and perceptions that occur within groups, teams, organisations, and communities' (Reeves, Kuper, & Hodges, 2008, p. 512). The aim is to 'provide rich, holistic insights into people's views and actions, as well as the nature (that is, sights, sounds) of the location they inhabit, through the collection

of detailed observations and interviews' (Reeves Kuper, & Hodges, 2008, p. 512). Thus, it is a process that involves extended participant observation in which the researcher is immersed in the research context. In this approach, 'ethnographers study the meaning of the behaviour, the language, and the interaction among members of the culture-sharing group' (Creswell, 2007, p. 68-69). Ethnography was considered but not used in this study, because it was impractical for the researcher to be immersed in the culture for the duration of field research, as a significant period of time is needed for ethnographers to immerse themselves in the culture.

In contrast, grounded theory is a qualitative research method that aims to develop or generate theory that is 'grounded in data systematically gathered and analysed' (Strauss & Corbin, 1994, p. 273). Grounded theory can be defined as 'the discovery of theory from data systematically obtained from social research' (Glaser & Strauss, 1999, p. 1). It is concerned with the generation of theory which is used to uncover such things as social relationships and the behaviour of groups, known as social processes (Noble & Mitchell, 2016). Thus, grounded theory aims to generate a theoretical background from the data collected, without previous knowledge about the problems under study. However, the researcher did not use grounded theory as the methodology because it was not practical for the study of Barcelona as a tourist destination. As a resident of that city for several years, the researcher had previous knowledge about the issues and concerns of the local stakeholders.

For the purpose of this research, a case study approach offered the possibility of developing a depth of understanding of the phenomenon under study in order to accomplish the research aims and objectives. According to Crowe, Creswell, Robertson, Huby, Avery, & Sheikh (2011), a case study can be defined as 'a research approach that is used to generate an in-depth, multi-faceted understanding of a complex issue in its real-life context' (p. 1). This approach has been applied in a wide variety of disciplines, especially in the social sciences. Thus, a case study investigates current phenomenon in the real-world (Yin, 2003), and allows the researcher to collect in-depth empirical data, where the evidence is grounded in the setting under study (Jennings 2010). It is therefore an appropriate research approach to highlight the complexities and issues and provide rich insights into the everyday life, contributing to an understanding of social, individual, organisational and political phenomena (Stake, 2003; Yin, 1991). Thus, a case study approach can help to reveal the implications and related issues in understanding human behaviour and interaction in a specific environment. So, it is useful in examining issues related to tourism, policy, planning, community life cycles, and perceptions and impacts, which explains why case studies have been widely used in tourism research

(Beeton, 2004; Yin, 1994). For these reasons, case study inquiry is considered to be appropriate for answering the research question and research objectives.

Several researchers have used a case study as the research method to examine resident perceptions of tourism and the social impacts assessment of tourism development. Table 3.1 provides a list of qualitative and mixed methods research using a case study approach on local community perceptions, attitudes and behaviour; participation; sustainable tourism; and the impacts of tourism. Interviews, focus groups and observations are the three qualitative techniques mostly used to study the relationship between local communities and tourism.

Table 3.1. Selected empirical studies using case study

Author	Method	Techniques	Research focus
Murphy (1981)	Case study	Interviews and mail questionnaires	Residents' attitudes and perceptions in urban centres
Keogh (1990)	Case study	Interviews	Public participation in tourism planning
Simons (1994)	Case study	Informal interviews, postal survey, and focus groups	Participative program for residents
Mansperger (1995)	Case study	Observation, interviews and participant observation	Cultural impacts of tourism
Ioannides (1995)	Case study	Interviews	Sustainable and alternative tourism development
Hernandez, Cohen, & Garcia (1996)	Case study	Interviews	Residents' attitudes towards new tourist resort
Berno (1999)	Case study	Questionnaire, interviews, focus groups and participant observation	Tourism concept and impacts
Saveriades (2000)	Case study	Structured questionnaire through interviews	Social carrying capacity
Mordue (2001)	Case study	Interviews, focus groups, personal observations	Local residents' responses to day-trip visitors
Sirakaya, Teye, & Sonmez (2002)	Case study	Interviews and questionnaire	Residents' support of tourism
Gjerald (2005)	Case study	Interviews	Residents' perceptions of sociocultural impacts
Lepp (2007)	Case study	Active interviews, informal conversations, and participant observation	Residents' attitudes towards tourism
Maxim (2016)	Case study	Survey, interviews, and documents	Sustainable tourism development in urban areas
Muler González, Coromina, & Galí (2018)	Case study	Questionnaires and interviews	Impacts, perceptions and social carrying capacity

3.3.2. Single case study

Barcelona, as a tourist destination, has been chosen as a single case study for several reasons. It has experienced a rapid growth of tourists, especially since the early 2000s. A large number of accommodation facilities have been built to accommodate tourists, including hotels and tourist apartments, which have recently grown exponentially due to internet platforms such as Airbnb. As a Mediterranean city, it has a compact urban setting and is located in an area which is relatively small, making it difficult for the city to expand to accommodate more tourists. Therefore, they are concentrated in the Ciutat Vella and Eixample district, where the pressure and overcrowding is much higher than the rest of the city.

Tourism development in Barcelona has been boosted by low-cost airlines, as well as the increased demands of cruise tourism. It also receives daily visitors who come from tourist resorts to the north and south of Barcelona, especially in the summer period. Thus, Barcelona represents a fast-growing urban destination, which helps to unravel the phenomenon of urban tourism. Rapid growth of urban tourism for short-breaks, especially in Europe, is also affecting other cities, including Venice, Amsterdam, Bruges, and Dubrovnik, as well as bigger metropolises, such as Paris and London. For these reasons, an instrumental case study is used because it provides a general understanding of a phenomenon using Barcelona as a particular case (Harling, 2002). Thus, an instrumental case study is applied in Barcelona to examine and provide insights by examining how the development of tourism and its impacts are affecting local stakeholders' perceptions, attitudes, and behaviour, and the relationship between the stakeholders involved in tourism development. This facilitates an understanding of the phenomenon under study in a holistic way (Stake, 1994) and helps identify the circumstances and conditions of an everyday situation (Yin, 2003).

Barcelona provides an important opportunity to study the way in which tourism development and its impacts are affecting local stockholders who are reacting to and seeking to cope with the relatively new, but large, phenomenon of urban tourism. Its impacts are increasingly obvious in the city, and especially in relation to its socio-cultural character and life-style, affecting the characteristics of the location and its stakeholders, their way of life, and routines. Thus, local stakeholders have to cope with a more diversified use of local resources, especially important for public and private spaces. The case of Barcelona can provide insights into how cities are coping with the development of tourism from the local stakeholders' point of view (Muñoz, 2015; Saurí, 2015).

3.3.3. Case study research and its context

The context of this research can help to provide essential information to analyse and make sense of the data. As tourism can be analysed from a geographic, political, economic, environmental, and socio-cultural perspectives (Cohen, 1979), it is necessary to understand these perspectives in analysing the way tourism development and its impacts are affecting the different stakeholders within a destination. For this purpose, the Barcelona case study context is discussed in Chapter 4, which outlines the historical and cultural background, political context, and local community organisation to ensure contextual understanding. Statistical data that contributes to a deeper understanding of the development of tourism in the city and its impacts is analysed and presented along with a compilation of media and reports about the development and impacts of tourism. Defining the case study and the unit of analysis is critical to the focus of the research inquiry. This study examines the ways in which the development of tourism and its impacts are affecting the perceptions, attitudes and behaviour of local stakeholders.

A case study is appropriate for this study because it enables the researcher to gain more in-depth knowledge of what is going on, with a greater focus on generating a detailed understanding of the phenomenon under study in a particular context. Barcelona has been used as the setting because it is an environment where significant tourism is developing.

3.3.4. Data collection methods

The researcher spent time on site collecting data, observing and photographing the phenomenon under study, being in contact with different stakeholders, and participating in different activities. Also important was collection and analysis of documents, including newspapers, industry and public sector reports, statistical data, and reflecting on and finding meaning in what was happening (Stake, 1994) in relation to the research question and research objectives. Research on tourism development and the local community can be undertaken by 'observing and gathering empirical materials through in-depth interviews or focus group studies' (Jennings, 2010, p. 42). Based on these insights, for the purpose of this research, two main research methods were used, interviews (individual and focus group), and direct observation. Focus groups were considered the key research tool to gather relevant information from the local community because they allow the researcher to collect and contrast different opinions of participants at one particular place at one time. They were judged to be a suitable technique to answer the research question and research objectives and to test the conceptual framework. In-depth interviews were considered another useful research

tool to gather direct information from public and private stakeholders. In this way, the study integrates different data collection methods to ensure insight and depth of understanding about the topic under study.

For the purpose of this research, and in order to answer the research question and research objectives, and test the conceptual framework presented in Chapter 2 (Figure 2.12 and 2.13), there were three stages in the data collection. Firstly, direct observation and photographs gave the researcher an overall understanding of the issues that were emerging in Barcelona, and provided in-depth knowledge of the phenomenon under study. Moreover, they helped to redefine and review the questions included in the focus groups and in-depth interviews used to collect the data. The questions were related to the way stakeholders perceive tourism in Barcelona, their attitudes towards tourism, the way they behave and react, and as a consequence adapt to tourism development and the presence of tourists in their neighbourhood. These questions uncovered the factors that influence perceptions, attitudes, and behaviour towards tourism development and its impacts.

Secondly, in order to understand the impacts of tourism according to the stages of development, focus groups and in-depth interviews were chosen as the most suitable research techniques to test the conceptual framework developed in this study. Finally, to unravel how the impacts of tourism are affecting the perceptions, attitudes and behaviour of local stakeholders towards tourism development, focus groups and in-depth interviews were also chosen as a research technique to further test the conceptual framework developed in this study.

The data collection took two months, during June and July of 2013, the summer period and the high season in Barcelona, when tourist pressure is higher than at any other time. Local stakeholders were still in the city because their summer holidays are usually in August. This allowed the researcher to collect the data when the number of tourists and the pressure over resources and services was high, and when local stakeholders could have stronger views due to the pressure from tourists in the city.

3.3.4.1. Direct observation and photographs

Direct observation was conducted and photographs were taken in Barcelona over the course of two months with the aim of directly observing issues related to relevant social behaviour (Yin, 1994), including how the local community and tourists interact in the most visited areas of the city. Thus, direct observations contributed to a more holistic way of understanding the phenomenon under study, and complemented data collected from interviews and focus

groups. During the time the researcher spent in Barcelona collecting data the aim was to gain in-depth knowledge and 'a more comprehensive and accurate picture of what is happening' (Jorgensen, 1989, p. 60).

The researcher developed a system of recording the observations, including personal notes about the event, selection of sites, timing, and dates, as well as taking pictures of the event observed (Creswell, 2007). Direct observation was divided into two stages. The first stage was on arrival by observing and photographing tourist places, tourist activities, and their relationship with local residents. This helped to redefine the questions which were asked during the interviews (focus groups and in-depth interviews). Observations included places such as the Palau de la Música Catalana, the corner of Montcada/Princesa streets, Montcada Street where the Picasso Museum is located, the Plaça de l'Angel, the Catedral square, and the Sagrada Família church, as units of analysis.

The second stage of data collection was participating in different activities and complementing the photographs taken during the first stage. The events and places observed were defined according to their importance in order to fulfil the aims of this study. Observations included special events, such as conferences, meetings, and demonstrations of local residents, which involved examining the behaviour and experiences of participants. Special events include a conference about the modification proposed by the Council of the Plan of Use of Ciutat Vella, and a demonstration of neighbours' associations against the implementation of a new Plan of Use for Ciutat Vella district. By gathering the data from observations and photographs, the researcher was an observer; by not socially interacting with the subjects under study people were unaware of the observation being done (Gold, 2001). This allowed the researcher to view things happening from the outside by travelling to places and taking photographs of the issues that illustrate the research problem.

As mentioned in the introduction, my background, and the links and ties with the place, gave me an insider view which provided 'the best lens through which to understand the phenomena' (Jennings, 2010, p. 42). I decided that a closer look at the factors affecting stakeholders' opinions, perceptions, attitudes and behaviour towards tourism development and its impacts was a critical topic of research. When I decided to start this PhD journey, very little research has been done on this topic.

3.3.4.2. Interviews

Focus groups and in-depth interviews were considered the most suitable research techniques to better understand the problem under study because they are 'one of the most important sources of case study information' due to their 'open-ended nature' (Yin, 1994, p. 84). They followed a semi-structured format with a set of predetermined questions, because they are 'fluid in nature and follow the thinking processes of the participant' (Jennings, 2010). This enabled the researcher to adapt to the needs of the participants, and to take their views and priorities into consideration during the data collection process, while following interesting issues that they raised (see Appendix C & Appendix D).

Focus Groups

Focus groups are interviews or collective conversations involving a group of people present at the same time. They offer more convenience than in-depth interviews in their ability to unravel the opinions of different individuals at the same time, providing opportunities to discuss and contrast their opinions. Thus, focus groups are useful in this study because they aim to define 'points of view, opinions and attitudes towards tourism-related concepts' (Jennings, 2010, p. 181).

Focus groups can be classified into three different types: full groups, mini groups, and telephone groups (Greenbaum, 1998). Full focus groups include 8 to 10 participants, while mini focus groups include 4 to 5 participants. Telephone groups are not face to face can now also be done through the internet using computer communication software such as Skype. In Barcelona, the researcher aimed to organise full groups, although only one of the four focus groups was a full group. The other groups were considered mini-groups. These mini-groups enable participants to have more time to express their opinions, allowing the researcher to gather more information from each individual (Greenbaum, 1998).

In Barcelona, the researcher played the role of discussion leader and facilitator by introducing the topics of discussion, enabling participants to provide their opinions and interact with each other and with the researcher (Veal, 2018). By guiding the conversation, the researcher ensured that all participants could express their opinion in a balanced way, and that all aspects and topics of the interview were covered. Personal views and experiences were shared and conversations flowed from the research questions. The points of view of participants were discussed, as they were the individuals coping on a daily basis with the coexistence of their local lifestyle and new foreign life-styles. The focus groups helped the participants to reflect

and generated detailed data (Jennings, 2010), which was an important factor that was considered when the focus groups were conducted.

Focus groups were set up by contacting the different associations of the local community in Barcelona to invite them to participate in the research. The process to organise the focus groups with the local community comprised the following four steps:

1. Contact the associations via email with an attached letter explaining the project
2. Contact the associations via telephone to ask about their interest in participating
3. Meet with the president or association's representatives
4. Organise the focus group

Traditionally, local community associations are organisations that represent the interests of the neighbours. They represent an important legacy of the associative tradition that Barcelona and Catalunya have at their roots. Therefore, they are key actors in the decision-making and policies that affect their respective neighbourhoods. In terms of length, two focus groups ran for one hour, in Les Corts and Barceloneta, and those in Ciutat Vella and Sagrada Família lasted almost two hours. The focus groups were held in the local community association's head office and were audio recorded for the purpose of recalling responses when needed, and transcribing the content of the focus groups.

Personal interviews

In-depth interviews are an act of conversation, a focused discourse with a clear purpose, which can include personal reflection by participants (Jennings, 2010), where there is an exchange and interaction between the actors participating in an interview. Personal interviews are an important tool for gaining an overall view of the questions asked (Yin, 1994). They are a good method of capturing the opinions and perceptions of the public and private representatives, and emphasising the understanding of the different meanings from the interviewees' opinions (Kvale, 1996; Yin, 1994). For those reasons, in-depth interviews were considered an appropriate research tool to seek the opinions and attitudes of public and private stakeholders, with the aim of answering the research question and objectives and test the conceptual framework.

Interviews were set up by contacting public and private tourism stakeholders in Barcelona as important actors and decision-makers of the tourism development policies and strategies in the city. The researcher contacted the organisation in charge of tourism planning and economic development in the city; Turisme de Barcelona, a public-private consortium in charge of the promotion of tourism; as well as the Chamber of Commerce of Barcelona as the

representatives of the private sector, and the FAVB (Federació d'Associacions de veïns i veïnes de Barcelona) as the representative of the local community associations. There were three steps in the process of organising interviews with the local representatives in Barcelona:

1. Contact the organisations via email with the attached letter explaining the project
2. Contact the organisations via telephone to ask about their interest in participating
3. Interview with the representative of the organisations

The interviews with representatives of public, private, and local community stakeholders lasted an average of forty-five minutes. They were considered a necessary complement to the information provided by the focus groups participants. Interviews were held in the head office of each organisation and provided a different perspective about tourism development in the city, contributing rich data from the public and private sector in the city.

Secondary Quantitative Data

Quantitative data in this study included statistics from the City Council and Turisme de Barcelona about tourism development. Statistical data provided information on the characteristics of the demand (number, type, transport used, expenditure, average stay, and places visited) and the supply (number and type of hotels and apartments, average occupancy rates, location, and seasonality). Also relevant was the analysis of the residents' opinion about tourism development in the city. Using both qualitative and quantitative data can help to advance knowledge in the social and behavioural science field (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2005), and to better describe and explain the phenomena that the data reflect (Babbie, 2016). Therefore, 'numerical testing can often verify the findings of in-depth, qualitative studies' (Babbie, 2016, p. 425) and help to better understand both, social phenomenon and the world (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2005). This approach helped the researcher to use 'both eyes to the full' (Thompson, 2004, p. 237), by embracing 'a wider variety of techniques' (Walle, 1997, pp. 534) and triangulating data from different sources (Thompson, 2004). Furthermore, numerical evidence has helped to clarify and add knowledge on some important issues related to the study, although it required some adaptation to its aim and research question (Veal, 2018). This demonstrates the importance of combining both qualitative and quantitative analysis, as shown in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2. Comparison on quantitative and qualitative methods

Quantitative	Qualitative
Scientific method (ethic)	Qualitative research (emic)
Explicit and easy to summarise	Rich in meaning
Use of numbers to explain facts (numerical data)	Verbal description (information in the form of words)
Mathematical tools used	Insight/intuition employed
Objective verification and methods	Subjective verification and methods
Hard, generalizable survey data	Deep, rich observational data
Triangulate measure of achievement	Triangulate interviews with observations
Data reduction using factor analysis, cluster analysis	Data reduction using thematic analysis
Theory testing	Theory building
Motivated by researcher's concerns	Motivated by a desire to capture participant's voice

Adapted from Babie, 2016; Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2005; Thomson, 2004; Veal, 2018; Walle, 1997.

The analysis of quantitative statistical data supports the qualitative analysis and findings in applying and testing the conceptual framework developed in this study.

3.3.5. Sampling

The city of Barcelona is the geographic unit of analysis to study how tourism development and its impacts are affecting stakeholders' perceptions, attitudes and behaviour. Administratively, Barcelona is divided into 10 districts and each has different neighbourhoods. This administrative division has helped to define the areas in which this study is focused, because each area has different characteristics and receives different numbers of tourists, which can help to differentiate them in terms of tourist areas, non-tourist areas or mixed areas (McKercher, Wang, & Park, 2015).

In order to focus on the key aspect of this study, identification and selection of key study participants was required. The researcher sourced participants through internet searches, personal knowledge, and networking. Internet data base searches about the intended participants of this research were conducted, including four main organisations: Torre Jusana, FAVB (Federació d'Associacions de veïns i veïnes de Barcelona), Ajuntament de Barcelona

(Barcelona City Council), and the Chamber of Commerce of Barcelona. Participants in this study include three types of stakeholders; the local community, public administration (City council), and private businesses (Turisme de Barcelona). Nevertheless, because the aim of this study is to understand the local community perspective, they are the ones who have been given greater voice in the research data collection and analysis. Local community associations involved residents who are formally organised and actively involved in the issues concerning their neighbourhood. This also means, however, that their opinions focused on their particular views as active individuals who are organised in associations that see themselves as protecting the interests of local residents in their neighbourhoods. Thus, understanding the way the local community is organised and structured was one of the first priorities of this data base search.

Torre Jussana is a public organisation with the aim of supporting and providing services to the approximately 16,000 local associations in Barcelona (Torre Jussana, 2018). The Torre Jussana, FAVB, and Ajuntament de Barcelona web pages provided an understanding of how the local community is organised in the city, through neighbours associations. Due to the limited timeframe and complexity of this process, two sampling techniques were adopted to select the participants of this study, quota and snowball.

Quota sampling is a non-probability sampling technique used to collect data from population subgroups (Coleman & Multon, 2019). In the case of this study, nonproportional quota sampling was used to select the participants, because the participants in the focus groups were selected by the presidents of each association, and the researcher did not have any previous information regarding the type and number of participants invited.

Once the researcher understood how the local community is organised in Barcelona, a decision was made to define the subgroups invited to participate in this study. This was done by including the local community associations by neighbourhood for each district of the city. This had the aim of providing an overall view of the phenomenon under study throughout the city, including tourist and non-tourists areas. To decide which participants were going to be included in this study, factors such as location, especially important for the ones located in tourism districts, membership, activities performed, and tourism as an important issue affecting their lifestyle were considered.

The information regarding the local community associations was partly available online before arriving at Barcelona, so one of the first objectives upon arrival was to collect this data base and start the invitation process to organise the focus groups. The researcher contacted the Federació d'Associacions de veïns i veïnes de Barcelona (FAVB), which held information

about each of the 104 local community associations in Barcelona and plays a key role in reinforcing social cohesion, territorial sustainability, and the deepening of urban democracy (Bonet & Marti, 2012). The researcher made an appointment to visit the head office of the FAVB, to collect information to start the data collection process, and held a meeting with two of its representatives, who explained the current situation for the local community associative movement in Barcelona. They also provided valuable information in the form of documents, including a full list of local community associations, a book about the history of the residents' movement in the city, and the journal they edited with news about the different neighbourhoods in the city.

As it was not possible for the researcher to know all the stakeholders who could be involved in data collection, the snowball sampling technique was also used. Snowball sampling allows 'the researcher to access informants through contact information that is provided by other informants' (Noy, 2008, p.330). These recommendations were obtained from the FAVB and the contacts that the researcher developed once arriving in Barcelona. FAVB recommended contacting other neighbourhood associations that were dealing with tourism in Ciutat Vella district, including Casc Antic and Barri Gotic. The researcher held two meetings with the Casc Antic and Barri Gotic association representatives who provided insights as well as useful information about the situation of residents in their respective neighbourhoods. In those meetings they recommended the researcher contact other possible participants for the focus groups who were some of the smallest local community organisations that had been very active in their associative role. This resulted in contacting a range of participants who were not previously known or accessible, and helped to increase the number of participants invited to participate in this study.

In total, thirteen associations from different districts were invited to participate in this study. Most had some tourist attractions in their neighbourhood or district (see full list of associations invited in Appendix G). However, for different reasons, only four focus groups were conducted, which included a total of 19 participants. Their rationale was diverse, but most of the associations contacted were not interested in tourism, because at that time they did not consider tourism development in their area was an important issue. Other associations did not reply to the invitations, or were too busy in organising their own activities. Others were interested, but could not find a place in their agendas to organise the focus group with different members of their associations (see Appendix G). This is an important limitation of the study that needs to be acknowledged in order to fully understand and interpret the results emerging from the data collected.

Interviewees included the Manager of the Economic Department of the Council, the Director of Turisme de Barcelona, and the President of FAVB. The Chamber of Commerce declined the invitation to participate in this study, suggesting that the researcher interview Turisme de Barcelona as they represent their private interests in tourism in Barcelona. This outcome was disappointing because the researcher considered it very important to include the views of the private sector represented by the Chamber of Commerce, which could have provided their particular opinion. However, the view from the private sector is included in the interview held with the public-private consortium Turisme de Barcelona.

Table 3.3 shows the four organisations that accepted the invitation to participate in this study, with the type of participants, the number of participants, and the neighbourhood they represent, and offers a summary of the participants included in this research project (see appendix G that shows the agenda and notes of the research).

Table 3.3. Participating organisation's code and type by neighbourhood and district

Organisation	Type of stakeholder	Type of research tool	Number of participants	Neighbourhood	District
Xarxa veïnal Ciutat Vella	Resident (RES)	Focus Group	7	Casc Antic, Barri Gòtic, and Raval	Ciutat Vella
L'Òstia	RES	Focus Group	3	Barceloneta	Ciutat Vella
Sagrada Família	RES	Focus Group	5	Sagrada Família	Eixample
Les Corts	RES	Focus Group	4	Les Corts, Maternitat-Sant Ramon, and Pedralbes	Les Corts
FAVB (Federació d'Associacions de Veïns i Veïnes de Barcelona)	RES	Interview	1	All	All
Ajuntament de Barcelona (Municipality of Barcelona)	Public	Interview	1	All	All
Turisme de Barcelona	Public-private	Interview	1	All	All

3.4. Validity and trustworthiness

Qualitative methodology in the context of humans' lives is considered to have high external validity. By applying qualitative methods, the researcher gains a deeper understanding of the phenomenon under study (Creswell, 2012), and attitudes and behaviour of participants in their natural environment (Babbie, 2016). Validity and trustworthiness of the data collected and analysis of the results are important in order to establish findings that are 'worth paying attention to, worth taking account of' (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 290), to make the research project more credible, and produce results that are trusted (Ely, 1991).

Qualitative validity refers to the researcher checking the truthfulness of the findings using established procedures (Gibbs, 2008). Validity can be defined as 'the truth, the correctness and the strengths of a statement' (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p.246). The researcher used member checking and peer-debriefing procedures to ensure the accuracy of the data collected and shared the transcripts of the focus groups and in-depth interviews with colleagues and supervisors to ensure accuracy and validity of the data collected.

With regards to trustfulness, Gibbs (2008) stated that the researcher needs ensure an approach that is consistent across different researchers and studies, to ensure that the reliability process is accurate. In this research, data in the form of transcriptions of personal interviews and focus groups have been double-checked by the researcher to ensure that they have been transcribed accurately and accord with participants' comments and attitudes (e.g., non-verbal expressions during the sessions). The researcher has tried to act ethically and report the findings accurately, without any manipulation by a third party (Jennings, 2010). Moreover, different approaches to data collection were applied, to ensure different perspectives were included in this research project, including direct observation, photographs, and interviews.

3.5. Data analysis and interpretation

There are several tools or techniques that can be used to analyse qualitative data. For the purpose of this study, one of the tools – thematic network analysis - better suits with the research objective. It provides a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns or themes of meaning and issues of potential interest in the data, in which the data is organised and described in richer detail (Braun & Clarke, 2006). By applying a thematic network analysis, the aim was to explore and understand the most important issues that arise from the data collected (Attride-Stirling, 2001), and to organise the sub-themes, themes, and categories

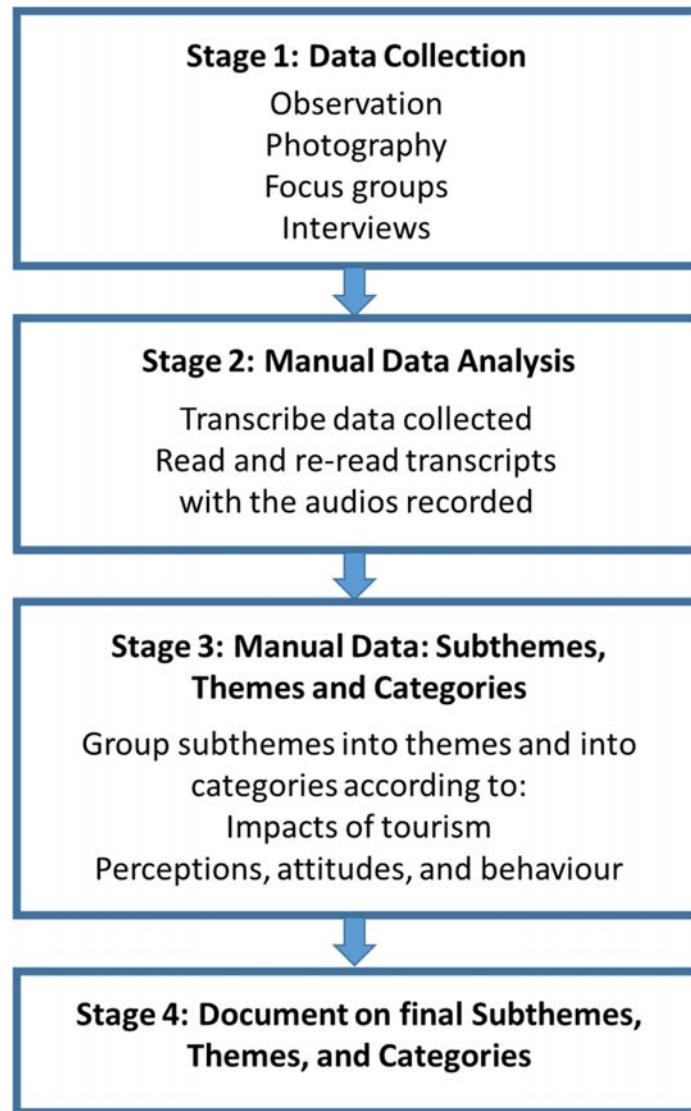
defined in this study. This allows the researcher to analyse the data in a network inductively and data-driven way, from specific, to more general perspectives (Creswell, 2007; Shreier, 2012), in which sub-themes, themes, and categories are linked to create a network of issues that are interrelated to each other. Therefore, the data analysed through thematic networking has allowed the researcher to define the most important themes that emerged and to link them to each other to form a comprehensive network of themes that provides better understanding of the phenomenon under study.

The analysis of the data collected was an extensive process, and consisted of four stages as shown in Figure 3.2. It started with collecting data through observations and photographs to define the focus groups and in-depth interviews questions. The second stage included manual data analysis of the transcripts of focus groups and interviews to identify, refine, elaborate, and categorize sub-themes, themes, and categories. To ensure a holistic approach to the process of analysing the data, interviews and focus group themes were compared with the other data collection methods, observations and photographs (Rubin & Rubin, 1995).

The transcription process started with an initial audio replay of the recordings, transcription of the focus groups and interviews, and printing of documents. In this way, the researcher had a record of the interviews that could enable analysis (Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990). The researcher translated personal interviews and focus groups from Catalan and Castilian into English for analysis. To ensure accuracy and minimise decontextualization of the data (Kvale, 1996), a process of reading and listening to the transcripts at the same time was done. This process allows the analysis of written words of transcripts and listening to voice tone, modulations, and the pace of speech to ensure a more accurate picture of the data transcribed (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002). The subsequent close readings and re-readings of the data collected with the audio recording allowed the manual analysis of the data to identify sub-themes. This was achieved by highlighting, writing notes, and re-writing relevant information and by deciding on the key codes and concepts, in the form of themes and involved the association of certain concepts that emerged from the data collected (Shreier, 2012), which assisted in the familiarisation of the data collected. Therefore, the data from this study was dissected and reconstructed in a way that explains the phenomenon under study, by developing networks of themes (Attride-Stirling, 2001). A further step was to develop a framework where each sub-theme was identified and assigned to a specific theme that unified the concepts and ideas of these particular themes (Attride-Stirling, 2001). The coding frame for the research followed this path: creating units/codes (subthemes) that were linked to

themes that together created categories/dimensions in order to develop the final document (Stage 4).

Figure 3.2. Data analysis and reduction process



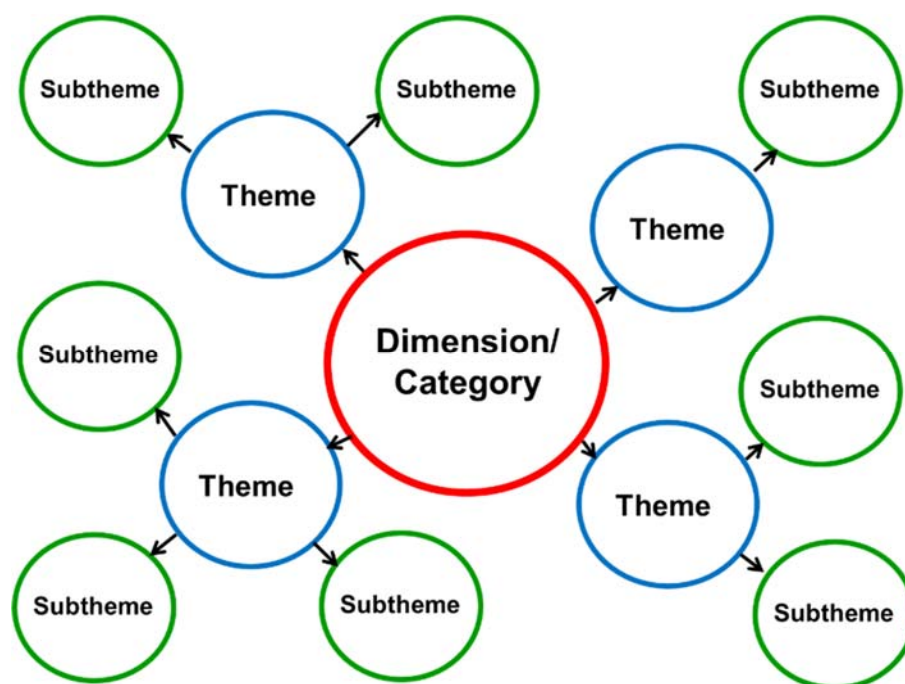
To show the complexity of the manual analysis of data, a summary of the most relevant subthemes, themes, and categories that were identified are shown in Table 3.4. For example, when participants were questioned on their opinions about tourism development in the city, their opinions reflected if they liked it and accepted as it was or if they disliked it, and the reasons why. In addition, when they were asked about the type of tourists, their opinions reflected these different types, defining the most preferable and the less preferable types. In this way, two main subthemes emerged, desirable types of tourists and undesirable types of tourists.

Table 3.4. Identified subthemes, themes and categories in the analysis of data

Categories	Themes	Subthemes	Codes
Impacts	City's commodification	Gentrification	CCG
		Prices	CCP
		Commercial supply	CCC
	Loss of character	Theme park	LCT
		No places for interaction	LCP
	Tourist's type and behaviour	Desirable	TTD
		Undesirable	TTU
		Use of the city	TTS
Perceptions and attitudes	Tourism development	Tourist destination	TDD
		Dual realities	TDR
		Contribution	TDC
	The more the better strategy	Promotion of tourism	TBPR
		Tourist pressure	TBP
	Stakeholders relationship (SR)	Residents versus private business	SRPB
		Residents versus public sector	RCPA
		Participation	RCPAR

Figure 3.3 shows a conceptual representation of the thematic analysis network structure (Attride-Stirling, 2001). To develop a network of themes, Figure 3.3 shows how the small theme (Sub-theme), is linked to a larger theme, which at the same time is linked to the main category. This allows analysis of the data in a more holistic way, linking the different subthemes, themes, and categories that emerged from the data.

Figure 3.3. Structure of the thematic analysis network



Source: Adapted from Attride-Stirling (2001)

3.5.1. Interpretation of the data

In this study, the researcher has interpreted and understood the data from the experiences and messages being considered in order to clarify its meaning. Thus, the meaning felt and intended by the participants has been reflected in understanding and interpreting the data (Denzin, 1989). Interpretation is co-created in qualitative research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003), because 'the researcher is not a politically impartial observer, nor a stable, monolithic, or unified self, but a product of an historical period, of a specific analytical perspective within the field, and their personal experiences' (Galani-Moutafi, 2000, p. 215). As a researcher, what was understood and perceived by local stakeholders' interactions, opinions, and feelings towards tourism development and its impacts, and the way they interact and influence each other, determined which participants were selected for this study, the observations and photographs taken, and the places and phenomenon observed that illustrate a certain reality. The researcher's interpretation also played an important role in the analysis and reduction of the data collected (Ryan & Bernard, 2000), with the identification and selection of subthemes, themes and categories that best represent the participants' opinions and perceptions influencing the categorization of the data. However, the researcher also took into consideration the different perspectives and constructed realities that were expressed by

participants through including their different and sometimes contradictory, opinions and perceptions of the study (Stake, 1995) to produce a broader and more accurate view of the existing reality within tourism development and its impacts in Barcelona.

3.6. Ethical considerations

With regard to research ethics, the researcher was aware of the importance of the research to respect the right, and welfare of individuals who participated in this study. The risk for them, and the researcher, were minimised as much as possible. The researcher considered ethical issues very carefully because of the involvement of human beings in collecting data (Veal, 2011), to ensure minimal impact on participants. Many codes of ethics are grounded in the Nuremberg Code, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the Declaration of Helsinki (Jennings, 2010). Ethical guidelines followed in this study, aimed to protect the rights of human and non-human subjects, and ensure that the research did not adversely affect the everyday life of participants, or third parties (Jennings, 2010).

An Ethics application to conduct this research was submitted to the La Trobe University Human Ethics Committee. The project complied with the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research and ethical approval was granted on the 11th of June 2013, prior to commencement of the field work and data collection (Appendix A). As required, a Participant Information Statement (Appendix B) was provided, which explained the research process, the conditions of participating, and information about withdrawing from the research. Each participant was asked to sign the appropriate Consent Form (Appendix C) as a way of ensuring that they were aware of the conditions of participating, confidentiality, and the way the data would be used and stored. The consent form enabled participants to be advised in advance, on the basis of informed consent, in order for them to choose to participate on a voluntary basis.

To ensure confidentiality, which was the main ethical issue in this report, information was gathered and stored as part of the data collection plan. Information in paper format was stored in a locked filing cabinet, and in digital format, on a personal laptop computer that was password protected. Data was de-identified, and the names of participants were removed for analysis purposes, and not divulged to anyone other than the researcher. Although the research was considered low risk, the researcher had to consider the importance of involving people in this inquiry and ensuring that they were adults participating in a voluntary and conscious way, and giving full and free consent.

3.7. Conclusion

The research methodology for this thesis has been presented in this chapter, including the research paradigm, based on an interpretivist worldview. It applied a case study approach as a qualitative research method that involved two methods of collecting data; observation and photography, and interviewing, including focus groups and in-depth interviews. As a case study, Barcelona is the focus of this research, and has been identified as the setting of the research process where the field work, and direct observation was carried out. Data was transcribed and analysed through thematic network analysis to identify the subthemes, from which themes were created, and categories were defined, from small ideas to bigger themes and categories.

The next chapter introduces Barcelona as a case study, representing a fast-growing urban destination, which helps to unravel the phenomenon of urban tourism. The chapter includes information about its historical and cultural background, political context, local community organisation, and statistical data that contributes to a deeper understanding of the development of tourism in the city.

Chapter 4: Barcelona case study context

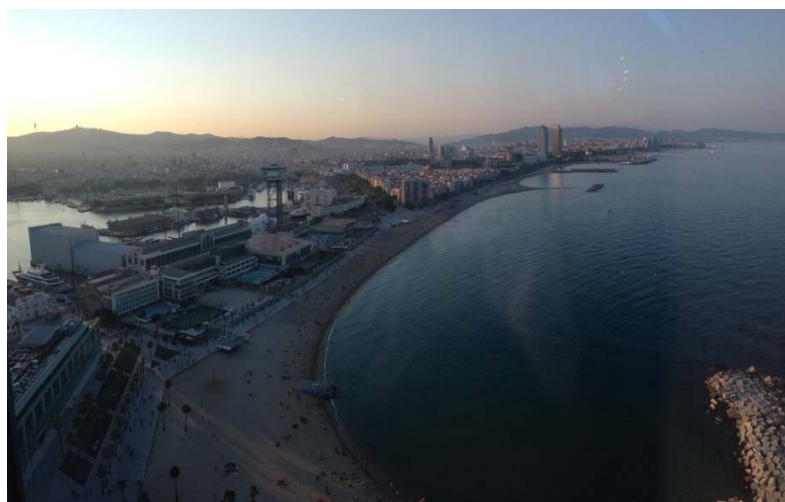
4.1. Introduction

The study of Barcelona provides an interesting context for exploring the growth of urban tourism, because the city has experienced important growth in tourism demand and supply during the last two decades. Tourism development in Barcelona has become important since the organisation of the XXV Olympic Games in 1992. This mega event helped to create the facilities and infrastructure that boosted the development of current tourism (Turisme de Barcelona, 2012).

Barcelona offers a high diversification of supply, including accommodation, food and beverages, cultural facilities, events, such as sport competitions, and music festivals, and shopping. It also offers good international air connections, and a harbour with facilities to welcome an increasing number of cruises and ferries. It is connected with high speed trains and freeways and ring roads that have helped to improve mobility by road. Tourist attractions are visited by a large number of tourists who enjoy the city's unique characteristics and atmosphere. A view of the harbour and the beaches is illustrated in Figure 4.1.

Barcelona is presented as a case study with an overview of the geographical, social, economic, and political context, and a specific focus on tourism development. Statistical data sources, images, and pictures are used to illustrate the case study.

Figure 4.1. View of the harbour, the beaches, and the city from *W Hotel*



Source: Author's Own Photograph (2013).

4.2. The case of Barcelona

Barcelona is a Mediterranean city situated in southwest Europe (Figure 4.2) and is the capital of Catalunya. It is the second largest city in Spain, based on the number of inhabitants, after the capital of Madrid. It has a total area of 101.4 sq. km and is surrounded by natural resources. In the north and south, it is separated by the rivers, *Besos* and *Llobregat*, respectively, and the natural park, *Collserola Mountain*, to the west. In the east, the coast line and the sea cover nearly 5km of beaches, while in the south-east, a harbour splits the land, as shown in Figure 4.3. Weather conditions are mild throughout the year, with a mean of 18°C, and a maximum temperature of around 35°C. These conditions cater for year-round business and leisure activities within a developed urban environment.

Barcelona has a small territory that is limited by two rivers, the sea and the mountain.

Figure 4.2. Situation map of Europe



Source: www.maps.google.com (2019).

Figure 4.3. Barcelona metropolitan area



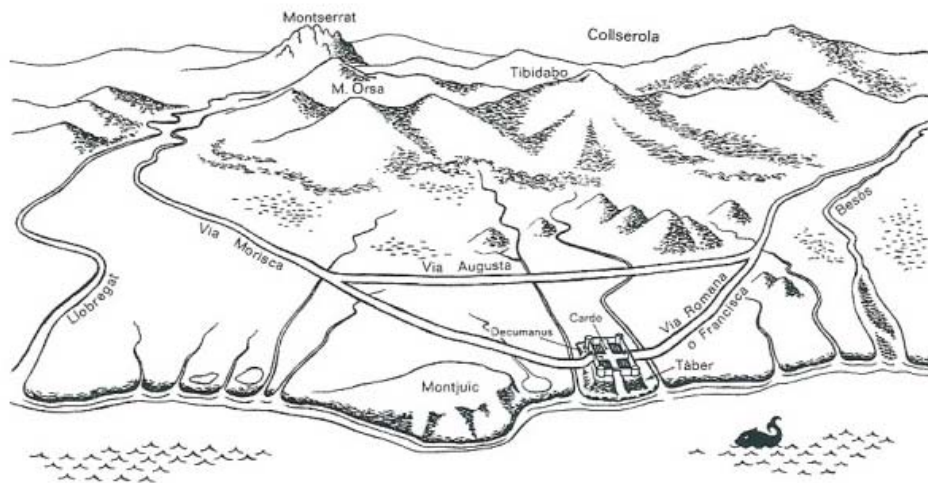
Source: www.maps.google.com (2019).

4.2.1. Historical background

Cirici Pellicer (2012) explained that the territory we know as Barcelona was initially occupied by a tribe called, *Laietan*. It was conquered by the Romans (133 BC), who created a Roman colony forming part of the Roman province of Hispania Citerior. Thus, the Romans and the Greeks, moulded the people of this area, imparting their features (Trueta, 1946, p. 3). Catalan language originated from the Latin spoken by the Roman occupiers (Hughes, 1992). The Catalan language and culture have become the link between the existing Catalan language territories, also called Països Catalans (Read, 1978).

Figure 4.4 shows a map of the topography of Barcelona as a Roman colony, which includes the walls surrounding the city that still exist today.

Figure 4.4. Topography and first settlement of Barcelona



Source: Cirici Pellicer (2012).

Ramon Berenger I (1018-1035) emerged as the first feudal monarch of Catalunya, when became the first realm in Europe to develop a written bill of rights, known as 'the oldest protodemocratic political body in Spain' (Hughes, 1992, p. 5). In the thirteenth century, the union of Aragon and Catalunya created an army that conquered part of the Mediterranean under the reign of Jaume I (Hughes, 1992). During this time, important buildings in Ciutat Vella district were constructed, including the Cathedral, the palaces in Montcada Street, and Santa Maria del Mar church, which are among the most visited places in Barcelona.

After different successions, Ferran II, the Catholic (1479-1516), was married to Isabel of Castilla, who brought Catalunya under Castilian rules and ended the long independence of the principality (Hughes, 1992). In 1714, the Bourbons conquered Barcelona and Philip V abolished all the state institutions of Catalunya and imposed the rule of Castilla. Despite the defeat, the city remains on the soil, the protection of the character, and the tradition and language of Catalunya (Soldevila, 1963).

After the demolition of the medieval walls in 1860, the Eixample district was designed by Ildefons Cerdà (Cirici Pellicer, 2012). In this period, important modern art buildings were constructed, which have become important tourists' attractions, including *Casa Batlló*, *Casa Milà*, *Parc Güell*, and *La Sagrada Família*, designed by the architect, Antoni Gaudí (1852-1924).

General Franco's dictatorship began after the Spanish Civil War in 1939, and lasted until 1975. Franco purged Catalan resistance fighters without trial, beginning with Lluís Companys, the president of Generalitat de Catalunya (Hughes, 1992). In 1939, after the civil war had ended,

Catalunya was split into four provinces and lost its status as an autonomous political region. The target was language, and yet again the use of Catalan was forbidden (Read, 1978), and only survives because of oral tradition and, since 1975, education programmes launched by the new democratic government (Hughes, 1992).

