Conflicts in the tourist city from

the perspective of local social movements

Conflictos en la ciudad turística

desde la perspectiva de los movimientos sociales locales

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Abstract

This research addresses the conflicts generated by the recent tourist growth in the tourist city from the perspective of local social movements. First, these processes of growth are reviewed, with a particular focus on excess tourism and the role of tourist housing. Second, it reflects on the conflicts and the social reactions to the perception of negative impacts of tourism in its daily space. Third, the theoretical revision is contrasted and applied to the cities of Malaga and Marbella. The results show that in cities with classic coastal tourism rental housing have existed since their origins as a destination, and now it has become visible because technology platforms have placed it in the global market; meanwhile, in cities with urban-cultural tourism, housing is a new form of accommodation that generates new conflicts. Finally, the results contrast the characteristics of the growth model in the tourist city with the demands of social movements based on reconciling tourism with preserving and improving the quality of everyday life. The three results constitute research opportunities.

Keywords: overtourism; tourism growth; touristification; resistance; local social movements; tourist housing.

Resumen

Esta investigación aborda los conflictos generados por el crecimiento turístico reciente en la ciudad turística desde la perspectiva de los movimientos sociales locales. Para ello primero, se revisan estos procesos de crecimiento, con especial atención a la percepción del exceso de turismo y al papel de las viviendas con fines turísticos. En segundo lugar, se reflexiona sobre los conflictos y las reacciones sociales que responden a la percepción de impactos negativos del turismo en su espacio cotidiano. Se contrasta la revisión teórica de manera aplicada a las ciudades de Málaga y Marbella. Los resultados evidencian que en las ciudades con turismo clásico de litoral ya existía la vivienda de alquiler desde sus orígenes como destino y ahora se ha visibilizado porque las plataformas digitales lo han puesto en el mercado global; en ciudades con turismo urbano-cultural las viviendas son una nueva forma de alojamiento que genera nuevos conflictos; por último, los resultados contrastan las características del modelo crecentista en la ciudad turística frente a las reivindicaciones de los movimientos sociales que cuya base es la compatibilidad del turismo con la preservación y mejora de la calidad de la vida cotidiana. Los tres resultados constituyen oportunidades de investigación.

Palabras clave: exceso de turismo; crecimiento turístico; turistificación; resistencias; movimientos sociales locales; viviendas con fines turísticos.

1 Introduction

The development of major international tourist destinations over the last five decades has been profoundly defined by developmental thinking, and has been very closely linked to the evolution of the global economy (Hall, 2009; Fletcher, 2011, Harvey, 2013; Büscher & Fletcher, 2017; Murray Mas & Blázquez Salom, 2009), while they have acted as urban growth machines (Logan & Molotch, 1987; Romero, Navarro & Romero, 2017). Furthermore, as a result of various factors, growth in some destinations has been very spatially localised and concentrated in time, leading to conflicts over perceived negative impacts, and becoming an issue of global interest for tourism agents (World Tourism Organization, et al., 2018).

International tourism amounted to 1,000 million tourists for the first time in 2012, and it is continuing to grow (1,323 million in 2017). It remains very unevenly distributed in geographical terms, with Europe accounting for approximately 51% of tourist arrivals (UNWTO, 2019). Various other factors must be added to these figures. First, these figures are significantly increased by domestic journeys which do not cross borders, which in Spain account for 90% of journeys made by residents (Spanish National Institute of Statistics, 2018). Second, changes in working conditions, such as flexible holiday schedules, socio-demographic changes and changes in transport (the emergence of low cost transport), among many other factors, have led to the rise of short-stay trips, especially in urban areas (Hiernaux & González, 2014). Third, the political instability experienced over the last decade by countries close to Europe, where destinations were developing, has led to their tourist flows being redirected to more stable destinations, and Spain has been one of the countries that has received them. Fourth, in a scenario of international economic and financial crisis, tourism has been reinforced by institutions as a strategy to overcome the crisis (Murray, Yrigoy & Blázquez, 2017). Finally, the rise of the platform-based digital economy has contributed to changing the means of production and consumption in tourism. An example is the exponential increase in the range of accommodation available, with two strong impacts: disruptive localisation in areas used for residential purposes, and activities that are beyond the control of the authorities in the destination, due to rapid growth.

These factors have had a positive effect on their socio-economic dynamics in some destinations, either because they have been able to absorb these changes as a result of having a longer history of tourism, or because they are more flexible emerging destinations, which have been able to adapt a previously non-existent or limited supply. However, in other destinations, they have led to an increase in the perception of negative impacts and conflict arising from intensified tourism uses in specific places and times. The social reactions have increased in importance and visibility, and

have now become a concern for destination managers, as evidenced in the World Tourism Organization Report on over-tourism (World Tourism Organization et al., 2018). These symptoms of saturation are reopening old debates on the limits of growth, carrying capacity and sustainability in both the public and academic spheres (Saarinen, 2006; Fletcher, 2011; Huete & Mantecón, 2018; Milano, 2018; Higgins-Desbiolles et al., 2019).

