Do not cross the line:

planning the limits of tourism in Barcelona

No crucen la línea: planificación de los límites del turismo en Barcelona

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Abstract

More than 20 plans were rolled out in Barcelona from 2010 to 2019, some of which have had a direct impact on tourism. The new strategic planning approach proposes new governance methods while testing new methods of preparing and developing such plans; as far as tourism planning is concerned, the plans assume that tourism is one of the central axes of urban identity, so that, in order to maintain this identity, it is necessary to limit tourist activity. The new strategic and tourism plans rolled out over the last decade have also contributed to the creation of new urban and tourism narratives. This article analyzes the tourism and city plans of Barcelona developed between 2010 and 2019, focusing on the strategic character that is attributed to tourism, its configurative potential of the city and its management needs.

Key words: tourism planning; Barcelona; identity; territory; management.

Resumen

Durante el período 2010—2019 se llevan a cabo más de 20 planes en la ciudad de Barcelona, algunos de los cuales con una afectación directamente turística. La nueva planificación estratégica propone nuevos métodos de gobernanza al mismo tiempo que ensaya nuevos métodos de elaboración y desarrollo; en cuanto a la planificación turística, los planes asumen que la condición turística es uno de los ejes centrales de la identidad urbana, de modo que, para mantener dicha identidad, es necesario limitar la actividad turística. La nueva planificación estratégica y turística llevada a cabo durante el último decenio también contribuye a la creación de nuevas narrativas urbanas y turísticas. El artículo analiza los planes de turismo y de ciudad realizados entre 2010 y 2019 fijándose en el carácter estratégico que se atribuye al turismo, su potencial configurador de la ciudad y sus necesidades de gestión.

Palabras clave: planificación turística; Barcelona; identidad; territorio; gestión.

1 Introduction

Unlike the main European cities, Barcelona's tourism has not been the result of slow growth over the last century. Although the beginnings of tourism in the city indeed date back to the distant past (Palou, 2012), tourism as we know it burst into the city after the Olympic Games. In 1990, the number of tourists arriving at the city was 1.7 million (mostly professional tourism). However, in 2000 this figure was 3.1 million and in 2010 7.1 million. Over these two decades, the tourism model was integrated into Barcelona's overall project, based both on attracting key sectors

(logistics, biomedical sector, knowledge society) and on strengthening the Barcelona brand (López Palomeque, 2015; Zerva, Palou, Blasco & Donaire, 2019).

The first symptoms of problems associated with the adaptation of the current tourism model were detected after the Universal Forum of Cultures in 2004 and the economic crisis in 2007. However, Turisme de Barcelona (a mixed body made up of the public administration and companies of the tourism sector) maintained an approach based on the growth of activity, the attraction of investments, the diversification of the product and the consolidation of the Barcelona brand in the international market (Zerva et al., 2019). The second decade of this century highlighted the tensions arising from the growth of tourism in the city (access to housing, congestion, loss of the traditional commercial fabric, etc.), which coincides with a more general process in the main European tourist cities (Colomb & Novy, 2018). During this decade, plans for the city of Barcelona have required an adaptation of the official approach and the proposal of an alternative, based not only on containing the impacts of tourism, but also on reformulating the identity of the city and the urban project. This article presents the planning narratives (tourism and general) of Barcelona for the 2010−2019 period, analysing the general goals of the different plans and, in particular, those associated with the city's tourism dimension.

The article analyzes the main strategies designed within the framework of each plan and its capacity not only to transform reality, but also to construct a tourist and city story. For more than a decade, we have been witnessing a diversification of the discourses about the Barcelona, and in this sense strategic planning contributes to the modulation and creation of stories about the city and tourism. The different tourism and city plans that are developed during the studied period do not appear as a direct reaction to critical discourses regarding tourism, but as a response to the needs of a sector and a changing metropolis. The complexity of tourism dynamics requires the administration to rethink and establish strategies and actions for the incardination of tourism within the city life. Likewise, in the last decade we have seen how social and neighborhood movements have incorporated the discussion of the tourism model as an important axis of their claims, while increasing their presence and incidence in tourist and city planning spaces.

2   New tourism planning approaches

Tourism planning approaches have been a key instrument in the development of destinations during the various phases of their life cycle: It has stimulated the attraction of investment and capital, as well as the incorporation of the destination in international markets during the initial phases; it has designed strategies to boost demand, increase the number of overnight stays or

tourist expenditure, by capturing new markets and consolidating existing ones, as well as product diversification, during the growth phase; it has proposed mechanisms for redefining stagnant destinations, either through the creation of new products or the redefinition of the destination strategy; and, in some cases, has proposed renewal formulas for destinations in clear recession (Getz 1992; Hall 2008). In essence, the plans have been instruments at the service of the tourism activity, in which the public administration has proposed an optimisation of the profits from tourism and has tried to prevent the problems created by tourism in the environmental, economic or social spheres. For example, Donaire & Mundet (2001) studied the reconversion strategies of Catalan tourist municipalities in the 1990s, based on five categories: quality, residentialism, sustainability, local events and thematisation.

However, the scenario has changed over the past two decades. Dianne Dredge and Tazim Jamal (2015) offer an interpretation of how tourist destination planning and management approaches have changed, based on a post-structuralist vision. In essence, the authors identify a series of models or logical approaches, which are inherent to the various forms of tourism planning, which can be summarised as follows.

