

“Tourism and commercial gentrification”

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Abstract

This paper explores the extent to which tourism is a form of gentrification that displaces residents from their place. Residential displacement driven by this process of ‘tourism gentrification’ has been noted by several authors. However, because the concern with quality of life and the provision of consumption facilities are crucial for attracting middle class users, the gentrification that both visitors and residents cause is increasingly commercial. This paper focuses on the commercial displacement caused by tourism gentrification, but it distinguishes between commercial displacement *per se* and how such a displacement affects the lives of residents on a daily basis. I argue that the displacement of indigenous residents can be driven by changes in the nature and uses of the neighbourhood and not only by the dynamics of the housing market. In other words, I explore how commercial gentrification provokes ‘indirect displacement pressures’: a mechanism of exclusion that constrains the quality of life of residents and that, in the long term, can be the cause for their out migration from their place. Regarding this, the paper provides a conceptual framework to better analyse how the commercial upgrading of central areas excludes long-established residents. Finally, the paper applies the conceptual framework to a case study. A geography of tourism gentrification has been identified in the Latin world and, in this context, the paper focuses on the case of Barcelona, the most visited city in Spain and one which is experiencing significant conflicts between visitors and long-established residents.

Keywords: tourism; commercial gentrification; displacement; Spain

Introduction

Gentrification is usually defined as a process in which middle class residents move into working class areas, resulting in the displacement and exclusion of the indigenous communities. This paper shows, however, that such exclusion can also be provoked by visitors, and so it illustrates how tourism can be interpreted as a gentrifying process. In

the conceptualisation of this process of ‘tourism gentrification’ (Gotham, 2005), research shows that the social practices of the so called ‘post-tourist’ (Hiernaux & González, 2014) or ‘new urban tourist’ (Maitland, 2010) become indistinguishable from the activities that middle class residents do. This point is crucial in understanding tourism as a gentrifying process. The visitor is regarded as an affluent user that overlaps with other daily dynamics of the city and, as a result, the gentrification of lower income communities will be more intense in areas that have been transformed into spaces for tourism consumption.

An overview of the literature on tourism gentrification (Cócola-Gant, forthcoming) shows that the displacement it provokes can be both residential and commercial. Residential displacement driven by tourist oriented revitalisation policies is affecting several neighbourhoods, especially by the increasing transformation of rental flats into holiday apartments (Arias-Sans & Quaglieri-Domínguez, 2015; Colomb, 2012; Russo & Quaglieri-Domínguez, 2014; Stors & Kagermeier, 2015). However, the paper focuses on the commercial upgrading that is changing the consumption facilities in several tourist destinations. It has been stated that commercial gentrification is part of a broader process of symbolic gentrification (Bolzoni, 2014; Janoschka, Sequera, & Salinas, 2014; Rousseau, 2009), a revitalisation process in which the agents of change are not new middle class residents, but new spaces and services aimed at attracting them. I suggest that in this symbolic change, the commercial upgrading of residential areas and their consequent transformation into spaces for entertainment and consumption for affluent users is the cause for extensive displacement. The paper shows that in processes of tourism gentrification residents are moving out more because of the transformation of uses and users in their neighbourhoods and not only because of the dynamics of the housing market.

I argue that commercial gentrification has to be regarded, therefore, as ‘indirect displacement’ (Davidson & Lees, 2010; Davidson, 2008; Marcuse, 1985; Slater, 2009); as a mechanism of exclusion that constrains the quality of life of the indigenous residents and which can be the cause for a final out migration from their place.

Regarding this, the paper provides a conceptual framework to better analyse how the commercial upgrading of central areas excludes long-established residents. In other words, the paper distinguishes between commercial displacement *per se* and how such a displacement affects the life of residents on a daily basis. While commercial displacement destroys local businesses and changes the nature of the consumption facilities in an area, the important point is that it leads to a complete mutation in how the neighbourhood is used and by whom, including loss of services which low income residents rely on for their everyday life; privatisation of public space or affordability problems.