Interestingly, Vargas (2015) sees tourism as something that helped to 'sharpen the Catalans' zeal in managing and promoting their distinctiveness' (2015, p. 37). Thus, tourism promotion for the Catalan authorities became a way of reinforcing the differences between Catalonia and Castilla, with the aim of increasing the self-esteem and pride of Catalan society. For Read (1978), the Catalans have a deep and justifiable sense of historical identity. Therefore, there is a need for a satisfactory framework to acknowledge these differences, and make Catalans more inclusive and acceptance of their belonging to the Spanish State.

Historically, Barcelona has been shaped by its political tensions, but also has significant achievements. The organisation of important international events, such as the Universal Exposition in 1888, and the International Exposition in 1929, 'transformed Barcelona into a metropolitan capital with all the services and amenities that such status demanded' (Sola-Morales, 2008, p. 420). Perhaps the most significant event in terms of impact on the city and its projection to the world, was the organisation of the XXV Olympic Games in 1992, in which it became one of the most visited cities in Europe (after Paris, London, and Rome), and attracted foreign investment (Brunet, 2005). Thus, urban policy was focused on converting the city into a more competitive and dynamic space (Monclús, 2003). This is why in 1999 Barcelona was awarded the Golden Medal by the prestigious Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA), in recognition of its achievements in urban design and architecture for its regeneration (Walder, 2019). Most of the industrial land has been converted into service, leisure, or residential areas, which has helped to promote tourism as a leisure activity. Figure 4.5 shows the beach promenade developed in front of the Barceloneta neighbourhood, with the 5-star-rated W Hotel.

Figure 4.5. Sant Sebastià beach promenade in front of Barceloneta with W Hotel

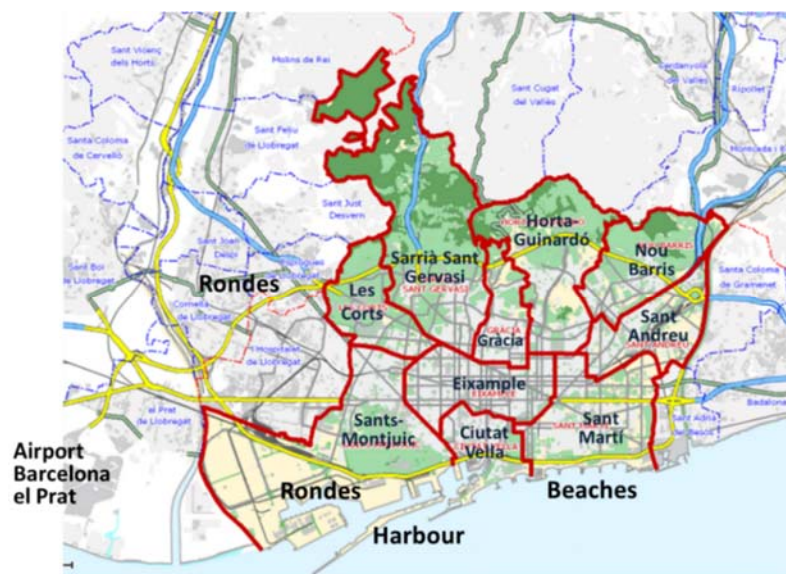


Source: Author's Own Photograph (2014).

4.2.2. Socio demographic characteristics

Barcelona has a total of more than 1.6 million inhabitants, while the metropolitan area, has more than 3 million inhabitants (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2015). In economic terms, its GDP in 2016 was in excess of 69 million Euros, with a GDP per capita close to 43,700 Euros (Barcelona Data Sheet, 2018). Barcelona represents more than 29% of its total contribution to Catalonia. Administratively, Barcelona is divided into ten districts, which represent up to 73 neighbourhoods. Figure 4.6 shows a map of the city with its infrastructure and districts.

Figure 4.6. Situation map: infrastructure and districts



Source: www.bcn.cat (2017).

Table 4.1 shows the city and its districts by area, population, and population density. Gràcia and Ciutat Vella are the smallest districts, while Sants-Montjuïc and Sarrià-Sant Gervasi remain the largest. Eixample and Gràcia are the more populated districts, being nearly 55% above the average density of the overall city. Ciutat Vella, Sant Andreu and Sant Martí are the other more populated districts, having more than 44% and 34% above the city's average population per district.

Table 4.1. Barcelona by districts: Area, population, and population density

	Area in sq.km	% s/city	Population	% s/city	Density
Barcelona	102.16		1,620,809		15,866
Ciutat Vella	4.37	4.3	101,387	6.3	23,211
Eixample	7.47	7.3	266,416	16.4	35,636
Sants-Montjuïc	22.94	22.5	181,910	11.2	7,930
Les Corts	6.02	5.9	82,033	5.1	13,631
Sarrià-Sant Gervasi	20.09	19.7	149,279	9.2	7,429
Gràcia	4.18	4.1	121,347	7.5	28,989
Horta-Guinardó	11.94	11.7	168,751	10.4	14,125
Nou Barris	8.04	7.9	166,579	10.3	20,716
Sant Andreu	6.56	6.4	147,594	9.1	22,482
Sant Martí	10.52	10.3	235,513	14.5	22,379

Source: Adapted from Statistical yearbook of Barcelona city (2018).

4.2.3. Administrative structures

Administratively, the city of Barcelona is divided in 10 Districts, each with its own district government that, at the same time, is represented at city-level in government.

Government organisation

Barcelona City Council has two separate organisational levels; the political level, which is formed by elected members and councillors, and the executive level, which consists of various administrative departments. There are five deputy mayors appointed by the City Councillors who are the immediate and direct collaborators of the mayor. The City Council commissions and District Councils are also part of the organisational structure. The government committee is composed of the mayor as the President, as well as five additional members.

Municipal council

The Municipal Council is the highest representative political council of the citizens. It is composed of 41 councillors and is chaired by the mayor. It operates in Plenary Assemblies and in distinct commissions. Its main functions are to approve the Municipal Action Plan, the Investment Plan, city by-laws, and municipal budgets (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2015).

City council commissions

The commissions of the Municipal Council involve powers of decision-making, supervision, and information. The members of each commission have to be proportional to the number of councillors representing each political party on the Municipal Council. They advance, control, and oversee the activities of the municipal executive administration, and periodically monitor the execution of the programme of action (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2015).

District councils

The District City Councils are formed by members who represent the various political groups of each District. They have authority to report and to make proposals on plans, programmes, budgets, and urban development instruments of their Districts (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2015).

Political groups represented in the city council in 2013, 2015, and 2019

The municipal election in 2015 changed the political situation in Barcelona. The elections resulted in a change in the political forces represented in the Barcelona council, including seven groups. In 2019, a new municipal election Ada Colao Ballano was re-elected mayor. Her political party, Barcelona en Comú agreed to form a coalition with the Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya (PSC). The political milieu has changed, and is now more concerned about tourism development policies and the relationship with the residents and private stakeholders, with the focus on participation and consultation processes.

4.2.4. Barcelona and its infrastructure

Barcelona has developed important infrastructure during the last few decades that has helped to increase the quality of life of its residents, as well as to attract a larger number of tourists.

Barcelona airport, also known as Barcelona el Prat Airport, is located 12 km southwest of the city. The airport is the second most important in Spain, after Madrid, and occupies 9th position in terms of air traffic in the European Union according to the Airports Council international ranking (Aena, 2015). Consequently, the airport has been expanded twice during the last three

decades. At the beginning of the 1990s before the Olympic Games, and in 2009 with the development of a new terminal and a third runway (Aena, 2015). Today, the airport has a total capacity of 55 million passengers per year and can process 90 operations per hour (Aena, 2015). Both expansion projects were designed by the Catalan architect Ricard Bofill (Figure 4.7).

Figure 4.7. Barcelona airport interior of Terminal 1



Source: Author's Own Photograph (2013).

The harbour is divided into different areas, the Old Harbour (Port Vell) which integrates promenades, commercial areas, cultural, sports, and recreational areas, and the newly developed Sant Sebastià Beach promenade, with its 5-star-rated Hotel W (Figure 4.5).

The harbour receives more than 16 million visitors per year, creates 7,000 jobs, and has a business volume of over 300 million euros annually (Port de Barcelona, 2015). The harbour includes seven international passenger terminals that can receive more than ten large cruise ships simultaneously. For ferry services, the harbour includes three terminals connecting Barcelona with the Balearic Islands, Mallorca, Menorca, and Eivissa, as well as with Morocco and Italy.

Train infrastructure has a long tradition in Catalonia, with the first railway developed in the Spanish territory on the 28th of October 1848, connecting Barcelona with Mataró, promoted by Mr. Miquel Biada, a private investor. The arrival of the railway brought profound changes in the urban structure of the city (Alcaide González, 2005). Today, train infrastructure in Catalunya is relatively poor due to lack of maintenance and improvement on some train lines.

As an example, a train arrived in Manresa from Barcelona on the 3rd of July 1859, and took 80 minutes to complete the route non-stop by steam engine. Today, the fastest train takes 71 minutes to complete the same route and the passengers are asking for improvements to reduce the time to 55 minutes (El Periódico de Catalunya (2009). The only exception is the development of a high-speed train (AVE) from Madrid to Barcelona and connecting with France.

A ring road around the city was developed in 1992, including the Ronda de Dalt, and the Ronda Litoral. The Rondes have had a decisive influence on the mobility of traffic that connects the southern and northern entrances of the city with the motorways that connect Barcelona to its metropolitan areas (Àrea Metropolitana de Barcelona, 2015).

4.3. Tourism development

As explained above, in Barcelona the tourism industry is a key economic activity generating about 120,000 jobs, ranging from accommodation facilities, food and beverages and shopping supplies, to transportation and socio-cultural resources, affecting the socio-economic development and environment of the city (Turisme de Barcelona, 2016). In 2007, the Council created the Economic Development Department in charge of policy, planning, and management of tourism. Since 1993, tourism has been promoted by the public-private consortium, Turisme de Barcelona, which oversees promotion of the city at the domestic and international level (Turisme de Barcelona, 2016). In their study of Turisme de Barcelona, Serra, Font, Ivanova (2017), recognised that their discourse is oriented towards more liberal policies allowing tourism to grow, by promoting geographic decentralisation of tourists to other districts of the city, rather than a change in their business model (Serra, Font, Ivanova, 2017). Private stakeholders also share this view by arguing that tourism has brought prosperity in times of economic crisis. This indicates the complexity of addressing the negative impacts of tourism and including all stakeholders' interests and needs (Serra, Font, Ivanova, 2017). This shows that the growth of tourism is on the political agenda in Barcelona, and has made authorities realise that its impacts have led to residents reacting negatively to tourism.

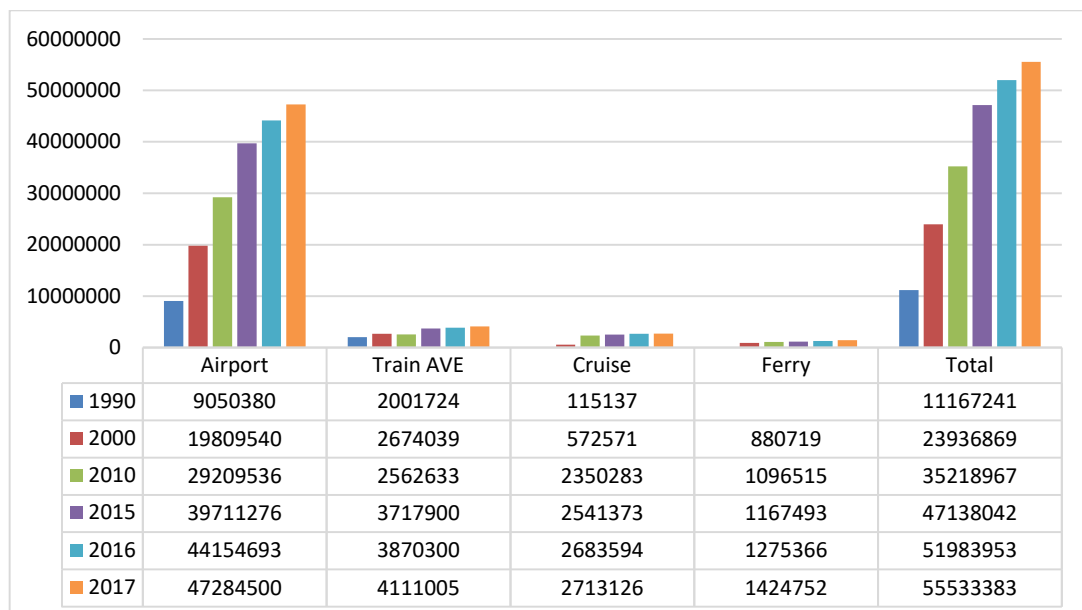
Different factors have affected the development of tourism in Barcelona during the last few decades, including the development of several major infrastructure projects, the creation of new accommodation facilities and food and beverage services, the development of urban beaches, and the promotion of historic and modern tourist attractions. These showcase the city's unique shopping infrastructure, together with a series of events, such as music festivals

(e.g., *Sonar and Primavera Sound*), and specialised fairs and exhibitions organised by *Fira Barcelona* throughout the year.

Tourist statistics are used for identifying the direction of tourism development. In 1993, Barcelona received 2.45 million tourists; that number has tripled over the course of the last 20 years during which it received up to 100 million tourists, representing 210 million overnight stays and 25 million cruise passengers (Castán, 2013). Over time, the number of visitors in Barcelona has grown exponentially. By 2015, the city was listed as 12th in the top 20 most visited cities in the world by the Global Dimension Cities Index, recording 7.63 million international overnight visitors, and the 4th most visited European city, after London, Paris, and Istanbul (Mastercard, 2015).

In 2016, it was estimated that there were nine million visitors staying in hotels, nine million visitors in tourist apartments, and 12 million day-trippers arriving by road, train, or cruise-liner (Burgen, 2017). There was a total of more than 30 million tourists and visitors per year, with a continuous growth of 17% during the last 5 years (Memòria de Sostenibilitat Turística, 2016). Graph 4.1 shows the exponential growth in the number of passenger arrivals to Barcelona by means of transport from 1990 to 2017. In 2018, 50.2 million passengers arrived by plane, 73% of which were international visitors. Cruise and ferry transportation and high-speed AVE train remain the second largest gateways (Barcelona Tourism Activity Report, 2017).

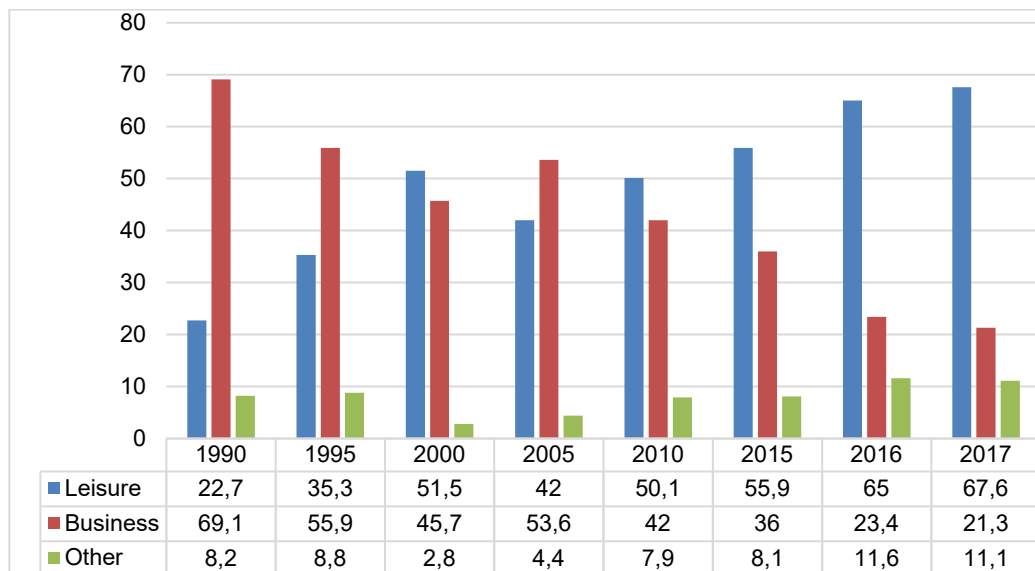
Graph 4.1. Passenger arrivals to Barcelona by means of transport



Source: Adapted from Turisme de Barcelona Annual Report (2016), and Barcelona Tourism Activity Report (2016-2017)

Barcelona has faced a shift in relation to tourism, from a demand driven primarily by business, to more leisure-focused demand because the city is offering more leisure activities, including food and Beverages, beaches, entertainment, and nightlife. Graph 4.2 shows how the motivation to travel has changed since 1990, when business represented nearly 70% of total demand. Today, business represents 21.3% and the remainder is motivated by leisure.

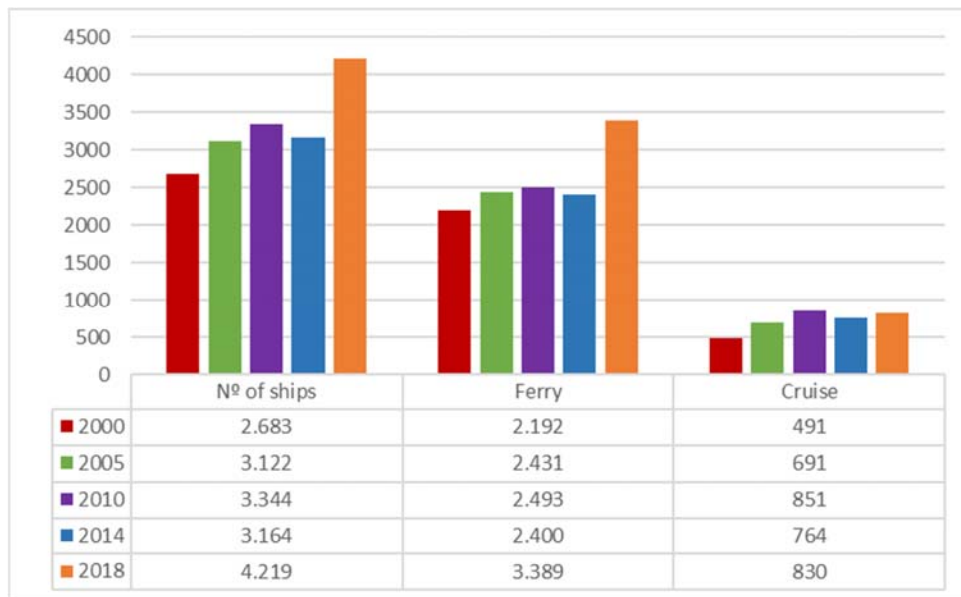
Graph 4.2. Tourist motivation to travel in Barcelona by % (1990-2017)



Source: Adapted from Turisme de Barcelona Annual Report (2016), and Barcelona Tourism Activity Report (2016-2017).

The number of ship arrivals more than doubled between 2000 and 2018. Cruise ships and ferries have also grown steadily during the same period of time. In 2018, ferries represented 80.3% of arrivals, while the number of cruise arrivals was 19.7% (Graph 4.3).

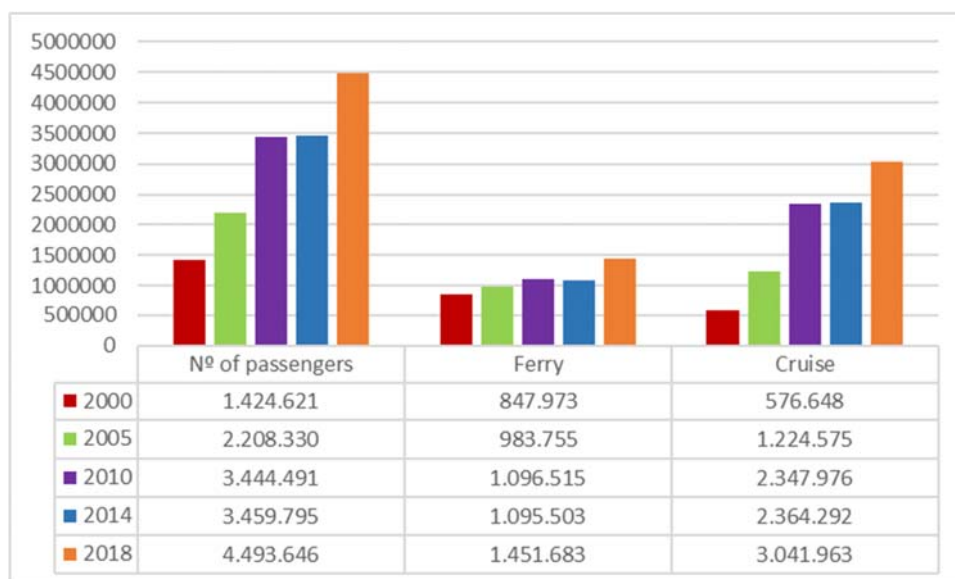
Graph 4.3. Number of ship arrivals in Barcelona by ferry and cruise



Source: Adapted from Port of Barcelona traffic statistics (2018).

Graph 4.4 shows that the number of passengers has nearly tripled between 2000 to 2018, an increase of 215%. In the same period, the number of ferry passengers has nearly doubled, while cruise passengers grew more than five times, an increase of 430%, representing more than 3 million passengers. This represents 67.7% of the total number of passengers. To illustrate the importance of cruise tourism, from the 9th to the 11th of August 2013, 15 cruise ships arrived with 55,000 passengers (El Periódico de Catalunya, 2013).

Graph 4.4. Number of passenger arrivals in Barcelona by ferry and cruise



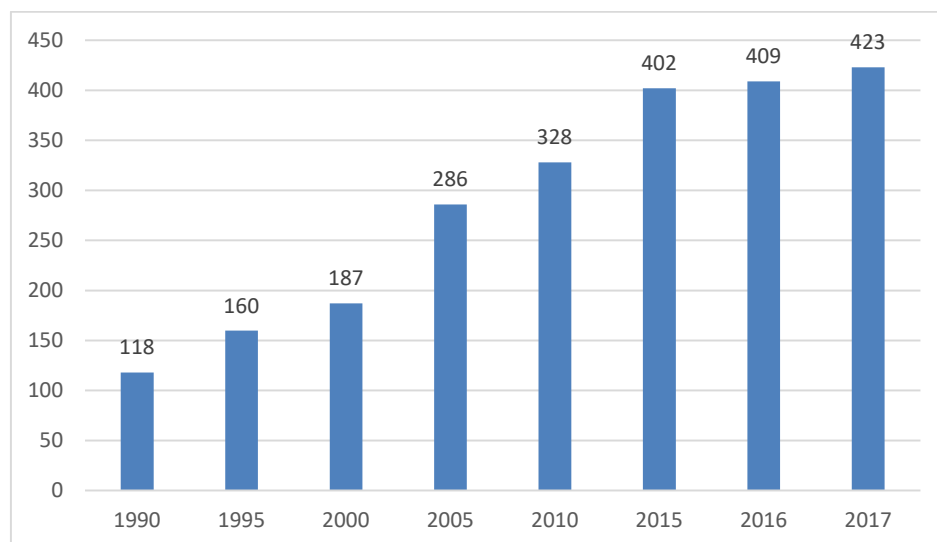
Source: Adapted from Port of Barcelona traffic statistics (2018).

When looking at the number of passenger arrivals, the picture is very different from the number of ships. While the number of ships is much higher with regards to ferries, more than 80%, in terms of number of passengers, ferries represent only 32.3%. This indicates that the capacity of ferries is much lower than that of cruise ships, with the supply of new bigger ships to accommodate the increased demand of cruise customers. Barcelona receives a steady number of ships and passenger throughout the year (Port of Barcelona traffic statistics, 2018).

4.3.1. Tourist accommodation

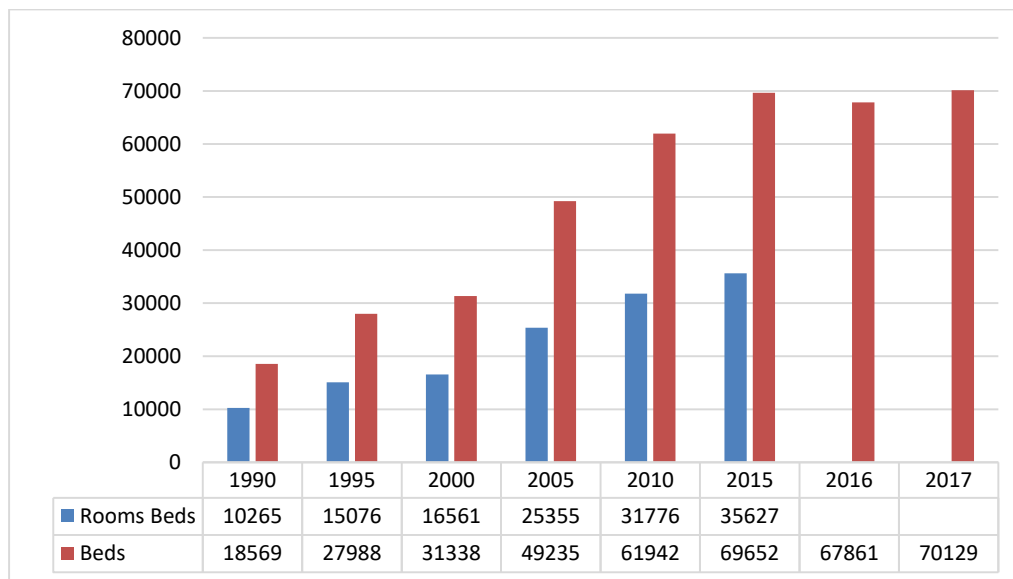
The development of the hotel sector indicates the importance of tourism in Barcelona during the last few decades. There has been strong growth in the number of hotels, rooms, beds, the total number of tourists, the overnight stays, and the occupancy rates. Today, in Barcelona, there are 75,000 hotel beds in the city, and around 100,000 beds in tourist apartments (with at least half of them illegally operating without a licence) (Burgen, 2017). Barcelona tripled its hotel supply capacity between 1990 and 2015 in terms of the number of establishments, rooms, and beds (Graph 4.5 and Graph 4.6). Hotels represent 56.9% of the total accommodation supply in Barcelona, concentrated in category 3-star-rated and 4-star-rated accommodation. Pensions represent 39.5%, and the rest are hotel-apartments that only represent 3.6% of the total accommodation supply in Barcelona (Turisme de Barcelona Annual Report, 2016; Barcelona Tourism Activity Report, 2016-2017).

Graph 4.5. Hotel supply in Barcelona (1990-2017)



Source: Adapted from Turisme de Barcelona Annual Report (2016), and Barcelona Tourism Activity Report (2016-2017).

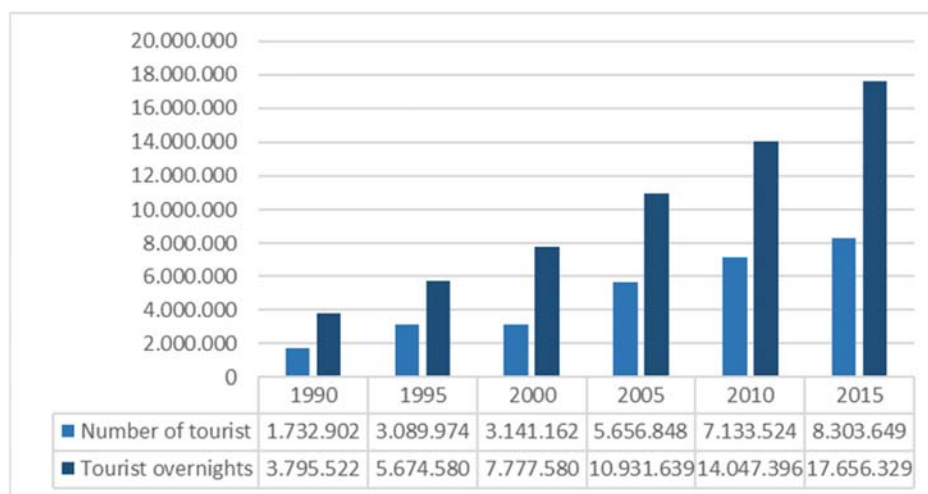
Graph 4.6. Room, and Bed supply in Barcelona (1990-2017)



Source: Adapted from Turisme de Barcelona Annual Report (2016), and Barcelona Tourism Activity Report (2016-2017).

The number of tourists and tourist overnights in hotels has increased exponentially since 1990. This represents 8.3 million tourists in 2015, with more than 17.6 million overnights (Graph 4.7). Average length of stay is relatively low, with a consistent 2.1 days. This reflects the strengths of the accommodation, as well as the need to cope with the growth of hotel capacity.

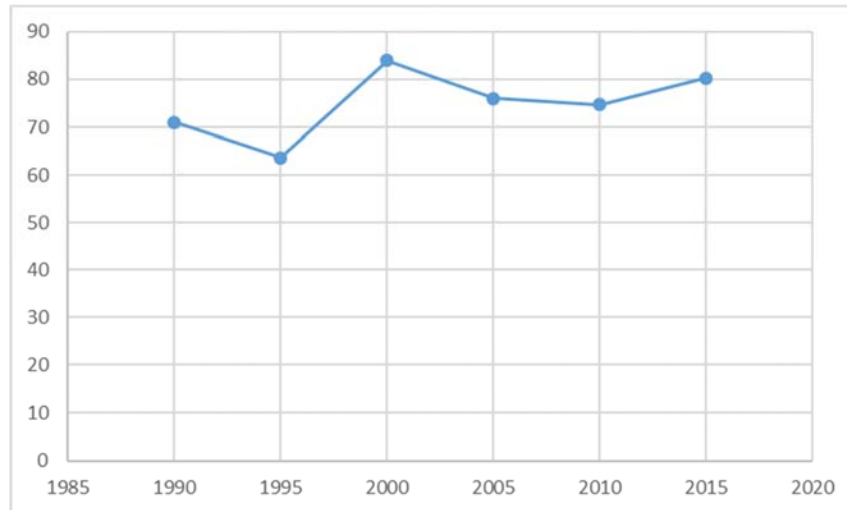
Graph 4.7. Number of tourists, and tourist overnights in the hotel sector in Barcelona (1990-2015)



Source: Adapted from Turisme de Barcelona Annual Report (2016).

Yearly average occupancy rates have remained steady between 65% and 85% (Graph 4.8), demonstrating that even though the number of hotels has increased exponentially, the occupancy rates have remained relatively stable. Thus, the number of tourist overnights has increased at a similar pace to the number of new hotels in the city.

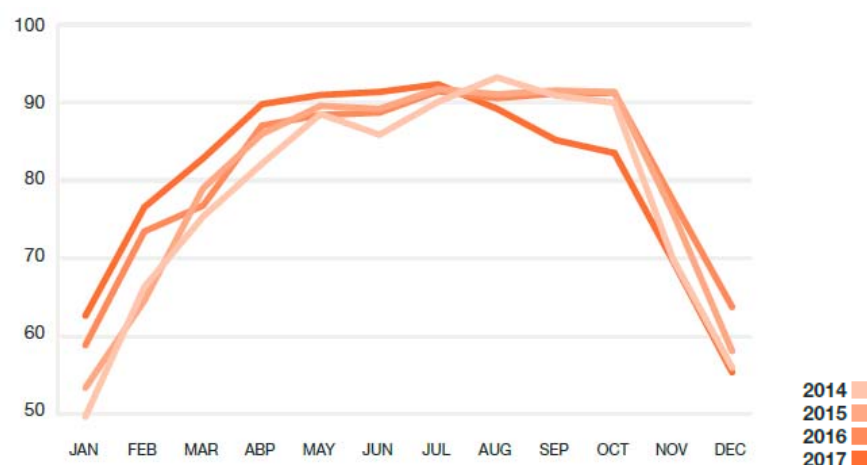
Graph 4.8. Evolution of occupancy rates in the hotel sector in Barcelona (1990-2015)



Source: Adapted from Turisme de Barcelona Annual Report (2016).

Graph 4.9 shows the seasonality of the hotel sector in Barcelona. The low season is concentrated from November to February, while during the rest of the year, hotels have high occupancy rates, with a yearly average of 81.3% in 2017. This reflects a relatively low level of seasonality where Barcelona attracts tourists throughout the year.

Graph 4.9. Occupancy rates in the hotel sector in Barcelona (2017)

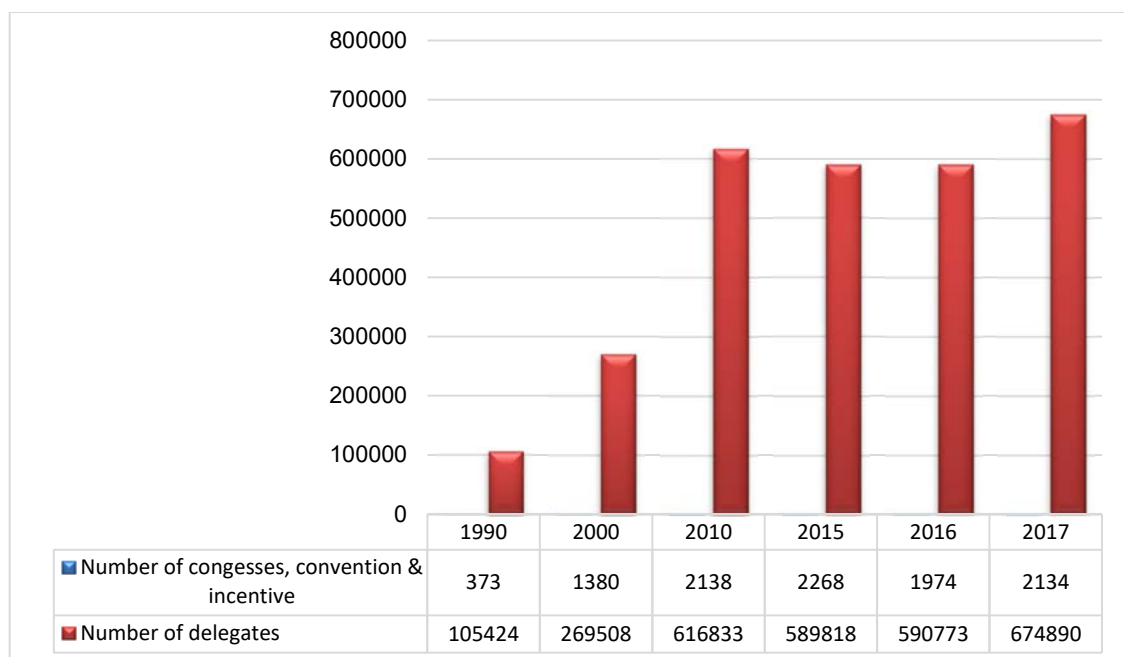


Source: Adapted from Barcelona Tourism Activity Report (2017).

4.3.2. MICE (Meetings, Incentives, Conferences, and Exhibitions) tourism in Barcelona

Given the tradition and importance of attracting business tourism, Barcelona has invested significant resources in MICE (Meetings, Incentives, Conferences, and Exhibitions). *Fira Barcelona*, as an organiser of fairs and exhibitions, together with the promotion by Turisme de Barcelona has led to an increased numbers of conferences, congresses, and meetings, as well as delegates, as shown in Graph 4.10. MICE tourism has grown steadily since 1990 (up to four times by 2000), and had nearly doubled ten years later in 2010 (since 1990), with more than two thousand congresses, and nearly six hundred thousand delegates. By 2017, the number of congresses, conventions and incentives remained basically unchanged (around 2000), while the number of delegates peaked at approximately 670,000.

Graph 4.10. MICE activity – Number of events, and number of delegates in Barcelona (1990-2017)



Source: Adapted from Turisme de Barcelona Annual Report (2016), and Barcelona Tourism Activity Report (2017)

Nearly 70% of all meetings are of international origin and 30% are domestic, while nearly 80% of total visitors in this sector are international.

4.3.3. Most visited attractions

Table 4.2 shows the top 10 most visited places in Barcelona, which are concentrated in five out of the 10 districts of the city. In terms of property and management, 60% of them are public-owned and 40% privately owned. The table shows each of the attractions in terms of the district location, and the property and management.

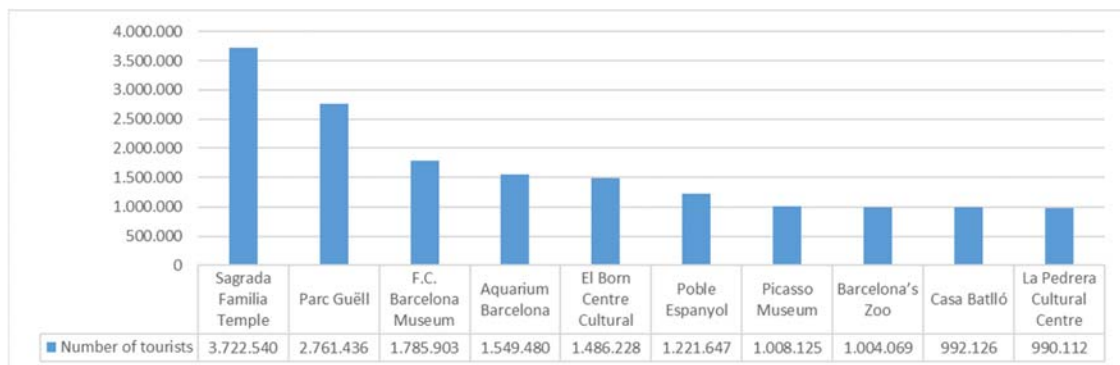
Table 4.2. Top 10 places of interest visited by tourists in Barcelona, 2016

	Place of interest	District	Property
1	Sagrada Familia Temple	Eixample	Not for profit organisation
2	Parc Güell	Gràcia	Municipality
3	F.C. Barcelona Museum	Les Corts	Not for profit organisation
4	Aquarium Barcelona	Ciutat Vella	Private
5	El Born Centre Cultural	Ciutat Vella	Municipality
6	Poble Espanyol	Sants-Montjuic	Municipality
7	Picasso Museum	Ciutat Vella	Municipality
8	Barcelona's Zoo	Ciutat Vella	Municipality
9	Casa Batlló	Eixample	Private
10	La Pedrera Cultural Centre	Eixample	Private

Source: Adapted from Turisme de Barcelona & Diputació de Barcelona (2016).

According to the Barcelona Tourism Activity Report (2017), tourists concentrate their visit into five places. In order of importance, they are Les Rambles and Gotic neighbourhood (Ciutat Vella district), Passeig de Gràcia and Sagrada Familia (Eixample district), and Port (Harbour) in Ciutat Vella district. The Eixample accounts for more than 30% of total visits, with the Sagrada Familia temple the most visited attraction, followed by Casa Batlló and La Pedrera Cultural Centre. Ciutat Vella represents more than 27% of visits, with the Aquarium, El Born Cultural Centre, Picasso Museum, and Barcelona's Zoo. Sants-Montjuic nearly 25%, with the Poble Espanyol. Les Corts and Gràcia representing 11.5%, and nearly 6%, respectively, with the F.C. Barcelona Museum and Parc Güell, as the third and second most visited places in the city. The top 10 most visited places are shown in Graph 11.

Graph 4.11. Top 10 places of interest visited by tourists in Barcelona, 2016



Source: Adapted from Turisme de Barcelona & Diputació de Barcelona (2016).

According to the Barcelona Tourism Activity Report (2017), the most important values that Barcelona offers to tourists are architecture and culture, followed by entertainment, public transport, the character and kindness of the residents, bars and restaurants, and shopping. Aspects considered more negative by tourists include tourist information, trading hours, safety, accommodation, beaches, and noise (Barcelona Tourism Activity Report, 2017). This is a reflection of the way Barcelona has developed since its creation, with Catalan culture and society having an important influence on residents' way of life. This includes the gastronomy, language and lifestyle that have shaped the city's ambiance and hospitality. Figure 4.8 illustrates some of today's most visited tourist attractions.

Figure 4.8. Some of the most visited places in Barcelona



Church of Sagrada Família (Eixample).



Cathedral and Roman walls (Ciutat Vella).



Casa Milà, known as La Pedrera in Passeig de Gràcia (Eixample).



Music hall Palau de la Musica Catalana in Sant Pere Mes Alt Street (Ciutat Vella).



Tourists queuing in front of the Picasso Museum in Montcada Street (Ciutat Vella).



Casa Batlló and Casa Amatller in Passeig de Gràcia (Eixample).

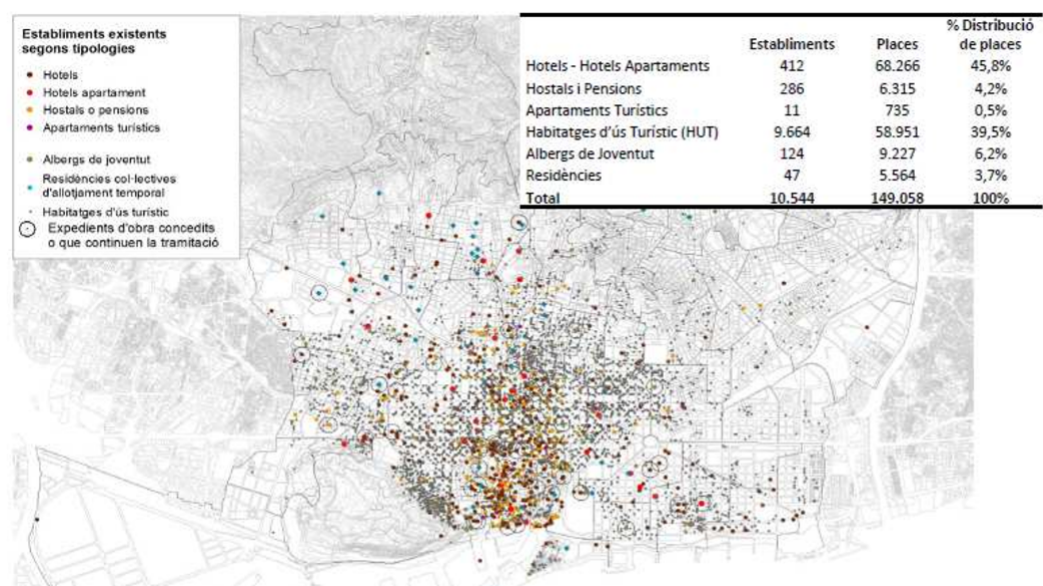
Source: Author's Own Photographs (2013).

4.3.3 Tourist activity

Tourism activity is concentrated in the most visited areas of the city. Ciutat Vella and Eixample districts have more than 70% of the hotel supply, and seven out of ten of the top most visited places in Barcelona (Memòria de Sostenibilitat Turística, 2016).

Most Airbnb accommodation is also concentrated in the city centre (Gutiérrez, García-Palomares, Romanillos, & Salas-Olmedo, 2017), as illustrated in Figure 4.9, and Table 4.2. This is considered critical for the purpose of this study, because it has an impact on local stakeholders' perceptions, attitudes, and behaviour towards tourism development and its impacts.

Figure 4.9. Map of hotel concentration in Barcelona (2009)



Source: Memòria de Sostenibilitat Turística (2016).

Figure 4.10 illustrates the current situation of tourist places in Ciutat Vella district, showing the city's ambiance, and the concentration of tourists in the Rambla, or the narrow streets of the Ciutat Vella.

Figure 4.10. Tourist concentration in Ciutat Vella district



Ambience and terraces in the Rambla promenade.

Ambience and souvenir shops in the Rambla promenade.



Group of tourists in the Rambla.



Groups of tourists in Plaça del Rei.



Tourist concentration in historical
Montcada street.



Tourist concentration in the historical
Baixada de la Llibreteria street.

Author's Own Photographs (2013).

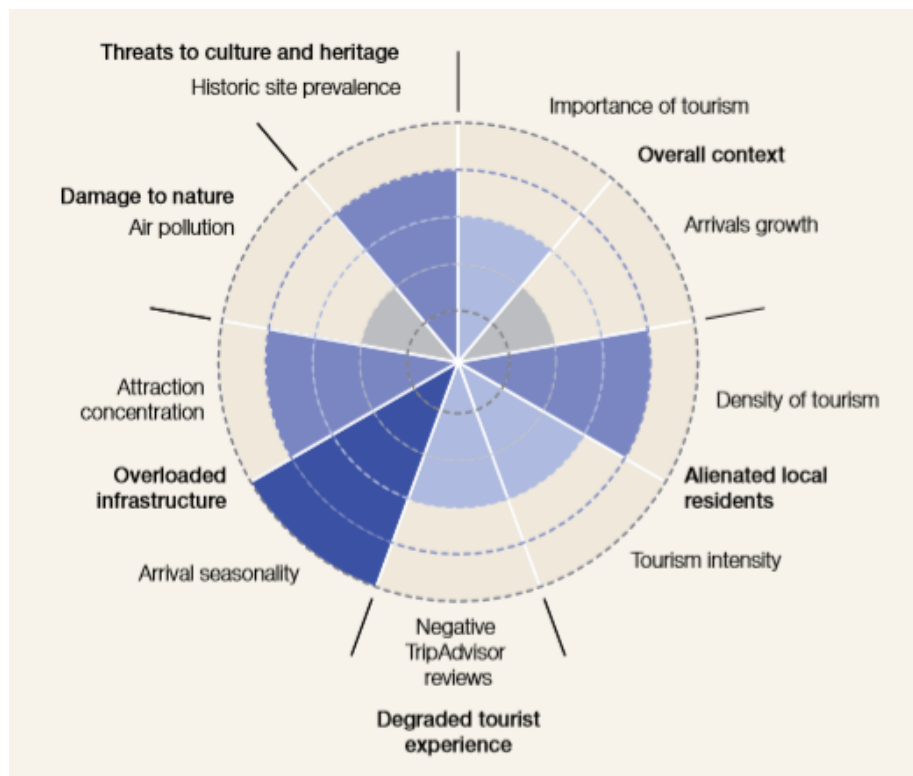
To define the level of tourism pressure, as reviewed in Chapter 2, two ratios can be used, namely Tourist Intensity Ratio (TIR), which measures the percentage of tourists to the local population, and the Tourist Density Ratio (TDR), which measures the number of tourists to the land (Stonich, 1998). Both ratios can be used in the case of Barcelona.

