TOURISTIFYING MOURARIA

THE IMPACTS OF TOURISTIFICATION AND RESPONSES OF THE LOCAL COMMUNITY, IN MOURARIA (LISBON)

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THE IMPACTS OF TOURISTIFICATION AND RESPONSES OF THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

The case of Mouraria (Lisbon)

by
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Preface

This thesis is the final product of the Master's programme in Urban Geography. It is a project that reflects my interest in uncovering development processes in local urban contexts. The research topic presents a perfect combination of my former studies in tourism management and current study that focuses on the urban context.

I would like to take the opportunity to thank several persons who inspired me and who helped me throughout the thesis process. Firstly, I would like to thank Irina van Aalst, my supervisor, for her guidance during this project and her patience. Also, Jos Bierbooms, the second reviewer, for his feedback on the first version of this report.

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Abstract

In Lisbon, societal debates are taking place about the touristification of the city. More awareness and dissatisfaction has been created among local communities. The tourism sector showed an enormous growth in Lisbon over the last decade, and has been exploited at such a level that we speak of touristification. This is the process in which a general territory evolves into a touristic one, resulting in several economic, socio-cultural and environmental impacts.

Mouraria is a multi-ethnic neighbourhood in the historical city centre of Lisbon. It was a former degraded neighbourhood with a negative reputation. Since 2008, neighbourhood intervention has been taking place by the municipality. Local scholars found that municipality's regeneration projects led to physical improvements of Mouraria, and resulted in renewed interests in the area by investors and visitors. This interest resulted in gentrification processes. There was, however, no consensus about the extent of the impacts that took place in Mouraria, and there was a lack of research on community responses to these impacts. This study fills this gap in local research, and contributes to literature on touristification impacts and local responses in a neighbourhood context.

Mouraria makes an interesting case study, as this area is supposedly the 'last frontier' in Lisbon's process of tourism transformation. This research aims to give clarification of the extent at which touristification and resulting impacts are taking place in Mouraria, and reveals the community responses to these impacts. Insights were obtained by immersion in the local setting for several months; 43 semi-structured and unstructured interviews with local actors were conducted, and the methods of participant observation and thick description were used in seven public spaces in the neighbourhood.

Mouraria is affected by its location in Lisbon's city centre. Touristification transformations are becoming apparent in Mouraria, though at a slower pace compared to bordering neighbourhoods. The resulting transformation of a former dangerous and stigmatised area into a physically and socially improved one, has been celebrated by Mouraria's community. However, the down sight of tourism exploitation has mainly been the significant increase in housing prices, which has been leading to direct displacement of residents. Furthermore, the homogenisation of local culture is leading to a changing neighbourhood life. The negative impacts are accelerated by, and stimulate further, the AirBnb sub rental by residents. Airbnb is a trend and growing business in Lisbon, as well as other global cities, resulting in negative economic and socio-cultural impacts for communities.

The municipality and social organisations (Renovar Mouraria, Habita, Academia Cidada) have been actively coping with tourism impacts by involving, informing and mobilising the community. This was done by means of a funding programme, projects, gatherings and awareness events. Community resistances have become physically visible since last year, as several online and offline anti- touristification, Airbnb and gentrification actions were created. This shows the increasing need of communities in Mouraria (and Lisbon) for regulation of the tourism sector.

Keywords: *touristification, tourism impacts, gentrification, community responses, Mouraria, Lisbon*

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1. Introduction

Is Lisbon becoming a theme park?

"Lisbon was one of the invisible cities imagined by Italo Calvino: a white and oceanic city surrounded by an emerald estuary, a place for thoughts and poetry, a city in the same time lazy, peaceful and intoxicating where we wander through the time even more than space. That was before the downsides of excessive commercial activities from mass tourism invited themselves, shattering the fragile equilibrium of the city, soiling its delicate charm, and penetrating in deeper and deeper. So the people of Lisbon are telling here to the tourists and local authorities what Lisbon doesn't love, and we hope from the deepest of our hearts that the change will come from them." (Lisboa does not love, 2016)

This is the introduction of a paradoxical anti-tourism website of which the creators are anonymous. They mention several actions of tourists which they are against to. Some examples are; the use of the Segway, the gasoline-powered Tuk-Tuk, cruise ships and crowded tours. They refer to the consequences for the local residents and propose some alternatives. They call themselves the voice of the inhabitants of Lisbon and what they want is for Lisbon to keep its soul and traditions.

This example is a very accurate one. It is one of the main societal debates which is taking place in Lisbon at the moment. Recent developments, such as the tourism boom, result in various impacts for residents. Many inhabitants share the same opinion as the creators of Lisboa Does Not Love and are afraid of "losing" their beloved city. This is a global societal discussion, as similar processes can be observed in other (European and American) cities. Therefore, it is interesting to look at these debates into depth.

1.1. The context

Urban tourism is a growing field (WTO, 2012), in which neighbourhoods within cities have become increasingly desirable tourism destination sites. In many cities, authorities have begun to promote these new tourism areas for their vibrant scene, authentic feeling and ethnic diversity (Colomb & Novy, 2017). Urban tourists' preferences are changing and they are looking for alternative spaces; they are attracted to the everydayness of city life and want to be part of the lifestyle of the place (Fuller & Mitchel, 2014). There is a blurring distinction between tourist and non-tourist activities in cities, as experienced travellers seek the same spaces as locals (colomb & Novy, 2017). This can create tensions and could result in community resistances.

It will be of value to research the process of touristification; to which the authors of 'Lisboa Does Not Love' indirectly refer. To obtain an understanding of how this process is changing the city of Lisbon and the attractive neighbourhood of Mouraria within it.

Touristification is a transformation process in which a general territory evolves into a touristic one (Stock, 2007; Leite, 2008; Fernandes, 2011; Belhassen, Uriely & Assor, 2014). It is a process where the choices made for a city are shaped towards attracting the visitor (Fernandes, 2011).

Tourism leads to various impacts for local communities, these could be divided into three dimensions: economic, socio-cultural, and environmental (Kyungmi, Uysal & Sirgy, 2013; Almeida-Garcia et al, 2016). Economic impacts are those that affect the costs of living, the local businesses and availability of employment. Socio-cultural impacts affect cultural heritage, attitudes and identities, and interaction between residents and tourists. Environmental impacts affect elements in natural environments as well as elements in the man-made environment, since it adjusts street views, sounds, seasonality, traffic, and spatial elements (Gilbert & Clarck, 1997; Harrill, 2004; Andereck et al, 2005; Salazar, 2006; Rycewicz-Borecki, 2008; Stausberg, 2011; Kyungmi et al, 2012; Almeida-Garcia et al, 2016).

An impact that has received much attention in literature, and in societal debates in Lisbon and Mouraria, is gentrification. Which is a process both resulting from tourism growth and supporting tourism growth. Recently, more attention has been given to its negative outcomes, such as (direct and indirect) displacement and exclusion of residents (Slater, 2014). Tourism gentrification is the transformation of a middle-class neighbourhood into an affluent area marked by tourism demands (Gotham, 2005).

Following on these impacts are community attitudes and responses. There is consensus in research on sustainable tourism that community involvement in tourism development is necessary to get support and acceptance of tourism development projects and to make sure that benefits are relatable to the needs of the local community (Harrill, 2004; Cole, 2005; Vareiro et al, 2013; Stylidis et al, 2014; Vargas-Sanchez et al, 2014; Almeida-Garcia, 2016). Therefore, it is of importance to understand community attitudes towards tourism (impacts). These attitudes are affected by several factors, such as economic dependency, spatial location, socio-demographic and economic characteristics of residents, length of residence, community attachment, seasonality and place image (Brunt & Courtney, 1999; Tosun, 2002; Andriotis & Vaughan, 2003; Harrill, 2004; Andereck et al, 2005; Vareiro et al, 2013; Stylidis et al, 2014). What all of these factors show is that attitudes are context dependant and many case studies and analyses are needed for a better understanding of communities' attitudes (Tosun, 2002).

Community responses to tourism impacts are often resulting in resistances and protests, this can be observed in various (European and American) cities. These resistances in tourist cities are not just tensions between residents and tourists but reflect wider struggles over urban transformations (Colomb & Novy, 2017). There has been more attention for the city as a context of mobilisations and resistances, in which activists use the 'right to the city' as a slogan for change (Duke, 2009; Leontidou, 2009; Mayer, 2009; De Souza, 2010; Iveson, 2013; Colomb & Novy, 2017).

The case study of this research is Mouraria. This is a neighbourhood in the city centre of Lisbon, with a former negative reputation; it was considered as one of the most dangerous places in town (Tulumello, 2015). Today it is characterized by the typical features of everyday life; it can be described by experiences in the streets (Giacomo, 2012). It is a multi-ethnic neighbourhood that hosts around 51 nationalities (Tulumello, 2015).

Recently, the neighbourhood has caught more attention. The regeneration of Mouraria was the focus of the municipality since 2008 (Tulumello, 2015). In 2009, an urban and social regeneration programme was created by the city of Lisbon, with the name: AiMouraria; cities within the city. The goal of this programme was to make the area more attractive for residents and tourists (Giacomo, 2012; Mendes & Padilla, 2013; Estevens, 2014). In 2011, the BIP ZIP funding programme was created by the municipality, to fund local projects in degraded neighbourhoods; among who, Mouraria was the most successful in receiving funding (Tulumello, 2015).

What can be observed in Mouraria are gentrification processes occurring as a result of the renewed interests and increasing tourism stream to the city (Mendes, 2013; Bettencourt & Castro, 2015; Tulumello, 2015; Stadslab, 2016). There is agreement on recent growth of interest in the neighbourhood, however, there is no consensus to the extent at which impacts are taking place in Mouraria because of this. Some refer to mayor changes that have occurred in Mouraria by state-led promotion of art and culture (LXNights, 2016). Others speak of 'marginal' or 'slow' gentrification (Malheiros, Carvalho & Mendes, 2013; Bettencourt & Castro, 2015). Some even question how long it will take for negative outcomes of gentrification to occur, and state that these have not yet been taking place in Mouraria (Tulumello, 2015).

Developments, related to touristification, have been happening quite recently in Lisbon. There is a difficulty in defining the extent of the impacts in the context of Mouraria. This makes it an interesting case from which to study these transition phases. Through immersion in the field and by means of semi-structured interviews with experts and unstructured interviews with trespassers, personal stories and expertise of local actors were collected. Together with observation and thick description of public areas in the neighbourhood, insights were obtained that enabled a discussion on this urban issue and the formulation of answers to this matter.

1.2.   Societal relevance

Almeida-Garcia et al (2016) argue that monitoring the opinion of residents is necessary to assess local feelings, and it will help planners to focus on what residents consider important. Also, it may result in policies that minimize the negative impact of tourism development and maximize the benefits.

The growing number of visitors to the inner-city of Lisbon has a significant effect on the lives of local communities. Greater understanding of how communities are affected by tourism could allow their needs to be more successfully addressed to in future policy. This research helps to reveal Mouraria's community's responses and resistances to tourism impacts. This research can help to create bridges between resident and expert knowledge, and it can be a source of information for local authorities in creating sustainable tourism policies which minimize negative tourism impacts.

1.3. Academic Relevance

In current literature there is awareness to recent changes in Lisbon and Mouraria, resulting from renewed interest and of tourism growth. Much attention has been paid to regeneration projects by the municipality; its aims, results, and impacts for residents. However, as referred to in section 1.1, there is no consensus about the extent of impacts of regeneration and tourism for the neighbourhood of Mouraria. There is also no research conducted directly about processes of touristification in Lisbon or Mouraria.
According to Vareiro et al. (2013), relatively little research has been undertaken in Portugal on residents' perceptions towards tourism impacts. The studies that are undertaken do not segment the residents' perceptions. Also, these studies focussed on the Azores or the central region of Portugal, none looked at cities. This research is a direct attribution to this lack of studies on residents' perceptions towards tourism impacts in Lisbon.

As far as it counts for Mouraria, only Bettencourt & Castro (2015) did local research in which the opinions of different groups were compared. They conducted interviews with diverse groups of residents in Mouraria in order to discover differences between their relation to space. No further (English) research can be found on the development of Mouraria, in which the opinions of different local actors; such as residents, social organisations, and the municipality is combined.

This research contributes to studies on tourism development in Lisbon and Mouraria. It clarifies the extent of the impacts of touristification on Mouraria's community, by combining the various opinions of local actors.

The type, scale and scope of the tourism activity will differ in each context (Vareiro et al, 2013). For a better understanding of communities' perceptions of impacts, more comparative case studies and analyses are needed (Tosun, 2002).
This research contributes to literature on the impacts of and responses to touristification in the context of an inner-city neighbourhood. Also, it serves as comparative material in literature on community attitudes to tourism impacts. Also, this contributing research helps in discovering overlap between forms of community resistances in (American and European) tourist cities.

1.4. Research questions

The aim of this research is to gain insight into the recent touristification process that has been taking place in central districts of Lisbon and how this affects the local community of Mouraria. Furthermore, to find out in what way Mouraria's community respond to these impacts.

This leads to the central question of the research, which is:

> **What are the economic, socio-cultural, and environmental impacts of touristification for Mouraria's community, and in what way does this community respond to the impacts?**

To be able to answer this question, sub questions will be asked and answered:

I. To what extent is touristification taking place in Mouraria?

II. Who are the actors involved in the affairs of Mouraria and what are their attitudes towards touristification?

III. What local responses and initiatives have been taking place in or about Mouraria since touristification transformations?

1.5. Structure

Chapter two is the literature review of this report. It describes the concept of touristification and outlines the impacts of tourism, based on publications by other scholars. Furthermore, it explains how community attitudes are influenced and gives examples of community responses to tourism impacts in several cities.

Chapter three presents the applied fieldwork techniques. These are semi-structured and unstructured interviews, and participant observation and thick description.

Chapter four presents the case study site and is an overview of recent publications on developments in Lisbon and Mouraria.

Chapter five outlines the results of the fieldwork. These results are presented with reference to the categorisation of tourism impacts. Also, the local actors and their attitudes and responses towards tourism impacts are explained.

Chapter six presents the conclusion to this research.

Finally, *chapter seven* is a discussion of the outcomes; it reflects upon the applied techniques and it presents recommendations for future research.

2. Literature review

This chapter is a literature study on the concept of touristification and responses of communities to tourism impacts. It describes the process of touristification by means of examples of specific cases. Economic, socio-cultural and environmental community impacts of tourism are discussed and the responses of local communities will be explained. The responses of communities are discussed in literature by looking at factors that influence these and by the study of specific cases in American and European cities.

2.1. Touristification

Development of urban tourism

The world's urban population is growing. According to the UN, the urban population has risen from 14 percent of the total in 1900 to 47 percent in 2000 and is expected to grow to 61 percent by 2030. This will have significant effects on urban tourism (Ashworth & Page, 2011; WTO, 2012). It will have an impact on urban tourism as a key factor in city development and economy (WTO, 2012).

The world cities become great tourism destination. Tourists are attracted to the vibrancy and diversity that cities worldwide offer (WTO, 2012). Fuller and Mitchel (2014), in their research on urban tourism in Kreuzberg (Berlin), go even further and state that there is a new form of interest in urban tourism, performed by the "new urban tourist". This type of visitor is searching for alternative spaces, for which he/she goes wandering 'off the beaten track'. These visitors are attracted to the everydayness and the feel of the authentic city life. The difference with former urban tourism is that this was a more passive form of consumerism. Today new urban tourism is an active search for new personal experiences, where visitors want to be part of the place and of the lifestyle in the place. The thinking of Colomb and Novy (2017) is overlapping, as they state there is a blurring distinction between tourist and non-tourist activities in cities. Experienced travellers seek the same spaces as locals. There are growing numbers of temporary city users such as mobile creatives or exchange students, which has impacts on urban spaces.

Among other trends, this diversification of tourists, leads to the emergence of neighbourhoods as new tourism areas. Neighbourhoods have become increasingly desirable sites for tourism, this is also the result of the increase in low cost airlines, and of the blurring boundaries between tourism and other forms of mobility. In many cities, authorities have begun to promote these new tourism areas for their vibrant scene and authentic feeling. Also, for their ethnic diversity. This is happening for example in Berlin, Amsterdam and Paris (Colomb & Novy, 2017).

Urban tourists can bring economic benefits to cities (Harril, 2004; WTO, 2012; Vareiro et al, 2013). Tourism can be a source of income generation for many communities (Aref, 2011). Furthermore, it can bring changes to the urban landscape, such as globalization; where cities worldwide will become more alike. Cities are constantly growing, and adapting to the increasing demand. There is constant investment in many aspects, such as infrastructure and conservation, which will benefit both tourists and residents (WTO, 2012).