- A very significant portion of the plans is based on a rational, scientific interpretation, which proposes ideal management models, based on values of tourism propounded by Weber and Taylor: a series of stages, until the optimum state is reached. Along these lines, the life cycle concept by Butler (1980) and the work by Getz (1986) have had a huge influence. In some cases, the plans focus on economic concepts and try to optimise tourism using different tools, such as cost-benefit, the multiplier effect, satellite accounts or input-output tables (Andriotis, 2001; Hovinen, 2002).

- A second set of analyses on tourism planning focused on the role of the various actors involved in tourism and the complex relationships between them (Beaumont & Dredge, 2008; Moscardo, 2011). In this regard, institutional theories and the debate on governance are becoming increasingly important. Moreover, relationship models promote collaboration between agents to obtain certain results.

- Critical analyses have appeared in the first decade of this century, based on a post-modern interpretation of the effects of tourism, which define winners and losers in tourism plans and how these plans reflect the logics of power and competing interests between the various agents. The critical analysis has also assessed the forms of response and reaction of those 'negatively affected' by tourism, beyond institutional environments, such as the work of Nofre et al. (2017) on the relationship between planning and night life in Barceloneta.

- More recently, tourism policy analysis has revolved around the redefinition of values and new objectives that depart from the traditional cost-benefit scheme. Thus, the analysis attempts to incorporate environmental, social and cultural issues and their relationship with tourism dynamics. This has led to the reformulation of the indicators and the evaluation of the plans, introducing other elements, such as sustainable planning, levels of competitiveness or the ecological resilience of the destinations (Dredge & Jamal, 2015).

- Finally, in recent years, new dynamics have appeared related to concepts of post-structuralism, such as mobility (rather than tourism), liquid modernity or the complexity of public policies (Seetaram, 2012; Nunkoo & Smith, 2013). This line has also affected the work methods proposed in tourism planning, which focus on reflective practice and proposals for co-production of planning knowledge and policy knowledge.

Thus, tourism planning since the turn of the century has incorporated new approaches that depart from the traditional models, essentially aimed at increasing tourism activity. For example, Jamal and Camargo (2014) propose the introduction of values and ethical principles in destination management; Connell, Page and Bentley (2008) review the effects of sustainable planning in New Zealand; Almeida, Costa and Nues da Silva (2017) propose conflict analysis in the spatial planning of tourism; or Hatipoglu, Álvarez and Ertuna (2017) reflect on the barriers that certain agents have in participation processes oriented towards tourism planning in Turkey's Traquean region. Moreover, Saarinen and Gill (2018) have studied the way destinations are resilient when faced with the pressures of tourism.

In Spain, Ivars (2004) identified four major forms of tourism planning, following the Getz model (1986). Many of the tourism plans have followed a logic of boosterism, based on an uncritical vision of the effects of tourism and on proposals solely aimed at attracting visitors and increasing the levels of activity. Another set of plans has been guided by an economic approach, which emphasises the contributions of tourism to employment, the development of support sectors or foreign exchange, over and above the environmental and social costs. Under the influence of urban development and geography, the physical and spatial approach incorporates the territorial dimension and proposes a rational use of space. Finally, the community-oriented approach takes into account governance and participatory processes, which incorporates the social dimension. Ivars (2004) shows how planning in Spain has incorporated new dimensions over time (economic, territorial and environmental), while at the same time shifting the centre of gravity of decisions from the national scale to the regional scale. In addition to tourism plans, tourism management is influenced by other types of plans. These plans operate at all scales, but are especially relevant at

the urban level: landscape plans, mobility and access planning, development plans or urban planning. As it will be seen further on in the case of Barcelona, tourism planning is the sum of tourism-oriented sector plans as well as other plans that partially or totally affect tourism activity. On the local scale, tourism planning in Spain varies according to the degree of development of the tourist activity and the tourist typology of urban spaces. For example, de la Calle and García (2016) identify new strategies in tourism planning in monumental cities, such as smart destinations, new marketing strategies, commercialization of complementary products or the first signs of saturation of tourist spaces. In the case of the old district of San Sebastián, de la Calle et al. (2017) confirm a loss of urban quality, excessive tourist specialization, an expulsion of residential uses and a growing urban tension.

At the various scales of planning, plans are not purely a management tool. In fact, as Lai, Li and Feng (2006) show for China, there is a notable gap between planning and implementation. Plans are not always the guide for the actions and strategies that will be carried out, because they are often not complied with, either because of the weakness of the plan or because of changes in the initial conditions. However, the plans are a good indicator of the territorial project. Halfway between what is ideal and what is possible, the plans reveal what territorial identity the public administration wants to build. At the urban scale, the plans reveal the actual city project, which agents have a greater importance in its design and what the priorities are in the balancing of tensions between impacts and opportunities. From 2010 to 2019, Barcelona approved two strategic tourism plans, several special plans related to tourism uses, as well as several dozen sector plans, directly or indirectly affected by tourism. We could say that the city has reconsidered its approach during this period and has projected the actual urban project and how the city needs to relate to tourism to materialise this project.