TIR ratio in Barcelona is calculated by the total number of tourists and visitors (30 million) divided by total population (1.6 million), resulting in 18.5. For tourists staying overnight (18 million), the TIR ratio is 11.1, and for day visitors it is 7.4. When applying TDR, the picture is different, because Barcelona has a relatively small administrative territory. The total number of tourists and visitors divided by the territory divided by 100 is 2,936.6. The total number of tourists staying overnight divided by territory and by 100 is 1,761.9, and total number of day visitors divided by the territory and by 100 is 1,174.6. These calculations show that the level of pressure is much higher when tourists and visitors are considered. Unfortunately, there is no segregated data on the total number of tourists and visitors by district or neighbourhood,

which could give us a better picture of the way tourism is distributed and detailed information on each area of the city.

In their report about managing overcrowding, WTTC & McKinsey (2017) defined four main areas where the city is at risk. The highest risk is in the arrival seasonality, which can overload current infrastructure. Attraction concentration, Historic site prevalence and Density of tourism are the other issues where there is a higher risk of overcrowding in Barcelona (Figure 4.11).

Figure 4.11. Example diagnostic for Barcelona.



Source: WTTC & McKinsey (2017).

The level of concentration is also affecting how public spaces are occupied and used, which is one of the most obvious impacts of the development of tourism, as shown in Figure 4.12. Examples include terraces, parking, advertisements, as well as individuals distributing leaflets from bars and restaurants.

Figure 4.12. Photographs of the uses and occupation of public spaces



Terraces in Rambla del Raval.



Terraces in an historical public square with walls dating from Ancient Rome.



Terrace in an historical setting, Plaça del Rei.



Terrace occupying an additional public space for advertising.



Use of public space as motorbike parking in front of the Cathedral Square.



Variety of uses of public spaces in historic areas.



A person handing out restaurant menus.



A person distributing flamenco show leaflets.

Author's Own Photographs (2013)

As the Figures 4.10, and 4.12 demonstrates, the changes produced by tourism development are directly affecting the lifestyle of residents. The changes in the city's ambiance are evident and show the level of loss of character due to the changes that the city is facing, echoed Colau's (2014) observations that in the tourist hotspots, the scale of visitor numbers is affecting not only the residents' quality of life, but also their ability to live there. Colau (2014) argued that the answer is not to denounce tourism, because everyone is a tourist at some point in their life. Rather, tourism has to be regulated, in order to return to the traditions of local urban planning, which place the rights of residents ahead of those of big business. To illustrate this issue, Figure 4.13 shows the uses of public spaces, and the different modes of transport, that are on offer in the Ciutat Vella streets, including trixis, bike tours, Bicing service, rental shops, and the Bus Turístic.

Figure 4.13. Examples of use of public spaces and mobility



Trixis in front of the Cathedral.



Bike tours in front of Barceloneta beach.



Bike tours. Pedestrian tourists and cyclist tourists in front of Palau de la Musica Catalana.



'Bicing' station (bike public transport, only for locals' use).



Proliferation of bike rental shops.



Bus turístico service with tourists queuing.

Author's Own Photographs (2013).

Figure 4.14 shows some of the traditional shops that already exist in the Ciutat Vella district. However, in this area there has been a proliferation of souvenir and convenience stores that have changed the commercial supply and affect Barcelona's local character.

Figure 4.14. Local traditional shops in Barcelona



Subirà house, candle shop founded in 1761.



Interior of the Subirà house shop.



Shop that gives character to the city.



La Colmena patisserie and hotel in Plaça de l'Angel.

Author's Own Photographs (2013).

Saurí (2015) claims that a generalised sensation of residents is the individual and collective sense of loss about their quality of life, which is attributed to tourism. The residents of Barcelona feel that the city is not theirs anymore, because a tourist monoculture has taken part of its identity, and because they are marginalised and even expelled. Delgado (2015) offered the view that to oppose mass tourism and its devastation is not to be against the tourist. It is not tourism that has emptied the urban historical centres and its people, but the management of the city as a business to generate short-term profit. Therefore, the local residents are facing the consequences of mass tourism development, in which they suffer from overcrowding and rising prices of goods and services (Millar, 2017).

To illustrate how the development of tourism has changed existing shops, Figure 4.15 shows the shops that are replacing the traditional supply, all offering similar products at similar prices.

This provides evidence of the loss of character and the proliferation of standardised shops focused on tourist demand.

Figure 4.15. Proliferation of ‘tourist’ commercial supply in the Ciutat Vella district



Author's Own Photographs (2013).

Figure 4.16 shows the type of supply that is being implemented in the Rambla, where stalls are all offering similar ice-cream or souvenir products, boosting the standardization of commercial supply offered in this iconic promenade of Barcelona.

Figure 4.16. Rambla's tourist shopping supply



Author's Own Photographs (2013)

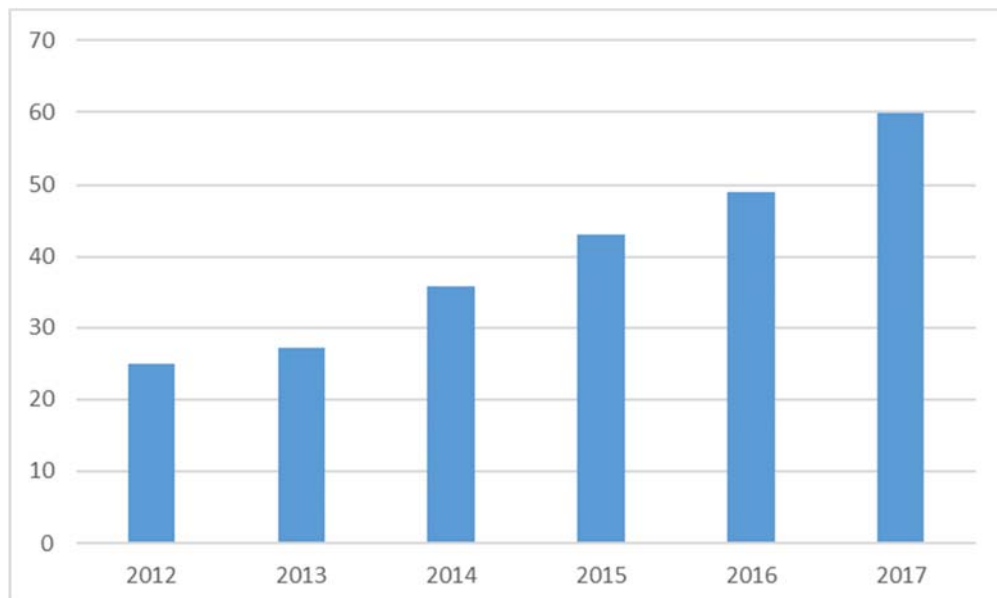
4.3.5. Local community overview

Barcelona has a long tradition of community development through associations, foundations and cultural centres. At present, there are 104 residents' associations in the city that are federated through the Federació d'Associacions de Veïns i Veïnes de Barcelona (FAVB). Bonet i Martí (2012) highlighted that the modern associations' movement first appeared in the middle of the nineteenth century in order to improve living conditions of working class people in urban areas. In Barcelona, there were a number of ateneus (cultural centres), popular libraries, and other societies that, along with the trade unions and labour cooperatives, characterised the appearance and singularity of popular neighbourhoods of Barcelona. However, this tradition was destroyed with the Spanish Civil War (1936-39), and with Franco's dictatorship. Today, the neighbours' movement is a key element in reinforcing social cohesion, territorial sustainability, and the deepening of urban democracy (Bonet i Martí, 2012).

4.3.5.1. Residents perceptions of tourism

According to the Barcelona Tourism Activity Report (2017), 83.1% of residents believe that tourism is beneficial for the city. However, with the growing negative perception of the impacts of tourism, the number of residents that believe the city is at the limits of its capacity has reached 59.9% (Graph 4.12). The rest of residents (35.2%) believe that tourism can still grow. Residents in the Ciutat Vella and Gràcia districts were more critical of the development of tourism, followed by Poble Nou, Poble Sec, and Sant Antoni districts.

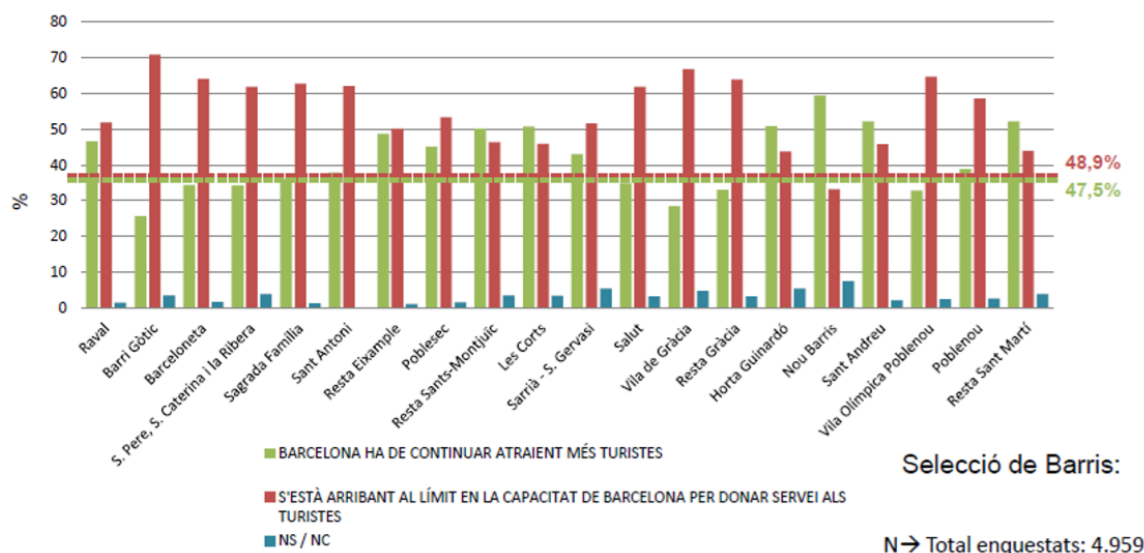
Graph 4.12. % of residents perceiving carrying capacity limits (2017)



Source: Adapted from Barcelona Tourism Activity Report (2017).

Residents' opinions about tourism are differently distributed throughout the neighbourhoods. Graph 4.13 shows the opinion of residents about the capacity of the city to attract more tourists (in green) or the city being at the limit of its capacity (in red). There are up to 10 out of 20 neighbourhoods where more than 55% of residents believe that Barcelona has arrived at its capacity limits.

Graph 4.13. Perception of residents by neighbourhood (2016)



Source: Memòria de Sostenibilitat Turística (2016).

According to the Memòria de Sostenibilitat Turística (2016), the main reasons for residents negatively evaluating tourism activity include incorrect management of tourist apartments (15.7%), poor and ineffective management of tourism (14.2%), too permissive with tourists (12.9%) with regard to their behaviour, implementation of a hotel and terraces moratorium (12%), lack of promotion of quality tourism (10.9%), lack of effective promotion (9.4%), and too many tourists (7.1%). Of the seven reasons, only two favoured further developing tourism, including the moratorium on hotels and terraces, and better and more effective promotion.

4.3.6. Policies to manage tourism development

In order to deal with this increasing negative perception of residents, the Council and the Generalitat de Catalunya have introduced several policies. These include new legislation regarding tourist accommodation, including hotels and apartments, the tourist tax, the Tourism Strategic Plan 2010-2015, the Tourism Strategic Plan 2020, the Plan of Use for Ciutat Vella district, and the City and Tourism Council.

4.3.6.1. Tourist accommodation

In July 2015, the Council approved a moratorium on new accommodation licenses (Blanchar, 2015), with the objective of survey the current situation and responding to concerns about the uncontrolled proliferation of this type of supply. With regard to apartments, there is a proliferation of private apartments that are being used as tourist accommodation. In 2010, there were 2,349 licenced tourist apartments, by August of 2014, there were 7,854 apartments, and by February of 2016, there were 9,600 licenses, indicting the large increase in tourist apartments. As an example, before the moratoria the municipality issued 900 licences for tourist apartments in six weeks and buying a tourist apartment licence in Ciutat Vella could cost €90,000 (El Periódico de Catalunya, 2014). Today, there is no official data available about the non-regulated or illegal apartments that exist in the city. However, according to the Council, in the Ciutat Vella district alone, there are an estimated 1,000 to 8,000 illegal tourist apartments (Espiga, 2014). The apartments' association estimated that there are 9,000 illegal rooms in Barcelona (Freixa, 2019). There is no exact information on the real accommodation supply in the city. The proliferation of tourist apartments, both legal and illegal, with many of them commercialised through Internet platforms such as Airbnb, has caused concern among local inhabitants.

The negative effects, including noise and use of communal areas between the apartments that are let for days or weeks, and the rest of the neighbours in the same building, need to be resolved (Pau, 2013). There were 2,000 reported incidents caused by tourist apartments in 2019, due to the noise, timetables and misuse of the communal areas of the buildings (Panyella, 2019).

The increase in demand for private apartments has also affected property prices because of the reduction of private accommodation supply. This forces local residents out of their own neighbourhoods, as they cannot afford to pay these 'tourist-orientated' prices (Millar, 2017; Campbell, 2017; Ortega, 2019). The most centric (and visited) districts in Barcelona are the ones with a high level of gentrification, including Ciutat Vella, Eixample, and Gràcia districts (Ortega, 2019). This resulted in a demonstration in 2014 by more than 1,000 inhabitants against the trend, after a meeting with the district representatives (França, 2014). According to Coldwell (2017), this phenomenon is not only happening in Barcelona, but in other European cities, with anti-tourism marches organised, for example, in Venice in 2017. The situation is so fragile that new sociological terms are being attributed to the host-guest exchange, namely 'tourism-phobia'. Thus, strong feelings of resentment among locals against tourists are a growing concern for local authorities and the private sector in Barcelona.

The Council announced some measures to regulate or reduce the incidence of illegal tourist accommodation in Barcelona with the introduction of new sanction expedients against illegal apartments (Espiga 2014). Thus, the Council fined *Airbnb* and *HomeAway* an estimated €600,000 each for commercialising unlicensed apartments (Burgen, 2017). It also increased the number of inspectors to control this illegal activity, and established a phone line to receive information and reports from locals, which resulted in the reduction of the number of illegal tourist apartments by 900 during 2016 (García, 2017).

This illegal activity has other consequences such as the collection of taxes. Thus, Tax Department (Agència Tributària) has been making enquiries to internet platforms that commercialise tourist apartments to provide information about the proprietors. The objective is to determine if the owners of those apartments are paying taxes, and whether they are regulated (Sala, 2014).

4.3.6.2. Tourist tax

The introduction of the tourist tax in 2012 was preceded by a long debate within the tourism sector, and especially for accommodation activity, which is the most affected, because they have to collect tax. After much discussion, on 1st November 2012 the tax was introduced. The tax applies to tourist overnight stays of up to one week, and the prices include Value Added Tax (VAT). The tax can generate between €40m and €100m per year to the administration, Generalitat de Catalunya, to finance promotion, infrastructure development, and tourist activities in Catalunya. The tax is divided between the Generalitat de Catalunya, which retains 70%, while the rest is allocated to the local administrations. In Barcelona, this is divided 50% for each administration (Carrera, 2013).

4.3.6.3. Tourism Strategic Plan 2010-2015

The Council, through Turisme de Barcelona, promoted the development of a strategic tourism plan for the period 2010-2015. According to Turisme de Barcelona, the plan helped it to pursue the aim of achieving sustainability in tourism, through generating new knowledge about tourist activity in the city. The plan recognised that 'It is important to take on board the fact that tourism has become an element that can make a clear contribution to structuring the city, as its activity has a cross-cutting impact on society as a whole, and affects the many facets of its economic, social, cultural, and territorial life' (Strategic Tourism Plan, 2010, p. 3). The plan also addressed the issue of negative impacts, stating that 'some of the effects of tourism are often a nuisance and inconvenience to the local community, making it difficult for the tourist phenomenon to be understood and viewed in a positive way' (Strategic Tourism Plan, 2010,

p. 4). Although this plan advocated increased resident participation in development plans, and the need to manage tourism, Serra, Font, and Ivanova (2017, p. 389) found that in practice, 'this has not been translated into changes in the management of tourism'.

4.3.6.4. Tourism Strategic Plan 2020

In 2016, a new strategic plan was developed following a similar direction to the previous plan. The plan defined policies, strategies, and actions that need to be considered when developing tourism. The plan has the objective of better managing tourism based on sustainability, responsibility, cohesion, redistribution, and innovation criteria (Memòria de Sostenibilitat Turística, 2016). The plan prioritises the improvement of governance by including all stakeholders involved in tourism, and defines 10 action programs, including governance, knowledge, destination Barcelona, mobility, accommodation, managing spaces, economic development, communication and reception, taxation and funding, and regulation and planning (Strategic Tourism Plan 2020, 2017).

4.3.6.5. Plan of Use for Ciutat Vella district

In 2010, the Council implemented a Plan of Use to regulate tourist services and activities in Ciutat Vella district (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2010). A socio-demographic plan was developed in relation to the population and housing in the district, and its evolution of social behaviour. The Plan of Use 2010, named 'Pla especial d'establiments de concurrència pública, hoteleria i altres activitats', proposed, as its fundamental objective, to balance the residential, commercial, and tourist use of Ciutat Vella through the regulation of public activities, taking into consideration the impact on the areas and urban landscape.

The plan defined some restrictions, such as the moratoria on new accommodation supply within the district, and the regulation of tourist apartments. It also regulates the activities of food and beverage establishments and their timetables, rights and obligations. However, the Council that emerged from the 2012 local elections had in place an objective to create new hotels and accommodation facilities, and new daytime licenses for bars and restaurants in non-saturated areas in the district (Benavides, 2013). The Council therefore modified the Plan of Use, which was approved on Wednesday 24th July 2013 by the two right wing parties in the municipality (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2013). Thus, where before there was an interventionist and restrictive norm, now the regulations impose a more fluid liberal vision about the development of tourism supply (Espiga, 2013). This new approach can only increase hotel density in a district that the Strategic Tourism Plan (2010-2015) defined as being already saturated in 2009 (Canet, 2013). It has been so controversial that, even the

food and beverage organisation was against the implementation of this new Plan, because they argued that there was sufficient supply in Ciutat Vella district (Barquero, 2013).

This new Plan allows the development of new hotels, especially in heritage and protected buildings, which are regulated by a building protection code. The code includes five levels of protection, and in some cases, buildings are protected on their façade more than in the interior elements. This is one weakness of the code, because interior elements are also part of the heritage and history of the city. Figure 4.17 shows the construction of a new hotel in the Ciutat Vella district, in which the façade is the only element of the building protected.

Figure 4.17. New hotel developments in the city



Source: Author's Own Photograph (2013).

These changes in the Plan of Use have been widely criticised by the residents and it has been renamed *The Plan of AbUSE*. This was one of the significant controversies taking place during data collection in Barcelona. As an example, Figure 4.18 shows a reproduction of a sticker which accuses CiU (Convergència i Unió) and PP (Partido Popular), the two right wing parties that were promoting these plans in the Council at that time, of promoting the development of Ciutat Vella as a 'theme park'. It exposes at the bottom of the sticker, the different plans promoted by the Council. This followed a series of actions to protest against those plans, including a demonstration on 18 July 2013 (Figure 4.19 and Figure 4.20).

Figure 4.18. Sticker against the Plan of Use changes introduced in 2013



Author's Own Photographic Reproduction (2013).

Figure 4.19. Pictures of the demonstration against Plan of AbUse (18 July 2013)



Participants concentrating before the start of the demonstration.



Start of the demonstration in Rambla del Raval.



End of the demonstration in front of the District Council building.

Author's Own Photographs (2013)

Figure 4.20 shows the slogans that were used during the demonstration, in which participants made it clear that the district is in rebellion.

Figure 4.20. Slogans regarding the demonstration against the Plan of AbUse 2013



Participants and slogans during the demonstration.



Benner: 'Neighbours at risk of extinction. They are destroying our environment'.



Paral.lel plan, reform of Old harbour, PERILL (Danger) Barceloneta, Plan of Abus. No plan without the neighbours and no neighbours out of the neighbourhood!



This is not an investment, it is an invasion.



A harbour for the citizens. Don't sell our heritage.



We are saturated with hotels.



Your plans are our misery!

Author's Own Photographs (2013)

These opinions demonstrate the importance for cities to enable residents to participate in the benefits of the tourism business, because tourism is about an economy that takes advantage of all public resources that the city offers including streets, squares, attractions, facilities, and also its citizens' hospitality in order to generate private capital gains (Muñoz, 2015). This is a process of commercialisation of public life, in which there are few spaces left that are not potentially commercialised (Carrera, 2013). In this regard, Monzó (2013) has claimed that the changes provided by tourism are not always positive for the city or residents, because some stakeholders, especially from the private sector, use the city's public resources to generate capital gain for their own interest, rather than for the public good (Monzó, 2013). Padovan (2013) doubts the capacity of Barcelona to assimilate mass tourism developed over the last few years, and argues that the city is lost in the Rambla, where the locals do not go anymore, and has forgotten its identity. This is critical, because it affects the quality of life of the local community in the city.

4.3.6.6. City and Tourism Council

According to Ajuntament de Barcelona (2015), the City and Tourism Council has been promoted since mid-2015, although it was not constituted until one year later. It aims to open participation to all stakeholders involved in tourism. It is a forum where stakeholders can share their views and make proposals to improve tourism development in the city. However, the City and Tourism Council resolutions are not binding, and only serve to try to influence the decisions of the City Council. The City and Tourism Council has the following functions:

- Advisory body to government
- Policy proposals
- Develop studies and opinions
- Develop annual reports on tourism

The City and Tourism Council is organised in themed work groups to discuss different issues concerning the management of tourism, and can propose measure to improve the relationship between tourism development and the city.

Table 4.3 shows different tourism parameters and characteristics of the city and tourism supply by the overall city and by each district.

Table 4.3. Key tourism data for Barcelona and its districts, 2013 and 2016

Factors	Barcelona	Ciutat Vella	% s/city	Les Corts	% s/city	Eixample	% s/city	Sants- Montjuic	% s/city	Sarrià- Sant Gervasi	% s/city
Area in sq. Km	101.4	4.3	4.2	6	5.9	7.5	7.4	22	22.1	20.0	19.7
Population	1,611,822	104,442	6.5	81,640	5.1	264,780	16.4	182,685	11.3	145,266	9.0
Density	15,985	24,289	-34.2	13,607	17.5	35,304	-54.7	8,156	96	7,263	120.1
Nº of tourists	7,440.113	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nº of accommodation facilities	603	213	35.3	22	3.6	212	35.2	42	7.0	44	7.3
Nº of hotels	343	117	34.1	18	5.2	115	33.5	21	6.1	25	7.3
Nº of hotel beds	69,128	20,114	28.0	6,180	8.9	17,982	26.0	7,161	10.4	3,751	5.4
Tourist overnights in hotels	16,485,074	4,779,580	30.0	593,462	3.6	5,802,746	35.2	1,153,955	7	1,203,410	7.3
% Occupancy rates	62	67.5	-	-	-	5-	-	-	-	-	-
Nº of tourist apartments	7,076	619 (1,000 to 7,000 ilegal)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Top 10 visited places	13,454,170	3,676,219	27.3	1,540,648	11.5	4,095,109	30.4	3,354,018	24.9	788,176	5.9

Table 4.3. Con.

Factors	Gràcia	% s/city	Horta- Guinardó	% s/city	Nou Barris	% s/city	Sant Andreu	% s/city	Sant Martí	% s/city
Area in sq. Km	4.2	4.1	11.90	11.7	8	7.9	6.5	6.4	10.50	10.4
Population	120,949	7.5	167,743	10.41	165,748	10.28	232,826	14.44	232,826	14.44
Density	28,797	-44.5	14,096	13.4	20,719	-22.8	35,819	-55.4	22,174	-27.9
Nº of tourists	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nº of accommodation facilities	18	3.0	12	2.0	2	0.3	2	0.3	36	6.0
Nº of hotels	5	1.5	9	2.6	1	0.3	2	0.6	30	8.7
Nº of hotel beds	935	1.4	1,023	1.5	316	0.5	222	0.3	11,444	16.6
Tourist overnights in hotels	494,552	3	329,701	2	49,455	0.3	49,455	0.3	989,104	6.0
% Occupancy rates	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nº of tourist apartments	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Top 10 visited places	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Adapted from Ajuntament de Barcelona (2013, 2016).

4.4. Conclusion

This chapter examined information about tourism development in Barcelona, including historical background, and the city's characteristics in terms of urban landscape, character, and ambience. It noted large scale events that shaped Barcelona's development, as well as its resources and infrastructure, and socio-economic and administrative information. The chapter also analysed residents' organisations in order to highlight their approach to tourism, and their opinions and actions against certain forms of tourism that have developed in the city, especially in the Ciutat Vella district.

The chapter analysed tourism development in relation to the increasing popularity of Barcelona as a tourist destination, through the development of infrastructure, attractions and services. As well, it analysed statistical data of the supply and demand, using a series of photographs to illustrate tourism development and its impacts. Overall, the chapter provided important contextual information for the remainder of the thesis.

The next three chapters will present the analysis and affecting discussion of the data collected in this study. Chapter 5 will examine the impacts of tourism on stakeholders in the case of Barcelona.

Chapter 5: Analysis, findings, and discussion:

Impacts of tourism

5.1. Introduction

This chapter addresses the first research objective, by defining the impacts resulting from tourism development in Barcelona and how they affect stakeholders, with special focus on the local community. It considers tourism, together with policy and planning, as an agent of change that transforms local reality into a 'tourist reality'. Because tourism has developed rapidly in Barcelona since the 1990s, this development has brought contentious changes and impacts. Consequently, it has provoked certain perceptions and attitudes among stakeholders, increasing their awareness of the importance taking into consideration the positive and negative impacts on the city and the society. These developments provide an important justification for the study in order to understand the impacts of tourism and how they are influencing local stakeholders that are affected by or can affect tourism development in Barcelona.

5.1.1. Results' summary

As mentioned in Chapter 3, data collection took place during the summer period, it's the peak tourist season when the tourist pressure over the resources and services is high. Thus, participants could have stronger views and react more intensively when there are high number of tourists in the city. This is the case for the Ciutat Vella district, and the Barceloneta and the Sagrada Familia neighbourhoods. In those areas, the local community is highly involved in tourism and there is concern about the way tourism development is affecting their quality of life. For that reason, the focus groups in this study can be described as a social representation group (Pearce, Moscardo, and Ros, 1996) or a cluster group, representing one part of Barcelona's social fabric. They also share a social identity, as they belong to a group and share emotions and values (Tajfel, 1978, 1982), as well as common views, beliefs, and attitudes about their social reality (Jaspar & Fraser, 1984), and the impacts of tourism (Madrigal, 1995).

Table 5.1 shows the references of participants by organisation and stakeholders, and by the area they represent in Barcelona. Seven organisations were involved in the study, five of them representing the local community, one representing public administration, and one representing the private sector. In total, four focus groups representing the local community were organised. Three of the ten Barcelona districts are represented in this study, including the most visited areas where tourist attractions and supply are concentrated.

Table 5.1. Organisation's code and type by neighbourhood and district

Reference	Organisation	Stakeholder	Type	Neighbourhood	District
XV	Xarxa veïnal Ciutat Vella	Resident (RES)	Focus Group	Casc Antic, Barri Gòtic, and Raval	Ciutat Vella
OS	L'Òstia	RES	Focus Group	Barceloneta	Ciutat Vella
SF	Sagrada Família	RES	Focus Group	Sagrada Família	Eixample
LC	Les Corts	RES	Focus Group	Les Corts, Maternitat-Sant Ramon, and Pedralbes	Les Corts
FV	FAVB (Federació d'Associacions de Veïns i Veïnes de Barcelona)	RES	Interview	All	All
MB	Ajuntament de Barcelona (Municipality of Barcelona)	Public	Interview	All	All
TB	Turisme de Barcelona	Public-private	Interview	All	All

A summary of the participants' opinions about tourism impacts, and how they are affecting their quality of life is presented in table 5.2. Themes emerged from the analysis of the key issues raised and discussed by the participants. The results show that there is a consensus about most of the themes and sub-themes. Generally, participants from the local community had a negative opinion about tourism impacts, including commodification, increased prices, changes in commercial and residential supply, loss of character, becoming a theme park, places for interaction, and gentrification. All the participants in this study recognised that some impacts had negative effects on the residents' quality of life, including the increase in tourist apartments, tourists mis-behaving, and how tourists used the city. Only in one theme, tourist type and their behaviour, was there a contested opinion about whether Barcelona had desirable type of tourists. While local community participants had a negative opinion about the type of tourist and their behaviour, public and private sector participants were more positive. Local community participants thought the amount of tourism was far too high, but public and private sector participants saw tourism is positive for the city's economic development, and argued that they promote the city to specific market segments that enhanced the city's opportunities for future development.

Table 5.2. Data display summary: impacts

Results	Impacts of tourism										
	City's commodification	Gentrification	Prices	Commercial supply	Loss of character	Theme park	No place for interaction	Tourist's types and their behaviour	Desirable	Undesirable	Use of the city
OS RES	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X
CV RES	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X
SF RES	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X
LC RES	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	X
FV RES	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X
MB Public	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	V	V	X	X
TB Private- public	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	V	V	X	X

V= Yes/positive/like

X= No/negative/dislike

- = Not commented

5.1.2. Data analysis and findings

As explained in chapter 3, focus groups and in-depth interviews with stakeholders from the local community, and public and private sector were used to gain differing perspectives on the city's tourism. The analysis of this data used thematic network analysis to identify, analyse, and report the themes of meaning and issues of interest emerging from the data collected (Attride-Stirling, 2001) and to gain a broad understanding of its meaning (Braun and Clarke, 2006). This has been achieved from an inductive and data-driven way, working from specific sub themes to more general themes and categories which were linked to create a network of themes that were interrelated, with the aim of answering the research question and objectives of this study. The network of themes has provided a better understanding of the impacts of tourism and its effects on the stakeholders under study.

Figure 5.1 shows the network of themes that emerged from the data analysis. The main dimension is the impacts of tourism, which is linked to three other sub-themes, namely the city's commodification, loss of character, and tourist types and behaviour.

The city's commodification is linked to three subthemes, namely gentrification, prices, and commercial supply. Loss of character is linked to two subthemes, namely, theme park, and no places for interaction. Tourist type and behaviour is linked to three sub-themes, desirable tourists, undesirable tourists, and the use of the city.

Figure 5.1. Thematic network analysis of the impacts of tourism



5.2. Tourism Impacts

The development of tourism in Barcelona has resulted in a series of impacts that directly or indirectly affect local stakeholders' quality of life. Although impacts have been classified previously into three categories, namely, economic, physical, and social (Mathieson & Wall, 1982), for the purpose of this study this categorisation will not be used, because impacts can have an effect on more than one category at the same time. For example, an increase in the price of goods and services might affect the local community's behavioural pattern of consumption, which in turn affects the economic and social categories. And so there is a need to consider how different impacts interact with one another, and they will be reflected in terms of their interactions, rather than individually. Therefore, the presence of tourists affects several aspects of the city, with one impact resulting in a cascade of subsequent impacts to other stakeholders because the actions of one stakeholder can have an impact on the rest of the stakeholders (Jamal & Getz, 1995).

The rapid growth of urban tourism has had important effects on the transformation of urban settings and has increased its impacts. This is having a major impact and disruption on the provision of services to local stakeholders, because tourists make intense use of facilities and services which were not developed for tourist purpose (Ashworth & Page, 2011; Edwards, Griffin, & Hayllar, 2008). From this point of view, the development of tourism is changing both the standard of living and the lifestyle of the local community (Forster, 1966) and its economic, environmental, and socio-cultural situation.

In Barcelona, especially since 2000, tourist activity has become very important. With a total population of 1.6 million and a territory of 102.1 sq. km., there is a density with more than 15,000 inhabitants per sq. km. The density is even higher in certain districts of the city, including Ciutat Vella and Eixample districts (Statistical yearbook of Barcelona, 2017), where tourists, attractions and accommodation supply concentrated. Ciutat Vella has four of the most visited tourist attractions, and Eixample has three, and together they have 70% of the total hotel supply (Turisme de Barcelona Annual report, 2016; Barcelona Tourism Activity Report, 2016-2017).

The rapid increase of tourism in the city is due at least in part to the efforts of Turisme de Barcelona, the tourism promoting organisation, since its creation in 1993. In 2016, it was estimated that Barcelona received a total of 30 million tourists and visitors, of which nine million were staying in hotels, nine million were staying in tourist's apartments, and there were

12 million day visitors (Burgen, 2017). In the last five years, the growth in the number of tourists and visitors was 17% (Memòria de Sostenibilitat Turística, 2016).

With regard to the characteristics of tourists, 82% arrive by plane, and 73% are international, from which 56% are motivated by leisure and 36 % by business (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2018). Cruise tourism is having an important effect on the capacity to welcome visitors to Barcelona. The total number of passengers from 2000 to 2018 has more than doubled, with an increase of 215%, while cruise passengers grew more than five times, an increase of 430% over the same period of time, representing more than 3 million cruise passengers in 2018 (Port de Barcelona traffic statistics, 2018).

Between 1990 and 2015, Barcelona tripled the hotel supply capacity (number of establishments, rooms, and beds) (Turisme de Barcelona Annual Report, 2016; Barcelona Tourism Activity Report, 2016-2017). In 2015, there were 8.3 million tourists staying in hotels, with a total of 17.6 million overnights and an average length of stay of 2.1 days (Turisme de Barcelona Annual Report, 2016), with hotels experiencing a yearly average occupancy rates of 80% (Turisme de Barcelona Annual Report, 2016; Barcelona Tourism Activity Report, 2017).

This data shows the rapid growth of tourism and its economic importance to the city. This has had important positive and negative impacts that require analysis from the stakeholders' perspective. In the interviews and focus groups, participants in this study defined the development of tourism in Barcelona as affecting their coexistence with tourists. They argued that tourism stimulated greater negativity in relation to the local community's 'traditional' lifestyle' and leads to the question of whether changes are positive or negative, rather, 'as whether the change is wanted at all by the local population' (Butler, 1974, p. 106; Butler, 1975, p. 88). This is of critical importance because tourism uses public resources for its own gain, without taking into consideration other stakeholders that are affected by this development, which leads to residents suffering from the management of the city as a business to generate short-term profit (Carrera, 2013; Delgado, 2015; Monzó, 2013; Muñoz, 2015). Therefore, those responsible for decision-making about tourism development in Barcelona need to pay special attention to this issue.

According to the Barcelona Tourism Activity Report (2017), impacts are affecting the way stakeholders perceive tourism development, to the point that residents' opinions about the city being at the limits of its carrying capacity have more than doubled, from 25% in 2012 to nearly 60% in 2017. By districts, in 10 of the 20 districts, more than 55% of the total population perceive that the city had reached its capacity to further increase the number of tourists

(Barcelona Tourism Activity Report, 2017). This indicates that residents are suffering from overcrowding, and the increase cost of goods and services, which is linked to the loss of identity and decrease in their quality of life and a sense that the city is not theirs anymore (Millar, 2017; Padovan, 2013; Saurí, 2015). From the local community perspective, the effect of tourism is very problematic, especially its impacts on the capacity of local residents to access resources. This is why carrying capacity and limits of acceptable change is at the forefront of this discussion and public administrators need to implement appropriate policies to try to balance the different, and sometimes contradictory, interests of the stakeholders that can affect or be affected by the development of tourism. Once the impacts and their implications are understood, they can be managed.

5.2.1. The city's commodification

Commodification can be defined as a process where goods and services that were once considered free are transformed into commodities that can be bought and sold (Berno, 1999; Chambers, 2000; Foster, 1964). Consequently, although this does not destroy the meaning of culture, the culture changes or acquires new meaning for the local community (Cohen, 1988). At the same time, 'treating culture as a natural resource, or a commodity over which tourists have rights, is not simply perverse, it is a violation of the peoples' cultural rights' (Greenwood, 1989, p. 179). Spearrit (2000) argued that the desire of the private and public sectors to commercialise public space, to avoid disruption of intimate and personal relations needs to be resisted (Dogan, 1989). For example, in the case of Parte Vieja of Donostia, García-Hernández, de la Calle-Vaquero, Yubero (2017) found out that private stakeholders use and abuse public spaces by putting display units, menus, and use space near terraces, which leads to the banalisation of public spaces. In Barcelona, there are similar issues as illustrated by a participant who was highly disappointed, commenting that:

Every element of the city is for sale, in order to favour tourism, and therefore, the city is being sold off (OS RES).

Local residents see tourism as having a direct influence on the commercialisation of the kind of goods and services that were once offered free-of-charge. Commodification is transforming the way people live, by transforming the place where they live, affecting the structure and relationships within the society (Cohen, 1988). Some participants argued that tourism is for the masses, and as one noted, the Council was not concerned:

For the impacts that it can have on the structuring or deconstruction of the city (FV RES)

The growth of tourism highlights divisions between different stakeholders that can affect or are affected by the development of tourism. Local residents were concerned about tourism impacts, while public and private stakeholders were promoting the economic and commercial benefits of such activity. As a consequence, there is a growing occupation of spaces, especially public spaces, which is a concern because it affects residents' quality of life and perceptions about how tourism development can change their neighbourhoods. Thus, using public resources for increasing private gains is a sensitive issue that needs attention by stakeholders involved in tourism. In the case of Barcelona, residents are suffering from the management of the city as a business to generate short-term profit (Delgado, 2015; Monzó, 2013; Muñoz, 2015). Thus, as participants explained, pedestrian squares and streets were being increasingly occupied by bar and restaurant terraces that mostly focus on tourist demand. As one of the participants commented:

It started in Born... It continues into Allada Vermell... And it's scandalous what's happening there. There are five terraces, and one is illegal. They want the Forat de la Vergonya to be a continuation of Allada Vermell. And we fight to have a different space (XV RES).

As this comment shows, the influence of this process is expanding throughout the neighbourhood. The association of Casc Antic was highly concerned about this issue and defended the creation of open and communal spaces which could be used by locals as urban parks. An example was Forat de la Vergonya, which became a symbol of the confrontations that occurred within the neighbourhood and resulted in a space in which residents take pride and enjoy. However, the increase in the number of tourists has led to more occupation of public spaces and needs special attention from public authorities who can decide to increase permits, or maintain or reduce the use of public spaces for private interests. This is the case in the Sagrada Família neighbourhood and the areas surrounding the church, and expanding through the Avinguda Gaudí axe, which connects the church with the former Sant Pau hospital. As one participant noted:

Here, in Avinguda Gaudí, we have problems, because one of the restaurants of the area has had fights and all. On top of that, there is a bench for the elderly to use and they found it moved some metres from its original location. And next day, tables were set up outside in its place. Here, in front of the Gaudí Square, there was a restaurant, and they were already asking for the terraces, because the ones that have them, they

want more, and they are afraid that the others [their competitors] will use the space (SF RES).

Terraces from Bars and Restaurant occupying public spaces have been multiplying during the last few years, and there seems to be no end to the process of occupation of public spaces for private business interests. This has been influenced by the government implementing a law forbidding smoking in indoor areas, which especially affects bars and restaurants. Thus, one of the solutions to accommodate smokers is to have a terrace, where the law does not prohibit smoking. Other factors related to the weather conditions that allowed terraces all year round, and the increased number of tourists using them. Thus, land becomes very valuable for the development of tourism, in addition to the need to generate both human and financial capital.

The process of commodification is also important with regards to the iconic areas or attractions. Galani-Moutafi (2001, p. 211) notes 'a place is transformed into a tourism site through a system of symbolic and structural processes which allow the direction marked by the dominant discourse'. This is evident in the privatisation of the sea front area in Barcelona with a project to develop a new marina in the old harbour of the city which will result in its closure to the general public. This development was having an effect on the local community, especially the people living close by. As one participant complained, this project is the:

Privatisation of an important part of the city, which plays a spearhead (front and central) role in the significant dynamics of privatisation of public spaces (FV RES).

Parks and cultural sites are attractions that are highly affected by the process of commodification (Chambers, 2000). For example, Park Güell, is one of the most visited tourist attractions in Barcelona, receiving more than 2.7 million tourists each year (Turisme de Barcelona & Diputació de Barcelona, 2016). The park is now listed as a World Heritage UNESCO site.

In 2012, the Council presented a plan for managing visitor flows by implementing an entrance fee and booking system for groups and individuals. In order to control access to the site, and improve the management and resources needed to preserve and enhance this iconic tourist attraction. However, this also implied that a public park used by residents and tourists was being transformed to a more exclusive place, where users had to pay a fee to enjoy it. Participants in the Ciutat Vella district reacted negatively; they were very upset and angry

about its implementation, because it was a way of privatising what was once freely accessible. They noted that:

... In Guell Park, they are going to start imposing an entrance fee. There was a discussion, and there was a group that created the platform, 'Defensem el Parc Guell' [Let's defend Parc Guell], and they said, "look, it can be trialled to try to control the flux of tourists, and those that come into the neighbourhood...", and so on. But now, it seems that the making you pay approach has triumphed... And if you want a free entrance [as a resident], you have to ask for it (XV RES).

As these findings indicate, the process of commodification has affected Barcelona as a tourist destination. Thus, the way public areas are used in Barcelona is a complex issue, because the dominant discourse is one of market and of commercialisation, thereby justifying the take-over of public spaces by private commercial interests. For local government and many businesses, dependency on tourism grows, even as negative effects emerge. This has had a direct impact on the gentrification of the local community, in a process of substitution of traditional residents with new types of residents that neighbourhoods in cities are experiencing.

5.2.1.1. Gentrification

During the 1980s, Barcelona had followed a process of 'urban regeneration' (Shaw, 2005, p. 169), with the aim of transforming the urban centre of the city (Vicario & Martínez Monje, 2005). These spatial changes were the result of transformation from an industrial to a service sector in the city's economic development (Balibrea, 2004). This has had an important impact on the gentrification and displacement of the working-class and the poorer residents (Atkinson & Bridge, 2005). Thus, the city was transformed into a more dynamic and competitive urban setting, which has been successful in its renewal and redevelopment (Monclús, 2003).

In Barcelona, the area where this process has been most important is the Ciutat Vella district, through several redevelopment projects that have affected the structure of its neighbourhoods. These include the creation of new promenades, squares, and pedestrian streets which have displaced some of the local community and destroyed the original buildings. Gentrification has had two effects, the positive aspects are investment and building improvements, and the negatives outcomes are the displacement of low-income households, and the emergence of social homogenisation. Two types of negative gentrification have emerged - a more permanent form of gentrification, where residents are evicted because of

increased prices, lease contracts expiring, or their view that the area is too focused on tourist demand and no longer convenient; and a temporal gentrification, where families rent their apartments to tourists for part of the year.

5.2.3.1. Accommodation supply

Urban areas are now highly affected by the development of private tourist accommodation supply. This has been boosted by the major internet platforms operating in the market in the last decade. The Airbnb internet platform is a major player influencing this type of legal and illegal accommodation and has had a major impact on the lifestyle of local communities (Arias Sans & Quaglieri Domínguez, 2016; García-Hernández, de la Calle-Vaquero, & Yubero, 2017; Gutiérrez, García-Palomares, Romanillos, & Salas-Olmedo, 2017; Horváth, 2018; Koens, Postma, & Papp, 2018; Smith, Sziva, & Olt, 2019). Accommodation supply operated and managed through the internet, allows companies and individuals to offer private apartments to tourists in any place in the world. It is difficult to control because the internet allows them to manage the apartments without much transparency.

In Barcelona, the proliferation of accommodation supply for tourists, hotels and especially apartments, has an important direct effect on the availability and affordability of private housing because there are around 75,000 hotel beds and 100,000 beds in tourist apartments (with at least half of them illegally operating without a licence) (Burgen, 2017). In 2010, for example, there were 2,300 licensed tourist apartments, while in 2016, there were over 9,600, a more than a four-fold increase in six years (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2016). The pressure on accommodation is so substantial that before the Council established a moratorium on new licenses for tourist apartments, it issued 900 new licenses for tourist apartments, mainly in the Eixample district, in just six weeks (El Periódico de Catalunya, 2014). This has a significant impact on Barcelona, as a highly populated urban setting, where accommodation spaces are limited, and have to be shared between the local community and tourists. Consequently, there is less available accommodation for the local community and prices have increased exponentially, which is affecting the quality of life of the local community (Campbell, 2017; Millar, 2017).

In the Barceloneta neighbourhood, one participant explained that tourist apartments are being commercialised by both internet platforms and local real estate companies. They also noted that, in most cases, they had no licence to operate in the neighbourhood and are doing so illegally. This illegal supply also has a direct effect on the economy and the tax system, because illegal supplies do not pay the taxes, nor the VAT (Value Added Tax) or the tourist tax. A very annoyed participant explained the process of gentrification, as following:

The tourist presence means that they need tourist accommodation, such as apartments, to be able to stay in the neighbourhood. And with this, they are evicting residents that had a place before, because in Barceloneta, we don't have tourist buildings. There are some now, but very few. But because the demand is so high, anyone that rents out apartments – proprietors of apartment buildings – end up finding any reason they can to evict their residents in order to install a tourist apartment. And this is dismantling the neighbourhood (OS RES).

