

## Accepted Manuscript

This version of the paper has been accepted for publication after peer review and is available on Emerald Insight at:

<https://www.emerald.com/insight/content/doi/10.1108/IJTC-08-2018-0059/full/html>

Author accepted manuscript: 25 November 2018

**Please cite this article as:**

Alonso-Villar, O. and del Río, C. (2022), "Privilege and hindrance on the USA earnings", *International Journal of Tourism Cities*, Vol. 6 No. 2, pp. 347-369. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJTC-08-2018-0059>

**General rights:**

This author accepted manuscript is deposited under a [Creative Commons Attribution Non-commercial 4.0 International](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/) (CC BY-NC) licence. This means that anyone may distribute, adapt, and build upon the work for non-commercial purposes, subject to full attribution. If you wish to use this manuscript for commercial purposes, please contact [permissions@emerald.com](mailto:permissions@emerald.com).

# Gentrification, touristification and revitalization of the Monumental Zone of Pontevedra, Spain

Sara María Torres Outón

Department of Sociology, Faculty of Social Sciences and Communication, Universidade de Vigo, Vigo, Spain.

## Abstract

*Purpose – The purpose of this paper is to explore, through the analysis case, how the revitalization of a historic centre has been carried out and the role of tourism in this process.*

*Design/methodology/approach – This case study area is well-documented as there has been extensive fieldwork on the transformation of the commercial sector in the Monumental Zone of Pontevedra in the last three decades. In order to prepare this paper, a bibliographic review, in-depth interviews, premises registration data and population data have been used.*

*Findings – The findings show that the processes of change and revitalization do not conform to a single reality common to all historical centres, although similar strategies are developed, the role of the participating actors and, especially, the idiosyncrasy of these spaces change the outcomes. On the one hand, gentrification does not occur and the increase of residential uses is still a goal. On the other hand, the tourism strategy brings more visitors and complements the commerce activity and attraction.*

*Social implications – The new challenge of these spaces, and the urban contribution from this research, is that in the appropriation of space by citizens, tourism may be a complement for commerce, and shops and hospitality (facilities) make these spaces more livable. Although tourism does not necessarily increase the number of residents, the revenue from tourism may prevent the reoccurrence of abandonment.*

*Originality/value – The paper focusses on both gentrification and touristification; processes that have led to the substitution of residents and activities and the conflict with the local population and the normalization of urban life. This case has been selected because despite a seemingly successful revitalization process, recently some old threats seem to be returning.*

**Keywords** *Touristification, Revitalization, Gentrification, Historical centres*

**Paper type** *Case study*

## Introduction

Historic centres all over the world have gone through transformation processes parallel to each city's growth and expansion. After years of splendour, old quarters have undergone a process of abandonment and deterioration that has required the attention of public administrations and other agents. These actors have set in motion plans for the recovery, rehabilitation and regeneration of urban centres, leading to questions of whether the revitalization of these spaces has been achieved and at what price.

In order to make these spaces more attractive, transformation processes have been carried out, which have attracted new residents and new economic activities, producing some of the following situations:

1. Gentrification: defined as the expulsion of native residents by the irruption of other social groups with greater purchasing power ([Hackworth and Smith, 2001](#); [Wyly and Hammel, 2001](#)), which was also known as "embourgeoisement" ([Smith, 1996](#)). Later on,

the displacement of traditional activities by specialization in tertiary activities and professional services has been pointed out (tertiarization), which means gentrification reorients local retail services (Davidson and Lees, 2010).

2. Touristification: defined as the process by which economic activities and traditional uses are replaced by activities and uses related to tourism (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2004; Cocola-Gant, 2018; Hiernaux and González, 2014).

In spite of the similarities and singularities of each particular case, in Spain, it is possible to point out two divergent tendencies. On the one hand, there are the unexpected effects of successful recovery processes, such as the expulsion and replacement of the native population and traditional businesses, commonly referred to as gentrification and, more recently, touristification, when tourists appropriate the space. On the other hand, there is a need for recovery and maintenance processes to discard definitively the abandonment dangers that still threaten these spaces. In both cases, these are unsatisfactory realities, either because activities are replaced or residents are expelled, or because they present risks of involution.

That is, historical centres are characterized by the existence of a great distortion. First, the possession of an architectural heritage of great value that is subject to the risk of either destruction or speculation, and second, being a living space requires either the maintenance of its residents or the acquisition of a new population (Masuda and Bookman, 2016).

The initial sociological debate, with a view to studying demographic structure changes and individual choices, was concentrated on the consequences in terms of displacement of an existing population and the reversal of trends towards suburbanization and urban decline. However, this needs to be emphasized and should underlie the dynamics of economic restructuring in order to analyze the phenomenon under the rubric of production and consumption (Zukin, 1987).

The aim of this paper is to explore, through an analysis study case, what the revitalization of old quarters has meant and if any of the above-outlined situations have occurred. In the study case, *Zona Monumental Pontevedra* (Spain), social actors actively involved in their recovery – the associated traders – developed a tourism strategy that did not involve changing business uses or specialization. This case has been selected due to the existence of extensive fieldwork on the transformation of the commercial sector in the Monumental Zone during the last three decades; another factor in this selection was the fact that economic agents pushed the process, and last but not least, the fact that after a successful revitalization process some old threats seem to be returning.

Without forgetting the consequences of any transformation (population replacement, uses and economic activities) and the threat of tourismophobia, it is important to review experiences – local vs global perspectives – to understand what happens when tourism strategies are made, their consequences and what the results of these strategies mean for the future. Through a bibliographic review of the literature regarding the general processes of transformation of historical centres and, specifically, the case study analysis of the *Zona Monumental Pontevedra* these questions will be answered.

## Revitalization

Revitalization refers to the process of returning people and activities to the city centres; this requires planning to make cities more liveable. The city centre is defined as a pre-industrial city or primitive urban nucleus. Sometimes it is substituted by the term historical centre in order to emphasize that it is a settlement with patrimonial value recognized by society (Benito, 1992). In other cases, the Central Business District is said to describe the functional

character of this space, which is defined by agglutinate economic activities and business (Coca-Stefaniak *et al.*, 2009).

So as to achieve residential attractiveness, following Carmon (1999), three different planning interventions to regenerate distressed residential areas can be found. Depending on who starts the process, she talks about gentrification (it occurs in the case of vibrant citycentres with charm and historical value); upgrading by incumbent residents (residentowners who decide to invest, usually in less central neighbourhoods); and upgrading by immigrants (this arises in more deteriorated spaces). To fulfil the aim of this research, we willfocus on the connection between revitalization and gentrification, since it is understood as overdevelopment vs normalization when residents live in these spaces of marginalization when low-income residents are attracted. In fact, gentrification entails the expulsion of the native population, so it may transform the cultural and socio-economic network and identity values.

For Lopes Balsas (2000), this return to the centre of the city is an answer that emerged in the 1990s after years of decadence and abandonment, also called “recentralization” or “redevelopment”. Indeed, it is not just about getting people back to live in the centre of the city, but also about keeping the commercial activities and their traditional urban functions, and complementary new ones. Therefore, residents, buyers and visitors are needed; revitalization means attracting residents and recentralizing certain urban activities.

Therefore, gentrification is not used only to refer to the residential transformation – expulsion of residents and arrival of more affluent social groups – in a recovered space, but also to the changes suffered in the public space, and the substitution of commerce, the hospitality industry and services with new activities and businesses (outsourcing). That is, it refers to physical issues (housing rehabilitation), economic transformation (economic activities) and changes in social practices (Rérat *et al.*, 2010). It must be understood, in the face of deterioration and abandonment of urban space, public policy assumes that: although abandonment is painful, it is inevitable; the gentrification process improves the quality of housing, contributes to the base tax and revitalizes the city; and gentrification becomes a realistic cure for abandonment; so it is particularly desirable (Marcuse, 1985), especially, because displacement may occur without it.

To conclude, tourism has been clearly supported by public and private entities as a strategy for improving and recovering historic centres. Since tourists are, by definition, consumers who help to stimulate economic activity, they would also contribute to recovering diversity (Brandis Garc’ia and Del R’io Lafuente, 1998). Notwithstanding, differences in its implementation and evolution were already appreciated in the 1990s. Troitiño Vinuesa (1998) highlighted the great heterogeneity of the historic cities. While in the likes of Venice, Prague, Santiago de Compostela, Florence, Oxford or Toledo majorproblems of saturation and congestion of tourism may arise, in the vast majority of cases, tourism is still considered an important factor of socio-economic dynamism and recovery ofurban economies in crisis, and the continued development of promotional campaigns that increases the number of visitors reflects this.

So, the question here is if tourism strategies for the revitalization of historic centres emerge as a rescue solution or quite the opposite since, in populated and attractive cities, tourism overloads the use of the city itself. But, in a large number of cases (medium cities and developing countries), the residents of these communities depend on tourism, which provides economic benefits such as employment opportunities and income, and improving infrastructure, services, standard of living and quality of life, so they may prefer supporting the social costs to opposing tourism (King *et al.*, 1993).

For the reasons above, nowadays, research about the revitalization of historical centres must include references to the processes of gentrification and touristification that characterize or threaten them.

## Gentrification

The term gentrification was coined by Glass (1964), referring to the movement of middle-class population to low-income London neighbourhoods. Initially, in the theoretical corpus, there were two predominant opposing positions. On the one hand, gentrification was a localized process, at a small scale and although it could be symbolically important, it was temporary and of little long-term significance. On the other hand, gentrification was understood as a part of a more complex and global process called revitalization (Smith, 1982). The term was valid to explain the processes of western urban transformation through which deteriorated spaces were recovered and resident populations were replaced.