Besides the mentioned benefits, the growth of urban tourism also comes along with an increase in reactions and resistance. As place matters differently for tourists and for residents, this brings conflicts over how the city should respond to their different needs (Owens, 2008).

Before looking at tourism impacts into depth, first the process of touristification is defined.

Defining Touristification

Studies on the process of touristification look at, the above mentioned, movements in cities resulting of tourism activities. These studies are conducted within the context of a city, neighbourhood, or a heritage site. Scholars explain the concept and its impacts for a specific area.

Tourism has impacts on many aspects of society, one of them is the touristification of a space (Leite, 2008). Touristification is the process in which a general territory evolves into a touristic one (Stock, 2007; Leite, 2008; Fernandes, 2011; Belhassen et al, 2014). It is a process where the choices made for a city are shaped towards attracting the visitor (Fernandes, 2011).

According to Stock (2007), there is a difference between tourism transformation processes in cities. Touristified cities are cities in which there is a complete transformation of urban space into tourist space. This differs from the city that is partially transformed into a city with touristic functions.
In 1985, David Harvey already referred to levels of transformation by tourism, in his research in Pelourinho in Salvador (in Brazil). He stated that in some extreme cases, areas of the city can be transformed to such an extent that they become a 'simulacra'. Which he referred to as theme parks, instead of normal parts of the city (Fernandes, 2011). This meaning of 'simulacra' is overlapping with the meaning of the touristified city.

Touristification has also been described to by looking at the context of local heritage sites, like artefacts or attractions. In this sense, touristification is the transformation from this cultural product into an aesthetic tourism product. It is the process of (re)creating for the attraction of tourists; making it more an item of consumption for tourists (Bhandari, 2008; Suzuki, 2010). In his research on the tourism impacts for a battlefield memorial in Japan, Suzuki (2010) found that when heritage becomes popular among tourists, it is often criticized for becoming too touristified to still be important for the local visitors. This is another example of how place matters differently according to tourists and residents

Thus, looking at the meaning that is given to touristification by scholars; it is not just referred to as a process of growth in visitor numbers to an area. It is referred to as a stage of tourism transformation of a local space, in which this space has shifted from its original state towards a tourist performed state.

This transformation will go along with impacts for local communities. These impacts will be outlined in the following section.

2.2. Tourism impacts

As touristification is a relatively new concept, and defined by as a tourism transformation process, the impacts are discussed by looking at studies of tourism impacts. Tourism impacts for the community can be divided into one of these dimensions: economic, social and cultural, and environmental (Andereck et al, 2005; Kyungmi et al, 2013; Almeida-Garcia et al, 2016).

2.2.1. Economic impacts

The economic impacts are those that affect: employment, cost of living, standard of living, prices and offer of products, property, or services (Gilbert & Clarck, 1997; Rycewicz-Borecki, 2008; Stausberg, 2011; Kyungmi et al, 2012), local businesses (Almeida-Garcia et al,2016), investment, taxes, and personal income (Andereck et al, 2005). These are the topics that come forward as scholars discuss the economic impacts of tourism.

There are *negative economic impacts* indicated; such as an increase in the prices of goods and services (Andereck et al, 2005; Kyungmi et al, 2012). Furthermore, evidence suggests that property taxes increases because of tourism, and besides the prices of good and service, the price of land increases too (Kyungmi et al, 2012). Harrill (2004) found concerns among residents that they will be left out of tourism's direct economic benefits and in the end have to pay for tourism.

In tourism impacts studies, more economic benefits have been mentioned than disadvantages. Andereck, Valentine, Knopf and Vogt (2005) studied residents' perceptions on community tourism impacts by conducting a state-wide survey among residents in Arizona. They also compared various studies on tourism impacts and mentioned that various scholars refer to *economic benefits* of tourism. These benefits include: increased personal income, improved standard of living, and more employment opportunities for residents (Andereck et al, 2005). These benefits are also mentioned by Almeida-Garcia, Pelaez-Fernandez, Balbuena-Vazquez, and Cortes-Macias (2016) in their study on residents' perceptions of tourism development in Benalmádena (Spain). Another positive impact is when the increased demand for tourism-like consumption results in increased supply of goods and access to these for the local population (Rycewicz-Borecki, 2008; Stausberg, 2011).

There is a spatial dimension to economic benefits of tourism. The more tourists that visit a certain destination, the more alternative routes that will be taken and surroundings that will benefit from tourism (Stausberg, 2011).

2.2.2. Socio-cultural impacts

In research on socio-cultural impacts scholars refer to elements such as: crafts and ceremonies, crime, drugs, and alcohol rates (Gilbert & Clark, 1997; Almeida-Garcia et al, 2016), intercultural communication and understanding, cultural heritage, socio-cultural characteristics of residents (such as daily routines, social lives, beliefs, and values) (Andereck et al, 2005; Rycewicz-Borecki, 2008;), and identities (Salazar, 2006; Almeida-Garcia et al, 2016).

A *negative impact* that was found was an increase of crime rates (Gilbert, 1997; Andereck et al, 2005), and of drug and alcohol problems (Almeida-Garcia et al, 2016). Also, increases in social conflicts and crowding of public facilities and resources were found (Andereck et al, 2005).

Furthermore, studies revealed tourism leading to changes in the traditional culture (Andereck et al, 2005). The more global tourism grows, the more cultures become 'touristified' representations of local life (Salazar, 2006). Touristification creates a blurring distinction between what belongs to the community 'inside' and to the tourists from 'outside'. It is not a process that strikes from without, but from within a society (Picard, 2003).

This process of cultures or cultural products becoming 'touristified' and leading to staged authenticity, is often referred to as commodification (for example, Ooi, 2005; Macleod, 2006; Cole, 2007; Ooi & Stober, 2010). Things once created for local consumption become products for the tourism market. Often local rituals, events and arts become commodities, as they come to be performed or produced for touristic consumption (Cohen, 1988). Popular local places may become tourists' haunts. The social factor of a place would change and the place may lose its local appeal. Commodification and touristification destroy the authenticity of a place and staged authenticity emerges (Ooi & Stober, 2010).

People have little choice but to accept and adapt to these created identities and cultural views (Salazar, 2006). According to Rycewicz-Borecki (2008), the adjustment of locals to the tourism industry, also changes the atmosphere of the place where they live. This threatens their cultural heritage because of the loss of rituals, beliefs, and traditions. Harrill (2004) found concerns among residents that tourism will make them strangers in their own community.

Not all scholars see commodification as a negative process. Picard (2003) has written about the touristification of Bali. What he states is that some people see tourism in Bali as a degradator of the culture and identity, however most scholars claim that Balinese people can take advantage of the tourism. The touristification leads to Balinese people reflecting on their identity and becoming proud of it. Cole (2007) agrees; the process of commodification can stimulate preservation, community consciousness and an appreciation of local traditions.

As a *positive impact*, tourism encourages cultural activities (Gilbert & Clark, 1997), and leads to preservation of residents' identity and to cultural pride (Almeida-Garcia et al, 2016). Because outsiders pay interest to a local culture, the local community might (re-)appreciate their traditional crafts and ceremonies. This interaction between visitors and residents could lead to increased intercultural communication and understanding (Andereck et al, 2005), more community's access to information, and better language skills (Cole, 2005).

2.2.3. Environmental impacts

The environmental impacts of tourism can be seen in the context of the natural or the manmade environment. Impacts in nature areas include elements such as: parks and wildlife, air, water, noise, pollution, and litter (Gilbert & Clark, 1997; Andereck et al, 2005).

The impacts can also affect humans or the manmade environment, these are related to: street views, architecture styles, sounds, presence of cars and tourists, vandalism (Andereck et al, 2005), site degradation, seasonality (Rycewicz-Borecki, 2008; Stausberg, 2011), traffic and parking (Almeida-Garcia, 2016), and spatial impacts such as relocation (Gilbert & Clark, 1997; Harrill, 2004; Andereck et al, 2005).

Negative impacts on urban environments were mentioned, including: large buildings that destroy views, noise pollution from traffic and tourists, and vandalism (for example graffiti) (Andereck et al, 2005). In general, it is often about physical environmental adjustments that take place based on the preferences of tourists (Fernandes, 2011).

Referring to touristification, this process has a *negative impact* on the conservation of heritage; an increase in tourists leads to an increase in site degradation (Rycewicz-Borecki, 2008). This impact is also mentioned by Stausberg (2011) in his study about tourism and pilgrimages; he states that touristification leads to a steady stream of visitors throughout the year and is not seasonal anymore. This means more ecological pressure, as the ecosystem has no chance to renew its resources.

In tourism impacts studies, that took place in urban contexts, seasonality was present and had a negative consequence. During the high tourism season, there is intense use of infrastructures, this leads to traffic and parking problems, and creates inconvenience to residents (Andereck et al, 2005, Almeida-Garcia, 2016).

According to Andereck et al (2005), the most often mentioned *positive environmental impact* by scholars was that tourism can result in improved community facilities and services. It can lead to more recreation facilities, like parks, and improves the quality of roads and public facilities. As Kyungmi et al (2012) state, tourism helps to create a greater awareness of the need to preserve the environment. It can therefore help to improve the physical appearance of the community and its surroundings.

2.2.4. Gentrification by tourism

One of the impacts of tourism which should receive further explanation is the process of gentrification. It is a highly debated topic in social research in latest decades, and it is a process which receives much attention in research on developments in Lisbon and Mouraria (see chapter four). It refers to a transformation process in which a vacant or working-class area in a city turns into a middle-class residential or commercially used area (Slater, 2009). This process often occurs in previously disinvested urban areas where there is an opportunity for profitable redevelopment (Slater, 2011).

The original meaning dates from Ruth Glass' well-known and often referred to- description of the process (for example, Gotham, 2005; Lees, 2008; Slater, 2011; 2014):

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

Debates in the literature of gentrification have been formed around the causes of the process. It is often described, on one side, as being a result of choices, culture, and consumption, meaning that there are gentrifiers (mainly the middle-class) that settle in an area (the demand side). On the other side, it is a result of capital, classes, and production. A process led by the state and investors that have interest in renewal of the area (the supply side) (Hamnett, 1991).

More recently, discussions have been formed around the impacts of gentrification. Since several years, the view on gentrification has changed. Before, people tended to focus on the settlement of the middle classes in areas. They saw this as a natural phenomenon, the negative effects ignored (Slater, 2014). It has long been associated as adding up to diversity and to social mixing (Lees, 2008). Now more attention is given to negative outcomes, such as displacement and exclusion of residents (Slater, 2014) and the idea of social mixing is questioned or opposed (Lees, 2008).

Looking at gentrification as an impact of tourism specifically, Gotham (2005) defined the concept, resulting from his study on socio-spatial transformation of New Orleans' Vieux Carre (French Quarter) over a half century. He described tourism gentrification as follows:

> "*Tourism gentrification is the transformation of a middle-class neighbourhood into a relatively affluent and exclusive enclave marked by a proliferation of corporate entertainment and tourism venues*" (2005, p. 1099).

According to Gotham, gentrification is explained by flows of capital in the real estate market together with the growth of tourism, as this leads to increased significance of consumption-oriented activities in residential areas. He highlights the role of state policies in encouraging both gentrification and tourism development, and states that gentrification is not simply the traditional focus on consumer preferences for upscale neighbourhoods. These consumers' taste for gentrified places are created and marked, so he explained.

Comparing this with the meaning given to the concept of gentrification by Ruth Glass, tourism gentrification is thus more the transformation of a residential area into a tourism destination. Also, following Gotham's description, it is more explained by policies that marketed residential areas as interest points for tourists.

For this research, gentrification is mainly seen as a socio-cultural transformation process. Mostly, scholars refer to increases in outsiders' interest into an area and to a replacement of classes (for example, Glass, 1964; Gotham, 2005; Lees, 2008; Slater 2011;2014). The process itself does however have socio-cultural, economic and environmental impacts. As described in literature on gentrification (among many, Slater, 2011; 2014), gentrification results in displacement of residents. Directly, because of rent increases (economic impact), indirectly because of changes in the neighbourhood's atmosphere, for example commodification of shops (socio-cultural impact) or crowdedness and trash in the streets (environmental impacts).

2.3. Community responses

As seen so far, local communities are affected by touristification in many ways. They (have to) adjust to the stream of tourists, but what are their attitudes towards tourism (impacts) and how do they respond? This research wants to reveal local responses to tourism impacts in Mouraria. This section outlines the main topics that came forward from literature review on community responses. By scholars, often attention was paid to the importance of understanding community attitudes. These attitudes were studied by finding the factors that influenced them. Furthermore, scholars provided examples of community resistances in European and American cities.

There is a consensus in literature on sustainable tourism that community participation is essential in its development and that people have a right to participate in planning. Therefore, it is important to understand communities' attitudes so these can be implemented into tourism policies. Community participation is necessary to get support and acceptance of tourism development projects and to make sure that benefits are relatable to the needs of the local community (Harrill, 2004; Cole, 2005; Vareiro et al, 2013; Stylidis et al, 2014; Vargas-Sanchez et al, 2014; Almeida-Garcia, 2016). Also, according to Timothy and Tosun (2003), the local community likely knows better what will work and what will not in local conditions.

According to the literature review study of Harrill (2004), many tourism planners do now indeed strive to understand how communities perceive the tourism industry. Vareiro et al. (2013) agree and state that tourism planners do this to ensure that residents support tourism projects, and for the industry to be sustainable in the long term.

2.3.1. Factors influencing residents' attitudes

Tosun (2002) did a study on residents' tourism perceptions in the town of 'Urgup' in Turkey. He compared his findings with Fijian and American case studies and found that Turkish residents were generally less supportive of the tourism industry and had fewer positive perceptions of tourism impacts. As Tosun logically explained, his findings suggested that tourism impacts are not universal. There are differences between communities, in terms of socio-demographic characteristics, and between contexts, such as the level of tourism development, the carrying capacity, and socio-cultural, political and economic issues. These factors lead to a difference in community perceptions of tourism (impacts). Vareiro, Remoaldo and Ribeiro (2013), in their study on residents' perceptions of tourism impacts in Guimaraes (Portugal), agree on this matter. They state that there are many factors influencing residents' attitudes and responses to tourism impacts.

Some factors, which came forward from several case studies, are presented. This helps to understand how attitudes are formed and influenced, and how they are mostly context driven.

Economic dependency on tourism is one of those factors that is often mentioned and agreed upon by scholars. The higher the dependency on, or the higher one benefits from, tourism-based employment, the more likely one has a positive attitude towards the tourism industry (Brunt, Courtney, 1999; Andriotis & Vaughan, 2003; Harrill, 2004; Andereck et al, 2005), and supports tourism development (Vareiro et al, 2013).

The *spatial location*, in terms of proximity to the tourism core, influences residents' perceptions. Scholars found that those living closer to the centre of tourist activity are more sensitive to negative impacts and have the most negative attitudes towards tourism. The farther from the core and the fewer impacts, results in more positive attitudes towards tourism (Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997; Brunt & Courtney, 1999; Harrill, 2004; Andereck et al, 2005; Vareiro et al, 2013).

Socio-demographic and economic characteristics of residents play a role (Andriotis & Vaughan, 2003; Vareiro et al, 2013). Education was found to be the most significant factor affecting residents' perceptions in the research of Andriotis and Vaughan (2003) on urban residents' tourism perceptions in Crete. Highly educated residents were more likely to express concern about the impacts of tourism. This slightly differs with the research of Vareiro et al. (2013), in which higher educated residents had more expectations about the positive impacts of tourism and were less worried about eventual negative impacts.

The differences between these two studies show how context driven the results are. The study of Andriotis and Vaughan took place in four cities in Crete which were exposed to extensive tourism development. This could explain why the respondents were more concerned about tourism impacts. The study of Vareiro et al. took place in Guimares (Portugal) in which 60 percent of the respondents lived in areas with not much tourism potential. As they were not exposed to the level of tourism development such as in Crete, their perceptions might therefore be more positive regarding tourism impacts.

The *length of residence* is also shown to be influential (Brunt & Courtney, 1999; Harrill, 2004; Vareiro et al, 2013), with several studies suggesting that the longer people live in a community the more negative their attitudes to tourism become (Brunt & Courtney, 1999; Harrill, 2004). There are also other studies suggesting that newer residents may have negative attitudes to tourism and tourists (Brunt & Courtney, 1999).

The *community attachment* is one factor which could be seen in line with the length of residence. Residents who are more committed to their community may look at tourism impacts with greater concern than those who are less attached (Vareiro et al, 2013).

Vargas-Sanchez, Porras-Bueno and Plaza-Mejía (2014) conducted a study on community perceptions of tourism in the region of Andalusia (Spain) and found that *seasonality* played a role. In the low season, the effects of tourism are perceived more favourable and leading to more positive attitudes towards tourism development. Tourists are more favourably perceived in terms of respect and treatment.

