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Urban Dynamics in the Post-pandemic Period

Tourist Spaces and Urban Centres

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About This Book

This book analyses the transformations of urban centres and the changes in urban-tourist spaces on the coast and in cities in this post-pandemic period.

In the twenty-first century, the city and the urban space are the main protagonists of social, economic and environmental changes. One of these changes is tourism development which, on the one hand, is beginning to transform social relations, generating other dynamics in the urban centres of cities, and on the other, it is creating new urbanised spaces in coastal areas, without creating a city. At the same time, urban centres are the most emblematic, symbolic and distinctive places in cities, and where urban transformations are concentrated with processes of gentrification, new commercial typologies, transformations of the housing stock, changes in the functionality of public spaces, among others.

The pandemic generated by COVID-19 has accelerated the trends that have been investigated for years in urban space and tourism. This context of uncertainty does not start with COVID-19 in 2020. The 2010s have seen the consolidation of phenomena and processes on a planetary scale. The euphoria of the tourism sector, with record numbers of tourists, is concentrated in cities and coastal areas, with a growth in accommodation where, in addition to hotels, tourist accommodation has exploded, generating conflicts in the urban centres of cities. At the same time, real estate reactivation has developed after the 2008 crisis, and in some countries, such as the USA, Spain and Germany, difficulties in access to housing have been diagnosed due to the change in accommodation consumption habits on the part of tourists, associated with the platform economy. At the same time, there is an increase in new agents developing urban projects with the internationalisation of the real estate market and irrigation capital companies. To this are added urban gentrification strategies, increasing inequalities, public investment policies for the rehabilitation and restructuring of cities, and social conflicts that have turned into social outbursts expressing the non-conformity of citizens, which we could define as the "city of protest".

The chapters of the book are grouped into 3 blocks: tourist dynamics in urban centres; urban-tourist spaces on the coast with new urbanised spaces; and new urban dynamics, conflicts and urban challenges. The case studies focus mainly on Spain, together with cities in Europe and Latin America. As a postscript, it reflects on the social and territorial phenomena at intra-urban borders in Latin American border cities.

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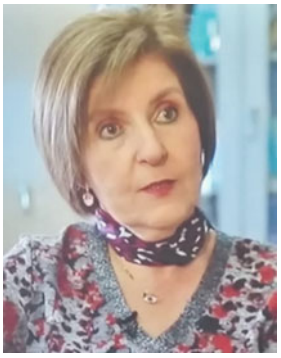

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Part I
Tourism Dynamics in Urban City Centres

Chapter 1
Towards Resilient Urbanism in Tourist Cities: Post-pandemic Challenges

Irene N-Franco and Concepción Foronda-Robles

Abstract The objective of this study is to explore urban trends after the COVID-19 period in terms of safety, proximity, green spaces and/or socialisation, taking the cities of Paris, Milan and Barcelona as case studies. The methodology employed is based on the use of qualitative and quantitative techniques where, firstly, the urban planning actions developed during the pandemic context and aimed at developing a more resilient urban environment have been analysed. Subsequently, the relationships between these actions were analysed using UciNet 6.743 Social Network Analysis Software (SNA) to determine the connections and networks established between them. The results obtained demonstrate not only the links between the different areas of action (public space, mobility, facilities and services, housing), but also that COVID-19 has accelerated the trend of urban planning towards resilient urbanism to create more sustainable and healthy cities to address post-pandemic challenges such as adaptation to climate change or the emergence of future diseases.

Keywords Resilient urbanism · Chronourbanisme · Public space · Mobility · Facilities and services · Housing

1.1 Background

COVID-19 spread at breakneck speed, in late 2019, resulting in a global pandemic. Cities, being in continuous urban sprawl, axes of political and economic power, hubs of commercial exchange and people flow, as well as hyperconnected global networks and centres of tourist attraction, have been placed at the epicentre of this disease.

In this perspective, the dilemma of what future cities and lifestyles should be like, which are directly affected by the current context derived from the pandemic, is once

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again posed (Wang and Tang 2020). Such a situation forces a reconsideration of long-held beliefs about the good shape of the city and the purpose of urban planning, reopening the debate on compact development versus sprawl (Badger 2020). In this sense, social distancing has been shown to help prevent the transmission of COVID-19, although it is also difficult to apply to compact urban spaces, so in order to achieve more open public spaces, it is necessary to change the design and use of the urban fabric, allowing for flexibility and variability of use (Abusaada and Elshater 2020).

Emphasis has also been placed on the need to have essential basic services close to residential areas. A compact city model based on proximity translates into easier access to these services through shorter trips and by sustainable means (Sisson 2020). This implies configuring a city on a human scale through neighbourhoods connected by quality public transport and pedestrian and cycling infrastructure. In this way, the aim is to break the urban paradigms that have traditionally predominated, where the city has been functionally fragmented (shops, industry, residence and leisure) and its morphology adapted to private motorised vehicles (Paquot 2021).