The first works reduced the question to the supply/demand relationship of the real estate market, but “the existence of relatively cheap and devalued housing is a necessary, but far from sufficient element of an explanation” (Hamnett, 1991, p. 187); indeed, “not all neighbourhoods experiencing the rent gap may experience gentrification or redevelopment” (Smith, 1987, p. 464). The sociological contribution was to overcome the analysis of physical-urban changes and focus the attention on the substitution of groups and social classes (Slater *et al.*, 2004). Therefore, it was necessary to take into account other dimensions, such as demography, urban housing, amenities (lifestyle) economy and politics. In this way, not only are the residential demographic changes (first two dimensions) considered, but also the production and consumption of the space; and new terms, such as tertiarization and touristification, emerged. In short, it is necessary to understand the term gentrification, with a more inclusive perspective of history, geography and the particular social groups of each place. It “captures the politics that are inevitably present when neighbourhood change is premised upon social class, and, at the same time, it invokes a politics that does not accompany terms such as ‘reurbanization’, ‘residentialization’, ‘transition’ or ‘replacement’” (Davidson and Lees, 2010, p. 408).

Beyond the academic debate on the dimensions to be considered, in principle, it does not seem right to analyze an urban phenomenon following the evolutionary guidelines of a global city such as London, at the centre of the international financial capital flow networks. The singularities derived from the environment and characteristics of gentrification (“provincialization”) must be considered, that is, the specific historical, geographical and social characteristics of each place (González and Hodkinson, 2014: 96). Regarding this, it should be noted that there are significant differences in the processes of gentrification. In Latin America, for example, these processes not only have to do with the colonial past, but also, as Inzulza (2012) said, they emerge later, displace population and replace existing low-rise building with higher buildings. This colonial past is present also in Asia and in Africa’s northern countries, which evolve according to cultural and economic values of each place. In Shanghai, the capitalization of the working class through the sale of houses with patrimonial value becomes gentrification, but not in the strict sense of the term, since it produces expulsion but prevents the expelled population from economic precariousness (Arkaraprasertkul, 2018). In Marrakesh, the arrival of a wealthy population has prevented structural and socio-economic degradation (Esher and Petermann, 2000, p. 34). Hence, some authors have used specific terms such as “Creole gentrification” (Hiernaux and González, 2014) or “hybrid gentrification” (Lemanski, 2014) to refer to the process in Latin America or South Africa. Clearly, “gentrification may appear at different times and in different forms in different locales. Contingent/conjunctural factors refer to place-specific dimensions and regimes accounting for variations by geographies (and times)” (Betancur, 2014, p. 2).

In Spain and Latin America, special attention is paid to two central and relevant dimensions that have received little attention in the Anglophone tradition: symbolic gentrification related to tourism (Sequera and Janoschka, 2015), and also displacement and resistance to gentrification (González, 2016). Gentrification is not limited to residents, housing and residential complexes, since it also includes new labour relations and a broad

resignification of (public) space once social restructuring is based on the principles of the market (Janoschka *et al.*, 2014). As these authors point out, the analysis of the gentrification processes in Spain has special political, social and economic character. Thus, it is important to know the role of the local administration (the City Council), the productive or commercial transformation, the symbolic-cultural gentrification related to the cultural production, non-urban gentrification and the study of resistances. In summary, in Spain, gentrification refers to the physical and economic recovery, and social and cultural change. Following Duque Calvache (2016), on the one hand, physical and economic recovery means the planning of occupied buildings and homes and also the urban material environment. On the other hand, there is a social and cultural change, produced by the departure of a large part of the previous inhabitants of the area, and the entry of new residents of a higher socio-economic level. This means that a process of substitution of social groups follows the physical transformation. These new groups differ from the previous ones in both lifestyles and urban practices.

In Spain, this substitution of the resident population has been translated as social “requalification”, gentrification or “aristocratization”. Fortunately, these terms have not been generalized in Latin America, which allows us to deepen their meaning in different contexts (Lees, 2000, 2012). As a result, although the term literal translation is recommended, variants can be used to refer to a more concrete reality in which the expulsion and replacement of population and uses are due, mainly, to tourist pressure and tourism. In these cases, it is possible to speak of touristification (Duque Calvache, 2010) which will be discussed in the next section. In reference to the historic city, it means transforming itself into cultural and artistic districts that concentrate not only heritage, but also art exhibitions, museums and a wide offer for a multifunctional urban tourist (Chang and Huang, 2004). That is why tourism is seen as a form of gentrification: because it plays a crucial role in the production and consumption of the space, and causes the displacement of residents, businesses, etc. (Cocola-Gant, 2018).

As Uitermark *et al.* (2007) assert, and citing Clark (2005), we should not analyze gentrification as a simple confrontation between perpetrators and victims, since most of the socio-economic agents involved, such as housing associations, and local government agencies, share goals: social cohesion, profit margins and overall socially stable neighbourhoods. However, while promoters do not identify any negative effects, residents and professionals are worried about the social effects of gentrification.

Gentrification processes have been legitimized and received the support of public administrations and socio-economic agents, since they initially implied the improvement of the habitability of the houses, the living conditions of the degraded spaces and, therefore, the detention of abandonment processes of deteriorated neighbourhoods or spaces. Likewise, in the case of historic centres, gentrification processes had cultural, economic and tourist potential that had a positive impact on their recovery. The implementation by the local administration of some of the following actions has been common even at the risk of producing gentrification processes, and the risk of homogenization and urban trivialization:

- promotion of the city centre as a new residential and leisure area that expels its traditional residents;
- commercial development, through the tourist trade of resources and souvenirs, either with luxury and design stores or small independent creative shops that replace the primitive commercial stores;
- dynamization of cultural activities and creation of cultural spaces (“museumification”) that can produce cultural saturation and polarization;
- improvement of the urban environment through the provision of infrastructures, equipment and services, recovering public spaces destined for specific actors, citizens, residents, tourists or consumers; and

- urban regeneration promoted residential housing complexes, rehabilitation of emblematic buildings, etc.

### Touristification

The claim that there has been a shared feeling about the validity of tourism as a strategy of economic and social revitalization of historical spaces is not new. In fact, in the 1990s, it was believed that this was a good strategy to recover the functional and social diversity of historic centres. Furthermore, tourism is often a mixed blessing for the host population.

While it creates jobs and increases cash flow, the tourists themselves – especially in large numbers – can become a physical as well as a social burden (Smith, 1989).

In sociological terms, it seemed that there was an assumed risk that tourism could displace other urban functions, and potentially, consume the multifunctionality of the historic centres. In this case, it promotes a rapid process of gentrification of uses, and consequently, a feeling of rejection by the local population. Especially in those places where the tourist attraction has turned the local population into a minority, so much that their population does not reach the critical mass required for everyday life to prevail over the economic benefit generated by tourism. Therefore, the risks of the tourist strategy begin to be perceived and the affirmation of García Hernández (2000) becomes relevant, as tourism is not a harmless activity. Tourism *per se* should not be demonized, since tourism has to be accompanied by other factors to create conflict, for instance, huge shopping, residential or hospitality offerings only focussed on tourists. Talking about commercial gentrification, it could be said that a similar process has been suffered by docklands, globally, whose plans seem to be unique but create uniformity (Butler, 2007). This happens in historic centres when the existence of the same stores and businesses reduces diversity. Referring to housing, it is the increasing prices through competition between tourists and residents for a place to stay that provokes this. This has happened in Barcelona where mass tourism has become undesirable for residents and may even be unsatisfactory for tourists. It is not solely a matter of tourism but rather a conflict inherent in the processes of tourist production and consumption in an urban setting (López Palomeque, 2015). Moreover, this could be explained as a consequence of the recent gentrification process in South European countries, since middle classes are now having to fight eviction too, and in this case tourism is a powerful enemy (Annunziata and Lees, 2016).

However, right now there is a debate – not only academic, but also social – about the dangers of the economic and social revitalization of historical cities of tourism specialization. Problems arise when tourism is overdeveloped, which “brings with it many related problems, including a change in attitudes towards tourism from it being a panacea to it being responsible for all ills in a community” (Butler, 2009, p. 351). This issue is linked to addressing the risks arising from the economic commitment to tourism, which is known as touristification, and causes the rejection of tourists among economic, institutional and citizenship agents, which is known as tourismophobia. Examples include the rejection movements and measures that local governments begin to contemplate in cities such as Venice, and recently, Barcelona (Pylas, 2017).

Becoming a tourist destination affects the lives of residents through the proliferation of touristic activities (Jurowski *et al.*, 1997). Therefore, in spite of the lauded benefits of touristic activities, it is necessary to pay special attention to the negative effects, not just the environmental, but especially the economic and social. Economic effects include an increase in property taxes and the price of goods and services, while social effects include traffic congestion problems, overcrowding in public areas, contribution to social ills (such as begging, gambling, drug-trafficking and prostitution), uprooting traditional society and causing deterioration of the traditional culture (Kim *et al.*, 2013, p. 228).

The real problem of tourismophobia, especially in the case of historic centres and cities, can be understood in terms of gentrification, as it relegates and hinders urban activities typical of the city (residential use) in favour of tourism, where the uses of daily life are expelled by other tourism projects. Urban life is definitively replaced by tourism. As Tonkiss said “gentrification has become a key way in which parts of the city ‘Undiversify’ themselves” (from [Butler, 2007](#), p. 767). In this case, the gentrification of tourism attracts uniform businesses that make cities more similar. It is not a matter of the differences between residents and tourists (characteristics, behaviour, expectations and the vision of the city), but a matter of time-space budgets, action space, local knowledge and cultural familiarity, and, especially relevant here, attitudes towards heritage and the characteristics of its consumption ([Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2004](#)). This situation of competing interests explains the recent movements of rejection of tourists by local populations. Although the study of the pressure and consequences that economic activity can have on spaces is not new, the rejection of this activity provoked by the expulsion of the native population, businesses and primitive uses is a relatively novel development. In fact, there are multiple examples of natural or archaeological places with limitations of visitors as a requirement to ensure their preservation. Some examples from Spain include the implementation of daily visitor quotas in Islas Cíes Natural Park, a limited number of visitors assigned by lot in Cuevas de Altamira and the forbidding of tourist rentals in Palma de Mallorca. In any case, these measures show the existence of a conflict of interest between social actors in the appropriation of space, and question the role of public administrations. In fact, regarding the Altamira Caves, when different social actors are asked (politicians, technicians, researchers, economic agents, visitors, etc.), it is found that historical value prevails. As it was mentioned above with respect to the measures of pro-gentrification carried out by public administrations, the problem arises around what each agent considers necessary to do to increase the economic value of historical resources ([Télez Delgado and Parga-Dans, 2015](#)).