The last section of the paper applies the conceptual framework to a case study. A geography of tourism gentrification has been identified in the Latin world (Janoschka et al., 2014), where the failure of attracting advanced services and professionals has led local elites to turn to tourism as a way of extracting the highest profit from the city. In this context, the paper focuses on the case of Barcelona, the most visited city in Spain and one which is experiencing significant conflicts between visitors and long-established residents.

Tourism gentrification and commercial change

Tourism gentrification can be defined as a process of socio-spatial change in which neighbourhoods are transformed according to the needs of affluent consumers, residents and visitors alike. A review of the literature on tourism and gentrification (Cócola-Gant, forthcoming) shows that both processes are regarded as co-actors in the production of the post-industrial city and both are the results of the strategies used to bring capital and consumers back to cities (Gotham, 2005; Judd, 1999; Mullins, 1991). The important point is that the literature notes that both processes feed each other and they overlap in time and space. While in some cases the proliferation of gentrified spaces become tourist destinations, in other cases tourism-oriented urban promotion strategies produce a new built environment that, in turn, attracts new residents with higher incomes and,

therefore, encourages processes of gentrification. Regardless of which process encourages the other, the conclusion is that both tend to coexist in the same urban environment, resulting in what is called tourism gentrification; in a process in which the space is produced for and consumed by a cosmopolitan middle-class that demands and reproduces similar urban environments wherever they go (Judd, 2003).

Central to a conceptualisation of tourism gentrification is the fact that it is increasingly difficult to distinguish between the host's or visitor's uses of urban spaces. On the one hand, the provision of lifestyle possibilities has become a key feature of urban development. According to authors such as Lloyd and Clark (2001) or Richard Florida (2002), urban policies aimed at attracting high skilled professionals should focus on quality of life concerns, cultural amenities, and opportunities for consumption and recreation. The rise of a new urban culture devoted to 'quality of life' pursuits has transformed cities into places that provide consumption opportunities for affluent users, and so the consumption practices of residents or tourists become increasingly similar. In fact, Lloyd and Clark's 'city as an entertainment machine' thesis considers that "workers in the elite sectors of the post-industrial city make 'quality of life' demands, and in their consumption practices can experience their own urban location *as if tourists*, emphasizing aesthetic concerns" (2001, p. 357 emphasis in original).

On the other hand, research shows that urban tourists demand everyday life practices and, as a result, they tend to experience the city 'as if residents' (Hiernaux & González, 2014; Maitland & Newman, 2008; Maitland, 2010; Quagliari-Domínguez & Russo, 2010). It is worth noting that this merging and coexistence is related to the changes in the practices of the traditional tourist and the emergence of the 'new urban tourist' or 'post-tourist'. The traditional tourist experiences the city according to a simplification of landmarks previously established by the tourist industry (Urry, 1990). Tourism and commercial services were concentrated in 'tourist bubbles' (Judd, 1999) or in large-scale precincts with little connection with normal life in the city. On the contrary, the 'post-tourist' explores possibilities for authentic experiences and sense of place. As Maitland (2010) suggests, contemporary tourists seek everyday life, local culture and

creative experiences and, as a result, they generate a new social geography in which tourism does not superimpose with the rest of the city but it is incorporated to the daily dynamics of the urban realm. From this perspective, the post-tourist becomes a new inhabitant of the city; it as a “resident on holiday” (Ashworth & Page, 2011, p. 7) and although its visit could last shortly, the presence of these temporal inhabitants are permanent. According to Hiernaux and González (2014) the view of the tourist not as a visitor but as an inhabitant is crucial to understanding the connection between tourism and gentrification, especially in understanding tourism as a gentrifying process. The visitor and the local resident cannot usefully be distinguished in terms of motivation or behaviour and so it is difficult to discern between tourist and non-tourist uses of urban spaces. They should be regarded, then, as middle class city users.