Consequently, a number of cities are implementing urban models based on chronourbanism (Boucher 2020), which refers to urban planning that prioritises the spatio-temporal relationship and underlines territorial inequality at the individual level (López 2015). Examples are: vital neighbourhoods (Bogotá), superblocks or superilles (Barcelona), 15-minute neighbourhoods (Paris, Milan) or 20-minute neighbourhoods (Buenos Aires, Melbourne, Portland, Ottawa). In this sense, the aim is to create an urban future that is more resilient and resistant to climate change, health and economic crises, boosting proximity and reducing displacement while helping to mitigate pre-existing inequalities with respect to the essential elements of the neighbourhood (Gower and Grodach 2022).

In the case of Europe, public administrations have been forced to face this new challenge and to rethink the city model implemented and inherited from the different stages of this historical context (Kunzmann 2020). In the past, the Industrial Revolution changed the shape of medieval cities, enlarging them and endowing them with large and heterogeneous populations that brought about demographic changes that resulted in overcrowding and migration, thus favouring the transmission of infectious diseases (Hall 1997). In this context, urban planning emerged as a discipline to deal with such diseases, as one of the main means to prevent their spread (Lynch 1981).

Today, as in previous centuries, urban planning has to be considered as one of the key axes in dealing with possible resurgences of COVID-19 or the emergence of other future diseases. Guiding urban transformation through the resilient approach would, among other objectives, aim to achieve sustainable urban planning and foster a methodological-normative framework that contributes to better self-management and governance of the city. This would translate into greater responsiveness to change (Jabareen and Eizenberg 2021). Indeed, the UN-Habitat (2021) report "Cities and Pandemics: Towards a More Just, Green and Healthy Future", based on the documentation of 1,700 cities and a comprehensive analysis of their policies, demonstrates how cities have the capacity to reduce the impact of future pandemics and to become more equitable, healthy and sustainable.

Against this backdrop, it should be remembered that tourism is subsumed and embedded in the postmodern city, and while it may be a dominant element in those localities that actively promote their tourist attractions, it is an integrated aspect of the city's morphology and functionality (Taylor and Hochuli 2015). In this way, tourism activity complicates policy decisions on issues of urban space, having to deal with conflicts related to the privatisation of public space or its influence on housing and the geography of labour and workers, as well as the distribution and functioning of local businesses (Alraouf 2021). Furthermore, although in some cases easily recognisable, the tourist city is not necessarily spatially distinct, as there are spatially dispersed consumption experiences that are often grouped into districts and zones, which have their own symbols and a wide range of icons that differentiate them from other urban spaces (Freytag and Bauder 2018).

In recent decades, managing sustainable urban tourism has been a challenge for local governments, residents and tourists. Consequently, the rise of urban tourism has brought with it an unprecedented concentration of tourist activity, where urban spaces have undergone complex transformations resulting from overtourism or gentrification, leading to their functional transformation and touristification (De la Calle-Vaquero 2019).

The pandemic has given rise to an urban crisis, a time of unprecedented change and uncertainty in which tourism and urban space are in the spotlight and where urban planning is fundamental (Alraouf 2021). In this sense, the aim of the chapter is to explore urban trends after COVID-19 in terms of security, proximity, green spaces and/or socialisation. To this end, two specific objectives are set out: (1) to analyse the urban planning discourse and establish relationships between the main areas of action (public space, mobility, facilities and services, and housing); and (2) to analyse as case studies major tourist cities, Paris, Barcelona and Milan.

1.2 Methodology

Firstly, an analysis has been carried out of the urban planning actions developed during the COVID-19 pandemic and aimed at creating an urban environment that is more resilient to the emergence of future diseases. Many of the actions had been initiated or planned prior to the outbreak of the disease but have been accentuated after its emergence. In the case of both Paris and Milan, the actions proposed under the 15-minute city approach are taken into consideration. Regarding the former, the measures contemplated in the Local Urban Plan, projected in the programmatic document Planning and Sustainable Development Project (City of Paris 2018), have been considered. As for the second, the Milan 2020 Adaptation Strategy (Comune di Milano 2020) has been considered. In the city of Barcelona, the actions revolving around the "Superilles Programme", included in the Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan (SUMP) 2013–2018 and in the SUMP 2019–2024, are analysed. The Paris and Barcelona plans were previously proposed to COVID-19 and have undergone

modifications to streamline procedures and adapt to the pandemic situation. In the case of Milan, the approaches were designed during the pandemic period.

The planning instruments have been classified into four main areas of action: (1) Public space (PS), dealing with all those actions of transformation, improvement, adaptation and regeneration of public urban space; (2) Mobility (M), in relation to the different forms of movement and transit in cities; (3) Facilities and services (Fs), which refers to the uses and functionalities to satisfy needs (shops, education, health, etc.); and (4) Housing (H), which encompasses specific actions of the urban residential aspect.

Twenty-one actions were analysed for Paris, 22 for Milan and 25 for Barcelona, all of which are classified, coded and detailed in Annex. It should be noted that, although they are presented together, each of these actions addresses different issues and has no connection between them, even though they share the same code.