In the case of Barcelona, during the 2010-2019 decade, the tensions of tourism have been intensifying, both because of the extension of the phenomenon to new urban spaces and because of the emergence of new forms of marketing of tourist activities, based on sharing platforms, especially Airbnb. It is also a period with three different government teams. At the beginning of the decade, the city was still governed by a coalition led by a mayor from the Socialist party, which had been in office in the City Council since beginnings of democracy; in 2011, a mayor from the nationalist coalition, which also governed in the region of Catalonia, came into office for the first time, a centre-right economic liberal with a relatively business-friendly approach. And in 2015, the new mayor was Ada Colau, a popular left-wing leader who based a significant part of her campaign on housing policy and the rejection of the effects of tourism. It has, therefore, been a

turbulent period in local politics, with highly differentiated city projects, especially in the design of tourism strategies (Russo & Scarnato, 2018). However, as is further on argumented, there is a common thread that sketches out a common background. During this decade, the city abandoned the Barcelona brand project, reinforced by successful tourism development, and tried to formulate an alternative.

3   Assumption of the tourist identity of the city

The Strategic Plan on tourism for the City of Barcelona 2015 (Pla Estratègic de Turisme de la Ciutat de Barcelona, 2015), designed for a five-year period, was developed in 2010. It was the first strategic reflection on the city's tourism that had been developed since the Strategic Plan for the city's tourism development of 1989, which had a marked tone of boosterism. This plan emerged in response to some of the problems that had been detected in previous years, such as concentration, congestion, the relationship between tourists and residents and the loss of traditional commercial fabric in some areas. Therefore, the plan marks a turning point because it requires tackling the impacts of tourism on the city, and proposes a new development model with new management criteria (deconcentration of the activity, new forms of governance, environmental and citizen relationship systems) at the same time as it proposes improving the competitiveness of tourism activity. In any case, the work-life balance measures are not detrimental to the central objective, which is the strengthening the city's tourism activity:

> Barcelona is a successful city and tourist destination that enjoys extensive international recognition and standing and has a very good positioning in source markets. (…) the tourism industry has a major impact on the city's economy and labour market. (…) the desire to preserve this situation and improve on it in terms of quality and competitiveness, coupled with the need to make it suit the city better, while at the same time managing the impacts of tourism within the framework of a new tourism policy for the city (Pla Estratègic de Turisme de la Ciutat de Barcelona, Programa d'actuació, 2010b, p. 21)

The second strategic plan for this period was presented in 2017, with a 2020 horizon. The proposals have had very significant effects on tourism and the axis of the plan connects with the strategies proposed in 2010: The coexistence between tourism activity and the daily life of the city, the new forms of governance, the development of sustainable strategies and the improvement of the connection between the opportunities from tourism and the city project are objectives shared by the two plans. Although in 2017 tensions within tourism increased and an opposition citizen

movement was organised, the narrative axis of the 2017 plan linked up with the previous plan. Both plans assume the need to regulate and limit the growth of tourist activity in the most saturated areas.

There is a very significant element in both plans and it is the central position of tourism within the identity of the contemporary city. The two plans assume that it is no longer possible to imagine the city without the tourist substratum, as tourism has become part of Barcelona's identity. The city is no longer a city with tourists, but a tourist city.

> Barcelona has become a tourist destination city in record time and there are no signs that it will cease to be so in the foreseeable future. Tourism, as has already been pointed out in this process of reflection, cannot be considered an economic activity divorced from the place where it occurs. Tourism is an inherent part of the city (Pla Estratègic de Turisme 2020, Programes d'actuació, 2017c, p. 6).

The confirmation of the tourist identity is also reflected in the various special urban plans. Although the general plan that governs the city is the metropolitan plan designed in the mid 1970s at the supra-municipal scale, the city council has systematically used various urban planning figures to classify specific spaces of the urban geography and influence aspects such as mobility, uses, protection of heritage, etc. The Plan of Ciutat Vella (Pla de Ciutat Vella) was approved in 2010, the fourth city plan in only 18 years. A new special plan (Pla Especial d'Establiments de Concurrència Pública, Hoteleria i altres activitats de Ciutat Vella) was adopted in 2018, highlighting the difficulties of the regulatory system in adapting to a context of constant change. Both plans regulate the uses of buildings in the city's central district, the historic centre in which much of the tourist activity is concentrated. Also, the main goal of both plans is to regulate tourist uses.

In 2017, one of the most important management tools of this decade, the Special Urbanistic Plan for Tourism Accommodation (Pla Especial Urbanístic d'Allotjaments Turístics, PEUAT), was also approved. This use plan regulates the various forms of tourist accommodation in the city and proposes measures for deconcentration and displacement of the activity towards new urban areas, as proposed in the two strategic plans. This is the most important regulatory framework, but during this period, a series of special plans that have a direct connection with tourism were approved, such as the Special Development Plan for La Rambla (Pla Especial d'Ordenació de la Rambla) in 2016, the Special Plan for the Management of Commercial Establishments Destined for the Sale of Souvenir Objects in the City of Barcelona (Pla Especial d'Ordenació dels Establiments Comercials Destinats a la Venda d'Articles de Record o Souvenirs a la Ciutat de Barcelona) in 2018, or the Strategic Proposal for the Park Güell (Proposta Estratègica per al Park Güell) in 2017.

Tourism is not only present in the general plans that regulate activities, but is also prominent in the sector plans that affect other spheres of municipal management. Thus, for example, the Plan for the Right to Housing (Pla pel Dret a l'Habitatge 2016–2025) in 2016 raises the effects of gentrification and the displacement of the population towards other municipalities, as a consequence of tourist pressure. The Barcelona Urban Mobility Plan (Pla de Mobilitat Urbana de Barcelona) in 2013 also addresses tourist mobility systems, such as the tourist bus, and the conflicts generated by mobility around the city's main landmarks. In fact, the city approved two tourist mobility plans, dedicated specifically to planning the movement of visitors, the first in 2014 and the second in 2017. The regulation of tourist uses or activities is also present in other city plans, such as the Barcelona Energy, Climate Change and Air Quality Plan (Pla d'Energia, Canvi Climàtic i Qualitat de l'Aire de Barcelona, PECO) in 2011, the strategy for strengthening and projecting trade in Barcelona (Estratègia de Reforç i Projecció de Comerç de Barcelona 2017-2019), the Strategic Plan for the Markets of Barcelona (Pla Estratègic de Mercats de Barcelona) in 2015 or the Strategic Sports Plan (Pla Estratègic de l'Esport) in 2012.