The process of changing the residential accommodation to tourist accommodation has had an important effect on residents. Residents who participated in this study were annoyed by this uncontrolled situation and complained about its negative consequences. This is one of the negative impacts identified by all stakeholders involved in the study. Therefore, Turisme de Barcelona indicated that they had started working in collaboration with the private sector to try to find suitable solutions for the regulatory framework:

Tourist apartments, where we are working on the legalities of this type of activity. This is a very important topic because it's causing a lot of conflict with the residents of all the neighbourhoods of Barcelona, and it's absolutely out of control. This is a new phenomenon that is characteristic of the increased tourist activity, but that offers something important and that should be allowed to continue, but legally (it should be regulated) (TB Public-Private)

Another important, and surprising issue is the lack of control over this type of activity. As indicated, the Council did not know how many tourist apartments were on offer in the city; it was estimated that in the Ciutat Vella district alone, there were between 1,000 and 8,000 illegal tourist apartments on offer (Espiga, 2014). Consequently, residents had demonstrated in favour of tougher regulations and controls. The pressure to offer private accommodation to tourists, forces residents out of their neighbourhoods, as they cannot afford to pay tourist prices (Campbell, 2017; Millar, 2017). Participants in the Sagrada Familia neighbourhood discussed the economic self-interest of owners of apartments who rent them to the tourists, and their influence over policies to control this activity. A consensus emerged about the Council adopting a liberal approach over this type of supply:

There are also very strong intermediaries and people of influence who have influenced the legislation regarding tourist apartments, which have developed a more laissez-faire approach (SF RES).

Participants argued that Council could do more to try to sort out this important issue. There is one major factor affecting lack of control over this activity, namely the high return on investment it offers, because tourists are paying much higher rents than the local community to stay in this type of accommodation. Participants from the Sagrada Familia neighbourhood, pointed out that when rental contracts come to an end, the owners of the apartments prefer to rent them to tourists rather than to locals because there is substantial economic interest related to the higher rates tourists pay. This reflects Krippendorf's (1987) findings that in the process of selling or leasing the houses, residents often find themselves no longer able to afford to live, let alone build a house, in their own district because of the high rents paid by non-residents. This creates resentment amongst the local residents who are not benefiting directly from tourism (Butler, 1974).

Participants from the Barceloneta neighbourhood explained that this type of accommodation supply attracted a type of customer that did not contribute to the neighbourhood, and whose behaviour had negative effects on the local community in private and public areas:

What's most annoying are the real estate companies that, via the internet, offer a flat for €150 beside the beach. And they sell it very well. And what happens is that for €150 per day, they are attracting groups of ten teenagers that pay €15 per day. These guys do not contribute to anything; they buy the beer, they go to the beach, and they drink it all, you know (OS RES).

Most participants in Ciutat Vella district identified two major impacts of the proliferation of tourist apartments. One was the irritation produced by the behaviour of tourists renting apartments, which included noise, such as moving furniture, loud music or conversations, making noise late at night, and organising parties, as well as the overuse of communal spaces, including entrances, halls, stairs, and elevators. The second was the intensity of business interests that led to greater pressure on the real estate market and higher priced accommodation and, and decreasing supply for the local community:

A point I would like to make about the tourist apartments, that, most probably, we all more or less share... But it's a common complaint from the critics of tourist apartments... And the first thing we want to talk about are the annoyances... The noise... That they annoy the residents... An issue that I don't want to minimize... And that they are big and are the cause of some neighbours leaving. But the most important problem linked to tourist apartments, and the reason to leave, is the real estate pressure.

This is the primary point... The real estate market has increased in a dramatic way... And of course, a lot of people can't afford it, and the only way out is to play the game, and to rent out your apartment for tourist use (XV RES).

As participants identified, the proliferation of this type of supply is also due to pressure from real estate agents, who distribute leaflets with promotional campaigns targeting apartment owners, offering to rent their private apartments to tourists. Thus, real estate agents are increasing the pressure over the local market by offering good deals to apartment owners, especially in the Ciutat Vella district, where some participants explained the high expectations that approval of the new, and more permissive, Plan of Use in 2013 provided:

... It was interesting, because it starts by saying, "Now that the Plan of Use has been approved", when it had still not been approved, "tourist apartments will have to integrate into vertical property", and so on, and so forth... Then we become interested. That is, if you need to, and are interested in selling your apartment... (XV RES).

Greater pressure on local accommodation supply, highlighted cases where families with financial problems had little choice but to rent their private apartment to tourists through real estate agents or via Internet platforms, because they offered high returns on investment. Taking advantage of the increased demand to rent their private apartment during the summer period, provided these families with a way out of their precarious financial situation by, quite ironically, exploiting their precariousness and losing even more control of what they want – their own apartment back:

... They are conducting a direct marketing campaign to the local people that may have some [financial] problems, and they tell them that if they leave the apartment, they'll give them €2,000 or €3,000 per month for rent, guaranteed. And of course, people are suffering so, in that sense, I'm not going to criticise the individuals that do this. But it's a problem (XV RES).

This is an important emerging issue that affects the daily lives of residents on an ongoing basis. There is no research to corroborate these findings that residents are renting their own apartments to tourists during the peak season in urban areas. Tourism, therefore, has changed the way residents behave and their life-style to the point where even they are playing the game, and taking advantage of tourists looking for accommodation. Hence, they realise that tourism can 'corrupt' their way of life and provide a means of surviving in this tourist

environment. One shocking example, in the Barceloneta neighbourhood was that at least three families from April to September stay at a campsite:

... They rent their apartments as tourist apartments... In this way, they survive all the year-round. Look what tourism brings us. Before we made a life with what we had... With or without a crisis... (OS RES).

This shows the important impact that tourist apartments are having on neighbourhoods, the local community, and the whole structure of the city. This was defined by participants in the Barceloneta neighbourhood as dismantling the neighbourhood which led to evictions and stimulated a process of gentrification.

These provoked strong opposition from the local community to proliferation of this type of accommodation in their neighbourhood because the beneficiaries of tourism development are for the owners of the resources, and the costs are socialised through the residents, who have to accept and adapt to the norms 'imposed' by the market forces (Ashworth & Page, 2011).

5.2.1.2. Prices

The increase in tourist consumption increases pressure on prices not only for goods and services, but also real estate through the proliferation of tourist accommodation (Belisle & Hoy, 1980; Butler, 1974; Duffield, 1982; Duffield & Long, 1981; Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Millar, 2017; Ryan & Montgomery, 1994). Tourism affects all aspects of local community life that is receiving tourists (Rothman, 1978). As a consequence of growing tourist demand, licenses for bars, restaurants, and tourist apartments in Barcelona are also increasing, resulting in additional pressure on businesses.

As an example of the way participants from Barceloneta see tourism development affecting their life-style, one explained that tourism impacts included increased prices for goods and services, the transformation of commercial supply, as well as the availability and affordability of housing for the local community:

The presence of current tourism does not help at all, in anything, nothing at all, because it has an impact on all aspects of the neighbourhood. For example, when they come to the neighbourhood, the type of consumption is such that, afterwards, the shops increase their prices, because they [tourists] have a higher disposable income. Prices directly increase in the leisure/lifestyle sector because of tourist consumers. On the other hand, the type of consuming that they are doing, that is rubbish-type

consumption, and it influences the type of commercial offers that are oriented to tourism. There are lots of supermarkets, souvenir shops, and bars and restaurants with terraces (OS RES).

These cascading impacts as a consequence of tourist visiting a place, demonstrate how they are linked to each other and understanding their relationship is critical to advancing knowledge about tourism development and stakeholders' perceptions, attitudes and behaviour towards tourism.

The changes resulting from tourism development lead to a loss of character for the city, which impacts on its attractiveness as a tourist destination (England, 1980). The presence of tourists increases the pressure on prices, and the type of supply on offer, increasing speculative movements, and impacting on the whole structure of the city, including how space is occupied, and how it develops its capacity to attract tourists:

This pressure from price rises will be catastrophic, especially next year when many old leases/rental contracts of the traditional retailers comes to an end, and can destroy it, they really can destroy it. This is part of the richness and the intangible heritage of the city, and the problem with this inconsiderate management of tourism is that it can end up killing the goose that lays the golden egg. Because what makes a city attractive is its personality, its capacity to show itself as it is, and if you standardise a city, you end up destroying its appeal (FV RES).

In the Ciutat Vella district, where pressure on prices is evident, traditional commercial supply is being replaced by a more tourist-focused supply. Moreover, the rent for bars and restaurants in the Barceloneta neighbourhood, as well as the price of licencing, were increasing exponentially, as business expectations were also growing, due to the increased tourist demand:

The local trade is disappearing, because 2014 is the final year of the renewal of old rent contracts. So, the investors are paying a load of money for every shop that closes here. There is a place where they are paying €12,000 per month for 100 square metres. So, I can't tell you enough the offers and the demand that exists here (OS RES).

The growing demand for accommodation in the Barceloneta neighbourhood resulted in increased accommodation prices (Ryan & Montgomery, 1994) which created greater value for the owners. However, this also increased the pressure on residents, who noticed less

availability and affordability of housing at the same time that tourism developed. The increase in prices can be seasonal for 'sun, sand, and surf' destinations, or more permanent in the case of urban areas. Barcelona has little seasonality because tourists visit all year round and licenses for operating businesses for tourists, such as bars, restaurants, and tourist apartments, have proliferated and impacted on, as one participant explained:

Do you know how much the licences have increased in value? Today a licence for a restaurant costs €250,000. A licence for a tourist apartment, and there are only 63 in the neighbourhood, costs around €8,000. There are only 63 tourist apartment licences, and there are more than 300 illegal apartments. And that is why they want to get a licence (OS RES).

This has an important effect on neighbourhood character; increased business expectations put pressure on existing resources, and the consequent speculation private spaces as the pressure to create businesses is higher than preservation of the cultural and social environment. For example, one participant recalled a conversation they had with the owner of a famous bar in the Raval neighbourhood:

From one day to the next, when the changes to the Plan of Use will be announced, and when business expectations are generated, and of course the dynamics of speculation are always exaggerated, but it is an indicator of the direction things are taking; the selling prices of some shops are going to increase from €250,000 to €350,000 overnight. This indicates the level of pressure that a management of tourist volume that focuses on a specific area of the city can have on economic life, on rents, and on prices, a big impact (FV RES).

This study found a significant commercialisation of resources, which had changed the structure and characteristics of the city. It indicates how readily stakeholders appropriate resources. This impacts on the whole structure of the city, including how spaces are occupied, and how the city develops its capacity to attract tourists. As an example, especially in tourist areas, traditional supply is being replaced by supply focused on tourist demand, which standardises supply.

5.2.1.3. Commercial supply: traditional versus tourist

The changes in the commercial supply are one of the more obvious impacts of tourism development. Residents see local shops disappearing and being replaced by tourist-oriented supply to satisfy the increasing number of tourists and visitors reflecting the maturity of consolidation stage, in which facilities and services are being standardised (Butler, 1980; Noronha, 1979). There is no data on how many businesses have changed their activity, but in certain areas it appears to be high. If a destination reaches 30% of local retail sales focused on tourism demand, resident attitudes towards additional development become less favourable (Long, Perdue, & Allen, 1990).

In urban destinations, traditional trade is being replaced by tourist oriented supply, resulting in changes in the economy and society (García-Hernández, de la Calle-Vaquero, & Yubero, 2017; Hóvarth, 2018). This process directly affects consumption patterns of the local community and can lead to loss of character of the destination. As participants explained, the changes with commercial supply have transformed the composition and type of commercial supply available in their neighbourhoods:

All the commercial supply network has been standardised for the sake of tourism (XV RES).

In the Sagrada Família neighbourhood, an important issue is concentration and standardisation of commercial supply, especially in the area surrounding the church and in Avinguda Gaudí. A concentration of restaurants and souvenir shops has accelerated the loss of traditional commercial supply. In other words:

In reference to the local trade, there is a process of trivialisation of commercial supply in the sense that they only open restaurants; there is a concentration of souvenir shops in Marina Street, and in a block, there are four or five souvenir shops, one after the other (SF RES).

In the Ciutat Vella district, participants remembered a conversation about the changes produced in the area and how before the tourism boom, the area of Born, as well as the Rambla boasted a diversity of shops, and now had been transformed into one with expensive brands and fashion. One participant explained the process of transformation in the Born area. At the beginning of the changes traditional shops closed, and there was nowhere for the residents to go shopping. However, participants recognised that not all the changes were due

to tourism development, because it was difficult to isolate the impacts of tourism from other forms of development (Lanfant, 1980; Noronha, 1979), especially in urban areas.

I think that the Born neighbourhood is paradigmatic in this sense. They have removed the local shops that were in close proximity and so now... What's left to buy here in the neighbourhood? Well, there are very few shops, and normally they are very expensive. Now they have proliferated the small convenience store (XV RES).

To illustrate this process, a participant explained that the private sector is increasing pressure to invest in tourist areas, while taking advantage of the use of public and private spaces, which considerably reduces the space available for the local community:

From another point of view, the presence of tourism is like a sweet for private initiatives. They come to install themselves here to offer their products to the tourists; things such as the tricycles, the electric cars, or ice cream shops. This is an eviction of local trade. It also limits what local traders can offer (OS RES).

Such examples illustrate the important consequences of how the type of consumption by tourists visiting the Barceloneta affects the lifestyle of residents, forcing them to change patterns of consumption and behaviour. However, the Barceloneta neighbourhood has been proposing some actions to minimise these effects. The traders' association is trying to establish a system to define the type of commercial supply that should be implemented. This initiative indicates that residents care about the lifestyle in their neighbourhood, and take a proactive approach to finding solutions that can minimise the transformations due to increased tourist demand. However, the solution is not easy as one participant explained:

And now, the traders'/retailers' association is trying to establish some rules on the type of trade that can be presented together in a street, such as a butcher, because there are not enough residents to support the trade and the few existing ones are old and are dying out (OS RES).

In conclusion, the changes in the commercial supply are critical, because traditional and historic shops are being replaced by standardised shops, boosting the standardisation of products and services.

5.2.2. Loss of character

The perceived loss of character is a consequence of the transformation that the city has embraced with development of tourism. In urban areas, the loss of authenticity and local identity result from commodification of local resources and homogenisation of the landscape (Cole, 2007; García-Hernández, de la Calle-Vaquero, & Yubero, 2017; Horváth, 2018; Koens, Postma, & Papp, 2018). This is especially relevant when destinations reach the maturity or consolidation stage, where the loss of character becomes an important factor in the departure of tourists (England, 1980). Here, destinations no longer appeal to the same type of tourists, although other markets can be attracted (Butler, 1980).

In the case of Barcelona, as explained earlier in the chapter, the level of tourist demand has grown exponentially (Burgen, 2017; Castán, 2013) and has reached a point where more residents see tourism as having a negative than a positive impact (Barcelona Tourism Activity Report, 2017) including loss of character and services (Delgado, 2015; Padovan, 2013; Saurí, 2015). These transformations begin to have an important effect on the way people from outside the city perceive the city.

In Barcelona, a substitution effect is emerging among tourists that used to enjoy the city and a new type of tourist that does not know what Barcelona was like before tourism was fully developed. To illustrate this point, a participant explained that some of her friends, who visited her regularly, have decided not to return because of growing tourist pressure. They defined the city as 'non-easy' in its accessibility:

Look, I have friends in different European cities, and every year they come to visit me for a week... To stay with me in Barcelona. They don't come any more. Either I go there, or I don't see them. And they say, it's not comfortable anymore (XV RES).

Tourists deciding not to visit the city can directly affect its popularity and attractiveness, another participant explained. Some of his friends who work in hospitality said city was losing what makes Barcelona a distinctive urban city, which helps to create a strong image for brand positioning as a tourist destination:

I have a friend who is a travel agent, and the last time he came he told me that Barcelona is starting to be no different to other cities... Some years ago, you could come, and it was special. Now it has started to lose its

peculiarity. It's the same... It's the kind of tourism that makes everything the same (XV RES).

This can affect the way tourists perceive Barcelona, the type and behaviour of tourists, and the level of tourists' expenditure and type of consumption. Thus, a chain of impacts could affect how Barcelona will be regarded as a tourist destination in the future, if corrective measures are not implemented. Most participants agreed that Ciutat Vella had already lost its particular character, and that this had negatively affected their perceptions and attitudes towards tourists.

Participants were highly engaged in the conversation about the area's loss of character, the effect on their quality of life, provoking nostalgia, envy, and anger among residents. Nostalgia can be defined as a reaction to the changes produced by tourism development, and is a concept linked to temporal terms about the past (Meyersohn, 1981, p. 3). It always has a spatial dimension related to the 'reconstruction of the past by visiting sites that had meaning at an earlier time, personal or historical' (Meyersohn, 1981, p. 3). Some participants had been living in their neighbourhood for a long time, and they were more sensitive to the impact of tourism on their way of life, because they remembered the past, and witnessed the changes tourism brought (Sheldom and Var, 1984).

One participant explained his feelings in a very illustrative and nostalgic way. He said that the tourist was occupying 'their past', which became a way of trivialising a space that was once enjoyed by the local community in a 'quasi' exclusive manner. Today, this space has to be shared, and as a result, impacts arise when places change, especially when non-tourist places are transformed to tourist places (McKercher, Wang, & Park, 2015), even when residents do not agree with these changes. The process can cause irritation, envy, and resentment about how intrusive tourists affect the routines of the local community (Meyersohn, 1981), as demonstrated in this participant's comments:

I like the Ribera neighbourhood... It is where I have lived for thirty years... The Born Promenade, Montcada Street, and the streets perpendicular to the harbour... What happened is that all this... Is finishing... If you take advantage of a Sunday morning, when there are less people, you can enjoy the areas... But, you know, then the nostalgia of the space, and how it once was... This is what makes you angry... (XV RES).

In conclusion, the loss of character is being affected by the development of tourism where destinations reach their maturity or consolidation stages, with standardisation of products and

services that substitute traditional supply. These transformations have an important impact on the urban ambience of the city, changing some of the dynamics.

Such transformations have important consequences for perceptions, attitudes, and behaviour of residents, provoking feelings of nostalgia, envy, anger, and resentment. They also affect the way destinations are perceived by stakeholders. Barcelona could pay a high price if it loses those attributes that differentiate it. This can result in an increased sense of belonging to a theme park, instead of living in an urban area, as analysed in the following section.

5.2.2.1. Theme park

The development of tourism is having important impacts on the characteristics, resources, attractions, and services of urban areas. This is a process where public and private stakeholders are taking advantage of tourism development to increase economic opportunities. Thus, residents feel that they are used by public and private stakeholders as a resource that can be commodified and commercialised for the sake of tourists and visitors. In mass tourist destinations, there is a tendency for tourists to treat locals as 'exhibits within a living museum' (Butler, 1974), or as living exhibits (Evans-Pritchard, 1989). In the Ciutat Vella district, participants explained that with current tourism development the local community represents a performing arts theatre with tourists as the audience, although they are neither paid, nor consulted about being live performers. Consequently, participants see their neighbourhood as being transformed into a theme park, where changes have shaped the district because tourists are visiting the area.

Participants noted the mass presence of tourists, which is profoundly affecting the characteristics and structure of the city, without taking into consideration the needs and characteristics of the local community. This transformation is perceived as a negative impact, as one explained:

The problem is this kind of mass tourism, impersonal tourism, which ends up transforming the city into a theme park. The problem is this; it transforms the city into a theme park, and its inhabitants into 'extras' in the theme park (FV RES).

Such tourism development therefore, transforms the way local residents perceive their role in the tourist environment. At this point, they need to adapt to the dynamics of being a tourist destination. This adaptation can become problematic when change is accelerated and residents are not prepared for it, causing opposition and resentment towards other

stakeholders. Thus, to develop more sustainable tourism, it is crucial to consider all stakeholders that are affected or can affect tourism when deciding what policies to implement to develop tourism, and to better understand the needs and demands of all stakeholders (Choi & Sirakaya, 2006; Gursoy & Rutherford, 2004; Gursoy, Chi, & Dyer, 2010; Hunter, 1997, Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011; Postma & Schmuecker, 2017; Yu, Chancellor, & Cole, 2011). If not, local residents can see themselves as a self-imposed 'stranger'. This is the case in Cyprus, where in the peak season residents feel like foreigners in their own town (Saveriades, 2000). A participant from the Sagrada Familia neighbourhood expressed concern about the impacts that this phenomenon was having in the area:

... In reality, they don't understand what all this means. It's not only that they are occupying a street; it's much more than that. You [the resident] here are 'the stranger'. That's how I feel. And I have been living here for a long time, fifteen years (SF RES).

The quote identifies an emerging issue about how the impacts are affecting residents' sense of place. Thus, if residents perceived themselves as 'strangers' because of the decisions of public or private stakeholders, it affects the way tourism develops in the city, suggesting that tourism in Barcelona has reach a threshold of capacity to welcome tourists in the most visited areas. The occupation of the spaces by tourists is not only an occupation, but it also severely affects the way the local community feels about belonging to a place and perceive tourism development. This can accelerate the loss of character of the city.

The meaning of this quote should be carefully considered by public and private stakeholders as an indicator that their decisions are damaging the way residents feel about living in their neighbourhoods; that is, their sense of living in a theme park. For example, the Boqueria market, a traditional market where locals like to go to shop for fresh produce, has been transformed from a market into a theme park for the enjoyment of tourists and visitors (Monzó, 2013), echoing what is happening in the historic centre of Venice (Horváth, 2018).

Residents become part of the tourist supply and existing resources that are admired by tourists of a destination. This was highlighted many years ago by Milford (1959) who observed that 'part of their enjoyment lies in describing their tour to people at home' (1959, p. 5), and photographs have become the souvenir they can show when they arrive home. Not surprisingly, Knox (1978) suggests that 'the images of the tourist as a superficial, photo-snapping, postcard-collecting cultural dilettante is one of the strongest stereotypes in American literature' (1978, p. 88). This is an important issue that affects residents' privacy and anonymity and can easily annoy them. The local community are being photographed or video

and are becoming part of the story that tourists want to tell when they return home. As one participant commented:

... In the Boqueria [market], locals don't go to shop there anymore. The small stand of the Boqueria is now selling juices, or ham, and that's it. You cannot go because you risk being filmed in a report/feature (XV RES).

This was perceived as an issue of respect, as one participant observed:

Tourists are not respectful at all... And I don't think that it's one of the biggest complaints but personally... It's really bad (XV RES).

This is now especially important, because with smart phones, the internet, and social media, taking pictures has become a hobby for many tourists who can share their experiences as they are taking place. Thus, residents in mass tourist destinations feel that they are used by public and private stakeholders as a resource that can be commodified and commercialised for the sake of tourists and visitors.

Participants in the Ciutat Vella district saw their neighbourhood as being transformed into a theme park, where tourism has changed the area. This is a relatively new issue emerging as a consequence of the development of tourism in urban areas, which is linked to the way residents feel about living in a theme park, namely as strangers. Thus, tourism development has reached a capacity threshold to welcome tourists in the most visited areas of the city.

5.2.2.1.1. Urban design

The design of urban areas has an important effect on the way residents, and tourists use public spaces. Changes resulting from tourism development in the city are not always positive, especially for residents that have to cope with it (Monzó, 2013). Therefore, a collaborative approach between the different stakeholders involved in tourism (Jamal & Getz, 1995) and coordination in order to find a balance is essential, as recognised by Turisme de Barcelona.

Saurí (2015) observed that residents in Barcelona feel the city is not theirs anymore, or not as much as it was, because development of tourism has taken away part of its identity and quality of life, and they are marginalised, or even expelled. This was highlighted, in particular, by the participants of the Barceloneta and Sagrada Família neighbourhoods.

Participants complained that their views were not taken into consideration on the decisions about how to design and develop their neighbourhoods, and express their discomfort about how urban areas are changed, which made them feel they were not important stakeholders.

They complained that they were not fully included in the design and decision-making of the new areas, such as the beach promenade at Sant Sebastià beach, in the Barceloneta neighbourhood:

... You may not know this, but on the Horizonte Marítimo, there is the Vela Hotel, Desigual, and all forms of fashion products, like *Calvin Klein*... And see for yourself how they are changing the Horizonte, only for people.... with a large disposable income (OS RES).

In general, participants in the Ciutat Vella district agreed that the city had *already* lost its character. They were concerned that officials were more interested in supporting private sector initiatives and promoting tourism than listening to local community expectations, interests, and needs, which created the perception of living in a theme park environment. This implied a loss of authenticity, which was affecting the way residents use the city as a place to live, and tourists as a place to visit and directly affecting the way residents interact with tourists.

5.2.2.2. No places for interaction

In a destination where demand and supply meet and there are encounters between hosts and guests, the conditions and environment will influence the relationship between them. Encounters can be impersonal, transitory, superficial, and non-repetitive (Foster, 1964; MacCannell, 1984; UNESCO, 1976). Host-guest encounters happen in three main contexts, namely when tourist purchase goods and services, when tourists and residents find themselves in a destination, and when both parties interact to exchange information (de Kadt, 1979). In other words, the interaction process can be divided into two domains, the voluntary and the involuntary domains. For local community participants in this study, the involuntary domain was expressed as the way they encountered tourists in their neighbourhood while undertaking their daily routines. This interaction becomes more important when tourism is highly developed and institutionalised (Knox, 1978), and encounters become increasingly impersonal and tourists become stereotypes (Smith, 1977).

In the Ciutat Vella district, where the local community perceived that tourists were not interested in them, participants complained about the lack of available public places and motivation to interact with tourists. From their viewpoint, the city does not offer spaces to promote good interaction between locals and tourists because of two main factors. Firstly, the city, especially in the Ciutat Vella district, with its narrow streets and few public areas, is mostly occupied by terraces of bars and restaurants. Secondly, the type of short-break holiday with

an average tourist stay in the city of 2.1 days does not provide a sound basis for developing relations with tourists (Turisme de Barcelona Annual Report, 2016) and limits contact between hosts and guests which can restrict understanding and lead to further conflict (Hoivik & Heiberg, 1980). This, in turn, indicates tourists' low level of interest about local community issues, and thus establishing contact with the local community is not a priority (Krippendorf, 1987), as one participant highlighted:

I have thought at times that there is no interaction. The problem is that there are no places for interaction. Tourists normally come... I don't recall the number of days... But if they stay two or three days, or less, they have no time to be lost by stopping and talking with the locals to see how they live... There are some that do, but it's an absolute minority... And... There is no space, anyway (XV RES).

The paucity of interaction between visitors and locals has an important effect on how residents perceive their role in tourism, leaving them feeling that they are only used by tourists and the industry at their convenience, without having much to say and/or to do. Some residents have proactively and tried to improve their interaction with tourists, informing them about the critical impacts tourists have on their neighbourhood, as illustrated in chapter 4. Participants in the Ciutat Vella district explained their association had produced a leaflet translated into different languages which volunteers distributed by hand to tourists. The response was surprising:

... We try to approach them [tourists] in a polite and nice way... To stop for two minutes and look at the leaflet. It was successful only when they took the leaflet... Without speaking to you (XV RES).

Consequently, from the participants' perspective, tourists were not interested in the problems of the local community and wanted only to enjoy themselves within a destination. Tourists organise their activities in relation to what the destination offer and thereby influence the outcomes for the destination and its inhabitants. The growing number of tourists were visiting the city and their behaviour made participants define the type of tourists that they would like to welcome, and the ones they do not like to encounter in their neighbourhood, as discussed in the following section.

5.2.3. Tourist types and their behaviours

Participants have distinguished between the tourists that they would like to welcome and those they do not like to encounter. They dislike tourists who misbehave. This indicates that local community participants start stereotyping tourists due to their increased numbers in some neighbourhoods (Smith, 1977), which is a sign of the maturity or consolidation stage, where there is mass tourism (Shaw & Williams, 1994). For example, in the Barceloneta neighbourhood, participants defined the type of tourists that are desirable and undesirable:

We can say that the kind of tourism that we should have here is this; someone who is considered a tourist that comes to pass through and see the neighbourhood. Not the ones that use the neighbourhood as a 'use and dispose' product, and then go. And that's it. Therefore, at the moment, there is no type of tourism that interests the neighbourhood (OS RES).

As this participant highlighted, they agree that the current tourists are all similar, the undesirable type, describing them as using the city without consideration for local residents. Participants would prefer a tourist that considers the city and its inhabitants, and shows interest in the local way of life and respects residents and their environment. In this regard, the Council follows a liberal approach, with a vision of welcoming everyone, regardless of their socio-economic or demographic characteristics. The Council favours developing the different priority markets without restricting the most undesirable ones. As they explained:

Because of the importance that tourist activity has acquired for the city... Relatively speaking, for the typology of the tourist activity that is absolutely diversified... We are not only talking about holidays, but also about business, with all the exhibitions and congresses, cultural, and sporting events, and the like (MB Public).

Everyone is welcome, and therefore, there is a lack of clear segmentation and priority about the type of tourists that they wish to attract, which is negatively impacting on the local community's perceptions and attitude towards them. As the statistical data analysed in Chapter 4 shows, all these segments are increasing in importance, including cruise passengers, with more than three million cruise passengers in 2018 (Port of Barcelona traffic statistics, 2018). With regards to MICE (Meetings, Incentives, Conference, and Exhibitions) tourism, Barcelona has invested significant resources in developing this market which has grown steadily since 1990. In 2017, there were more than 2,000 congresses, conventions and incentives, 70% of them were international, and represent more than 674,000 delegates. As

Turisme de Barcelona explained, conference and exhibitions, as well as international events, have been important:

The priority are those that attend congresses and meetings, cruises, cultural events, and festivals, such as the leading ones... *Sonar* and *Primavera Sound*... And big sporting events, such as the 14th FINA World Aquatics Championship, that will be held in Barcelona (TB Public-Private).

Today, the diversity of tourist and visitors in Barcelona affects the city and its local community. Although public and private stakeholders claimed that there were priority segment markets they were promoting, the reality is that from the residents' perspective, there was a clear lack of segmentation about the most desirable type of tourists that the city should be attracting; so stereotyping seemed inevitable.

5.2.3.1. Desirable tourists

To define desirable type of tourists, participants used the concept of tourists versus travellers, echoing Milford's (1959) distinction between visitor and tourist. A visitor, and not a tourist, when visiting Venice stays in the town and leads the life of its local inhabitants. However, tourists do not spend enough time in the destination to know about the local culture. To illustrate this point, a participant defined what they considered to be the desirable type as a tourist that has a travel culture:

[We want] a type of tourism that sees tourists as more than just tourists but as people, and the presence of travellers, not of tourists, but travellers, people that travel, that go around and visit the area, that consume, that interact with the neighbours, including speaking the language if needed. That's different (OS RES).

While participants would like to welcome such a traveller in reality they do not exist, or at least they do not perceive them to exist. This is influencing their negative perceptions of the type of tourists and visitors that Barcelona is welcoming. Consistent with this argument, and with their attempt to define the type of tourist that would be more desirable, participants highlighted that they would like to see a slow type of tourist, interested in the local culture while respecting the lifestyle of residents; a view also shared in the case of Sagrada Familia neighbourhood.

5.2.3.2. Undesirable tourists

All stakeholders agreed about the importance of identifying and not welcoming undesirable type of tourists. However, this is easier said than done. The problem is the lack of clear definition of specific market segments, and the 'laissez-faire' approach of the Council. In Barcelona, undesirable tourists are the ones who make residents uncomfortable. As social behaviour is influenced by different cultural characteristics, in which 'what is proper or acceptable in one society may not be in another' (Ragheb, 1980, p. 53).tourists are perceived as violating local norms, which can lead to feelings of resentment and aggressive behaviour (Dogan (1989). This conflict will be further analysed in chapter 7. Participants complained about the way tourists consumed the city, their disrespect for the local customs and lifestyle, and for local residents' privacy and intimacy. Stakeholders considered this was unacceptable and dis-respectful behaviour:

The sectors that we are less interested in are those that bet on less value for the city, and in some ways, they consume in an excessive way. For example, I don't know, every day there is a more unusual anecdote, but those that come for a day for a stag party, and so forth, are segments we are not interested in (MB Public).

These types of tourists continue to visit the city and annoy residents by the way they behave and use public and private spaces to enjoy themselves in an extreme manner. Participants identified tourist behaviour as one of the issues that affects local community lifestyle and perceptions of tourism development and tourists, because:

Tourists also come for sex, and getting drunk, and to see what they can be sold (OS RES).

A major issue is that local businesses are organising products and services that are targeting this type of tourist. Participants recalled the parties and drinking tours organised by some operators that offered a quite disturbing range of activities:

... To see the tourist's point of view, you look on the internet for lists where, for €15, they take you on a [binge] drinking itinerary (XV RES).

Although these types of 'parties' are forbidden by law, participants recognised that companies continued to offering them due largely to the 'laissez-faire' policy adopted by the Council to control these activities, and the difficulty of finding companies that organise these activities, sometimes through the internet and operating from other countries. A participant in the Ciutat

Vella district that felt very annoyed explained that this often occurred during important events, such as major festivals or exhibitions, which, a priority market segments identified by the Council and Turisme de Barcelona:

... When there are festivals, when it was the Sonar... You know... The quantity of people that were drunk around Santa Caterina Market... There were a group of teenagers of about 16 or 17 years of age... It was sad... And I don't know if they were in a tourist apartment, or what... And then another day... This is some time ago... When the mobile congress took place... At 9 in the morning, I was going out [of my building], and I found four businessmen, in suits and white shirts, all pissing together (XV RES).

These findings demonstrate how important it is to resolve the problems identified. Unfortunately, from the perspective of the participants, the public authorities do not show sufficient concern about the negative reactions of residents to tourists and how they affect their lifestyle.

Urban tourism has been boosted by short-breaks, low cost airlines and the growth of cruise travel, especially in the Mediterranean. Consequently, tourists appear to be ticking off destinations on their bucket list, as a form of personal development and social status. One participant was especially critical of this type of development, and the subsequent consumption of the city as a tourist destination. And so, traveling, as 'normalised' behaviour, with the idea of consuming tourist destinations solely because they are easy to reach, did not present travelling as a unique or special experience:

You have to consume. You have to travel because you can... And every weekend you want to be in a different city, and to say that you travelled around the world. But you realise that they [travellers] are not really interested. In other words, they promenade in the streets, or go to the Güell Park, but you don't see them with faces that show that they are thinking, yes, wow, what we saw was really beautiful (XV RES).

The tendency to consume tourist attractions, especially in urban settings, has influenced the way participants perceive tourism development. In Barcelona, as explained earlier, time constraints are an important issue for tourists visiting the city, with an average stay of 2.1 days (Turisme de Barcelona Annual Report, 2016). This offers the tourist limited time to visit and enjoy the city's tourist attractions. On top of this, there is a large number of day visitors that have only several hours to visit the most important attractions reflected in some comments of

participants of Sagrada Familia neighbourhood, in which most of the tourist visits are short. Thus, participants understood this issue as important, because it influences the way they perceived tourism. They complained about the type of tourist who wants to:

See everything without getting off (SF RES).

And defined this type of tourists as:

A kind of tourism based on taking a photo, and off you go (SF RES).

Another participant succinctly summarised this phenomenon:

This is the idea. For people that have little time, a cruise-type thing where you have two hours to see the city, so you get on the bus, and don't get off, and after a couple of hours, return to the cruise. That's the idea (SF RES).

The limited number of hours that tourists stay in a destination, and the need to see the most important attractions, makes destinations and tourist attractions vulnerable to mass tourism development. As a consequence, destinations are adapting to the needs of tourists by offering them products and services that attract their consumption. Tourists are not willing to adapt to the destinations characteristics and residents' needs; rather they expect residents to adapt to tourist needs and expectations (Nuñez, 1989; Nash, 1989; Bruner, 1991). To try to resolve this issue, stronger collaboration and coordination among the different stakeholders involved in tourism is needed, as well as better regulation and control to overcome possible negative outcomes associated with tourism (Jamal & Getz, 1995; Hunter, 1997).

Following residents' complaints and the exponential increase in tourists in the Sagrada Familia neighbourhood that arrive by coach, the Council implemented a mobility plan to prevent some of the tourist activities which tend to annoy the local community. As a consequence, tourist coaches have a designated parking area outside the church area, and tourists must walk to see the monument. Participants argued that more could be done to try to solve some of the issues caused by tourists. Today, public policy is directed towards better management of tourist flows around the different tourist attractions of the city (Tourism Strategic Plan 2010-2015, Tourism Strategic Plan 2020), and participants argued that tourists should adapt to the city's characteristics:

... What we were saying was that the tourist visitor would be the one to adapt to Barcelona, not Barcelona to the tourist visitor. And Barcelona is a city that today has attracted interest, and you cannot do it in two hours, and

if a cruise passenger wants to see the city in two hours, then they have to choose, either Güell Park, or I don't know what, but it's not possible to see everything (MB Public).

The fact that there are strong private sector economic interests which organise tours, cannot be changed overnight. The private sector is interested in selling tours and accommodating their services to the needs of tourists, and therefore, it is very difficult for the public sector to change this market dynamic. As a consequence, the solution to the problem appears to be more difficult than the Council initially believed. These are examples of what the local community confronts, which can be a source of tension between the local community and the tourists, because of the conflicting norms of dress, speech, and behaviour. The reality is that participants complained about the behaviour of tourists, and the low level of respect for the local culture.

One of the important issues regarding tourism development is how residents and tourists use the destination resources, attractions and services, as discussed in the following section.

5.2.3.3. Use of the city

As tourism research recognises, mobility and the way the destination is used, in the form of traffic congestion, crowding, and parking, are important negative impacts of tourism (Butler, 1974; Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997; Pizam, 1978; Rothman, 1978; Sheldon & Var, 1984). More recently, in urban areas negative impacts have been associated with the commodification of local resources, increasing the competition between tourists and local stakeholders for public spaces, gentrification, and loss of authenticity, and homogenisation of culture (Cole, 2007; García-Hernández, de la Calle-Vaquero, & Yubero, 2017; Koens, Postma, & Papp, 2018). The way that people use and move around cities is becoming a key issue affecting the way destinations develop tourism, because tourists can overwhelm entry points, and their infrastructure, as well as have a direct impact on internal mobility.

In the case of Barcelona, the fact that tourist numbers are increasing every year within a limited space of municipal borders makes the city a place where friction between different activities can boil-over. As an example of the importance of mobility for the city, tourists, visitors, and residents are using public transport (buses, trams, and underground), which is designed according to the needs of the city and its residents. However, in 2016, 37% of tourists visiting the city used public transport, and 46% visited the city by foot (Memòria de Sostenibilitat Turística, 2016). Public transport prices in Barcelona are subsidised by the public administrations, which adds another layer of complaint about the over use of public

transport in the city. In this regard, a participant complained that the residents and their taxes were subsidising the mobility of tourists using public transport in Barcelona and considered this was an unfair use of residents' taxes to provide a quality public transport system.

Participants complained about the congestion resulting from the use and overuse of the city's pedestrian areas following removal of cars in streets and the process of pedestrianisation of the area, especially at the Cathedral and the surrounding area. It was a process that took place during the 1980s and transformed the use of whole area. Thus, the area is used today by the tourists and businesses which are offering services to visit the area take advantage of this 'pacification' of the streets.

There is a growing number of bicycle riders, boosted by the implementation of bike lanes throughout the city to facilitate alternative transport for residents and development of a public service that uses bicycles, named *Bicing*. In the case of the pedestrian streets, there has been a proliferation of bicycle tours in the narrow streets of Ciutat Vella district, which has caused some disturbance to the local community's lifestyle. At the same time, there has been a proliferation of bicycle rental shops, focused on tourist demand, which increased the perception of crowdedness in this area. One participant, thought the problem was both overuse of pedestrian areas, and lack of management and regulation of the type and characteristics of use, and therefore, rental shops were also growing in the area:

One of the successes of removing cars from the streets of the neighbourhood was the quiet... And this has also attracted a proliferation of bikes for tourists. There is also no regulation about how many bike rental shops are allowed (XV RES).

Another participant noted that the streets of the district were also occupied by other modes of transportation, which were destroying the public spaces that were once used by the local community. Participants showed a great deal of concern, and became angry because there were too many people and too many bicycles for the available space, which negatively affected mobility and the perception of well-being across the neighbourhood. Space and use were regarded as important issues:

There is a saturation of public spaces... Absolutely... Occupied and collapsed. For any kind of objects, not only bikes, tricycles, those tri... I don't know what you call them... 'Trixis' that are for three... Skates, and all kinds of things... What else can you do in a so limited a space? (XV RES).

As participants explained, they observed large group of tourists travelling on bicycles which created disrupted mobility around the areas they visited:

One day, I counted around forty (40) bikes in Carders Street. And then there were the people waiting there... (XV RES).

The local community saw this as absurd but could only joke about its existence, because those bicycles, in addition to the groups of tourists visiting the narrow streets of the Ciutat Vella, were creating congestion in the streets and squares of the neighbourhood. This situation provoked anger and a certain level of aggressiveness among the local community, because they had no choice but to share the same space:

... Sometimes, if you have a bad day, and they ring their bells for you to move out of the way... It's our space, it's our path... You feel you have to slap them! (OS RES).

The over use of the city's public transport infrastructure and the increasing bicycle and foot traffic is a relatively new phenomenon in small urban areas such as Barcelona and is a consequence of the development of tourism in urban areas. This was a major concern for participants in this study because it created mobility issues. As one participant explained:

I find that everyday it's more difficult to move around the neighbourhood. I ride my bike, and every day, it becomes more complicated... Because every time there are more and more tourists walking in the bike lanes... (XV RES).

Space and use of the city became an important issue arising from the overuse of public spaces. There was a sense of 'territoriality' among locals. Tourists were not only occupying too many different spaces, but spaces that they considered 'our space' and in their desire to confront tourists might have to resort to physical opposition. The Council recognised this issue and explained that they were working to resolve it by approving a new ordinance to regulate bicycle use in the city. Local community participants in this study were proactive in proposing recommendations to better manage the impacts of the overuse of public spaces:

That is, to take the agencies out of the neighbourhood, and if they want to do tours, they need to design some circuits (XV RES).

Thus everyone in the focus group agreed that bike tours could be limited to certain areas of the district and their itineraries designed to avoid entering crowded areas:

... In Via Laietana, Rondes, Promenade, and Paral.lel... They leave their bikes there and walk. And so, groups of forty (40) people start walking together in the streets... And this is also complicated... And by bike, it's just not manageable (XV RES).

The challenge was to find a balance between the interests of the different stakeholders involved in tourism. While bicycles were desirable than cars, the sheer volume of tourist traffic meant that even bicycles had become a challenge to the use of public space.

5.3. Conclusion

This chapter discussed the main impacts of tourism development in Barcelona, by addressing the first research objective, to define what are the impacts of tourism development in Barcelona. The results indicate that there are contested perceptions, among stakeholders. Generally, residents perceived the impacts of tourism as negative, while the public and private sectors saw tourism development as a more positive driver of prosperity. They highlighted that it had a positive impact on the economic development of the city, creating new business opportunities and jobs, and increasing the level and quality of infrastructure, facilities, and services. Although the local community also agreed about the positive economic impacts of tourism development, they were aware of the negative factors that strongly affected the quality of life in their neighbourhood. For them, the proliferation of services and activities focused on tourist demand had led to a deterioration of the city's public and private spaces. The commodification of resources, increased prices and gentrification make local community participants feel that the city had lost its character and become a theme park where locals felt they were strangers and had lost their sense of belonging to their place of residence.

Analysis of the impacts of tourism in Barcelona has provided important insights. These impacts were a major threat to productive in the exchange between hosts and guests. Better management of the negative impacts in Barcelona is needed in order to minimise the effects on stakeholders involved in tourism development.

The next chapter examines the perceptions and attitudes of stakeholders with regard to how tourism development and its impacts affected their life-style and quality of life.

Chapter 6: Analysis, findings, and discussion: Perceptions and attitudes towards tourism development

6.1. Introduction

This chapter addresses the second research objective by examining how tourism development and its impacts affected stakeholders' perceptions, attitudes and relationships. Firstly, the chapter examines the perceptions and attitudes of the local community towards tourism development, and how these are influencing the perspectives of the impacts of tourism in Barcelona. Secondly, it examines the policy and management of tourism development. Finally, it looks at the relationship between tourism stakeholders and how they perceive each other in Barcelona.

6.1.1. Results' summary

This analysis and findings help to unravel the stakeholders' perceptions and attitudes towards tourism development and how its impacts affected their quality of life (Table 6.1). The results show that there were contested opinions about how stakeholders perceive tourism development in Barcelona with important differences between the opinions of local community participants and those from the public and private sector. While the residents had negative perceptions, attitudes and behaviour about all the themes and subthemes, public and private stakeholders had a positive perception about the issues that emerged from the analysis of the data, except in the tourist pressure sub-theme. Here, the high level of tourist pressure was having negative effects on existing resource, in a city with limited public and private spaces and high population density. Thus, tourism development made it more difficult to find a balance between the needs of residents and the needs of tourists. This had a direct effect on the capacity limits and the changes that stakeholders were willing to accept in return for the positive and negative impacts that tourism brought to the city.

