Historic City Centers Tourism Growth: A case study of Mouraria, Lisbon

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Abstract: The accelerated tourism growth in Portugal during the last decade, has generated strong social and economic repercussions and changed the dynamics of cities. The historical centers, due to its morphology, content and attractiveness, have intensively felt these changes. In this context, it is recognized as essential to analyze the transformations that the high growth of tourism has caused and to evaluate the policies adopted in response to the negative impacts. For the realization of this dissertation, it was selected as a case study the Mouraria district (Lisbon), due to its community and historical character, which is under strong pressure due to the growth of tourism. Socio-demographic dynamics, urban, central policies, local policies and associations were analyzed. The lack of population in relation to tourism in this neighborhood was also studied, based on a survey to 74 locals (residents and merchants). This survey approaches several topics related to respondent profile, length of stay in the neighborhood, the property, satisfaction and open-ended answer questions about them perceptions of tourism impacts and the neighborhood, which provide a more complete analysis. It is concluded that the effects of tourism are generally positive, especially at the urban level. The negative consequences, which are mainly of a social kind, should be minimized according to a tourism monitorization and intervention plan.

Keywords: Tourism impacts, historic center, resident's perception, gentrification, touristic gentrification.

1. INTRODUCTION

In the globalization context during the last decades, tourism has suffered an exponential increase and asserted itself as an increasingly important activity in major cities. Portugal is no exception. The many awards received and the growing notoriety in the international media show that the country gained more and more prestige and importance. The historical centers, once marked by abandonment and degradation resulting from disordered urban growth, became in this context important targets of public and private investment. The tourism sector is one of the main tools of promotion and revitalization of these urban areas.

The fact that the increase of tourism brings benefits is undeniable, but it is undeniable that also has consequences at various levels. The economic benefits from this activity lead to environmental degradation and social and cultural impacts in visited places. The sudden and profound adjustments required to the cities (provide accommodation, labor, attractions and entertainment), should consider the satisfaction of the visitors and the needs of tourism, ensuring the sustainability of the destination. Often, the growth of tourism conflicts with the interests of the local community, who see its life's quality affected, particularly in historical centers where changes are more abrupt and obvious. The number of articles in the media that cover the advantages and disadvantages associated with the growth of the sector have been increasing in recent years, proving the relevance and timeliness of the theme. At the same time, the population has been shown to be active and involved in the governance process, trying to cooperate with the management entities and often resorting to protests and demonstrations to ensure the democratization of right to the city and housing, In this climate of change, it becomes important to adopt planning strategies and management of the tourism sector to ensure its sustainability. Understanding tourism operation, its potential and its

impacts are essential in order to enable the reduction of negative impact on the territory and population and thus strengthen the market.

The present study seeks to analyze the changes that have occurred in historical districts, as a result of tourism growth and of the recent dynamics of urban renewal in the city of Lisbon. It also seeks to assess the role of public administration and local community in this process of city transformation.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Tourism Impacts in historical centers

An extensive population, well-designed attractions, good accessibility and accommodation capacity constitute a set of key characteristics for a city to assume as a tourist destination (Law 1996). The historical centers are highlighted by its cultural offer and centrality, becoming the favorite place for a visitor to stay overnight. The visitors have a more authentic experience and a greater connection with a local culture. Simultaneously, they benefit from the proximity of attractions, services and equipment, and of a great part of the accommodation offer.

Historical centers, as places of great interest to the tourism sector, attract tourists and services infrastructures that, consequently, it causes positive and negative impacts at the local level and on the city itself. Considerable efforts have been made to protect the heritage; however, the conservation and rehabilitation faces nowadays major challenges. The ones that most have attracted attention and been studied by many researchers are the excessive heritage commercialization and the exclusion of the local population, which is not able to compete with the increase in the cost of living. (Timothy and Boyd, 2003). In the historical centers, tourism has the capacity to rehabilitate and preserve the architectural heritage. In this context,

Rezaei (2017) affirms that tourism is a tool that enhances physical, economic, social regeneration and urban development. However, other studies confirm that tourist activity can exert a great pressure in the cities and this pressure is more intense in the historical centers. The cities become overcrowded due to the high number of tourists and, consequently, negatively affect the mobility and the accessibility, especially of the central places. In order to maintain the proper functioning of the tourist activity, without compromising the place's image, it is argued that there must be a balance between the existing cultural heritage (material and immaterial) and all other equipment necessary to meet the needs of tourism (Russo and Borg, 2002). Borg e Costa (1996) refer to the restrictive measures in several cities to manage traffic in historic centers as a response to the pollution of the environment caused by the means of transport. However, tourism also has positive environmental effects, related to improving the appearance of the destination, making it an attractive place for tourists (Andereck et al., 2005; Almeida García, Balbuena Vázquez and Cortés Macías, 2015; Garau-Vadell, Gutierrez-Taño and Diaz-Armas, 2016). Tourism can be considered as a way of sensitizing the population to environmental problems in order to promote sustainable strategies both in hotels and throughout the territory of the tourist destination. Examples of positive environmental impacts for the site are the recycling and treatment of waste, water treatment and the use of renewable energies.