Additionally, on the metropolitan scale, tourism is also a relevant element of the territorial strategy. The 2010 Metropolitan Strategic Plan (Pla Estratègic Metropolità) proposes five levels of transformation: the university system, a business-friendly administration, a new governance model, new values and the international dimension of the city and its metropolitan area. One of the axes of the metropolitan plan involves strengthening Barcelona's tourist brand and the city as an attractive place to visit. In fact, the 2010 metropolitan strategic plan is connected to the strategic tourism plan of that same year. During this decade, the municipalities of the Metropolitan Area, which have historically based their economic development on industrial, logistics and, more recently, tertiary sector activities, have approved strategic tourism plans, which highlights the metropolitan dimension of tourism development: Sant Cugat del Vallès (2013), Sabadell (2014), Terrassa (2014), Esplugues de Llobregat (2015), El Papiol (2016), Sant Boi de Llobregat (2017), Castelldefels (2018) and Gavà (2019) are some examples of strategic tourism plans in metropolitan municipalities that try to attract part of the displacement of tourist activity towards the periphery.

In summary, Table 1 shows the plans that have been approved over this decade in the city of Barcelona, associated with the dynamics of tourism. As already mentioned, in addition to the two strategic plans, several special plans have been presented, the greatest effort in the regulation of the accommodation activity (PEUAT), sector plans with a marked focus on tourism and a metropolitan plan that pivots, in part, on the potential of the Barcelona brand. Such a regulatory and planning density highlights the city's attempt to define a new scenario. However, the internal

differences in the plans also show the difficulty in defining a new axis to guide the development of the city in the future.

Table 1. Plans related to tourism in the city of Barcelona (2010—2019)

YEAR	PLAN	CATEGORY	SCOPE
2010	Pla Estratègic de Turisme de la Ciutat de Barcelona	Strategic Tourism Plan	Barcelona
2010	Pla Estratègic Metropolità 2020	General Strategic Plan	Barcelona Metropolitan Area
2010	Pla Especial d'establiments de concurrència pública, hoteleria i altres activitats de Ciutat Vella	Special uses plan	District of Ciutat Vella
2011	Pla d'Energia, Canvi Climàtic i Qualitat de l'Qire de Barcelona (PECQ)	Sectoral energy plan	Barcelona
2011	Plans de turisme de districte. Plans pilot	District tourism plan	Districts of Les Corts, Sarrià - Sant Gervasi, and Horta Guinardó
2013	Mesura del Govern de Desconcentració Territorial del Turisme	Government Action	The ten districts of Barcelona
2013	Plans de turisme de districte	District tourism plan	Districts of Ciutat Vella, Eixample, Sants-Montjuïc, Gràcia, Ciutat Vella, Eixample, Sants-Montjuïc, Gràcia, Nou Barris, Sant Andreu, and Sant Martí
2013	Pla de Mobilitat Urbana de Barcelona	Sectoral mobility plan	Barcelona
2013	Pla Estratègic de l'Esport	Strategic sectoral plan	Barcelona
2014	Pla de Mobilitat Turística de Barcelona	Sectoral tourism plan	Barcelona
2015	Pla Estratègic de Mercats de Barcelona	Strategic sectoral plan	Markets of Barcelona
2016	Pla Especial d'Ordenació de la Rambla	Special zoning and land use plan	La Rambla in Barcelona
2016	Plans de barri 2016 - 2020	Specific neighbourhood plans	10 neighbourhoods in the city
2016	Pla pel Dret a l'Habitatge 2016 - 2025	Sectoral housing plan	Barcelona

Table 1. Continues

2016	Pla d'impuls de l'economia social i solidària	Sectoral plan	Barcelona
2017	Pla Estratègic de Turisme Barcelona 2020 Programes d'actuació	Strategic Tourism Plan	Barcelona
2017	Estratègia de reforç i projecció del comerç de Barcelona 2017 - 2019	Strategic sectoral plan	Barcelona
2017	Estratègia de Mobilitat Turística	Sectoral tourism plan	Barcelona
2017	Pla Especial Urbanístic de Allotjaments Turístics (PEUAT)	Special uses plan	Barcelona
2017	Proposta Estratègica per al Park Güell	Strategic proposal	Park Güell
2018	Pla Especial d'Ordenació dels Establiments Comercials Destinats a la Venda d'Articles de Record o Souvenirs a la Ciutat de Barcelona	Special uses plan	Barcelona
2018	Pla Especial d'establiments de concurrència pública, hoteleria i altres activitats de Ciutat Vella	Special uses plan	District of Ciutat Vella
2019	Pla Director de Mobilitat	Sectoral Master Plan	Sphere of influence of the Metropolitan Transport Authority (ATM, initials in Catalan)

Source: own elaboration

From the study of the approved plans during this period four main ideas can be identified:

1. The plans explore new methods of governance. Participation systems are becoming more and more open and integrate agents who until then had not been part of the processes of deliberation and decision-making. It could be that, during this period, citizen movements and associations have succeeded at least partially in transferring their vision of the city.