The increase in tourism in general, the growing tourist pressure on historic cities in particular and the social rejection of tourism require a more nuanced definition of the term tourist capacity. It is not a revolutionary issue but part of the process, since sustainability is, as [Weaver \(2012a, b\)](#) claims, an emergent and desired outcome. This term should not be used in relation to controlling the effects of mass tourism on the quality of the visit but rather to deepen respect for the site in terms of heritage conservation and compatibility of uses ([García Hernández and de la Calle Vaquero, 2012](#)). That means measuring the consequences and impacts on the daily lives of the residents and users of these spaces. In the case of historic cities that have historical-artistic heritage that is concentrated in a defined space, the number of tourists and visitors easily exceeds the number of residents. Hence, as part of sustainable ([Mowforth and Munt, 1998](#)) and responsible tourism ([Dębicka and Oniszczyk-Jastrząbek, 2014](#)), it is especially important to ensure the maintenance of acceptable levels of privacy and respectful behaviour of tourists/visitors. The difficulty derived from the fact that the main tourist attraction is the physical space itself, shared with citizens, which does not require an entry fee, is that numbers cannot be delimited. By physical space we mean the urban stores, public spaces, historical heritage and building, etc. In addition, the impact on housing and premises that can easily get specialized in tourism (hotels, pensions, tourist flats, tourist trade, franchises, luxury trade or fast food businesses), with the consequent gentrification, must be taken into account. It is worth asking what or whom this situation harms, whether it be tourists, the local population or the resource itself, and the answer is all three. It forces a reflection on the consequences of urban redevelopment since “historic preservation, gentrification, and tourism are related, and distinct, redevelopment processes. All three can lead to improvements in the physical environment of a city but it will have different consequences for the social environment” ([Bures, 2001](#), p. 196).



It is pertinent, therefore, to analyze how the tourism strategy affects heritage, to emphasize not only building interventions and urban transformations (restoration of heritage assets, improvement of the quality of urban life and provision of basic infrastructure and equipment), but also the management of these spaces and the use of buildings and historical spaces (Barrera-Fernández, 2016). As a consequence, it is necessary to ask whether the imposition of limitations on the physical transformations of real estate is sufficient to guarantee the maintenance of the equity value and ensure the appropriate use; or whether traffic control and pedestrianization safeguard pedestrian saturation. In any case, it is necessary to find the balance between the coexistence of desired (residential) and complementary (tourism) traditional uses. Thus, the crucial question is to what extent revitalization projects of historic centres, especially those of a tourist nature, fail to achieve priority objectives regarding residential use and normalization of urban life, and even operate against these objectives, expelling native population and traditional business. However, when the processes of urban transformation and revitalization are not followed by an incipient economy – which arises spontaneously in attractive places for tourism – there is a risk of a slow decline. Due to the socio-demographic characteristics that are relatively marginal to the population of reception and the scarce demand of already settled businesses that are disappearing without even having the option to be replaced by another activity. In reality, this phenomenon can, and should, be interpreted through “theories of the state and the economy (Fainstein and Fainstein, 1986; Zukin *et al.*, 1996; Feagin, 1988; Gottdiener, 1987), modes of mode (Miles and Paddison, 1998; Urry, 1995) and theories of socio-physical space (Wright, 1997)” (Gotham, 2001, pp. 445-6).

## Methodology

The main purpose of this work is to explore, through the analysis case Monumental Zone, the revitalization of the historic centre in this case and what role tourism has played. In pursuit of this objective, an extensive literature review was undertaken and in-depth case study investigation and analysis (including consultations and fieldwork) were carried out to identify how the different indicators and problems of the commercial sector, in particular, and the historical centre, in general, are evolving.

This research arose because of the opportunity to carry out an intervention in the Monumental Zone trade area. On the one hand, the association asked for technical advice, and on the other hand, Galician Regional Government provided aids to encourage Commerce Modernisation Plans. So, it can be said that it has been created *ad hoc* inspired by other Spanish old quarters' experiences, especially, the works of Troitiño Vinuesa. Related to gentrification issues, Lees' and Smith's works have been very useful to understand the process, as well as Butler's, whose works included tourism contributions too. Both, this last author and Weaver have focussed the sustainable tourism debate.

In light of the core objective, the literature review has a distinct focus on sources that address the process of transformation in the city centres, paying special attention to academic works on gentrification processes and the role of tourism as a development strategy. The literature review also explores the diverging meanings and effects of gentrification and touristification in different cultural settings, as well as the engagement between both concepts, to contextualize their use in this research.

Pontevedra's case seems to be appropriate because tourism was the first strategy that commercial stakeholders took, although it does not necessarily mean shops or business were transformed by tourism demands.

The analysis case utilizes fieldwork from a research work on the evolution of commercial activity in Zona Monumental (1989–2015), drawing particularly on in-depth interviews, a comparison of the register of premises and population data. The interviews, in particular, allow us to make a journey through almost three decades of participation in the processes

of transformation of the historic centre and to ascertain how tourism is valued today. Interviews of the Board of Directors of the Commercial Association of the Monumental Zone (Pontevedra), carried out in November 1992 and June 2001, have been used to know how and why they were created. To make a further comparison, these same interviewees were contacted recently in February 2018 in order to know their opinions about the contemporary role of tourism. The Board of Directors was composed by the president, the vice-president, the secretary and five vocals; seven men and two women. The first Board of Directors were involved in retail, professional services and food sectors. Afterwards, businesses such as restaurants and cafeterias were admitted. The chosen ones were those who had had a relevant role in the association creation, and also, they were the youngest members. In fact, only five of these first memberships were still working in Monumental Zone by the time the last interview was made. All of them were men in their early 30s when they created the Association (1992) and the three of them have university degrees. Two of them were second generation, developing same activity in the same premise, while the other one was third generation in the activity.

Regarding the registration of premises, any place valid to host a commercial activity (whether it has a shop, other business or was empty) was recorded and counted. The first registration occurred in 2003. For this work, it was important to compare data to check how urban transformation had affected the commercial activity.

The objectives of this comparison are to determine if there is a different commercial specialization and if there has been a rebound in the hospitality industry, the balance between daytime and night-time activities, the presence of empty premises and the impact of tourism. The registration of premises is presented as a valid tool to ascertain the changes in the space, marking the variation of economic activities by preparing a record that includes the sector or activity by streets and commercial premises, and allowing a comparison in a determined period of time. In this case, the registration allows us to compare data from 2003 to 2015. Returning to the main objective, the findings from the registration of premises can be used to determine the effects of tourism and gentrification on the use of space and the activities within that space, while the interviews can be used to provide local perspective on whether those changes in use and activities have been positive or negative.

Finally, since improving residential use seems to be the best solution, residential use data from Population Census have been analyzed in order to see how they have developed.

#### Tourist-commercial strategy and revitalization of the *Zona monumental Pontevedra*

The historic centre of Pontevedra was declared a historic-artistic complex in 1951. At this time, this small provincial town grew around the commercial development of this area. However, in the 1980s this place was characterized by neglect and marginalization, becoming an unpleasant place for the citizens. The abandonment of its central position, linked to commercial specialization and also a polyvalence of uses and urban spaces that made it the heart and economic engine of the city, occurred in parallel to the loss of population (detriment of residential function), abandonment of housing (deterioration), loss of commercial attraction and decline of activities (economic function) and appearance of new uses (concentration of night premises). Thus, the tourist strategy at a time when Galicia started the celebration of the Compostelan Holy Year 1993 is revealed as an ally for the revitalization of historic centres, such as Pontevedra, through which the Santiago's Pilgrim Way passes.

It is worth considering two other important facts in the transformation of Pontevedra's old quarter, the implementation of the Urban Plan (1996-1999) that, among others, intervened in the buildings, the public space and the urban environment, and the pedestrianization and the new urban model promoted by the local administration.

### *Tourist-cultural actions*

In this context, the association of merchants of the Zona Monumental emerges as the main actor of development, not only commercial, but also tourist and cultural. They advocated for a cultural development strategy, as it had been acquiring significance in the economic development plans of cities and since it was effective in attracting tourists and individuals to live and work ([Grodach and Loukaitou-Sideris, 2007](#)). In 1989, the merchants created the Monumental Zone Cultural Association with the aim of promoting touristic activities that introduced visitors and tourists to the historic centre, as a first step in recovering it as a public space and meeting point:

It did not arise just because we missed the golden age of the downtown's trade. But, because we wanted to stop the deterioration it was suffering. We have our businesses here, we own the shops, even though many of us live here or have some properties. We saw our world was disappearing [...]. In the year 88 we started patrolling at night to prevent drug addiction and robberies, and protect our businesses [...]. Therefore, that is how we were born, as a cultural association. (Member of the Board of Directors, interviewed May 2001)

Thus, in order to break the inertia of abandonment and restore its centrality to the historic space, they organized the first guided visits aimed at tourists and especially visitors and residents. They were ahead of trends that in a few years would be strengthened in terms of tourism development: the possibilities of "reliving the past" ([Álvarez Sousa, 2004](#)). They sought to ensure that the historical centre of the city and its surroundings became part of the city's mental map, as a first step to recover the identity values of the historic centre and associate it with rising values (public space, historical heart, heritage, etc.). For them, it was a priority to carry out actions of cultural revitalization and promotion of the historic centre. With this in mind, they pursued the recovery of the idiosyncrasy of the historic centre, recovering events, and improving safety and street activities:

We did not know how to do it, so we started thinking. On the one hand, we tried to recover traditions, either because we remembered them from our childhood, or because we had heard about them, like the celebration of the pumpkin [...]. We all contribute our grain of sand [...]. On the other hand, we try to do things for children. With the children come the parents, the grandparents [...] the whole family. [...]. Or more sophisticated projects to attract culturally demanding audiences such as the first heraldic map of the old town. (Member of the Board of Directors, interviewed 1992)

The merchants, who are also, in many cases, owners and residents, participated in the construction of identity, emphasizing "links between subjects, images, stories, objects and territories, and the reconsideration of the relationship between culture, place, identity and memory, as a way of approaching reflection on the identity processes" ([Lopo, 2010](#)), not only with guided tours, but also with the recovery of traditions (meetings, activities, neighbourhood action, etc.). They found a way to involve social capital, both formal – civil, initially and politico-institutional subsequently – and informal ([Álvarez Sousa and Gomis Rodríguez, 2009](#)), to create development synergies. This resulted in tourism development that complies with the three essential principles (social participation, transversality in management and sustainability of identity) to ensure the conservation of tourism resources ([Baños Rodríguez, 2012](#)). It even led to more elaborate products such as dramatized guided tours, added distinction and quality to the offering ([Álvarez Sousa et al., 2008](#)). It is not just about creating a touristic product (guided tours) but about knowing how to tell stories (taking you back in time).