The social impacts of tourism are the subject of many studies, mainly in historical centers, where are older districts (Van Der Borg, Costa and Gotti, 1996; Gotham, 2005; Martínez-Pérez, García-Villaverde and Eche, 2016) These impacts have been much questioned over the last forty years (Ap, 1990). The growth of tourism can affect the social routine, behaviors, beliefs and values of local people (Dogan, 1989; Almeida García, Balbuena Vázquez and Cortés Macías, 2015), and may even create conflicts between residents and tourists. Borg e Costa (1996) also argue that increased tourist flows may intensify vandalism and other crimes in historic centers. However, the interaction between both can also trigger positive impacts as new social opportunities, stimulating more cultural activities in the community. In addition, Andereck et al.(2005) states that in territories with high levels of tourism, there may be an increase in the population, due to the attraction of new residents coming from outside areas or even from abroad. This requires a planning for population growth in order to avoid identity loss and site congestion.

Despite the great positive impacts of tourism on the global economy, such as economic dynamism and job creation (Van der Borg et al. 1996), Nasser (2003a) points out that the local economy is at risk of being disturbed by the fact that tourism can enrich some residents more than others. Tourism can lead to price inflation of the main consumer goods and services, leading to the increase in the cost of living (Garau-Vadell, Gutierrez-Taño and Diaz-Armas, 2016)). In this context, it is important to highlight the changes in the real estate market: real estate and rent prices rise, making access to the housing of lower-class local residents difficult, resulting in a strong pressure for local residents and merchants to leave the city centers (Russo, 2002). This process is called gentrification, which will be discussed afterwards.

With the propose of increasing tourist attractiveness, the plan for the historical heart of Singapore included preserving its buildings characteristics and emphasizing its historical significance by returning traditional activities to its built-up shops. In a survey conducted by Teo e Huang (1995) the results indicate that the rehabilitation of shop-houses was considered by the locals to be artificial, since it only met tourist demand and the authors also warned about the danger of preserving the building without maintenance of its previous use, since it can undermine tourism by not being accepted by the local population. However, they conclude that conservation and rehabilitation in the historic core of Singapore have played an important and positive role in improving the city, which was previously marked by a great state of degradation.

What has been mentioned above puts excessive pressure on fragile heritage cities, jeopardizing not only the vitality of the local economy but also the integrity of the heritage, together with the residents life's quality (Van Der Borg, Costa and Gotti, 1996). The emergence of tourist accommodation in the historic center and the increase in the number of tourists creates opportunities for commerce, especially those aimed at visitors. Consequently, and due to the increase of the rent price, the local commerce ends up disappearing and giving rise to chains stores with greater financial capacities. Simultaneously, the increase in housing prices leads to the consequent abandonment of the residents, which is no longer served by commerce adapted to their needs, leading, according to Gotham (2005), to a possible degradation of the uniqueness of the neighborhood. This excessive commercialization in the historic center promote a concern parties regarding the possible loss of authenticity of the place (Gutiérrez et al., 2017).

In addition to distinguishing between positive and negative impacts, the WTO, along with a large part of the scientific community, divided them into environmental, economic and social dimensions.

2.2. Governance and public participation

The city's ability to sustain and govern the transformation process caused by globalization is crucial (Go, Lee and Russo, 2005).

In developed countries, the history of international policies focused on tourism, are divided into four distinct phases: until 1970, the government had a large involvement in tourism marketing; between 1970 and 1985, in addition to using tourism as a development tool, the government also provided the basic infrastructure for the activity to develop; since 1985, although there has been increased concern about environmental problems, tourism has continued to be seen as a development enhancer, however, there has been a reduction in government involvement as a provider of tourism infrastructure, and greater emphasis on public partnerships -private and self-regulation; since the late 1990s, increased regulation and international agreements on environmental issues, trade in goods and services, investments and people movements have been added to

this last phase (Hall, 2005). In 2016, was created a European Tourism Indicator System (ETIS), which adds tourism management as a dimension (socio-cultural, environmental and economic), to its management, with a focus on governance and policies adopted. Tourism is seen almost universally by governments as something positive, which means that the goal of the policies adopted is to expand the tourism industry (Hall 2011). Smith (1987, 1996) also refers to the process of gentrification as a political strategy of urban regeneration and economic growth. Mendes (2014) interprets this last vision as an invitation to rethink the structures on which the new patterns of urban development are based, mentioning a "present capitalist crisis". Ruhanen (2013) emphasizes the role of the local administration, which, given its position of proximity to the population and the locality, has a greater facility in the articulation of tourism activity with the objectives of territorial nature of the municipality. Briefly, there are several barriers to effective local tourism management, and these include the lack of: community involvement; resources; research, information and knowledge sharing; commitment in the deployment; coordination and communication of stakeholders; and technical expertise (Dredge 2001).

The definition of sustainable tourism, as well as equality in the distribution of resources, services and opportunities, also implies questions about quality of life and community participation in the decision-making process (Beatley e Manning, cited in Nasser 2003). Public participation in communities means not only gaining a voice and influence in governance processes, but also sharing the heritage and wealth of the community and thus the results of the established governance system (Friedmann, 1973).

Santos (2007) analyzes the case of a Puerto Rican neighborhood in Chicago called Humbolt Park. Through neighborhood tours and direct contact with visitors, they emphasize their culture, nationality, history, and sense of belonging to the neighborhood, taking advantage not only of the economic benefits of the tourist activity, but also reinforcing their union and cultural identity.

In Rio de Janeiro, Gaffney (2016) studies the relationship between the process of gentrification and mega-events attracted through a neoliberal governance strategy (such as the 2016 Olympic Games). According to Gaffney, several conflicts emerged from this dynamic, but its speed and scale were limited by resistance from resident associations and civil society actors.