Residential displacement driven by tourism gentrification has been noted by several authors (Cócola-Gant, forthcoming). However, because the concern with quality of life and the provision of consumption facilities are crucial for attracting middle class users, the gentrification that visitors and residents cause is increasingly commercial. Several authors have illustrated this commercial gentrification produced by tourism. In the first attempt that emerged to conceptualise the tourist city, Fainstein and Gladstone (1999) noted the commercial upgrading resulted in tourism destinations and stated that the tourist city tends to be dominated by retail and entertainment facilities where centrally located working class residential areas are a rarity. The authors pointed out that “the city centre belongs to affluent visitors rather than to residents, resulting in the exclusion of working-class residents from the core” (Fainstein & Gladstone, 1999, p. 23).

The issue of the commercial transformation caused by tourism and the displacement of services used by working class residents are remarked by several authors in *Cities and Visitors* (García & Claver, 2003; Häussermann & Colomb, 2003; Hoffman, 2003; Terhorst, Ven, & Deben, 2003). Gotham (2005) also observe that tourism gentrification changes the retail activity of urban spaces, and his description of the commercial gentrification driven by tourism in New Orleans is rather illustrative: “High-class fashion outlets and expensive retail stores have taken over the old Jackson Brewery,

transforming an old factory into a suburban style shopping mall. Designer bars, chain restaurants and tourism-oriented souvenir shops have gradually replaced former working-class corner cafés and food shops. Many small antique dealers and art galleries have moved out of the Vieux Carre and moved to Magazine Street where they can afford the rents. On Royal Street, a proliferation of private art galleries and antique dealers have opened, often displaying works at expensive prices. New dance bars that never close have replaced the old jazz clubs on Bourbon Street. (...). Indeed, the last of the corner cafés and local coffee shops are today competing for space with some of the largest corporations in the world” (Gotham, 2005, pp. 1111–1112).

These authors show that the conflicts between how affluent visitors and residents use the city and the needs of lower income residents are on the increase. In general terms, the consumption facilities supply the needs of affluent users, threatening the everyday life of lower-income residents as they lose the services they need on a daily basis. Indeed, in some cases there are no spaces left for non-commercial activities, together with an increased privatisation of spaces once used for free communal interaction. The important point, however, is how this commercial gentrification affects the life of residents on a long term basis. A conceptualisation of this issue is discussed below.

Commercial gentrification as indirect displacement

Slater (2009, 2010) has reminded us that the conceptualisation of displacement suggested by Marcuse (1985) is crucial to understanding the social impacts of gentrification. According to Marcuse, displacement is usually understood as a “housing-related involuntary residential dislocation” (1985, p. 205). It is regarded as the moment in which any household is forced to move from its residence. As Marcuse states, it is a definition that covers a ‘direct’ form of displacement. Marcuse pointed out, however, that “displacement affects more than those actually displaced at any given moment” (1985, p. 207), and the important point is that the amount of displacees may be larger than what data generally shows. To cover the full range of the problem, Marcuse

suggested supplementing the definition of direct displacement with the concepts of ‘exclusionary displacement’ and of ‘pressure of displacement’. ‘Exclusionary displacement’ refers to price shadowing and occurs when any household is not permitted to move into an area that once provided affordable accommodation. However, the concept of ‘displacement pressure’ is fundamental to understanding the implications of commercial gentrification. It refers to the lack of affordable facilities and also to the destruction of social networks suffered by residents during and after the transformation of the neighbourhoods where they live. Those who avoid direct residential displacement may suffer the displacement of their community, traditional retailers, public facilities, as well as the upgrading of stores and services. The important point is that as the area becomes “less and less livable, then the pressure of displacement already is severe. Its actuality is only a matter of time” (Marcuse 1985: 207). Marcuse suggests that displacement means a lot more than an individual residential dislocation measurable by datasets. Central to this conceptualisation is the fact that displacement pressures focus on neighbourhood change rather than on individual effects. According to Marcuse, the pressure of displacement can eventually lead to residents moving from the neighbourhood, and so its impacts have to be regarded on a long-term basis.