Through the promotion of tourism, the merchants sought to project a positive image of the historic centre among tourists, visitors, local population and residents. This stands out for different reasons: first, the promotion of cultural and historical tourism was initiated outside of the local administration; second, it was undertaken by the Zona Monumental Zone Commercial Association, which had no expertise in the area; and third, the resources of the

association were limited. However, they knew how to take advantage of the patrimonial and historical potential of the space, boosting the arrival of visitors and tourists. They compensated the lack of funding and training with innovation and by utilizing their knowledge of their space, the Monumental Zone (Torres-Outón, 2013), and aim for the recovery of a space for residents, citizens and visitors rather than tourist promotion itself.

A tourism-trade alliance means, in many cases, a commercial activity focussed on tourism, for instance, souvenir shops or luxury commerce. Nevertheless, in this case, although businesses are seeking to improve touristic attractions, this has not led to a tourism specialization of commerce but to a strengthening of the role of daytime catering for tourists, residents and visitors alike, and the maintenance of a retail trade for the citizenship.

In this case, the tourist strategy in a city that still today is characterized by attracting tourists, sought to recover celebrations and traditions for the pride of the citizens themselves and make it attractive for citizens and neighbours. This is not at the expense of the resident and local population, but precisely to make the process more participatory. Thus, they recovered traditions typical of Galician culture, linked to activities carried out in the historic centre. For example, the “Pumpkin Festival” seeks to recover the ancient custom of the city to celebrate agricultural events in order to connect rural and urban space. Moreover, remembering other pumpkin uses such as a container used to transport water (pilgrims). Nowadays, they want to promote pumpkins as a culinary product, this has led to organization of pumpkin-based menus in the restaurants. In a similar vein, there is the “Autumn Fair”, in which they try to promote the consumption of *castañas* through a popular *magosto* that combines a fair of seasonal agricultural products (chestnuts, dry fruits, etc.) with craft workshops. In this way, the Monumental Zone attracts citizens with cultural street activities and non-commercial activities. Nowadays, the City Council is the institution that promotes actions to attract tourists.

In tune with the city itself, the City Council carried out initiatives in connection with institutions and entities that resulted in a greater knowledge and proximity between the historic city and the social world. On Sunday mornings, they organized artistic exhibitions of works of fine arts by university students. They also ceded their shop windows to show the work of local artists and collaborated with educational centres, allowing them to decorate their shop windows to participate in the Camellia competition, among other initiatives. It was a modest local play, taking into account the historical value of the space and the characterization of the city itself.

Being Pontevedra the capital of the province, a long time ago it received visitors from the hinterland to cover their needs (purchases, administration, services, etc.). Now, communication facilitates movements between the different main cities and while services (health, administration) are maintained, purchases decrease. That is the reason why new visitors are now tourists, those who spend time (one, two weeks) on the beaches and come to the city (during the day) looking for shopping and entertainment, and contribute to make Pontevedra a lively city. That is the reason why “tourists are not seen as enemies. In fact, it’s nice to see people walking, not only coming to enjoy our summer festivals, but also making purchases in sales” (Member of the Board of Directors, 2018). Although, as the Association’s president has said, tourism affects businesses that are not hotels or restaurants, only secondarily, because “It is very strange for a tourist to come to the market and buy a turbot, he comes and takes a picture” (Soto, 2017); what city centre needs is population.

Following the information obtained in the interviews, it can be concluded that:

1. tourism was chosen in the 1990s as a good strategy to improve economy and recover attractiveness;
2. nowadays, tourists increase local commerce sale, although secondarily;

3. hospitality clearly benefits from tourists, although it still continues to address the demands of the citizens;
4. tourists make city more animated; and
5. losing population is still a greater problem than gentrification or touristification.

### *Premises registration*

It is possible to discover the consequences of the urban model in economic activities through a comparative analysis among the businesses that hosted the Monumental Zone after the completion of the works and once the pedestrian model was consolidated. That is to say, the consequences of the evolution of commercial establishments and the hospitality industry in the historic centre between 2003, a couple of years after great urban reform was carried out under the auspice of the Urban Plan and finalized, and 2015, when the last data were collected.

The compared data (Figure 1) show a decrease in the continuous nocturnal activity. Although the old quarter continues as the priority place for the nightlife of the city, the volume of activity has been reduced while hospitality specialization has increased.

Trade maintained its presence and even showed a rebound. The premises linked to fashion (clothing, textiles and accessories) continue to dominate most of the commercial offering, as they are businesses associated with impulse purchases and favoured in pedestrian areas. Despite the onset of a crisis that has plagued the sector in recent years, resulting in job losses, economic crisis and consumption reduction, in 2015 these premises presented similar values to 2003 (Figure 2). This is in relation to numbers of visitors and income, but not always in relation to the kind of offer. Some commercial premises have changed their function or type of shop. Mostly, this happens when an owner retires and someone new starts an activity; so furniture stores and more traditional ones are substituted by creative shops, crafts, ecologic products, designer clothes or technology ones.

In the absence of more recent data, it can be confirmed that in the last three years there have been closures motivated by retirements and small businesses, and self-employed people have faced difficulties in maintaining their activities. "The economic situation [...] I mean the taxes we have to pay, bank payments, loss of the purchasing power of our

**Figure 1** Evolution and distribution of activities (2003, 2011, 2013, 2015)

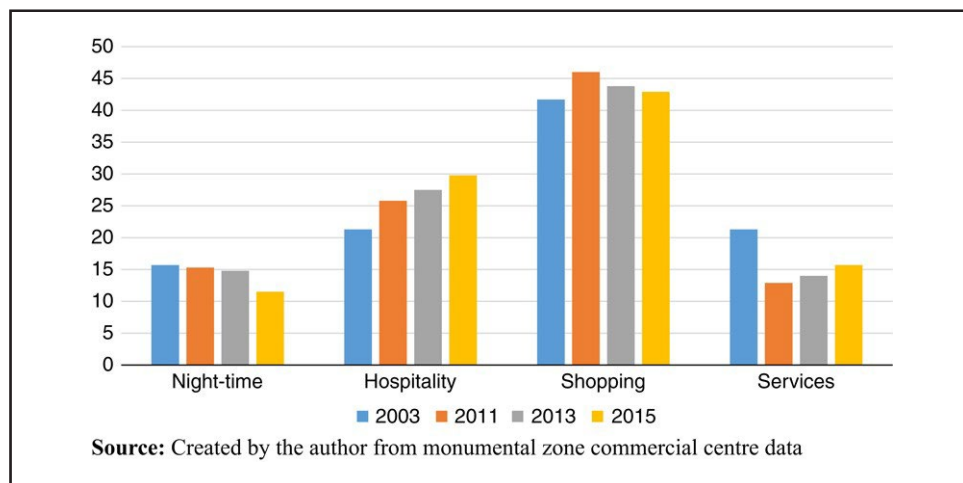
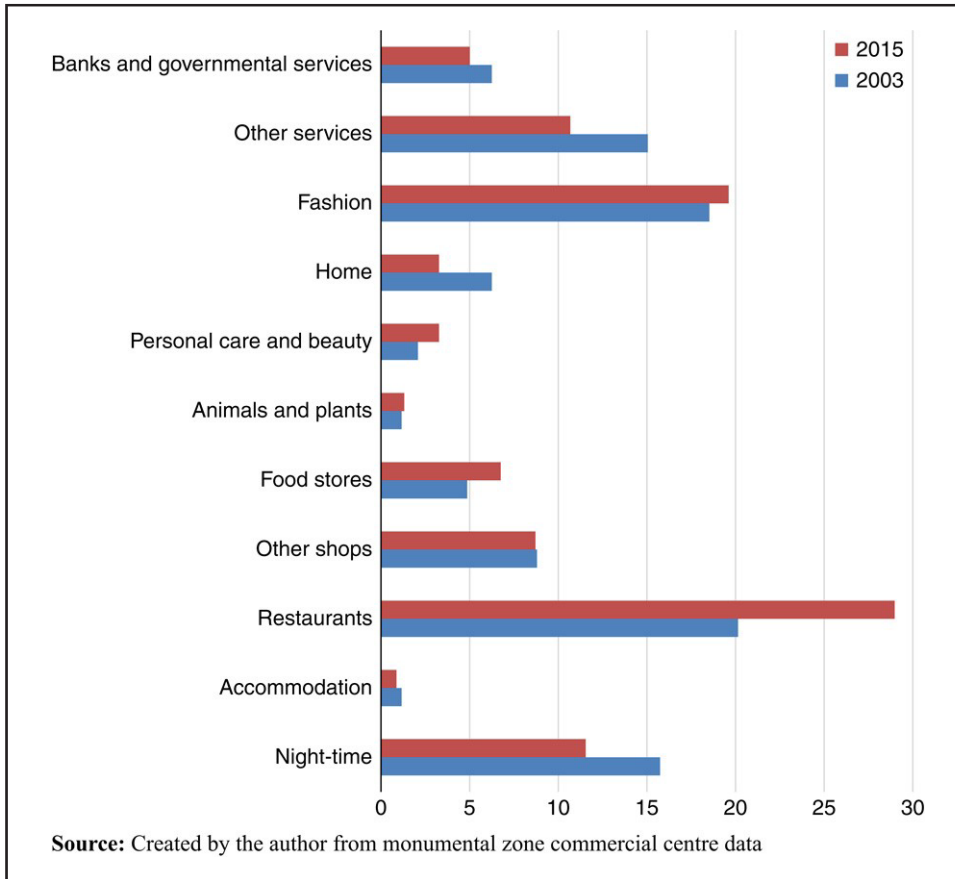