Given this scenario, this study aims to address the conflicts arising from the recent growth in tourism in cities from the perspective of social movements. To that end, first, the processes growth in tourist cities are reviewed, with a particular focus on the perception of excess tourism and the role of tourist housing. Second, we consider the conflicts that have arisen as a result of this growth, and the social reactions that are a response to the perceived negative impacts of tourism in their everyday space. Third, the cities of Malaga and Marbella are used as study areas. They are both located in southern Spain, receive different types of tourism (urban-cultural tourism and coastal tourism respectively) but have some shared characteristics as tourist cities. The research examines the growth in the supply of traditional tourist accommodation, through controversial projects which have led to the emergence of social movements against them (skyscraper hotels in the Port of Malaga and the extension of the Port of Marbella, which also includes skyscraper hotels) and new types of accommodation (tourist accommodation sold through platforms) in the centre of the destinations (Historic Town Centres). Finally, the results are presented and discussed, and contrasted with the literature reviewed.

2 Conflicts and social reactions in the tourist city

The tourist city has been classified in the literature, and can be defined as urban areas where tourism is among the major engines of development, meaning that they differ functionally and structurally from conventional cities (Antón-Clavé, 1998). Judd and Fainstein (1999) proposed three models of the tourist city which are useful for understanding the unique nature of the tourist space and urban processes. The first model encompasses resort cities, which were created from scratch by tourism urban development processes and specifically for consumption by visitors. An example is Cancún. The second model consists of heritage tourism cities with a historical and cultural identity that is appealing for tourism. They are sometimes places that have historically been visited, such as Athens and Venice, and on other occasions they are the result of an intensive and carefully planned process to promote and restore historical heritage, which has transformed them into tourist destinations. The third model contains cities which have been converted to tourism, which build new infrastructures such as museums to attract visitors, or undertake processes to prepare transform urban spaces or infrastructures, such as changing land uses in industrial or port areas.

This broad conception of the term "tourist city" can include the various types that can be found in Spanish destinations, and particularly those located in the Spanish Mediterranean urban system, which has undergone an intense social and urban transformation over the last 60 years (González-Reverté, 2008, Antón-Clavé, 2010; González-Reverté et al., 2016), and applies to the study area in this research - Malaga and Marbella.

This study focuses on specific tourist cities where recent trends in growth have led to social reactions. It therefore reviews concepts such as *overtourism*, investigates the role that platform economies have played in these reactions, and studies the nature of the conflicts they create.

2.1 Recent growth trends in the tourist city: overtourism and the emergence of tourist housing

Overtourism is a concept that has recently emerged on political agendas, and as a subject of academic research. From the institutional perspective, the UNWTO (World Tourism Organization et al., 2018, p. 4) has defined overtourism as

> The impact of tourism on a destination, or parts thereof, that excessively influences perceived quality of life of citizens and/or quality of visitor experiences in a negative way.

However, Goodwin's definition (2017, p. 1) is more complete, as it refers directly to reactions against unacceptable deterioration:

> Overtourism describes destinations where hosts or guests, locals or visitors, feel that there are too many visitors, and that the quality of life in the area or the quality of the experience has deteriorated unacceptably. [...] Often, both visitors and guests experience the deterioration concurrently and rebel against it.

Koens, Postma and Papp (2018) focus on the conceptual reflections of the term, based on an extensive study carried out in 13 European cities. They point to the origin and popularisation of the term in media discourses, and mention the lack of a theoretical basis which reflects the extensive work on the negative impacts of tourism that has been carried out for some years. The authors include the studies on carrying capacity and the Doxey index, but particularly the study by Rosenow and Pulsipher, who in the late 1970s highlighted three different causes of what they called visitor 'overkill': (1) Too many visitors, possibly aggravated by seasonality; (2) An excessive adverse impact for visitors (e.g. noise, disturbances and other inconveniences); (3) Too much physical impact on the economy by visitors (e.g. centres of tourist cities and destruction of natural resources) (Rosenow & Pulsipher, 1979, in Koens, Postma & Papp, 2018, p. 2). For this reason, they

conclude that overtourism merely focuses attention once again on an old problem, which is ultimately the management of negative impacts. There is still no robust conceptualisation that needs to be addressed from the perspective of multiple disciplines.

