

Impacts of Tourism in an Urban Community: The Case of Alfama

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Urban tourism has in the last 5 years grown expansively, especially in Southern Europe and the Mediterranean. Lisbon is no exception. In the last four years, there has been a major development in urban tourism, a trend that will certainly continue increasing thanks to being named the best 'city break' destination in 2017. Residents play a very crucial role in the development of cultural tourism. The literature indicates that when residents perceive tourism as beneficial there is a greater level of interaction between residents and visitors, and consequently loyalty to the destination. This article aims to analyze the level of interaction between tourists and residents and the extent to which this interaction will influence the residents' perceptions regarding tourism's social representation and community impacts. We chose Alfama for this case study because it is one of the most typical and historical neighborhoods of Lisbon and one of the most visited by tourists. We decided to use the following qualitative methods: direct observation, 24 residents' interviews and one interview with a local association president. The results show a high level of interaction between visitors and residents, an ambiguous and contradictory social representation, and a positive perception of tourism impacts both economically, socio-culturally and environmentally. Based on the results, we proposed some strategies directed to public powers, government and Lisbon City Council to adjust the city to these tourist demands in such a way that the destination remains different and authentic.

Keywords: *resident-visitor interaction, impacts of tourism, social representation of tourism; social exchange theory, iridex theory.*

Introduction

In the last years we have seen a renewed interest in urban tourism; indeed, some of the world's greatest tourism destinations today are cities that attract a growing number of visitors each year¹.

In contemporary society, urban tourism has become one of the fastest growing segments of travel in the world² because of the growing interest in cultural and heritage resources, as well as the renewal of cities, their image and attractiveness (Cazes and Potier 1996).

This is a massive tourism sector and extends to all fringes of society, since the infrastructures supporting it have diversified. For example, air mobility has increased with low cost flights, which have made a wide range of destinations accessible. There was also an increase in accommodation of all types, from

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¹It is the case of Venice, Barcelona, Amsterdam, Dubrovnik and so many other who have many problems with the increase of tourists.

²According to IPK-International and the results of the 27th World Travel Monitor, city trips are very popular with a growth of 20% in the first 8 months of 2017.

luxury and design hotels to hostels, as well as short term rentals with the appearance of Airbnb in 2008.

Today, people living in cities are inclined to visit other cities, and there is a great proportion of the population that makes several shorter trips a year rather than one main holiday (Dunne et al. 2010). In these holidays, they search for new experiences and authenticity (MacCannel 2013).

Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) contributed widely to this new dynamic. Travel experiences are increasingly dominated by them, and there is a change in travel behavior that can be observed in cities around the world. If in the past travelers used ICT before and after the trip, today the internet, through mobile phones and tablets, is always present throughout the travel experience, and new tourists are connected during the whole stay (Bock 2015). Thus, they can share their experience with family and friends. Photos are taken at any time and immediately posted on social networks via Facebook or Instagram. In the background travelers wish to show the sites where they stay. Urry (2007) says that this makes mobility present in the contemporary society related with tourism.

People travel not only to get to know new cultures and cities, but also to distinguish themselves, contrary to what Bourdieu says when he mentions that agents and social groups differ without any explicit need to do so (Bourdieu 1987).

Tourism promoters also use social networks to sell their destinations. That is what Portugal did four years ago and we can now see the results. In December 2017, Portugal won the World Travel Awards prize for the best tourist destination in the world, and Lisbon won for the best city break. It was a culmination of a series of prize winnings that outlined Portugal as a major tourist destination. Therefore, tourism has increased substantially in recent years³. As it has happened in other European cities, the demand is mainly focused on historical city neighborhoods where culture and authenticity are stronger.

When we are talking about tourism, and particularly urban tourism, it is inevitable to talk about the interaction between residents and visitors. If tourism is the outward movement of places of residence and contact with other cultures, the receiving community plays a very important role in terms of the image of the tourist destination and the willingness of the visitors to return (Dall'Agnoll 2012). Residents are an important part of the cultural phenomenon of urban tourism and a determinant part of the success of a tourist destination (Souza 2009). The interaction between tourists and the host community will inevitably cause impacts. There are now some cities that limit tourism to reduce negative impacts⁴.