Table 6.1. Data display summary: perceptions and attitudes

Results	Perceptions and attitudes										
	Tourism development	The city as a tourist destination	Dual realities	Contribution of tourism (quality of life)	The 'more the better' strategy	Promotion of tourism	Tourist pressure	Stakeholders relationship	Residents versus private business	Residents versus public sector	Participation
OS RES	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
CV RES	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
SF RES	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
LC RES	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	X	X
FV RES	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
MB Public	V	V	V	V	V	V	X	V	V	V	V
TB Private-public	V	V	V	V	V	V	X	V	V	V	V

V= Yes/positive/like

X= No/negative/dislike

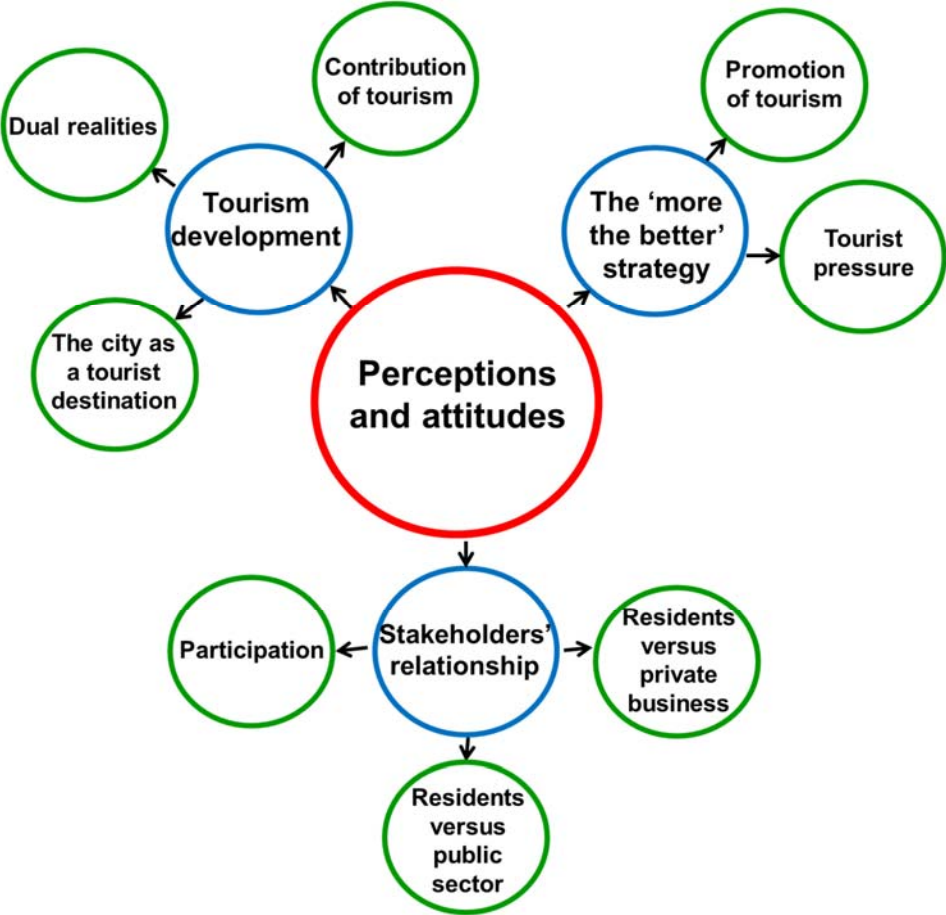
- = Not commented

6.1.2. Data analysis and findings

As explained in chapters 4 and 5, the researcher conducted focus groups and in-depth interviews with residents, public administration officials, and private business. Thematic network analysis to the data collected which was useful in identifying, analysing, and reporting the patterns or themes of meaning and issues of interest emerging (Attride-Stirling, 2001). Thus, sub-themes, themes and categories were linked to create a network of themes that are interrelated to each other, with the aim of answering the research question and objective of this study.

The use of thematic network analysis helped to gain a broad understanding of the meaning of the data in rich detail (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Figure 6.1 shows the structure of the analysis, findings and discussion to better understand how the impacts of tourism development affected the perceptions, attitudes, and behaviour of the stakeholders in this study. As Figure 6.1 shows, the main dimension was the perceptions and attitudes towards tourism development, which was limited to three themes and eight sub-themes that emerged from the data analysis.

Figure 6.1. Thematic network structure of stakeholders' perceptions and attitudes



6.2. Perceptions and attitudes

An attitude is an 'enduring predisposition towards a particular aspect of one's environment', reflected in how people think, feel, and behave (McDougall & Munro, 1994, p.116). To assess residents' perceptions and attitudes, researchers have used social exchange theory to assess the costs and benefits of tourism development (Jurowski, Uysal, & Williams, 1997; Lankford & Howard, 1994). Researchers have demonstrated that there is a strong correlation between personal economic benefit from and support for tourism (Boley, McGehee, Perdue & Long, 2014; Chambers, 2000; Jurowski & Gursoy, 2004; Jurowski, Uysal, & Williams, 1997; Haralambopoulos & Pizam, 1996; Knox, 1978; Lankford & Howard, 1994; McGehee & Andereck, 2004; Pizam, 1978). Moreover, in destinations where tourism constitutes a major new source of revenue, it may contribute to increased social distance and a degree of inequality, or separation, between the members of the community who directly benefit from tourism and those who do not (Chambers, 2000). Thus, social identity theory can be useful because the participants from the local community belong to the same association, can share emotions and values and have similar perceptions about the way tourism is developed and its effects on their quality of life (Tajfel, 1978, 1982). To classify residents' perceptions and attitudes, researchers have used different techniques, including social representation theory (Moscovici, 1981) and cluster analysis (Madrigal, 1995). For example, Fredline and Faulkner (2000) recognised that it is relatively easy to identify corresponding groups among those who have extreme views, such as lovers and haters. These techniques have helped to classify different groups of beliefs, opinions, and values of residents.

6.2.1. Tourism development

Many destinations around the world encourage tourism to contribute to the increased socio-economic and cultural development in order to improve their quality of life. In doing so, they often focus on the degree of economic prosperity such development creates (Ashworth & Page, 2011; Jurowski & Gursoy, 2004; Postma, Buda, & Gurgerell, 2017; UNWTO, 2018). According to UNWTO (2018), the rapid growth of tourism in urban areas in the last decades is due to different factors, including rapid urbanisation and the growth of population in urban areas, higher disposal income along with the increase of the middle-class. Other important factors are investment in infrastructure, such as airports, ports, and roads, as well as the decrease in transportation prices, with the introduction of low cost airlines, and internet platforms that allow customers to book tourist services online, especially important for accommodation supply (UNWTO, 2018).

Tourism is a relatively new phenomenon in Barcelona and has been highly developed since the 2000s, as discussed in Chapter 4. During the last two decades, the city, which as a limited territory, has received up to 100 million tourists, which represents 210 million overnights stays, and 25 million cruise passengers (Castán, 2013). The city attracts a growing number of tourists and visitors for short-breaks and MICE tourism (Turisme de Barcelona Annual Report, 2016, and Barcelona Tourism Activity Report, 2016-2017). This rapid growth of tourism has been an important factor influencing stakeholders' perceptions and attitudes to tourism development.

Increased tourism has been made possible by strong support from public authorities, strong investment by the private sector to develop services and facilities for tourist demand, and the promotion of Barcelona as a tourist destination for leisure and business (Turisme de Barcelona, 2013). It offers an interesting mix, including attractions, services and activities, and a diverse local community which make the city a very appealing tourist destination. Turisme de Barcelona highlighted the reasons why the city has attracted, and is continuing to attract, such a significant number of tourists and visitors, and explained the success of the city as follows:

... We are very fortunate to have many varied and important reasons to visit. People are coming because they live, see, and experience a specific lifestyle. They come to walk around. City Tourism... The 'city break'... two or three days. And then they [unfortunately] realise that they have to return [home]... This makes us attractive (TB Public-Private).

In this interview, the Council also stressed the importance of the diversity of the city's structure and economic and social activity in each district. It offered a mix of services:

We are a city with a diverse mixture... We are not the typical city with specialised neighbourhoods. In other words, we don't have 'only tourist neighbourhoods'... In Ciutat Vella, for example, there's the paradigm where there are the top institutions of the city and the region; the Municipality of Barcelona, and the Generalitat de Catalunya. That means that all the administrative and service activity is there. There is a 5-star-rated hotel beside a shabby bed and breakfast (B&B), an immigrant apartment block, and an architectural studio, and so forth. We have this capacity of mixing uses, and this is what makes the city so attractive to live in (MB Public).

Barcelona, as the capital of Catalonia, has been influenced by Catalan character and pride. The Catalan language has given it a distinct identity, as a cosmopolitan and open-minded urban centre (Read, 1978), and the language has created a strong feeling of locality, culture, and nationalism (Hughes, 1992). Vargas (2015) defined tourism in Barcelona as helping to shape the Catalans' zeal in managing and promoting their distinctiveness from the rest of Spain, a view reflected by the following participant:

... In fact, Barcelona has international projection, and the fact that it is the national 'backbone' (the national bone marrow), it has made Barcelona a city, not as a Catalan agglomeration, but as a city; in other words, as an entity in itself, with its own dynamics and character, cosmopolitan, for its capacity of absorbing flows, influences, generating its own dynamics – this is what gives it its hallmark, and its imprint (FV RES).

Barcelona is today a cosmopolitan city that is attracting a growing number of tourists who enjoy the attractions and services, along with its ambience, character, dynamics, and mixtures. There are many reasons to visit the city, and therefore, it is attracting a variety of market segments, which has influenced the way it has been transformed into a tourist destination.

6.2.1.1. The city as a tourist destination

Tourism is defined as an agent of change, and as an important catalyst of social, economic, and environmental transformation (Ahn, Lee, & Shafer, 2002; Butler, 1975, 1991; Deery, Jago & Fredline, 2012; Duffield, 1982; Duffield & Long, 1981; Lanfant, 1980; Murphy, 1983; Park & Stokowski, 2009). At the same time, because change can also be perceived as a threat to the survival of residents, this is one of the predictors of attitudinal outcomes (Ward & Berno, 2011). The process of becoming a tourist destination is defined by the number of tourists, the characteristics of the destination, and the tourism industry's stage of development (McKercher, Wang, & Park, 2015). Thus, during the transformation process, impacts arise as a consequence of the changes provided by tourism development, especially when non-tourist places are transformed to shared places or tourists' places (McKercher, Wang, & Park, 2015). Thus, the resources and attractions that once were enjoyed by residents have to be shared with tourists (Butler, 1974; de Kadt, 1979), which increases the competition for existing resources (Edwards, Griffin, & Hayllar, 2008; Forster, 1964).

Stakeholder theory becomes an important umbrella to better manage the changes produced by tourism development and its impacts. It can help to balance the different interests and

needs of the stakeholders that can influence or are influenced by tourism. The industry has great potential to affect the lives of community residents (Andereck, Valentine, Knopf, & Vogt, 2005) where the relations between different actors, networks, and the collaboration among players implies that the behaviour of one conditions the behaviour of the other (Presenza & Cipollina, 2010).

From the 1980s onwards, Barcelona has been in a process of change. These changes were especially important in the case of the Ciutat Vella district, where focus group participants proudly explained that until the 1990s the residents preserved the quality of life in the district through taking care of public areas and private spaces maintaining the cultural and social fabric. They considered that without their involvement, the area could have been more degraded, with a lower quality of life. It was during the 1990s that the public administration and private businesses became interested in business opportunities, as this participant explained:

Until the 90s, the people who maintained the Ciutat Vella were the locals, the working class... And especially in the Xino area... that's what defines the working class. And they're mixed in with pimps and with prostitution... and then people from Barcelona come to the promenade to see it. From the 90s they saw that there was a business opportunity and it was then that the children of the people living in Sarrià, and so on, decided to return to their ancestors' houses... And so, houses were renovated in the Ribera. The Ribera is all renovated now (XV RES).

In 1986, the Council implemented the PERI plan (Pla Especial de Reforma Interior), as an urban tool to regulate the development of the district and its uses. The plan aimed to regenerate the district to make it a more attractive place to live and visit. Since then, tourism development has increased exponentially with continuous growth as the statistical data in chapter 4 indicates. The plan attracted private investors, which participants defined as the moment when speculation of the neighbourhood's resources or 'the invasion' started:

The invasion began. It's from that point that they started to see that there was money to be made (XV RES).

The implementation of the Plan affected the local community because as participants recalled with feelings of sadness and certain nostalgia, after the 1990s, the district changed drastically. The problem was not that tourists were around, but that there were *only* tourists around (Delgado, 2015), although it is not only tourists that emptied the urban historical centres and

its people, but the management of the city as a business boosted by a series of marketing campaigns from the Council promoting it as a tourist destination and a good place to live, shop, and invest. The aim was to increase residents' awareness of all that Barcelona was offering, as well as to attract investors and private owners. As a result, the plan increased the resentment and anger of residents because of the changes its implementation brought to the neighbourhood:

Yes, you know, first there was the '*Barcelona posa't guapa*' campaign [Barcelona get pretty] ... And it continued with the '*La millor botiga del mon*' [The best shop in the world], and then with the Olympic Games. That's when they started destroying the Ciutat Vella... with the application of the PERI (XV RES).

Participants defined the changes from the PERI plan as an 'invasion' of investors and tourists, resulting in 'destruction' of the district, which created a very negative opinion about this type of development. As they explained, one of the consequences of the 'chaos' created by tourism development in Barcelona was that it affected the way the city was used and residents' daily routines. Their negative perceptions were influenced by the type of management the city implemented for tourism, as analysed in the following section.

6.2.1.1.2. Management of tourism

In 2007, following recommendations from Turisme de Barcelona, the Council created a department in charge of tourism management. As discussed in Chapter 4, until 2007 only Turisme de Barcelona dealt with tourism promotion, but had no mandate to manage tourism and therefore, management of tourism and its impacts had not been taken into consideration. During the 1990s, this was not a big issue because tourism was not a key activity and the impacts were not perceived as negative by residents, as discussed in chapter 5. But with the significant increase in the number of tourists, management became critical to deal with both the positive and negative impacts of tourism. The Council has implemented two strategic plans, 2010-2015, and 2015 to 2020 (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2015, 2019) which highlights that Turisme de Barcelona and Ajuntament de Barcelona recognised the importance of managing tourism development in order to improve the relationship between residents and tourists. The Council explained that they have only started to deal with the management of tourism recently, because it was a fundamental part of the city's economic growth, but had negative consequences for residents:

At present, what we are really working on is the management of tourist activity in the city, trying to make the aspects that are inconvenient for the residents as manageable as possible (TB Public-Private).

It is significant that public and private stakeholders recognise the importance of managing tourism development in a way that can maximise its contribution to increasing the quality of life of residents. This new approach is a significant improvement. The lack of management had negative effects on stakeholders. The Barcelona Tourism Activity Report (2017) showed that although most residents perceive tourism as beneficial (83.1%), an increasing number (from 25% in 2012 to nearly 60% in 2017) believed the city was at the limits of its capacity with 10 out of 20 areas of the city, or more than 55% of residents, sharing this opinion (Memòria de Sostenibilitat Turística, 2016). To address this situation, residents' perceptions and attitudes need to be taken into account in applying strategic managerial and developmental decisions about tourism development (Liu & Var, 1986). Therefore, tourism had become more and more important for the political agenda of the Council:

For us, it's very important that tourism... In urban areas is relatively new... twenty years... And therefore, it hasn't incorporated well into the day-to-day life of the everyday management of the city... (MB Public).

This is a result of the implementation of the Strategic Tourism Plan 2010-2015 which aimed to increase the management of tourism and decentralise tourist activity by creating products that could attract the tourists to other districts that have either less, or no tourist activity. To achieve this objective, the Council has promoted strategic plans for each district of the city. Some examples include the promotion of the Horta neighbourhood a water theme, or a visit to Turó de la Rovira. According to the Council:

At present we are working to try to decentralise tourist activity in the city, because in Barcelona, tourist activity is very concentrated in specific areas. The impact of this is that the effects are very intense in some areas. Therefore, it is important to decentralise it because, although we are a small city, there are a lot of areas in the city that are not profiting from tourism (MB Public).

This initiative recognises the complaints of participants from the local community and private sector that tourism is concentrated in certain areas, and the rest do not take advantage of this activity, as the case of Sagrada Família neighbourhood, and Les Corts district, discussed later in this chapter. However, in the case of Barcelona, there was a growing desire among officials

to continue increasing the number of tourists which would increase crowding in places that are already overcrowded and will potentially spread both, the positive and negative impacts of tourism development to areas that have so far been preserved from tourists. Therefore, this strategy could only have positive effects if the number of tourists is stable and does not increase.

6.2.1.1.3. Development stages

In considering the stages of tourism development, the literature analysed in chapter 2, and the analysis and discussion in chapter 5, it is clear that the most visited areas of the city have already reached the maturity or consolidation stage of development, where mass tourism has developed (Noronha, 1979; Butler, 1980; Shaw & Williams, 1994) because residents have demonstrated antagonism and annoyance (Doxey, 1975) which can lead to opposition, and discontent arise (Butler, 1980). This was corroborated by the number of tourists in these areas and the impacts of tourist development. Following the life cycle theory, at the early stages of tourism development residents embrace tourists, which then changes when the number of tourists increases exponentially (Ap & Crompton, 1993; Butler, 1980; Doxey, 1975; Madrigal, 1993; Noronha, 1979; Smith, 1977). In the Ciutat Vella district, participants perceived tourism as a positive activity in the early stages of development during the 1990s, and accepted and enjoyed tourists visiting their neighbourhood, as will be discussed in chapter 7.

Barcelona in 2016 received an estimated 30 million tourists and visitors (Burgen, 2017) indicating the pressure that tourism development has had on existing resources, attractions, and supply, including the residents, affecting their perceptions and attitudes. The residents have tried to cope with the changes in their neighbourhood, and the need to adapt to the issues, but the growth generated negative attitudes towards tourism development and its impacts indicating that the city has already reached its carrying capacity limits (Dietrich & García-Buades, 2009; Long, Perdue & Allen, 1990; Mansfeld & Ginosar, 1994). In Niagara-on-the-lake residents felt that tourists were adversely affecting the area (Doxey, 1975) by exploiting existing resources, and using all available spaces. As one participant noted:

I strongly dislike the development of tourism in Barcelona because, if at some point it was a good bet to welcome tourism, now it has gone overboard, and we're inundated. It is a totally saturated model [of tourism], oriented to exploit, especially in terms of space, of all available spaces, and to exploit the use of these spaces, and so, there is too much tourism (OS RES).

This view was shared by most participants in this study who living in the most visited areas of the city, including Ciutat Vella district and Sagrada Familia neighbourhood. They argued that spaces were becoming a key issue in tourist destinations, because the space was occupied by the tourists had to be shared with the local community and in the process become a mixed or tourist area (McKercher, Wang, & Park, 2015). Thus, it became difficult to find a balance between the uses of available spaces among different stakeholders and explained the negative perceptions and attitudes of these participants towards tourism development and tourists; they communicated a sense that tourism was inconsistent with the local lifestyle of the neighbourhood:

I don't like it, I don't like it, because they have been betting a lot on tourism, but it's an irresponsible tourism, a kind of 'savage' tourism (OS RES).

Thus, it is critical to take into consideration the level and speed of tourism development, through considering the different stages of tourism development. Table 2.1 can shed some light here, if the factors that defined each stage of development are applied in practice and can help to assess how the impacts of tourism affect the perceptions, attitudes, and behaviour of residents, the focus of this study. Therefore, in areas of high tourist concentration residents are more concerned and aware about the negative impacts of resource use (Jurowski & Gursoy, 2004; Madrigal, 1983). To arrive at this juncture, requires a favourable political system, with economic connections, and/or interests to drive tourism development and promotion on a large scale (Meyersohn, 1981), as in the case of Barcelona. This situation has not only affected the local community, but also the tourists, as one participant highlighted:

...This does not mean that we are against tourism, but it is a chaotic, disorganised tourism, and things could be done much better... It could be good, for the tourists, who I sincerely think are not enjoying it too much, and for the local residents that are living in the neighbourhood who see it as chaotic and massive and it does not fit well (SF RES).

These participants' views reflect important milestones where residents perceived tourism and its impacts negatively and tourism became problematic for the destination and its stakeholders (Dietrich & García-Buades, 2009; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Mansfeld & Ginosar, 1994; Long, Perdue, & Allen, 1990; Pizam, 1978; Postma & Schmuecker, 2017; Smith, 1977; Williams, 1979). These results highlight two main issues. Firstly, Barcelona has different realities with regard to tourism development; Ciutat Vella district and the Sagrada Familia neighbourhood experience high pressure from tourists which demonstrates the importance of looking at the

impacts and its perceptions of stakeholders from a zoning point of view (Ahn, Lee, & Shafer, 2002; Lime, 1970; Stonich, 1998). Secondly, the consensus in resident focus groups about negative impacts of tourism development indicated that in those areas a carrying capacity threshold, defined by development lifecycle and carrying capacity theories, had been reached (Butler, 1980; Dietrich & García-Buades, 2009; Long, Perdue & Allen; 1990; Mansfeld & Ginosar, 1994; Postma & Schmuecker, 2017; Smith, 1977, Williams, 1979).

These findings concur with Colau's (2014) view that the number of visitors in Barcelona was affecting the local community's quality of life and ability to live in those areas, because of the increasing pressure from tourism development. She (2014) advocated regulation of tourist activity and prioritising the rights of the local community above those of tourist businesses. A moratorium on new accommodation supply has been implemented in the city in order to assess the current situation, and the economic and social impacts it has created (Blanchar, 2015). Participants use eight different negative adjectives to describe tourism development, namely irresponsible, kind of savage, very bad, invasive, chaotic, massive, disorganised, saturated, and oriented to exploit. These adjectives indicated how they perceived tourism development as a commercial phenomenon, where tourists were consumers without much interest in the way the city developed and the lifestyle of its residents, as this participant highlighted:

... Now, it's become a kind of autistic tourism... You know... I'm not saying that they are all like sheep, but you don't get the impression that Barcelona is a special city anymore... It's the kind of tourism that encourages you to do it because you have to (XV RES).

Participants in the Ciutat Vella and the Barceloneta focus groups were hugely affected by the way tourism was developed and managed in the city and believed the only solution appeared to be:

Start from zero again (OS RES)

However, they knew this was impossible because of the dynamics of the public and private sectors, which, according to one participant:

Do not leave any possibility at all to work with the current situation (OS RES).

Consequently, it seemed clear that the level of tourism development had reached a threshold where residents had a negative perception and attitude towards tourism describing it as an

invasion and destruction of the city's structure. Tourists exploited existing resources, including public and private spaces that have to be shared with tourists. The current concentration of tourists make residents aware that there were two types of lifestyle cohabiting in their neighbourhood, the residents and the tourists, which were sometimes incongruous.

6.2.1.2. Dual realities

Dual realities in tourist destinations arise from the fact that residents have to work and carry on daily routines, while tourists enjoy their free time, in a work-leisure scenario that creates stranger-hood and work-leisure distinctions in specific time and space (Meyersohn, 1981; Nash, 1989). The rhythms that residents and tourists have also influence their relationship (Hóvarth, 2018) when a local place is transformed into a tourist place (McKercher, Wang, & Park, 2015) where stakeholders have to adapt to this new reality. This relationship is influenced by the physical environment in which host-guest interaction exists, namely the destination (Cairns, 1979; Noronha, 1979) and also by the nature of the encounter, which is defined as impersonal, transitory, superficial, and non-repetitive and can lead to an unequal and non-spontaneous relationship (Foster, 1964; McCannell, 1984; UNESCO, 1976).

In urban settings, where there are a large number of residents there is a different rhythm (Hóvarth, 2018). In Barcelona, the participants in this study began to realise there was a growing sense of duality, in which residents were living in two worlds; the local world, and the tourist world. In the case of the Ciutat Vella district and the Sagrada Família neighbourhood, most participants agreed that they had to adapt to tourists and visitors and their impact on daily routines. In the Barceloneta neighbourhood, one participant explained the changes required to adapt to tourists. They explained that:

One of the most important impacts [on us] is to have to adapt to life with tourism. That people are here for leisure and you are at home trying to sleep and live, this is the most radical change here (OS RES).

Participants reported that this dual reality created feelings of annoyance and some degree of envy about the fact that the residents had to work, while tourists were enjoying leisure time in what they considered 'local territory':

...They come to enjoy themselves and we, the everyday people, get up to go to work, and so on... Think about it. You have to speak frankly, and explain everything. And speaking frankly annoys people. They come to enjoy themselves and we have to work and do our things... (OS RES).

A home/work versus leisure/holiday reality emerged in the same time and space which was simultaneously shared, and where both parts coexisted. Thus, tourism permeated all aspects of everyday life, which annoyed residents that had to adapt to the tourist reality over time. Nevertheless, tourism development was also regarded as a key economic sector of activity in Barcelona, and its contribution is analysed in the following section.

6.2.1.3. Contribution of tourism

One of the main objectives of tourism development is to increased economic development and employment opportunities and quality of life of residents (Ashworth & Page, 2011; Jurowski & Gursoy, 2004; Postma, Buda, & Gurgerell, 2017; UNWTO, 2018). This is the case in Santa Marta (Colombia), (Belisle & Hoy, 1980), North Wales (UK) (Sheldom & Var, 1984), Hawaii (Liu & Var, 1986), and Bakewell (UK) (Ryan & Montgomery, 1994), where residents recognised the importance of tourism in providing economic benefits.

In Barcelona tourism development has created new business opportunities, generating around 120,000 jobs, with a direct and indirect influence on its overall economic development (Turisme de Barcelona, 2013). All participants in this study agreed that tourism was an important economic activity, reflecting the Tourism Activity Report findings (2017) that tourism has a positive economic impact on accommodation, food and beverages, transportation, construction, commercial supply, and other professional activities (Turisme de Barcelona, 2013). One participant highlighted the economic benefits of tourism:

I think this [the importance of tourism] is something widely recognised, first because of the history and the characteristics of Barcelona, which is a very attractive city at an international level. Secondly, because tourism represents an important part of the city's economy, even though it's difficult to quantify it; according to the municipality, we could say it's about 16% of GDP of the city, or maybe more (FV RES).

And that is why:

The debate cannot be tourism or no tourism (FV RES),

Rather, the focus should be on how to improve the current situation, by managing the tourist pressure from the different stakeholders' point of view to ensure that their needs and interests are balanced by an inclusive and holistic approach, to achieve sustainable tourism and a better quality of life.

6.2.1.3.1. Quality of life

Increasing the quality of life of residents is the primary justification for developing tourism (Ashworth & Page, 2011; Jurowski & Gursoy, 2004; Postma, Buda, & Gurgerell, 2017; UNWTO, 2018). However, in destinations with a high level of tourist activity, this can lead to deterioration of physical resources, and the quality of interaction between the local community and tourists (Cooke, 1982). As a consequence, residents can perceive that their quality of life is negatively affected by tourism development (García-Hernández, de la Calle-Vaquero, & Yubero, 2017; Martín Martín, Guaita Martínez, & Salinas Fernández, 2018; Novy, 2018; Seraphin, Sheeran, & Pilato, 2018).

Negative perceptions, therefore, can arise from residential proximity to tourist areas in mature stages of development, when there is a high tourist ratio and when tourists are mostly international (Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997). This is supported in the current study, where all these conditions were found in the two districts where tourists and supply concentrate, namely Ciutat Vella and Eixample. Perceptions about the quality of life emerged as one of the most contested themes, defined very positively by the public and private stakeholders, and very negatively by the residents in areas with higher tourist pressure. In areas where tourism was not fully developed, residents had a more positive opinion. Turisme de Barcelona argued that tourism had contributed positively to the city and the quality of life of its citizens, including improvements in infrastructure, facilities, and services, such as museums, culture, and sporting events, adding to increased:

Knowledge about other cultures, the economic factor, the creation of wealth, the quality of life of the citizens and the infrastructure that they enjoy, such as the airport, the port, and the museums, etc. (TB Public-Private).

This opinion was shared by a Council participant, who stressed the importance of economic factors and their impact on indirect and induced effects:

With economic factors, including the creation of jobs... We are not speaking only about the traditional sector, so tourism is not just hotels – it's commerce, it's food and beverage, it's the financial activity, it's all the indirect and induced impacts of tourism that are very big. And prevalent elements, such as culture, establish the maintenance of cultural and artistic heritage of the city. Nowadays, without taking tourism into consideration,

with the data on the number of visits to the museums, this would be inconceivable (MB Public).

The Council recognised that tourism contributed the development and maintenance of cultural attractions and helped to increase the quality of life of the residents. However, participants in the focus groups contested this view, suggesting that tourism did not improve their quality of life. This perception may have been influenced by the type of participants in this study, previously defined as associated with a social representation or cluster group and sharing common views, values, beliefs and attitudes, thus having the characteristics of a social identity group (chapter 2 and chapter 5). These participants were very critical about the contribution of tourism, because they did not perceive any positive impacts of development taking place in their neighbourhoods, one commenting:

It all deteriorates more and more over time (XV RES).

Another participant in the same focus group echoed this sentiment:

It's all getting worse (XV RES).

One participant explained that they had been learning how to deal with tourism and organise themselves to cope with the increased number of tourists in their neighbourhood. This participant was very affected by the way tourism had developed and the narrative of the public and private sectors which only provide positive statements about the contribution of tourism, claiming that:

For us, tourism didn't contribute anything. Zero. Absolute zero. If it has served as anything, it's that we as an organisation now understand the negative impacts that it causes and to help learn to fight against them... And against it (tourism) (OS RES).

At a certain level of tourism development, when destinations reach their maturity, residents develop strategies to adapt to the presence of tourists. One of them is boundary maintenance, where residents create a boundary to avoid contact with tourists (Dogan, 1989), or fencing and resistance where residents protect themselves from the tourist pressure (Boissevain, 1996). Participants in this study said they perceived a deterioration of public space as one of the reasons for changing their behaviour and avoiding certain areas of the city. For example, the Rambla, a traditional promenade connecting the city centre with the old harbour, had changed to the point that residents do not visit it anymore and led to FAVB, with other social organisations, in 2017 organising a demonstration to symbolically 'occupy' the Rambla. The

demonstration protested about the lack of tourism management, the increase in the cost of renting apartments, the commodification of public spaces, the precarious labour market conditions, and to recover the city for the residents (Corporació Catalana de Mitjans Audiovisuals, 2017). The Council responded by developing a project to recover the Rambla with the aim of attracting residents to this iconic area (Ortega, 2019), because it has become a 'tourist territory':

There are areas in the Rambla that you cannot pass through, areas totally deteriorated. If you ask people, they don't come here anymore (XV RES).

The concentration of tourists in certain areas impacted on other areas, so stakeholders perceive that tourism development and its positive impacts were not fairly distributed. This is especially important for economic impacts, because it becomes a factor in increased conflict between the local community and the rest of the stakeholders (Park & Stokowski, 2009). While in the Sagrada Família neighbourhood and Les Corts district tourists concentrate around the main attractions, and there is a concentration of tourist-oriented commercial supply with souvenir shops, and bar and restaurant terraces, other areas do not benefit from the tourist demand, and complain that tourism does not contribute economically to their businesses. One participant noted:

... Tourism in this area is concentrated around the church [Sagrada Família], and very few people are able to get to the shops of this sector, and the sellers complain that they do not contribute... That it is a kind of tourism that does not contribute, and is very concentrated (SF RES).

Participants in the Sagrada Família focus group explained that the church was visited by more than 2.5 million tourists every year, which represented a total income in entrance fees of around €35m, reflecting the interest that tourism development generated for this area, and the city. In contrast, businesses complained that they did not benefit from tourist demand. This was also the situation in Les Corts district, where tourism was concentrated in the FC Barcelona stadium and museum:

From the traders' point of view, and their relationship with the neighbourhood, we can say that these tourists go around as if they have headphones on, pam, pam, pam... They go to the Barça museum, and that's it (LC RES).

These comments indicate that participants in Les Corts district mostly welcomed tourists because of the positive effects on consumption and the low concentration of accommodation and food and beverage supply in the area (see chapter 4). This area was at the early stages of tourism development, discovery, exploration, where residents embraced tourism as a way of increasing their quality of life. They fully accepted and warmly welcomed it (Ap & Crompton, 1993; Butler, 1980; Doxey, 1975; Smith, 1977; Noronha, 1979). Thus, tourists brought something new to the area that could make a positive contribution, if only there was a better distribution of the benefits that tourism development was bringing to their neighbourhood.

The development of new attractions requires implementation of a proper management system where all stakeholders can contribute in a collaborative way (Beeton, 2005; Choi & Sirakaya, 2006; Gursoy, Chi, & Dyer, 2010; Gursoy & Rutherford, 2004; Hunter, 1997; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Murphy, 1985; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011; Postma & Schmuecker, 2017; Yu, Chancellor, & Cole, 2011). Thus, empowering residents seems a key issue in developing more sustainable tourism (Boley, McGehee, Perdue, & Long, 2014; Cole, 2006; Scheyvens, 1999; Sofield, 2003), and can help to avoid major conflict between stakeholders' groups (Healey, 1998) by applying stakeholder theory where all stakeholders are included. This is important because tourism is not a charitable institution for the host area, but a business for which one is prepared, explicitly or implicitly, to make sacrifices (Krippendorf, 1987). Milford (1959) described these sacrifices in the case of Torcello (Italy), where the invasion of tourists spoilt it, damaging the place, and providing little cash in return.

In the Sagrada Familia neighbourhood the former Hospital de Sant Pau, a World Heritage modern art building is being rehabilitated as a tourist attraction. It connects the Sagrada Familia church with Avinguda Gaudí, a 20-minute walk through this pedestrian avenue. This was regarded as a threat to the local residents because it will only increase the pressure from tourists in:

The highest concentration of modernist buildings in Europe, so imagine how many people will come to see it all... (SF RES).

The excitement of the Council was not shared by some participants, who associated the project with the impacts that the tourists were having around the Sagrada Familia church. They feared the development would increase the number of tourists, bring a proliferation of bars and restaurants with terraces, and bring sightseeing buses, increase noise and air pollution, which could affect mobility, prices, and their quality of life. Residents had basically being excluded from decision-making about this new attraction:

...Thinking about the future, according to what they said, they will promote the use of the intersection between La Sagrada Familia and the Hospital de Sant Pau, and it will be even worse than it is now. I am not optimistic at all about this... (SF RES).

Participants were aware of the socio-cultural impacts of tourism. These were the most vulnerable people because the economic gains filtered through to only a few business owners that focused on tourism demand, so 'the direct benefits of tourism [appeared] to be concentrated in specific economic sectors, while the costs tend to be more diffuse' (Ashworth & Page, 2011, p. 11). This has important implications for Barcelona where tourist activity is concentrated in specific areas, and consequently the local community there have to adapt to the negative impacts of such developments. In conclusion, the public and private stakeholders perceived tourism as contributing to increased quality of life for residents.

As participants explained, during the 1990s at the beginning of tourism development they have embraced tourism. However, the current growth and exploitation of existing resources, with consolidation and mature stage of development, led residents to perceive tourism negatively. In this context, dual realities emerged, the tourists versus the resident, in which residents were forced to change their daily routines in order to adapt to the presence of tourists in their neighbourhood, which annoyed them.

6.2.2. 'The more, the better' strategy

Tourism development is becoming such an important issue that tourism destinations have to make informed decisions about the best way tourism can contribute to positive impacts, while minimising the negative ones. This is critical, especially in the development and maturity stages, where researchers have defined a threshold of carrying capacity, beyond which attitudes of residents become less favourable, and the development of tourism becomes less convenient for the destination and its stakeholders (Dietrich & García-Buades, 2009; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Mansfeld & Ginosar, 1994; Long, Perdue, & Allen, 1990; Pizam, 1978; Postma & Schmuecker, 2017; Smith, 1977; Williams, 1979). This is the moment when decision-makers have to decide about two contrasting policies; on one hand, limiting the number of tourists and therefore their positive and negative impacts which draw visitors' admiration, or continue developing tourism to increase its impacts and seek to become a service centre (Doxey, 1975; Smith, 1977). This is the dichotomy that the Council has faced since the beginning of tourism development in Barcelona, recognising that there are two contrasted views about tourism development. On the one hand, specific market segments can offer more return on investment

and certainty with high acquisition power. On the other hand, there is a permissive view, in which everyone is welcome in an environment that should reduce obstacles to attracting specific market segments. Barcelona has followed a more open, liberal approach, encouraged by the Council mostly being governed by liberal parties. According to one participant:

... Everyone is talking about... You know... If tourism is considered to be only an economic activity, some will bet on a higher acquisition power, so that is the tourist that comes and stays longer, spends more, that eats a lot, you know... More than in big hotels... That spends a lot in shops and attends some congresses or meetings, and so forth. This would be one of the possible lines to take, but it's compensated by the one that says, "no, no... We are a diverse society, and therefore, we have to invest in quality tourism", understood as quality in all the diverse segments we are working in. And therefore, we are interested in having youth hostels of high quality... (MB Public).

Delgado (2015) concurred with this view in the Ciutat Vella district there is an important concentration of tourists, a result of a lack of control, influenced by a vision of management that favours the city as a business. This type of management has serious consequences for cohabitation and the gentrification effect, with the expulsion of residents due to increased prices of goods and services in tourist areas (Saveriades, 2000; Stonich, 1998), and progressive transformation of the local commercial supply. Thus, research shows that the tourism industry can greatly affect the lives of the residents (Andereck, Valentine, Knopf, & Vogt, 2005), which is occurring in some of the districts of Barcelona and is a consequence of a *laisse-faire* approach:

... I's true that the political conditioning of having a majority that pushes for very liberal policies in everything to do with the economy carries a lot of weight, it's strong and decisive... (FV RES).

Lack of clarity about the direction and limits to tourism development as demonstrated in this study, leads to residents complaining about the impacts on their lifestyle and cultural values. This is the case of Sagrada Familia where participants criticised the public administration for not managing the situation and controlling its effects:

What does this mean? For example, the economy between activity and coexistence, and the tolerance or attitude of the Council towards this question, is very much *laissez-faire* and *laissez-passer*, in other words,

when you get to know through other neighbours that some renowned bars had an illegal storehouse. And the resident has to tolerate all the noise themselves. And then this is the indirect effect of tourism, and from the Council's point of view, too, because tourism is something that is working well, so there you go... (SF RES).

Because of these effects, locals observe and confront tourists within their own sphere of influence, either when using public services, such as transport, or visiting beaches, or shopping. The problem of this policy is that, in order to grow, the destination has to attract even more tourists and will have to adapt, one way or another, to the new level of growth. Without having alternative economic activities, it is more difficult to define limits of tourism development. As one participant explained, the development policy of the Council has important consequences in terms of impact:

One of the toughest controversies we've had for the past weeks with the municipality has been about the new Plan of Use for the Ciutat Vella. In a way, it condenses the problem, or exemplifies it, although the problem is not limited to the Plan of Use, far from it. But it does exemplify the idea that tourism is a source of income and we hang on to it as strongly as we can and then liberalise it, as much as possible, and we do anything possible to make them [the tourists] come and welcome them massively. Then this has an impact, primarily on specific areas of the city such as Ciutat Vella and Barceloneta. And what is the sense in that? It has an impact on cohabitation; it affects prices, the gentrification of certain suburbs, and the transformation of the commercial fabric, too (FV RES).

A liberal approach to tourism development in Barcelona is having important effects on residents' perceptions and attitudes to tourism. For example, the Plan of Use of the Ciutat Vella district has had strong opposition from the residents (chapter 5) who nicknamed it 'Plan of AbUse'. While the plan approved in 2013 aimed to create new hotels and accommodation facilities and new daytime licenses for bars and restaurants (Benavides, 2013), it allowed a more fluid liberal vision about development of tourist supply, where previously there was an interventionist and restrictive norm (Espiga, 2013).

Ciutat Vella is an area defined as saturated in the Strategic Tourism Plan 2010-2015 (Canet, 2013). Even the food and beverage organisation (Gremi de Restauració de Barcelona) opposed application of this new Plan of Use because they argued that there was enough

supply in this district (Barquero, 2013). This plan is another example of policy promoting tourism development from the top, without considering the needs and wishes of residents. However, the Council defended its implementation arguing that the district had at least a plan for use of spaces, although it recognised that it had been implemented too late:

... What you must accept is that we are one of the few cities that, not now, but historically, has had a plan of use for Ciutat Vella with certain restrictions. The shame is that this Plan of Use was not done, you know, years before the boom, right? (MB Public).

Resident participants perceived the occupation of public spaces as a direct attack on their quality of life, restricting their own use of spaces and making them very critical as evident in the following comment:

They are opening a musical bar there, and they have permission to use the whole terrace. And now with the new Plan of Use that permits musical bars, you see... Poor residents... (OS RES)

Consequently, the impacts of this liberal approach have been insufficient monitoring or supervision once the plan was implemented, and have had negative effects according to residents. These comments are consistent with Datzira-Masip's (1998) study that found tourism was an important economic activity in Catalonia often left to market forces, without any proactive and effective measures taken by public authorities. One participant claimed that liberal approach was controlled by the Council and the lobbies of the city:

The current problem is that, at the level of public administration, tourism is not only important; it's becoming a kind of monoculture. It's becoming the only horizon of activity, and of economic reactivation that the current government team contemplates, and beyond that, we can include also the city's elites (FV RES).

These comments reflected the participants' overall critical perception of tourism and its impacts. Their negative views could be attributed to three main factors; the fact that the Council encouraged the development of tourism through a liberal policy, which favoured private initiatives without taking into consideration the residents; the characteristics of the city that make Barcelona a very attractive destination, and the intensive marketing campaigns that promote Barcelona as a tourist destination.

6.2.2.1. Promotion of tourism

The promotion of tourism in Barcelona has been a key factor influencing its development over the last 25 years. Since 1993, Barcelona has been promoted by Turisme de Barcelona with a significant budget to promote tourism which has resulted in the development of a strong brand image for Barcelona as a tourist destination. This image and brand are recognised at both the domestic and international level and has attracted a growing number of tourists and visitors to the city every year:

One of the big strengths of Barcelona is its own brand as a city. And it's a very important asset at an international level to project ourselves to the world and to position ourselves (MB Public).

The image and brand of Barcelona has helped the city to increase its overall attractiveness. At a regional level, for example, Barcelona is becoming a brand concept with which some surrounding areas would like to be associated through a strategy that is promoted by Turisme de Barcelona and Diputació de Barcelona, the organisations in charge of the promotion of tourism in the territory (Datzira-Masip & Poluzzi, 2014). For Turisme de Barcelona, the tourist brand makes them proud of being envied by other urban tourist destinations in Europe, and all over the world, when they present the city in exhibitions and fairs:

The strength of the image, and of the Barcelona brand, is extraordinary. We are envied as a tourist destination, as well as for our brand strength (TB Public-Private).

How taxes are spent to promote tourism is also an important issue which is increasingly discussed by the different stakeholders involved in tourism. As analysed in chapter 4, in Catalunya, the tourist tax is a tax that tourists pay to stay overnight, and has been regulated by law since 2012. The funds raised through the tax are used mainly to increase the promotion of tourism (Carrera, 2013). This was a major concern for participants in this study, and they complained that even the tourist tax was used to promote tourism. They believed that it should allow the public administration to implement a more sustainable policy towards tourism development to minimise its current negative effects. Thus, the tax was not helping to improve the quality of life of the local community and manage the impacts of tourism development, as this participant argued:

It's about promotion. It's about promotion. The tourist tax... Only 5% will go to the neighbourhood. The rest is for promoting even more tourism (XV RES).

From the perspective of local community participants in this research, the promotion of tourism had helped to develop tourism in such a manner that residents could do nothing but resent the methods deployed to promote it and the policies that determined the way resources were allocated. Therefore, the current development of tourism in the city had important consequences for the way tourists increased pressure on the existing resources.

6.2.2.2. Tourist pressure

In urban areas, the concentration of tourism in certain location increased the sense of overcrowding affecting traffic and mobility, as tourism become a monoculture activity (García-Hernández, de la Calle-Vaquero, & Yubero, 2017; Horváth, 2018). Pressure can be understood as the proportion of activities occurring, such as tourists visiting an area, and the importance of the impacts they can have. Tourist pressure can be measured by two main ratios, namely Tourist-residents ratio (TIR), and Tourists-territory ratio (TDR) (Stonich, 1998). It is important to note that destinations can have different ratio outcomes depending on the different areas of study (Stonich, 1998). Therefore, the outcomes of each area can vary, depending on the number of tourists and their supply, including accommodation, food and beverages, and attractions. It is important to put into perspective the volume of tourists in some areas of Barcelona, and the pressure on residents and the overall development of the city. All participants saw tourist concentration as negatively affecting the way residents and stakeholders perceive tourism development in the city. To illustrate this issue, a participant highlighted how the pressure in certain areas was extreme:

Ciutat Vella last year received 9 million visitors for a District with only 100,000 inhabitants. This proportion indicates how high the pressure is and what the impacts are (FV RES).

This comments demonstrates that it is important to segregate the data into zones to reveal the real pressure on each area of the city in relation to the number of tourists (Ahn, Lee, & Shafer, 2002; Lime, 1970; Stonich, 1998). The Council also recognised the important volume of tourists and visitors to the city comparing it in football terms. The city was competing with Paris, London, and Rome as the most important tourist destination in Europe:

From the level of volume, adding the overnight tourists, and the ones visiting from the coast, it's true that the big data says that we will be, in football terms, more in the Champions League, than in the Premier League. And it's true, when we do benchmarking to find a solution to the problem of the tourist buses, we have to look at other cities that have the same level of important complexity, such as Paris, for example... That has parking for tourist buses that can park up to 60 buses under the Louvre museum, or in Rome, with the Vatican... (MB Public).

The Council was also aware that Barcelona had a limited and small territory and therefore the balance between tourists and residents was fragile. Moreover, it had a high population density and consequently it was imperative to take these factors into consideration when deciding how many tourists the city could accommodate, as the Council acknowledged:

I would say that Barcelona has some characteristics, a morphology, that makes it so competitive in terms of tourism, and at the same time, realises that the balance point, the relation between citizen and tourist, could be very fragile. Of course, what does Barcelona have? It's a small city because it covers an area of 10x10 km. In total, the municipal territory is 90-something hectares. Therefore, we are talking about a very convenient city to get around on foot. Therefore, it's a dense city, and that means that there are few big spaces, and if the spaces are small, that means that there is coexistence... (MB Public).