Figure 2 Evolution and distribution of offer (2003-2015)

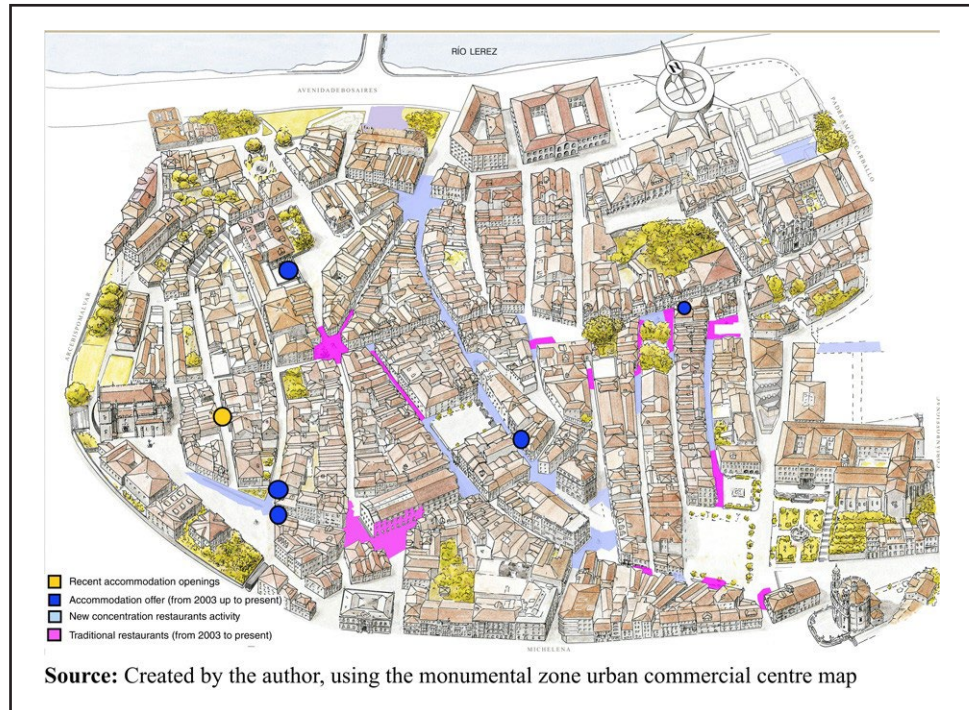


traditional customers and so on, not tourism, has forced closures” (Member of the Board of Directors, interviewed 2018).

Hospitality has been the sector that most benefited from urban reform, which improved the charm of the historic centre and affected the recovery of public space. This has not been achieved by decreasing commercial businesses but by transforming the sector itself. A qualitative change should also be noted, with a historic centre of higher quality and an innovative hospitality industry (restaurants and *taperi*'s linked to wineries, new Galician cuisine and traditional cuisine) that coexist with traditional establishments (bars, taverns). Certainly, this has improved the local offering, although, the most recent (after 2008 economic crisis) openings are linked to fast food restaurants (burger, pizza and franchises) marking a change in trend. To sum up, it was easy to recognize some squares or places to eat in Monumental Zone in 2003. During the following years, this kind of businesses has remained and more streets and squares have hosted hospitality offer. Data confirm the growth of restaurants and takeaway places as it has been said, although only one more accommodation (a hostel) is added (Figure 3). Nowadays, shopping and hospitality specialization are living together.

Even though the tourist office is in the historic centre and the effort of the local administration to attract more tourism is confirmed, there is no tourism specialization in economic activities, since the hospitality industry is seeking local clients (citizens), and there are hardly any souvenir shops. If there is a change of direction towards the

Figure 3 Restaurants and accommodation (2003–2015)



emergence of new economic activities, these will go hand-in-hand with the emergence of trade linked to new technologies (mobile telephones, information technology, etc.).

According to the register of premises, it is possible to say that after the revitalization plans (commercial association strategy, community funds and local administration support):

1. commercial specialization has not changed in an important way;
2. hospitality industry has increased and above all has improved;
3. night-time activities are still remarkable, but they have decreased due to legal restrictions and transformation into daytime hospitality businesses;
4. empty premises have decreased after a substantial investment by the administration and high Zone Monumental Association activity (from early 2000), but the economic crisis has had a negative effect in recent years; and
5. there has not been a significant increase in touristic offer, neither in touristic shops nor in hotels.

### *Population evolution*

There have been different milestones in the revitalization of Pontevedra's historic centre, such as: The European Urban Plan (1996–2000); the consolidation of the first merchant's cultural association, creating the Monumental Urban Zone Shopping Centre (2003), which is a professional association that includes hospitality business; and local administration measures in order to improve urban environmental quality, create business and increase residents.

However, with respect to residential use, population data of the census (Table I) indicate that population loss has continued, even though, data show a reduction in the weight of the

**Table I** Evolution of population (1991-2017)

	1991	1999	2008	2017
Municipality	71,491	74,143	80,749	83,935
Historic centre	2,931	2,457	2,091	1,685

Source: Data from Census of Inhabitants

total population of the historic centre, since it represents only 2 per cent of the population of the municipality at present. This setback is explained not only by the fall in the resident population of the core, but also by the increase in the population of the wider municipality. Attracting new residents does not seem easy since the historic centre maintains its population regression, while the municipality continues to grow. Neither gentrification nor touristification is substituting residents. The problem is the lack of residents and the abandonment of houses.

## Discussion

The bibliographic review affirms that the processes of transformation of historical centres are not exempt from risks and undesired effects. In this publication, especially focussed on the negative effects of tourism, special attention was paid to the consequences of economic activities and residential use. For that reason, it can be said that excess tourism causes gentrification, by replacing the resident population with tourists. They not only appropriate the space but also, without being residents, become major players in the consumer market (housing, hospitality and commercial). This is particularly prevalent in literature regarding the likes of Barcelona or Venice; however, tourism can bring prosperity, making cities alive, and that is the reason why merchants and local administration in Pontevedra are looking for them.

Returning to [Slater \(2014\)](#) and regarding gentrification, a parallelism between the effects of tourism and new resident groups emerges. At the beginning, both could be considered a higher phase of transformation in which the abandonment, marginality and deterioration of the city centres were stopped, and soon it became a problem in itself. At first, tourism strategies allowed the protection of historical heritage, recovery of public spaces and, in short, the revitalization of city centres, but, in the end, led to the appropriation of space by groups of tourists with interests, practices and jobs which expel residents and citizens. As other studies have confirmed:

[...] the relationship between the economic and social impact of tourism and the satisfaction with its correspondent life domains (material well-being and community well-being) initially decreased in the growth stage of tourism development and peaked in maturity stage of tourism development. However, when a community enters the decline stage of tourism development, the strength of the relationship between the economic and social impact of tourism and the satisfaction with correspondent life domains decreases. This finding is consistent with the theoretical foundation of carrying capacity—the destination maximizes its capacity to absorb tourists, and after the host population feels negative impacts, community residents lose their sense of economic and social benefits from tourism; and those feelings become increasingly negative as a function of overcrowded conditions and rising living costs. ([Kim et al., 2013](#), p. 538)

Those negative impacts which have been detected in gentrification processes can also be found in the processes of touristification: the occupation of spaces and housing, commercial and hotel offerings focussed on tourists. However, as it has been seen in Pontevedra, neither new residents have arrived (gentrification), nor has the commercial offer and hospitality changed from citizen to tourist demand (touristification). In fact, it is easy to identify the same problems that different scholars have point out about gentrification:



- reduction in levels of social mix and local social structure ([Walks and Maaranen, 2008](#));
- reduction of neighbourhood contacts and social cohesion ([Uitermark et al., 2007](#)); and
- increase of socio-spatial segregation, polarization, inequality and social exclusion([Lees, 2008](#)).

Regarding the production of the city, traditionally two opposing forces or positions have been mentioned. One, conceptualized as neoliberal urbanism is in favour of the economic profitability and commercialization of the urban space, fostering processes of tertiarization and gentrification and inevitably leading to polarization. The other one known as social urbanism defends the preservation, improvement and recovery of the public space, fostering a compact, balanced city, in which new, interconnected, centralities emerge ([Camacho et al., 2015](#)). Everything seems to indicate that the solution to the current problems facing historic cities is to apply the social urbanism perspective ([Ashworth and Page, 2011](#)) in order to return the space to the inhabitants and to the citizenship, the ones who must appropriate the space. Currently, Pontevedra has been going towards a deeper commitment to this last approach, making citizens owners of the city. Since social urbanism means limiting the private market that operates in terms of economic benefits, and not social ones, the city, the businesses and the public space are ready to be enjoyed by residents. Therefore, it is important to revalorize the historical centre as a living city, not as a theme park.

In relation to the findings from Pontevedra's case and from the sociological point of view, to understand touristification, we must contemplate the post-industrial city. On the one hand, referring "to existing patterns of social, spatial, and economic restructuring of the central city" ([Zukin, 1987](#), p. 145). On the other hand, taking into account the position of each city and learning to manage the arrival of tourists rather than fighting against it ([Slater, 2008](#)). This means that the solution is not to limit growth but to manage it: it has to be appropriate to the tourists, the destination environment and the host population ([Liu, 2003](#)). Finally, in line with [Lansing and De Vries \(2007\)](#), the sustainability of resources is necessary, not as a tactic but as a viable alternative; that, in this case, refers to the coexistence of uses and residents, and to the appropriation of space by different groups (residents, citizens and tourists). While the recent rejection of tourists in some cities shows that there is a problem, counter to this, in the case of small cities where the risk of deterioration and abandonment lurks, tourists are still welcome. For instance, in Pontevedra, tourism is desirable, local administration and local institutions are looking forward to attracting more tourists, and nowadays, it is the way to bring life to an old quarter characterized by no residents and a loss of commercial activity, and improve the local economy. In order to keep services (hospitality, commercial and leisure) consumers are necessary.