As Andereck et al. (2005) say, the general theme emerging from research is that the industry has great potential to affect the lives of community residents. It is therefore necessary for us to try to understand what the impacts of tourism demand on Lisbon's historical neighborhoods and what factors are influence

³According to INE (National Institute of Statistics) there has been, in 2016, 11% increase in guests and 16% in profits.

⁴It is the case of Venice, Dubrovnik, Barcelona and so on.

the perception of these impacts. To do this, we study the residents' social representations of tourism and the extent to which these representations influence their interactions with tourists, as well as whether this interaction will affect the residents' perceptions of tourism's impacts on their neighborhood.

This paper is organized into five sections, excluding the current introduction. The following literature review is divided topically into the perception of sociocultural impacts on the resident community, social representations of tourism, and residents and tourists. Next are brief sections on the product and research methodology. The bulk of the papers concerns analysis and discussion of results. A brief section concludes.

Literature Review

The Perception of Socio-Cultural Impacts on the Resident Community

We can say that tourism is an economic activity that generates trade and business, and is considered one of the most productive sectors of the global economy⁵. The economic impacts of tourism are the most visible and quantifiable, while socio-cultural and environmental impacts are much more difficult to quantify.

Tourism is also a phenomenon of approximation. As Hunziker points out in Mazón (2001: 21) "tourism is only an economic aspect in a subsidiary way; man is his true center". Since tourism is a phenomenon of both approaching and distancing people, we must consider socio-cultural impacts that "take more time to appear and, as qualitative changes, may be subtle and difficult to measure" (Lickorish and Jenkins 2000: 9).

Although studies on socio-cultural impacts began in the 1970s, mainly in developing countries where tourism was one of the few sources of income, the research on urban tourism appears only in the 1990s. Nowadays, tourism research is focused on cities, for they are major cultural tourism destinations. We witness a displacement of visitors who tend to focus on the urban centers, especially in their historic neighborhoods (Hernandez et al. 2017).

However, there are still very few studies on socio-cultural impacts in cities in developed countries, even if we take in account the "tourism phobia" phenomena that has surged in many cities of Europe, which are in this moment trying to minimize these impacts. Most of the studies on guest perception on tourism development have been done in small, rural or even resort communities (Haley et al. 2005). When we talk about more developed countries and cities, the impacts might not be the same because there is a different interaction with residents.

Airbnb and other short-term rental platforms allow tourists to live like (and with) residents. They cross in the stairs at home and on the streets, take coffee in the same places, shop at the same stores or supermarkets. This leads to increasing

⁵In Portugal according to the INE tourism in 2016 generated 11.5 billion euros and the consumption of tourists exceeded 23 billion euros equivalent to 12% of the GDP.

interactions between residents and tourists in far more diverse places and circumstances than those referred to by Kadt, who spoke only of three contexts: when tourists buy products, when they ask for information, or when they meet side-by-side at events or monuments (De Kadt 1979).

There is, therefore, an intense interaction between tourists and the host community and resident's perceptions of socio-cultural impacts are affected. We questioned if an increase in tourism would improve or deteriorate their quality of life (Monterrubio 2008).

There are many factors that can determine whether the impact is positive or negative, such as strength and coherence of the local culture, tourist type, degree of economic and social development of the population vis-à-vis tourists, and measures taken by the public sector in this area (Swarbrooke 2000). Within the host community, as Eusébio and Carneiro (2012: 67) point out, "residents play a fundamental role in being both an integral part of the tourist offers of these spaces and of being able to benefit or be hampered by the development of tourism".

The local community is a fundamental element of tourism, since without their support it is difficult for the industry to be sustainable (Inbarakan and Jackson 2003). Besides that, the receiving community influences the process of development within the tourist destination. Thus, industry success, although it depends on the attractions and the services, is also dependent on residents' hospitality (Gursoy et al. 2002).