Finally, Stylidis, Biran, Sit and Szivas (2014) add that the image residents have of a place also influences their perceptions of tourism impacts. They conducted survey research on the role of residents' place image and perceived tourism impacts in Kavala (Greece). Their findings suggest that *place image* is a "lens" through which residents judge the impacts of tourism.
Positive images of the place lead to a more favourable evaluation of tourism impacts and to greater support. A less positive image leads to more judgement of tourism and to less support. The authors note that strength of the relationship between residents' place image and perceived impacts may vary depending on the context (Stylidis et al, 2014).

This is not a complete list; there will be more factors that influence communities' attitudes and perceptions. What these examples show is that some factors have overlapping results among several case studies, such as economic dependency and spatial location. These factors might have been analysed more often by scholars, or they show a stronger relationship with community attitudes towards tourism than other factors.

What can be concluded is that factors are context dependant. Many case study examples are necessary in order to discover overlapping relationships between factors and community attitudes towards tourism impacts. Harrill (2004) agrees that several factors might show a different relationship with attitudes on tourism, depending on the context in which they take place. Vareiro et al. (2013) add that the type, scale and scope of the tourism activity will differ in each context. As Tosun (2002) therefore recommends, for a better understanding of communities' perceptions of impacts, more comparative case studies and analyses are needed.

2.3.2. Community activism and resistance

After looking at the factors that influence residents' attitudes on tourism impacts, next, these attitudes and responses will be explained. There are some studies that explain the formation of responses to tourism (Owens, 2008) and some that outline and explain examples of actual responses and resistances of local communities to tourism development in various European and American cities (Colomb & Novy, 2017; Gravari-Barbas and Jacquot, 2017). Several authors mentioned the notion of the right to the city as an overarching context in which to understand the communities' resistance in tourist cities (Duke, 2009; Leontidou, 2009; Mayer, 2009; De Souza, 2010; Iveson, 2013; Colomb & Novy, 2017), therefore this concept will be outlined and explained.

Community resistance to tourism impacts

As Colomb and Novy (2017) explain, increasing attention has been given to the role of the city as a space for mobilisation and protests. Tourism growth creates new opportunities for mobilisation and creates resistance (Owens, 2008).

However, the rise of urban tourism as a source of conflict has received relatively little systematic attention and analysis; there is no wide-ranging international overview of types of conflicts that have emerged. In their book, protest and resistance in the tourist city, Colomb and Novy attempt to create this overview. By means of the research of co-authors, they give examples of conflicts that occur in European and American cities in relation to urban tourism.

The cities of Barcelona and Berlin have had increases in tourists since 1990s. The impacts this has had on the urban and social structure have resulted in many conflicts. In Berlin, residents stood up against tourism impacts in a very visible way, by means of graffiti and anti-tourism slogans being spread throughout the city. This resistance created (inter)national media attention. Barcelona also received much international media attention.
Residents' associations from the historic district had been, for years, campaigning against the negative impacts of tourism on their neighbourhood; impacts such as bad behaviour of party tourists, commodification of public space and the rise of short-term apartment. These organisations got together and started demonstrations outside of government buildings (Colomb & Novy, 2017).

These protests and resistances are present in other cities as well. For example, in Italy, individuals and groups are campaigning to save Florence, they believe the city is losing its character. In New Orleans, neighbourhood groups feel places are in danger for losing its identity, mainly because of the impacts of Airbnb. These protests against Airbnb are upcoming and have emerged in other cities as well, such as in San Francisco (Colomb & Novy, 2017).

According to Gravari-Barbas and Jacquot (2017) in their research on tourism-related tensions in Paris, they see that the patterns of mobilisation are different then in Berlin or Barcelona. They state that since 1960 resistance was against urban renewal projects and later against gentrification processes. Resistance was never to tourism per se, nor are there visible protests in the city.

Owens (2008) logically explains, tourists and activists are not homogenous groups, there are variations in motivations and goals between different groups and depending on different contexts. He refers to urban social movements, and sees them as the persons who should confront tourism growth. Tourists and activists both create social change, but are not often analysed together. They can promote similar changes, but other times their goals are different. Tourism can be a target as well as an outcome of activism. By means of the work of others, Owens (2008), refers to urban social movements as those who are producing urban space. They are locally oriented, but they affect, and are affected by, larger global forces. Often these groups do mobilize against tourists, because they lost public space or rights, as was the case in the above-mentioned examples in for example Berlin and Barcelona.

Colomb & Novy (2017) state that what should be considered is that many conflicts are not necessarily against tourism itself. Conflicts have different causes and concerns, they are not all similar, so it cannot be concluded that there is a global battle against tourism. Furthermore, they state that the resistances in tourist cities are not just tensions between residents and tourists but reflect wider struggles over urban transformations. There has been more attention for the city as a context of mobilisations and resistances, various scholars put these community actions and responses in the light of the 'right to the city'[1]. This is a concept which is nowadays used by different activists as a slogan for change (Duke, 2009; Leontidou, 2009; Mayer, 2009; De Souza, 2010; Iveson, 2013; Colomb & Novy, 2017).

2.4. Conclusion

On the base of literature on the theme of touristification in cities, one can draw a conclusion that authors refer to a level of transformation of an urban space into a tourist space. In which the focus of the development of the place has switched to attracting visitors. By immersion in the field, it will be tested to what extent these touristification transformations are taking place in Lisbon and in Mouraria.

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[1]. The right to the city is a concept coined by French Marxist geographer Henri Lefebvre in 1968, it was a call for radical restructuring of relations in the city. At the heart of the concept was the believe that all citizens should be able to participate in the creation of their city. For further insight, see, for example: 'Excavating Lefebvre: The right to the city and its urban politics of the inhabitant' (Purcell, 2002) or 'The right to the city: social justice and the fight for public space' (Mitchel, 2003).

It is expected that in bordering neighbourhoods of Mouraria these transformations have reached a higher level than compared to Mouraria. However, the touristification transformation in the context of the inner-city of Lisbon will affect the transformations in Mouraria.

Impacts of tourism have been studied by scholars in various contexts, often overlapping impacts were found. For a clear overview, the impacts mentioned in this literature review were structured in table one. These impacts were resulting from the presence of tourists and the development of the tourism industry, however, it was mostly not mentioned by scholars in which tourism transition phase the study area was. No research was found that refers directly to touristification transformations in relation to resulting impacts.

Thus, this research will build upon existing literature on tourism impacts, by filling the gap in research on touristification and its impacts. The (categorisation of) impacts of table one are the basis for the fieldwork. Attention will be paid to observable environmental and socio-cultural tourism impacts in Mouraria, and other impacts will be found by conducting interviewees and involvement in the field. It is expected that several of the mentioned impacts are also occurring in Mouraria, only the extent to which they take place will differ. Since scholars speak of "slow" gentrification processes in Mouraria, it is expected that the impacts for this neighbourhood are less present compared to other inner-city neighbourhoods in Lisbon.

Table 1: Overview of tourism impacts

	Economic	**Socio-cultural**	**Environmental**
Positive	- Increased personal income - Improved standard of living - Employment opportunities - Increased supply of, and access to goods/ services	- Appreciation of local culture/identity - Preservation of culture - Increased intercultural Understanding - Increased community access to information	- Physically improved areas (buildings, roads, etc.) - Increase in / improvement of recreational facilities - Greater awareness for environmental preservation
Negative	- Increased price of goods and services (cost of living) - Increased housing prices - Increased property taxes - Direct displacement (gentrification)	- Increased crime, alcohol and drugs rates/ problems - Social conflicts -Touristification / commodification of culture - Threats to cultural heritage (rituals, beliefs, traditions) - Indirect displacement (gentrification)	- Noise and pollution - Site degradation - Vandalism - Crowdedness - Traffic and parking problems - Indirect displacement (gentrification)

As suggested in literature about residents' attitudes in tourism areas, there are several factors that influence attitudes. What is concluded is that these factors are mainly context driven. There is a need for more comparative case studies in order to have a better understanding of communities' perceptions of impacts; this research contributes to this need. This is not a quantitative research that tests the relationship between factors and community attitudes.

The goal is to have insight into how attitudes are formed and to see if the same factors will be mentioned by interviewees, or if there are some different factors present that shape community's attitudes. This information will be retrieved by interviews with various local actors and asking them for their opinion regarding tourism (changes) in the neighbourhood.

There is no international overview of types of community resistances to tourism that have emerged. More comparative studies are necessary and this study therefore contributes. By looking at forms of community responses that have been taking place in Mouraria, a comparison can be made with these responses in other European cities. It is expected that similar resistances will occur in Lisbon and Mouraria as in other European cities, such as Berlin and Barcelona, since touristification and gentrification processes also have occurred in these cities. This research will look at the issue from a complex perspective, by analysing opinions of different local actors and found out what their attitudes are. It is expected that by doing ethnographic research and desk research, the researcher will obtain a reliable overview of community responses to tourism impacts.

Based on these literature findings, research questions were formed and these were answered by means of qualitative research techniques. The methods that were used are outlined in the following chapter.

3. Methodology

This chapter entails a description and justification of the research design and qualitative research methods that were used. Attention is paid to the validity, reliability and suitability of the methods, and limitations of the methods are addressed.

3.1. Research design

For this research it was importance to understand behaviour within a specific context, therefore a case study is the research design. In order to obtain in-depth insights into social aspects and processes, qualitative research methods were used.

This is an ethnographic research that gives insight in the culture and behaviour of the people living in the neighbourhood of Mouraria. The aim of an ethnographic research is to understand a way of life from the native point of view (Pereiro, 2010), it is about describing a group or culture (Punch, 2005). It is an approach that combines several research methods, including interviews and observation (Sommer, 2006).

The researcher immersed herself in the social setting for several months, from April till July. By working together with Academia Cidada, a local NGO, and taking place at diverse events in and about the neighbourhood, the researcher was able to obtain in-depth insights.

The methods used for this research are semi-structured and unstructured interviews, and participant observation and thick descriptions.

3.2. Research methods

3.2.1. Semi-structured and unstructured interviews

Interviews are the main method of this research; they were applied to find answers to the research questions. Via semi-structured and unstructured interviews, personal stories and knowledge of local actors came to light. These stories helped in obtaining insights into the transformation to touristification and how this process affected the local community of Mouraria. Furthermore, interviews were helpful in identifying local actors, and hearing about initiatives that were undertaken in the neighbourhood.

Expert interviews

A semi-structured interview technique was chosen as this leaves most space for interaction and a two-way conversation with the interviewees (Veal, 2011). These interviews were held with five experts and nine "key-persons" in the neighbourhood (see appendix one for their names and occupation).

Among the experts were two local researchers and three entrepreneurs who work for a local organisation in the (surroundings of the) neighbourhood. They were selected as their work and activities were evident either through word of mouth in the community, visible presence, or from the literature review. There was a list of specific topics, related to former research, to cover and the order and phrasing of these were flexible. See appendix three for the interview topics.

"Key-person" interviews

The semi-structured interviews with key persons in the neighbourhood were done as part of a separate research by Fabio Petronilli (Italian documentary maker[2]). These interviews were in Portuguese and the transcripts in English. These have been translated by Leonor Duarte (Academia Cidada)[3] and Joana (Lisbon Sustainable Tourism). The aim was to find out how tourism has affected the interviewees. The topics were: relationship with Mouraria, changes in the neighbourhood, and opinion about tourism. The questions were adapted to the expertise of the interviewee. As the aim of Petronilli's research overlapped with this research, the interviews they conducted were analysed for relevant information. The list of the interviewees can be found in appendix one.

"Trespassers" interviews

Furthermore, 29 unstructured interviews were conducted with trespassers. The interviews were in conversational style and with a few loosely defined topics. This collection of interviews was done by the participants, including myself, of the Master Class in April[4]. In approximately five groups of two persons, each group including one native Portuguese speaker, these interviews were collected in two day parts. They took place at different locations in the neighbourhood, in the morning and the afternoon.

Table 2: Characteristics of 29 respondents		*frequency*	*% of respondents*
Age	Under 35	15	52 %
	Over 35	14	48 %
Sex	Female	11	38 %
	Male	18	62 %
Nationality	Portuguese	16	55 %
	Non-Portuguese	13	45 %
Occupation	Working / living in Mouraria	14	48 %
	Working / living elsewhere in Lisbon	6	21 %
	Tourist/ Erasmus	9	31 %

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[2]Fabio was participating during the Master Class as a film maker, his documentary about the neighbourhood has won the public prize at Lisbon Architecture Film Festival. Link to the trailer: https://vimeo.com/182015533

[3] Leonor is a volunteer for the Citizenship Academy. She created the idea for the Master Class together with Marc Glaudemans.

[4]A one-week Master Class on 'City-making and tourism gentrification in Mouraria'. Link to the project on the website of Stadslab: https://fontys.edu/Stadslab-European-Urban-Design-Laboratory/Projects/Current-projects.htm

The aim of the interviews was to find out how tourism affected these local actors by collecting personal stories. This aim is overlapping with the expert interviews and the key person interviews. The topic list was: age, nationality, relationship with Mouraria, and opinion about tourism.

Among the 29 trespassers were: residents, tourists, exchange students and local workers. Among the local workers were: Tuk Tuk drivers, hostel workers, a street vendor, a travel agent, food shop owners, and a construction worker. See table two for characteristics of the respondents.

The expert interviews and 'key person' interviews were recorded and all interviews, including trespassers interviews, were transcribed. In terms of analysis, the transcripts were coded in the programme of NVivo. This programme was useful for analysing the many interviews, as they were easily comparable and accessible. It was an easy tool to save codes, link them to other codes and recognize overlapping topics in all the interviews. The interviews were first coded using open coding to see what has been said, often literally. Axial coding was used to determine common themes. This was done during the open coding process, determining after every interview what topics were occurring, as well as in the end.

The coding tree which was derived from the interviews can be seen in Appendix four.

3.2.2. Participant observation and thick description

The researcher was a participant in the social setting. The method of participant observation is used when it is important to study a phenomenon in its natural setting and to understand the meaning of a setting, also to understand behaviour of participants in that setting (Bryman, 2012). Participant observation helps to understand the data collected through other methods (such as interviews) (Mack et al, 2005).

Thick description was used in addition to participation observation. With thick description, one describes the context in which behaviour takes place in detail. It leads to further contextual understanding of participant observation (Geertz, 1973; Holloway, 1997). Thick interpretive work of researchers brings readers to an understanding of the social actions that have been reported; such as social interaction among observed participants in their context (Ponterotto, 2006). For this research it was used to map the behaviour of participants in the context of selected public spaces in the neighbourhood.

The observation sites

Seven public squares in the neighbourhood were described and observed. These seven are the available public squares in the neighbourhood for trespassing. For this reason, they have been selected as observation areas.