In fact, in this case, hospitality businesses growth is enjoyed by citizens, visitors and tourists. Changes in consumption habits have created a gap in shopping patterns; not only the economic crisis but also the electronic commerce have made the commercial offer decrease in old quarters. Consumers are necessary to maintain business, thus, tourists are welcomed. Regardless, the main limitation this case presents is the fact that nowadays in Pontevedra tourist's rejection problems have not arisen. The main problem is still the lack of residents, so in order to keep the old quarter alive, citizens, tourists and visitors are welcomed consumers. In addition, a conflict is unlikely to occur, just because the city does not attract so many tourists, there is not an exclusive offer for tourists and even souvenirs offers, such as crafts or designer t-shirts, are demanded by regular citizens. They are not typical tourist souvenirs shops.

## Conclusion

In the case of the Monumental Zone (Pontevedra), it is easy to appreciate the tourism strategy as the merchant's association, first and local administration, later, designing

actions specifically to make the city well-known. The fact that Pontevedra does not receive a large number of tourists allows that:

1. tourists do not occupy a preferential position in the market;
2. the pride and symbolic value of the historic centre has been recovered;
3. cultural activities, catering to both tourists and citizens, can be created; and
4. the hospitality industry and commerce cater towards citizen consumers rather than tourists.

In fact, in Pontevedra, tourists contribute to improve local economy (shopping and hospitality industry) and make the city more vivid and animated. This is evident from the fact that the numbers in Pontevedra, according to the registration of premises, remained largely unchanged between 2001 and 2015. It is true that the medium size of the city will not support mass tourism. After a huge process of revitalization carried out in the city centre, residential use has not been normalized owing to gentrification or touristification. Displacement occurs not only by the two phenomena mentioned, but also traditionally by abandonment. The benefits of tourism are not enough if the process of revitalization does not bring residents since the risk of abandonment will return.

Pontevedra may be used as an example for other medium-sized cities where tourism is not an economically significant sector, but helps the economy. Furthermore, tourism in this case does not strangle other opportunities but contributes to them. Through this research it can be said that:

1. Solutions do not always come from the administration or the market, and they are not always the expected ones. In this case, economic agents looked for local improvement, and not only for businesses solutions.
2. Committed local stakeholders are able to transform the space without losing identity and singularity.
3. Gentrification has not occurred in all revitalized city centres, such as the case presented.
4. Tourism is still important to revitalize the economy; it provides a demand for some businesses, which also supply citizens.
5. In spite of the detrimental effects that may be produced by gentrification or touristification, stakeholders are afraid of suffering abandonment.
6. The Monumental Zone still needs more residents.

We should not ignore the advantages associated with tourism, which can encourage the promotion of economic activity and attract public investment. Otherwise, the historic centres could once again suffer from processes of marginalization. This is especially true in cases such as the Monumental Zone, in which the residential use continues to be threatened and the maintenance of economic activities requires new consumers. As the interviews showed, tourists are welcome because they are potential consumers and they bring animation to the old town. In addition, in the register of premises, the increase in hospitality is explained not only by tourism, but also by visitors and by being an attractive place for citizens. In a way, it seems that it returns to the point of departure because the need for private investment and public commitment to the maintenance of certain buildings is already evident. As [García Docampo \(2003\)](#) said, Galicia's historic centres do not suffer from gentrification processes but degradation and marginalization in terms of residential use.

At the end of the 1980s, the Pontevedra City Council banned new licenses for bars and nightclubs to stop the old district from being mainly a place to spend the night. In line with the above, before a tourism excess occurs, it is always possible to limit housing, commerce

and tourist hospitality. This can be a good measure, both for citizens and tourists, since it preserves the valuable uniqueness and identity of a place. Thus, the solution may be to control the market, not to condemn tourism. Cities are for citizens, but services, hospitality and purchases in medium-sized cities such as Pontevedra are not maintained only by what citizens are capable of consuming. A long time ago, it was the demand of the visitors of the surrounding areas what contributed to maintain the activity; however, nowadays it is the tourists (not mass tourism, but casual tourists). The objective is a stable and continuous tourist growth over time. In this case, less is more, what means richer and less invasive tourists.

In fact, too much tourism has a negative effect not only on residents, but also on tourists (Harrill, 2004). In this way, mass tourism can actually lead to downturn in tourism. The place starts to be saturated and it may lose attractiveness, as it can be seen from the oversaturation of tourists, in cases like Venice and Barcelona. However, in cities with a modest number of tourists and population, such as in Pontevedra, we need more effective plans and strategies to find an appropriate balance. Tourism is not an opportunity that cities can ignore. It is an opportunity to keep them alive, creating jobs and business.

There are still new challenges for historic centres like Monumental Zone in Pontevedra. First of all, attracting residents and occupying houses means keeping and reinforcing residential use. In fact, different programmes to increase housing quality and the rental housing market have been developed, although without success. Second, maintenance of multifunctional activities underlining the role of commerce and services, and consumer habits changes (electronic commerce, new formats and so on) affected the shopping activity negatively. Third, we can find the recreational use threat, not only by touristic pressure, but also by citizens' choices. Right now, tourism becomes an alternative to bring people and activities to complement the lack of consumers. Businesses and public space are shared without conflict. If in the future some imbalance arises, the local government and the associative movement, such as the ones Monumental Zone has (merchants and neighbours), will face it as they have done against abandonment, deterioration, sale and consumption of drugs, and other common problems that historical centres of several cities and different countries have overcome.

## References

- Álvarez Sousa, A. (2004), "Cambio social y ocio turístico en el siglo XXI", *Turismo, ocio y deporte*, VIII Congreso Español de Sociología transformaciones globales: confianza y riesgo, Alicante, 23-25 September, pp. 15-41.
- Álvarez Sousa, A. and Gomis Rodríguez, A. (2009), "El turismo y desarrollo", in Latiesa Rodríguez, M., García Ferrando, M. and Álvarez Sousa, A. (Eds), *Sociología del ocio y del turismo: tipos, planificación y desarrollo*, Universidad de Granada, Granada, pp. 25-55.
- Álvarez Sousa, A., Rego Veiga, G., Leira López, J., Gomis Rodríguez, A., Caramés Valo, R. and Andrade Suárez, M.J. (2008), "Innovación turística: perspectivas teóricas y objetos de estudio", *Revista de Ocio y Turismo. La innovación en el sector del turismo*, Vol. 1 No. 1, pp. 19-50, available at: <http://revistas.udc.es/index.php/rotur/article/viewFile/1224/300> (accessed 18 February 2010).
- Anunziata, S. and Lees, L. (2016), "Resisting 'austerity gentrification' and displacement in Southern Europe", *Sociological Research Online*, Vol. 21 No. 1, pp. 1-8, available at: <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.5153/sro.4033> (accessed 27 April 2018).
- Arkaraprasertkul, N. (2018), "Gentrifying heritage: how historic preservation drives gentrification in urban Shanghai", *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, pp. 1-15, available at: [www.researchgate.net/profile/Non\\_Arkaraprasertkul/publication/324587991\\_Gentrifying\\_heritage\\_how\\_historic\\_preservation\\_drives\\_gentrification\\_in\\_urban\\_Shanghai/links/5ad730b4aca272fdaf7ecbd1/Gentrifying-heritage-how-historic-preservation-drives-gentrification-in-urban-Shanghai.pdf](http://www.researchgate.net/profile/Non_Arkaraprasertkul/publication/324587991_Gentrifying_heritage_how_historic_preservation_drives_gentrification_in_urban_Shanghai/links/5ad730b4aca272fdaf7ecbd1/Gentrifying-heritage-how-historic-preservation-drives-gentrification-in-urban-Shanghai.pdf) (accessed 4 September 2018).
- Ashworth, G. and Page, S.J. (2011), "Urban tourism research: recent progress and current paradoxes", *Tourism Management*, Vol. 32 No. 1, pp. 1-15, available at: [www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0261517710000233](http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0261517710000233) (accessed 28 April 2018).