We can say, similar to Jafari (2001), that tourism is a double-edged sword for host communities because it generates benefits, but also imposes costs. Tourism, as already mentioned, has a complex and multifaceted nature and can therefore contribute many positives. These include through cultural impacts, such as the valuation of cultural heritage, the creation of cultural equipment, the revitalization of traditional arts and crafts (Ap 1992) and the strengthening of community ties (Monterrubio et al. 2013), as well as economic impacts like the improvement of infrastructures and job creation (Cooper 1998, Mathieson and Wall 1990). However, it may also contribute negatively to a general increase in prices (Pereira 2010), traffic congestion, overcrowding, over-invoicing of services (Pérez and Nadal 2005), increased crime, alcohol and drugs (Monterrubio 2016) and gentrification (Nobre 2003, Smith 2007). Since gentrification has been on many political agendas and in the media in the last years, here we are not referring to the classical sense of gentrification in which low-income residents are replaced by higher income ones (Hernandez et al. 2017). In tourism, gentrification indicates tourists replacing residents. Cócola-Gant (2016) says that this gentrification occurs in three steps: the first being the progressive migration of residents out of the community because of displacement; the second is the appearance of short-term contracts and price increases, which prevent new residents from moving to the area; and in the third, investors force residents to sell their houses to be transformed into short term rentals. We can also talk about commercial gentrification where traditional shops disappear and are substituted by new spaces and services aimed at attracting tourists (Cócola-Gant 2016).

It is important, therefore, to understand visitors and residents' interaction since it can have an important impact in the loyalty of the visitors to the destination since it can influence their satisfaction with the residents and destinations (Zhang et al. 2006). This influences tourism's social representations and consequently impacts positive or negative perceptions.

Social Representation of Tourism

We must know residents' opinions about tourism in their home places since a tourist destination's success will depend, widely, on whether the population values it positively (Dall' Agnol 2012), because "tourism has an important role in the economic, cultural and social exchange field" as mentioned in Dall' Agnol 2012: 2.

On the other hand, if you know residents' opinions about tourism, political actors can better plan and develop the destination, since the local population is an essential part of a successful development. Tourism is an industry "with great potential to affect the resident community" (Andereck et al 2005: 1057). Thus, it is necessary to try to know what are the residents' understandings of tourism development and its impacts.

When speaking of social representations, it is necessary to consider their various dimensions; they are formulated according to attitude, information and field of representation. Concerning attitude, there is a positive or negative conception and, in some cases, contradictory elements. Concerning information, it is verified that the subjects who have a greater experience and knowledge of the tourist phenomenon can express it in a broader way. Regarding the representation dimension, we speak about a represented object image, which in the case of tourism is closely linked to development and economic growth.

The notion of social representation appears with Durkheim, but it is emphasized by Moscovici (1978: 41) when he says that it has a position "mixed at the crossroads of a new series of sociological concepts and psychological concepts". It constitutes, in the background, a collective and multifaceted construction, which is relevant and part of the symbolic, affective and value elements generated by social actors during interactions with the reality in which they live.

The social representation theory describes how people think of their day-to-day experience and how a wider social reality influences those thoughts. The aim is to understand how social actors interpret the social universe through conversation. As Moscovici (1981: 186) says, this creates "a community of meanings among those who participate in it".

In what concerns tourism, residents see tourism impacts through community social representations. To Fredline and Faulkner (2000), the sources of these representations can be divided into three groups: direct experience, social and media interaction. Hence, the importance of studying these social representations is obvious because they give a new perspective on the residents' perceptions investigation (Yutyunyong 2010). Residents' social representation of tourism itself has a strong effect on the perceptions of tourism's impacts.

Residents and Tourists

When we speak of residents and tourists we can say that they are related through the social exchange theory. This theory is used generally in sociology and tries to understand the exchange of resources between individuals or groups in an interaction situation (Ap 1992). These exchange perceptions might be different from individual to individual, with some perceiving it positively and others negatively (Gursoy et al. 2002). This variation might have to do with their evaluations of the outcome for the community that emerges from this exchange (Anderek et al. 2005).