Figure 1: Mouraria: The observation sites
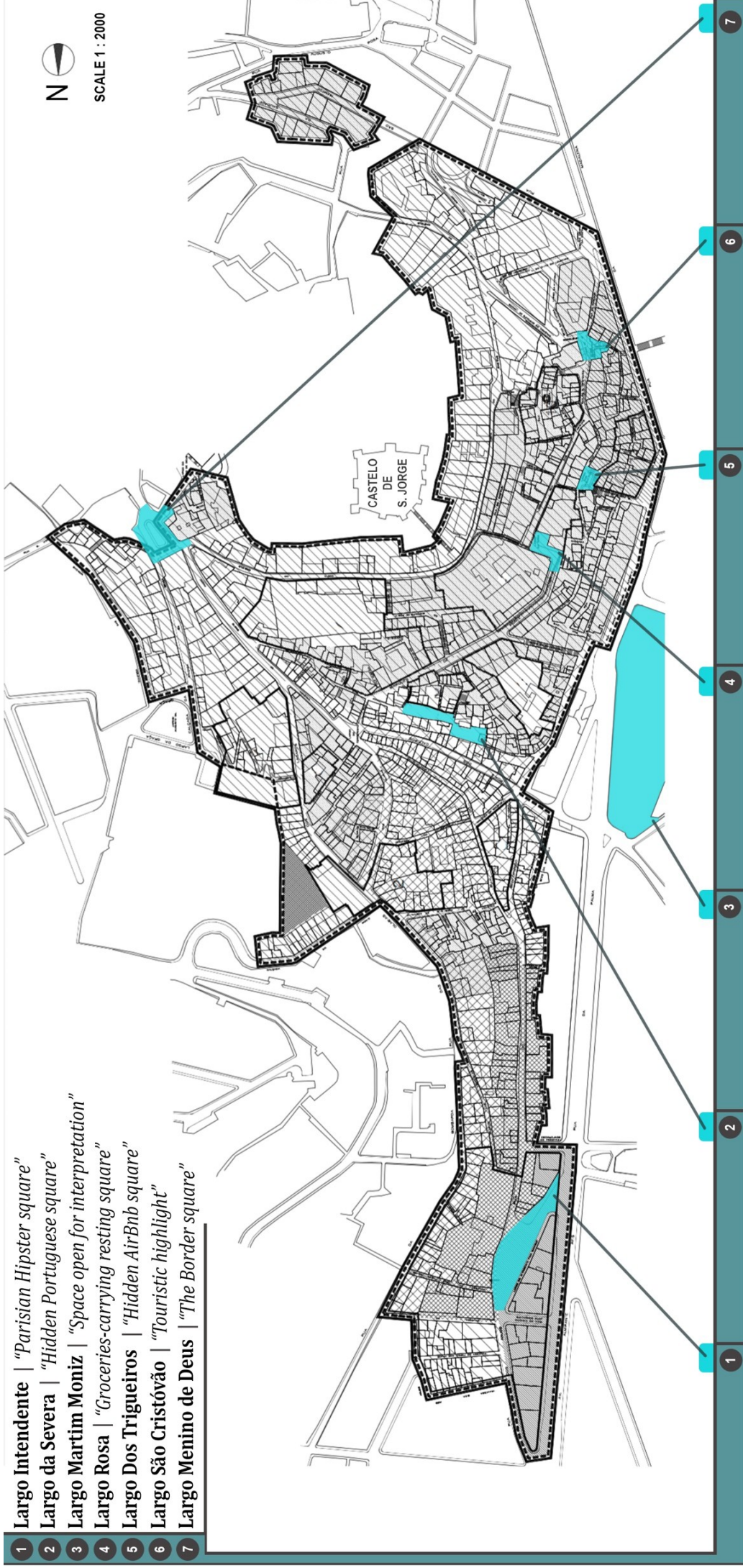
1. **Largo Intendente** | *"Parisian Hipster square"*
2. **Largo da Severa** | *"Hidden Portuguese square"*
3. **Largo Martim Moniz** | *"Space open for interpretation"*
4. **Largo Rosa** | *"Groceries-carrying resting square"*
5. **Largo Dos Trigueiros** | *"Hidden AirBnb square"*
6. **Largo São Cristóvão** | *"Touristic highlight"*
7. **Largo Menino de Deus** | *"The Border square"*

SCALE 1 : 2000

CASTELO DE S. JORGE
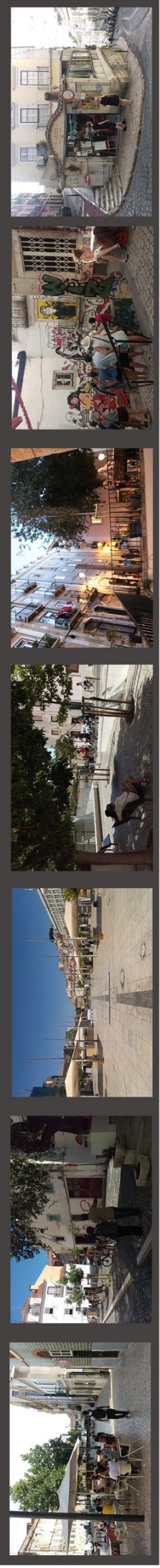
Source of picture 5: Onewknd, 2016

Source: Camera Municipal de Lisboa, 2017 (ADJUSTED)

The aim was to observe and describe the physical state of the urban spaces and users within these. Furthermore, to observe how the users interacted with each other, with the space, and to what extent the space was open to outsiders. A division was made between local actors and tourists by looking at appearance in terms of ethnicity and clothing, and by observing behaviour.
See appendix three for the topic-guideline that was used for observation and thick description.

Each space was described in detail and observed for one hour in the afternoon between four and six. The observations were taking place at seven days in a time frame of one week, from the 6th of July till the 12th of July. Throughout all the observation days the weather and temperature was similar; therefore, this was not a factor creating differences between outcomes. Ethically, all persons described have stayed anonymous and no pictures are used in which persons are recognisable.

The researcher's role was covert, she participated in the public spaces without people recognizing her as a researcher. Anxiety about "blowing the cover" was not the issue, the researcher blended in perfectly in the public spaces. She did not observe any person questioning her presence or behaving differently because of her presence.

Field notes were analysed by means of comparison with results of the interviews. The researcher analysed whether the notes corresponded or mismatched with the interview findings. Examples of observation are presented in chapter five.

3.3. Validity and reliability

The advantage of the semi-structured and unstructured face-to-face interviews is that the interviewer has the possibility to adjust the questions according to the interviewee's expertise and response. She can ask for clarification, steer the direction of the interview and try to realize a deeper understanding and more-detailed explanation. This leads to an increased validity of the research.

Validity and reliability were increased by analysing the interview transcripts of other sources; Petronilli's research and the interviews of the Master Class. These resources increased the numbers of interviews and resulted in significant overlap in what was said by the respondents.

Observations and description were carried out by one researcher, this results in consistency between the various sites of observation. Thick description and field notes of observation were written up directly at the site or as soon as possible after the fieldwork. This ensures that the notes were detailed.
These field notes were compared to findings of former research and to results from the interviews. In this sense, the individual field notes could be tested on the level of coherency with other findings.

Attention was paid to the reliability of the results of the coding, as during the process the interviews were transcribed and coded occurring to what was said. The codes were kept close to the text.

3.4. Limitations

The research did continue until there was an overlap in the topics: the same topics came back in the various interviews. However, it might be the case that other individuals have different views on the subject. Selective experts were being interviewed, several key persons from the neighbourhood and trespassers in the neighbourhood. The individuals who did not speak either English or Portuguese have not been included in this research because of the language barrier. This is mainly the Chinese community. They are, however, a part of the neighbourhood of Mouraria, and the exclusion of their opinion could lead to information or views lacking from the research conclusions. This limits the generalisability of this research.

A limitation for the interviews was the language barrier. As the expert interviews had to be in English, some potential interviewees were not able to do the interview, or did not respond to the requests. Although the current interviewees had a good or sufficient level of English, it might be the case that their stories contain less information or were shorter than if it were held in Portuguese. Making use of the interviews done in Portuguese by others was therefore an important source of information for this research.

4. The Case of Mouraria

This chapter starts by presenting the neighbourhood of Mouraria. It gives an insight into recent research that has been taking place in Lisbon and Mouraria. This research mainly focuses on recent developments in the city centre of Lisbon resulting from regeneration projects by the local government.

"We noticed, with some annoyance, how this neighbourhood [ed: Bairro Alto; a neighbourhood in the historical centre] has been losing the life that distinguishes it, mostly its daytime life, whether because of local shops, shops from other fields, as fashion, bookstores, among others, that close, or because of former residents who leave. These are the factors that show how Bairro Alto is being a victim of a phenomenon that is being talked about around, which is gentrification". (Academia Cidada, 2016)

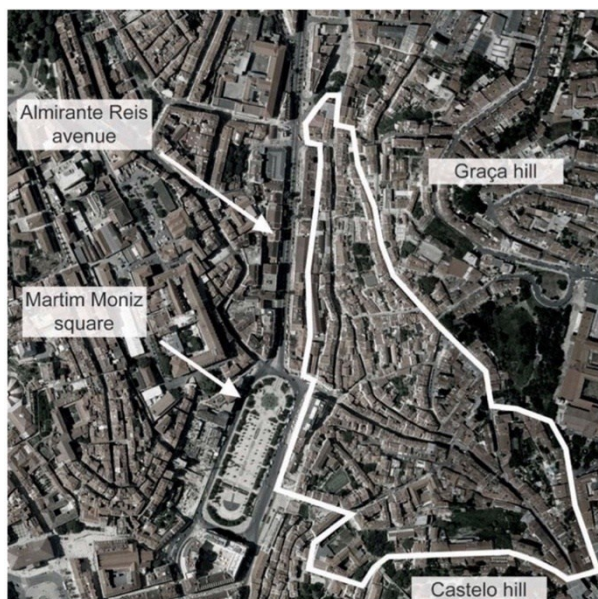***Figure 2: Location of Mouraria in Lisbon***
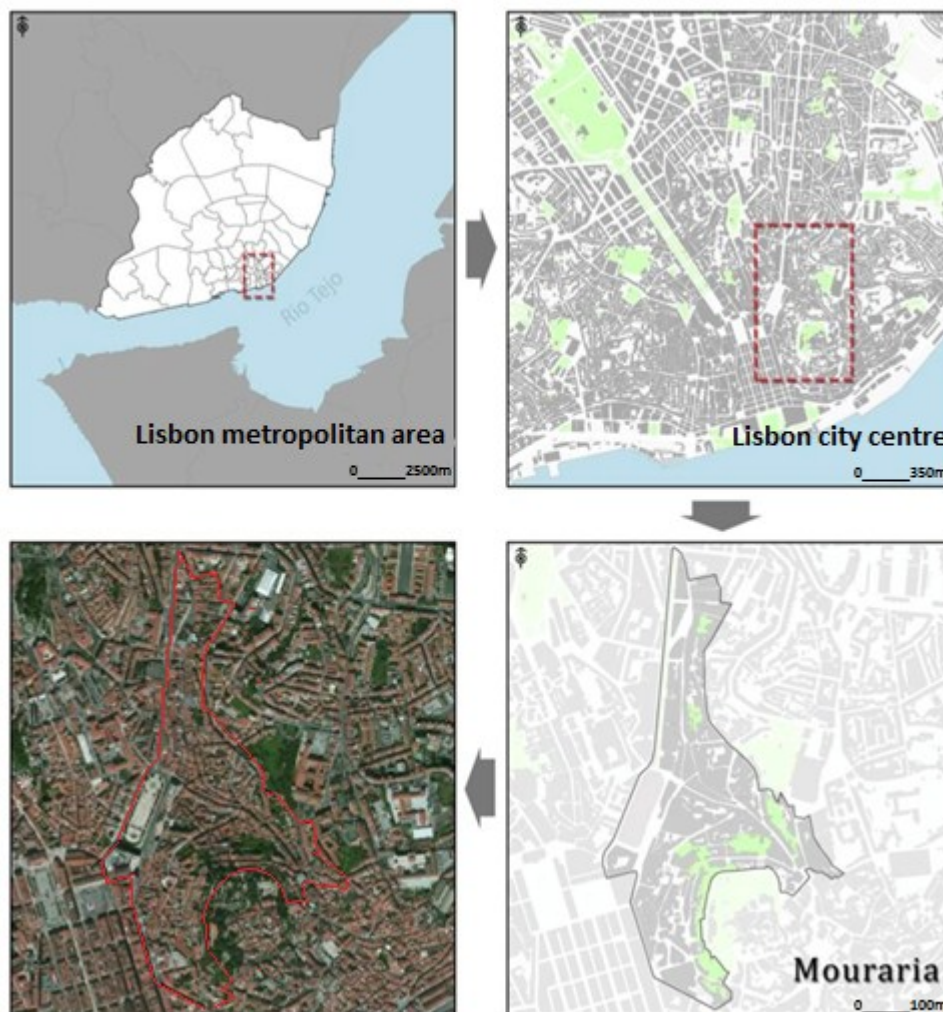
Source: Estevens, 2014 (adjusted)

4.1. Demographical and geographical background Mouraria

Mouraria is a neighbourhood in the historical centre of Lisbon (figure 2). It is surrounded by popular tourist areas, such as the neighbourhoods Baixa Chiado and Alfama. It is a neighbourhood with steep streets as it was built on the slopes of the Castelo Hill and the Graca Hill. On the Eastern and Southern parts, it is bordered by these hills and on the Western part its border is adjacent to the crowded street of Almirante Reis and the renewed Martim Moniz square (figure 3). There is no agreement in literature whether Martim Moniz is part of the neighbourhood of Mouraria or not and the same is true for the square of Largo de Intendente on the Northern border. The border set in figure four, which was used for a case study research in 2015, excludes Martim Moniz and Largo de Intendente.

For this research, it is decided to stick to the most recent map of the municipality of Lisbon, figure three, which is a plan of intervention for the neighbourhood. In this map, 'Largo de Intendente' was included in the neighbourhood's border.

Figure 3: The borders of Mouraria
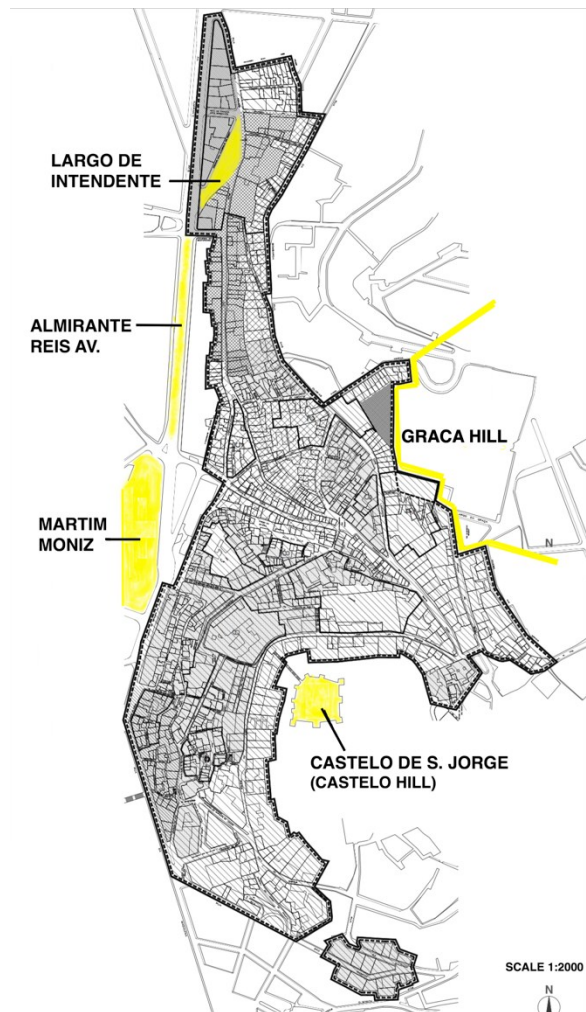
Source: Camera Municipal de Lisboa, 2017 (ADJUSTED)

'Martim Moniz' and 'Avenue Almirante Reis' are excluded in the neighbourhood's border, but included in the plan of intervention by the municipality.

Mouraria is historically a place for immigrants, during the twentieth century it was seen as a "backdoor to the city" for many different ethnic groups. It considered a 'marginal' place within the city's core.
During the 1990s and early 2000s the media's images of the area were very negative, and the area was considered as one of the most dangerous in town (Tulumello, 2015).

Figure 4: The borders of Mouraria 2

Source: Tulumello, 2015

Estevens (2014) also refers to the stigmatization of the neighbourhood. Over the years, these prejudices created a dangerous and unhealthy character in the neighbourhood. This became worse with the increase of rural-urban migration and the degradation of the neighbourhood.

Mouraria became a fully multi-ethnic neighbourhood during the past two decades. It had around 3.000 residents in 2011. In 2001 the non-Portuguese residents accounted for only seven percent of the neighbourhood's population. In 2011 this had risen, and one third of the residents were non-Portuguese residents (30%). In comparison, in Lisbon in the same year of 2011, the non-Portuguese residents accounted for six percent of the population. The neighbourhood of Mouraria hosts around 51 nationalities. In 2011 Bangladeshis (23%) were the most represented nationality, followed by Indians (13%), Chinese (13%) and Brazilians (9%) (Tulumello, 2015, from Ine.pt Portugal statistics).

Mouraria today is characterized by the typical features of everyday life. The neighbourhood can be described by experiences in the streets: clothes drying in the streets, children playing, historical buildings and conversations on street corners (Giacomo, 2012). Mendes & Padilla (2013) mention that in recent publications the neighbourhood is referred to as a brand, as an attractive neighbourhood for the tourism market. The cultural diversity of Mouraria, with the presence of immigrants, is seen as a key factor in the competitiveness between cities.

4.2. Lisbon's urban regeneration

Lisbon is moving from a past of dictatorship to being a global metropolis. It is therefore showing delay in its transition of the urban policy towards decentralization and public participation in decision-making. The government came with new strategies for the economy, which were focussed on supporting urban entrepreneurship, attracting mass tourism and big events, and on urban regeneration. These were set in order to attract inhabitants back to the city, as Lisbon lost around one-third of the inhabitants between 1980 and 2000 because of suburbanization. They also had the goal of (re)creating a lively urban environment (Tulumello, 2015).

According to Mendes (2013), who refers to the same regeneration strategies as 'rehabilitation projects', these had already been taking place since 1970. These projects were necessary due to the many rundown and vacant buildings in the city. Different programmes were established by the government since 1970, which supported local governments in the rehabilitation of the neighbourhoods in the historical city. These programmes were also aimed to encourage residents and local actors in participating in the rehabilitation of their neighbourhood (Mendes, 2013; Bettencourt & Castro, 2015).