- Ashworth, G.J. and Tunbridge, J.E. (2004), "Whose tourist-historic city? Localizing the global and globalizing the local", in Lew, A.A., Hall, M. and Williams, A.M. (Eds), *A Companion to Tourism*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, pp. 210-22, available at: <http://apps.hevs.ch/blog/getfilesFTO.aspx?id=825#page=230> (accessed 15 March 2018).
- Baños Rodríguez, Z.J. (2012), "La sustentabilidad en el planeamiento del desarrollo turístico en ciudades patrimoniales", *Arquitectura y Urbanismo*, Vol. 33 No. 2, pp. 47-56, available at: [http://scielo.sld.cu/scielo.php?pid=S181558982012000200004&script=sci\\_arttext&lng=en](http://scielo.sld.cu/scielo.php?pid=S181558982012000200004&script=sci_arttext&lng=en) (accessed 8 February 2018).
- Barrera-Fernández, D. (2016), "Attracting visitors to ancient neighbourhoods. Creation and management of the tourist-historic city of Plymouth", *InPlanning*, Groningen.
- Benito, M.F. (1992), "La protección del Patrimonio en los Centro Históricos", AA.VV., *Primeiras Xornadas de Planificación Especial para os Conxuntos Históricos*, Colegio Oficial de arquitectos de Galicia, Santiago de Compostela, noviembre-diciembre 1989, pp. 9-24.
- Betancur, J.J. (2014), "Gentrification in Latin America: overview and critical analysis", *Urban Studies Research*, Vol. 2014 Nos 1-2, pp. 1-14, available at: [www.hindawi.com/journals/usr/2014/986961/abs/](http://www.hindawi.com/journals/usr/2014/986961/abs/) (accessed 3 April 2018).
- Brandis García, D. and Del Río Lafuente, M.I. (1998), "La dialéctica turismo y medio ambiente en las ciudades históricas: una propuesta interpretativa", *Revista Eria*, No. 47, pp. 229-40, available at: <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=34881> (accessed 21 October 2009).
- Bures, R. (2001), "Historic preservation, gentrification, and tourism: the transformation of Charleston, South Carolina", in Gotham, K.F. (Ed.), *Critical Perspectives on Urban Redevelopment*, Elsevier Press, New York, NY, pp. 195-210, available at: [www.emeraldinsight.com/doi/pdfplus/10.1016/S1047-0042\(01\)80009-X](http://www.emeraldinsight.com/doi/pdfplus/10.1016/S1047-0042(01)80009-X) (accessed 3 April 2018).
- Butler, R. (2009), "Tourism in the future: cycles, waves or wheels?", *Futures*, Vol. 41 No. 6, pp. 346-52, available at: [www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0016328708002103](http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0016328708002103) (accessed 2 September 2018).
- Butler, T. (2007), "Re-urbanizing London docklands: gentrification, suburbanization or new urbanism?", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol. 31 No. 4, pp. 759-81, available at: <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2007.00758.x/full> (accessed 27 April 2018).
- Camacho, J., Díaz Orueta, F., Gadea, E., Ginés, X. and Lourés Seoane, M.L. (2015), "Madrid: el agotamiento de un modelo urbano y la construcción de nuevas propuestas para una ciudad en transformación", *Revista Quid*, Vol. 16 No. 5, pp. 5-45, available at: <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=5593351> (accessed 15 March 2018).
- Carmon, N. (1999), "Three generations of urban renewal policies: analysis and policy implications", *Geoforum*, Vol. 30 No. 2, pp. 145-58, available at: [www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0016718599000123](http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0016718599000123) (accessed 4 September 2018).
- Chang, T.C. and Huang, S. (2004), "Urban tourism: between the global and the local", in Lew, A.A., Hall, M. and Williams, A.M. (Eds), *A Companion To Tourism*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, pp. 223-34, available at: <http://blog.ub.ac.id/adityapinastika/files/2013/05/A-COMPANION-TO-TOURISM.pdf#page=243> (accessed 15 March 2018).
- Coca-Stefaniak, J.A., Parker, C., Quin, S., Rinaldi, R. and Byrom, J. (2009), "Town centre management models: a European perspective", *Cities*, Vol. 26 No. 2, pp. 74-80, available at: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2008.12.001> (accessed 23 April 2011).
- Cocola-Gant, A. (2018), "Tourism gentrification", in Lees, L. and Phillips, M. (Eds), *Handbook of Gentrification Studies*, Edward Elgar Publishing, Cheltenham and Northampton, pp. 281-93, available at: [www.researchgate.net/profile/Agustin\\_Cocola-Gant/publication/323696032\\_Tourism\\_gentrification/links/5aa65327a6fdcccd544bc91b4/Tourism-gentrification.pdf](http://www.researchgate.net/profile/Agustin_Cocola-Gant/publication/323696032_Tourism_gentrification/links/5aa65327a6fdcccd544bc91b4/Tourism-gentrification.pdf) (accessed 2 May 2018).
- Davidson, M. and Lees, L. (2010), "New-build gentrification: its histories, trajectories, and critical geographies", *Population, Space and Place*, Vol. 16 No. 5, pp. 395-411, available at: <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/psp.584/full> (accessed 3 April 2018).
- Dębicka, O. and Oniszczuk-Jastrzębek, A. (2014), "Responsible tourism in Poland: tourism in Southern and Eastern Europe", *Trends in Tourism and Hospitality Industry, CAUTHE Conference Proceedings, Brisbane, 10-13 February*, pp. 189-202, available at: [www.fthm.uniri.hr/files/Kongresi/THI/Papers/2014/THI\\_May2014\\_189to202.pdf](http://www.fthm.uniri.hr/files/Kongresi/THI/Papers/2014/THI_May2014_189to202.pdf) (accessed 2 May 2015).
- Duque Calvache, R. (2010), "La difusión del concepto de gentrificación en España: Reflexión teórica y debate terminológico", *Biblio 3w Revista bibliográfica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, Vol. XV

No. 875, pp. 1-14, available at: [www.academia.edu/download/39711083/La\\_difusion\\_del\\_concepto\\_gentrification\\_en\\_Espana.pdf](http://www.academia.edu/download/39711083/La_difusion_del_concepto_gentrification_en_Espana.pdf) (accessed 17 November 2017).

Duque Calvache, R. (2016), *Procesos de gentrificación en cascos antiguos: el Albaicín de Granada*, CIS, Madrid.

Esher, A.J. and Petermann, S. (2000), "Neo-colonialism or gentrification in the Medina of Marrakesh", *ISIM Newsletter*, Vol. 5 No. 1, p. 34, available at: <https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/handle/1887/17390> (accessed 17 November 2017).

García Docampo, M. (2003), *A construcción social do territorio galego*, Colección Xiz, Didáctica, TresCtres Editores, Santiago de Compostela.

García Hernández, M. (2000), "Turismo y medio ambiente en ciudades históricas. De la capacidad de acogida turística a la gestión de los flujos de visitantes", *Anales de geografía de la Universidad Complutense*, Vol. 20, pp. 131-48, available at: [www.ambientalex.info/revistas/201aug131148.pdf](http://www.ambientalex.info/revistas/201aug131148.pdf) (accessed 21 October 2009).

García Hernández, M. and de la Calle Vaquero, M. (2012), "Capacidad de carga en grandes recursos turístico-culturales", *Anales de Geografía de la Universidad Complutense*, Vol. 32 No. 2, pp. 253-74, available at: <https://search.proquest.com/docview/1271622150?pq-origsite=gscholar> (accessed 17 November 2017).

González, S. (2016), "Looking comparatively at displacement and resistance to gentrification in Latin American cities", *Urban Geography*, Vol. 37 No. 8, pp. 1245-52, available at: [www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/02723638.2016.1200337](http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/02723638.2016.1200337) (accessed 27 April 2018).

González, S. and Hodkinson, S. (2014), "Gentrificación como política pública en una ciudad provincial. El caso de la ciudad de Leeds en el Reino Unido", *Revista de Geografía Norte Grande*, No. 58, pp. 93-109, available at: [www.scielo.cl/scielo.php?pid=S0718-34022014000200006&script=sci\\_arttext&lng=pt](http://www.scielo.cl/scielo.php?pid=S0718-34022014000200006&script=sci_arttext&lng=pt) (accessed 29 January 2018).

Gotham, K.F. (2001), "Redevelopment for whom and for what purpose? A research agenda for urban redevelopment in the twenty first century", in Gotham, K.F. (Ed.), *Critical Perspectives on Urban Redevelopment*, Elsevier Press, New York, NY, pp. 429-52, available at: [https://doi.org/10.1016/S1047-0042\(01\)80016-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/S1047-0042(01)80016-7) (accessed 21 October 2009).

Grodach, C. and Loukaitou-Sideris, A. (2007), "Cultural development strategies and urban revitalization: a survey of US cities", *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, Vol. 13 No. 4, pp. 349-70, available at: [www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10286630701683235](http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10286630701683235) (accessed 4 September 2018).

Hackworth, J. and Smith, N. (2001), "The changing state of gentrification", *Tijdschrift voor Economische Sociale Geografie*, Vol. 92 No. 4, pp. 464-77, available at: <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9663.00172> (accessed 3 September 2010).

Hamnett, C. (1991), "The blind men and the elephant: the explanation of gentrification", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Vol. 16 No. 2, pp. 173-89, available at: [www.jstor.org/stable/622612](http://www.jstor.org/stable/622612) (accessed 21 October 2009).

Harrill, R. (2004), "Residents' attitudes toward tourism development: a literature review with implications for tourism planning", *Journal of Planning Literature*, Vol. 18 No. 3, pp. 251-66, available at: <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0885412203260306> (accessed 19 April 2018).

Hiernaux, D. and González, C.I. (2014), "Turismo y gentrificación: pistas teóricas sobre una articulación", *Revista de Geografía Norte Grande*, No. 58, pp. 55-70, available at: <https://dx.doi.org/10.4067/S0718-34022014000200004> (accessed 29 January 2018).

Inzulza, J. (2012), "Latino-gentrification? Focusing on physical and socioeconomic patterns of change, in Latin American inner cities", *Urban Studies*, Vol. 10 No. 49, pp. 2085-107, available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098011423425> (accessed 3 April 2018).

Janoschka, M., Sequera, J. and Salinas, L. (2014), "Gentrification in Spain and Latin America—a critical dialogue. International", *Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol. 38 No. 4, pp. 1234-65, available at: <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1468-2427.12030/full> (accessed 29 January 2018).

Jurowski, C., Uysal, M. and Williams, D.R. (1997), "A theoretical analysis of host community resident reactions to tourism", *Journal of Travel Research*, Vol. 36 No. 2, pp. 3-11, available at: <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/004728759703600202> (accessed 21 October 2009).

Kim, K., Uysal, M. and Sirgy, M.J. (2013), "How does tourism in a community impact the quality of life of community residents?", *Tourism Management*, Vol. 36, pp. 527-40, available at: [www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0261517712001471](http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0261517712001471) (accessed 29 January 2018).