We can also talk about the tourist's behavior in the community since it may lead to changes in community behavior through the demonstration effect when tourists are seen as examples. This effect results from a close interaction of different groups of people and manifests itself through a transformation of social values (Lickorish and Jenkins 2000, Cooper et al. 2007). The demonstration effect is also related to the community socio-professional structure, as well as with other factors such as living standards, the existing culture, and institutional strength. If institutions are strong, there is no need to change patterns of behavior and values. If a community is sure of itself and its unity, it will want to maintain its values and way of life because that is what gives it its own identity. That identity can lead tourists to want to know their very own characteristics, because they are interested not only in the visits, but also in customs and cultures different from their own (Cohen and Cohen 2012).

When we talk about the host community, it is necessary to know in what stage of development it is regarding tourism because this is also a factor that contributes to the interaction between hosts and guests (Butler 1980). In Butler's research, residents' attitudes may be favorable or unfavorable during interaction, and residents' behavioral response to tourism may be active or passive (Brida et al. 2010). Regarding the tourist destination life cycle concept, each stage has its own impact. In what concerns socio-cultural impacts, and especially tourists' and residents' interaction, as Ap and Crompton (1993) explain, there are four strategies: an anxious acceptance of tourists, tolerance, withdrawal and retreat.

At last, we would like to refer to the Iridex model formulated by Doxey (1975), which identifies and explains tourism's effects on social relations and the evolution of behavioral models by residents regarding tourists. According to this model, the residents react to the tourists in four phases. In the first moment, the community receives the tourists with enthusiasm. It is the stage of euphoria in which tourism is viewed, from an economic perspective, as a source of employment and income. In a second phase, the apathy phase, tourism continues to be a profit-generating activity, but the relationship between visitors and residents is very formal. In the third phase, irritation, residents begin to become saturated because the arrival of tourists causes changes in the community such as traffic congestion, crowding, increased garbage, etc. At this stage they begin to distrust the benefits of the tourist industry. In the last phase, that of

antagonism, visitors are seen as invaders and the cause of all evils that may appear in the community.

It is therefore important to know in what stage the community is regarding tourists and to what extent the perception of the socio-cultural impacts may have some influence on the residents' attitudes towards them.

The Product

Lisbon is a city of neighborhoods. The lowest administrative subdivision of Portugal is a civil parish. Nevertheless, there are informal divisions that are popularly called neighborhoods and that do not respect the limits of the parishes. Such neighborhoods are one of the biggest assets of Lisbon.

In the historical center and Santa Maria Maior civil parish created in 2013, there are 12 civil parishes but only three oldest and distinct neighborhoods: Sé, Mouraria and Alfama.

Alfama extends from the Castle of S. Jorge to the Garden of Tobacco Dock and is one of the most typical neighborhoods because it looks like a small village. It owes its name to the Arabic word al-Hamma, which means fountain, and it is in this neighborhood that we can see the 'Chafariz de El-Rei', which was the first Lisbon public fountain, built in the 13th century.

Most of the buildings here survived the 1755 earthquake⁶ and, although it does not have Moorish-style houses, the neighborhood has a medieval look with its small streets, alleys and staircases. It also maintains a collection of hagiographic tiles that testify the popular religiosity and date back to the 16th and 17th centuries.

In the Middle Ages richer residents moved to other locations and left the neighborhood for fishmongers, fishermen, sailors and stevedores.

It is now a poor neighborhood where you can find Fado houses, typical restaurants and festivities for the popular Saints who are celebrated in June in all the small streets and viewpoints.

The neighborhood has plenty of tourists that are of two types: those who only visit and those who lodge there and mingle with residents in the same cafes and grocery stores. However, this neighborhood, though reinvented, has not lost its identity and has a very special soul.

Research Methodology

As there are no studies with these characteristics in Lisbon neighborhoods, this research has an exploratory character. Therefore, we have not sought a generalization of results but rather the identification, exploration and analysis of the community's perceptions regarding impacts of tourism.

⁶In 1755 the major part of Lisbon centre was destroyed by a strong earthquake followed by a tsunami. It gives origin to new and large streets, squared blocks and a new architectural style named 'pombalino'.