In order to consider the relationships between the urban planning actions and the proposed classification areas of Paris, Milan and Barcelona, the relationships between the different nodes previously generated in the matrix analysis are analysed, using the UciNet 6 version 6.742 Social Network Analysis (SNA) software (Borgatti et al. 2002).

1.3 Results

1.3.1 Paris and Milan, 15-Minute Cities

In Paris, the central idea of public space (PS) revolves around its reorganisation and reuse through tactical planning. The aim is to increase space for pedestrians and cyclists, as well as to make the use of space more natural, safe and flexible, allowing for issues such as social distancing and the creation of healthier urban environments.

Furthermore, it is committed to "ecomobility" (M) centred on the intermodal and fluid use of walking, cycling and public transport. The actions related to this correspond to the prioritisation of collective public transport over private vehicles and the creation of pedestrian and cyclable spaces ("coronapistes"), as well as measures to regulate their flow and limit motorised traffic.

The actions of facilities and services (Fs) are aimed at satisfying the basic needs of citizens through proximity and the slowing down of the economy. Issues such as the promotion of teleworking to reduce commuting, the prioritisation of land use for security, health or local commerce, as well as the creation of green spaces for meeting and socialising, allow the practice of sports or children's leisure activities.

Housing (H) is the least addressed action during the pandemic. However, it is interesting to note the transformation of underused offices and business districts into residential spaces due to the increase in teleworking. Prior to the pandemic, the need for more social housing was already being considered. In the same way, the creation

of socialisation spaces in the construction of new housing that would allow for greater social integration in the face of future confinements is also a priority.

Figure 1.1 shows the relationships between the different developments. There is a degree of centrality around pedestrianisation (PS4). This node marks the distribution of the rest of the actions, establishing dyadic relationships that form a network with an egocentric tendency. It can be affirmed that the transformation of public space in Paris is largely influenced by the processes of pedestrianisation, conditioning the rest of the actions under this measure. Likewise, there is a certain centrality with the meeting and socialisation spaces (Fs3). Although there is a distance between both central nodes, they are indirectly linked to public spaces (PS5) and facilities and services (Fs2). It is possible to see the close relationship between these two areas, so it can be inferred that the degree of centralisation is high given that the structure of the network is concentrated around these nodes.

In the case of mobility, the distribution is more dispersed and transversal, with proximity to public space and facilities/services, acting as a connecting axis for links with other actions (M2-Fs2-EQ1, M5-PS2-PS3-PS4). In the same way, the coronapistes (M3) and the regulation of pedestrian flows (M5) are integrated into this centrality.

Finally, urban housing actions are scarce and poorly connected. In fact, the transformation of offices and business districts (H1) and the increase in social housing (H2) are only linked to the network through the promotion of teleworking (Fs1) which, in turn, is linked to the reduction of individual commuting (M2) and the reservation and prioritisation of land use for security, health and local commerce (Fs2). In the case of the provision of socialisation spaces in the construction of new housing (H3), it is more integrated, establishing links with equipment and service

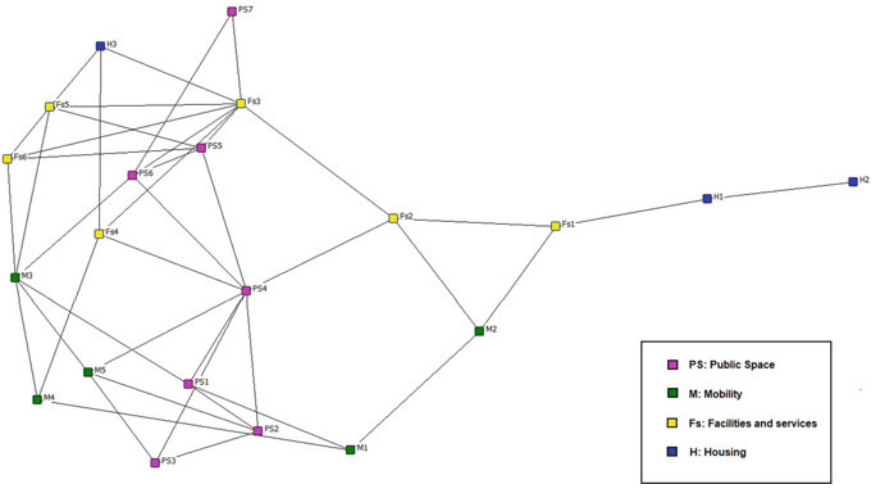

Fig. 1.1 Network analysis of urban planning actions in Paris in the face of the pandemic challenge. *Source* Own elaboration

actions that encourage sociability and interactions between citizens (Fs3, Fs4 and Fs5).

In Milan, PS measures aim to promote proximity through active and sustainable mobility, to the detriment of the use of private vehicles. They also advocate the extension of pedestrianisation processes and the improvement and adaptation of space (green and safe areas) to pedestrian and cycling traffic through car restrictions such as lane reduction, the reuse of car parks or the creation of a network of pedestrian and cycle paths.