In a context of the growing development of tourism supported by municipal policies in Barcelona, the ABTS (Assembly of Barris per un Turisme Sostenible), through forums, debates and lectures, showed that the organization can be a tool for reflection, collaboration and proposals , also carried out actions, marches and mobilizations with the purpose of sensitizing and showing the effects and the reality lived in the city with the increase of the tourist activity. Cocola-Gant & Pardo (2004) concludes that in two years of activity, ABTS was able to change some issues: from a public opinion that previously conformed to the policies established by small elites, to a situation where more than half of population wants to limit tourism.

Based on the cases analyzed, we conclude that the impacts suffered by the population can be attenuated and minimized through their civic participation (whether in debates, resistance movements, demonstrations), especially when the attention of the media is drawn and consequently, pressure is created on the agents of governance.

2.3. Host perceptions on tourism impacts

The continued development of tourism as a positive force for the local population depends on the response, involvement and support of local people.(Liu and Wall, 2006). It is in this context that it becomes important to evaluate residents' perception of the activity in order to understand their needs and contribute to a more sustainable and prosperous tourism.

Several authors have tried to define a set of variables that explain the reasons of local population perceptions. Until the 70's, the studies carried out focused only on the perception of tourists in relation to the destination visited. The inevitability that tourism development has an impact, made researchers take into account a local vision, such as perspective and attitudes of residents in relation to tourism. According to Andereck and Vogt (2000) it is the residents who have the last word in the conclusion about which are the acceptable impacts and which are the problematic ones, and to this argument is also added by a great part of the authors that the success of the tourism development depends largely on the support of the local community.

The SET (Social Exchange Theory) is one of the most used research bases in the field of research of the residents' support in relation to tourism. It is based on the principle that an individual will more likely enter into an exchange if the result of that exchange is conducive to positive rewards for the individual and if the costs of that exchange do not exceed their benefits (Ap, 1992). Studies that use this theory seek to relate the relationship between residents' perception of tourism impacts and their support for industry and its development (Nunkoo and Gursoy, 2012).

In this context, local attitudes towards tourism development may be affected by the length of time in the area, its dependence on tourism, the distance from the place of residence to the tourist activity (Garau-Vadell, Gutierrez-Taño and Diaz-Armas, 2016). The importance attributed to the impacts of tourism also varies depending on the level of local involvement and the status of permanent resident or only owner of a second home (Lundberg 2017). Another factor that can influence residents in a position is the economic and political situation. The results of a study by Garau-Vadelll (2016) indicate that an economic downturn causes a significant increase in residents' support for tourism.

While many authors tend to find a cause-and-effect relationship for local population support for tourism, Sharpley (2014), argues that the relationship between residents' perception and attitudes is not linear. That is: although residents may be dissatisfied with certain impacts from tourism activity, they may nonetheless support tourism.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. Case Study: the Mouraria neighborhood

The phenomenon of tourism intensification in Lisbon was initially focused on Baixa, Alfama, Chiado and Belém neighborhoods, and several studies have already been carried out on the changes that have been taking place in these areas. It is pertinent to continue these studies, focusing on the surrounding areas, which have suffered more and more changes with the increase in tourist activity and its spread through the city, during the last years. It is in this context that Mouraria was chosen as a case study.

Located on the north side of Castle's hill, born at the same time as the city of Lisbon, the district of Mouraria owes its name due to the Moors who inhabited the hill outside the walls after its reconquest by D. Afonso Henriques in 1143. In the middle of the XXI century it has a status of Lisbon's multicultural neighborhood and is distinguished from the rest of the surrounding historical districts by several factors that give it the status of historical nucleus with its own identity.

This area is in the actual parish of Santa Maria Maior, that before 2015, was divided into several parishes. It was taken as a basis for the study area delimitation, the old parish councils of Socorro and S. Cristóvão and S. Lourenço (

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Figure 3.1 - Physical delimitation of Mouraria neighborhood – old parishes of Socorro and S. Cristóvão e S. Lourenço.

3.2. Variables in research

With the objective of analyzing socio-urban changes resulting from the growth of tourism in Mouraria, and considering the bibliographic review, variables were selected to be analyzed in this study. These variables are presented in (**Error! Reference source not found.**) , according to the theme where they are inserted, their purpose in this work and the information sources that will be used.

3.3. Data collection

The analysis will be supported by documental research, quantitative data analysis; and through field visits, which include interviews with local authorities, population surveys and direct observation of the study site. In order to analyze the characterizing aspects of the resident population in the neighborhood and their demographic dynamics based on a quantitative analysis.

The urban changes will be analyzed based on the aspects related to the urban concept of the study area: from the buildings, the public space, rehabilitation to the tourist use and dynamics of the real estate market.

For the analysis of the intervention of the public administration in this panorama of change is consulted legislation, in order to understand the measures applied by the executive entities.

The perception of the local community regarding the growth of tourism is mainly based on the surveys carried out on the population (residents and merchants) and on an interview with the Community Ombudsman of Mouraria. The results were presented in four groups of questions: 1) The general perception of the inquiry, 2) the perception of the impacts of tourism, 3) the perception about the neighborhood and 4) the perception about the presence of entities with the population.

General objectives of the questionnaire: to know the perception of the local population in relation to the tourist activity, know the perception of the local population in relation to the neighborhood and to know the population's perception regarding the intervention of local and local power.