2. The plans test new preparation and development methods. Although special plans maintain the regulatory structure of planning, most plans attempt to redefine classic drafting methods based on a technocratic logic. In this way, there are more diagnoses and studies prior to the plan (in order to gain perspective), new agents are integrated into the deliberation processes and new formulas are proposed, which go beyond those of the strategic plan. For example, a 'strategic

proposal' was formulated for Park Güell and tourist mobility was organised on the basis of a strategy, rather than a conventional plan.

3. The plans assume that tourism is part of the city and that it is not possible to plan the immediate future of the municipality without integrating tourism dynamics both in the diagnosis and in the catalogue of municipal actions and policies. During this decade, the planning process assumes that tourism is one of the central axes of the identity of the city.

4. The tourist plans propose to limit tourist activity in order to maintain the identity of the city and the balance of the urban system. The city project is not defined so much on the basis of the sectors that need to complement (and in some cases replace) the tourism dynamics, as on limiting those tourism dynamics. In fact, the main use that, according to the plans, the city needs to recover in certain areas is residential use.

4 The spatial logic of plans: From neighborhood tensions to the metropolitan dimension

At an early stage, tourism-city tensions were perceived at the micro-scale. In essence, the plans include the problems related to tourism in the areas of extreme concentration. La Rambla, Barceloneta, the first ring of the Sagrada Familia, Park Güell and Montjuïc are some of the spaces that appear in the first diagnoses. However, the Ciutat Vella district would quickly turn into the space in which the main tourism tensions are found, the space delimited by the old walls and where the competition for land for diverse uses (cultural, administrative, residential, equipment, commercial, tourist, etc.) would soon become clear. In addition, Ciutat Vella is a district with a high density and diversity of population and a high concentration of tourism. In mid-2000, before the first plan, almost 40 % of all the hotels in the city were in this district; in 2009, no new hotel licenses were granted for the area, thus imposing a limit to its growth.

In this context the fourth use plan of Ciutat Vella in 18 years was presented in 2010. The plan attempted to address the imbalances created in the previous plans, especially in the limitation of the growth of the number of hotels and housing for tourist use. Thus, the purpose of the new plan was to balance the residential, commercial and tourist uses of Ciutat Vella and to underpin the residential population. The plan divides Ciutat Vella into three zones: those with reduced growth, sustained growth and increased growth in activity. Thus, the plan proposes a displacement of the most saturated corridors of the district towards the peripheral areas of the same district. The problems generated by tourism could be resolved at the micro-scale, with a relocation of uses

within the same perimeter of the district. Rather than decongesting Ciutat Vella, what the first plan proposed was to redistribute uses within the area.

In addition to this strategy in the old quarter, a new strategic plan was approved in 2010 that incorporates the territorial dimension. The plan detects the extremely high concentration of activity in the districts of Ciutat Vella and the Eixample and proposes that tourist activity should be distributed across the entire municipality, in order to share both the costs and benefits of tourist activity. Therefore, the plan promotes new areas of deconcentration that avoid extreme saturation in the two central districts of the municipality. From a geographical point of view, this goal would be achieved through three territorial strategies: The incorporation of the metropolitan scale within the limits of the Barcelona brand, the redefinition of tourist landmarks and the proposal to reformulate the tourist space based on neighbourhoods and districts. This last point represents a significant change in the spatial logic of the tourist city, which is essentially a city of arcs and nodes, connected to a system, such as the tourist bus. The plan proposes that the axis used for the construction of the tourist identity should be the continuous spaces of the neighbourhoods, formed from diverse elements. This explains the implementation of the district tourism plans between 2011 and 2013, which attempted to define the tourist identity of each unit that made up the urban space of the city.

The district tourism plans were a part of the 2013 Government Measure on Territorial Deconcentration (Mesura de Govern de Desoncentració Territorial). The plans reflect the new spatial logic at the beginning of this period very well. On the one hand, there is an aim to draw a new tourist cartography, which reorganises the landmarks and tourist centres and which simultaneously promotes the neighbourhoods as tourist identity units, which finally make up the Barcelona brand. On the other hand, the plans are an instrument that seeks to ensure that the neighbourhood economies and communities benefit from the presence of tourist flows. The result of the plans was the creation of a new map and the attempt to implement a decentralised strategy of tourism activity, which ended with the "Les Barcelones" campaign. In this campaign, Barcelona was presented as the sum of ten spaces in the city with unique and differentiated attractions, as an umbrella brand that housed basic units (districts) with specific interests. In any case, the promotional campaign did not have a real effect on tourism dynamics, and the geography of the city's tourism was hardly altered.

Some of the subsequent plans tackled tourism conflicts at the micro-scale and proposed contingency strategies to tourism overcrowding, such as the Special Management Plan for La

Rambla (Pla Especial d'Ordenació de La Rambla), in 2014 or the Proposed Strategy for Park Güell (Proposta Estratègica per al Park Güell), in 2017, an urban park that for more than a decade has been a flashpoint for conflicts with local residents. In addition, some sector plans focused on the areas of greatest saturation, such as the 2018 Special Plan for the Management of Commercial Establishments Destined for the Sale of Souvenir Objects in the City of Barcelona (Pla Especial d'Ordenació dels Establiments Comercials Destinats a la Venda d'Articles de Record o Souvenirs a la Ciutat de Barcelona), which extended the prohibition area from the previous special plan to Ciutat Vella, Sagrada Familia, Park Güell, Casa Vicens, Camp Nou, Gràcia and the Sant Antoni area, in addition to the buildings catalogued as Cultural Heritage of National Interest (BCIN). Therefore, this plan proposed a cartography of the 'hot spots' of tourist activity where it prohibited the creation of new souvenir shops.