One of the main programmes that was created within this regeneration strategy was the BIP ZIP programme. It is a programme launched in 2011 with the goal of supporting local partnerships and bottom-up organisation to promote the regeneration of deprived neighbourhoods. Every year individuals and organisations can compete in order to receive funds (Tulumello, 2015). This is also a programme which funds several projects in Mouraria.

4.3. Regeneration projects in Mouraria

The regeneration of Mouraria was the focus of the municipality since 2008. The mayor moved his office to the neighbourhood in 2011 as a way to symbolize this interest. The aims of the regeneration were: increasing social cohesion and local development by improving services; stimulating entrepreneurship and tourism; and renovating public spaces (Tulumello, 2015).

In the same year of 2008, local groups formed 'Renovar a Mouraria', which is an association located in the neighbourhood. It has the objectives of social inclusion, revitalization of cultures and openness of the neighbourhood to the outside (Tulumello, 2015; Renovar Mouraria, 2016). In 2012, it opened a community house named Mouradia, where various gatherings and activities take place.

It also has a newspaper named 'Rosa Maria', which is spread throughout the neighbourhood (figure 5) (Renovar Mouraria, 2016).

Figure 5: Rosa Maria Magazine

Source: Renovar Mouraria, 2015

In 2009, a programme of action was created with the name: AiMouraria cities within the city (QREN Mouraria). This was part of QREN (Estevens, 2014; Mendes & Padilla, 2013) which is a wider national framework in Portugal for the implementation of community policy on economic and social cohesion from 2007 to 2013. This runs from a loan of the European Union (Giacomo, 2012; CML, 2016; QREN, 2016).

QREN Mouraria is an urban and social regeneration programme. Its key objectives are the rehabilitation of public space and urban environment in cooperation with local associations (Mendes & Padilla, 2013), the appreciation of cultural and historical heritage, and the promotion of identity (Giacomo, 2012). The goal was to make this area more attractive, not only for services, but for a safer and more sustainable environment for residents and tourists. Also in the plan it is stated that they want to reduce exclusion and poverty, improve the quality of life, and open up the area to the rest of the city. The initiatives of social organisations, such as 'Renovar a Mouraria', have strengthened areas including multiculturalism and ethnic diversity (Mendes & Padilla, 2013).

The BIP ZIP programme is mentioned by many scholars who write about Mouraria, and is one of the main programmes within the regeneration strategy that is having a great influence on the neighbourhood. Until 2013, ten actions in Mouraria were funded by BIP ZIP, which was more than ten percent of all the available funding between 2011 and 2013. Mouraria was the most successful neighbourhood in receiving funding among 67 areas (Tulumello, 2015). In section 5.3.2, two examples of funded BIP ZIP projects are presented.

4.4. Results of regeneration

According to Giacomo (2012), changes made to a landscape are lived and experienced by areas of cities in ways that go beyond only the physical change. These changes affect the social fabric of the groups of people who live in those spaces.
These changes are also mentioned by other scholars when discussing the results of regeneration for Lisbon and Mouraria.

Lisbon

Looking at the impacts of regeneration for the context of Lisbon's city centre, Mendes (2013) seems positive when looking at the physical results. According to him, all these programmes since 1970 have led to rehabilitating and upgrading existing buildings in the historical city centre of Lisbon. The aim has always been; restoring a better social image and greater economic value to housing, buildings and the overall neighbourhood. However, on some aspects the results have so far turned out somewhat different. The focus has been on the grants by the government, which were scarce and insufficient (Mendes, 2013).

The urban rehabilitation may eventually lead to a change in the population. Former residents, who are often less-privileged, can become replaced by people coming from the middle and upper classes that are able to pay for this restored housing (Mendes, 2013). According to Bettencourt and Castro (2015), this change is what has already been going on in some neighbourhoods, where the younger middle class and younger immigrants have initiated processes of socio-ethnic transition**.** This shows how recent the developments are. Bettencourt & Castro have done their research more recently than Mendes, and were already able to state that the processes of changes predicted by Mendes have occurred.

Text analysis, done by Tulumello (2015), shows that the programme of BIP ZIP is based on concepts as entrepreneurship, community-making, and partnerships. The funding, however, is limited (one million per year) and hardly impacts the target of regenerating 67 neighbourhoods. Based on this analysis it seems that the emphasis on empowerment could be interpreted as a way to cover the political decision to spend big amounts for big events or city marketing, as actually small budgets are given to regeneration of deprived areas. For example, already three million has been given to one big event, the Rock in Rio festival in Lisbon (Tulumello, 2015).

The effects of the regeneration policies have been debated. The critique is that the regeneration policies are driving gentrification in the central districts. Also, the credit crunch is affecting middle-class families, and therefore it is expected that the real estate uplifting will move to big investors and the tourism industry (Tulumello, 2015).

Mouraria

According to scholars, regeneration led to improvements, and this led to Mouraria that is evolving because of foreign interest and investments in the area. Also because of the growing numbers of tourists visiting Lisbon. What can be observed are gentrification processes occurring as a result of the renewed interests and increasing tourism stream to the city (Mendes, 2013; Bettencourt & Castro, 2015; Tulumello, 2015; Stadslab, 2016).

The processes that have been going on could be seen as *marginal gentrification*, the newcomers to the area have been young individuals with low economic capital but high cultural capital (Malheiros et, al., 2013). Bettencourt & Castro (2015) refer to the same process as *small-scale gentrification*; centralized in specific places and groups that seem to live apart in Mouraria. Because of this, the socio-cultural landscape of Mouraria has changed, and continues to change. It is important to understand the diversity, the multiple voices, in order to create successful further rehabilitation policies (Bettencourt & Castro, 2015).

Where some discuss the slow changes that are occurring and speak of marginal gentrification, others already mention mayor changes that have occurred. According to the researcher of LXNights (2015), Mouraria is changing by state-led promotion of art and culture. The inhabitants do not necessarily have trust in the developments that have been taking place; these are unconnected with their real lives. The area attracts more visitors, the rental prices increases and the local inhabitants are becoming displaced.

A different view is that of Tulumello (2015), who states that so far the negative outcomes of gentrification, such as rising rent prices and new socially exclusionary residents, have not been taking place in Mouraria. However, he does wonder how long it will take.

5. Results of Fieldwork

The outcomes of the interviews and observations were analysed and the results are presented with reference to urban transformations and the three tourism impacts categories. The involved local actors in the happenings of Mouraria will be presented, and all forms of community responses that took place recently will be outlined and explained. Several results are relevant for the greater city centre of Lisbon, as these cannot be taken out of context and do not only relate to the neighbourhood of Mouraria. Examples are given by means of citations, field notes, tables and figures.

5.1. Urban transformations in Lisbon

Tourism impacts and community responses must be seen in the light of bigger urban transformations in Lisbon. These are: the tourism growth, the trend of Airbnb rental, and the processes of gentrification that are occurring in Lisbon. To understand the impacts for the neighbourhood of Mouraria, first these developments are explained. These three developments are interlinked and came forward from fieldwork as being the mayor changes in daily life and in societal debates.

Urban tourism growth

There has been a tremendous growth in tourism in the last years in Lisbon: "*Lisbon is getting more and more tourists in general, the numbers show it. Every year there is an increase*" (Joana, Lisbon Sustainable tourism). Figure six shows the growth of the number of guests to tourist accommodations, from 2005 till 2015. Within one decade this number almost dubbled. These statistics account only for registered tourist accommodations. The actual numbers are higher, since the guests of Airbnb apartments were not taken into consideration in the statistics (see next section).

Figure 6: Growth of number of guests in tourist accommodations, in Lisbon, from 2005-2015
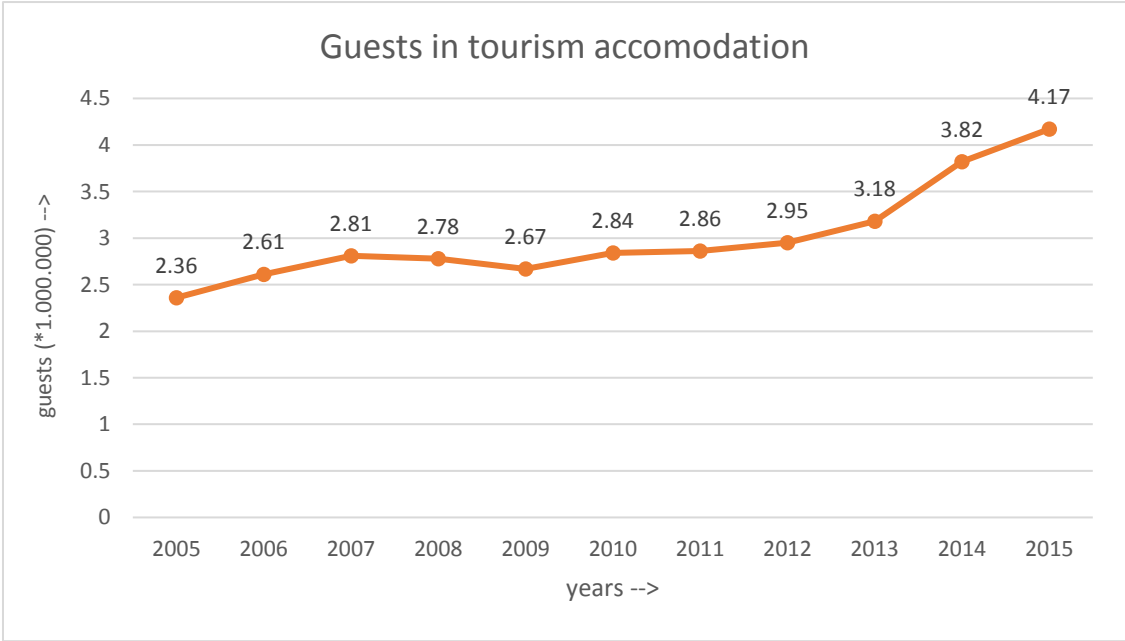
Source: ine.pt, 2017

The tourism sector, however, has reached to an extent at which the negative impacts out-balance the positive impacts. As tourism has grown to an extent at which people speak of touristification, it brings negative impacts to those involved.

There is an opinion among local researchers that government policies have been the cause of touristification, these were too heavily focused on tourism:

> *"Because the big problem is, the policy of the city is clearly that they want to make Lisbon a city of tourism. …if you read some documents of Camera Municipal. You can read it is very clear that the politic is to transform Lisbon in a city of tourism" (Fabiana, local researcher)*

Growth of Airbnb

The sub rental of an apartment for AirBnb has become a trend throughout many cities, and so is the case for Lisbon. The immense growth in numbers of AirBnb apartments in Lisbon has led to various impacts for residents. The Airbnb sector drives the growth in the number of tourists to Lisbon, and the other way around, the growth in numbers of tourists supports more residents to rent their apartment for Airbnb.

> *"… That is not what AirBNB is right now, it is business, a big business in short rental for tourists. They are promoting a high rise of the rents, that make it impossible for people that already lived in the neighbourhood to afford that kind of rents." (Luis, local researcher)*

There are no official statistics of the numbers of guests who stay in Airbnb accomodation. However, Tom Slee (2017) created data sets of Airbnb listings for many cities throughout the world. According to his data, in Lisbon there were 5.650 listings of Airbnb apartments in March 2015. In March 2016, this number had grown to already 8.970 listings. The most recent data set tells that in February 2017 there were 11.790 listings. Figure seven shows two maps of the sprawl of Airbnb listings in March 2015 and 2016.

Figure 7: The sprawl of Airbnb apartments in Lisbon, in 2015 and 2016

March, 2015: 5.650 listings

March, 2016: 8.970 listings
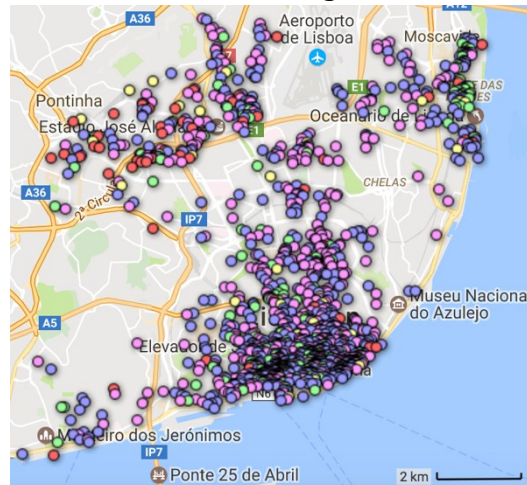
Source: Slee, 2017

From the observation in the neighbourhood it became apparent that there are more Airbnb apartments than it would look like at first sight. The Largo dos Trigueiros square at first sight looked like an 'authentic' Portuguese residential area. However, during observation for one hour, many tourists were passing by in the streets with their luggage strolling over the cobble stones on their way to the accommodation. They entered buildings that did not look like tourist accommodation but like resident houses (see figure one for this location of this square).

There are two recent laws in Lisbon, which have had influence over the development of the housing market, and are therefore interlinked with Airbnb growth and gentrification processes. The new urban lease law from 2012 and the local lodging law from 2015. According to the interviewees, these laws have played a great part in the increase of the number of Airbnb apartments. There is a misunderstanding among many why sub renting for Airbnb has been made so easy by the municipality.

About the new urban lease law:

> *"The new urban lease law, ... it comes from 2012. It is a law that opens completely the renting business to markets, so you don't have social renting in the centre of the city anymore. So the rents are sky-high, they just exploded to maximum value, and it is very difficult for the inhabitants to afford that kind of rents" (Luis, local researcher)*

About the local lodging law:

> *"The second one is the local lodging law, we have a law from last year that promotes local lodging, so tourist accommodation, in a very easy way, with no regulation. So basically, anyone that wants to have a kind of business in tourism in their apartment can create it, with no difficulty. It is a very open law, unregulated. That allows anyone to open to tourists" (Luis, local researcher)*

Airbnb rental and its impacts are a highly discussed topic throughout the interviews and during community events. Because Airbnb (impact) is such a recent phenomenon (in Lisbon), no attention was yet paid to it in former local research, therefore it was not taken into account when conducting the literature review. The study of Colomb & Novy (2017), do however show examples of other cities were resistances against Airbnb were taking place. This shows that this recent phenomenon is so far, according to the examples, leading to negative socio-cultural impacts, as will be outlined in the next section.

(Slow) Gentrification

One development that is occurring in Lisbon and Mouraria is the process of gentrification. From the interviews, it seems that this development has been caused by the two housing laws in favour of the process, and by the growth of tourism to Lisbon.

Local researchers refer to the gentrification process in Mouraria as "slow gentrification". The reason for this is that Mouraria is a neighbourhood covered by shade, with the presence of migrants, small apartments, steep hills and a lack of parking spaces. This results in an area that is not that attractive to potential new residents:

"One hand because of the physical characteristics of the neighbourhood as well. The apartments are really small and it is not easy to park a car" (Filipa, Renovar Mouraria)

The pull factor for the newcomers who came to the area of Mouraria was that it was a cheaper area to live in, within the inner-city of Lisbon:

"The thing is that there were a lot of people from middle-class high degrees they moved to Mouraria because there were cheap houses. ... Before BIP ZIP. So, I would say from 2000 on" (Tiago, Atelier Mob)

5.2. Tourism impacts

With the mayor transformations to the city of Lisbon in mind, the tourism impacts to Lisbon and Mouraria's community will be outlined according to the three categories stated in literature: economic, socio-cultural and environmental impacts, and added with impacts of gentrification. These impacts will be explained by first outlining the positive and negative impacts and then comparing these results with findings of the literature review. For clarity, examples from interviews, observations and desk research are used.

5.2.1. Economic impacts

Positive impacts

Tourism, as a sector, does have positive impacts for residents. There are some benefits that were mentioned by interviewees. First of all, it is a sector of economic importance, it is a substantial part of the GDP of Lisbon as it creates several jobs.

Many people sub rent their apartment to Airbnb, as it provides a good source of income: *"Of course, the owners prefer to rent with AirBnb, because it is convenient. They want more money"* (Fabiana, local researcher).

Negative impacts

The exploitation of the tourism sector leads to negative impacts. The interviewees have the fear of people in Lisbon becoming financially dependent on tourism:

"...It is good that they are coming, we think that the main cause of this is the lack of organization or the intensive exploitation of this activity from an economic point of view that makes everyone dependent on tourism or dependent on this type of economy." (Mayor of Santa Maria Maior (central district))

"It is a country that is getting, especially now with the boom in Lisbon and Porto, overspecialized in tourism. It is not good to be so dependent on just one thing. First of all, because of all the impacts it has. Second of all, sooner or later one day it might change" (Joana, Lisbon Sustainable Tourism).