Other studies (Milano, 2018; Casalderrey et al., 2018) reflect on the impacts of overtourism, social unrest and "tourismphobia." The latter term has become widely used in media debates arising from complaints about political propaganda, social movements and residents' associations (Huete and Mantecón, 2018). Meanwhile, Martin, Guaita and Salinas (2018) use *Social Exchange Theory* as a framework for investigating the underlying factors in the popular dislike of tourism in the city of Barcelona. The study finds that one of the most important factors is the perceived negative economic effects of the increase in accommodation for holiday rentals, including the rise in prices of residential rentals and the change from traditional shops to others oriented towards tourists, with higher prices. The study by Postma and Schmuecker (2017) provides a conceptual model which can be applied to tourist cities as a framework for managing conflicts and mitigating the negative impacts arising from tourist pressure and overtourism. This conceptual model focuses on classifying the attributes of residents and visitors, the mechanisms that create conflict and critical encounters between visitors and residents, and the on quality and quantity indicators of tourist services. Other studies also use new and interesting approaches to examine overtourism, considering a possible paradigm shift that involves degrowth (Milano, Novelli & Cheer, 2019).

These studies have shown that unlike traditional mass tourism, excess tourism is associated with a perception of unacceptable negative effects, and is likely to lead to a social reaction against it which demands solutions. Overtourism is also associated with a concentration of visitors and tourism in space and time that changes, worsens or displaces residents' activities and their quality of life.

Another factor is that the studies reviewed all mention the rise of the digital platform economy as one of the determining factors, because it has caused disruptive changes over a short period of time and in particular, has critically affected housing, habitability and the workplace. According to data from Price Waterhouse Coopers (2016), the platform economy will account for a market of more than 300,000 million euros in 2025, with technology being one of the triggers and one of the main driving forces behind the development of tourist housing (Melián & Bulchand, 2019). The democratisation of Internet access, social media and mobile devices has led to the rise of online intermediaries including Booking.com, the direct and immediate commercial exchange of services related to accommodation (Airbnb), transportation (Uber) and tourist experiences (Vayable and Trip4real) and collaborative economy practices involving the non-profit exchange of

accommodation and sharing of travel costs (HomeExchange, Couchsurfing and BlaBlaCar). All this means that the expansion of these platforms is significantly affecting traditional tourism (transport, restoration and accommodation) and changing the geography of urban conflicts (Del Romero, 2018). However, despite the fact that they play an important role in current tourist growth in some destinations, in-depth studies are lacking (Bakker & Twining-Ward,2018).

Turning to holiday rental accommodation, the main effects of this new type of tourist accommodation are associated with a spatial distribution and an uncontrolled increase in the supply, as well as unfair competition with other agents in the sector (Peeters et al., 2018). However, the use of rental housing for tourism is not a new phenomenon. It has been a traditional formula for tourist accommodation in Spain, especially in coastal destinations, as indicated by Exceltur (2015), which ten years ago reported that holiday rental housing was used by 19.4% of tourists and for 28.3% of overnight stays. In any event, according to Milano (2018), despite the discussions about whether this debate is an old or new one, research that takes into account the adaptations and distinctive features of contemporary societies in terms of tourist mobility is required.

However, growth in destinations is focusing the attention of those responsible for the management of tourism, as evidenced by international, national and local projects that are under way. Indeed, the geographical areas in this study have been the focus of research (University of Malaga and OMAU, 2019; University of Malaga and Marbella Municipal Council 2019). In the academic sphere, this phenomenon is being examined by researchers in various knowledge areas. Articles analysing the legal regulation of tourist housing (Camacho, 2018; García López, Marchena Gómez & Morilla Maestre, 2018; Guillén Navarro & Iñiguez Berrozpe, 2016; Alejandro & Navarro, 2015), its proliferation in certain areas such as the Pyrenees associated with the skiing industry and coastal holiday destinations (Gómez Martín, Armesto López & Cors Iglesias, M., 2019; Simancas Cruz, Temes Cordovez & Peñarrubia Zaragoza, 2017) and the various impacts that this type of housing has, such as its economic impact (Fuentes & Navarrete, 2016), its impact on residential rentals (Yrigoy, 2017) and on the hotel sector and traditional accommodation in general (Blal, Singal & Templin, 2018) are particularly numerous. However, there is a lack of research that attempts to quantify and characterise this phenomenon, while making comparisons between different types of tourist destinations. This is particularly true of studies that investigate the impacts of this type of vacation rental and the conflicts that it causes in tourist cities from the social perspective.

2.2 Conflicts in the tourist city: tourist use vs everyday life

The history of urban social movements in Spain is rich and varied. This study focuses on tourist areas, which have been part of the geography of urban conflicts since the development of mass tourism. In specific terms, there have been regular conflicts in Spanish destinations caused by the economic, social and environmental impacts of urban-tourism growth engines, which use the construction and planning of large new construction projects and events as their main tools (Kousis, 2000; Romero, Romero & Navarro, 2017; Del Romero, 2018). The conflict is the result of the clash of interests between the promoters of the projects and events, and the citizens who resist their effects, who often come together in formal organisations or localised social movements.