The interview with the Mouraria Community Mediator (MCM) ranks transversally across all variables studied and this figure presence shows to be a differentiator factor from the other historical neighborhoods. This entity contacts directly with several important groups of people relevant to this study: tourists, residents, associates and governors (Associação Renovar a Mouraria (ARM) and Parish Council of Santa Maria Maior (JFSMM)). In this context, the mediator became a key person in this dissertation.

The MCM interview is made, with the following general objectives: understand the role of the community mediator, design an overview of tourism in the neighborhood (when did the tourism growth began, activities in the neighborhood and tourism impacts) and to know what is the position and prospects of the mediator in relation to the tourism sector.

Table 3.1 - VARIABLES SYNTESIS.

THEME	VARIABLES	GOAL	SOURCE
Demographic Dynamics	Population evolution (since 1960)	To know the evolution of the population to understand the development of the study area over the last years	Instituto Nacional de Estatística (INE), electoral censuses, and direct observation
	Nationality/ Country of origin (1981,2011)	To know and situate in time the ethnic and social flows of the occupation of the historical quarter	Instituto Nacional de Estatística (INE)
	Age	Understand if we are facing a reality of a population older or younger	Instituto Nacional de Estatística (INE)
	Education	To know the education level of the population	Instituto Nacional de Estatística (INE)
Urbanistic Dynamics	Houses occupation	Know the number of occupied / vacant houses and the type of occupation.	Instituto Nacional de Estatística (INE)
	Evolution of building's state of conservation	Understand the level of degradation of the building over time.	Instituto Nacional de Estatística (INE)
	Rehabilitation of buildings (permit of work and license of occupation of public highway)	To know the rehabilitation dynamics of the edified neighborhood.	Câmara Municipal de Lisboa (CML), Instituto Nacional de Estatística (INE) and direct observation
	Rehabilitation of public space	Analyze the dynamics of interventions in the public space.	CML
	Tourism (accommodation, activities and merchants offering)	To know the dynamics of the offer of activities and tourist accommodation in the study area.	Registo Nacional de Turismo, Registo Nacional de Alojamento Local, direct observation
	Evolution and comparison of the real estate market prices	Knowing how the real estate market price of the study area has evolved over time.	Sistema de Informação Residencial (SIR)
Intervention of governing entities and associations	Public policies with impacts on the growth of tourism and urban rehabilitation	Know the national policies of recent years that have influenced the growth of tourism and urban rehabilitation.	Legislation (DR)
	Local interventions (municipal and parish council)	To analyze the interventions and municipal laws applied in the study area with impact on the level of tourism activity and socio-urban changes in the study area.	Legislation, documental analysis of CML and Junta de Freguesia de Santa Maria Maior, interviews with residentes.
	Local groups interventions and initiatives	Analyze the position of local groups and associations on issues related to tourism, as well as their influence on tourism.	Documental analysis of CML, of Associação Renovar a Mouraria, interviews with residents and local associations
Perception of local population on tourism growth	Perception of the local community regarding the impacts of tourism and the neighborhood	Analyze the opinion of residents regarding tourism in the neighborhood and focus on the main issues to improve	Survey to local population
	Level of interaction between tourists and resident population	Analyze the type of relationship between visitor / visitor, reciprocity of experiences, creation of new jobs ...	Interview with Mouraria Community Mediator and survey to local population
	Satisfaction of the population with the growth of tourist activity	Understand the receptivity and level of satisfaction on the part of the inhabitants regarding the tourist activity	Interview with Mouraria Community Mediator and survey to local population
	Perception of the population about the intervention of the nearest entities	Understand the perception and evaluation of the population regarding the intervention of the closest entities	Interview with Mouraria Community Mediator and survey to local population and direct observation

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Socio Urbanistic dynamics in Mouraria

The estimated population for 2017 is 3189 inhabitants, which represents a decrease of 27% in 8 years.
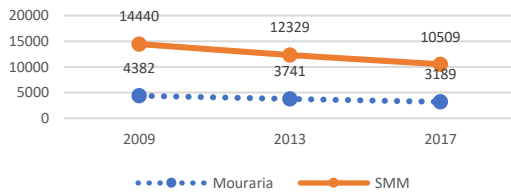

Figure 4.1 - Evolution of the population, based on the electoral censuses, between 2009 and 2017

Mouraria is distinguished by the percentage of foreign that is almost 25% and consists predominantly of Asians and Africans.

According to the INE (2011), in Mouraria, 62.8% of the classic family dwellings are occupied as usual residence, 11.8% with seasonal use and 25.4% are vacant. The same happens in the others historical center neighborhoods, and it is worth to highlight the discrepancy in the number of vacant rooms when it's compared to Lisbon and its metropolitan area. Of the vacant dwellings, the district presents the greater percentage of the historical center destined to lease (46,4%).

Greater part of the neighborhood's buildings (45.5%) was built until 1919, and consequently, along with other neighborhoods in the historical center, in 2011, Mouraria presented many buildings in need of major repairs. However, due to the higher population density and lower number of abandoned buildings, the degradation was lower when compared to, for example, surrounding areas such as Baixa and Alfama.

The evolution of the state of conservation of the building is an undeniable effect of the increase of the tourist demand in the historical centers. The inhabitants themselves report the change with pride: "Our little house is prettier." Entire buildings have been rehabilitated in recent years, many are passing through this process of rehabilitation, and according to interviews conducted during field visits, this number is expected to continue increasing. The presence of rehabilitation focuses in specific places is remarkable. According to the observed, this is related to a better accessibility or to the dwelling's larger dimensions.