In mobility, Paris is committed to sustainability with the implementation of zones where it is not possible to drive faster than 30 km/h, as well as the diversification of public transport and intermodality where active means of transport such as walking and cycling are combined, adding the use of scooters. Milan also aims to promote the use of VTC and taxis for essential services and certain groups such as the elderly who have greater difficulties in using intermodal transport.

The Fs measures focus on promoting the proximity of basic services by encouraging teleworking and adding, in this case, an increase in co-working spaces. They also focus on the desynchronisation of timetables and the spatial redistribution of public services, shops and productive activities. Likewise, the measures focus on meeting the needs of the elderly and children, through the redesign and adaptation of services and the creation of play and leisure spaces, especially in the summer months.

Other proposals are to provide a more equitable housing market (H) through the activation of empty properties and their prioritisation for social renting, as well as the climate-proofing of newly built housing and the use of renewable energies, as well as their capacity to include teleworking.

Figure 1.2 shows the urban relationships in Milan. At first glance, it is similar in shape to the Paris network, although a closer look reveals that the number of relationships is much higher. In general terms, there is no central node or nodes that condition the distribution of the rest of the relationships, so the degree of internal cohesion is quite high and transversality in the network is more present than centrality. In relation to the latter, it is worth highlighting the high degree of interrelation between the variables of the PS, M and Ps spheres, especially about the actions for the transformation of space towards pedestrianisation and cycling (PS1, PS2, PS3, PS4), sustainable mobility measures (M1, M2, M4, M5) and redistribution (Fs3) and the redesign of public, commercial and cultural services (Fs5).

Despite the high number of links with bidirectional flows present in the network, there are some nodes that present a lower number of relations, and which correspond to the reorganisation (Fs2) and reuse (Fs6) of public facilities and services, aimed at promoting their proximity to the resident population. The same applies to the promotion of teleworking and co-working (Fs1) which, as well as being related to the measures that follow this line, is also linked to the aforementioned mobility actions. Furthermore, it acts as a link with the only cluster in the network, which corresponds to the four measures in area V related to encouraging social housing and adapting residential buildings both to climate change and to the new working formulas that have been encouraged after COVID-19.

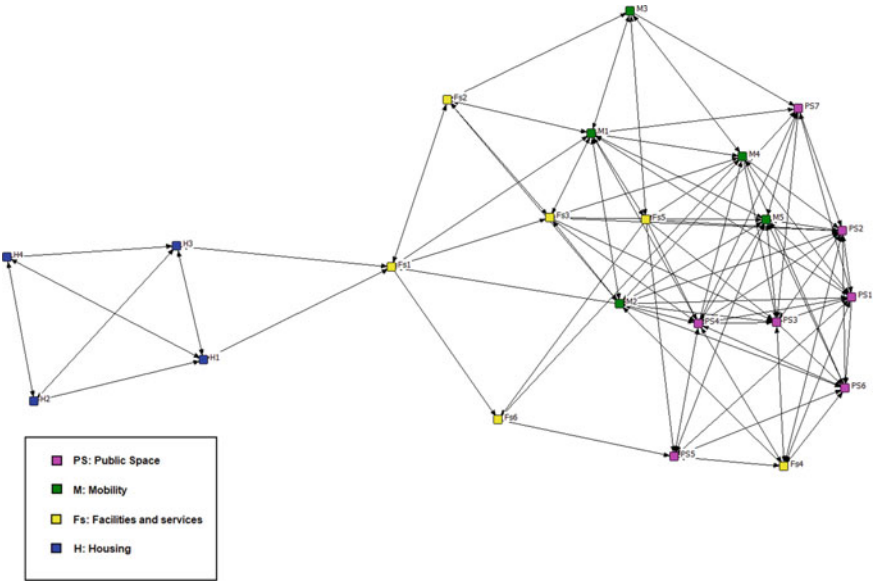

Fig. 1.2 Network analysis of Milan's urban planning actions in the face of the pandemic challenge. *Source* Own elaboration

1.3.2 Barcelona and the Superilles

The Superilles programme aims to transform the public space (PS) into a safer, more ecological, closer, healthier and more social space. The actions are framed by the pedestrianisation of large spaces (superblocks), providing them with new urban furniture and creating new green axes and squares to promote urban sociability and develop more ecological and safer environments for pedestrian and cyclist traffic.

Mobility (M) is focused on reducing car use and promoting public transport combined with individual transport through cycling and walking. In this sense, it is proposed to limit motorised speed, create cycle lanes and pedestrian paths and extend tram, bus and metro services.

The facilities and services (Fs) focus on proximity, sociability and the enhancement of urban culture, and the creation of spaces that enhance the value of Barcelona's architectural heritage, which forms part of its cultural identity. Similarly, in order to reduce individual journeys and meet the needs of residents, local commerce is encouraged, allowing suppliers to load and unload and limiting the use of private vehicles for other purposes.