- King, B., Pizam, A. and Milman, A. (1993), "Social impacts of tourism: host perceptions", *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 20 No. 4, pp. 650-65, available at: [www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S016073839390089L](http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S016073839390089L) (accessed 19 April 2018).
- Lansing, P. and De Vries, P. (2007), "Sustainable tourism: ethical alternative or marketing ploy?", *Journal of Business Ethics*, Vol. 72 No. 1, pp. 77-85, available at: <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10551-006-9157-7>
- Lees, L. (2000), "A reappraisal of gentrification: towards a 'geography of gentrification'", *Progress In Human Geography*, Vol. 24 No. 3, pp. 389-408, available at: <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1191/030913200701540483> (accessed 21 October 2009).
- Lees, L. (2008), "Gentrification and social mixing: towards an inclusive urban renaissance?", *Urban Studies*, Vol. 45 No. 12, pp. 2449-70, available at: <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0042098008097099> (accessed 3 April 2018).
- Lees, L. (2012), "The geography of gentrification: thinking through comparative urbanism", *Progress in Human Geography*, Vol. 36 No. 2, pp. 155-71, available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132511412998> (accessed 3 April 2018).
- Lemanski, C. (2014), "Hybrid gentrification in South Africa: theorising across southern and northern cities", *Urban Studies*, Vol. 51 No. 14, pp. 2943-60, available at: <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0042098013515030> (accessed 3 April 2018).
- Liu, Z. (2003), "Sustainable tourism development: a critique", *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, Vol. 11 No. 6, pp. 459-75, available at: [www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09669580308667216](http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09669580308667216) (accessed 19 April 2018).
- Lopes Balsas, C.J. (2000), "City center revitalization in Portugal: lessons from two medium size cities", *Cities*, Vol. 17 No. 1, pp. 19-31, available at: [www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0264275199000499](http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0264275199000499) (accessed 4 September 2018).
- López Palomeque, F. (2015), "Barcelona, de ciudad con turismo a ciudad turística. Notas sobre un proceso complejo e inacabado", *Documents d'Anàlisi Geogràfica*, Vol. 61 No. 3, pp. 483-506, available at: <http://dag.revista.uab.es/article/view/v61-n3-lopez/296-pdf-es> (accessed 17 November 2017).
- Lopo, M. (2010), "Memoria, historia y silencio en la construcción de territorios emblemáticos. Aportes para la interpretación de las voces (y silencios) en la producción de la legitimidad y la identidad locales", *Scripta Nova. Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, Vol. XIV No. 331, available at: [www.ub.es/geocrit/sn/sn-331/sn-331-44.htm](http://www.ub.es/geocrit/sn/sn-331/sn-331-44.htm) (accessed 18 May 2014).
- Marcuse, P. (1985), "Gentrification, abandonment, and displacement: connections, causes, and policy responses in New York City", *Washington University Journal of Urban and Contemporary Law*, Vol. 28 No. 195, pp. 195-240, available at: [http://heinonline.org/hol-cgi-bin/get\\_pdf.cgi?handle=hein.journals/wauci28&section=6](http://heinonline.org/hol-cgi-bin/get_pdf.cgi?handle=hein.journals/wauci28&section=6) (accessed 21 October 2009).
- Masuda, J. and Bookman, S. (2016), "Neighbourhood branding and the right to the city", *Progress in Human Geography*, Vol. 42 No. 2, pp. 165-82, available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132516671822> (accessed 3 April 2018).
- Mowforth, M. and Munt, I. (1998), *Tourism and Sustainability: Development, Globalisation and New Tourism in the Third World*, Routledge, London and New York, NY.
- Pylas, P. (2017), "Venecia y Barcelona combaten el turismo desbordado", *Chicago Tribune*, 15 de noviembre, available at: [www.chicagotribune.com/sns-bc-rep-gen-turismofobia-20171115-story.html](http://www.chicagotribune.com/sns-bc-rep-gen-turismofobia-20171115-story.html) (accessed 3 April 2018).
- Rérat, P., Söderström, O. and Pigué, E. (2010), "New forms of gentrification: issues and debates", *Population, Space and Place*, Vol. 16 No. 5, pp. 335-43, available at: <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/psp.595/full> (accessed 17 November 2017).
- Sequera, J. and Janoschka, M. (2015), "Gentrification dispositifs in the historic centre of Madrid: a re-consideration of urban governmentality and state-led urban reconfiguration", in Lees, L., Shin, H.B. and López-Morales, E. (Eds), *Global Gentrifications: Uneven Development and Displacement*, Policy Press, Bristol, pp. 375-94.
- Slater, T. (2008), "'A literal necessity to be re-placed': a rejoinder to the gentrification debate", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol. 32 No. 1, pp. 212-23, available at: <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2008.00781.x/full> (accessed 21 October 2009).

- Slater, T. (2014), "The resilience of Neoliberal Urbanism", *Open Democracy*, available at: [www.opendemocracy.net/opensecurity/tom-slater/resilience-of-neoliberal-urbanism](http://www.opendemocracy.net/opensecurity/tom-slater/resilience-of-neoliberal-urbanism) (accessed 3 September 2010).
- Slater, T., Curran, W. and Lees, L. (2004), "Guest editorial", *Environment and Planning A*, Vol. 36 No. 7, pp. 1141-50, available at: <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1068/a3718> (accessed 21 October 2009).
- Smith, N. (1982), "Gentrification and uneven development", *Economic geography*, Vol. 58 No. 2, pp. 139-55, available at: [www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.2307/143793](http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.2307/143793) (accessed 17 November 2017).
- Smith, N. (1987), "Gentrification and the rent gap", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 77 No. 3, pp. 462-5, available at: [www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.2307/143793](http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.2307/143793) (accessed 21 October 2009).
- Smith, N. (1996), *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and The Revanchist City*, Routledge, London.
- Smith, V.L. (Ed.) (1989), *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, PA.
- Soto, S. (2017), "El comercio del casco histórico reclama actuaciones para crear un barrio 'más habitable'", *Faro de Vigo*, August 31, available at: [www.farodevigo.es/portada-pontevedra/2017/08/31/comercio-casco-historico-reclama-actuaciones/1741950.html](http://www.farodevigo.es/portada-pontevedra/2017/08/31/comercio-casco-historico-reclama-actuaciones/1741950.html) (accessed 3 April 2018).
- Télez Delgado, V. and Parga-Dans, E. (2015), "Altamira: Hegemonía de élite y valor social en conflicto", *Actas del II Congreso Internacional de Buenas Prácticas en Patrimonio Mundial: Personas y Comunidades*, Menorca, 29-30 April, 1-2 May, pp. 355-74, available at: <http://eprints.ucm.es/38837/1/AltamiraHegemonia.pdf> (accessed 17 November 2017).
- Torres-Outón, S.M. (2013), "Una estrategia de revitalización impulsada por los comerciantes: simbiosis turismo y comercio en el casco histórico de Pontevedra", *Aposta: Revista de ciencias sociales*, No. 56, pp. 1-22, available at: <http://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=4191634> (accessed 18 May 2014).
- Troitiño Vinuesa, M.A. (1998), "Turismo y desarrollo sostenible en ciudades históricas", *Revista Ería*, No. 47, pp. 211-27, available at: <http://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=34882> (accessed 21 October 2009).
- Uitermark, J., Duyvendak, J.W. and Reino, R. (2007), "Gentrification as a governmental strategy: social control and social cohesion in Hoogvliet, Rotterdam", *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, Vol. 39 No. 1, pp. 125-41, available at: <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1068/a39142> (accessed 17 November 2017).
- Walks, R.A. and Maaranen, R. (2008), "Gentrification, social mix, and social polarization: testing the linkages in large Canadian cities", *Urban Geography*, Vol. 29 No. 4, pp. 293-326, available at: [www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.2747/0272-3638.29.4.293](http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.2747/0272-3638.29.4.293) (accessed 17 November 2017).
- Weaver, D.B. (2012a), "Clearing the path to sustainable mass tourism: a response to Peeters", *Tourism Management*, Vol. 33 No. 5, pp. 1042-3, available at: [www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0261517712000155](http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0261517712000155) (accessed 2 September 2018).
- Weaver, D.B. (2012b), "Organic, incremental and induced paths to sustainable mass tourism convergence", *Tourism Management*, Vol. 33 No. 5, pp. 1030-7, available at: [www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0261517711001804](http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0261517711001804) (accessed 2 September 2018).
- Wyly, E. and Hammel, D. (2001), "Gentrification, housing policy, and the new context of urban redevelopment", in Fox-Gotham, K. (Ed.), *Critical Perspectives on Urban Redevelopment*, Vol. 6, Elsevier Science, New York, NY, pp. 211-76, available at: [https://doi.org/10.1016/S1047-0042\(01\)80010-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/S1047-0042(01)80010-6) (accessed 3 September 2010).
- Zukin, S. (1987), "Gentrification: culture and capital in the urban core", *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 13 No. 1, pp. 129-47, available at: [www.annualreviews.org/doi/abs/10.1146/annurev.so.13.080187.001021](http://www.annualreviews.org/doi/abs/10.1146/annurev.so.13.080187.001021) (accessed 21 October 2009).

### Further reading

- Butler, R. (Ed.) (2006), *The Tourism Area Life Cycle*, Vol. 1, Channel View Publications, Clevedon, available at: <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/d183/7a96ce85fdf00a0e2460a5262b2969e2608c.pdf> (accessed 2 September 2018).

Janoschka, M. and Sequera, J. (2016), "Gentrification in Latin America: addressing the politics and geographies of displacement", *Urban Geography*, Vol. 37 No. 8, pp. 1175-94, available at: [www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/02723638.2015.1103995](http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/02723638.2015.1103995) (accessed 27 April 2018).

Ley, D. (1981), "Inner-city revitalization in Canada: a Vancouver case study", *The Canadian Geographer/Le Géographe canadien*, Vol. 25 No. 2, pp. 124-48, available at: <https://doi.org/10.1111/cag.1981.25.2.124> (accessed 8 February 2018).

Ley, D. (2003), "Artists, aestheticisation and the field of gentrification", *Urban studies*, Vol. 40 No. 14, pp. 2527-44, available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/0042098032000136192> (accessed 3 April 2018).

#### Corresponding author

Sara María Torres Outón can be contacted at: [saratorres@uvigo.es](mailto:saratorres@uvigo.es)

---

For instructions on how to order reprints of this article, please visit our website:

[www.emeraldgroupublishing.com/licensing/reprints.htm](http://www.emeraldgroupublishing.com/licensing/reprints.htm)

Or contact us for further details: [permissions@emeraldinsight.com](mailto:permissions@emeraldinsight.com)