The 2017 strategic plan reinforces this decentralisation logic with two different approaches: On the one hand, with the identification of the limits of "Destination Barcelona" beyond the municipal scope, as already identified in the previous plan. On the other hand, with the strategy of displacement of tourist activity towards the periphery of the municipality. The first point is relevant, because it resizes the real limits of the tourist city, although the effective borders of the plan are municipal:

> Addressing the destination from a territorial perspective allows the management of tourism effects, promoting the development and improvement of the quality of this activity, increasing the quality of urban life, while at the same time helping to obtain a better distribution of its effects on the entire the territory. In order to ensure the social and economic balance of the territory, it is necessary to rethink the current destination model that generates practices with strong territorial impacts in some areas of the city. The territorial strategy of the destination must take into account the characteristics and the welcoming capacity of the different territories and attractions, making evident the need to expand the destination of the municipal territory in the metropolitan, provincial and Catalan areas (Pla Estratègic de Turisme Barcelona 2020, Programes d'actuació, 2017, p. 57).

The plan identifies a "variable geometry" in the spatial structure of the destination. On the one hand, destinations are constructed spatially, based on the stories and images that support these narratives, and which are closely connected with visitors' expectations; however, the actual experience (the concretion of expectations) has a clear territorial component. Tourism in practice

sketches out flows, concentrations, empty spaces, etc. In fact, one of the main axes of development of the plan is the territorial axis. On the other hand, it creates a new decentralisation strategy that builds on the failure of the 2013 Territorial Deconcentration Measure (Mesura de Desconcentració Territorial) and the district plans. However, territorial policy goes well beyond this and affects all areas of tourism. It proposes a new marketing approach that identifies new attractions and places local shops at the heart of the city's image, it fights against imbalances with a series of actions on urban landmarks (which it calls EGA, from the term for very crowded spaces), lays the foundations for new tourist mobility; and proposes the metropolitan scale as the basic unit of action.

In any case, the strategic plan mainly focuses on the tension between residential and tourist uses which will create the conditions for the approval of the Special Urban Plan for Tourist Accommodation, the PEUAT (Pla Especial Urbanístic d'Allotjaments Turístics), which is the main management instrument of this decade, and which is having a very relevant impact on the spatial logic of the urban project. The proposal of this plan establishes a scenario in which accommodation in the most saturated area should tend to be reduced and compensated by opening a new offering in the most peripheral space of the urban fabric, already on the limits with neighbouring municipalities. While the first plans of the decade essentially affect Ciutat Vella and do not go beyond an internal reorganisation, the 2017 plan and the PEUAT of the same year will bring up planning processes for the whole municipality. The actions of PEUAT will affect the municipalities of the Metropolitan Area of Barcelona, which may include part of the centrifugal force of the plan. Therefore, in the preliminary documents of the metropolitan strategic plan, the need to replace the local scale with the metropolitan scale has already been pointed out.

In this way, we can identify a sequence in the city's tourism planning processes, from the micro-scale (Park Güell, Raval, Barceloneta, Sagrada Familia) to the municipal scale and, finally, to the metropolitan scale. During the first phase, the impacts seem to be reduced to a very limited space of the urban fabric and the plans target offsetting measures at this micro scale. At the same time, there is a need to propose measures that affect the municipality as a whole, so that the tourist mobility plan, the PEUAT or the strategic plans are presented at the municipal level. Finally, there is the need to combine municipal strategies with actions at the metropolitan scale. Thus, the two strategic plans openly reflect the need for a vision of the area as a whole, which is also present in the reports in the Barcelona Metropolitan Plan. In fact, both strategic plans assume that the limits of "Destination Barcelona" are imprecise, broad and drawn from the actual experience of visitors at the same destination. This transition from the micro-scale to the mesoscale is one of the most significant characteristics of the period.

5 New tourism management approach: limitation, displacement or negotiation

From 2010 to 2019, the plans reoriented the scale of action (from the neighbourhood to the municipality and the metropolitan area) and have assumed the tourist condition of the contemporary city. We could say that the plans are the act that confirms the tourist identity of the city: The space is configured by diverse elements and the tourist vector is a key piece to interpret this space. It is not possible to build a future city project that ignores the tourism dimension. Thus, according to the 2010 plan: "It must be assumed that tourism is a clearly structuring element of the city (...) In fact, we can hardly imagine Barcelona without tourism" (Pla Estratègic de turisme de la Ciutat de Barcelona, 2010b, p. 7). At the same time, however, the plans are a confirmation of the indirect (undesirable) effects of tourism and the projection of growth in the coming years would only exacerbate the tensions underlined by the various plans. For this reason, plans that identify tourism as a basic variable for understanding the city propose strategies to limit this activity at the same time.

The city project outlined in the plans does not propose a new activity that complements or replaces tourism as the axis of urban strategy. In the agriculture–commercial–industry–tertiary–knowledge–tourist city sequence there is no new vector on which to project the city of the future. In fact, the plans propose the decompression of tourist activity as a central vector of development. What the new plan articulates is the limitation (and not the elimination) of tourism. Who or what will fill the void that the reduction in tourism pressure would create? Basically, residential use. Therefore, the plans propose a city of citizens, in which the maintenance of the pre-existing residential fabric, combined with various economic activities (including tourism), configures the projected city.