The methodology used in this research was qualitative, and data was gathered through direct observation and interviews with the most relevant residents, which included the President of the residents' association and individuals from the private sector such as neighborhood merchants. This kind of methodology allowed us to better understand the residents' day-to-day life. We wanted to collect data on attitudes and values and, as Ferrando et al. (2002: 173) says, "interviews are one of the few available techniques for studying values, attitudes, beliefs and motives" and can adapt to any type of population.

We used an intensive and in-depth interview structure because we sought to systematically expand knowledge about a minimally structured problem and because "numbers (...) do not say everything and are often misleading" (Kaufman 2004: 9). We are aware that there is a great deal of subjectivity in the selection of what is said, even in repetitions or silences. However, we think that the "subjectivist illusion" is no more worrisome than the "objectivist illusion".

Qualitative research is not simply interested in the exterior presentation (Flick 2009) so the interviews were conducted empathically, which means that we tried to understand the interviewed actors attitudes' without making value judgments. This allowed us, in some moments, to go beyond speeches of convenience and sometimes reveal very intimate truths. We used a script with questions that were only conversation topics, and which were reformulated as we conducted the interview. We decided to abandon questions that showed no interest.

We must mention the difficulty in establishing contact with people who are completely unknown, but as Flick (2009: 111) says "we must become involved in a different world or subculture and first to understand it as far as possible from inside and from its own logic". Hence, it became difficult to define a sample that was not of convenience. We stayed in Alfama during a week and used the snowball approach. Interviewees were asked to indicate other possible individuals to be interviewed, until the sample that formed the basis of this study was completed.

Interviews lasted for about 45 minutes because it was necessary to create some intimacy between the interviewer and the interviewee, and they consisted of two parts: the first was a series of 5 questions referring to tourism's social representation, impacts, hosts and guests' interactions, and neighborhood tourist development; the second was about residents' socio-demographic characteristics, as well as length of residence in the neighborhood. Interviews were conducted during one week of April 2017. They were recorded, transcribed and treated with the software Atlas Ti 8 because it is a powerful workbench for the qualitative analysis of large bodies of textual data.

Analysis and Discussion of Results

Respondents Socio-demographic Profile

In this study 25 in-depth interviews were conducted in this study. Of the

total participants, 20% are male and 80% female. The majority (55%) belong to the age group > 65 years and were already retired. Only 10% have higher education and 90% do not have more than 4 years of schooling. Despite this age and education breakdown, 40% are involved in activities directly related to tourism, since 15% of the retirement age group are still active in the sector to improve their income. Over half (55%) of those interviewed were born in Alfama, and 80% have been living there for more than 30 years.

Residents' Perceptions of Impacts

When questioned about tourism benefits to the neighborhood in the last four years, residents almost unanimously refer to economic benefits: higher employment rate, buildings re-qualifying and new stores opening, such as bars, traditional restaurants and Fado⁷ houses, pastries and 'cafes' with their terraces. Fado houses have tripled in the last four years, and they are everywhere now. They also mentioned the craft shops, some of them exclusively with Portuguese design articles that highlight Portuguese culture and tradition. Restaurants also reinforced traditional gastronomy offers to match the demands for authenticity by tourists.

Even if there are a lot of tourists in Alfama, this neighborhood retains a strong culture of its own. This can bring problems with tourists as one interviewee says:

"They arrive at 3:00 pm and they want to have lunch and it is no longer lunch time in Portugal because people have to rest and then have to make dinner. The tourists do not realize, and they start to complain", Manuela, 64 years.

Residents also mention more cleanliness and security on the streets, as well as the neighborhood being more beautiful with the requalification of houses.

"The neighborhood is more beautiful because they have done many works. Now you're safe. A few years ago, it was all dark and there was no security in the streets", Raquel, 33 years.

Construction and trade were, for the most part (95%), the sectors that benefitted most from tourism. Only one respondent said that tourism did not bring anything good, despite the fact that her work is related to the sector because she is a cook in a Fado house.