Regarding urban rehabilitation, and according to data provided by CML, there has been a steady increase during the last decade of permits for construction works in Mouraria.

Throughout the history of Mouraria, the public space was an important element of social cohesion, widely used and enjoyed, both by its residents and by passers-by. According to INE, in 2012, only 6% of the neighborhood had good accessibility. This made public intervention in this area urgent and carried out an improvement operation with the aim of revitalizing the urban and social fabric.

"There was not the beauty that there is today, the streets were crooked, full of ups and downs, they were dirty, there were no garden benches, there was not a garden for people to rest, there was drug trafficking in several sites "- Mouraria Community Mediator

Figure 4.2 - Construction works permits issued between 2004 and 2018 for works of Mouraria (CML, 2019)

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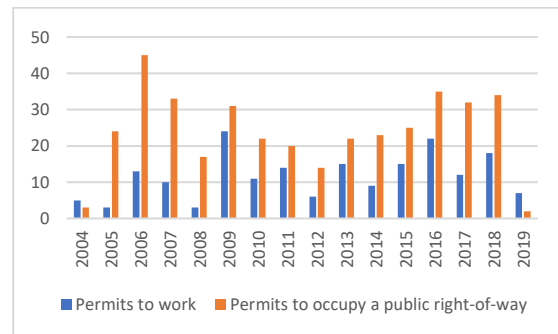
This operation included the improvement of the streets, improvement of infrastructures and insertion of new urban elements (garden benches, trees and dwelling spaces). More recently, some treadmills integrated in a General Plan for Soft Accesses and Assisted to Castle Hill were also installed. Interventions were also carried out with the purpose of exalting the culture of the neighborhood, evoking and valuing their cultural assets, such as fado. In the cultural and social context, the Mouraria Innovation Center was also inaugurated in a multifunctional building in the Lagares Quarter.

Despite the improvements that have been happening in the neighborhood at the urban level, there are some problems that have been developing and intensifying. Regarding tram 28, its use has been harassed by the tourist use.

Since 2011, due to the renovation process, Mouraria presents an exponential growth of visitors every year. Analyzing the flow of tourists, we understand that the neighborhood has an important role as a crossing area and as a link between Baixa neighborhood and the Castle.

Analyzing historical center main cultural facilities, we perceive that these are located on the boundary or outside the study area, this lack of interest points can be a possible explanation for the fact that the neighborhood is not full of

tourists as, for example, Alfama. The lack of cultural facilities contrasts with accommodation offer for tourists, with a high percentage in the city center and in Mouraria. Located in a central location, close to the main attractions and offering accommodation at economically more affordable prices than other neighborhoods in the same conditions, it becomes highly competitive as a place to stay overnight.

The number of short-term rentals (STR) registers began to grow exponentially throughout the city from 2014, presenting in 2017 10 times higher number of STR registered than 3 years before. For this, also contributed the law that makes it mandatory to make visible the registration number on the online booking platforms. According to the analysis carried out, it was verified that the growth of annual STR is, with exception of 2013, always higher than the parish and municipality where Mouraria belongs (*Table 4.1*).

Table 4.1 - Annual evolution of short-term rentals (number and percentage), in Mouraria, SMM parish and Municipality of Lisbon (RNAL, 2019)

	Mouraria		SMM parish		Lisbon county	
2011	7	**75.0%**	43	**26.5%**	137	**28.0%**
2012	14	**100.0%**	85	**97.7%**	227	**65.7%**
2013	17	**21.4%**	128	**50.6%**	420	**85.0%**
2014	51	**200.0%**	371	**189.8%**	1077	**156.4%**
2015	153	**200.0%**	1002	**170.1%**	3213	**198.3%**
2016	321	**109.8%**	1761	**75.7%**	6367	**98.2%**
2017	538	**67.6%**	S/D	**S/D**	10655	**67.3%**
2018	964	**79.2%**	S/D	**S/D**	14461	**35.7%**

In this context of change, the historical center of Lisbon, more specifically the Mouraria neighborhood, showed even more fragility towards the real estate market due to several factors as: the elder population, most dwellings were leased, market values lower than similar neighborhoods (such as Alfama and Baixa) and buildings high level of degradation.

The growth of tourism activity, accompanied by the strong presence of STR that has been verified in Mouraria, directly affected the residential activity. Greater part of the neighborhood dwellings, which was mostly for rent, became short-term rentals for tourists. The tourist lodging current capacity in the neighborhood is 37% superior to the estimated resident population.

The neighborhood was induced to a process of gentrification, as Mendes (2014) said, leading to a social substitution. In this case, since the residents are replaced by infrastructure to support tourist activity, such as accommodation and tourist shops, we are faced with what Gotham (2005) calls tourism gentrification.

Figure 4.3 - Price index in the historical center of Lisbon (2012=100). (Source: Confidencial Imobiliário SIR-RU (March 2017)).

The new wave of STR and urban rehabilitation revitalized a historical neighborhood that had long been marginalized

and stigmatized, making it renewed and attractive to new residents, this agrees with Swarbrooke (2000) and Law (1992) studies. Because of this quick revitalization process, improvements in the image of the neighborhood, building, accessibility and commitment to emphasizing its cultural aspects are evident.