Furthermore, touristification leads to changes in the housing market. Prices increase, many apartments are being rented to tourists, and as such, local inhabitants can no longer afford the increase in rent. Eventually, because of touristification and housing regulations, people become directly or indirectly displaced (elaborated further in this section):

> *"Well, tourism, not necessary directly but indirectly, is pushing people out because it is making the housing market and the commerce more unavailable for a lot of people"* (Luis, local researcher)

Looking at the increase in the numbers of Airbnb apartments, this trend is mainly perceived by interviewees as having negative impacts. There is objection in Lisbon and Mouraria against the scale at which Airbnb is escalating. Several interviewees stated that AirBnb should be regulated and limited as at this moment this is not the case.

A negative economic impact that was mentioned, in relation to Airbnb, is that the money flows out of the country. As foreign investors sub-rent apartments, the money they earn flows out of Portugal. Also, often foreigners who have an apartment in Lisbon and stay here for a few months in the year, the rest of the year they sub-rent their apartment to Airbnb:

> "*Put the apartment in AirBnb and the money that they won in AirBnb does not stay in Portugal, it goes to Italy or France.*" (Fabiana, local researcher)

Reflecting on literature study

Table 3: A comparison of the economic impacts

Economic impacts	Research results	Literature review
Positive	- Creation of jobs - Contribution to GDP - Airbnb as income generator	- Increased personal income - Improved standard of living - Employment opportunities - Increased supply of, and access to goods/ services
Negative	- People become financially dependent on tourism - Increased cost of living (housing, goods and services) - Airbnb exploitation - Airbnb leads to money outflows - Direct displacement (gentrification)	- Increased cost of living (housing, goods and services) - Increased property taxes - Direct displacement (gentrification)

Comparing the economic impacts in Mouraria to those mentioned in literature, there was more attention paid, by interviewees, to negative impacts, while in literature more attention was paid to economic benefits. Touristification in Lisbon, and Mouraria, has resulted in people becoming financially dependent on the sector, often they sub rent their apartment to Airbnb as a source of income. This Airbnb trend then supports the further increase of the housing prices, goods and services. Direct displacement takes place because of rent increases.

The differences between these results and the literature findings could be subscribed to the process of touristification which is taking place in Lisbon, and is therefore resulting in more negative economic impacts. The level of tourism development and impacts for the case studies referred to in the literature review might be lower than it is in Lisbon.

5.2.2. Socio-cultural impacts

Positive impacts

The most often mentioned positive socio-cultural impact of tourism is the improving life in the streets, and the increasing openness of Mouraria to outsiders:

> *"So there is all this life and all this movement that didn't really happen ten years ago. So that is really positive, that the image of the neighbourhood is changing, finally. Instead of having a stigmatized neighbourhood that people fear to go inside because it is dark, there is no one in the streets, there is garbage. It is changing, there is life, there is people crossing the streets everyday, it is not empty, there is no garbage."* (Joana, Lisbon Sustainable tourism)

> *"I decided to come to Mouraria because I really like the neighbourhood I think it got renovated in the last few years and it is not what it used to be, it already has a different vibe and a different story. …A lot of new restaurants, a lot of new bars, new businesses, I see also the houses that now have a better appearance, they have been taken care of, restored, there are more tourists and people passing by on the streets"*. (Shop owner and resident in Mouraria)

Interviewees did not directly mention that their level of proudness of the neighbourhood had increased, but this was something that became apparent from the interviews:

> "*I believe Mouraria is the most multicultural neighbourhood of Lisbon. I like the fusion of tourists and multicultural people from the city here. And the atmosphere! The atmosphere is completely different from elsewhere like Alfama, Bairro Alto, Chiado.. it is chilled, and authentic"* (TukTuk driver and resident in Lisbon)

Figure 8: Proud residents of Mouraria

Source: Master Class presentation material, 2016

Negative impacts

Looking at Lisbon, the changing character of the city is a factor causing people to leave. Because of the exploitation of tourism, and the loss of balance between tourists and residents in the city, the neighbourhood life for people is disappearing. It is an ongoing process, the more residents that leave, the more the traditional life disappears. As people want to profit from tourism, new commerce is appearing and traditional commerce disappears.

> *"Mouraria is a very open intercultural neighbourhood and it's sad because you have had that too in Alfama, but not anymore. Alfama is completely taken by touristification. You have that also in Bairro Alto, which is one of the creative places for arts, intellectual thinking and for nightlife but it is also being taken by touristification. So Mouraria is the last frontier of this process, in the inner-city"* (Luis, local researcher)

For Mouraria, respondents are still mainly positive about the changes in the neighbourhood life. However, there is a fear among some that in Mouraria, which is supposed to be "the last frontier", the neighbourhood life might disappear in the near future:

> "*Mouraria still has that kind of neighbourhood life: you speak with your neighbour, you meet on the street, but I am afraid this is going to disappear very soon, with everyone going away from here*." (Retired resident in Mouraria 2)

What is happening in Mouraria, in Lisbon, and in Portugal in general, is that the younger generation is leaving. This is due to several factors, and further research is needed for insights in this matter. Older people still live in the city centre as there was a law protecting retired elderly citizens against the rise of rents. However, when they pass away, or go out of their apartments, the rents will increase tremendously and most likely the landlords will rent the apartments for short-term functions to tourists, or sell the entire building to investors:

> *"I was talking with that lady the other day and she said: I know that tourism is necessary, but the reality is that we old people will die, and all these houses will be for tourists" (Joana, Lisbon Sustainable Tourism)*

Younger, educated people are more often leaving the country, as they cannot find work in their study field in Portugal:

"From 2001-2011 I think 30.000 people moved to Lisbon. But then already in two years we have lost them, mostly because people brain-drain, went out of the country. Now Lisbon is probably with the least people living here for centuries. We will probably not arrive into 500.000 people, now we will be getting down… So you start to not have one generation, from 25-35, to not be here." (Tiago, Ateliermob).

"It is a shame that all these people are leaving also. It is the qualified generation. These would be the people, if they were having opportunities in all these areas, if these people would have jobs here they would really help the country to develop all these different areas" (Joana, Lisbon Sustainable Tourism)

Reflecting on literature study

Table 4: A comparison of the socio-cultural impacts

Socio-cultural impacts	*Research results*	*Literature review*
Positive	- Increased neighbourhood life (safety and openness) - Increased variety of visitors and residents - Increased pride and appreciation of identity - Decreased (visibility of) crime and drugs problems	- Appreciation of local culture/ identity - Preservation of culture - Increased intercultural understanding - Increased community access to information
Negative	- Changing character of city (Lisbon) - Fear of neighbourhood life disappearing (Mouraria) - Traditional commerce disappearing - Indirect displacement - Loss of young generation (demographic change) - Loss of balance tourists and residents	- Increased crime, alcohol, drugs rates/problems - Social conflicts - Touristification /commodification of culture - Threats to cultural heritage (rituals, beliefs, traditions) - Indirect displacement (gentrification)

The main overlap with literature is that tourism leads to appreciation of the local culture and that it causes threats of touristification of culture. While the latter is now mainly a threat for Mouraria, there are already some visible changes in the neighbourhood, where traditional shops made place for upscale or tourist shops.

The biggest difference with literature is that in Mouraria respondents experienced an improved neighbourhood in terms of safety, openness and life in the streets. This can be subscribed to its former degraded status and stigmatised image. There are less issues of crime, and less (visible) alcohol and drugs problems.

Another big difference is that indirect displacement took place specially for the younger generation. These changes in population is something that local authors referred to. In 2013, Mendes predicted that urban rehabilitation may eventually lead to a change in the population. Bettencourt and Castro confirmed this in 2015; they stated that this change had already been going on in some neighbourhoods. Findings of this thesis agree on this matter, besides other factors, indirect displacement takes place due to the changing neighbourhood life and the loss of balance between tourists and residents.

5.2.3. Environmental impacts

Positive impacts

Mouraria's residents are not generally negative about developments in their neighbourhood. They often mention that Mouraria now is an improved neighbourhood; it is safer, cleaner and it has more life and commerce than a decade ago. There are more people in the streets and the buildings are rehabilitated.

> "*It has changed for better, ...It is cleaner. I have no problem at all with the tourists*"
> (Retired resident in Mouraria 1)

This physical improvement of the neighbourhood was something that also became clear from observation. Many buildings were being renovated, there was not much garbage in the streets. Especially in Mouraria, compared to other city centre neighbourhoods, there was a big contrast between buildings and between streets. The non-touristic side streets had more garbage, more graffiti and more run-down buildings, so in general was less "improved" or rehabilitated compared to the more visited streets.

There has been municipality intervention since 2008; the mayor moved his office to the neighbourhood and the BIP ZIP funding programme was created. Since then several projects have been taking place in the neighbourhood. That is also a main reason why the neighbourhood is physically improved: "*Yes, the neighbourhood is completely different now from 2008. The municipality intervention was crucial in that*" (Filipa, Renovar Mouraria).

Negative impacts

The activists behind 'Lisboa does not love', mention the negative impacts of the presence of big tour groups, the presence of too many Tuk Tuk's, Segway's and cruise ships, and the overdone promotion of touristic sights (figure 9). This results in crowdedness, noise and pollution; however, these impacts are mainly related to Lisbon and less to Mouraria.

Figure 9: Banner of 'Lisboa does not Love' website

Source: Lisboa does not love, 2016

During observation of public spaces in the neighbourhood, the statement of 'Lisboa does not love' against the big tour groups and the promotion of touristic sights was confirmed, even for Mouraria. The overly promoted mural painting in Mouraria attracted many tourists which resulted in a street being blocked because of crowdedness. This is the touristic highlight of Mouraria, and therefore the most crowded area of the neighbourhood.

This crowdedness especially accounts for weekends. Lisbon is promoted as weekend city trip destination. Therefore, in the weekends the city centre is overcrowded: "*So if we are promoting the city like this, it means that we will get more and more tourists that will come in the weekends. This gap between weekdays, already crowded, already full, and weekends, just impossible*" (Joana, Lisbon sustainable tourism).

During observation, the differences became clear between neighbourhoods in Lisbon's historical centre as well as between areas within the neighbourhood of Mouraria. The bordering neighbourhoods Alfama and Baixa Chiado had the feeling of being overruled by tourists. Tourists were more present in these neighbourhoods than residents, and created crowdedness. In Alfama for example, even in the 'authentic' side streets, which felt like residential areas, the views were often "replaced" by the presence of a cruise ship. This reminded again of the great numbers of tourists present (figure 10). These levels of crowdedness and changing street views were not yet taking place in (most) areas of Mouraria.

Figure 10: Cruise ship views

Source: Contra a Gentrifiacao de Lisboa, 2017

The physical appearances and the feel of the different areas within Mouraria depended on the number of tourists who were present, and the differences between areas in terms of shops and restaurants. Touristification was very present in the 'mural painting- square' (see figure 1); other squares were not touristified and were physically improved in terms of rehabilitated buildings and clean streets.

Reflecting on literature study

Table 5: A comparison of the environmental impacts

Environmental impacts	Research results	Literature review
Positive	- Physical improvement of Mouraria (cleaner, rehabilitated buildings) - Safer and opener environment	- Physically improved areas (buildings, roads, etc.) - Increase in / improvement of recreational facilities - Greater awareness for environmental Preservation
Negative	- Traffic and parking problems - Crowdedness - Noise and pollution (Lisbon) - Indirect displacement (Lisbon)	- Noise and pollution - Site degradation - Vandalism - Crowdedness - Traffic and parking problems - Indirect displacement (gentrification)

There is a lot of attention and positive words for the physical improvement of Mouraria, however, this is due to several factors and not necessarily a direct result of tourism. The area was poor and stigmatized, several projects of the municipality were created in order to rehabilitate and open up the neighbourhood. Combining this with an outsiders' interest in the area, it resulted in an uplift of the area. Therefore, the negative impacts (noise, pollution, vandalism), as mentioned in literature, are not taking place in Mouraria as these factors have been improved.

Further impacts are overlapping, in Mouraria there are also some problems resulting from the increase in visitor numbers, these are crowdedness and traffic and parking problems.

5.2.4. (Slow) Gentrification impacts

Resulting from the growing interest in the city of Lisbon for investment and for tourism, housing prices rise very quickly and it is difficult for residents to rent or buy an apartment. The impacts of the recent housing laws also lead to increasing housing prices and increase in apartments for short-term Airbnb rental. The laws do not protect renters and the process of gentrification occurs. This is an issue referred to by many interviewees.

> "*What we feel more is that it is very difficult to rent a house to live here. It is a main problem in the daily life, it is difficult to rent an apartment. We know there are lots of people who would like to live in this area. Or they don't find it or the ones they find are very expensive. Mostly, they don't find it at all. That's the people's problem*" (Filipa, Renovar Mouraria)

Eventually, because of touristification and housing regulations, people become directly or indirectly displaced. Directly, because of the high rents so people are forces to leave:

> *"Now with the new law it is very easy to put the people on the street. … So the new law is in favour of putting the people on the street. … now all the owners are trying to have the house for Airbnb. There is no law that protects people" (Fabiana, local researcher).*

One could also speak of indirect displacement. This is when people leave their apartment as the landlord does not do any work on the building and it is degrading:

> *"Well, I think he is just waiting for people to leave. Not doing any work, getting it to a bad condition the building, so that people are forced to leave" (Tiago, Atelier Mob)*

…or when people chose to leave because of the changes in the atmosphere of the place. Because *"the quality of life is very bad in this moment in the centre" (fabiana, local researcher)*. They leave to the suburbs or outside of the country. The city centre is becoming too crowded for them, or they leave because all their neighbours have left:

> *"Sometimes I feel like a taxi driver, stressed in the traffic. Now I just want to move away from the centre to a quieter place" (Tuk Tuk driver and resident in Lisbon)*

> *"…people that leave because they don't feel good anymore. No one can live in a house next to a hostel or to a short rental apartment where people on holidays are not careful with schedules, with noise and make life difficult for people that live and have children. No one wants to live in a house in a street that has noise and traffic until three, four or five in the morning" (*Mayor of Santa Maria Maior *(central district))*

More attention has been recently paid to gentrification by tourism: "*the process of tourism gentrification in Lisbon is very recent, it has ten years. Just two or three years ago it has captured some attention*" (Luis, local researcher). Luis further explains:

> *"So what you have is gentrification that is promoted by tourism. You don't have only the poor people coming out from houses from the traditional neighbourhoods in Lisbon and going to the periphery, … the more traditional commerce is getting out to allow other spaces, like souvenir shops, coming in to the neighbourhoods and changing completely the urban fabric of the neighbourhoods".*

There have been some newcomers to Mouraria, according to Filipa of Renovar Mouraria, the presence of these newcomers (gentrifiers) had been positive for the neighbourhood, as it created some variety of people:

> *"I think they were good gentrifiers, because Mouraria really needed new people. It was a very old neighbourhood, the Portuguese community is old and closed within their selves, very close minded. We really needed some new inhabitants to change."*

The first larger group of gentrifiers in Mouraria will arrive in the near future; this will be a group of elderly, retired individuals from France. An apartment block is being renovated and these apartments will be sold to them:

> *"We are just on the way to have the first gentrification movement. But they are not Portuguese people, they are French people. … All that area was bought by a French and Portuguese group and those apartments, which are luxury apartments, are going to be sold to French people" (Filipa, Renovar Mouraria)*

Besides these renovated apartments, there were some other physical signs of gentrification present in the neighbourhood. Traditional shops or restaurants made place for "fancier" or more adapted versions. At the beginning of the fieldwork period there were some Pakistani restaurants located around the Martim Moniz square, at the end of the fieldwork, some of these had made place for a well-known chain bakery store "a Padaria Portugal".

Reflecting on literature study

In current debates about gentrification, more attention is given to negative outcomes, such as displacement and exclusion of residents (Slater, 2014). This is also true for Mouraria, as many respondents mention the direct displacement of residents because of the high housing prices. Indirect displacement is mainly mentioned for other neighbourhoods in Lisbon, since Mouraria's socio-cultural and physical improvements outweigh the negative impacts.

Mouraria suits the description perfectly of 'a previously disinvested urban area with opportunities for profitable redevelopment' (Slater, 2011). It was a suitable area for gentrification processes to occur, according to this description. The growing amounts of tourists to the area, the growing interest in the area, and the increasing housing prices show that gentrification processes are occurring in Mouraria. Indirect displacement is not taking place at such an extent as bordering neighbourhoods, but there is a fear among respondents that it will not take long for the neighbourhood to 'lose its character'. What is already visible, as in the rest of Lisbon's inner-city, is that younger people are leaving the area. Further research is necessary to have insight into their motivations for leaving, from the interviews it appears to be a combination of direct and indirect displacement. In gentrification literature, the process is rather described as a replacement of classes, but instead of this, in Mouraria it is more a transformation to a singular-generation area. Touristification in combination with gentrification plays a role in this. The dependence on one industry appears to be a main reason for the qualified generation to leave the country.