Several authors draw on Marcuse’s conceptualisation and distinguish between ‘direct displacement’ and ‘indirect displacement’ (Davidson & Lees, 2005, 2010; Davidson, 2008, 2009, 2010; DeVerteuil, 2011; Newman & Wyly, 2006; Slater, 2009). While ‘direct displacement’ refers to the out-migration from the neighbourhood or the moment of eviction, ‘indirect displacement’ is a long-term process that result in a set of pressures that makes it progressively difficult for low-income residents to remain over time. According to Davidson and Lees (2010) this temporal aspect is crucial to understanding displacement in contemporary gentrification. Displacement, they suggest, tends to be reduced to the brief moment in time where a particular resident is forced out from their home or neighbourhood. Rather, indirect displacement has long-term implications and affects residents’ quality of life on a daily basis. Gentrification is regarded as a long term process in which direct displacement would be the last outcome. “The occurrence of displacement signifies that residents have lost their battle to remain. From the

resident's perspective, any intervention at this point would now be too late: the 'damage' of displacement has already been done" (Crookes, 2011, pp. 26–27). From this point of view, gentrification is not the moment when a householder has to leave his or her residence. Rather, a householder feels gentrification from the very moment that different forces make it difficult or uneasy to continue living in the area. As a result, Davidson (2008, 2009) and Davidson and Lees (2010) suggest that the pressure of indirect displacement leads residents to experience what they call 'loss of place': a forced dispossession and dislocation from their places that leads them to a form of 'displacement' into a new colonised social context.

The important point is that indirect displacement and the resultant 'loss of place' is highly related to the commercial transformation in gentrifying neighbourhoods. For instance, analysing cases of new-build gentrification without the moment of direct displacement but with important commercial upgrading, Davidson and Lees (2005, 2010) argue that while residents often remained in the neighbourhoods, they articulated a more advanced sense of bereavement and disassociation due to the colonisation of new middle class users in the area. Therefore, it is important to distinguish the scale of indirect displacement as it can impact different levels of residents' lives. Although gentrification research has traditionally focused on the household scale – a view of gentrification that only occurs if residential dislocation takes place – research that interprets gentrification as a long term process shows that it also affects the life of the entire neighbourhood. I argue that the commercial upgrading is the main cause that changes the nature and uses of the area and, therefore, the pressures that affect the life of the neighbourhood are caused by its transformation into a space for entertainment and consumption for affluent users. But, how does this colonisation of affluent users affect lower income communities on a daily basis? What are the pressures of indirect displacement that eventually could be the cause of the final residential out-migration? Here we need an analytical framework to better recognise how gentrification actually works and it should identify the forces that constrain residents' quality of life.

The literature on gentrification has contributed towards the identification of such forces or indirect displacement pressures (Davidson & Lees, 2010; Davidson, 2008, 2010; Gonzalez & Waley, 2013; Marcuse, 1985; Newman & Wyly, 2006; Slater, 2009, 2010; Zukin, 2008). The intention is to bring them together with the aim of building an analytical tool that, eventually, will be applied to the empirical research. The pressures are lack of consumption facilities; economic and affordability problems; cultural and lifestyles; and privatisation of public space. These pressures are defined below.

Lack of consumption facilities. This refers to the loss of services and stores generally used by low-income residents and their substitution by amenities and consumption facilities for upper-income groups. The displacement of facilities used by low income residents has been noted by several authors that analyse commercial gentrification (Gonzalez & Waley, 2013; Zukin, 2008; Zukin et al., 2009) but the important point here is how the pressure of this retail gentrification affects residents' lives as it destroys the stores and markets on which they rely on for their daily survival.

Economic pressures refers to affordability problems caused by commercial gentrification (Davidson, 2008; Gonzalez & Waley, 2013; Gotham, 2005). Neighbourhoods that once provided affordable services are transformed by and influx of high-status activities which result in mounting affordability pressures on lower income residents.