4.2. Intervention of public administration and collectivities

Public administration, that previously focused on financing measures, subsidies and support for the rehabilitation of buildings, has in recent years acquired a more neoliberal strategy, essentially aimed at measures to attract investment, tax benefits to private individuals and to the rehabilitation of public space. This way of acting alleviates the financial load of public finances in the building rehabilitation.

In the 1970s, in a time of great demand for the housing stock, and with the purpose of extending public power in rehabilitation operations in the historical center of the cities, the Law of Soils (Law-Decree 794/76) was published. This policy of froze housing rents and caused old leaseholds to continue without price increases until recently. In 2012, the NRAU (New Urban Lease Scheme) ended with a large part of these old lease agreements with the aim of boosting the market. This measure, coupled with a strategy to encourage urban rehabilitation, which was considered an objective of the city's Master Plan, had immediate results. According to the JLL Real Estate Market Report (2013), 2013 was the year in which urban rehabilitation, through economic improvements, has returned to attracting investors, who were captivated by measures such as Residence Permit for Investment Activity (ARI) , commonly known as gold visas and by the new Urban Lease Scheme (NRAU).

Much of this rehabilitated building entered directly into the tourist market as STR. This concept of STR, which appeared in the last decade, responded to the needs created by the increase of tourism in the city, initially in a deregulated way. Its first appearance in Portuguese legislation dates to 2008, created by Law-Decree no. 39/2008, of March 7, to regulate the provision of temporary accommodation services in establishments that do not meet the legally required requirements to qualify as tourism enterprises. The purpose of this regulation was to give legal coverage to a "phenomenon" in order to avoid closures and the negative consequences that this might entail.

The residual nature of the phenomenon in 2008 had an exponential increase after its regulation, leading to the creation in 2014 of a legal frames and to the recognition of its tourist relevance. The STR started to be regulated by DL 128/2014, later changed by DL 63 / 2015.

After a scenario that favored the opening of STR, on June 30, 2017, the government implemented the "Simpler Touristic Licensing" measure, facilitating the opening process and reducing the time of analysis of the new tourist business processes. However, there is still a large legal discrepancy between the two types of touristic accommodation (STR and tourism enterprises). Decree-Law No. 80/2017 was also aimed at monitoring the numbers of STR, which were still largely illegal. More specifically, it aims to apply penalties to

digital platforms and owners who do not present the STR registration number in their ads. This measure proved to be effective and in that same year almost double the number of registrations.

In addition to the fact that there are practically no requirements and little supervision for STR, they only need to make a registration by filling out an online form, and in a few days a registration number is issued to the owner in order to open the property. It is possible to find records with serious inconsistencies, which show that there is no inspection of the records.

The Law no. 62/2018, of August 22, modified the authorization system for the operation of Local Accommodation (LA) establishments, giving new powers to municipal administration, to preserve the social reality of neighborhoods and places. The municipalities can set rules for the installation and limited taxes to the number of STR establishments per parish in whole or in part, being able to consider percentage limits in relation to the real estate available for housing. It was also established in this strategic sense, on May 2, objectives and instruments of action for a New Generation of Housing Policies (NGPN). This plan focuses on two main objectives: ensuring access to adequate housing for all and creating conditions for the urban rehabilitation and built-up areas to become predominant forms of intervention. The urban revitalization of Mouraria, which took place in the last decade, is due in large part to the initiative to the CML and its rehabilitation programs for the historical area. The recently revitalized and most attractive neighborhood passes through speculation time that leads to several scenarios of vacating the residents to give rise to STR. Since the end of 2018, the Lisbon county has been delegated the power to monitor and control STR in the city, which is responsible for minimizing the repercussions that this has caused, namely the lack of access to housing. At the beginning of this decade, and before the tourist boom, the existing form of governance lacked housing support and saw the city as a resource.

In this context of change, and with the appearance of numerous social impacts that shook the most fragile population in the historic center, the action of social movements and collectivities played an important role in the discussion of the impacts caused. Several social movements emerged during this process of tourism gentrification in Mouraria. In addition to Movimento Morar em Lisboa (Live in Lisbon Movement), formed in 2017, with several initiatives aimed at fighting and discussing the right to housing, in the same year, the Mouraria's Residents Commission emerged and called for the union of residents to fight for the same goal. Several initiatives have appeared in order to alert, protest, press and collaborate with public management bodies in order to minimize the negative repercussions of tourism. It is noteworthy that the meeting of the resident population with associations, movements, researchers, students and public entities, made Mouraria a place for discussion and ideas exchange regarding the problem. Allied to the fact that real estate inflation spread to the rest of the city and the country with the snowball effect, social movements pressured the government forces to alert them to the difficulties experienced in access to housing. However, it is difficult to assess community

participation in public management: it is not yet possible to know whether this movement will achieve its results, or whether it will only slow down and decrease the scale of gentrification dynamics, as mentioned in Gaffney (2016) study.

In this way, measures were applied to fill the flaws as they arose, in response to the associative movements, demonstrations and reports that occupied all media. The delegation of powers, from tourism governance, from central (government) to local and regional (Lisbon County and SMM Parish), is in line with the one suggested by Hall (2011), and typologically classifies current tourism governance as a network. Based on the idea that the impacts of tourism vary from place to place, this type of power distribution allows more adapted control and planning to each specific place.