Consumers' taste for gentrified places are created and marked; state policies encourage both gentrification and tourism development (Gotham, 2005). This description of tourism gentrification is partly true for Mouraria. Government policies were set to rehabilitate the area and battle the stigmatization of Mouraria, they wanted to do this by improving the area for residents are tourists. These policies initiated outsider interests and were the beginning of touristification.

5.3. Community projects and responses

This section explains the local responses to touristification transformations. It firstly clarifies who is involved in happenings in and about the neighbourhood, and what are the attitudes of these actors towards tourism. It then outlines the variety of responses that have been taking place since processes of tourism transformation occurred. These findings are resulting from ethnographic fieldwork in Mouraria and involvement in the neighbourhood. Examples are given from the interviews, observations and attended events. In the end, these findings are compared to findings of the literature review.

First, it is necessary to define the beginning point of touristification transformations, before relations with community responses can be discovered. From the interviews and literature, it seemed that touristification is a recent phenomenon in Lisbon and Mouraria. No reference to an exact date was found, only referring to 'several years'.

Figure 11: Time line of events in Mouraria 2008-2016

2008	Municipality intervention in Mouraria | Formation Renovar Mouraria
2009	QREN Mouraria launched
2011	Mayor moved office to Mouraria | Creation BIP ZIP | Academia Cidada (Citizenship Academy) formed | Largo Residências opened (BIP ZIP project)
2012	Community house Mouradia opened | Cozinha Popular opened (BIP ZIP project) | New Urban lease law
2015	Research and publications about (gentrification in) Mouraria | Local lodging law
2016	Touristification project by Academia Cidada | Master Class on Tourism Gentrification | More (social)media awareness (Lisboa does not love- website, anti-gentrification Facebook group) | Physical tourism resistances (leaflets, graffiti)

Interest in Mouraria by the municipality, started from 2008 onwards, as shown in literature and by interviews. This date could, therefore, be seen as the "start" of the "new" Mouraria and of the "new" interest in this neighbourhood. From here on various happenings have been taking place, these are presented in an overview from 2008 till 2016 (see figure 11). These are the initiatives that have occurred in literature and throughout the fieldwork period. Logically, there might have been more happenings which could complete the list but these did not become apparent through this research.

5.3.1. Local actors' attitudes to tourism

According to interviewees, the actors involved in the affairs of Mouraria are: Mouraria residents and local entrepreneurs, social organisations and NGO's, and the municipality. It is of importance to outline who is involved, in order to explain attitudes and community responses.

Residents and local entrepreneurs

Residents of Mouraria are logically the first ones who are involved with the goings of the neighbourhood. These are the individuals who directly feel the impacts of touristification.

The opinion of residents about the growth in the number of tourists visiting their neighbourhood varies between individuals. As explained in the previous section about impacts, the opinions are divided, some are positive about tourists, others are more negative about tourism in general. This depends mainly on their economic dependency on tourism. Local entrepreneurs who have a business which benefits from tourism, do obviously promote tourism development:

> *"One that comes from the entrepreneurs …the main motive for them to promote tourism, trying to promote some initiatives in the neighbourhood, is getting the business done. So they want to maximize the profit …Because their objective obviously is to develop the neighbourhood in the sense of promoting tourism. …". (Luis, local researcher)*

From the interviews, it seems that often the idea is shared that residents just accept their fate; they do not feel like there is anything they can do against the impacts. An example of a resident's response is of a woman who might be displaced from her house in the near future:

> *"Leonor: you have to go away if you are told to go away?*
> *Women: "que remédio" [meaning: of course/ there is no other solution]" (Retired resident in Lisbon)*

As Luis (local researcher) agrees, there is a "*lack of participation tissue*":

> *"The mobilization of the local inhabitants is more difficult. First, because they are foreigners. Second, because they are poorer.*
> *Third, because they don't think that connecting with these movements is making them any better, they don't think it is worth it. Unfortunately, in Portugal we don't have a tradition in participation, in citizenship participation".*

Because of influences from the past, people do not have a strong belief in participation or activism. The economic crisis of 2012-2013 resulted in many people that are unemployed or have a low income. They first have their primary needs to fulfil. As Joana (Lisbon Sustainable Tourism) logically explains:

> *"People are activists and doing things when they are good, when they have a job and don't have to worry about money. …If people have jobs and have more or less an OK quality of living and they don't need to worry about health and education, their income and their jobs. Those are the people that can be activists".*

Another influence has been that Portugal, quite recently, compared to other EU countries, lived under a dictatorship. This ended in the 70's, yet it has (un)consciously shaped people's attitude:

> *"…Yes, half century, so it created some roots, it created some perceptions that are very difficult to erase" (Luis, local researcher)*

Even though this difficulty of the mobilisation of residents is present, this does not count for all individuals. From the interviews, a specific example is of a garage owner in Mouraria, who provides the space of his garage for various purposes, so that the community, as well as foreigners, can make use of it. He does not differentiate between these two groups:

> *"Some neighbourhood activities already happened here, in the other day there was an event in the neighbourhood and we opened the doors for the people to come in at night, we played music here. When there are activities I insist that people use the garage and its space.*
> *...not because of the money really, only to be part of it and live it, because in the end the space*
> *...is what was given to us as we were born during this time and here we are going to leave it.*
> *We are only the users of the space that someone else left for us". (Portuguese garage owner and resident in Mouraria)*

Social organisations

There are some organisations that try to actively cope with the impacts of touristification by creating communication between actors and organising events. From the interviews, it seems that in Mouraria there are two local organisations settled in the area that organise events or involve residents in some other way. These are Renovar a Mouraria and Habita. Then there is also Academia Cidada, which is located outside the neighbourhood but created projects in and about the neighbourhood.

Renovar a Mouraria has been repeatedly referred to by interviewees. As Luis (Local researcher) mentions: "*I think in Mouraria, Renovar is the most important".* It is an organisation formed in 2008 (with funding from the municipality) by several individuals who wanted to make a change in the neighbourhood and battle the stigmatisation of the neighbourhood:

> *"Our idea was exactly to tell the city what was happening in Mouraria. That movement had lots of visibility in the media" (Filipa, Renovar Mouraria)*

Renovar a Mouraria is visibly present in the neighbourhood as it has an actual meeting place and café (Mouradia community house) where all visitors can just walk in. Filipa (Renovar a Mouraria) believes that in the end all their activities do make a change in the neighbourhood:

> *"There is no solution; you can't find the project which will solve the problem of the communication between the communities. But, there is lots of small activities working for that. ...I think in a few years, the sum of the results of all of that small things will make some difference of course".*

Habita is an organisation that fights to defend the right to housing and the right to the city for people. They see this as a fundamental right and believe that housing and urban planning should be a participatory public policy (Habita, 2016) [5].

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[5] Own translation. The link to their website: http://www.habita.info

Academia Cidada (The citizenship academy) is an NGO which organises different events and projects about many aspects of human rights. They have a project "touristification" in which they try to create awareness of the impacts for communities.

> *"Citizenship Academy is related to all kinds of critical thinking, not only housing but sectors of human life. ...Human rights yes exactly. They are more general". (Luis, local researcher)*

Luis (local researcher) confirms that Renovar Mouraria, Habita and Academia Cidada are the most visible and active groups in the neighbourhood:

> *"I think these are the ones who are more visible, and the ones who have more power. That can mobilize more people. ...All together they are very alert to the negative impacts that touristification is taking on the neighbourhood. So the three of them, I think they are quite sharp in trying to get the thing public" (Luís, local researcher).*

There are other organisations or (groups of) individuals who respond to the negative impacts of touristification. Not per se by mobilising others, but simply by being aware of (/or minimising) their own influence. For example, Lisbon sustainable tourism tries to minimise the negative aspects of tour groups by walking in small groups, avoiding crowded places and making tourists aware of noise disturbance.

The Municipality
(Câmera Municipal de Lisboa)

The municipality intervention in the neighbourhood started in 2008, with the need to improve the neighbourhood, a policy was created which also promoted tourism. According to the mayor himself, the districts of Lisbon acknowledge the negative impacts of the touristification which now exists, and are trying to work towards a solution:

> *"So this a process in which us the authorities need to try to correct and try to go against its negative component while encouraging its positive component; which is the universality of our culture, the globalization in the sense of meeting cultures and people and ethnicities". (Mayor of the Santa Maria Maior (central district))*

According to some other interviewees, however, the districts in Lisbon are ignorant about the need to regulate the sector:

> *"They don't want tourism regulated, OK Berlin said no to AirBnb, Barcelona said no, San Francisco, but we will say yes, yes come to us. So we have a socialist party that is very interesting in their way of thinking but at the same time it is very neoliberal. It doesn't recognize the need to regulate tourism". (Luis, local researcher)*

5.3.2. Projects for community involvement and mobilisation

Municipality – led initiatives
(the BIP ZIP projects)

Actions of the municipality need to be explained as these have had a role in the formation of community attitudes and responses. There have been initiatives by the municipality which were not responses to the touristification but were responses to the degradation of the neighbourhood. As seen in the literature review of Mouraria (chapter 4), QREN was a regeneration programme with the goal of making the area more attractive for visitors and tourists.

Although the municipality intervened in the neighbourhood since 2008, in the year 2011 the physical appearance of the municipality intervention in Mouraria became present. The mayor located his office in the neighbourhood and the BIP ZIP funding programme was formed which funded several initiatives in Mouraria. Since this year, their work had been noticed by the community:

> *"The mayor moved his office to Mouraria and they really, during 2012-2014, were working hard in this territory along with the local organisations". (Filipa, Renovar Mouraria)*

BIP ZIP funding programmes made sure several projects could be realised in Mouraria. As Tiago even stated: BIP ZIP financed the idea of bottom-up:

> *"In Mouraria I think there are happening a lot of different and interesting things. They come mostly with the support in the beginning of BIP ZIP. ...The BIP ZIP started to fund a lot of projects in Mouraria, the bottom-up processes like Cozinha Popular, Renovar Mouraria, Largo also.*
> *...I think BIP ZIP financed the idea of the bottom-up things. Which was important. It got really strength. ...People helped each other in a certain way". (Tiago, Atelier Mob)*

> *"It is one of the first experimental programmes that we have here in the municipality of Lisbon that are trying to promote bottom-up movements, tries to involve people in promoting a better quality of life in the neighbourhood." (Luis, local researcher)*

Two examples of initiatives that took off with the funding of BIP ZIP are Largo Residências and Cozinha Popular.

Largo Residencias is a collection place for sleeping, eating, meeting others and working; created by local artists in 2011. Their rooms are targeted significantly towards artists and tourists. The idea is that artists staying at Largo, also work in the café, meet others there, and show their work. Largo tries to connect foreign and local artists with the local community and wants to offer cultural events to the community (Largo Residências, 2017, figure 12).

Cozinha Popular (popular kitchen) opened in 2012. It is a local project that was funded by BIP ZIP created by and for local residents. It is a community kitchen of which families can rent the kitchen for the week and sell their food to customers.

It is focused on celebrating the different cultures in Mouraria. By tasting food, people learn about each other and get into contact with each other. The restaurant is also open to tourists who want to try local cuisine (figure 13).

Figure 12: Largo Residências

Source: Lifecooler, 2017

Figure 13: Cozinha Popular

Source: A Marmita Lisboeta, 2015

What was striking about the project applications of 2016 was that more and more individuals and organisations were creating projects around the subject of tourism. This shows how tourism changes caught attention in the community and mobilised them.

> *"For the BIP ZIP programme the applications are occurring now, it ends in the 22nd of July. We first had a workshop for groups in the city centre, the theme/ the problem is always tourism. We are creating a project now and our application will be around tourism" (Filipa, Renovar Mouraria).*

Social organisation–led initiatives

Many of the *cultural events* in the neighbourhood are organised by Renovar a Mouraria. With their activities, they want to promote culture and focus on social- integration and development. They want to create communication between groups and bringing people together. For example, they are working on communication between shops and accommodation providers, so that the local community benefits more from tourists staying in the neighbourhood:

> *...if we can find a way to use the apartments and hostels to promote also the services and the products that are in the local neighbourhood, we will reinforce the local economy and people are not only sleeping here but they are also buying here, eating here." (Filipa, Renovar a Mouraria)*

Among other things, Renovar offers a monthly newspaper about the neighbourhood, and it organises food, music and arts events, all mainly in their community house 'Mouradia'. It also offers Portuguese courses to migrants and performs 'migrant tours' in the neighbourhood so that the various ethnic groups in the neighbourhood can learn from each other:

> *"Renovar Mouraria is also part of a migrant tour. These tours that they do with the immigrants, which is also a great idea." (Joana, Lisbon Sustainable Tourism)*

Academia Cidada (The Citizenship Academy) was created by a group of activists for human rights in 2011. Since then it has been organising different activities related to human rights. It created the touristification project in the end of 2015 [6]. As part of this project, several documentaries were shown to raise awareness and initiate discussion in the community. Open events were shared on Facebook, so everyone could participate. The documentaries were all related to tourism impacts (figure 14).

Furthermore, they organised other activities for awareness in the community. Some took the shape of a 'tertulia', which is best formulated as a 'social gathering'. It took place at open spaces in the neighbourhood so that everyone could come to participate (Figure 15).

Figure 14: Documentary nights

Source: Academia Cidada, 2016

Figure 15: Tertulia at Mouradia house

Source: Academia Cidada, 2016

5.3.3. Community resistances to tourism

Besides the events that were organised for community education and mobilisation, there have also been community activists creating (physical) resistances to tourism impacts.

In 2016, there was more visibility regarding the negative impacts of tourism in (social) media. The Facebook group 'contra a gentrificação de Lisboa' (meaning: anti-gentrification in Lisbon) was formed by activists, including local researchers, in which all articles and information regarding the subject has been shared.
Furthermore, the website 'Lisboa does not love' was formed as an online protest to tourism (impacts). It had the goal of informing everyone about what 'the people of Lisbon' do not like about tourism; with the goal of getting political attention.

Some physical, offline, examples were the flyers of 'terramotourism' (tsunami tourism) which had been spread throughout the city by 'Left hand rotation' (see cover page). This group of artistic activists further created a documentary about 'tsunami tourism', which was broadcast at the beginning of 2017 (figure 16).

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[6] Link to the touristification project on the website of academia cidada: http://academiacidada.org/category/project-touristification/

Figure 16: Terramotourism documentary

Source: Academia Cidada, 2017

There are several graffiti signs in the neighbourhood, negatively referring to gentrification, Airbnb and tourists. The sign in figure 17 dates from January this year, it was present in Martim Moniz square. There is a government plan to build an elevator in the neighbourhood; other neighbourhoods as Alfama and Biarro Alto already have these elevators for tourists.

Figure 17: Physical sign of resistance to gentrification

Source: 'Contra a Gentrifiacao de Lisboa' (Facebook webpage), 2017

Reflecting on literature study

The findings of this research support the consensus in literature on sustainable tourism that community participation is essential in its development and that people have a right to participate in planning. The projects of the municipality and of social organisations had the focus of involving, educating and mobilising the community.

Focussing on the BIP ZIP project specifically, this was criticized by Tulumello in 2015. Based on his text analysis, he mentioned that BIP ZIP's emphasis on empowerment could be interpreted as a way to cover the political decision to spend big amounts elsewhere. This finding has not been confirmed by this research. In this research BIP ZIP has been positively received by interviewees and no critique was made by them. This could be due to the lack of knowledge of the interviewees on the details of BIP ZIP funding programme. However, this is not a lively societal discussion, as BIP ZIP mobilised entrepreneurs and positively benefitted the area according to interviewees, therefore people do not question this programme.

This research supports the conclusion that community attitudes are influenced by factors which are context driven (Tosun, 2002; Harrill, 2004; Vareiro et al, 2013). Economic dependency on tourism played a role in people's attitudes towards the industry. Another factor that became apparent was that the economic crisis affected the attitudes and responses of Mouraria's community. According to several interviewees, residents are difficult to mobilise since they first have their primary needs to fulfil.

Furthermore, one factor that was not handled in the literature review, is the (former) political situation of the context. In this case, Portugal knows a (recent) history of dictatorship. This has resulted in a mind-set of people that is not focused on activism; they do not feel the need to participate or that they could have an influence on decision-making processes.

Besides these factors and 'lack' of a need to participate in tourism resistances and protests, there are some examples of community resistances taking place. These show overlap with cases of other European cities as mentioned by Colomb and Novy (2017), where negative (graffiti) messages were shown in public spaces.

6. Conclusion

Drawing the previous sections of analysis together enables the construction of an answer to the main research question of this report: *What are the economic, socio-cultural, and environmental impacts of touristification for Mouraria's community, and in what way does the community respond to the impacts?*

Firstly, the three research questions are answered before the overall question is addressed. The first research question looked at the extent to which touristification is taking place in Mouraria. To answer this question, one must look at the larger context of the city centre of Lisbon.