Cultural pressures. This refers to the expansion of distinctive lifestyles in which the neighbourhood is dominated by a middle-class habitus based on new patterns of consumption (Davidson, 2010; Zukin, 2008). Culture as a displacement pressure means the expansion of a consumer practice that creates a safe zone of shared aesthetic codes which becomes a means of excluding others from their space. As Zukin states, in areas dominated by restaurants, organic shops, green-markets or art galleries, social exclusion depends on economic factors like price, but also on "cultural factors like aesthetics, comfort level, and the tendency to use, and understand, consumption practices as expressions of difference. Whether the specific discourse of consumption is based on

distinctiveness (...) it becomes a means of keeping others out” (2008, p. 735).

Privatisation of public space. It refers to the growing private ownership and management of public areas that once were used as free communal facilities but now are ‘rented’ to cafés, restaurants or festival marketplaces. This process tends to entail revanchist policies such as anti-homeless laws (Mitchell, 2003), removal of benches and facilities to sit down (Davis, 1990; Delgado, 2007) or expulsion of informal traders (Bromley & Mackie, 2009; Mackie, Bromley, & Brown, 2014). Privatisation of public space as a displacement pressure means the domination of space by consumption activities and the consequent destruction of gathering places for the community.

These sets of indirect displacement pressures cannot be seen as independent forces but as reciprocal elements that constrain the ability of low-income residents to remain in gentrifying neighbourhoods. The literature has stressed the fact that the expansion of such pressures may not involve direct displacement (Davidson & Lees, 2010; Davidson, 2008; DeVerteuil, 2011; Marcuse, 1985; Newman & Wyly, 2006) but a long-term process in which staying put becomes, as Crookes states, a “battle to remain” (2011, p. 27). A process in which the decision to leave a neighbourhood might be motivated by what the literature calls ‘loss of place’ (Davidson & Lees, 2010; Davidson, 2008, 2009) rather than the incapacity to afford the accommodation. The important point is that if the loss of place refers to changes in the use of the neighbourhood, then these sets of pressures can be driven by all kinds of users, not only residents. The intention now is to apply this theoretical framework to a case of commercial upgrading and new uses of urban space caused by tourism gentrification.

Case study: Barcelona

Barcelona has experienced a profound process of urban regeneration that has transformed several parts of the city, especially the historic centre and former industrial areas. Research has focused on a number of features of the so called ‘Barcelona Model’,

but I want to stress the importance of a relevant strategy in such transformation: the state-led regeneration focused on public spaces, cultural infrastructures and the provision of opportunities for entertainment, however, it did not address the issue of housing rehabilitation. On the contrary, far from improving the quality of the housing, the regeneration of degraded areas in the historic city took place by bulldozing entire areas and opening up what had been regarded as closed and insidious environments. In fact, demolition of entire blocks were followed by the creation of new public spaces, especially by concrete squares —called ‘hard squares’ by policy makers in Barcelona. These new squares did not provide facilities for the community such as water, benches or green spaces, but their quality and design was the basis for the official celebration of the model and also for the international recognition of Barcelona, which in 1999 received the Royal Gold Medal for Architecture, the first time the prestigious title had been presented to a city. I want to stress, therefore, that the regeneration of Barcelona can be regarded as a symbolic transformation in order to make the city attractive for private investments (Cócola-Gant, 2009). The agent of change has not been new middle class residents, but new spaces and services aimed at attracting them. As a result, the first signs of gentrification in the historic city of Barcelona were seen after 2000, when the space was already sanitised according to middle class standards (Martínez Rigol, 2000).

At the same time, in keeping with the agenda of urban competitiveness for mobile capitals and mobile workers, local authorities promoted a model of city-marketing and place-branding, which was characterised by the implementation of large-scale projects, flagship buildings and mega events. As a result, Barcelona is regarded as one of Europe’s most fashionable urban places, and at present it is the most visited city in Spain and the fourth-most visited city in Europe in terms of the number of international visitors. Although the construction of the ‘destination Barcelona’ has a long history (Cócola-Gant & Palou i Rubio, forthcoming; Palou i Rubio, 2012), the increased rise in popularity emerged after the celebration of the Olympic Games. In 1992 the number of overnight stays totalled 1.8 million, in 2014 this total reached almost 9 million, and the city council expects a continuous growth in the next few years.