There is a great interaction between tourists and residents because most of the streets are narrow and closed to cars and there is a lot of short term rentals⁸. The residents consider very positive people's presence in the neighbourhood. Only 20% mentioned overcrowding as a problem. The majority (80%) thinks

⁷Typical Lisbon song.

⁸In Portugal is called Local Accommodation (LA).

that tourists bring life to the neighbourhood. They missed intense social life in Alfama 30 years ago.

"I talk a lot to them, in the middle of the street or when I'm at the window, by gestures, of course. We take pictures, laugh and joke. They keep me company. I no longer have neighbors to talk to", Miquelina, 79 years.

"I like it when those big groups come. I show them the way we live. It's my neighborhood and I'm proud of it", Anabela, 50 years.

"I like to see tourists. They bring life to the streets. I'm photographed all day long, but I like it.", Candida, 82 years.

Regarding negative issues, 95% of the residents referred to the departure of other residents, displacement and short-term rentals that they consider to be too much for the neighborhood. The real people and authentic culture that the tourists look for is disappearing, as another interviewee says:

"In a city, what's interesting is to see locals. Tourists come to Alfama, to see people who were born here, people who grew up here, see neighborhood's culture. Local accommodation for tourists only must stop. Only tourists are no good for anyone (...) People do not want to come and see only foreigners", Carla, 39 years.

When residents were questioned about this displacement, and if it is due to tourism, they said that it began many years ago around the end of the 1990s. Firstly, landlords begin to dislodge people in order to do works in the houses. It was permitted by a recent law⁹. Secondly, the City Council also took administrative possession of many buildings to requalify them for lodging the tourists who came for Expo 98¹⁰. However, they were not requalified on time, and tourists were lodged in hotels and also on cruise boats on the Tajo River. A few years later some have been requalified, but have never been made available for rental, and others are still closed because they need works.

"Only old people live here and when we will die, the neighborhood will end. But displacement has nothing to do with tourism. It is started 15 years ago and tourism is new", José, 75 years.

The neighborhood began its desertification process at that time because young people did not have houses to rent, and they also wanted bigger and better houses. Thus, they moved to other districts.

⁹ Law n° 275/95, 30 September.

¹⁰Expo 98 was an Universal Exhibition. With the theme "Oceans: a future patrimony" commemorate the 500 years of the Portuguese Discoveries. This exposition attracted 11 million visitors.

For four years now with tourism development, landlords have been dislodging residents, either through compensation or by not renewing contracts, to make short-term rental properties. There are also new investors who have been buying, recovering and refurbishing buildings in order to develop tourism offers such as hostels or short-term rentals. In the neighborhood everyone talks about it. They all mention that old people had to leave. However, they point out that it is not tourists' fault, and instead they blame the government, which established laws that made evictions easier, and also greedy landlords, who prefer to rent to tourists instead of making long-term contracts at affordable prices.

"They are kicking out all the people, the residents. They are transforming everything into Local Accommodation", António, 71 years.

On the other hand, there are also those who consider that the changes in accommodation have been good for the neighborhood:

"The local accommodation is good because many vacant houses have been rehabilitated to rent to tourists", Raquel, 33 years.

Interviewees speak also of commercial gentrification. Alfama had neighborhood shops that are now disappearing in order to give place to shops and restaurants that only serve tourists.

"This street was plenty of fishmonger's. Now we only have one for neighborhood people. The others were transformed into Fado houses or tourists 'shops", Etelvina, 76 years.

Another interviewee who owns a stationery shop also speaks of this problem:

"My shop survives with neighborhood people. They buy the journals and the reviews. Tourists don't buy these things. People are disappearing and someday I must close the door", José, 48 years.

Garbage increase is also considered a negative impact of tourism, but residents do not blame the tourists.

"There should be more control. There are garbage bags everywhere. Most of the time it is people who live here and clean tourists houses who do not respect the schedule to put away the garbage. Tourists do what they see others doing", Carlos, 58 years.

Finally, they speak also about mobility:

“City Council only works for tourists. They removed the bus stop who served the neighborhood and put it in the Cruise Terminal. So, we have no bus here and we must go to catch it with the tourists”, Benvinda, 75 years.