The actions for housing are based on criteria of health, sustainability, and sociability, and are more numerous than in Paris and Milan. In this sense, solutions are proposed to adapt housing to the effects of climate change and to establish the regulation of the intermediate space between housing and the street for community use, reception of goods or collective storage, as well as the introduction of community and

flexible spaces within residential buildings that contribute to weaving neighbourhood networks.

In Fig. 1.3, Barcelona presents clear differences with the network of the other tourist cities. Firstly, there is a greater propensity to group nodes into clearly segregated clusters, which are related to each other with some intermediate connection. There is a degree of centrality around the public space cluster, mainly regarding the pedestrianisation of large blocks (PS4) which, as in Paris, is the central axis from which most of the actions start, creating a network of dyadic links starting from this area (PS1, PS2, PS3, PS6 and PS7).

Likewise, PS4 is the linking node between public space and mobility, through the reduction of speed to give priority to pedestrians (M1), and also, with facilities and services through the creation of meeting and recreational streets (Fs2). In relation to this last area, it should be noted that its nodes are very close and linked to those corresponding to the public space actions. In the same way, these nodes (Fs1, Fs2 and Fs4) are connected and linked to the network of housing actions to promote sociability (H5 and H6).

As for mobility, this area generates its own cluster through nodes that only establish links between them, in a more or less balanced way. The integration of the mobility actions in the network is established through the aforementioned M1 and the permission of loading and unloading for local commerce (Fs3) which in turn is

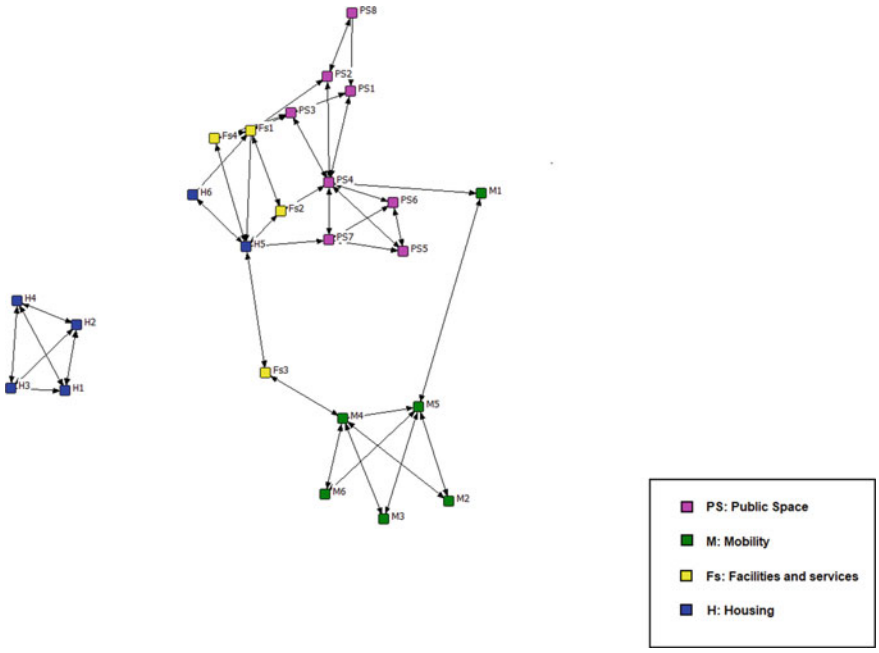

Fig. 1.3 Network analysis of Barcelona's urban planning actions in the face of the pandemic challenge. *Source* Own elaboration

related to the regulation of the intermediate space with housing (H5), which acts as a connector to the network.

Finally, very similar to Milan, it is remarkable the presence of an independent cluster (H1, H2, H3 and H4). This is because such rehabilitation, transformation and endowment measures are exclusive to residential buildings, so although they are intended to contribute to a healthier and more sustainable urban environment, they are not directly related to issues of mobility, public space and facilities and services.

1.4 Conclusions

The pandemic has accelerated the change in the urban planning paradigm, especially in terms of proximity and sustainable mobility. Both the city of Paris and Barcelona are references in urban planning issues and their urban models are the result of important processes developed in previous centuries (Hausmanisation and Plan Cerdà, respectively) and which were replicated in other cities (Jordan 2015; Martí 1999). In the case of the first, it is betting on a fairer and more sustainable development model that revolves around the "15-minute city", an ambitious renovation based on a political, theoretical and technical framework that reverses the traditional central model with a strong ecological focus, which is materialised in the progressive decrease in car use to give way to walking and cycling (Moreno et al. 2021). In the case of the second, it has accelerated the implementation of a new urban model based on the "Superblocks" programme, which proposes the transformation of all the city's streets to recover and provide other uses for the space given over to the car. In both cases, the actions analysed were, for the most part, planned in the context prior to the pandemic and revolved around the adaptation of urban spaces to climate change. As the study demonstrates, COVID-19 has further emphasised the need to carry them out and implement them in the short term, acting as an accelerator of these emerging practices. Milan takes Paris as a reference point and after the pandemic context starts to develop the 15-minute city model, putting urban planning back in the spotlight as a tool to tackle the effects of diseases as it did in previous centuries.