II. 1. Historic Centre of Barcelona. Source: Agustín Cocola Gant

The overlap of the gentrified and the tourist city is a noticeable phenomenon in the historic centre of Barcelona. Research shows that the areas where gentrification took place –Gòtic, part North of Raval and Born– are precisely the spaces frequented by visitors (Arbaci & Tapada-Berteli, 2012; Degen, 2008; Hernández Cordero, 2014; Ter-Minassian, 2013). However, the increased number of visitors is the cause for several conflicts regarding the use of the city. At the beginning of the 2000s, García and Claver stated (2003: 120) that “among those who use city services, visitors are proportionally on the increase. Residents may even lose the central status they previously enjoyed, as new services are directed towards tourists, commuters, and shoppers” (2003, p. 120).

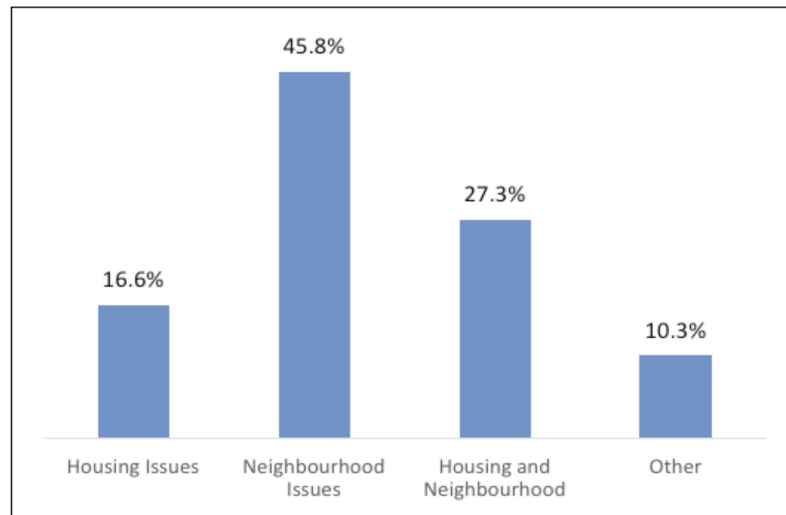
Degen (2004) also observed that Born and Raval were experiencing rebellion from their long-term residents after the area became the new hip cluster where the Barcelona lifestyle experience was to be consumed. According to Degen, the regeneration of these areas and their integration into the tourist circuit of transient consumption of place, even with little residential gentrification, originated a new middle-class social environment where residents are not protected “from the gentrifying features that often accompany such processes” (2004, p. 141). The manifestation of gentrification was more the changes in the uses and services of the area and less the amount of middle class residents moving in. It was, therefore, highly related to the commercial upgrading of the place.

Nowadays, the increasing thematisation of Barcelona as a tourist destination has generalised the fears and conflicts seen fifteen years ago. Especially important are the changes experienced in the Gòtic area, a staged medieval place that was planned as the first tourist area in town (Còcola-Gant, 2011, 2014a, 2014b). Several community associations have taken action against the transformation of their place. It is worth noting that their slogan is “the neighbour: a species threatened with extinction”, emphasising the displacement caused after the mutation of the area into a space for consumption. In this context, I am focusing my research on the Gòtic area, where I have so far conducted twenty in-depth interviews with long-established residents and a survey with 220 respondents. I discuss their experiences below.

Impressions from below. The resident’s experience

The question of displacement represents a cross-topic in all interviews. Residents state that people have been moving out from the neighbourhood for the last fifteen years. Because of the displacement of long-established residents, many people feel they have lost their social networks and their sense of community. The survey shows, in fact, that 65% of respondents have lost more than one friend in the area. The important point is, however, the reasons given by residents to explain why their friends have moved out.