Because the tourist/resident interaction is very good, this will influence residents' perceptions of tourism's impacts in their community. They tend instead to emphasize positive impacts and devalue the negative ones.

How Residents Represent Tourism

In terms of tourism's social representation, 40% of people surveyed say that tourism is good and bad at the same time. On one hand, it brings money and the neighborhood needs tourists, but on the other hand, it displaces local people out of the neighborhood.

This contradiction is expressed in the words of one of the interviewees:

"We can summarize tourism in two words: survival and decadence. Survival because we need tourists and their money, and decadence because it is provoking Alfama's old people to exit", Manuela, 64 years.

For 10% of the interviewees, this is synonymous with Short Term Rental. For 40% tourism brought life, and for 15% it is related to noise. This is because the neighborhood has a lot of local accommodation, and tourists with their trolleys arrive at any time of day and night.

Tourists and Residents

Given the very strong interaction between tourists and residents, as well as the representation that residents have of tourism, we can consider that the social exchange here is mostly positive. Alfama is in a development phase regarding tourism, and residents feel that tourists bring money and life and thus accept their presence, as well as the negative aspects of it. Residents are very hospitable; they like to share their culture, and they accompany tourists to the places they consider the most beautiful in Alfama.

The demonstration effect does not happen in Alfama, which has very strong culture and values. 99% of interviewees say that tourism does not change their day-to-day life, and the neighborhood still has a very unique identity.

"Tourism did not change my life in any particular way. Inhabitants are no longer here and there are tourists, but I still see my friends and go to the same places", Carlos, 58 years.

As far as Doxey's Iridex theory is concerned, residents of Alfama do not fall entirely into any of the four phases to which the author refers. They are, in

fact, between the euphoria phase, where they like to be visited and see tourism as a source of income and employment, and the irritation phase since they consider that there are too many short-term rentals.

"We have to set limits. We have to stop and think. We must create rules. Tourism urgently needs rules. If not, any day the neighborhood is just tourists", Carla, 39 years.

They have not reached the stage of antagonism or "tourism phobia" that exists in so many European cities. However, in the neighborhood you can already see graffiti saying "Alfama is mine" or "Tourists source of money and source of garbage".

Conclusions

Tourism's impact in Alfama, as perceived by residents, is overall positive. They also identify negative impacts, but they do not blame tourists for these. There is a big concern about maintaining Alfama's identity, which might be lost if tourism development increases. This is what residents talk about when they say they are losing the sense of community and social cohesion. Today they speak of "us" and "others". They blame the government and the City Council for "abandoning" Alfama and only favoring tourists. If on the one hand tourism brought rehabilitation and security to Alfama, on another hand it also brought negative aspects like lack of mobility, noise and garbage.

The social representation of tourism by the residents is also contradictory. Resulting from their social and direct experience they see at the same time the good things, like money and new jobs, and the bad things, like the displacement of residents. Despite this, the majority, essentially old people, see tourism as a source of life for the neighborhood.

However, due to these changes and the lack of residents in the neighborhood, there is also a movement towards greater interaction with visitors, thereby highlighting the willingness and hospitality in relationships with tourists. This hospitality can cause tourism to increase, and thus everything becomes a vicious circle: more hospitality leads to more tourists, which leads to more houses for their accommodation and fewer residents.

This 'touristification' of trade and accommodation, as well as the occupation and massification of public space, may in the future have consequences for the quality of life of residents. The big issue is how to find a balance between tourists and residents. There's a need to limit short-term rentals and at the same time attract new residents to the neighborhood. In order to do so, rehabilitated houses that are actually closed should be proposed as potential homes for new residents.

In summary, it is urgent to take this and other measures into consideration to break the vicious cycle. Although it might seem simple from a technical point of view to inverse the population loss by renting empty requalified houses,

limiting short term rentals, improving mobility and cleaning, it is much more difficult to solve the problem of Alfama potentially losing its unique culture. We must find ways for old people to transmit their culture and neighborhood to new residents in order for Alfama to continue to be a traditional and authentic neighborhood, which in fact is what tourists look for.

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