In this sense, the 2017 Strategic Proposal for Park Güell (Proposta Estratègica per al Park Güell) is very illustrative. This space is a fundamental piece of Antoni Gaudí's work. It has been a public space since 1922 and it was included in the World Heritage List in 1984. It has also been the scene of many social and cultural events in the neighbourhood and the city as a whole. The progressive 'touristification' of the park has altered the commercial dynamics of the area, as stated in the strategic proposal, and has created mobility problems due to the saturation of the access points. But the main problem is the occupation of Park Güell by tourists, which has displaced the social use by residents. Currently, Park Güell receives 3.12 million visitors in the monument area, and it is estimated that more than 9 million visitors enter the space defined by UNESCO. In 2008, it

was proposed for the first time to limit access to the park, and it was not until 2013 that entrance was controlled to manage these uses; thus, a regulation to access this part of the park, with the main monuments, was approved in October 2013, with a maximum capacity of 800 people per hour. The proposal was created with the conviction that this regulation is insufficient: Of the 6,570 hours a year during which the park is open, only 66 hours are devoted to activities for local residents and citizens. This municipal decision, which turns the park into a kind of open museum (Arias, 2016), was criticised by both the tourism sector and the neighbourhood fabric. In the case of Park Güell, an intense debate between local residents and the administration has taken place, within the framework of a controversy that has been widely covered by the local press (Arias, 2016).

Currently the centenary of Park Güell in 2022 is proposed to be exploited in a different way, based on the recovery of the park by the local residents.

In fact, the proposal is a form of push & pull effect. On the one hand, it suggests some sort of 'de-touristification' of the Park, which allows the reduction of tourist pressure on the space. One of the axes of the proposal is to combat the primacy of Gaudí's work and, specifically, Park Güell, in the tourist image of the city. It is therefore proposed to blur the presence of the park in the public and private promotion of the city and to propose alternatives that help reduce the tension in this space. Simultaneously, the strategy involves a recovery of the space by residents. With the creation of leisure activities for the neighbourhood, the installation of spaces and facilities aimed at residents, the protection of local shops, management of green spaces or the improvement of the park's border spaces, the proposal raises the need for the reduction of tourist pressure to be accompanied by a significant increase in residential use. Therefore, according to the plan, the identity of the Park Güell depends on the capacity to achieve the de-touristification of the space and to have it occupied again by the residents.

The 2016 Special Development Plan for La Rambla (Pla Especial d'Ordenació de La Rambla) also raised the need for residential recovery of this space, to the detriment of tourist use. The identity of La Rambla depends on the ability to reduce tourism to the benefit of everyday practice. According to the plan, La Rambla should be the type of city its residents want it to be, a city with identity, flats to work and live in and uninterested in looking for tourism opportunities, preserving its heritage and thus its international importance. Yet, the 2018 Special Plan for the Management of Commercial Establishments Destined for the Sale of Souvenir Objects in the City of Barcelona (Pla Especial d'Ordenació dels Establiments Comercials Destinats a la Venda d'Articles de Record o Souvenirs a

la Ciutat de Barcelona) once again poses the question of choosing whether it must be designated for residential use or tourist use, having as a higher objective the prevention of the displacement of traditional shops, even though that may have some disadvantages on the quality of life of citizens. In this way, the areas defined in the plan prohibit new establishments from being opened, while stimulating their displacement to less saturated areas. The identity of the Barcelona project pivots not on the construction of a new economic or cultural vector, which articulates the activity of the city, but on the reduction, or at least limitation, of tourism, especially in the most saturated areas.

Therefore, a limitation strategy has been used, especially in the use plans. The aim is to slow down the increase in activity in areas of maximum saturation. It can be a limitation in the number of people (such as the threshold of visits to the Park Güell), a limitation of accommodation (such as the PEUAT or the Ciutat Vella plan), which is an indirect way of redirecting tourist flows, or of spatially sensitive activities (such as souvenir shops or restaurants), which conflict with residential or local business uses.

The second strategy is a displacement strategy, which reorganises the activity, moving it to new spaces. In general, this strategy promotes a movement of a centrifugal nature, which shifts tourist activity towards peripheral spaces. The logic of a displacement of tourism is part of the axis of the two strategic plans, but it is the 2017 plan that most clearly outlines the forms of displacement. For example, the plan stresses the need to rethink the city's communication strategy, the Barcelona brand, based on complex narratives that promote new itineraries, alternative versions of the city and, explicitly, the reduction of activity in the city's landmarks. While the basic instrument of the first plan was the district tourism plans, the new plan proposes a more complex strategy, incorporating mobility, marketing, urbanism and the metropolitan scale.

However, the most important instrument of the travel strategy is the PEUAT, the special plan that regulates the location of the city's accommodation spaces. PEUAT gathers some of the central ideas of the previous plans of Ciutat Vella, prohibiting accommodation in buildings that have had a recent residential use, in buildings that maintain non-tourist uses or in streets with very reduced dimensions that cannot support overcrowding. In addition to these conditions, the plan divides the city into three major zones: reduction, maintenance and expansion of growth.