Housing related issues such as rent price or end of tenancy represents 16.6% while more than 45% of respondents blame neighbourhood conditions as the main cause of displacement. A third category is a combination of housing and neighbourhood problems — 27.3% — while ‘other’ reasons such as family or job issues represent 10.3%.



II. 2. Reasons for moving out. Source: survey by the author.

The survey shows, therefore, that ‘direct displacement’ or the moment of the out migration does not only depend on the housing market. There are changes and new conditions that affect the life of the entire neighbourhood that are central to understanding why residents are moving out. These new conditions caused by the transformation of the area, I argue, need to be seen as ‘indirect displacement pressures’ that constrain the quality of life of residents on a long term basis. In fact, a community organisation in the Gòtic area describe such changes as a “tourism pressure without precedents that contributes to gentrification and that destroys the everyday life and quality of the neighbourhood” (Associació de Veïns del Barri Gòtic, 2014). A full explanation of displacement should include both housing and neighbourhood issues but I want to stress here the importance of the transformation in uses and users in the area as they represent 73.1% of the reasons given by residents.

In-depth interviews provide explanations and descriptions to better understand why people are moving out. First, I will follow the set of pressures identified by the

gentrification literature and discuss to what extent they are important in residents' quality of life. Second, I will describe other reasons showed by residents and, in doing so, I will complete the conceptual framework with new elements that are important in the analysis of tourism gentrification.

Lack of consumption facilities. Changes in commercial services and facilities are a central reason given by all residents. The resources residents need on a daily basis such as bakeries, greengrocers, pharmacies or supermarkets are ceasing to exist. Especially important has been the conversion of food markets into tourist attractions. A resident states that in La Boquería —the food market in the area—25 stalls have been converted into restaurants and that new products such as fresh juices instead of fresh fruit are on the increase. The lack of daily consumption services severely affects the quality of life of the elderly. A middle age resident (42 years old) stated that every Saturday he cycles to a different neighbourhood to do the weekly shopping. Instead, the elderly need the help of friends and relatives and some of them have even been forced to do shopping online.

Economic and affordability problems. Although most residents point out that daily consumption facilities in the neighbourhood are clearly more expensive than they are in adjacent areas, affordability problems are not one of the main reasons that limit their quality of life. It is worth noting that this refers to daily facilities such as supermarkets or bakeries. Regarding new services such as restaurants, ice cream or clothing shops the issue of affordability is a mechanism of exclusion for several residents.

Cultural and lifestyles. The socio-cultural practices of the new users are also a cross-topic that has been stressed by many residents. In fact, the exclusion generated by a new lifestyle is regarded as a problem that is more important than affordability issues. Central to this pressure has been the transformation of snack bars into pubs and restaurants. Day time snack bars provide cheap food and drinks to the local residents, and more importantly, they are a meeting place for the community. Their substitution for services frequently visited by visitors excludes long-established residents from the

possibility of encountering their social networks. A resident (male, 45 years old) states: “many of these bars where I used to go became something different. Now they sell ‘brunch’ and things that are not for us. Then you see there are only few places where you can feel comfortable”. It is worth noting that new middle class and younger residents, especially North Europeans, do not see this change as a problem. Rather, they tend to use these new services and mix with North Europeans visitors.

Privatisation of public space. The lack of free communal spaces is regarded as an important mechanism of exclusion. A resident states: “I did my own research. I went to the square [Plaça Reial] and I counted 1,600 private chairs that belong to restaurants and 9 individual public benches” (Man, 65-70 years old). He also states that in one of the new ‘hard squares’ in the area [Plaça George Orwell] even the steps have been removed so that people cannot sit down. Considering residents need to walk long distances to find daily facilities, this is a central pressure for the elderly as they cannot stop and rest anywhere. Privatisation of public space is also important for young and middle age residents as it was used as a free meeting place for the community.