The fact that Barcelona has a relatively small territory, and a high population density can lead to friction among. This is why stakeholder theory is relevant, to increase stakeholders capacity to understand the tourist environment and the other stakeholders that are affected or can affect tourism. Therefore, it is necessary to find the right balance between tourism development and conservation of the quality of life and character of a destination, and its residents. Looking at measurement tools and applying zoning techniques is critical to achieving a clear picture of the levels of tourist pressure stakeholders experience in each area of the city. Therefore, finding the level of tourism development that can be accepted by all stakeholders involved in tourism must be a priority of decision-makers who implement policies. In order to fulfil this aim, it is important to examine the way destinations can measure tourism development and its impacts by applying carrying capacity theory and limits of acceptable change managerial tools, as discussed in the following section.

6.2.2.2.1. Carrying capacity

Carrying capacity is defined as the maximum number of tourists that a certain destination can accommodate or absorb (Young, 1973), and can be conceptualised as 'the level of use beyond which impacts exceed acceptable levels specified by evaluative standards' (Shelby & Heberlein, 1984, p. 441). In this approach, there is a maximum capacity that a population is able to accept and adapt to a given environment. At the same time, because different environments exist within a tourist destination, 'determination of a single carrying capacity is all but impossible' (McCool & Lime, 2001, p. 374). This is why different capacities with regard to the type of impact, visitors' experiences and satisfaction, and perceived crowding could be defined (Farrell & Twining-Ward, 2004; Graefe, Vaske, & Kuss, 1984). Social carrying capacity can be reached when the local community starts perceiving an undesirable level of social negative impacts from tourism development and they become more noticeable (Cooke, 1982; Dietrich & García-Buades, 2009; Long, Perdue & Allen, 1990; Mansfeld & Ginosar, 1994), and affect the destination's system (Jamal & Getz, 1995). Thus, as the destination receives more pressure from tourists, the consequences and impacts rise (Duffield, 1982; Smith, 1977; William, 1979).

Because it is difficult to define capacity with regard to the way residents perceive tourism development, Limits of Acceptable Change (LAC) was developed (McCool, 1994, 1995). LAC is a management tool that includes parameters that can be revised over time as conditions change, defining the acceptable amount of change that is adequate to stakeholders (Ahn, Lee, & Shafer, 2002; Farrell & Twining-Ward, 2004). Capacity can be determined by its physical or social domains. Physical carrying capacity includes physical parameters (Hall, 1974; Shelby & Heberlein, 1984). Social carrying capacity is more difficult to measure because it includes experience and attitudes parameters, and can be defined as the way tourists are welcome, the level of use that brings congestion and deter users and annoys residents, the level of community hostility to tourists, and the level of overcrowding and scarcity (Hall, 1974; Shelby & Heberlein, 1984).

As discussed earlier in this chapter, some participants in the focus groups considered that Ciutat Vella district had exceeded the maximum capacity to absorb tourists, reflected by the Barcelona Tourism Activity Report (2017). Importantly, the negative effect that concentration and saturation of spaces is having on the city was recognised by all stakeholders represented in this study. For Turisme de Barcelona, in some areas, saturation levels were high and that was a challenge for the city and affected the negative perceptions of residents towards tourism development:

The concentration (of tourism), but I don't know if it's really a consequence of tourism, or just the configuration of what's on offer [to tourists]. It's true that there are moments where it's oppressive and overwhelming... but this also happens in London and Paris, although this doesn't change the fact that it's a negative (TB Public-Private).

To measure carrying capacity, participants in Ciutat Vella district defined capacity in terms of the number of tourists by its territory, and the liberal approach to tourism development. They defined two important aspects to be considered; quantitative and qualitative. On the one hand, there was the quantity, or the number of tourists and visitors that Barcelona was receiving every day, in relation to the dimension of the territory (destination), which can be compared to the TDR ratio. On the other hand, there was the quality; 'the more, the better' policy promoted by the Council favoured the constant increase in tourism activity from its supply and demand, increasing the frequency of encounters between tourists and residents. Frequency of encounter is regarded as critical in assessing the way residents accept or reject tourism development and tourists within a destination (Ko & Stewart, 2002). Participants used the territory as a form to measure the carrying capacity of the local community's perceptions of tourism development in the Ciutat Vella district:

Basically, [it's] the volume and the dimension in relation to the territory and its space... And its capacity to absorb it. Principally, it's like this: There is a quantitative part, which is this particular issue, and a qualitative part in the sense that it favours the tourist business over the daily lifestyle of the residents in the District (XV RES).

This perspective sheds light on one of the issues that affects the carrying capacity of a destination, by establishing two factors that affect the perception and attitude of the local community towards tourism development. They are the volume of tourists (or dimension), and its relation to the territory, along with the capacity to absorb it, with regard to the frequency of interaction between residents and tourist. To measure this, the use of ratios is recommended. And because different realities exist, in Barcelona there is more than one capacity to be considered, depending on the area of the study. In certain areas, the concentration of tourists is very high while in other areas it is relatively low. This often manifests itself in exploitation of the neighbourhood and the destruction of local lifestyle. It was interesting how participants defined tourism development, comparing it with an extractive industry. One participant noted:

... The last fight was for the Plan of Use, that is clearly promoting tourism, because they understand tourism... It resembles the extractive industries, such as mining, that take a resource, exploit it, and then when it leaves, it leaves behind a destroyed territory. And this is what tourism is doing, exploiting the territory of Ciutat Vella, emptying out the existing mix and dynamic, and the local life, and then, when they [the locals] leave this place, it will become like Lloret de Mar (XV RES).

In conclusion, these comments highlight the need to find a balance between the different stakeholders' interests and opinions about the acceptable level of tourism development. Thus, it becomes critical to take into consideration the participants' opinions about the need to manage the level of pressure, especially in areas which received the highest number of tourists. This influences their perceptions, attitudes and behaviour to this phenomenon, as analysed in the following section.

6.2.3. The stakeholder relationship

The stakeholder relationship is important because it affects tourism development and therefore requires a holistic approach towards the stakeholders that are affected by or can affect tourism development. It is necessary to find the right balance between the different stakeholders' interests to achieve sustainable tourism development (Anh, Lee, & Shafer, 2002). Therefore, stakeholder theory can be helpful as a counterbalance to the conceptual 'buy low and sell high' philosophy of business (Campbell, 1997) and, in the case of this study, destinations. Consequently, finding the right balance between contrasted stakeholders interests can be achieved if a collaborative approach is implemented (Jamal & Getz, 1995; Sautter & Leisen, 1999), in which all interests are included and no one set of stakeholders have more influence over other stakeholders (Sautter & Leisen, 1999). However, a collaborative approach can be controversial because, as Sheenan & Ritchie (2005) argued, the more stakeholders included in the decision-making, the higher the risk of reconciling incompatible interests. Thus, it is critical to analyse how power and influence is distributed among the different stakeholders that can affect or are affected by tourism development, because it has an important role in the planning and policy decision-making arenas (Arntein, 1969). This is of critical importance because residents' support and participation in the decision-making is a key factor in successfully implementing sustainable tourism (Gursoy & Rutherford, 2004; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011; Yu, Chancellor, & Cole, 2011) the benefits can be fairly distributed (Choi & Sirakaya, 2006).

In this study, most of the complaints about the impacts of tourism came from resident participants, while public and private stakeholders were more positive about their relationship with them. Analysing how stakeholders interacted within each other is a key issue to better understand their perceptions, attitudes, and behaviour towards tourism development.

6.2.3.1. Residents versus private business

While private stakeholders perceived tourism development as an opportunity to develop their businesses, residents perceived it quite negatively. Thus, the interests of private businesses and residents seemed to be irreconcilable. While the private sector wishes to create wealth through using available resources to develop their businesses, the residents expected a more balanced approach to the use of resources and the way they were developed. In this study, as analysed in chapters 5 and 6, most participants representing residents were very critical of the way tourism had developed in Barcelona. They highlighted the Council's failure to maintain a proactive approach to the management of tourism development and its impacts. They were concerned about current tourism development, and the direction it had taken:

The problem is this specific way of managing tourist volume, and this highly speculative way of seeing the business of tourism, strongly dominated by the interest in making money quickly, on the part of the hotelier lobby. Where can people go? So, we concentrate them here, and we do everything here, and so on. Hence the attitude, 'after us, the deluge' [I do not care what happens after I have gone] (FV RES).

Interestingly, some participants suggested that the Council was pressured by strong lobbies, such as the hoteliers and transportation groups that were influencing public policies related to tourism development. For example, one participant, while explaining this situation, showed anger and disappointment about the way lobby groups from the private sector were influencing the public agenda in tourism. Residents felt powerless about how they influence the direction of policy to develop tourism, reflecting the degree of tokenism defined by Amstein (1969); while residents had some voice, they did not have the power to influence decision-making. Thus, this participant suggested that those lobbies were directing public policies in the sense that they:

Are governing at the whim of the hotelier lobby... (XV RES).

Turisme de Barcelona, as a public-private consortium, is represented by the Council and the private sector, and is highly influenced by the local hotel industry. This is one example of why

the residents perceived private stakeholders as having a significant influence over the decision-making and policy-making in developing tourism.

With regard to employment opportunities, in the Barceloneta neighbourhood, participants agreed that it was important to employ residents in local businesses. They stressed the need to work together with local authorities and private businesses to find ways to offer more opportunities for their young people that better reflected the neighbourhood's status. They were also convinced of the need to find solutions, using pressure tactics to force businesses to hire residents. In this sense, they thought that local businesses had a social responsibility towards their neighbourhood and therefore to hiring residents. As they explain:

... What happens is that we go to all the places that are opening, and we ask for a percentage of employment opportunities to be given to local residents. Some understand, and others do not (OS RES).

To find solutions for the local workforce, the Barceloneta neighbourhood created a local employment table that places public, private, and residents together in an endeavour to identify and foster opportunities for the young workforce of the neighbourhood. Sometimes they achieved positive results, where locals were 'gifted' job opportunities, while other times they did not, because they did not possess pre-requisite skills, such as conversational English:

The private sector has failed us, because it thinks about what [large] doors will open. We set up an employment table in the neighbourhood with the organisations, because there is a need to create employment, and we are going everywhere to ask for jobs. In Desigual, they closed the door on us. The Vela Hotel welcomed us. But in Desigual... (OS RES).

This demonstrates how local residents can influence private stakeholders in the way they interact and collaborate with residents. Taking a proactive approach, implementing participative and innovative actions, and working together for a common objective, had resulted in some positive outcomes and helped local residents find solutions to the local high unemployment rate. However, participants also felt that generally private businesses did not take the needs of residents into consideration, and when they did, it was thanks to the participants' association work in pressuring them to offer at least some opportunities and jobs to local residents. They explained that:

The private sector does not facilitate them. On the contrary, it puts up impediments (OS RES).

Such comments demonstrate residents' mistrust of the private sector because they created barriers to participation for residents who therefore did not have a good relationship with them. Residents perceived that private businesses were taking advantage of local resources to develop their businesses, while at the same time not employing local labour. This is why it is important to implement stakeholder theory, with the aim of increasing the level of collaboration and taking the needs and interests of all stakeholders into consideration to find solutions to the problems facing residents and private business in Barcelona.

6.2.3.2. Residents versus public administration

Participants representing residents were critical, upset and disappointed about their relationship with public administration. They argued that the Council's policy made it look more like a private organisation than a public administration are cited 'conflict of interests' in relation to tourism development. While Barcelona promoted Barcelona as a tourist destination, the Council had not actively managed tourism development. Its liberal approach to tourism, the large number of tourists' apartments and tourists visiting the city (Memòria de Sostenibilitat Turística, 2016) influenced this negative perception:

You know, there is a private managerial approach to public areas that is very illustrative of everything that comes afterwards. The municipality is not a public service... It's almost a private company (XV RES).

This was an important factor affecting the relationship between the residents and the Council and was influenced by the way public administration developed policies related to tourism and economic development. Council's failure to include residents' views and concerns in the decision-making process, made them very critical of and highly disappointed in their relationship with the Council:

They do not take us seriously, they only value tourism (OS RES).

This was also illustrated by the proposed new urban plan (at the time of this research) to improve the Barceloneta neighbourhood, which did not consider the demographic effects of its implementation:

The new Urban Plan was presented in February or March 2013, and we are still asking to see the demographic impact study that should be done in order to know the facts... But it doesn't exist. They don't know how many people left the neighbourhood. The Massala asked them, and the answer

was, 'we do not know, and we are not interested in knowing'. Literally, this from the Housing Department. If this is really the view of the Council, well... (OS RES).

Council's attitude did not help residents to perceive that they were an important part of the city's resources or a key player when defining and implementing policies. They felt excluded from Council's decisions about the way the neighbourhood should be developed and improved and made them angry and feel powerless. The unequal relationship between them and other stakeholders involved in tourism development resulting in increasing tensions and distress among residents affected by tourism (Burrai, Font, & Cochrane, 2015). This situation could have been addressed if Council took a more equitable and participative approach among all stakeholders involved in tourism development, especially the residents that have to adapt to tourism development and its impacts. To illustrate this, when participants in the Sagrada Familia neighbourhood were asked about their relationship with the public sector, they provided the example of a meeting where they were invited to talk about a mobility plan for the area, which included the coaches and sightseeing buses that drive around the church. All participants in the focus group snickered about the following comment made by one of them:

... After the meeting with TMB (Metropolitan Transports of Barcelona), I came out astonished, you know... they present some numbers in a way that says, '*don't* complain, because there are streets that are even worse [than *yours*]'... (SF RES).

Hence, residents perceived that public authorities did not take their views into consideration or address their demands, which resulted in an inequitable perception of this relationship. They exhibited signs of anger when asked about their relationship with other tourism stakeholders and complained about different treatment from the Council, compared to the tourists and visitors:

... So, we find ourselves in a situation that is simply for tourists, and the residents are annulled [they have no say] as a consequence of tourism! (OS RES).

Their views highlight the importance of including all stakeholders involved in tourism development in the decision-making process and power to influence, as a way of achieving more sustainable and inclusive development of tourism, as discussed in the following section.

6.2.3.3. Participation

As discussed above, it is essential to seek the opinion of residents about tourism development (Choi & Sirakaya, 2006; Gursoy, Chi, & Dyer, 2010; Gursoy & Rutherford, 2004; Hunter, 1997; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011; Postma & Schmuecker, 2017; Yu, Chancellor, & Cole, 2011). While stakeholders' participation is important, it is not sufficient to develop sustainable tourism, because empowerment is key to implementing successful policies (Cole, 2006; Scheyvens, 1999; Sofield, 2003) though balancing the different interests of stakeholders affected by or who can affect the development of tourism. Therefore, participation, collaboration, and empowerment had become one of the key issues for residents, because they recognised the importance of participating in public debate. Public and private stakeholders believed that the level of resident participation was good, while the residents advocated for a more open and effective way of participating. Turisme de Barcelona considered that residents were represented in some organisations, and therefore had a voice:

... We take into consideration both tourism and the local population in topics such as mobility, looking at the tourist and the resident. All topics are handled by the Consell del Districte [District Board] and with the residents. They're agreed on at the level of the District Board, from the bottom up (TB Public-Private).

While residents could participate in the public debate about issues affecting them, such as tourism development, it was also true that their voices and opinions were scarcely incorporated by public and private stakeholders when implementing policies and plans. This was perceived as tokenism (Arnstein, 1969). Therefore, the Council had developed the City and Tourism Council (see chapter 5), where all stakeholders are represented and can share ideas about the type of tourism that is compatible with the needs of different stakeholders. However, its resolutions are not binding and only serve to influence the decisions of the Council regarding tourism (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2015). This is the first step to achieving a more collaborative approach to decision-making and defining policy that could protect the local lifestyle and at the same time develop tourism. These contrasted perceptions about stakeholders' participation were influenced by the way each stakeholder consider themselves in tourism development.

Participants perceived that bottom-up decision-making was not always effective and therefore there was a need to reinforce public and private participation and collaboration and create a more equitable relationship among stakeholders involved in tourism. As one participant

explained, it was essential to incorporate participation and power to influence the decision-making process in the design of public policies:

There is a need for a debate/discussion, really.... An open one. That is to say, there are a series of representatives here at this table now, the neighbours, the Council, and the TTOO, the traders, the church committee that also has a role here, local tour guides. Here the format of the discussion has to open up and reach some agreement (SF RES).

Community participation is a dynamic concept that has to be adapted as the economic, social, and environmental perceptions change in the community (Getz, 1994). Taking into consideration all stakeholders involved in tourism development is one of the major challenges of stakeholder theory and its collaborative approach (Jamal & Getz, 1995; Sautter & Leisen, 1999), in order to achieve a balance between the different and sometimes contradictory interests of stakeholders (Sheenan & Ritchie, 2005; Sternberg, 1997). Moreover, in the case of Barcelona which is experiencing strong growth and change, the development of a dynamic and collaborative planning process could be especially crucial (Getz, 1994).

Participants believed that their opinion should be taken into consideration because they lived in the area and knew from experience the dynamics of key issues affecting districts, as well as their needs in maintaining or improving, quality of life. They therefore demanded changes to the way locals participated in public debate:

Participation should be done in accordance with the neighbours' associations, the commercial supply, and the different stakeholders, which are the ones that have a specific perception of the reality within the area (FV RES).

In conclusion, from the local community participants' point of view, it was critical to improve understanding of and participation of residents in policy-making by empowering them when implementing tourism policies. Council needs to address the fact that residents in this study perceived that they were being excluded from the decision-making process and that their relationship was inequitable. Thus, consultation with the community and the rest of the stakeholders affected by or who can affect tourism development is essential to achieve more sustainable tourism development.

6.3. Conclusion

Stakeholders' perceptions and attitudes to tourism development in Barcelona, with a special focus on residents, have been addressed in this chapter which provides an answer to the second research objective of this study. Each stakeholder had different or sometimes contested perceptions and attitudes to tourism development in the city. In general, residents were critical of tourism development, complaining about its impacts on their quality of life and the changes in their neighbourhoods. In contrast, participants from the Council and the private sector, had a more positive view, arguing that tourism contributed to the city's economic development and growth, an issue that even the residents recognised. However, there were contrasting opinions about tourism's contribution to quality of life with residents seeing tourism as a threat to their survival because of high concentration and saturation of spaces, where existing resources were mostly used for tourism, especially in the Ciutat Vella district and Sagrada Familia neighbourhood. In those areas, local community participants recognised that a threshold of capacity had been reached and perceived tourism development and its impacts negatively as they changed daily routines to cope with tourists. Capacity for those participants was regarded as the number of tourists by its territory, and frequency was regarded as the way tourists used the territory, which could be used to define the way destinations develop tourism and in which stage of development they are located.

Chapter 7: Analysis, findings, and discussion:

Adaptation process

7.1. Introduction

This chapter addresses the third and fourth research objectives by defining the way stakeholders behave towards tourism development and tourists, and by developing an integrated conceptual framework to explain how tourism development, its stages, and impacts affect stakeholder's perceptions, attitudes and behaviours. To achieve these objectives, this chapter focuses on how residents are adapting to the changes and transformation of tourism in their neighbourhood. Such changes can be an important source of psychological tension, and people need to adapt to the environment (Dogan, 1989). As discussed in chapters 5 and 6, in the areas of high tourism concentration where residents have to change their behaviour to adapt to tourists, they have more negative opinions of tourism development. This chapter also includes the development of the conceptual framework informed by the review of the literature and the results of the data analysed.

7.2. Socio cultural changes

People tend to adapt to change and adjust their lifestyle to new environments because they change over time in their perceptions of tourists, and how they react to increased tourism demand (Boyd & Singh, 2003). Thus, residents' attitudes are a dynamic concept (Perdue, Long & Allen, 1987). Adaptation can be defined as a process through which behaviour reduces dissonances, and increases harmony in individuals that need to adapt to the changes resulting from tourists in their environment (Ap & Crompton, 1993; Boissevain, 1996; Dogan, 1989). Consequently, tourism has an effect on the socio-cultural characteristics of residents, such as habits, daily routines, social lives, beliefs, and values (Dogan, 1989). Hottola (2004, p. 458) concludes that, 'in the long run, the process tends to lead to a kind of equilibrium, adaptive or oppositional', in the case of destinations where tourism has a long tradition, and is an important economic sector of activity (Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997; Saveriades, 2002). The following section reviews the changes that residents in Barcelona experienced in their behavioural patterns to cope with the transformation in their neighbourhood.

7.2.1. Change in behavioural patterns

In this study, participants were those most affected by tourist pressure in their neighbourhood which had a direct effect on how they reacted to tourism; the higher the tourist pressure the more negative were their reactions. Consequently, participants' behaviour towards tourists indicated that the destination had reached a threshold of capacity for tourism development (Butler, 1980; Dietrich & García-Buades, 2009; Doxey, 1975; Long, Perdue & Allen, 1990; Manfield & Guinosar, 1994; Noronha, 1979; Postma & Schmuecker, 2017; Shaw & Williams, 1994). However, as participants of Les Corts district demonstrated, in areas of the city where the level of tourism was low, participants did not change their daily routines because of tourists. This shows the difference in residents' behaviour depending on the stage of development, as well as the carrying capacity and limits of acceptable change. Thus, zoning seems critical to better understand the way stakeholders perceive tourism and its impacts (Lime, 1970; Stonich, 1998; Ahn, Lee, & Shafer, 2002).

In the most visited areas, resentment and friction emerged as a consequence of tourism development, the growing number of tourists the city was welcoming, and the dimension of the territory in which tourists concentrated. For the participants, friction was a product of an attitude underpinning reciprocity. That is, if tourists did not respect locals, then tourists did not deserve to be respected.

7.2.2. Local community adaptation strategies

By interacting with tourists on the streets and in stores, residents tended to modify their patterns of behaviour in response to changes in their personal lives. Moreover, by trying to avoid areas frequented by tourists, they realised that some aspects of community life had deteriorated to the extent that in some cases locals changed their relationships with friends and relatives (Rothman, 1978). Overall, most of the behaviour to cope with tourism development show that adaptation, in one way or another, will occur, and what is important is the way in which individuals and societies adapt to the new environment.

The behaviour of participants defined in this study emerged from the analysis of data collected. It represents the reactions of participants at a specific moment in time, taking into account the stage of development and carrying capacity limits. As discussed in chapter 2, other authors have explained the behaviour of residents in relation to the stages of development (Ap & Crompton, 1993; Doxey, 1975) which is relevant to this case study where a continuum of strategies is defined, from relatively less important to relatively more important, following

development stages, as shown in Figure 7.2. In this study, participants identified six behaviours to adapt to tourism development, namely embracement, adjustment, protection, organised protest, aggression, and withdrawal (Figure 7.1).

Figure 7.1. Forms of adaptation to the tourist environment

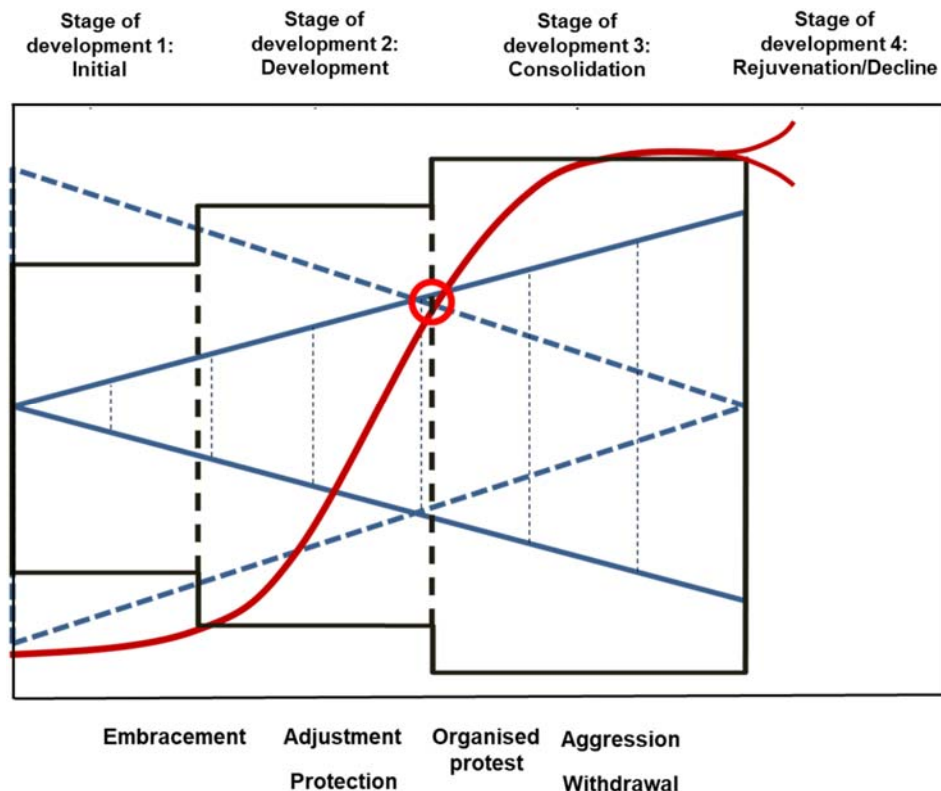
Forms of Adaptation to the Environment

- **Embracement.** Residents feel proud of their culture and environment that is appreciated by tourists, which increase their self-esteem about the life-style of local culture.
- **Adjustment.** Change of daily life activities and consumption pattern (places and itineraries) to avoid tourist crowds
- **Protection.** Reaction in change behaviour from external factors: accommodate their houses to avoid acoustic pollution produced by tourists
- **Organised protests** and demonstrations against the development of tourism, and the presence of tourists, which occupy the spaces and use resources
- **Aggression,** resentment and friction towards the tourists, to make them aware of your presence
- **Withdrawal.** Leave the area or district because the tourist pressure is too high

As Figure 7.2 shows, in the initial stages residents embraced tourism as a new activity that could increase their quality of life, as well as improve their self-esteem, echoing euphoria (Doxey, 1975), and embracement (Ap & Crompton, 1993). As tourism develops over time, when the destination reaches the development stage, residents start implementing adjustments to cope with the increase in the number of tourists and its supply, echoing apathy (Doxey, 1975), and tolerance (Ap & Crompton, 1993). Residents tend to protect themselves from the intrusion of tourists and the subsequent need to share local resources, echoing annoyance (Doxey, 1975), adjustment (Ap & Crompton, 1993), retreatism (Dogan, 1989), and hiding (Boissevain, 1996). As tourism further develops and reaches the consolidation stage, friction and resentment increase and residents start protesting and organising demonstrations against the changes that tourism development has brought to the destination, echoing boundary maintenance (Dogan, 1989), and fencing, cover resistance and organised protest (Boissevain, 1996) strategies. At the consolidation stage, when mass tourism is fully

developed, friction is at its highest, making residents annoyed, showing aggressive behaviour to express their anger about the way tourism has taken over the destination resources, echoing antagonism (Doxey, 1975), resistance (Dogan, 1989), and aggression (Boissevain, 1996). The last strategy is to withdraw from the areas where tourists concentrate (Ap & Crompton, 1993).

Figure 7.2. Forms of adaptation within stages of development



Strategy 1: Embracement

As discussed in chapter 6, focus group participants described how Barcelona's residents embraced tourism during the 1990s. They enjoyed meeting tourists because it showed that the city could offer resources and attractions that interest to them. In the Ciutat Vella district, one participant noted:

A long time ago, I was commenting to a friend that I used to really like to find tourists [to talk to]. For example, in the 'Festes de la Mercè' [festival]... They acted as a kind of mirror... And you think, "yes, it's true that Barcelona is a very beautiful city with strong traditions, the Castellers, the Gegants..."

and when you see them with their faces like that you think, “yes, of course, it’s true that Barcelona is really great” (XV RES).

Participants were proud that tourists at that time showed them that the city’s attractions and traditions were interesting which they as locals had taken for granted. This made them feel proud of their city and increased their self-esteem about the place in which they were living. However, as tourism grew, it spread through the city and increased pressure on certain areas and attractions.

Strategy 2: Adjustment

Adjustment is the behaviour that residents undertake to adapt to the increased number of tourists. Residents begin to change their behaviour in order to reduce the conflict that the presence of tourists produced in their neighbourhood. The adjustments were a consequence of the presence of tourists and the need to share existing resources with them, which reflects the dual realities the destination and its stakeholders were facing, as analysed in chapter 6. This is defined as apathy by Doxey (1975), and tolerance by Ap & Crompton (1993), although in the case of Barcelona was not exactly the same. Adjustment included two main behaviours, namely changing places to visit including shops, and bars and restaurants, and changing itineraries to go from one place to another.

In the Ciutat Vella district and the Sagrada Familia neighbourhood, participants explained that they consistently tried to avoid places crowded with tourists. They agreed that the first step in adapting was to change the places to which they went, including attractions and services. As a consequence, avoiding certain places affected the character and ambiance of the city. Participants expressed a high level of anger when explaining how they avoided places because they did not do so voluntarily, but by force, reflected in their increasingly negative perceptions about tourism taking over their neighbourhood. For example, one participant explained with a high degree of resignation and resentment how they missed those places and the tranquillity and local character, which had now been lost:

They were places where I used to feel comfortable – you always came across someone you knew (XV RES).

This participant described how these changes affected the way that they used space, as well as experienced their own tradition:

Yes, [I'm] avoiding places. Going shopping at the Boqueria, for example...
In the Rambla, occasionally you would bump into someone that you knew... Not anymore (XV RES).

A sense of nostalgia was also felt when explaining how the Rambla, a promenade traditionally occupied by locals, was today dominated by tourists. As a result, most of the commercial supply had become tourist-oriented and residents no longer using this promenade. As described in chapter 6, the Rambla, an area with 100,000 inhabitants, receives up to nine million tourists. This again demonstrates that zoning is critical to relieve the pressure that each area of the city is experiencing in relation to tourism (Ahn, Lee, & Shafer, 2002; Lime, 1970; Stonich, 1998). Today, the Rambla had become such a well-known tourist attraction that the FAVB with other social organisations organised a demonstration to symbolically 'occupy' the Rambla to recover this iconic promenade for the residents (Corporació Catalana de Mitjans Audiovisuals, 2017). However, participants in this study tried to avoid it as much as possible, and when necessary consciously 'hide themselves' by manoeuvring through the narrowest points of the streets:

The Rambla is a very clear case. It's a river that you have to cross at the narrowest point. It's like something that burns you (XV RES).

This sense of nostalgia and loss was mixed with the reality that those places with a high presence of tourists had been transformed into tourist places because locals did not recognise their own traditions and heritage anymore and Barcelona became a corporation catering to tourist demand. Thus, participants' behaviour was influenced by how traditional services had become increasingly focused on tourist demand. Tourists have specific needs, and usually provide greater economic capital and by extension prosperity, compared to locals:

Of course, sometimes I would like to go to *Cal Maño*, a specific place, and it's full of tourists. It's impossible to go there. On the other hand, you try to avoid going to a bar for a drink, you avoid spending time and money in the neighbourhood, and in the leisure areas, because prices are too high for us here (OS RES).

Changing itineraries to avoid tourist areas was the second change in the behaviour of participants in this study.

There was a sudden need for locals to plan in advance a specific itinerary to limit the degree of tourist interaction. These changes reduced the frequency of local involvement and spending:

I would like to point out something. It's not only the places that you avoid,
but also the lengths that you have to go to in order to avoid those places...
Just in order to avoid them (XV RES).

In conclusion, under adaptation behaviour, two types of adjustments emerged from the interviews: changing places to go, and changing itineraries, as a reaction to tourist pressure in these areas of the city.

Strategy 3: Protection

Protection refers to the way residents try to avoid interactions with tourists by creating boundaries between residents and tourists (Dogan, 1989), or fencing (Boissevain, 1996). Mordue (2001) discovered how the residents had changed the way they use internal spaces in their houses to avoid the intrusion of people visiting the destination. Residents moved their living rooms to the other side of the house, away from the street, in order to maintain the kind of private spaces that cannot be observed by the tourist gaze. In the case of old Yapese, Mansperger (1995) illustrated how residents felt offended when tourists did not follow local customs, or when they were not quiet. Locals become 'very annoyed when tourists wander off the trail and intrude upon their personal living areas to take photographs' (Mansperger, 1995, p. 89-90). This illustrates the way tourism influences local cultures and changes places because of the invasion of personal space, when residents feel overwhelmed by their number or behaviour.

In Barcelona, participants explained that they protected themselves from external influences, such as the noise and air pollution produced by tourist activity in the streets. Moreover, the inconvenience caused by tourists residing in tourist apartments directly influenced their intensity of self-preservation. As one participant explained, what made them angry was when they had to make changes to the way they were living, including changing the organisation of their house. For example, participants explained how they had to close the windows and turn on the fan or the air conditioning, to avoid the noise emanating from tourists day and night in the street. Noise from outside, especially in summer was one of the most disturbing aspects that annoyed them the most:

The noise. At this time of year, you like to read quietly, relax with the windows open, because you want to let some air in... Now, I have to close the windows, and use the fan... Something that I didn't have to do before. The next step will be that you will have to buy an air conditioner because there is no other way of cooling the place in summer (XV RES).

Residents were also irritated by the noise of tourists staying in tourist apartments:

You have to accommodate your home to avoid external noise. When you start having problems, you enter with disputes with the proprietors. We have already experienced that (OS RES).

The protection strategy was an example of the way residents learnt to respond to the situations created by the development of tourism in their neighbourhood.

Strategy 4: Organised protest

Residents are reacting to tourism development, and to the increasing number of tourists, by organising protests and demonstrations (Boissevain, 1996; Colomb & Novy, 2017; Koens, Postma, & Papp, 2018). The residents that are more active in Barcelona are those organised in associations, especially the ones that are situated in the tourist zones. Participants in this study proudly discussed several protests that they undertook against tourism development. As discussed in chapter 4, two main events occurred in 2013, a campaign to make the tourists aware of the impacts that they were having on the residents and their environment, and the demonstration against the approval of the new Plan of Use, which took place during the data collection period (see Figure 4.20 and 4.21). In the Barceloneta neighbourhood, participants were also proudly explained the way they became organised to fight against a policy that did not favouring residents' interests. They remembered the important achievements of their organisation in having a voice on issues that were affecting them, explaining:

What La Ostia has achieved through our battles as a neighbourhood was fortunate, not in order to gain rewards, but sometimes, after so much fighting, why not? Of course, it's a learning process. The resistance of the neighbourhood with the model that we have has been thanks to the continuous fight for more than eight years (OS RES).

Fight in the form of protests and awareness campaigns helped residents to acknowledge the negative impacts of tourism. Participants explained the learning process about tourism and its

impacts and how residents could influence public administration and private businesses. They recognised that through their fight and resistance, it had been possible to increase residents' awareness and influence decision-makers about issues affecting them as a neighbourhood:

The constant and unstoppable fight of La Ostia has finally awakened the residents' consciousness in terms of trying to collaborate to fight... And the word is fight... With head-on, face-to-face confrontation... Nearly body-to-body... With the public sector (OS RES).

Participants defined the sense of community that they envisage to maintain their neighbourhood as a good area to live, because they did not want to become a tourist area dedicated to tourist activity without considering the needs of residents. This attitude and behaviour had a relatively positive effect on the neighbourhood and its residents.

Strategy 5: Aggression

Aggression is one of the strongest behaviours adopted by the residents in the context of friction in host-guest interactions. The need to share available resources has been highlighted previously by several authors as an important element of increasing resentment and friction among residents (Butler, 1974; d'Amore, 1976; Noronha, 1979), resulting from 'tourist intrusion' and 'competition for resources' (d'Amore, 1976, p. 233). Resentment also arises when residents do not benefit from or like the development taking place at a destination (Butler, 1974; Doxey, 1975; Forster, 1964; Noronha, 1979). Aggression is also identified by Boissevain (1996) and Doxey (1975) in the form of antagonism, and Dogan (1989) in the form of resistance. However, resentment is also a matter of perception between the conflicted interests of the stakeholder groups involved in tourism development. Consequently, the concentration of tourists in certain areas results in resentment and friction among residents about the places that they once enjoyed but now have to be shared, with or mainly used by tourists. Council recognised the important impact that it was having on the residents:

And for this reason, I emphasize what I said previously... That it's just the way it is... And, so, the capacity for friction between tourist activity and the populace is very high (MB Public).

Furnham (1984) demonstrates that residents in large cities can display aggressive, unhelpful, and discourteous behaviour towards tourists in their neighbourhood. While few participants explained their experiences in reacting aggressively towards tourists, it was recognised as one of the practises of some individuals in adapting to a new environment. Participants were

not satisfied with their behaviour, explaining it with a degree of resignation and a high sense of disappointment and anger. They felt overwhelmed by the tourists, and explained it as a consequence of the pressure they were experiencing, both from the number of tourists, and from the changes that tourism development produced in their neighbourhood. One participant discussed that when they were in the narrow street of Montcada, they became increasingly upset with the tourists until they insulted them and at certain times in crowded places they walked with their elbows high and pushed tourists to create space to pass through:

Listen, I go to the swimming pool on Sunday mornings around 10:30 in Montcada Street, and on that day, there isn't the person that makes the tourist stand in queues for the Picasso Museum, and I have to go like this with my elbows out like this so that they know I'm there and they can hear me [and I can pass through] ... Basically, in Montcada Street, and in the Born, you can't get through... There is no way. You push them away, or there is no way through (XV RES).

The high level of pressure from tourists in public spaces had a negative effect and irritated residents. There was growing irritation and anger associated with streets being occupied by tourists, affecting their personal space, and disturbing their daily activities. As the following participant identified, they converted attitude into action to protect themselves, as a sign of protest and reaffirmation of local pride which provoked general laughter among participants in the focus group:

What I see is that I go out into the streets and I find myself getting more and more upset until it gets to the point that I insult them [the tourists]... And I arrive at Barceloneta in a very bad mood... I insult and insult them, and it comes from the soul... And I think that there are a lot of people that are becoming tense... But they don't know how to channel it (XV RES).

As these comments demonstrate tourist concentration, pressure, and overcrowding produce aggression in some individuals. Participants identified up to four actions that show aggressive behaviour including insulting, pushing, slapping, and putting their elbows out to generate personal space.

Strategy 6: Withdrawal

Withdrawal is the final strategy identified in this study, and is one of the most difficult decisions an individual has to make because it is never easy to leave a place, especially if a person has a feeling of belonging to a community. One factor affecting the way residents adapt to external influences is the concept of territoriality and personal space (Knox, 1978), which can directly impact on the outcomes of the encounter between host and guest. And so, the location of hotels, tourist attractions, and transportation routes can have a major impact on resident attitudes (García-Hernández, de la Calle-Vaquero, & Yubero, 2017; Knox, 1978).

The reactions that some participants described in this study resembled annoyance and antagonism (Doxey, 1975). Withdrawal was also identified by Ap & Crompton (1993) and can be defined as gentrification, in which traditional residents are displaced by new types of residents, which can have positive or negative effects (Shaw, 2005). In Barcelona, for example, the process of gentrification in the Ciutat Vella district in the 1990s, saw residents from other areas of the city returning to their ancestral homes in Ciutat Vella, and most of the houses in the Born and Rivera areas were renovated. The process of renovation and transformation had an important effect on the characteristics of this area by increasing the gentrification process. Some residents decided to leave the area because the presence of tourists produced a gentrification process, substituting permanent residents with tourists. As one participant explained:

But, you know, with all the chaos that there is [as a result] ... They have already left... the ones that could...they have already left the Ribera (XV RES).

As discussed in chapter 5, another example was 'urban regeneration' (Shaw, 2005, p. 169) of Barcelona in the 1980s, with the implementation of strategies focused on transforming the urban centre (Vicario & Martínez Monje, 2005). This had an important impact on the gentrification and displacement of the working-class and poorer residents, because of the shift from manufacturing to service-sector economic activity (Atkinson & Bridge, 2005). Consequently, as discussed in chapters 5 and 6, in Barcelona this resulted in two different types of change. That is, one type that was imposed, such as an increase in rent and the price of goods and services and one type that was more voluntary and influenced by the level of tourist saturation, the crowdedness, and the noise, which annoyed residents to the point where the only solution was to withdraw. Another example was that participants perceived a deterioration of public spaces because tourists made them avoid using those spaces, which

was an important behavioural changes that residents adopted to adapt to tourism in their neighbourhoods. One participant described how residents from Barcelona visited Ciutat Vella district and particular areas where tourists concentrate less frequently:

And you realise that more and more people are coming here less often,
and they try to avoid the places with more tourist concentration (XV RES).

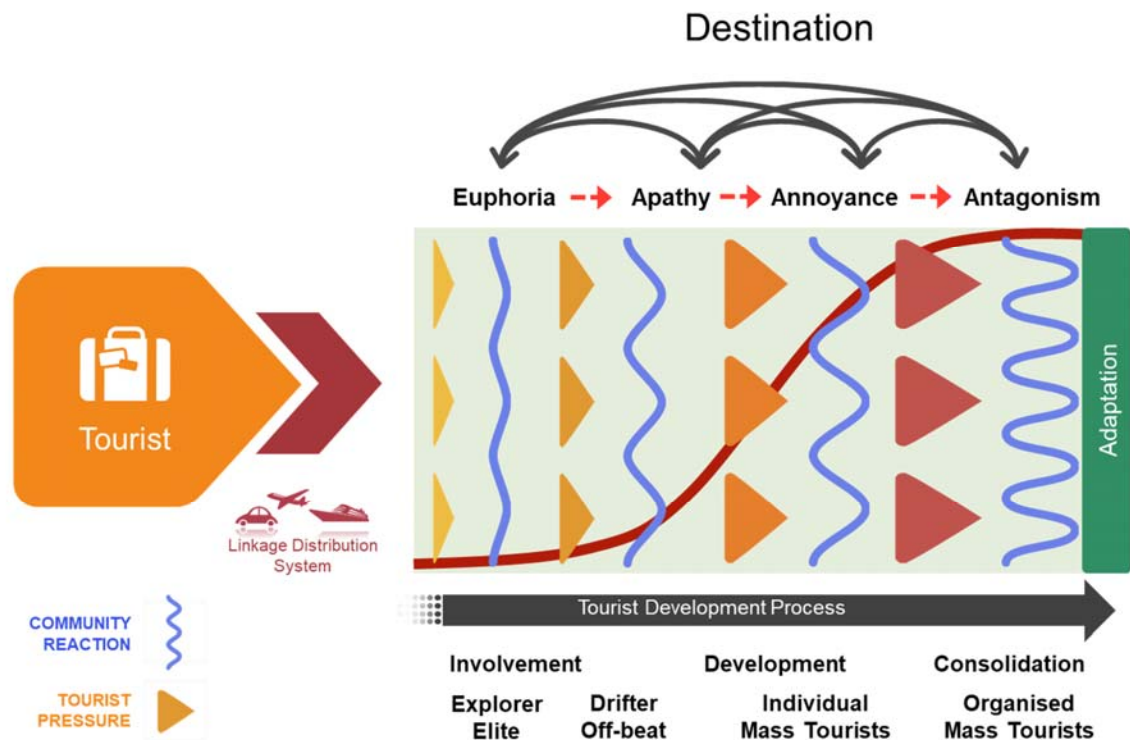
In the gentrification process, some individuals cannot or do not want to make more effort to adapt to the tourist environment. In this context, they react in the most radical way – emigration to less tourist-orientated areas.

7.3. Applying the conceptual framework in Barcelona: IPAT (Interaction Process of Absorbing Tourists)

The conceptual framework has emerged from the review of the literature and the results of the analysis of the data collected in this study. As developed in chapter 2, Figure 7.3 presents the conceptual framework as a way of better understanding the development of tourism and its implications for local stakeholders, especially from the residents' perspective. It combines stakeholder theory, life cycle theory, and carrying capacity theory.

Figure 7.3 shows that as the tourism development process increases, destinations pass through the development stage, and the maturity stage. In those stages, because the pressure from tourists will be higher than in the initial stage, local community reaction can be more negative than in earlier stages. Therefore, as the pressure from tourists increases, it increases the reaction level from the local community. Table 2.1 shows the factors and impacts that influence each stage of development, in which impacts are bigger as tourism develops. Consequently, as the development of tourism increases, impacts increase, and the community reaction also increases.

Figure 7.3. A Destination's Interaction Process of Absorbing Tourists (IPAT)



The conceptual framework has defined two major concepts that focus on the local community's perceptions, attitudes and behaviour towards the development of tourism, namely Community Reaction and Tourist Pressure. The conceptual framework includes the concept of saturation or density as the degree of physical space occupancies, or the area related to tourist activities, and penetration or the number of tourists in relation to the local community (Hills & Lundgren, 1977; McElroy, de Albuquerque, & Dioguardi, 1993). Two ratios can be applied here, namely Tourist Intensity Ratio (TIR) which measures the percentage of tourists to residents and Tourist Density Ratio (TDR) which measures the number of tourists to land area (Stonich, 1998).

Research shows that what is critical, in terms of the resident behaviour towards tourism, is the way that tourists visit and occupy the spaces once used and occupied by the local community. The way stakeholders interact with visitors and their relationship with them is critical because the outcome of the encounter can determine the future of the relationship.

To measure the capacity of a destination to absorb tourists, two main concepts are developed, namely Intensity of Reaction and the Frequency of Interaction. Intensity is similar than TDR ratio. However, TIR ratio was not used in this study, because Barcelona is considered to have

a high level of population density. However, introducing TIR ratio is included as a suggestion for future research. Figure 7.4 shows how the intensity and frequency are represented, wherein the number of waves, and their width, will depend on the level of tourism development within a destination.