The predominant areas of action in the three cities are changes and transformations in public space and mobility, aimed at reducing car use, increasing pedestrianisation and promoting walking and cycling. The aim is to create more sustainable, healthy and resilient urban environments under the criteria of proximity through urban planning models based on chronourbanism. As explained above, this is a global trend, however, after analysing the planning documents in this study, it should be noted that this is not an operationalised issue in terms of urban planning concepts.

As Gower and Grodach (2022) argue, the effective implementation of a chronourban model, be it 15, 20 or 30 minutes, requires a set of measurable and quantifiable benchmarks that can be adapted to any neighbourhood and city, whatever its characteristics. Although the research highlights that the three cities follow

very similar trends based on proximity and sustainable mobility, the city models associated with chronourbanism must provide more precise metrics so that the measures implemented can be put into practice since, although there is a certain degree of coincidence, there is no definitive consensus, not even in the case of Paris and Milan, which follow the same model.

With regard to the analysis of networks, there are notable differences in terms of the number and distribution of connections, centrality and the greater or lesser presence of clusters. The morphology of the networks of Paris and Milan are similar, although the latter shows greater cohesion and transversality. In the case of Barcelona, it is the least integrated with a high tendency towards the creation of clusters. This analysis shows that, to a greater or lesser extent, these areas are related to each other and generate connections that reaffirm the need to address these issues from a cross-cutting and integrated perspective. Whatever the nature of the plan, the relationships between public spaces, mobility, as well as facilities and services to meet the needs of residents and housing, have to be taken into account, the latter being more isolated in all three cases.

Likewise, in relation to the need to provide urban planning with greater transversality and integrity, it should be noted that these new urban models of proximity are not taking urban tourism into account in their initial theoretical constructs, even though it is an activity that is fully integrated into urban life, coexisting directly with the resident (Freytag and Bauder 2018). This fact can make such approaches difficult, since, in the case of highly touristified spaces, this activity affects all the urban planning areas analysed and conflicts arise in issues such as the use of public space (overcrowding), increase in residential rental (tourist gentrification) or loss of traditional commerce (commercial gentrification).

Another aspect to take into account is that most of the actions that have been analysed are developed through tactical and ecosystemic urbanism, which are also setting the trend in urban planning. However, and especially in the case of the former, although during the pandemic it has been shown to be one of the most effective techniques for making the urban environment more flexible (Jabareen and Eizenberg 2021), it would be complicated to implement in heritage urban spaces that have higher levels of protection, which, moreover, in the case of European cities, usually correspond to historic centres which, in turn, are also usually the epicentres of urban tourism.

Finally, although the present study is exploratory, it could be carried out in other European urban spaces that are also developing resilient urbanism that started in the pre-pandemic period, but whose areas of action have accelerated in the current context, such as Berlin or London (Abusaada and Elshater 2020; Law et al. 2021; Jabareen and Eizenberg 2021).

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Annex: Urban Developments in Paris, Milan and Barcelona for the COVID-19 Context

Scope	Actions	Paris	Barcelona	Milan
Public Space	PS1	Reduction of private vehicle lanes	New street furniture	Reduction of private vehicle lanes
	PS2	Widening of pavement (2.8 m)	Creation of green axes	Pavement widening and adaptation to fragile populations
	PS3	Security barriers	Creation of 2000 m2 squares	Barriers and night-time security measures
	PS4	Pedestrianisation (streets)	Pedestrianisation (blocks)	Pedestrianisation and creation of residential streets
	PS5	Renaturalisation	Single platform pavement	Increasing green public spaces
	PS6	Re-use of car parks	Use of panot and ecological granite	Re-use of car parks
	PS7	Extension of terraces in establishments	Widening of pavements (4 m)	Creation of a network of pedestrian and cycle paths
	PS8	–	Green spaces (14% on average)	–
Mobility	M1	Increase of bus, taxi lanes and priority vehicles	Speed reduction 10 km/h	Improving and diversifying public transport and intermodality
	M2	Reduced individual travel, increased collective travel	Creation of bus, taxi and bicycle lanes	Promotion of active transport (walking, cycling, scooters)
	M3	Coronapistes (cycle path)	Extension of tramway lines	Increase use of VTC and taxi for essential services
	M4	Creation of limited traffic areas	Construction of exchanger	Increasing delivery stops for goods and emergencies
	M5	Regulation of pedestrian flows	Improving air quality	Implementation of 30 km/h zones
	M6	–	Orthogonal bus systems	–
Facilities and services	Fs1	Promoting telework	Provision of green axes or squares (-200 m)	Promoting teleworking and co-working spaces

(continued)

(continued)