4.3. Perception of local population on tourism growth (survey)

The population's support for tourism was verified when it was classified by the vast majority as a positive overall. There was in total less than 18% to consider tourism as negative or indifferent. According to perceived negative impacts, the fact, quoted by Garau-Vadell (2016), that a scenario of economic recession causes the growth of tourism support, may explain this more permissive view of the localities. However, this fact also fits into Sharpley's (2014) theory, which asserts that residents' perceptions and attitudes are not linear, that is, even discontented, residents can nonetheless support tourism.

Among residents and merchants, the discrepancy in responses is small, with a slightly higher proportion of residents, compared to merchants, who see tourism as positive. According to age groups, opinions are more divergent. The respondents with less than 18 years of age, who were unanimously optimistic, and the age group between 40 and 65 years old, who were the least optimistic, and only 67.75% had a positive choice.

In analyzing the results, we can generically affirm that the growth of tourism in Mouraria causes in the perception of the population positive economic and social impacts and negative urban and social impacts.
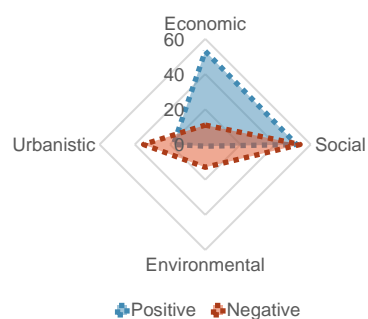

Figure 4.4 - Impacts perceived by the population surveyed according to the dimensions of the indicators.

Regarding positive impacts of tourism in the neighborhood, the word economy was highlighted, and even the most used. More than two-thirds of the respondents put the economic benefits at the top of perceived positive impacts. In this

context, the community mediator explains that there have been several economic improvements brought about by STR, where many people have had "work", unemployment has decreased significantly, however, many of the services prove to be precarious because they are illegally paid. The social impacts were then highlighted, including the development of culture, dynamism and the dissemination of local and local culture, that was emphasized due to an exhaustive mention of the population. This shows us receptivity and willingness to make the place known to visitors.

> "The inhabitants like the tourists here to come, because it gives them a perspective that the neighborhood is now already appreciated contrary to what used to happen before" - Mouraria Community Mediator

Improvements at the urban level are also mentioned, mainly using expressions related to dynamism. Only three of the respondents mentioned the rehabilitation of the building as a positive impact of tourism. "
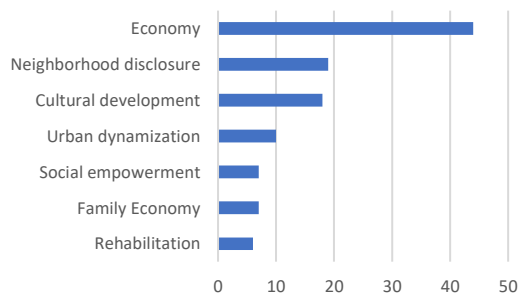

Figure 4.5 - Most mentioned positive perceived impacts.

Regarding the negative impacts, the most mentioned by the local population was a lack of respect on the part of the tourists, then the excess of accommodation and tourism and the lack of residents and housing are mentioned with frequent frequency The bottom of the table was reserved for environmental issues such as garbage and noise, accompanied by tourism inflation.

> "On the other hand, they do not like it so much, because the tourists occupy the spaces and invade everything, sit in the restaurants where there was a vacancy for them and now there is no longer, they cause prices of things to increase" - Mouraria Community Mediator
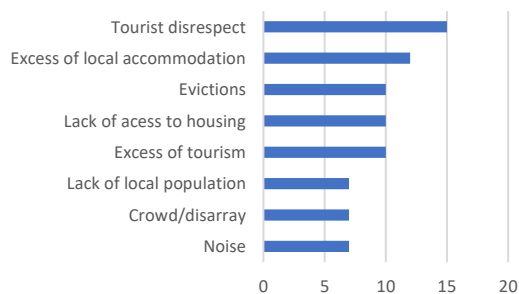

Figure 4.6 - Most mentioned negative perceived impacts.

When questioned about the positive aspects of Mouraria, the respondents showed that the population of the neighborhood itself is an important and agglutinating factor.

Words such as "mutual aid", "socializing" and "neighborhood" were largely mentioned in this issue. The process of urban rehabilitation that has been happening recently and strong identity factors of the neighborhood: the neighborhood, affection in relation to the territory studied, and the local culture, factors linked to the local tradition such as fado and popular marches. The security, multiculturalism and local economy were also cited, albeit on a smaller scale. Concerning tourism, there were only two people who indicated this activity as beneficial.

Regarding negative aspects of the neighborhood, the lack of population is the most mentioned point, followed by the excess of tourist accommodations. Drug trafficking and consumption is the third most mentioned topic where characteristics related to the increase in tourism are also mentioned, such as: real estate inflation, excessive tourism, lack of housing and lack of cleanliness.

It is worth noting the conflict between the most mentioned aspects of the neighborhood, the population/neighborhood as the most mentioned positive aspect, and the lack of population/evictions as the negative. As described previously, this population decrease, directly caused by the increase of tourism, can refer to a possible crisis of social identity in Mouraria.

The number of blank responses regarding the presence of entities with the population, due to lack of knowledge or personal disinterest, it is worth noting that the immigrant community is less involved in the discussion about policies of right to the city. The two Mourarias do not necessarily oppose each other, but while longtime residents favor traditions, fado and popular marches, the immigrant community emphasizes the multiculturality of the place.

When questioned about the positive and negative aspects of the neighborhood, it was remarkable the indication of characteristics related to the increase of tourism in the negative aspects. In the positive aspects of Mouraria the local population and traditions stood out.