The zone with the reduction in growth is formed by the areas with greater tourist density; it can be said that it is the map of the city that is "tired of attracting so many tourists": Ciutat Vella, a part of the Eixample, Poble Sec, the district of Sant Antoni, Plaza de España, Gràcia, Vila Olímpica and Poble Nou. It is the geography of tourist density, both in the first phase of growth (Ciutat Vella and

Eixample) and in the recent expansion. In this space, the PEUAT prohibits the creation of new establishments. In addition, thanks to the use of the figure of non-conforming use, the existing establishments cannot be extended or moved to other spaces. The aim is to reduce tourist activity. It is therefore one of the first examples in Europe of planning a reduction in the growth of tourism.

The maintenance zone comprises the first peripheral area around the main tourist region. In this area, the goal is to maintain the accommodation floor. Therefore, establishments can be opened or moved if a space with similar characteristics has previously been closed. And the most peripheral area is defined as the space in which new establishments may be established, provided that it can be proved that an equivalent space was closed in the other two areas. In this way, the plan sketches out a future scenario in which saturated zones lose weight in favour of more peripheral spaces, while the intermediate zone is where we can basically see internal movements. And although the plan does not make it explicit, in a context of growth in demand and stagnation (or reduced supply), it is quite possible that the pressure of activity will change its scale and be projected onto the metropolitan space.

Finally, some plans propose negotiation strategies. Rather than a limitation or displacement of tourist activity, they are based on an improvement of the activity using specific management instruments. Interestingly, most of these proposals belong to non-tourist sector plans; in these plans, tourism is often presented as an opportunity rather than a threat. And the plans propose measures to correct or reduce tourism conflicts, but in a context of promoting tourism activity. Thus, for example, the Mobility Master Plan (Pla Director de Mobilitat) proposes tourism demand as an additional demand for public transport and an opportunity to reinforce certain axes; however, it also proposes negotiation strategies that improve the provision of services and the reduction of conflicts. For example, we can see similar a situation in the 2015 Markets Strategic Plan (Pla Estratègic de Mercats de Barcelona), in which tourists are conceived as an opportunity to increase demand at markets, rather than as a threat to the identity of these spaces. Or the city's Sports' Plan (Pla Estratègic de l'Esport), which addresses the Olympic past and the tourism-sports binomial as one of the plan's development strategies.

6 Conclusions

Barcelona approved more than 20 plans related to tourism from 2010 to 2019. There are two tourism strategic plans, various use plans, sector plans and specific actions on other matters, such as mobility, shops or housing. This extraordinary planning effort highlights the need to reorganise the city project. The plans are not confined to being management tools or tools otherwise aimed at

guiding tourism dynamics. The plans also provide urban narratives, serving as the regulatory materialisation of the city project, the equilibrium point around which the city chooses to offset the forces (in one direction and in the other) that configure it. Therefore, there is an immediate first conclusion and this regards the density of tourism planning, in which diagnoses, plans and applications and evaluations of previous plans overlap almost simultaneously. The city is constantly adapting its approach, sometimes because reality has changed so quickly that it requires an update of the plan that was just approved; and sometimes because social dynamics lead to the need for a new balance.

The plans explicitly assume Barcelona's condition as a tourist city. It is no longer possible to imagine Barcelona without incorporating the tourism variable into the equation. In the same way that agriculture, shops, industry, logistics or the tertiary sector had done in the past, tourism has become a vector that gives identity to the city. Therefore, it is not a question of reconciling tourism and the city, but rather of managing tourism in the city. They cannot be conceived as separate units. The plans outline a project for the future, an imagined city. The most important thing is that the city project is not built on new pieces, but on the limitation of existing ones, on the limitation of tourism. It is not a plan for action, but for resistance. To this end, the city model proposed in the plans intends to achieve the recovery of residential use and the limitation of tourist activity.

The planning follows a scalar logic. The first plans are for a micro-scale scenario, in which conflicts take place in areas of maximum concentration. Tourism management is presented as the resolution of tensions on this minimum scale. Later on, the scale of the plans is changed, which now assume the municipal dimension as the basic scenario for action. This allows the redistribution of tourist activity and the forecasting of the effects of limitation on peripheral areas. Finally, the plans incorporate the metropolitan scale as the scenario in which future dynamics will take place (ideally). Once the municipal scenario has been filled up, the tension between supply and demand will tend to displace part of the activity to the metropolitan ring. One example of this is the many different municipal plans that attempt to capture part of the centrifugal flows from the capital. In fact, the tourist scenario of "Destination Barcelona" also goes beyond the metropolitan limits and extends to the north and south, following the great railway corridors.

As it has been explained, tourism management combines three strategies. First, the limitation of people, accommodation or activities, through plans that restrict tourist activity in areas of maximum saturation. Second, the shift of activity towards peripheral areas, in order to improve the territorial balance of tourism (its costs and benefits), but also as a way of reducing tensions in the centre. And

thirdly, mediation in order to take advantage of the benefits of tourism and mitigate the social conflicts derived from the tourism impact. However, it is the non-tourist plans, i.e., the sector plans, that propose more mediation measures. This indicates that there are sectors that have not yet taken full advantage of the tourist interest in the city and, before proposing its limitation, focus on exploitation of these. In any case, all the plans studied show that the identity of Barcelona cannot be projected without tourism, but with tourism aimed at visiting a Barcelona that exists beyond the advertised image, under conditions that first and foremost respect its residents. Future lines of research could highlight the distance between all of these planned proposals and their implementation in the territory to determine to what extent reality is reflected in tourism planning and the level of coordination between so many different plans.

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