Scope	Actions	Paris	Barcelona	Milan
	Fs2	Land use prioritisation	Creation of meeting and recreational streets	Desynchronisation of timetables of essential services
	Fs3	Meeting and socialising spaces	Loading and unloading permit	Redistribution of public, commercial and cultural services
	Fs4	School streets	Urban integration and architectural heritage	Play streets
	EQ5	Healthy streets	–	Redesigning summer services (seniors)
	EQ6	Green micro-spaces	–	Re-use of schools in summer
Housing	H1	Residential office use	Building with double skin for climate improvement	Activation of empty flats and reuse of office space
	H2	Increase in social housing	Biomatic ventilation and sunshine	Prioritisation of renting at subsidised prices
	H3	Socialisation spaces in housing	Renewable energy sources	Climate adaptation of housing
	H4	–	Refurbishment energy efficiency	Adaptation of housing to telework
	H5	–	Regulation of the buffer space	–
	H6	–	Community and flexible spaces	–

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Chapter 2
The Pain of Being a Resident in Granada. Analysis of the Accommodation Offer and Residents' Perception

Francisco Antonio Navarro-Valverde, Alberto Capote-Lama, María Barrero-Rescalvo, and Ibán Díaz-Parra

Abstract The process of touristification of cities has intensified in the last decade and the interruption of the pandemic has not improved it. Many destinations perceived overtourism, understood as the negative impact of tourism in a destination where it is perceived as saturated and has an excessive and negative influence on the quality of life of citizens and/or on the quality of the visitor experience. This congestion is not only due to the number of visitors, but also to the capacity to manage them. The seasonality and concentration in certain areas exacerbate this perception. It is understood that this congestion is not just a tourism problem and that technological solutions alone do not solve the problem. In Granada, a historical city in Europe, residents reveal that, prior to the onset of the pandemic, there was a perception of tourism-phobia. However, research shows that the pandemic has not improved the management of the destination, but rather increased the perception of overcrowding. Residents see the tourism tax or the limitation of tourist homes marketed on platforms. The debate is of enormous complexity, and the solution in the immediate future is unclear.

Keywords Touristification · Overtourism · Airbnb · Sustainable tourism in urban areas · Granada

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2.1 Introduction

In 2018, the World Tourism Organization (WTO), after the observation of the serious problem in some historic centres of cities caused by the tourism activity, defined the problem of *overtourism*, and understanding this concept as "the impact of tourism on a destination or part of it, which is perceived, excessively and negatively, by the affected residents; and also, the citizens' quality of life, and/or the quality of visitors" (WTO 2018, 4). Also, the document pointed that tourism congestion is due to the number of visitors and the capacity to manage them; that it is aggravated by seasonality; the disproportionately negative impact of visitors; their concentration in specific spaces; and finally, that intelligent and technological solutions do not fully solve the problem.

The *overtourism* phenomenon has been studied in big Spanish tourist cities such as Barcelona (González-Reverté 2021; Pirillo-Ramos and Mundet 2021; among others), or Madrid (Ruano de la Fuente et al. 2019; among others). However, the scientific and mediatic attention in other medium cities, such as Granada, has been less analysed, despite for this city, this is becoming an increasing problem. This research seeks to show the evidence of *overtourism* in the city of Granada, noted by quantitative and qualitative data, for official statistics and key informants and residents, detecting concrete proofs, moments and places where this phenomenon is highly relevant. Therefore, is the *overtourism* a problem in Granada in the same magnitude as in other cities? Our hypothesis is that this process is evident and significant in this city, but it is focused on the historical centre.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

A growing number of researchers are working on *touristification*, *overtourism* and *tourism-phobia*. *Touristification* is understood as a complex process in which various stakeholders interfere, transforming a territory through tourist activity (Ojeda and Kieffer 2020), and having its highest level and perception through *overtourism*, a phenomenon linked with the development of low-cost flights, AirBnB (Butler and Dodds 2022). Thus, around 2016, Colomb and Novy (2016) showed in their work the growing position taken by residents and decision-makers in the face of a phenomenon of excess tourism in certain cities, such as Venice and Prague, and which causes an excess of negative impacts.

The following year, Goodwin (2017, 1) defined this process as one that "describes destinations where residents or guests perceive that there is an excess of tourists and that the quality of life in the area or the quality of the tourist experience, or both, have been unacceptably deteriorated". Milano (2017), on the other hand, conceptualized it that same year as a set of unsustainable mass tourism practices, leaving the activity out of control by the administrative authorities, and with a total absence of planning

and management, being the maximum expression of the phenomenon the case of Venice.

Bobic and Akhavan (2022), for the cases of several Mediterranean cities, especially in Venetia, highlighted the necessity of establishing concrete bottom-up initiatives to tackle tourism gentrification. In the Venetian case, for example, was limited the arrival of cruisers to the city.

For Budapest, suffering the same process of *overtourism*, Pérez-Garrido et al. (2022) pointed out the high number and concentration of Airbnb apartments in the centre of the city, which is one of the leading causes, and the necessity of marketing policy to promote a sustainable tourism model.