In this context of social and urban complexity, the role of Community Mediator is a key element and differentiator of the remaining districts of the historical center.

> "I am a problem maker ... when I go out on the street, my role is to bring problems (for the Parish Council)" - Mouraria Community Mediator

The bridging link between population, association and local administration, together with a quick reaction and action against the impacts, makes it easier to articulate tourism activity with the territorial nature of the neighborhood (Ruhanen, 2013).

5. CONCLUSION

The exponential growth of tourism in the last decades makes this one of the main current economic activities, generating a greater circulation of money and decisively contributing to the economy of the tourist destinations. According to forecasts for the future, the sector is expected to continue to increase, but this growth cannot be quantified.

In the sociocultural context, interaction benefits between different cultures is highlighted. The demand for the neighborhood allowed to develop a greater sense of pride and resident's appreciation in the local community. Regarding the situations of displacement and feeling of exclusion, felt by the residents, it fostered the development of the community sense.

In the urban context, several scars were made in Mouraria. The change of use of the building, caused by the high growth of the offer of accommodation for tourists, led to some of the houses being removed from the housing market. In addition there are other urban impacts, such as overcrowding of transport, pedestrian congestion, urban landscape modification, noise and increased waste. In contrast, tourism boosted the rehabilitation market, which meant that much of the building was conserved and rehabilitated.. After many attempts at revitalization, the Mouraria stigmatized and seen as a place to avoid, has now, driven by the tourism sector, become a dynamic neighborhood full of events, and visitors.

The policies adopted by the state proved to be great drivers of the new dynamics of the neighborhood. In the case of urban rehabilitation, which coupled with the strategy of attracting private investment (golden visas and non-habitual residents' regime), has become profitable, due to the fact that it is fed by an expanding tourism sector. However, the failures and overcrowding of some infrastructures, especially in historical centers, have shown the lack of forecasting and planning of public management. The measures to boost tourism, economy and rehabilitation should have been parallel to a plan for the management and monitoring of its impacts, as well as the intervention of the government entities, in response to the manifestations of displeasure of the population and researchers, that turned out to be late. Decentralization of powers, such as what happened in the management of STR (which went from central to municipal management), proves to be a good strategy to accelerate the resolution of the social and urban problems, which are thus debated and treated with greater proximity to the population. It is in this context of proximity that the Mouraria's Mediator acquires a role of extreme importance: to minimize the distance between the governing entities and the local population, thus making the action process faster and more efficient. Being a long-term resident, having extensive knowledge of the place and having the residents trust, are key factors in the mediator role. This figure could be a strategy to minimize similar impacts in other historical neighborhoods, but it is important to have this level of proximity to the local population.

Simultaneously, the most vulnerable population that faced the problem of access to housing and multiple eviction situations met to find solutions to the social problem that affected the neighborhood. Born in a moment of social crisis, along with several movements fighting for the right to the city, the Mouraria Residents Commission, which, with the support of various entities, takes its voice and opinion to the management entities (municipal and central) to be heard. In this awareness process about these issues and public participation, residents of the neighborhood had the support of researchers, associations, collectivities and even

government personalities, gaining more credibility and agility. This participation of the population in the governance process has proved to be essential for the diagnosis, strategy and planning of a quality action plan that enables the reduction of the negative impacts of tourism.

The perception of the population (residents and merchants) regarding the impacts of tourism reflects the reality of the dynamics of previous years. The factors most valued relative to the neighborhood (population, neighborhood, traditions) are precisely those most affected by the repercussions of tourism growth. In this way the Mouraria could enter into an identity crisis, and consequently, its intangible heritage would be put at risk. In addition to the economic benefits, the population, which has always felt a stigma related to the neighborhood, sees in tourism an opportunity to improve their conditions and share the identity pride they feel about Mouraria as a traditional neighborhood. As confirmed by the Mediator, there is a climate of insecurity among residents about their stay in the neighborhood, and more worryingly about access to housing. However, residents, especially those of long standing, show a high affection with the place, and do not reveal intentions of wanting to leave.

In general, the population has shown support by the tourism sector, getting involved and considering tourism as something positive. It was possible, however, to analyze some cases of aversion and apathy, which may in the future proliferate if the negative impacts persist.

FINAL SYNTHESIS

It is in the political interest to manage sustainable tourism, which maintains a balanced and socially diverse city. It is in the interest of the local population to preserve a cultural identity and intangible heritage. It is also in the interest of tourists to realize an authentic experience, where they feel the singularity of the place visited.

For the development of a balanced tourism sector with potential it is fundamental to minimize the conflicts that result from the clash between tourism and residential activity. Given that tourism in the center of Lisbon continues to grow, in parallel with the revenues from this, it is now a priority to minimize the impact on residents and create all the conditions for the sector to continue having support and involvement of the local people.

Regarding this context, issues such as the creation of a basic law on housing, incentives for long-term lease and control of the local housing phenomenon have become the most debated issues of the governments and municipalities of the great Portuguese cities. Briefly, it is expected that the negative repercussions caused by tourism in the historic center of Mouraria will be minimized in a process of constant mutation and regeneration of the city.

In the future, it will be possible to analyze more empirically all the changes that have been taking place in the last decade. The 2021 censuses will be the starting point to make the social and urban balance that the exponential growth of tourism had in the historical centers, more precisely in Mouraria.

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