These four pressures identified by the literature are clearly expressed by residents. They are different manifestations of the same phenomenon of neighbourhood change that are the cause of a progressive out migration. However, interviews also show other pressures that are central to understanding the loss of quality of life and that in some cases are more important than the ones abovementioned. I describe them below.



II. 3 and 4. Public bench in Placa Reial and ham and cheese store as tourist attraction. Photo by the author.

Acoustic pollution. The changes in the commercial activities together with the number of visitors and other street users generate several acoustic problems that it is probably the main cause of disruption for the community. Nightlife and more importantly private parties in flat-hotels are disturbing the sleep of residents of all ages. Nightlife and parties finish with the council cleaning service using trucks and several workers. Moreover, the cleaning service is followed by the delivery of supplies for restaurants early in the morning. The acoustic pressure of this 24 hours city is especially important in the summer when the temperature is high and residents need to sleep with their windows open. This pressure also has a socio-economic component. Residents with high incomes can afford double glazed windows and air conditioning, but lower income residents are exposed to continuous noises.

Hygiene and air pollution. This pressure is generated mainly by the activity of pubs and restaurants and so it affects a number of areas. The steam coming from kitchens and the quantity of litter left in the street is the cause of several complaints by residents, especially by those who live at the back of the most crowded streets. For instance, a woman stated that near her front door there are three kitchens that, on the one hand, are a space where people go to urinate attracted by the garbage, and on the other, the steam obliges her to keep the windows closed.

Lack of physical space. The increased number of visitors and other street users literally block many streets and public spaces. A number of residents describe situations in which elderly neighbours have been run over by hordes of people. The importance of this pressure has been increased with the opening of several shops for bike renting which has been the cause of several accidents.

The transformation in the activities and uses of the neighbourhood generate the set of pressures identified in the interviews. I argue that they are different manifestations of a process in which a residential area has been converted into a space for entertainment and consumption for affluent users. More importantly, I suggest that these pressures have to be regarded as 'indirect displacement'; as forces that feed each other and that

eventually can be the reasons for moving out from the neighbourhood. In fact, I interviewed two former residents that decided to move out because of these neighbourhood issues. As a resident (male, 42 years old) who owns his flat and who is considering the possibility of leaving the area states: “if you put all these issues together you see that you are losing everything here; that you do not live in a neighbourhood anymore. Well, add all of it and it is everything”. In fact, interviews confirm that indirect displacement pressures lead to what the literature calls ‘loss of place’ (Davidson & Lees, 2010; Davidson, 2008, 2009). Several residents state that they live in a new environment that belongs to ‘others’; in “a place where the neighbour is an alien” (female, 57 years old) and community life is ceasing to exist. It is worth noting that a number of residents define the situation as a snowballing process: the lack of retail and facilities they need together with the influx of new uses and users cause the displacement of residents. The lack of residents and neighbourhood life is also a pressure for retailers as they do not have customers. The lack of both residents and retailers generate greater conditions for new, further displacement and so on.

Concluding remarks

The paper has shown how the displacement of indigenous residents can be driven by changes in uses of the neighbourhood and not only by the dynamics of the housing market. A full exploration of tourism gentrification as a gentrifying process that displaces the local population should consider their impacts on both housing and the neighbourhood. However, it is worth stressing the role that the mutation in neighbourhood life has in processes of gentrification-induced displacement as research has not paid close attention to such changes. In processes of tourism gentrification, the mutation of neighbourhood life is rather commercial. This entails not only the upgrading of commercial services, but also the use of private and public areas of the neighbourhood as a space for entertainment and consumption, including nightlife. The paper has contributed towards illustrating how this change should be considered as a form of indirect displacement in which its impacts need to be thought of on a long term

basis. The important point is that indirect displacement poses new questions for gentrification research, as it challenges the mainstream consideration of displacement as a housing related involuntary dislocation. Notwithstanding, further empirical research and comparative case studies are needed to fully understand and prevent the social implications of tourism gentrification.

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