In the case of Berlin, Wrede (2022) shows that short-term rentals are removing to long-term and permanent rentals in the Centre of the city, being the lists and offer of Airbnb flats excessively high in this part of German capital.

Other similar research for Poland (Rozmiarek et al. 2022), in the city of Poznan, reveals that the activity in the city started to show signals of *overtourism* in the local habitants: unfamiliar streets and traditional lifestyle lost in the centre of the city.

Almeida-Garcia et al. (2022), compared *tourism-phobia* and *gentrification* in Dansk (Poland) and Málaga (Spain), studied the impact of some tourism problems that affect residents (noise, dirt, occupation of public spaces, etc.), analysing the spatial distribution of tourism-phobia. Both historic centres are affected by the processes of increased tourist flows and the growth of new forms of tourism accommodation. The resident's annoyance caused by tourism gentrification is more intense than *tourism-phobia* and the inadequate management of these problems by public stakeholders.

For the Spanish situation, Ruano de la Fuente (2019, 31) specifies that "there is no precise diagnosis of the dimension of the problem, nor sufficient and systematic inspection or control activities: there are no studies that use indicators of the transformation of the social and business fabric (…); and there is no effective collaboration between Administrations to provide a joint response to the problem", so the activity is outside the control and regulation of the competent public administrations. López et al. (2019) noted in the case of Santiago de Compostela, several signals of this phenomenon: saturation in the streets; the loss of services and shops for residents; increasingly problematic access to housing; and *gentrification* and loss of identity of these areas.

One more step in this excessive tourist pressure, which shows the feeling of rejection and protest on the part of the residents, is that of *tourism-phobia.* Almeida-Garcia et al. (2019), Álvarez-Sousa (2018), Blanco-Romero et al. (2019), Escudero-Gómez (2019), González-Pérez (2019), Milano (2017), defined it as the social opposition towards tourist activity and a critical attitude towards its management. Blanco-Romero et al. (2019) also relate it to perceptions of *urban-philia.*

Almeida-Garcia et al. (2019) and González-Pérez (2019) highlighted the main causes of this rejection: the increase in real estate prices and speculation, even reaching evictions, the privatization of public spaces, a decrease in the purchasing

power of residents, precarious employment in the tourism sector, the loss of traditional businesses compared to others oriented to foreign customers, the *gourmetization* of restaurants and food stores, an imbalance between the number of visitors and residents, excessive noise, an increase in the offer of accommodation via online platforms, hotels and tourist apartments and the symbolic and commercial transformation of the city.

The final consequence is the gentrification resulting from the displacement of the population with less purchasing power (Ardura-Urquiaga et al. 2019). Smith (2012) pointed out this phenomenon in the cases of Edinburgh or Harlem in New York. In New Orleans, Gotham (2005) observed a displacement of the original population due to the proliferation of entertainment and tourist places, with the resident population being replaced by a non-population. And Wachsmuth and Weisler (2018) showed short-term rentals, which significantly increased the rentals' prices.

In the case of Lisbon, Cocola-Gant and Gago (2021) highlighted that platforms such as Airbnb, instead of promoting the collaborative economy, are active for landlords and big companies, which can obtain massive benefits using short stays tenants.

Janoschka (2018), for the Spanish case, considered that hotel expansion, international residential demand, and the impact derived from the growth of tourist houses on platforms such as Airbnb, as highly relevant in tourism gentrification. For Seville, Díaz and Jover (2020) pointed out that gentrification and international tourism are linked and complementary phenomena, used to generate surplus value, deriving in a loss for residents of daily life in the historic centre, alienation of those spaces, diminishing the authenticity of the city, even for the residents. Urban centres become "thematic parks" (Cócola-Gant 2011), generating urban scenes where tourist elements predominate and generating landscapes of globalization, in its most banal, aesthetic and deteriorated vision (De la Calle-Vaquero 2019).

González-Reverte (2021), having Barcelona as a case study, pointed out that resident's opinion towards tourism is shaped by emotional response factors, identifying three types of residents: tourism supporters, who show a tourism-acceptance response; tourism-opposed residents, who show tourism-rejecting and tourismphobic attitudes; and neutral residents, who show emotional indifference in their response. Crowding is the key factor explaining the residents' negative emotional responses towards tourism. For Pirillo-Ramos and Mundet (2021), in Barcelona, the negative impacts of tourism are creating a general malaise in the City, with social movements protesting and calling for a decrease in tourism numbers; and even the municipal government established forms of control over the sector, becoming the city a laboratory for pioneering measures to create a new model of tourist city.

For Granada, Smith (1996 [2012]) highlighted the phenomenon of tourist gentrification in the city; De la Calle-Vaquero (2002), already pointed to tourist specialization in the historic neighbourhoods. And Cerezo-Medina et al. (2021) pointed to the concentration of the tourist rental offer in the historical centre, similar to the spatial distribution of tourist accommodation and the high involvement of short-stay tourist apartment rentals. And finally, in 2022, Navarro Valverde et al. (2022) showed,