Figure 7.4. Community reaction towards tourism

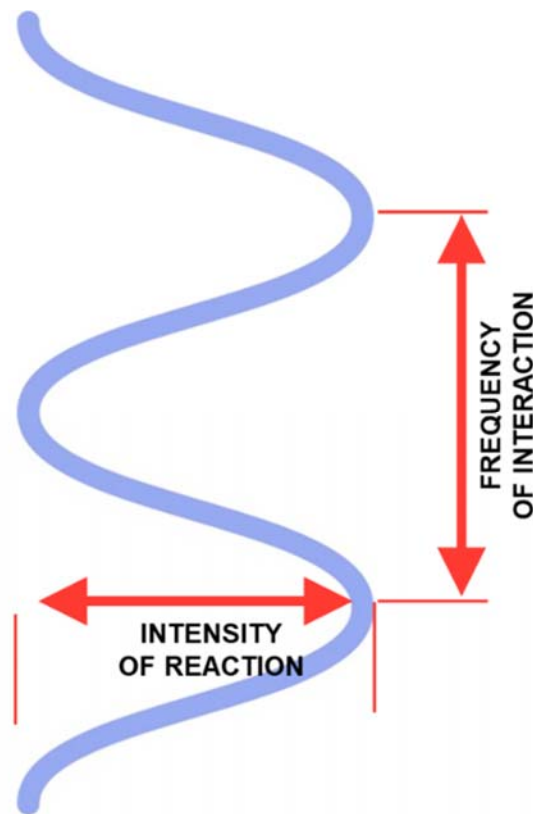


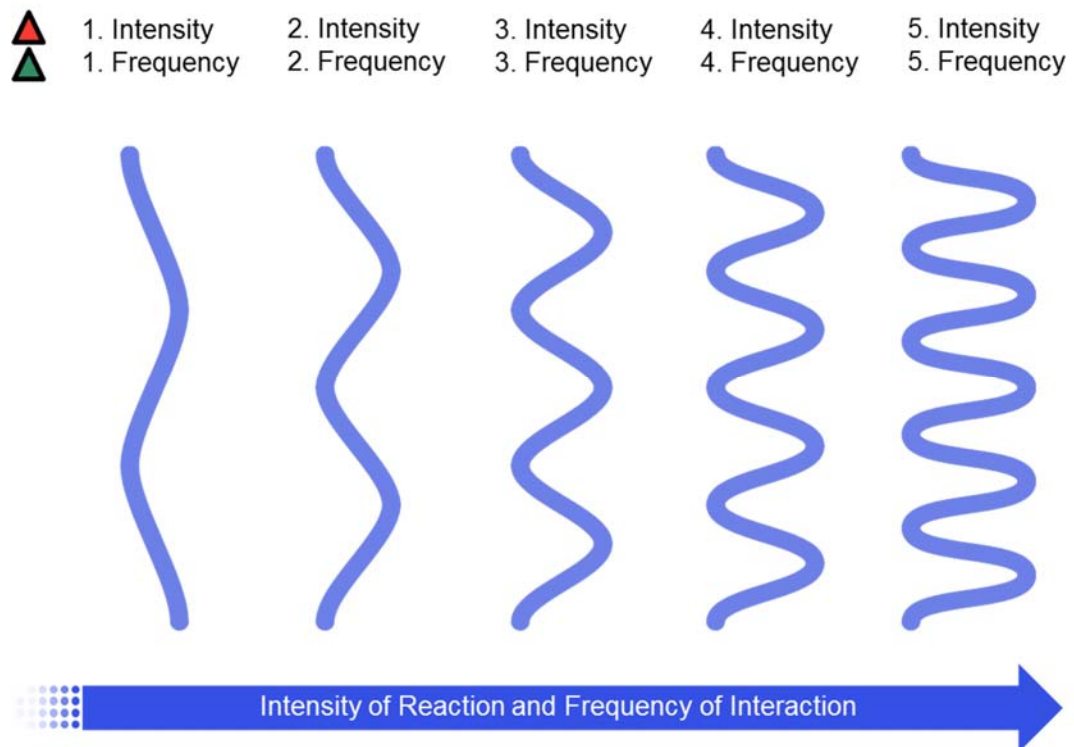
Figure 7.4 is the basis for applying a framework to measure the level of tourist pressure, and the capacity of the residents to adapt to tourists in different stages of development. To achieve this end, and based on the literature review and the findings of this study, two ratios have been developed; Intensity of Reaction (Figure 7.4), and Frequency of Interaction (Figure 7.5).

To conceptualise the implementation of the conceptual framework, Figure 7.4 shows a basic scenario example, including a similar increase in both parameters, resulting in a similar Intensity of Reaction and Frequency of Interaction code level. However, there are multiple possible scenarios that are shown in Appendix H.

As Figure 7.5 shows, the waves increase proportionally in the number of wave curve, and the width of the wave. A coding system is used to define five levels of community reaction to tourism development, consistent with the life cycle theory and carrying capacity theory. For

example, an intensity of 1 and a frequency of 1, is defined as having one wave and a narrow width, and an intensity of 2 and a frequency of 2, is defined as having two waves with a larger weight, successively up to the maximum code level. In this way, the conceptual framework develops different scenarios, depending on the level of the Intensity of Reaction, as well as the level of the Frequency of Interaction.

Figure 7.5. Basic scenario: increase intensity and increase frequency



Overall, the conceptual framework defines the way residents interact with tourists and how this interaction can be measured in an objective, concise, and practical way, showing the level of reaction of the local community towards tourism development and its impacts.

7.3.1. Intensity of Reaction

The Intensity of Reaction ratio is based on the TDR ratio (Stonich, 1998), as a way to condense, in a measurement method, the life-cycle stages of development and carrying capacity theory. In the case of this research, and due to the limited available data disaggregated per district, tourist overnights will be used. Figure 7.6 shows how the ratio is applied in this study. The tourist overnights per day, divided by the available space, divided by 100.

Figure 7.6. Example of the Intensity of Reaction ratio

$$\text{Intensity} = \frac{\text{Tourist overnights}}{\text{Space}}$$

In the case of Barcelona, the Intensity of Reaction ratio uses the statistical data presented in chapter 4 (Table 4.3). Figure 7.6 shows that there are 45,164.5 overnights per day, divided by sq. km. (101.4) giving a result of 445.4. Finally, the result is divided by 100, giving 4.4 (Figure 7.7).

Figure 7.7. Intensity of Reaction in Barcelona

$$\text{Intensity} = \frac{45,164.5}{101.4} = 445.4 \div 100 = 4.4$$

By applying the zoning technique (Ahn, Lee, & Shafer, 2002; Lime, 1970; Stonich, 1998) and looking at Ciutat Vella district, for example, the result is very different. The district has 13,094.7 overnights per day. This divided by 4.3 sq. km. is 3,045.2, which divided by 100 is 30.4 (Figure 7.8).

Figure 7.8. Intensity of Reaction in Ciutat Vella district

$$\text{Intensity} = \frac{13,094.7}{4.3} = 3,045.2 \div 100 = 30.4$$

These results show the difference between the level of intensity in Barcelona compared to one of most visited districts. In the analysis and discussion of chapters 5 and 6, participants in Ciutat Vella district perceived tourism development and its impacts as negatively affecting their quality of life. This was why they considered that their neighbourhood was reaching a threshold in which tourism was no longer perceived as positive, and carrying capacity levels were surpassed. Thus, taking into consideration the opinions of Ciutat Vella district

participants, it can be defined that a ratio of Intensity of Reaction over 30 is relatively high with regards to the life-cycle theory and stages of tourism development. This explains why Ciutat Vella district can be defined as starting the consolidation stage, in which carrying capacity threshold is reached (see Figure 2.5).

Building on that argument, Intensity of Reaction code can be developed, including different levels in relation to the stages of tourism development. If 30 or over can be defined as reaching the beginning of the maturity/consolidation stage, more than 40, for example will reach the end of this stage, and can be further developed in a decline or rejuvenation stage. Thus, the code can be developed by dividing it into proportional levels, in this case by five levels. Each level can have intervals of 10, from 0 to 10, from 11 to 20, from 21 to 30, from 31 to 40, and over 41 to define the intensity of reaction level from a local community perspective, as shown in Table 7.1. Therefore, the code is developed according to the stages of development defined in Table 2.1 and Figure 2.5, in which an Intensity of Reaction of 1 means that the destination is in its initial stages of development and starting to develop tourism. As tourism is developed, the level of Intensity of Reaction also increases, and is associated with being higher level code, until the consolidation stage where tourism is fully developed and the level of intensity could be very high, with a correlative code of 5, the maximum, which would be the result of having an Intensity of Reaction higher than 41.

Table 7.1. Intensity of Reaction Code

IPAT code	Intensity of the Reaction ratio
1	1 - 10
2	11 - 20
3	21 - 30
4	31 - 40
5	41 +

A comparison between the results of the ratio and Table 7.1 can provide an idea of the importance of tourism development and its impacts depending on the area and number of tourists occupying such an area. Thus, Barcelona as a whole has an Intensity of Reaction of 4.4, correlating to 1 in the code, which means that Barcelona is at the beginning of its development stage. However, looking at Ciutat Vella district, the Intensity of Reaction is higher than 30, which means that it is reaching the end of its development stage, starting its

consolidation stage, with a correlation of 4. At this level, consolidation stage, researchers have defined as the carrying capacity threshold of a tourist destination (Butler, 1980; Smith, 1977; Williams, 1979).

To summarise these findings, Table 7.2 shows the data used to measure the level of Intensity of Reaction in the areas in this study. By applying the ratio of Intensity of Reaction (Figure 7.6), the results of the Intensity of Reaction ratio and the corresponding code in the different areas of the city, can be presented.

Table 7.2. Intensity of reaction data

Areas of study	Basic data			Intensity of Reaction		
	Tourist overnights per year	Tourist overnights per day	Area in sq. km	Overnights by area	Intensity ratio	IPAT code
Barcelona	16,485,074	45,164.5	101.4	445.4	4.4	1
Ciutat Vella	4,779,580	13,094.7	4.3	3,045.2	30.4	4
Eixample	5,802,746	15,897.9	7.5	2,119.7	21.1	3
Les Corts	593,462	1,625.9	6	270.9	2.7	1

Adapted from Ajuntament de Barcelona www.bcn.cat and www.barcelonaturisme.cat (2013; 2016)

Table 7.2 shows that there are different results depending on the district of the city. In Barcelona as a whole, and in the Les Corts district, the intensity of reaction is low, with a code of 1 out of 5, which corroborates the findings in this study. However, in the most visited areas of the city, the districts with higher tourist pressure such as the Ciutat Vella and Eixample, the code is 3 and nearly 4 out of 5 respectively, which can be considered as high, where residents have more negative perceptions and attitudes towards tourism development and its impacts, as confirmed by participants who lives in these areas.

7.3.2. Frequency of Interaction

The Frequency of Interaction ratio can be defined as the number of times residents and tourists interact or have an encounter (Homans, 1961). To measure the times tourist and residents encounter is not an easy task. However, by calculating the number of tourists that are staying in a destination, it is possible to estimate the level of encounters between tourists and residents. Thus, the frequency can be measured by calculating the level of tourist beds occupied, which can be measured by occupancy rates. The higher the number of empty beds, the lower the frequency of interaction between hosts and guests, because the probability of interacting with tourists will be lower. The more occupied tourist services are, the higher the level of frequency of interaction between hosts and guests. Therefore, during a high season, the frequency of interaction will be higher than in a low season. As an illustrative example, the level of encounters is defined by the level of tourist beds occupied, and can be measured by the number of beds, subtracted from the number of overnights per day, resulting in the number of empty beds, as Figure 7.9 shows.

Figure 7.9. Frequency of Interaction ratio (FI)

Frequency = Level of tourists beds occupied

$$\text{Frequency} = \text{N}^{\circ} \text{ of beds} - \frac{\text{N}^{\circ} \text{ of overnight}}{\text{per day}} = \text{N}^{\circ} \text{ of empty beds}$$

Following the arguments presented in the previous section, different levels can be defined with regard to occupancy rates of accommodation facilities within a destination. Thus, a code of the frequency of interaction can be developed. As Table 7.3 shows, the frequency of interaction can be divided in a proportional way, at intervals of 20 units, dividing the occupancy rates into five codes. From the minimal occupancy of less than 20%, to the maximum occupancy of more than 80%, it has a maximum hotel capacity of 100%.

Table 7.3. Frequency of Interaction Code

IPAT code	Frequency of the Interaction (Occupancy rates in %)
1	1 - 20
2	21 - 40
3	41 - 60
4	61 - 80
5	81 - 100

Table 7.4 shows the data used to measure the level of Frequency of Interaction in Barcelona and some of its districts included in this study. Table 7.4 summarises the results of the application of the conceptual framework, showing the data related to the level of occupancy rates in accommodation facilities, in this case hotels, in different districts of the city. By applying the ratio of Frequency of Interaction (Figure 7.8), the results of the frequency ratios and the corresponding code level can be presented.

Table 7.4. Frequency of interaction data

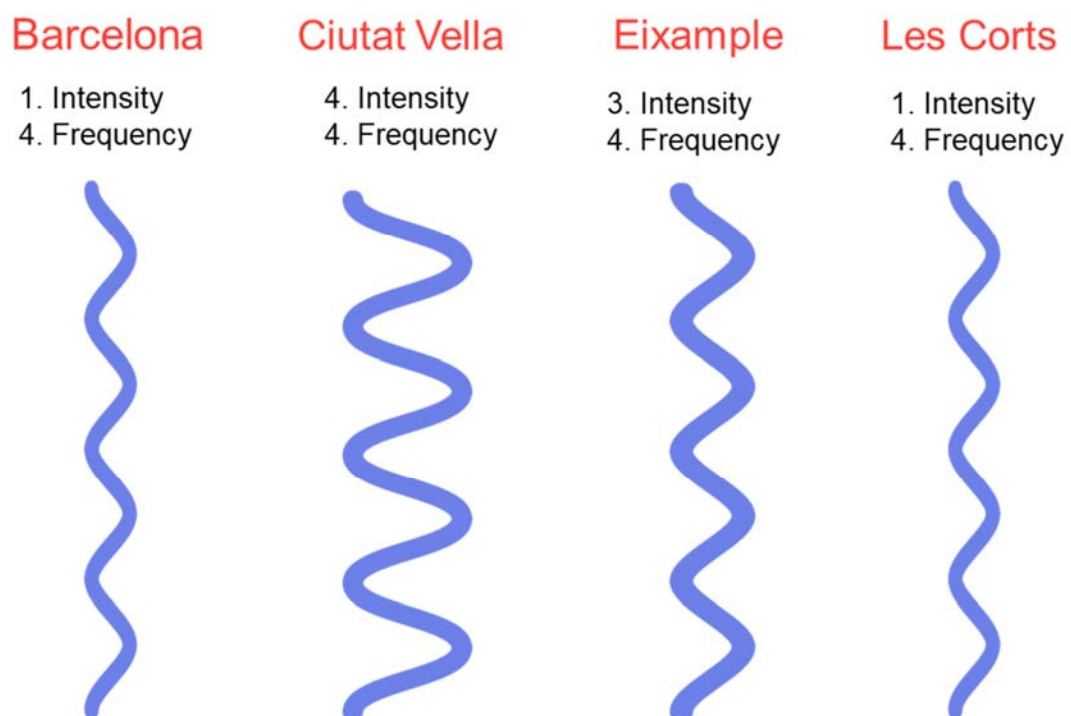
Areas of study	Basic data			Frequency of interaction	
	Tourist overnights per year	Tourist overnights per day	Area in sq. km	Frequency ratio (%)	IPAT code
Barcelona	16,485,074	45,164.5	101.4	62	4
Ciutat Vella	4,779,580	13,094.7	4.3	67.5	4
Eixample	5,802,746	15,897.9	7.5	62	4
Les Corts	593,462	1,625.9	6	62	4

Adapted from Ajuntament de Barcelona www.bcn.cat and www.barcelonaturisme.cat (2013; 2016)

The results in Table 7.4 show that Barcelona is following a Frequency of Interaction scenario which resulted in a 4 out of 5. This is the result of high occupancy rates in hotels throughout the year, showing a consistent minimum of 62%, which is equivalent to a 4 on the IPAT code.

The application of the conceptual framework and its code confirms that in the areas with greater tourist pressure, the code level is higher (e.g., the Ciutat Vella district and the Sagrada Familia neighbourhood), where participants demonstrated greater negative opinions about tourism development and its impacts. Figure 7.10 shows the results of applying the conceptual model in Barcelona and the districts included in this study, in which Frequency of Interaction is high in all districts (4) and Intensity of Reaction is different depending on each district, being low in Barcelona (1) and high in Ciutat Vella (4). For example, Barcelona has a low Intensity of Reaction (1) and high Frequency of Interaction (4), while the Ciutat Vella district has a high level of both interaction (4) and frequency (4).

Figure 7.10. IPAT's scenarios in Barcelona



As Figure 7.10 shows, Barcelona, as a tourist destination, is following a frequency path where hotels throughout the city have a high level of occupancy rates. In terms of the Intensity of Interaction, it varies over different districts of the city. This illustrates that in Barcelona there are different areas with different realities in which tourists concentrate in certain districts. This study demonstrates that local residents are more aware of the negative impacts of tourism,

and therefore present a higher level of antagonism, such as in the case of the Ciutat Vella and Eixample districts. Although Barcelona is following a frequency scenario, in the case of these districts, the tendency is to increase the intensity, and therefore there is a risk of becoming a tourist destination with high frequency and high intensity, which will bring higher positive and negative impacts in areas where tourism is developed. Overall, the application of the conceptual framework helps to conceptualise and better understand the way the residents interact with tourists, and their perceptions, attitudes and behaviour towards tourism development and its impacts in their neighbourhood.

The application of the conceptual framework has some limitations that need to be taken into consideration in the overall analysis. The ratios did not include the number of visitors or excursionists, and those that do not stay overnight in the city, such as cruise passengers and day-trippers. Although it is estimated 30 million tourist and visitors come to the city (Burgen, 2017), there is no data reflecting visitors by area or district. Thus, including them would result in a more accurate picture of the real phenomenon of tourism in the city. Furthermore, the application of the conceptual framework does not include accommodation facilities other than hotels, for the same reason. There is an estimation of tourist apartments, but not segregated by districts, and not including the non-regulated and illegal supply, which can be much higher than the regulated supply. This presents an important limitation in the data that requires further examination in future studies.

7.4. Conclusion

The behaviour of the local community towards tourism development and tourists has been discussed in this chapter, which provides an answer to the third and fourth research objectives by defining the way stakeholders behave towards tourism development and tourists, and by developing an integrated conceptual framework to explain how tourism development, its stages, and impacts affect stakeholder's perceptions, attitudes and behaviour.

In Barcelona, this study found that the areas with more tourist pressure, including Ciutat Vella district and the Sagrada Família neighbourhood, are those where residents explain some of the changes and reactions that are needed to adapt to the new situation created by tourism development and its impacts in their neighbourhood.

Participants from areas of low level of tourism development, do not need to make any changes to their daily routines to adapt to tourists, but at a certain level of development, they did react

and change because of the presence of tourists. Participants defined up to six strategies that they implemented to adapt to tourism development and its impacts.

The conceptual framework has been built on a comprehensive review of the literature, and the primary research conducted during this study. It was developed and applied in Barcelona, and explains the way residents react to tourism development and its impacts. The application of the conceptual framework shows that overall in Barcelona the level of Intensity of Reaction is low, but the Frequency of Interaction is relatively high. However, by district, the Intensity of Reaction shows different results. In the areas where tourists concentrate, with higher tourist pressure, the Intensity of Reaction is relatively high. This indicated the importance of taking into consideration the possibility of different realities at the same tourist destination.

Chapter 8: Conclusions

8.1. Introduction

This final chapter summarises the key research findings and conclusions, with a discussion about how tourism development and its impacts are affecting stakeholders' perceptions, attitudes and behaviour. It proposes a conceptual framework of tourism development that assesses the way destinations develop tourism, their stages, and impacts, to understand the way these stages can be defined and carrying capacities better understood. These aims were achieved by addressing the research question:

- How has tourism development and its impacts affected the perceptions, attitudes, and behaviour of the local stakeholders from a local community perspective?

To achieve the research question, four research objectives were formulated:

- To define the impacts of tourism development in Barcelona
- To examine how tourism development and its impacts are affecting stakeholders' perceptions, attitude and their relationships
- To define the way local stakeholders behave towards tourism development and tourists
- To develop an integrated conceptual framework to explain how tourism development, its stages, and impacts are affecting local stakeholders' perceptions, attitudes and behaviour.

By asking this research question and addressing the research objectives, this thesis is able to engage not only with the perspective of stakeholders at the destination level, but also with the way stakeholders and tourists interact and affect each other from a local community perspective.

The conclusions of this study are based on the results of the data collection that took place during the summer period when Barcelona is at its peak tourist season. Consequently, tourist pressure on existing resources and services was higher, and this could have influenced stakeholders' perceptions, attitudes and behaviours. Three out of the four focus groups were organised in the most visited areas of the city, namely Ciutat Vella district and Barceloneta and Sagrada Familia neighbourhoods. In those areas, the pressure from tourists was very high and consequently residents were highly involved and concerned about the way tourism

development affected their quality of life. For that reason, the focus groups can be associated with social representation (Pearce, Moscardo, & Ros, 1996) or cluster group as representing one part of Barcelona's social fabric, participants in each association shared common views, values, beliefs, and attitudes about their social reality (Jaspar & Fraser, 1984) and tourism development impacts (Madrigal, 1995).

The thesis reviewed the literature regarding tourism development, its stages, carrying capacity theory, and how stakeholder theory can be used to assess the relationship between local stakeholders in a tourist destination. By combining three theories, namely, stakeholder theory, life cycle theory, and carrying capacity theory it highlights the importance of understanding the relational dimensions of tourism, providing both a theoretical and practical contribution to increase our understanding of the tourism development process and its effects on the stakeholders. Understanding stakeholder needs, interests, and their relationship is critical to developing tourism in a more balanced and sustainable way that could benefit much of society.

Chapter 2 reviewed the impacts of tourism, the host-guest interaction process, and local stakeholders' perceptions, attitudes and behaviour. The aim of the literature review was to identify knowledge gaps about how stakeholders react to tourism development and its impacts. In order to improve our understating of this important issue, the chapter presented a conceptual framework about how stakeholders react to tourists visiting a destination. Chapter 3 applied a qualitative research methodology using Barcelona as a case study. Chapter 4 provided background information and context about Barcelona and its socio-economic characteristics and tourist development. Chapters 5, 6, and 7 presented an analysis of the data collected, research findings and discussion. The thesis also discussed the limitations of this study and identified areas for further research.

8.2. Summary of research findings

The growing number of tourists each year within Barcelona's limited space and high population density, make the city a place where friction between different activities can escalate. This growth in tourism has been boosted by the city's Mediterranean climate, and cultural and sport resources and events; the development of infrastructure and services; the rich gastronomy and shopping experiences, promotion by Turisme de Barcelona, and the liberal approach of public authorities to tourism development. Consequently, the significant development of tourism has transformed the city and led to Barcelona becoming an internationally recognised tourist destination.

Table 8.1 summarises the most important themes and sub-themes that emerged from the data analysis. The data shows that generally all participants representing different stakeholders recognised that tourism was an important economic activity for the city. However, this view was contested on how they perceived tourism development and its impacts in the city. The participants representing public and private stakeholders had a more positive approach to the development of tourism and its impacts are, identifying its contribution to the residents' quality of life and the development of infrastructure, facilitates, and services in the city. Thus, they highlighted tourism as a driver of prosperity creating business and job opportunities. Participants from Les Corts district where tourism is highly concentrated in one attraction, the FC Barcelona stadium, and there are relatively few hotels, share a similar view. They advocated spreading the positive economic impacts of tourism across the district to provide more opportunities for private businesses to take advantage of tourism development in the city.

In contrast, participants from the most visited areas with high tourist pressure perceived the current situation as negatively affecting their lifestyle and were very critical of tourism development. They considered that tourism had not contributed positively to their quality of life; rather the proliferation of different services and activities focused on tourist demand had degraded the city's public spaces. They also defined the ways they had changed their behaviour in order to adapt to tourist pressure in their neighbourhoods. Local community participants were critical about the relationship with public authorities and complained that the Council did not take residents' views and needs into consideration. Most importantly, they perceived themselves as being excluded from decision-making about tourism development in their neighbourhoods, although, to achieve a sustainable tourism, residents support and participation in decision-making was critical (Gursoy & Rutherford, 2004; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011; Yu, Chancellor, & Cole, 2011), along with their influence in the planning and policy process in order to ensure benefits can be fairly distributed (Choi & Sirakaya, 2006).

This was also the case when residents explained their relationship with private stakeholders and complained about the way private business considered the needs of residents living in tourist areas, which emphasises the importance of participation and cooperation between stakeholders (Jamal & Getz, 1995) where all interests are included, and no one set of stakeholders had more influence than other stakeholders (Sautter & Leisen, 1999), is not fulfilled in the case of Barcelona.

The contested arguments in favour and against tourism development in the city were affected by the different levels of tourist pressure in neighbourhoods and districts. Therefore, zoning

becomes a critical tool for more accurately analysing tourism development and its stages in relation to the impacts of tourism and the way stakeholders are affected or can affect such development.

Table 8.1. Data display summary

Results	Impacts		Perceptions and attitudes					Behaviour		Characteristics of participants	
	Perceived positive impacts	Perceived negative impacts	Current situation	Importance of tourism	Contribution to the quality of life	Relationship residents versus public	Relationship residents versus private	Change daily life routines	Participation in decision-making	Dependency (economically)	Distance (close to tourist areas)
OS RES	X	V	X	V	X	X	X	V	X	X	V
CV RES	X	V	X	V	X	X	X	V	X	X	V
SF RES	X	V	X	V	X	X	X	V	X	X	V
LC RES	V	X	V	V	V	X	X	X	X	X	X
FV RES	X	V	X	V	X	X	X	V	X	X	V
MB Public	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	X	V	V	X
TB Private-public	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	X	V	V	X

V= Yes/positive/like

X= No/negative/dislike

8.2.1. Impacts of tourism development

The development of tourism in Barcelona has resulted in a series of impacts that directly or indirectly affect local stakeholders' quality of life. Thus, there is a need to consider these impacts in a holistic and how they interact with one another (Horváth, 2018). Impacts affect the coexistence between tourists and residents, stimulating negative effect on residents' lifestyle and, transforming physical, social and psychological domains. This fulfil the first research objective in defining the impacts of tourism development in Barcelona. The analysis of the data collected defined three main impacts: commodification of resources that increased gentrification, prices, and changes in the commercial and residential supply of the city. These impacts significantly affected the way residents act and react to tourists in their neighbourhood.

8.2.1.1. Commodification of resources

Tourism from the residents' perspective had become problematic due to the rapid increase in tourists and visitors in the city and their impact on the capacity of residents to access resources. As the findings of this study demonstrate one important impact of tourism was the commodification and commercialisation of public and private spaces. As a consequence, the lifestyle of residents changed to accommodate tourism development because the dominant discourse was one of the market and commercialisation, thereby justifying the acquisition of public spaces by private commercial interests (Ashworth & Page, 2011). For local government and many businesses, dependency on tourism increased, even as negative effects emerged.

There were three examples of the commodification of resources: the occupation of public and private spaces, the transformation of the traditional commercial and residential supply, and the changes in the design of urban areas boosted by the commercialisation of resources and attractions. Participants from the local community perceived these transformations as a loss of character for the city.

Gentrification effects

Gentrification is a process where new types of residents displace traditional residents (Atkinson & Bridge, 2005). In Barcelona, this process was most important in the Ciutat Vella district where several redevelopment projects had affected the structure of the neighbourhoods. While there had been new investment and building improvements, it displaced low-income households and increased social homogenisation, resulting in two types of negative gentrification. These were a more permanent form of gentrification where residents

were evicted due to the increased in prices and their leases expiring, or saw the area as too focused on tourist demand, and temporal gentrification where residents hired out their own apartments to tourists during the peak season. This is an important emerging phenomenon of how tourist development affects the lives of residents. It indicates to what extent tourism can 'corrupt' residents' life-style and how they learn to survive in this tourist environment. Increase pressure on local resources increased the price of goods and services. As participants explained, this increased speculation due to the expected economic benefits of investing in businesses focused on tourist demand.

Commercial and residential supply

The changes in commercial supply were more extensive in tourist areas where traditional and historic shops were being replaced by standardised types of shops focused on tourist demand (García-Hernández, de la Calle-Vaquero, & Yubero, 2017; Horváth, 2018). Bar and restaurant terraces were examples of this occupation of spaces, which residents perceived as promoting private interests to the detriment of public interest.

The proliferation of accommodation supply for tourists, especially residential apartments, had an important direct effect on the availability and affordability of private housing in the city. This had been boosted by the major internet platforms, including Airbnb, which is a major player influencing this type of accommodation (Arias Sans & Quaglieri Domínguez, 2016; García-Hernández, de la Calle-Vaquero, & Yubero, 2017; Gutiérrez, García-Palomares, Romanillos, & Salas-Olmedo, 2017; Horváth, 2018; Koens, Postma, & Papp, 2018; Smith, Sziva, & Olt, 2019). Local real estate agencies promoted this type of supply by encouraging residents to sell or rent their apartments to tourists and offering them a lucrative return on investment. This was a new phenomenon arising from development of tourism in urban areas.

The development of tourist apartments had a direct impact on the price of private accommodation, because tourists were paying higher rents to use such apartments, leading to eviction of local residents. Participants from the local community said this phenomenon was dismantling neighbourhoods, especially in the areas where tourists concentrated. Residents displayed annoyance at this uncontrolled situation and accused the Council of not regulating and controlling such activity, and the private sector of encouraging and promoting this activity even if it operated illegally.

All stakeholders involved in this study recognised the significant negative consequences of this type of development on the city's resources and the lifestyle of residents. Therefore, the Council had implemented a series of actions, including sanctions on illegal accommodation

supply, to manage the issue (Burgen, 2017; García, 2017). This thesis recommends a more collaborative approach among stakeholders involved in this activity, including the public and private sectors and the residents, to minimise its important negative consequences.

8.2.1.2. Loss of character

The loss of character was a consequence of the transformation that occurred with rapid development of tourism, especially in the city's most visited areas. It effected the urban atmosphere by changing its dynamics and led residents to express feelings of nostalgia, envy, anger and resentment. The loss of character can significantly affect the relationship between stakeholders and is associated with commodification of local resources, attractions, and services (García-Hernández, de la Calle-Vaquero, & Yubero, 2017). By losing its character and becoming 'another' tourist destination, Barcelona could lose its specificities and authenticity, along with its differentiating attributes (Cole, 2007; Koens, Postma, & Papp, 2018), boosting the process of homogenisation of the landscape and its culture (García-Hernández, de la Calle-Vaquero, & Yubero, 2017; Horváth, 2018).

Theme park development

Participants from the most visited areas of the city felt that the city was not theirs anymore, because residents saw themselves as strangers in their own neighbourhood. They felt they did not belong anymore due to the rapid changes tourism development brought to the destination. It had taken away part of the neighbourhood's identity, with a generalised perception of loss of quality of life (Saurí, 2015). Participants complained about Council's proposed plans to develop their areas and increased their feeling of belonging to a theme park, as in the case of the historical centre of Venice (Hóvarth, 2018), a relatively new issue emerging as a consequence of tourism development in urban areas. Hence, residents perceived that they represented a performing arts theatre with tourists as the audience, although they were neither paid, nor consulted. Therefore, participants considered that they were used by public and private stakeholders as a resource that could be commodified and commercialised for the sake of the tourist. This indicates that tourism development had reached a capacity threshold to welcome tourists in the most visited areas of Barcelona, in which carrying capacity theory and limits of acceptable change are important theories to take into consideration when developing tourism.

Interaction process hosts-guests

Barcelona offers residents limited opportunities to interact with tourists and visitors for two main reasons. Firstly, the city's characteristics and structure, and especially in the Ciutat Vella district with its narrow streets and few public areas, were mostly occupied by terraces of bars and restaurants. Secondly, the type of tourist short-break holiday continued to limit contact between hosts and guests. Consequently, participants recognised that they had no contact with tourists unless they encountered them in public areas, especially around tourists' spots and attractions. Such encounters, participants explained had an important effect on how residents perceived their role in tourism, leaving them with a sense that they were used for the convenience of tourists and the industry, without being consulted or having a role. This shows the low level of collaboration between stakeholders in Barcelona.

8.2.1.3. Type of tourists and their behaviour

Barcelona receives a diverse range of tourists and visitors who have an effect on the city and its stakeholders. There were different views about suitable types of tourists and no clear segmentation strategy to differentiate specific priority markets. Consequently, one of the important issues was that public authorities and the private sector had a 'laissez-faire' approach to attracting tourists, by prioritising quantity versus quality and therefore everyone was welcome. Hence, participants clearly defined the type of tourists they would like to welcome and the ones that they did not like to encounter in their neighbourhood. Undesirable type tourists were those who misbehaved and disrespected the customs and lifestyle of local residents, as well as their privacy and intimacy, and abused alcohol, made noise and disturbed residents. Participants preferred a so-called traveller who showed a deeper interest in and respect for local life and environment.

Importantly, all stakeholders involved in this study agreed that undesirable tourists damaged the city's reputation and had strong negative effects on the way residents perceived tourism. Thus, management needed to implement measures to prevent this type of tourist from visiting the city by achieving consensus among all stakeholders affected by or who can affect tourism development about appropriate policies and strategies to minimise the negative effects.

Use of public resources

One of the important issues in relation to tourism development is how residents and tourists use the destination's resources, infrastructure, attractions, and services. This is important because tourists and visitors can overwhelm entry points, and their infrastructure, as well as

have a direct impact on internal mobility within the destinations. There are several issues to take into consideration. Firstly, public transport in Barcelona is subsidised by public authorities, which residents perceive as unfair because their taxes are subsidising public transport used by tourists and visitors. Secondly, the growing number of bikes and bike tours used by tourists has upset residents because they occupy public spaces. Pedestrian areas are also under scrutiny as in the case of Parte Vieja of Donostia (García-Hernández, de la Calle-Vaquero, & Yubero, 2017). Consequently, the over use of the city's infrastructure, public transport, and mobility by bicycle and foot, has occurred as a consequence of the development of tourism in urban areas. All participants in this study agreed that the level of congestion and overcrowding were becoming critical when analysing how the impacts of tourism affected the perceptions, attitudes and behaviour of stakeholders. They saw available spaces and their use as key issue of the capacity to absorb tourists within a destination.

In conclusion, this study demonstrates that the pressure to create business is higher than the pressure to preserve the cultural and social environment, making it difficult to find solutions to minimise the negative effects of tourism development on the city. The beneficiaries are the owners of the resources, and the costs are subsidised by residents living in the same environment (Ashworth & Page, 2011) who have to accept and adapt to the norms 'imposed' by market forces. Therefore, the presence of tourists affected the whole structure of the city and stakeholders relationships. It is therefore critical to understand how the impacts of tourism affect local stakeholders' perceptions, attitudes and behaviour to better manage tourism development in a more balanced and sustainable way, where all stakeholders can influence the way Barcelona develops tourism.

8.2.2. Perceptions, attitudes, and behaviour

Various factors linked to how the spaces are used in Barcelona influenced local community perceptions of tourism development and its impacts, fulfilling the second research objective. These factors are the liberal approach and lack of management of Council, the promotion of tourism by Turisme de Barcelona, and the relationship between the different stakeholders affected by or who can affect tourism development in Barcelona.

8.2.2.1. Stages of tourism development

In Barcelona, during the 1990, residents embraced tourism development as a way of increasing their quality of life. However, the rapid growth in tourists demonstrates that the city has reached important milestones. The negative perceptions of local community participants

of tourism development and its impacts, saw tourism as exploiting existing resources, demonstrating that in certain areas a consolidation or maturity stage had been reached in which the threshold of carrying capacity had been surpassed (Dietrich & García-Buades, 2009; Long, Perdue, & Allen, 1990; Mansfeld & Ginosar, 1994). This indicates that it is critical to take into consideration how the impacts of tourism and the residents' perceptions, attitudes and behaviour can define in which stage of development the different areas of Barcelona are sitting and the way to measure carrying capacity thresholds.

Dual realities

The concentration of tourists made residents aware that there were two types of co-existing lifestyles in their neighbourhood, the residents and the tourists, which were sometimes contradictory. Dual realities are created by differences in life activities between hosts and guests, namely home/work versus leisure/holiday, in the same time and space, where different rhythms become evident (Hóvarth, 2018). This can annoy residents who have to adapt to the tourist environment by changing their daily routines.

Contribution of tourism

All stakeholders in this study perceived tourism development as a key economic sector of activity contributing to the economic development of the city. However, residents and private stakeholders not living in tourist areas complained that such development did not increase their quality of life and they wanted a better distribution of the positive economic benefits. Therefore, Council had implemented specific strategic plans for each district of the city but in the areas where tourists were concentrated, participants complained that their quality of life had deteriorate due to tourism. Clearly, there was an unbalance in how the positive and negative impacts of tourism were distributed throughout the different areas of the city.

8.2.2.2. The more the better approach

In Barcelona, there are two contested approaches to tourism development policies, namely a more restrictive approach where promotion is focused on specific market segments that can offer more return on investment, or a more permissive policy where everyone is welcome; this takes a more liberal approach because economic impacts dominate local government agendas over social, political or environmental impacts (Ashworth & Page, 2011). It is important to note that the way Turisme de Barcelona promotes Barcelona has led to residents resenting this strategy and the policies that determine the way resources are allocated.

This liberal approach has had important consequences for increasing tourist pressure on existing resources. The private sector has taken advantage of the perceived lack of control over tourism-related activities and businesses operating in Barcelona, and lack of agreement between them and residents. At this point, we must understand how the relationship between negatively affected local stakeholders and positively disposed government and business stakeholders are counter-balancing long-term interests.

There is a growing concern about the way tourism development is managed, because participants from the local community perceived that it negatively affected their quality of life, especially important with regard to the relationship between the city, its residents and tourists. All stakeholders involved in this study argued about the need to better manage tourist pressure to ensure that stakeholders' needs and interests are balanced by an inclusive and holistic approach.

Crowdedness and pressure from tourists and visitors

Local community participants saw the growing number of tourists as an invasion and destruction of the city's structure and therefore had a more negative reaction to tourism development. Hence, it is important to look at the way destinations can measure tourism development and its impacts by applying carrying capacity theory and limits of acceptable change. However, the results show that the level of tourist pressure is different in different areas of the city and therefore there is a need to apply zoning techniques (Ahn, Lee, & Shafer, 2002; Stonich, 1998). It becomes critical to consider the participants' opinions about managing the level of pressure, especially in the areas with high numbers of tourists. This can help to develop policies where all stakeholders involved in tourism including residents can influence the way destinations develop tourism and define the limits of capacity for each part of the city in order to find the right balance between tourism development and residents' quality of life.

8.2.2.3. Stakeholders' relationships and interests

Analysing how stakeholders interacted within each other was critical to better understanding their perceptions, attitudes and behaviour towards tourism development. The residents' relationship with private businesses was controversial because they perceived these businesses as taking advantage of local resources (Ashworth & Page, 2011; Butler, 1974; England, 1980; de Kadt, 1979; Forster, 1964), while at the same time not employing local labour. Furthermore, local businesses established barriers to participation and decision-making with the local community. Meanwhile, residents perceived lobby groups, such as hoteliers, were pressuring public administration to favour development of private business, to

the detriment of finding a balance between the contested interests of different stakeholders that are affected by, or can affect tourism development, demonstrating an unbalanced relationship.

The residents' relationship with public administration was also controversial in relation to how decisions were made to develop tourism. Participants perceived that the Council was too focused on private interests and developing even more tourism. This made residents perceive that they were not included in the decision-making process and their needs were not taken into consideration. As a result, they felt powerless and excluded, indicating the low level of stakeholder participation in decision-making about how tourism is developed (Jamal & Getz, 1995; Sautter & Leisen, 1999), and contrasted to their preferred model where all interests were included and no one set of stakeholders had more influence over other stakeholders.

In this context, local community participants wanted open discussion about issues affecting their neighbourhood and increased power to influence public and private sector policies and plans about tourism development in order to protect their quality of life and the social and cultural environment of the city. This is an issue that needs to be addressed as soon as possible, if sustainable tourism is to be achieved (Gursoy & Rutherford, 2004; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011; Yu, Chancellor, & Cole, 2011). Implementing stakeholder theory to increase the level of collaboration and empowerment could help to achieve appropriate solutions to the problems stakeholders in Barcelona face.

8.2.3. Reactions to tourism development

In Barcelona, adaptation to tourism became problematic when changes occurred too fast and residents were not prepared for or, agreed with them. The analysis of the change in the behaviour of the local community addresses the third research objective.

Results showed that in areas where the tourist pressure was low, participants did not have to change their daily routines to adapt to tourists. But in areas where tourists concentrated, the pressure from tourism was higher and the changes annoyed residents who showed a high level of resentment and opposition to tourism development. This is a sign that a consolidation stage of development and a threshold of capacity has been reached in the most visited areas of the city. As an example, residents avoided the most crowded tourist areas, because they did not enjoy them anymore.

Participants defined six behaviours that they used to adapt to tourism, which can be defined as embracement, adjustment, protection, organised protest, aggression, and withdrawal.

Embracement included residents being proud of their culture that was appreciated by tourists. Adjustment included changing itineraries, as well as changing the places they used to go to avoid crowded tourist areas. Protection included changes to protect themselves from external factors such as acoustic and air pollution from the streets. Organised protests and demonstrations included protests against tourism development and its impacts. Aggression included aggressive behaviour due to the high level of friction between residents and tourists. Withdrawal comprised changing the place of residency to less tourist-orientated areas. These six behaviours are linked to the stages of development, life cycle theory, and carrying capacity theory, by considering that aggression and withdrawal are more intense ways of adapting to tourist pressure and therefore can be placed in the consolidation stage of development. Changing the places to go and itineraries, can be placed at the beginning of the development stage.

These findings have been used to define the threshold of carrying capacity in certain areas of Barcelona and its application in the conceptual framework to measuring the level of tourism development with regard to the way the local community reacted to tourist pressure in Barcelona.

8.2.4. Conceptual framework

The conceptual framework has been built on a comprehensive review of the literature by combining three theories, stakeholder theory, life cycle theory, and carrying capacity theory, and analysing the data collected during this study.

The application of the conceptual framework can help to define, understand, and measure the way destinations develop tourism, the stages of development, and how local community perceptions, attitudes and behaviour can help to define the stage of development in which a destination is sitting. The conceptual framework is based on the idea that the stage of development is important to determining the impacts that are affecting perceptions, attitudes and behaviour. Tourists by visiting a place increase the pressure on existing resources, and this provokes a reaction from local stakeholders. This reaction is measured by the intensity of reaction ratio, in which capacity can be regarded as the number of tourists by its territory, and frequency of interaction ratio, by considering the number of times a tourist encounters a resident.

The application of these ratios shows that in the areas where tourists and attractions concentrate, with higher tourist pressure the Intensity of Reaction is relatively high; such was the case with the Ciutat Vella and Eixample districts. In those areas, local residents were more

aware of the negative impacts of tourism, and therefore exhibited a higher level of antagonism (Doxey, 1975). In Barcelona, the level of Intensity of Reaction is relatively low, but the Frequency of Interaction is relatively high. This showed the importance of taking into consideration the possibility of different realities occurring at the destination.

8.2. Summary of key findings addressing research question and research objectives

Research question	Research objectives	Key findings
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How has tourism development and its impacts affected the perceptions, attitudes, and behaviour of the local stakeholders, from a local community perspective? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To define what are the impacts of tourism development in Barcelona 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Impacts are affecting the coexistence between tourists and residents, stimulating greater negativity in relation to the residents' lifestyle, bringing transformations to the physical, social and psychological domains. This is causing opposition and resentment among residents of tourist areas towards other stakeholders involved in tourism development.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To examine how tourism development and its impacts are affecting stakeholders' perceptions, attitude and their relationships 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Different factors influenced local community perceptions about tourism development and its impacts were linked to how the spaces are used in Barcelona. These factors are the liberal approach and lack of management adopted by the Council, the promotion of tourism by Turisme de Barcelona, and the relationship between the different stakeholders involved in tourism. The positive economic contribution of tourism is not reflected in the way residents from tourist areas perceive tourism development. The concentration of tourism in certain areas does not benefit the rest of the city. In tourist areas, residents define tourism as diminishing their quality of life, because it is an invasion and destruction of the city's structure.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Stakeholders relationships are controversial with regards to how residents participate and influence the decisions about tourism development in their neighbourhood.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To define the way local stakeholders behave towards tourism development and tourists 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Participants from the most visited areas of Barcelona, defined six behaviours to adapt to the tourist environment. These behaviours are linked to the stages of development by placing them in the different stages: by embracing tourists at the beginning of tourism, being aggressive and withdrawing from your place of residence, at the consolidation stage.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To develop an integrated conceptual framework to explain how tourism development, its stage, and impacts are affecting the local stakeholders' perceptions, attitudes and behaviour. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The conceptual framework combines stakeholder theory, life cycle theory and carrying capacity theory to assess how the impacts of tourism and the local stakeholders' relationship affect the reaction of residents towards tourism development and tourists. This is achieved by assessing tourist pressure over a destination and the stakeholders' reaction to this pressure. Two main concepts are developed: Intensity of Reaction and Frequency of Interaction. They are applied through ratios that allow us to assess how stages of development and their impacts are affecting local stakeholders' perceptions, attitudes, and behaviour.