The tremendous growth in the number of tourists visiting the centre of Lisbon, and the resulting transformations from residential areas to tourism areas, shows that touristification is taking place. It is confirmed by interviewees who all speak of a fast exploitation of the tourism sector, to such an extent that people are dependent on the sector, and that local shops turn into tourist-serving shops. This process is further accelerated by, and stimulates, the Airbnb sub rental, which has become a big business in Lisbon.

Mouraria shows a slower touristification transformation compared to bordering neighbourhoods. This could be explained by various factors, mainly by the former negative image of Mouraria as a neglected, stigmatised area. Municipality policies for regeneration of the area dated from 2008, therefore the openness and attractiveness of the neighbourhood for visitors was developed only recently. It could be stated that tourism to Mouraria is affected by its location in the larger context of Lisbon's inner-city, in which touristification takes place. The first appearance of touristification is present in Mouraria in the 'mural painting- square', which is the most visited and most promoted area of the neighbourhood.

The second question looked at who are the local actors involved in the affairs of Mouraria and what are their attitudes towards touristification. From the interviews, it appears that the involved local actors consist of residents and entrepreneurs, social organisations, and the municipality.

Residents' attitudes are divided. Whether they are positive depends, among other factors, mainly on their economic dependency on tourism. Local entrepreneurs who have a business, which benefits from tourism, do obviously promote tourism development.

Looking at social organisations, Renovar a Mouraria appears to be the most discussed and representing organisation of Mouraria. Besides them, Habita and Academia Cidada are organisations involved in the affairs of Mouraria. These three organisations are alert to the negative impacts of touristification on the neighbourhood and are actively coping with them by creating communication between actors, raising awareness in the community and mobilising residents.

The municipality promoted tourism as part of their regeneration policy in order to open up and improve the neighbourhood. Now it acknowledges the negative impacts of touristification and is trying to work towards a solution.

Thirdly, we look at the local responses and initiatives that have been taking place in Mouraria since touristification transformations. It was decided for this research that the date 2008 was the beginning of Mouraria's transformation. From this date onwards, Mouraria was the subject of regeneration policies by the municipality, and has been transformed since.

The goal of these policies was improvement of the area for residents and tourists. The BIP ZIP funding programme was part of this, and stimulated community participation. Several local initiatives have been taking place with the funding of BIP ZIP. Besides the municipality, also social organisations created initiatives for community involvement and mobilisation.

Social organisation-led initiatives were focused on community mobilisation and creating local awareness to tourism impacts. These concretely included cultural events, a neighbourhood newspaper, a neighbourhood meeting café (Renovar Mouraria), documentaries, local gatherings and discussions in the neighbourhood (Habita, Academia Cidada).

Community responses and resistances took place in the form of online and offline activities. Discussion groups were formed on social media platforms, and a tourism impacts awareness- website and documentary was created. Physically, several anti- touristification, Airbnb, and gentrification leaflets and graffiti signs were present in the neighbourhood.

Finally, the main question of this research is addressed. From analysis, it appeared that in economic terms, there is a great dissatisfaction in the rise of the housing prices and the lack of houses for residents. This is the most discussed topic and annoyance in the community, in the local context of Mouraria, as well as the larger context of the city of Lisbon. This leads to the gentrification process of direct displacement of people, as they cannot afford rent increases. This negative aspect receives more attention than positive aspects; which are the creation of jobs, and for many residents sub-renting their apartment for Airbnb is a great source of income.

The socio-cultural impacts of touristification are an increase in safety, openness and in the variety of people in the neighbourhood. This was the most often mentioned positive impact. Furthermore, the increased interest in the neighbourhood resulted in increased community pride. A negative impact, which takes place in Mouraria at a slower pace compared to other central neighbourhoods, is the homogenisation of shops. Processes of tourism gentrification are taking place, as local facilities have turned into tourist-serving facilities, and this results in a changing neighbourhood life or a loss of local culture. Because of this, among other factors, processes of indirect displacement are taking place, where the younger generation is leaving the neighbourhood.

Environmentally, physical improvement of the neighbourhood was often referred to; it is cleaner, safer and buildings are renovated. Negative impacts were crowdedness in certain areas, which led also to traffic and parking problems. Furthermore, this may lead to indirect displacement eventually. Environmental indirect displacement was however not mentioned as an impact for Mouraria. It was mentioned as such for other neighbourhoods that were suffering from many noise and pollution problems.

The impacts of touristification led to responses of local actors. The municipality and social organisations responded by involving, informing and mobilising the community by means of projects and gatherings. What was striking from the 2016 BIP ZIP applications was that many local entrepreneurs applied with projects related to tourism (impacts), and in this way responded to touristification. Furthermore, in the same year various visible community resistances against negative impacts of touristification took place.

This study could serve as an example of impacts of touristification on a neighbourhood scale, and could be compared with other tourist areas that show similar characteristics. This study can be a point of reference for future studies on touristification and community responses. It would be interesting to conduct a follow-up study, to see how the area and residents' perceptions might have transformed over the years.

This study can also be a source of information for decision-makers of local policies. Regulated tourism would have a positive effect on the daily lives of individuals living in the touristic centre of Lisbon, as negative impacts will then be minimized. The findings of this research filled a gap in literature on impacts of touristification and local responses, in a neighbourhood context. The insights of this research show that Mouraria is affected by Lisbon's touristification, and slowly transforming into a tourism destination; local authorities could use this information as a reminder for the need of sustainable tourism policies.

7. Discussion

This chapter reflects upon the applied research techniques by discussing what went well and what did not, and it suggests recommendations for future research.

7.1. Reflection on applied techniques

An ethnographic research was conducted by means of interviews with a variety of actors, and observation and thick description of several public spaces in the neighbourhood.
Making use of the interviews conducted by Petronilli was of value for this research. The same counts for the interviews conducted as part of the Master Class programme. The use of these external sources overcame the language barrier. These sources combined with the expert interviews, resulted in a reasonable number of interviews which contributed to the validity and reliability of the findings. There was significant overlap in what was said the respondents.

The method of thick description of public spaces in the neighbourhood had been a complementary method to interviews and to the literature review. From the observation and description, it became clear what physical contradictions exists between spaces in Mouraria. Furthermore, who were the users of those specific spaces and how can the context in which impacts are taking place be understood.

There were some limitations of the applied techniques. First of all, there was a difficulty of reaching all potential interviewees because of the language barrier. This difficulty was partly covered by the use of external data collection. However, in the translation of transcripts from Portuguese to English there might have been information gone missing,

Furthermore, there is a limit to the generalisability of the conclusions of this research. Although the topics of the interviews were significantly overlapping, and there was overlap with former research; the conclusions are not a representation of the whole of Mouraria's community. Especially the attitudes and perceptions of the Chinese community is lacking. It was beyond the scope of this research and the ability of the researcher to find ways to involve these residents.

Participant observation has the difficulty of research bias. Events are interpreted through the eyes of the single observer. Clearly a researcher his or her own views can come in to play. There is the problem of 'going native', which means the researcher can become too involved with and sympathetic to the group of people being studied. This could lead to a loss of objectivity (Sommer, 2006).
This bias is an awareness that researchers, who conduct ethnographic research, should have. In this research, the researcher worked together with volunteers of a NGO, and was present at a variety of community events. She was aware of her level of involvement and tried to minimize this effect by staying objective and making use of interview and observation guidelines.

Furthermore, this research is limited as it only used qualitative research methods, which provides understanding in local actors' perceptions and attitudes. Quantitative methods can, however, test relationships between variables that influence residents' attitudes towards tourism. Therefore, the researcher presents a recommendation for future research.

7.2. Recommendations for future research

Tourist areas a continuously changing, and also residents' attitudes and perceptions of tourism development are. Therefore, an alternative approach would be a longitudinal research design by making use of mixed methods. A survey with a representative sample of Mouraria's community complements qualitative research findings. This survey could map residents' perceptions of tourism impacts, by testing certain factors and their influences. Local residents can be compared according to various characteristics. It would be of great value if research of this kind will take place in different neighbourhoods of Lisbon. By doing so, a comparison could be made between the neighbourhoods and policies could be specified according the needs of local communities. Neighbourhood measurements would be of value for all future research in Lisbon as these do not yet exist.

A longitudinal study will be beneficial in mapping the change over time. This is necessary in the neighbourhood of Mouraria, since slow processes are taking place in comparison to bordering neighbourhoods. It would also be a necessary method in reaching all the ethnic groups that live in Mouraria. Some groups are harder to reach than others, and it will need time to approach all of them in order to obtain a representative sample.

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Appendices

1. List of Interviewees
2. Topic list expert interviews
3. Topic-guideline observation and description
4. Codetree

1. List of Interviewees

Expert interviews

Luís Mendes
Local researcher and teacher in the field of geography. Luis' his insights were relevant as he is very much interested in the development of the city, he has written articles about these developments and his main study focus is tourism gentrification. He knows much about these recent processes and how organisations and events are related to each other. He has an active role in promoting the voice of the people.

Tiago Mota Saraiva (Ateliermob)
Architect and owner of Ateliermob. Ateliermob is an architectural firm and has created a project in Mouraria, which is café Largo. Ateliermob is part of the Re:Kreators group which is an initiative by Pakhuis de Zwijger and includes various organisations throughout Europe. The office is located in the heart of the city, in Biarro Alto. His insights as being part of Re:Kreators were valuable, as well as his experience with the Largo café project and the development of area surrounding it.

Joana (Lisbon Sustainable tourism)
The founder of the travel agency Lisbon Sustainable Tourism. She is a resident in Mouraria. Her insights are valuable as they come from someone who is working in the tourism sector, but is trying to minimize the negative impacts, by offering an adjusted tour and giving back to the community. As a resident, she has experience in how the neighbourhood is developing/ changing and how the community reacts to these changes.

Filipa Bolotinha (Renovar a Mouraria)
Team member of Renovar a Mouraria. Her insights are useful as she works for a social organisation which is located in the neighbourhood for almost a decade. She knows a lot about the neighbourhood and its diverse individuals. She could tell a lot about the differences between the neighbourhood now and in the past, what developments took place, what impacts it has had, how residents respond and what happenings will take place in the near future.

Fabiana Pavel
Local researcher in the field of gentrification and policies on development. Her studies were mostly written about Bairro Alto. She lives in Baixa Chiado, in the middle of the crowded nightlife area. Her insights are valuable as she knows a lot about the policies of the municipality and she did research about touristification and gentrification in Lisbon.

Key person interviews

Among the nine interviews with people who know the neighbourhood well are:

The mayor of the Santa Maria Maior district*
One men who owns a garage in Mouraria and was a former taxi driver
Three retired Portuguese women living in Mouraria;
One women, 32 years old, working in a "vintage/ boutique" shop in Largo de Intendente;
One man working in the house of Severa (a museum house of a famous Fado singer)
One man who is the owner of a café in Mouraria
One street vendor in Mouraria

* His views were helpful as he is very much involved in the development policies in the neighbourhood. He knows what is happening in the neighbourhood and what is needed by the community.

2. Topic list expert interviews

These are the topics that have been dealt with in the semi-structured expert interviews. They varied depending on the interviewee in question.

Start-off
> Informed consent
> Aim of this research

Background information
> The interviewee's activities and motivation
> The interviewee's involvement with Mouraria

Developments
> Recent developments Lisbon and Mouraria
> Tourism growth
> Connection between developments

Tourism impacts
> Lisbon and Mouraria
> Impacts for Mouraria's community

Responses local actors
> What local initiatives have been taking place
> Who is involved
> Motives of those involved

Local government
> Action by local government
> BIP ZIP programme (why, for who, results)

Closing questions
> Further topics / elaboration
> Contact details of others

3. Topic-guideline observation and description

Physical appearance

What does the physical space and its surroundings look like?
What attributes could be observed in the place? (buildings, trees, benches, fences, trash etcetera)
What level of physical state are the buildings and attributes in?

Atmosphere of the space

How does the space feel in terms of smell and sound?
How does the place feel in terms of openness to outsiders?

The presence of the user

Appearance of the user: tourist/resident, individual/ group, characteristics (age, ethnicity, gender, appearance)
For how long is the user present in the place?
What could be the reason for his or her presence?

Interaction in space

How does the user behave in the space, verbally and physically?
How do users interact with each other and with the space itself?
Is there a conflicting behaviour between different user groups?

4. Code Tree

Bottom up organisations
    Renovar Mouraria
    Citizenship Academy
    Habita

Activities organisations
    Cultural promotion
    Right of housing
    Preventing negative impacts
    Mobilizing people

Working together
    Municipality
    Community
    Social organisations
    Hostels and Airbnb
    NGO's
    Local shops
    Political parties
    Location
    Communication
    EU funds

Features Lisbon
    Diverse neighbourhoods
    Music
    Architecture
    Multicultural
    Authentic
    Proud/ welcoming citizens

Features Mouraria
    Strong neighbourhood life
    Authentic
    Central
    Diverse
    Strong community
    Hidden spaces
    Small apartments
    Socially and physically improved
    Difficulty for parking

People of Mouraria
    Division between communities
    Multicultural
    Different networks
    Migrants
        India
        Pakistan
        China
        Bangladesh
    New residents
        Gentrifiers
        High social/ low economical class

Mouraria in the past
    Poor
    Stigmatized
    Crime and drugs
    Segregated
    Degraded buildings

Mouraria now
    Recent changes
    Improved neighbourhood
    Safer and cleaner
    More commerce
    New residents
    Municipality intervention since 2008
    Rehabilitated buildings
    More people on streets
    More open to outsiders
    Positive future

Municipality intervention in Mouraria
    Mayor moved office to mouraria
    Project focused on Mouraria
    Working together with organisations

Bip Zip
    Yearly funding programme
    Recent initiative by municipality
    Local actions in neighbourhoods
    Many projects in Mouraria
    Promoting bottom up
    Critiques
        Small and not much money
        No structural change

Influences from Past
    Economic crisis 2012-2013
        Class of high social /low
        economical capital
    Dictatorship
        Affects peoples' attitude
        No participation tissue

Citizen participation
    Strong community important
    No participation tissue
        Background of dictatorship
    Personal circumstances not good
        Unemployment
    Some active citizens
        Activities in public spaces
    Mobilization of people difficult
        Not formally organized
        People are poor
    Creating ways of thinking
        Right to the city
        Right to housing

Recent developments in Lisbon
    Growth of Airbnb
    Touristification
    Gentrification
    Housing regulations
    Rehabilitation

AirBnB
    Trend
    Social impacts
        Rise of rent price
        Residents leave
        Changing neighbourhood life
        Fake residents (living abroad)
        Noise of AirBnB guests
    Reasons for sub rent
        Unemployment
    Spread throughout city
    Future
        Limitations
        EU pressure

Housing for people
    Renting difficulty
    Expensive
    Laws don't protect citizens
    Displacement
    Difficult to get bank loans
    Retired elderly protected
    Vacant property
    Landlords sell entire buildings
    Rehabilitation of houses

New housing laws
    Local lodging law
        Unregulated sub rent
    New urban lease law
        Rise of rents
    Need for different policies

Gentrification Lisbon
    Laws cause gentrification
    Tourism gentrification
        Recent phenomenon
    Direct displacement
    Indirect displacement
        Pressure by landlord
    Loss of population
    Change in urban fabric
        New commerce

Gentrification Mouraria
    Changing the neighbourhood
    Slow gentrification in Mouraria
        Presence migrants
        Small apartments
        Lack of parking space

Gentrifiers Mouraria
    Mouraria is a cheaper area
    Mouraria needed more/ different people
    High social low economical capital
        Positive for neighbourhood
    French retired elderly
        Integration issue

People leaving
    Changing neighbourhood life
    Qualified generation leaves
    Old people stay
    Crowdedness, noise
    Leaving to suburbs

Tourism growth
    Debate whether positive or negative
    Regulation needed
    Lisbon promoted as weekend trip
    Balance needed tourists and residents
    Protection needed traditional commerce

Reason touristification
    Tourism policy by the municipality
    Golden visa programme
        Real estate investment
    Intensive exploitation
    Lack of organisation
    Neoliberal turn in policies
    Recent laws

Positive aspects of tourism
    Sector of economic importance
    Leads to more renovation
    Improving services
    Multicultural
    More jobs created
    More life in the streets
    Advantages for locals
    Cleaner
    Mouraria improving

Negative aspects of tourism
    Intensive exploitation
    Dependence on one sector
    Too much tourists
    Change of neighbourhood vibe
    Tourism gentrification
    Money flows out of country
    Risk of homogeneity/ losing character
    Rise in prices
    City of (short-term) renters
        Loss of residents
    Overcrowded centre
    Garbage and noise
    Traditional commerce disappearing
    Organisation lacking