8.3. Limitations of the research

During the course of this study, several limitations emerged. Firstly, the research does not include all ten districts of Barcelona. Although, during fieldwork the author contacted the local community associations of most of the districts, some did not respond to the request to participate and others were not interested. Four focus groups were organised with those areas of the city that received the highest number of tourists and where tourist attractions concentrate. However, the participants of this study provided a very rich data set that is analysed and presented in an organised, systematic and comprehensive way, enabling an increase in knowledge about the way tourism development and its impacts are perceived by the local stakeholders in this study. Secondly, participants in this study had a very particular view of tourism because they were organised in associations. Including more varied types of stakeholder groups and residents not organised in associations could have resulted in a more varied or different type of results, because these associations represented local community interests, and can be defined as a social representation group or cluster because they share certain values and beliefs about how tourism development and its impacts affected their quality of life. Thirdly, this study included three stakeholder groups, namely the local community associations, public administration, and the private sector. However, the Chamber of Commerce as the voice of the trade and commerce in Barcelona refused to participate in this study.

Fourthly, the application of the conceptual model had some limitations that need to be taken into consideration in the overall analysis. In applying the framework, the ratios did not include the number of visitors or excursionists (those that do not stay overnight), such as cruise passengers and day-trippers, or the tourists staying in private accommodation because there is no segregated data reflecting visitors by areas or districts. Thus, including them would result in a more accurate picture of the real phenomenon of tourism in the city. This represents an important limitation in the data that requires further examination in future studies.

Finally, the findings of Barcelona are particular to the city, and it is not possible to generalise from this case. However, the findings from this research at least suggest issues that could be considered in the context of other urban tourist destinations. Barcelona, as a single case study, has demonstrated some of the consequences of developing tourism in a highly populated urban city.

8.4. Future research

Future research on how the development of tourism and its impacts affect stakeholders' quality of life should 'aim to link the attitudes of the residents with the strategies of policy-makers in a way which can provide a basis for policies more securely rooted in the need of the hosts' (Haley, Snaith & Miller, 2005, p. 665).

To that extent, there is a need to engage with the way officials treat tourism development and to consider that the economic benefits of tourism are only one small part of the total phenomenon and that particular forms of public policy are needed to protect and enhance the local characteristics and traditions. Tourism needs to be carefully planned in order to achieve positive outcomes for the destination. Further studies of other cities could consider the extent to which the experiences in Barcelona are occurring elsewhere.

From the conceptual framework defined in this study, it will be important to further consider the way that such a model can be developed as a theory about the relationship between hosts and guests in a tourist destination, and the factors affecting this relationship. Population density by number of tourists should also be included as a factor influencing intensity of reaction and frequency of interaction. The conceptual framework should be developed and tested elsewhere, based on the need to assess how local communities react to the presence of tourism, its development stages and impacts, from a physical and psychological perspective.

To further extend the conceptual framework, a programme could be developed to test it in multiple case study research. This could involve applying the framework in other urban tourist destinations to compare the results, and to establish the factors and impacts of tourism in each case. These destinations should be comparable, and could include Ciutat Vella district, Venetia (Italy), Prague (Czech Republic), Amsterdam (The Netherlands), and Bruges (Belgium). Such a study could provide new knowledge about the stage of development and how its impacts influence stakeholders' perceptions, attitudes and behaviour.

Overall, this thesis has made an important theoretical and practical contribution to our understanding of tourist development, and how its stages and impacts are affecting stakeholders at the destination level. Through a case study of Barcelona, the research has developed and tested a conceptual framework. This has demonstrated that in the areas where tourism represents an important source of income, and tourist pressure is higher, they are reaching the consolidation stage of development. Thus, perceptions and attitudes of the local community become more negative and strategies to cope with the tourist

presence start to become evident, changing the way residents interact with tourists and affecting their life style and overall quality of life.

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Appendices

Appendix A. Letter of approval of Human Ethics Committee



FACULTY OF BUSINESS, ECONOMICS AND LAW

MEMORANDUM

To: Jordi Datzira-Masip, School of Business, Department of Marketing, Tourism and Hospitality

Cc: Associate Professor Sue Beeton, School of Business, Department of Marketing, Tourism and Hospitality

Mr Gary Best, School of Business, Department of Marketing, Tourism and Hospitality

From: Professor Russell Hoyer, Chair, Faculty Human Ethics Committee

Subject: Final Approval of Human Ethics Committee Application No. 24/13PG

Title: Understanding the local community perceptions, attitudes and behaviours towards tourism development in the city

Date: 11/06/2013

Dear Mr Datzira-Masip,

Thank you for your recent correspondence in relation to the research project referred to above. The project has been assessed as complying with the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research*. I am pleased to advise that your project has been granted ethics approval and you may commence the study now.

The project has been approved from the date of this letter until 30 July 2013.

Please note that your application has been reviewed by a sub-committee of the University Human Ethics Committee (UHEC) to facilitate a decision before the next Committee meeting. This decision will require ratification by the UHEC and it reserves the right to alter conditions of approval or withdraw approval at that time. You will be notified if the approval status of your project changes. The UHEC is a fully constituted Ethics Committee in accordance with the National Statement under Section 5.1.29.

The following standard conditions apply to your project:

- **Limit of Approval.** Approval is limited strictly to the research proposal as submitted in your application while taking into account any additional conditions advised by the FHEC.

- **Variation to Project.** Any subsequent variations or modifications you wish to make to your project must be formally notified to the FHEC for approval in advance of these modifications being introduced into the project. This can be done using the appropriate form: *Ethics - Application for Modification to Project* which is available on the Research Services website at http://www.latrobe.edu.au/researchservices/ethics/HEC_human.htm. If the UHEC considers that the proposed changes are significant, you may be required to submit a new application form for approval of the revised project.
- **Adverse Events.** If any unforeseen or adverse events occur, including adverse effects on participants, during the course of the project which may affect the ethical acceptability of the project, the Chief Investigator must immediately notify the FHEC Secretary on telephone (03) 9479 1443. Any complaints about the project received by the researchers must also be referred immediately to the FHEC Secretary.
- **Withdrawal of Project.** If you decide to discontinue your research before its planned completion, you must advise the FHEC and clarify the circumstances.
- **Monitoring.** All projects are subject to monitoring at any time by the Faculty Human Ethics Committee.
- **Annual Progress Reports.** If your project continues for more than 12 months, you are required to submit an *Ethics - Progress/Final Report Form* annually, **on or just prior to 12 February**. The form is available on the Research Services website (see above address). Failure to submit a Progress Report will mean approval for this project will lapse.
- **Auditing.** An audit of the project may be conducted by members of the FHEC.
- **Final Report.** A Final Report (see above address) is required by **30 August 2013**.

If you have any queries, or require any further clarification, please contact the FHEC Secretary on 9479 5164, or via e-mail: FBEL.ERGS@latrobe.edu.au

On behalf of the Faculty Human Ethics Committee, best wishes with your research!

Yours sincerely,



Professor Russell Hoyer

Chair, Faculty Human Ethics Committee

Appendix B. Letter of invitation to participate



Dept of Marketing and Tourism and Hospitality

La Trobe Business School

Faculty of Business, Economics and Law

La Trobe University, Victoria 3086, Australia

Tel: +61 3 9479 3500 Mob: 0419 587 671

TOURISM & HOSPITALITY RESEARCH UNIT:

<http://www.latrobe.edu.au/thru>

Participant Information Statement

Focus Group and Interviews

Understanding the perceptions, attitudes and behaviours of the local community towards tourism in Barcelona

The purpose of this research is to gain an understanding of the perceptions, attitudes and behaviours of the local community towards tourists in Barcelona and, therefore, to describe and assess the ways in which the local community adapts to the tourism development in the city. Furthermore, its intent is to analyse the factors and causes that influence the perceptions, attitudes and behaviours of the local community towards the phenomenon of tourism.

All participants are mature age (over 20 years old) as are those representatives of local community in each of the 10 Barcelona districts through the neighbours' associations and those representatives of the local authorities and industry associations and organisations. In this research only the local point of view is taken into consideration because the focus of the research is to identify causes and consequences of the local community behaviours towards tourism development in Barcelona.

In order to collect the data, two research techniques will be used: focus groups that will take approximately 2 hours each, and interviews that will take approximately 30 minutes each. The information collected will be audio-recorded and analysed, and the results may be included in a report or publication at a later date. At your request, a summary of the results from the research will be made available to you. The data collected will be retained in a locked filing cabinet at La Trobe University for a period of 5 years, before being destroyed.

You have the right to withdraw from active participation in this project at any time and, further, to demand that data arising from your participation are not used in the research project provided that this right is exercised within four weeks of the completion of your

participation in the project. You are asked to complete the 'Withdrawal of Consent Form' or to notify the investigator by email or telephone that you wish to withdraw your consent for your data to be used in this project.

Note that there are no foreseeable risks associated with your involvement in this project.

Any questions regarding this project may be directed to the investigator, Jordi Datzira-Masip, of La Trobe Business School, La Trobe University on 0452236526 or email: jdatzira-masip@students.latrobe.edu.au. If you have any complaints or queries that the investigator has not been able to answer to your satisfaction, you may contact the Secretary, Human Ethics Committee, Research Services, La Trobe University, Victoria, 3086 (ph: 03 94791443, e.mail: humanethics@latrobe.edu.au).

Yours sincerely,

Mr. Jordi Datzira-Masip

Reference number: 24/13PG

Appendix C. Participant consent form



Dept of Marketing and Tourism and Hospitality

La Trobe Business School

Faculty of Business, Economics and Law

La Trobe University, Victoria 3086, Australia

Tel: +61 3 9479 3500 Mob: 0419 587 671

TOURISM & HOSPITALITY RESEARCH UNIT:

<http://www.latrobe.edu.au/thru>

Participants consent form

Understanding the perceptions, attitudes and behaviour of the local community towards tourism in Barcelona

I _____ have read and understood the participant statement and consent form, and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in the project, realising that I may withdraw at any time. I agree that research data provided by me or with my permission during the project may be published in journals on the condition that neither my name nor my other identifying information is used.

I agree to this focus group or interview being audio recorded.

Name of participant (block letters): _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Name of investigator (block letters): _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Ethics Approval Number: _____

Appendix D. Focus group outline

General information

Organisation:

Name contact and position :

Date:

District/Area:

Time:

Membership:

Date of foundation:

Services and activities offered:

General perceptions and opinions

- Do you like the current tourism development in Barcelona? Why?
 - What issues can be improved and or changed?
 - How do you evaluate the development (or the effect) of tourism in the city?

Very good	Good	Neutral	Bad	Very Bad
-----------	------	---------	-----	----------
- How do you perceive the image of the city and its promotion internally and externally?
- In what areas of the city (your District) do you feel more comfortable or are better for you? Why?
- Do you think that the local authorities take into consideration the needs of the residents enough? Why?
- Do you think that the private businesses take into consideration the needs of the residents enough? Why?

Perceptions, attitudes and behaviours

Perceptions

- What are the best factors (issues) about tourism in Barcelona?
- What are the worst factors (issues) about tourism in Barcelona?
- What factors (issues) have been improved with the development of tourism in Barcelona?
- What factors (issues) have been degenerated (deteriorate) with the development of tourism in Barcelona?
- What are the factors (issues) that tourists value more about the city? And value less?

Attitude

- What factors (issues) are affecting you more and annoy you more about tourism development in the city? Why?
- What kind of tourist do you prefer? Business, vacation, families, group of friends, young couples, backpackers...Why?

Behaviour

- Have you changed any aspect of your life, as quotidian activities or routines, to adapt to the tourist activity in your District? What did you do to adapt to the changes?
- What kind of tourist behaviour do you prefer? Why?
- What kind of tourist behaviour do you not like? Why?

The future of the city

- Apart from tourism, what other industries (economic sectors) would you like to see developed (would be convenient to develop) as an alternative for the city?
- Are there any projects for the future of the District and or city?
- Would you like to add any other comments?

Appendix E. Interview outline

General information

Organisation:

Name contact and position:

Date and time: _____ :

Membership: _____ Date of foundation: _____

Services and activities offered:

General perceptions and opinions

- Do you agree with the current tourism development in Barcelona? Why?
- How do you evaluate the development (or the effect) of tourism in the city?
Very good Good Neutral Bad Very Bad
- What issues can be improved and or changed?
- How do you perceive the image of the city and its promotion internally and externally?
- What areas of the city are you focus to develop? What is the project about?
- What are the local authorities doing to consider the needs of the residents?
- What are the private businesses doing to consider the needs of the residents?
- What are your priorities for future tourism development in Barcelona?

Perceptions, attitudes, and behaviours

- What are the best factors (issues) about tourism in Barcelona? And the worst factors?
- What factors (issues) have been improved with the development of tourism in Barcelona?
- What factors (issues) have been degenerated (deteriorate) with the development of tourism in Barcelona?
- What are the factors (issues) that tourists value more about the city? And value less?
- What kind of tourists do you prefer? Business, vacation, families, group of friends, young couples, backpackers...

The future of the city

- Apart from tourism, what other industries (economic sectors) would be convenient to develop as an alternative for the city?
- Are there any projects for the future of the District and or city?
- Would you like to add any other comments?

Thank you for your cooperation!

Appendix F. List of documents collected

Newspapers

- New, both online and in print format related to tourism development in Barcelona, including the following: *Ara*, *El Periodico de Catalunya*, *El PuntAvui*, *La Vanguardia*, and *El Pais* newspapers.

Books and guides

- Federacio d'Associacions de Veïns i Veïnes de Barcelona (FAVB) (2012). *Moviment veïnal, reptes de futur*. Barcelona:Mediterranea.
- Cirici Pellicer, A. (2012). *Barcelona pam a pam*. Comanegra:Barcelona.

Official web sites

- Public sector: Barcelona City Council
- Private and public sector: Turisme de Barcelona
- Private sector: Chamber of Commerce of Barcelona

Other documents: magazines, reports, flyers and strikers

- Butlletins de les associacions de veïns. Magazines and publications of local community associations, including *Carrer*, *Massala*, and other publications from each association,
- Federacio d'Associacions de Veïns i Veïnes de Barcelona (FAVB) (2015). *Un model turístic responsable, una ciutat per viure-hi*.
- Turisme de Barcelona. *annual reports*, statistical data, leaflets
- Harbour: *Cruise ship report*
- Ajuntament de Barcelona: *Strategic Tourism Development Plan of Barcelona (2010-2015)*, *Pla especial d'establiments de concurrència pública, hoteleria i altres activitats. Ciutat Vella (2010)* and *Modificació del Pla especial de concurrència pública, hoteleria i altres activitats de Ciutat Vella (2013)*.

Appendix G. Agenda for notes of the research

FAVB (Federació d'Associacions de veïns i veïnes de Barcelona)

The researcher met with two technicians of FAVB to discuss the association's current situation, and explain the research project to be undertaken in Barcelona. FAVB was open to collaborating in the project and suggested the researcher interview the President of the Federation. FAVB provided written information, such as magazines, leaflets, and books, as well as a data base of 104 neighbour associations in Barcelona, published in one of their magazines.

Activity	Persons name	Position	Date	Time	Duration
First meeting	Mrs. Roser Veciana and Mr. Josep Martí	Technicians	20-06-2013	18:00h	1:00 h
Interview	Mr. Lluís Rabell	President	30-07-2013	16:30h	1:15 h

Casc Antic neighbours' association (Ciutat Vella district)

A meeting was held with the president of the association where the researcher explained the project and asked the organisation participate in a focus group. The president proposed an interview with her instead, but the research design required focus groups to be organised with the neighbours to understand their opinions about tourism development. After further discussion the president explained the difficulty of organising focus groups during summer activities, such as the Festa Major, as well as demonstrations that they were organising against the approval of a new Plan of Use for the Ciutat Vella district. Therefore, it was agreed that they should meet again in July. The president was invited to participate in a meeting of the Xarxa Veïnal de Ciutat Vella district, an organisation representing most of the neighbours' associations in the district that collaborated on different issues, such as tourism. Thus, a meeting was held with the association in the Xarxa Veïnal de Ciutat Vella district to explain the research process, including organising focus groups to talk about tourism and its consequences for the different neighbourhoods within the Ciutat Vella district. The association agreed to organise the focus group, and a reminder email was sent to the organiser with information about the research and confirming the date and time. During these meetings, the researcher received written information, such as magazines, leaflets, letters, flyers, and stickers about the local community associations' policy and actions in the Ciutat Vella district.

Activity	Person's name	Position	Date	Time	Duration
First meeting	Ms. Maria Mas	President	11-06-2013	17:00h	0.30 h
Meeting with Xarxa veinal	14 pax	Mix from the associations	11-07-2013	20:00h	2:00 h
Focus Group with Xarxa veinal	7 pax	Mix from the associations	25-07-2013	19:00h	1:15 h

Barri Gotic (Ciutat Vella district)

The researcher met with a technician of the association to talk about the research project, and to ask the organisation to participate in a focus group. After that conversation it was agreed that the focus group should be conducted in collaboration with the Xarxa Veinal de Ciutat Vella district. The technician provided written information, such as magazines, leaflets, information letters, and flyers, about the association's policy and activities in the Barri Gotic neighbourhood.

Activity	Person's name	Position	Date	Time	Duration
First meeting	Mrs. Teresa Picazo	Vice president	11-06-2013	20:00h	0.30 h

L'Òstia (in Barceloneta's neighbourhood. Ciutat Vella district)

In Barceloneta, there were two official neighbours' associations; L'Òstia and Barceloneta. Both were contacted, but only L'Òstia agreed to talk with the researcher. In the first meeting with the president the researcher explained the research project. It was agreed that a focus group would be organised as part of the associations' committee meeting. The president provided the researcher with written information, such as leaflets, magazines, and flyers of the association.

Activity	Person's name	Position	Date	Time	Duration
First meeting	Ms. Sussana	President	27-06-2013	18:00h	0.30 h
Focus Group	3 pax	Mix from the association	04-07-2013	19:30h	1:00 h

Sagrada Familia (Eixample district)

The researcher met with the vice-president of the association to explain the research project and to ask if they would help to organise a focus group in their neighbourhood. After the vice-president described the current situation of neighbours in Sagrada Familia and Eixample district, we agreed to organise a focus group with members interested in, or affected by, tourism development. The association provided written information, such as leaflets, magazines, and flyers.

Activity	Person's name	Position	Date	Time	Duration
First meeting	Ms. Marina	Vice President	09-07-2013	18:00h	0.30 h
Focus Group	5 pax	Mix from the association	24-07-2013	19:30h	1:00 h

Les Corts

The researcher met the president of the association to explain the research project and to organise focus group in their neighbourhood. After discussion and explanation of the current situation in different neighbours' associations in Les Corts district, we agreed to organise a focus group with members of other neighbour associations in Les Corts district to talk about tourism development in the area. The president provided written information about the association, including leaflets and magazines.

Activity	Person's name	Position	Date	Time	Duration
First meeting	Ms. Adela Angelet	President	26-06-2013	18:00h	0.30 h
Focus Group	4 pax	Presidents of associations	04-07-2013	19:30h	1:00 h

Vila Olímpica

The researcher met with the vice-president of the association to explain the research project and organise a focus group in their neighbourhood. After the vice-president provided an overview of the different neighbours' associations in Sant Martí district, we agreed to stay in contact by email, to try to organise a focus group with members of the association of Vila Olímpica. The researcher contacted them several times but was unable to organise a focus group in this neighbourhood. The association provided written information, such as leaflets and magazines.

Activity	Person's name	Position	Date	Time	Duration
First meeting	Mr. Josep Dalmau	Vice president	08-07-2013	18:30h	0.30 h

Other contacts carried out

The following contacts did not respond to phone calls and emails:

Association	District	Activity	Person name	Position	Date
Poble Nou	Sant Martí	Phone calls and email	Mr. Salvador Clarós	President	26-06 and 11-07-2013
Centre Social de Sants	Sants-Montjuic	Phone calls and email	Mr. Josep M ^a Domingo	President	27-06 and 03-06-2013
Unió d'Associacions de Veïns del Poble Sec		Phone calls and email	Mr. Lluís Martínez	President	21-06 and 11-07-2013
Coll-Vallcarca	Gràcia	Phone calls			21 and 25-06-2013
Vila de Gràcia		Phone call and mail	Mr. Xavier Jolvé	President	21 and 25-06-2013
Plataforma del Park Güell		Mail			27-06-2013
Dreta de l'Eixample	Eixample	Phone calls and mail	Mr. Sergi López Grando	President	21-06 and 11-07-2013

A total of 13 neighbours' associations were contacted to organise focus groups. Most were busy preparing for the summer period, and it proved to be a difficult time to organise focus groups. Nevertheless, four focus group were organised, two in the Ciutat Vella district, with the Xarxa veïnal de Ciutat Vella, and L'Òstia; a third in Eixample district with the Sagrada Família neighbourhood, and a fourth in Les Corts district, with the Coordinadora d'associacions de veïns de Les Corts.

Interviews

The researcher approached the following key representatives of tourism in Barcelona for an interview, the City Council, the consortium Turisme de Barcelona, and the Chamber of Commerce of Barcelona, as a public and a private organisation. As well, the researcher interviewed the President of the FAVB to talk about the local community, the city, and tourists, and their inter-relationships.

Barcelona City Council (Ajuntament de Barcelona)

The researcher initially sent an email to the City Council to explain the research and requesting an interview to elicit their views about tourism development in the city. The City Council is responsible for the development of tourism in Barcelona, as well as policy, planning, and economic development of the city. An interview was then organised with the project manager who provided written information including leaflets, studies, statistics, and other relevant material.

Activity	Person's name	Position	Date	Time	Duration
Interview	Mr. Xavier Suñol	Project manager	04-07-2013	09:30h	1.00 h

Turisme de Barcelona

The researcher initially sent an email to Turisme de Barcelona to explain the research project and requested an interview with them to discuss tourism development in the city. Turisme de Barcelona is a public-private consortium responsible for promotion of tourism in Barcelona. The researcher interviewed the Director who provided leaflets, studies, statistics, and other relevant material for the research.

Activity	Person's name	Position	Date	Time	Duration
Interview	Mr. Pere Duran	Director	08-07-2013	10:00h	1.00 h

Chamber of Commerce of Barcelona

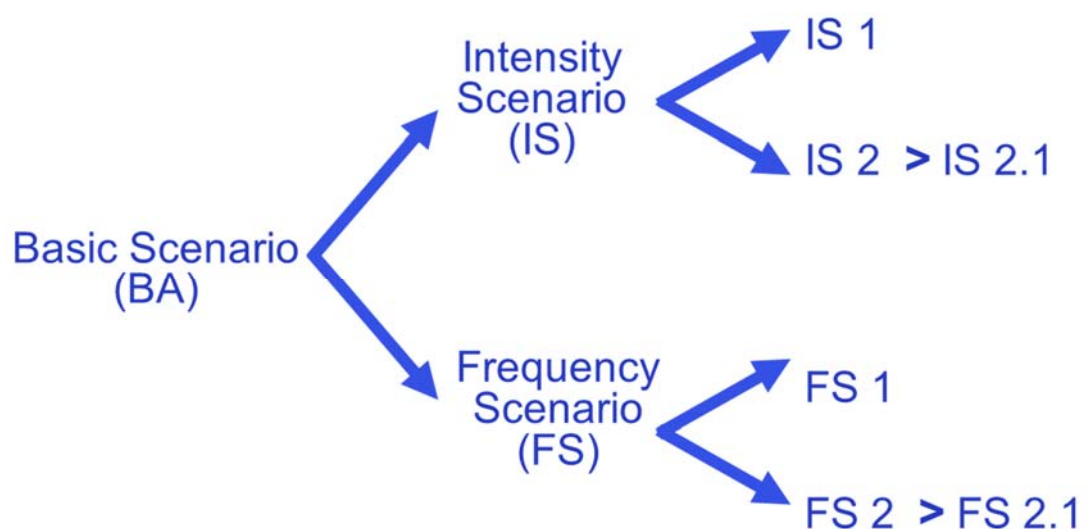
The researcher sent an email to the Chamber of Commerce to explain the research project and request an interview to discuss their views about tourism development in the city. The Chamber of Commerce represents most private sector interests in the city and is therefore a very important actor in tourism in Barcelona. However, after several follow up emails and phone calls, they refused to be interviewed arguing that they were represented by the consortium Turisme de Barcelona, who had responsibility for tourism. Consequently, they recommended that Tourism de Barcelona be contacted.

Activity	Person's name	Position	Date
Contacted via email and phone	Mr. Xavier Carbonell	Managing director (Director Gerent)	27-06-2013 and 04-07-2013

Appendix H. Interaction Process of Absorbing Tourism scenarios

IPAT can be developed in different scenarios. Figure H.1 shows the different paths that can be developed, including the Intensity scenario and the Frequency scenario. In an intensity scenario, for example, the destination will increase the intensity of reaction while keeping the frequency of interaction low, and in a Frequency scenario, the destination will increase the frequency while keeping the intensity low. Therefore, the intensity scenario occurs when a destination has a higher level of intensity than frequency, and has a frequency scenario which has a high level of frequency with a low level of intensity. However, as the destination develops tourism and increases the number of tourists and visitors, the tendency of the scenarios is to merge, developing a high level of intensity and frequency.

Figure H.1. IPAT Model: scenarios paths

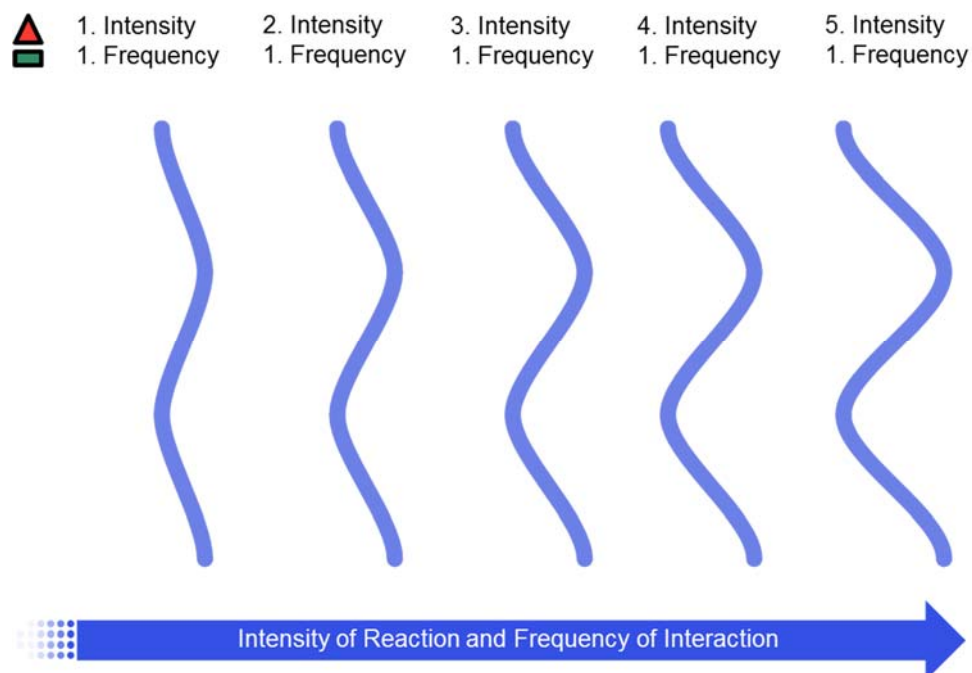


As Figure H.1 shows, the Basic Scenario (Figure 2.4) can be developed in two different ways; the Intensity and the Frequency Scenarios. Both have two different paths that can be developed; IS and IS1, IS and IS2, and IS2.1. The section shows the different scenarios that can be developed by a destination, taking these paths into consideration.

Intensity scenario

The intensity scenario defines destinations that are developing tourism in an intense way, in a sense that, when a destination has a high level of overnight stays, it may have a relatively low level of occupancy rates in accommodation establishments. Figure H.2 shows that the intensity scenario starts with a low level of intensity (1) and frequency (1) where there is a consistent increase in the level of intensity, while keeping the level of frequency low. This results in a destination that has developed a high level of intensity and low level of frequency.

Figure H.2. Intensity scenario: increase intensity and minimum frequency



Once the destination has arrived at a maximum level of intensity, if it is to be further developed, it can follow two different paths, increasing frequency (Figure H.3) or reducing intensity and increasing frequency (Figure H.4). At a later stage of development it can increase intensity while maintaining a high frequency (Figure H.5). Figure H.3 shows intensity scenario 1 where at the maximum intensity there is an increase in frequency, with an outcome of high intensity (5) and high frequency (5).

Figure H.3. Intensity scenario 1: maximum intensity and increase frequency

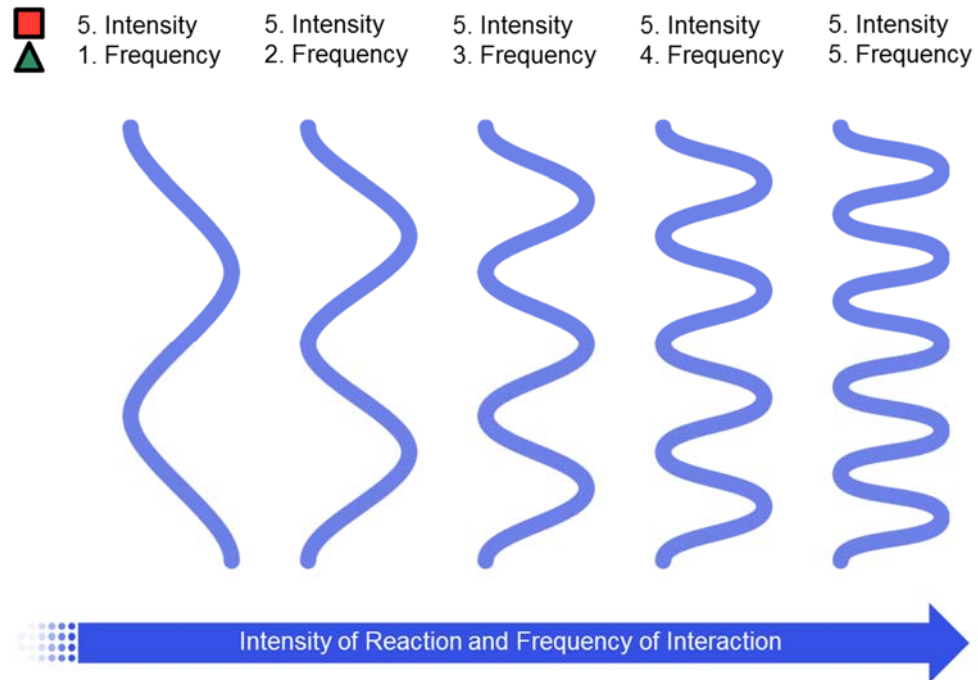


Figure H.4 shows intensity scenario 2, which is composed of two development paths. At a maximum level of intensity (5) and a minimum frequency (1), it can be developed in a way that the intensity decreases, while the frequency increases, having an outcome of low intensity (1) and high frequency (5).

Figure H.4. Intensity scenario 2: decrease intensity and increase frequency

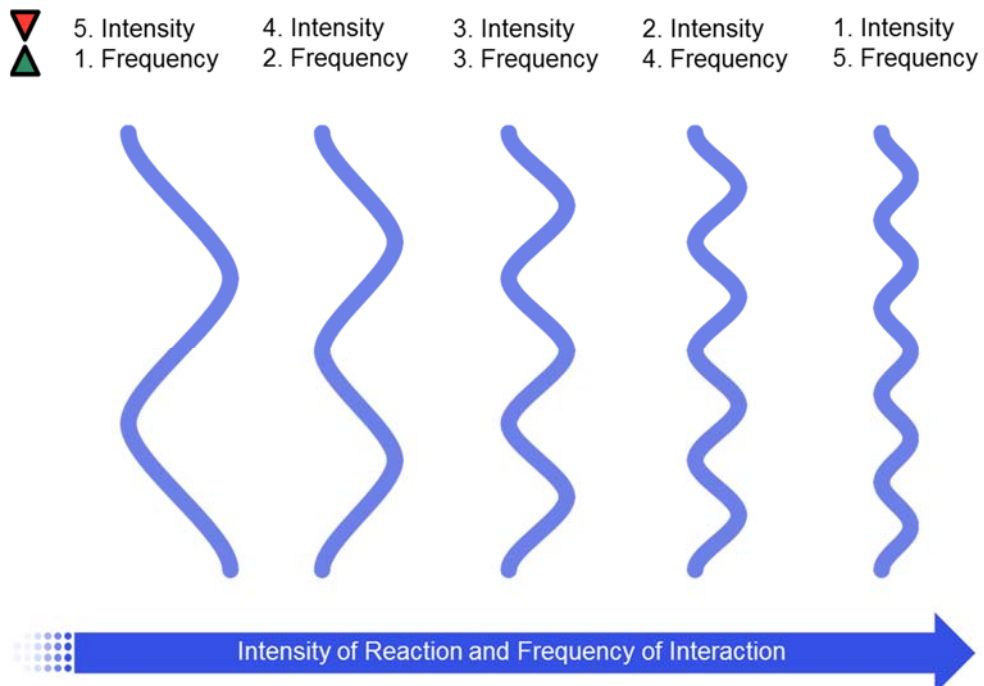
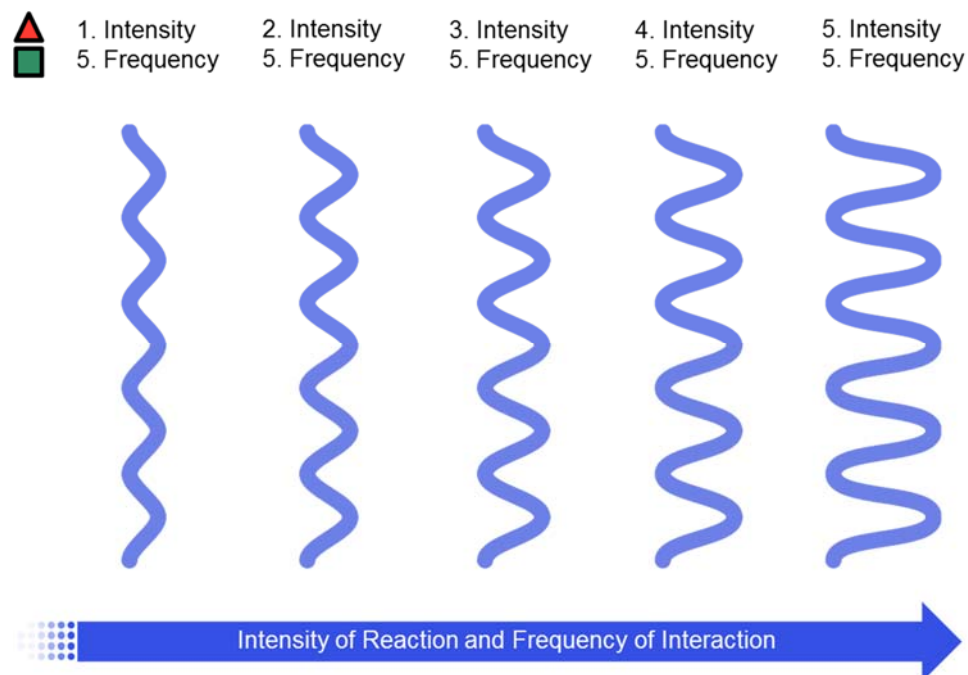


Figure H.5 shows intensity scenario 2.1, which follows the previous intensity scenario 2, starting with a low level of intensity (1) and a high level of frequency (5), in which to further

develop tourism increases the intensity level, with an outcome of high intensity (5) and high frequency (5) levels.

Figure H.5. Intensity scenario 2.1: increase intensity and maximum frequency

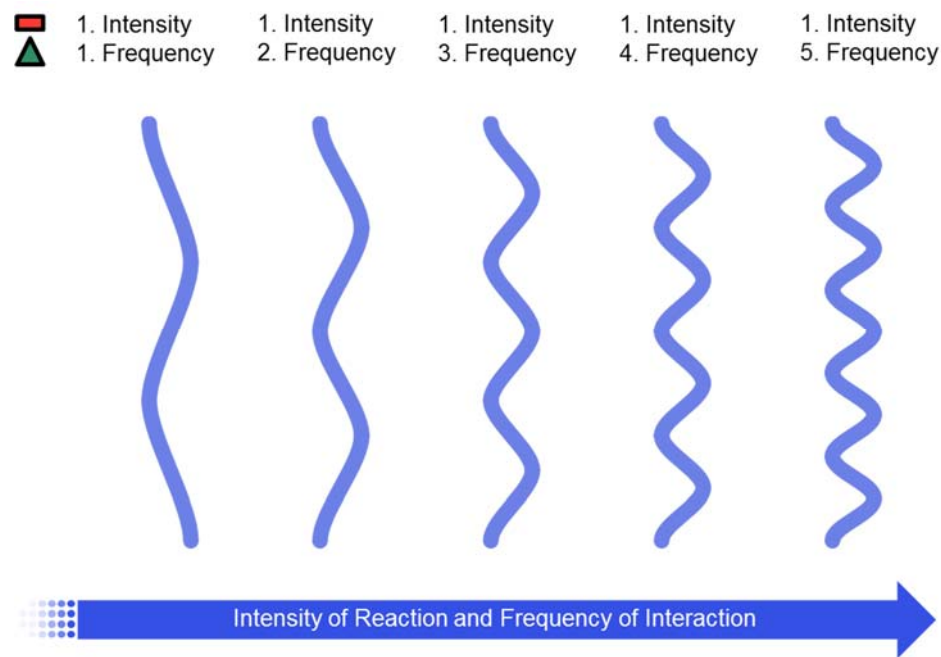


The intensity scenario shows how a destination can be developed by passing through some of the intensity scenarios described; by starting to increase its intensity levels, a destination increases the intensity path of development.

Frequency scenario

The frequency scenario defines the destinations that are developing tourism at a frequency level, in the sense that a destination may have a high level of occupancy in accommodation establishments, but a relatively low level of overnight stays in hotels. Figure H.6 shows that the frequency scenario starts with a low level of intensity (1) and frequency (1), in which there is a consistent increase in the level of frequency, while keeping the level of intensity low. This results in a destination that has developed a high level of frequency and low level of intensity.

Figure H.6. Frequency scenario: minimum intensity and increase frequency



Once the destination has arrived at a maximum level of frequency, to be further developed it can follow two different paths; increasing intensity (Figure H.7) or reducing frequency and increasing intensity (Figure H.8). Finally, it can increase frequency, while maintaining a high intensity (Figure H.9). Figure H.7 shows frequency scenario 1, as the scenario where at the maximum frequency there is an increase in intensity, with an outcome of high intensity (5) and high frequency (5).

Figure H.7. Frequency scenario 1: increase intensity and maximum frequency

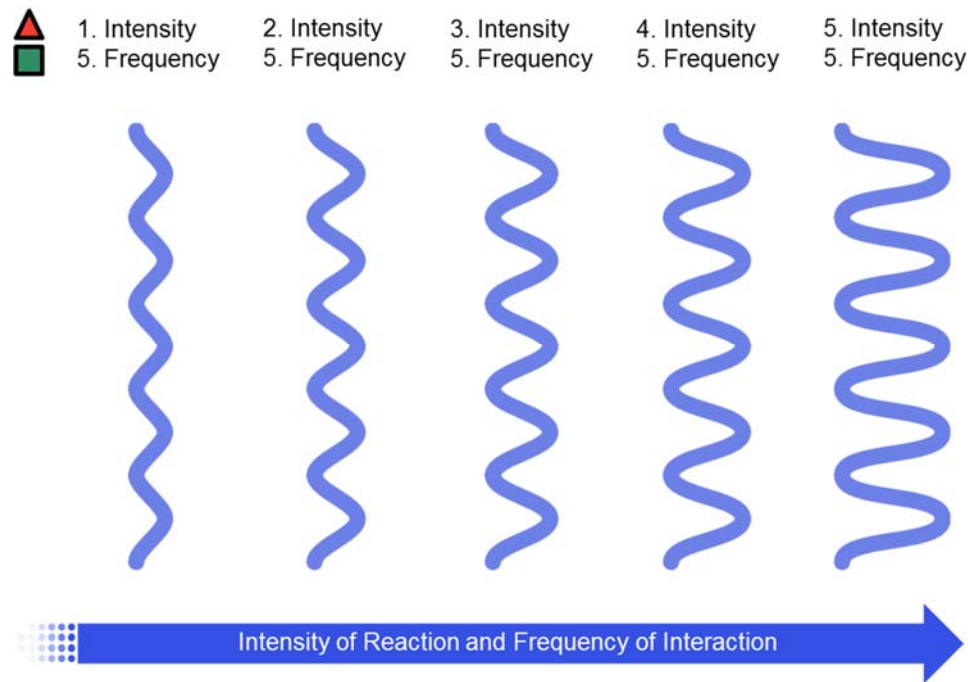


Figure H.8 shows frequency scenario 2, which is composed of two development paths. At a maximum level of frequency (5) and minimum level of intensity (1), it shows how the frequency decreases, while the intensity increases, with an outcome of high intensity (5) and low frequency (5).

Figure H.8. Frequency scenario 2: increase intensity and decrease frequency

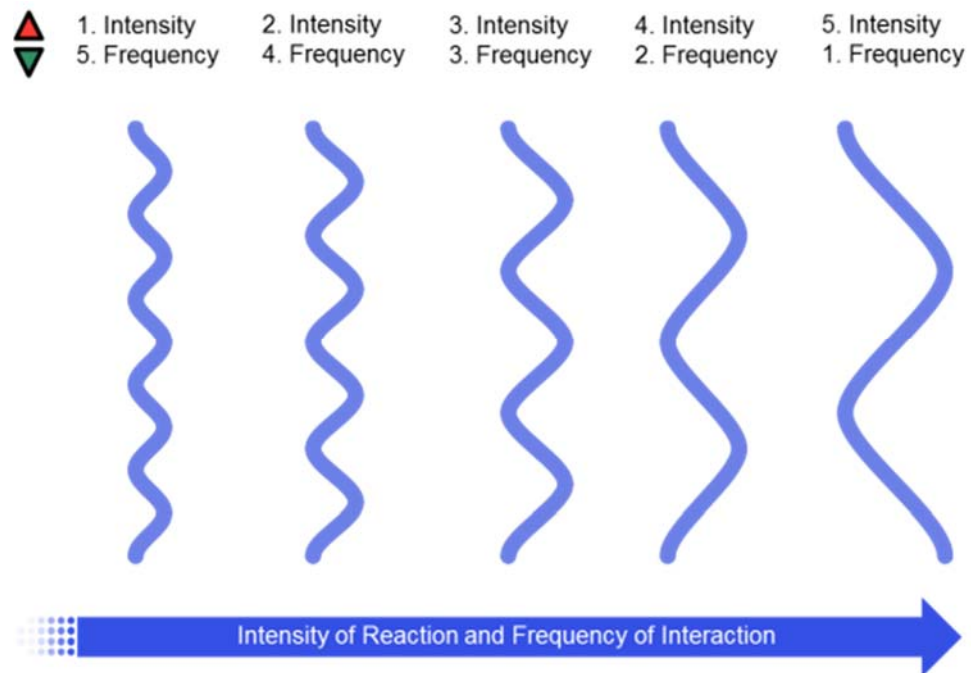
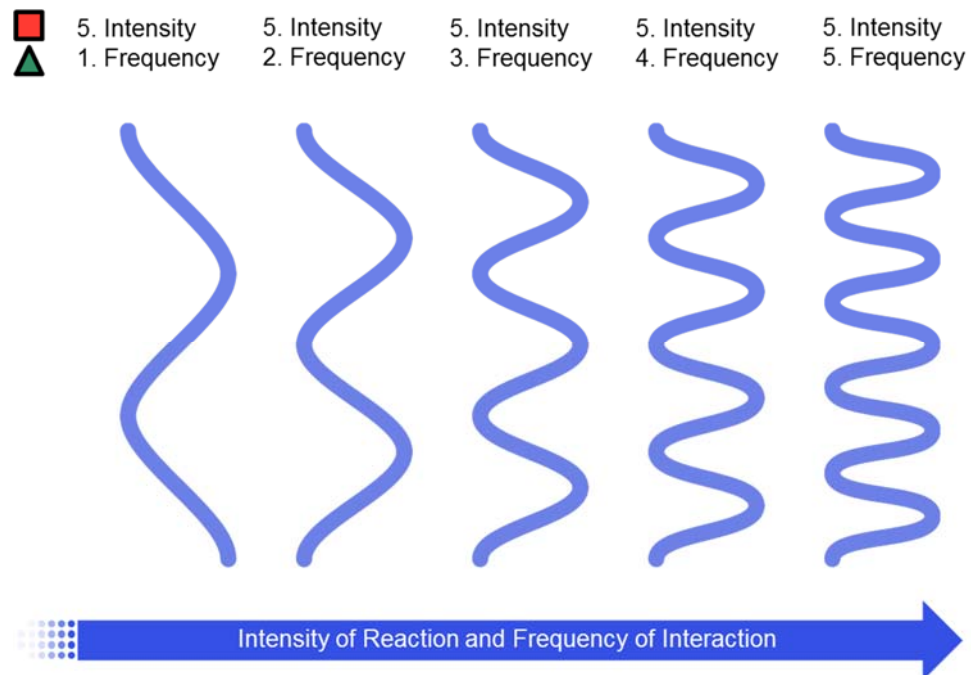


Figure H.9 shows frequency 2.1 which follows the previous frequency scenario 2, starting with a low level of frequency (1) and a high level of intensity (5) where to further develop tourism is by increasing the frequency level, with an outcome of high intensity (5) and high frequency (5) levels.

Figure H.9. Frequency scenario 2.1: maximum intensity and increase frequency



The frequency scenario shows how a destination can be developed by passing through some of the frequency scenarios described. By starting to increase its frequency levels, a destination is developing the frequency path of development.

Both scenarios, intensity and frequency, have the same outcome, and as tourism develops, destinations will expand one way or another, which can result in knowing what type of development a destination has undertaken. As a result, if the destination continues to develop tourism, it will discontinue its outcomes where there is a high level of both intensity of reaction and frequency of interaction.