Technological changes and the onset of the crisis have had a decisive influence on the nature of the movements and their recent evolution (Soja, 2008; Díaz Parra & Candón Mena, 2014; Talego & Hernández-Ramírez, 2017). Unlike the counter-movements of previous decades, the new local social movements have three facets in the social, cultural and spatial dimensions, and change the consciousness of the urban population (Soja, 2008; Castells, 2012).

(1) The social dimension: they change from formal and hierarchical organisations into more informal and autonomous movements. Social movements were previously structured as strategic organisations and were hierarchical; they were highly dependent on institutions with a formal and legal status (trade unions, etc.). Today, this type of local resistance movement is not nourished by militants but rather by citizens with varying socio-economic and cultural profile and diverse ideologies, who are not excessively organised and tend toward a horizontal structure (Castañeda, 2012; Flesher, 2015).

(2) The cultural dimension: they are evolving from a dominant ideological thought and general demands towards plurality, broad-based integration and specific demands. In the earlier movements, the principles and ends were related to much more general concerns (such as human rights, civil rights, etc.). Today's urban social movements are more heterogeneous, varied and broad-based in their discourses, integrating the demands, networks and knowledge of the previous movements related to differences - of gender, sex, ethnicity, race, etc. and those related to the Welfare State - health , education, justice, access to culture (Ingrassia, 2013; Soja, 2008; Fuster Morell, 2012; Flesher, 2015).

(3) And above all, the spatial dimension: there has been a shift from global demands to specific local and spatial demands. The origins of many of the movements lie in resistance to specific urban projects, where the defence of their own daily living space is the primary interest,

combined with the digital Internet space and wireless social networks (La Corrala Anthropological Study Group, 2016; Castells, 2012; Lefebvre, 2013; Soja 2008). Although they do not reject the earlier general global principles, they focus on specific issues and the concrete daily space they inhabit, and on their own values. According to Oslender (2002) these social movements can be considered part of a spatiality of resistance.

The changes in these three dimensions have been embodied in movements such as the 15M-Indignados in Spain and Occupy Wall Street in the USA, and more recently, the 8M movement (Castells, 2012; Castañeda, 2012; Fuster Morell, 2012; Flesher, 2015; Díaz Parra & Candón Mena, 2014). They are aware of the systemic global crisis: they fall within - and are the result of - the risk society (Beck, 2000); the tendency towards dispersion (Ingrassia, 2013); fragmentation; and the liquid society (Bauman, 2013). For this reason, a more accurate definition for some of these movements would be defences, and even as protection and care of their own habitat. The various types of resistance fall within a general attitude of demands for the right to the city in their own way (Lefebvre, 2013) and of spatial justice (Soja, 2014). These changes are reflected in the social reactions arising from the perception of excess tourism.

In order to understand the nature of spatial conflicts in the tourist city, the reflections of Hiernaux and González (2014) on tourists and their relationship with the places they visit are pertinent. Through their socio-spatial practices, tourists occupy, use and transform citizens' everyday space - a city, a neighbourhood, architecture: in Venice, Barcelona's Gothic Quarter, the Alhambra in Granada - either directly, or by creating expectations about certain places. Citizens thereby become aware that they are being dispossessed of their everyday space in two ways: physically, in a process in which traditional residents are dispossessed of physical structures and living spaces for use by tourism (e.g. the transformation of commercial spaces, the conversion of residential buildings to tourist accommodation) and the commodification of the public space); and symbolically, when tourism dispossesses residents of the meanings of their daily lives that are part of their identity in order to construct the tourist image. This twofold process of dispossession is a source of visitor-visited conflicts. The essence of the conflict stems from the different perceptions of goods and services because while (Hiernaux and González, 2014, p. 65)

> The tourist observes or accumulates objects and spaces as 'tourist nutrition', the resident values them as an essential part of his condition of being-in-the-world, [...] there is a war of signs rooted in the opposition between the system of spaces, objects and signs that support the residents' daily lives, versus the fanciful construction of the tourists who engage in another reading of the neighbourhood space.

In short, as Del Romero (2017) points out, in tourist cities, some conflicts are defined by the use of space, while others are due to the economic expectations created as regards that space. In conclusion, the popularised term of overtourism is a sign of a spatial conflict, which may be architectural, urban or territorial, which originates in the reactions of the population that is directly affected and aware of the impacts of tourism development, which mobilises and organises actions to defend and protect its habitable space, while highlighting the convergence of interests that affect their own habitats.

3 Methodological aspects

Based on our objective, we studied the groups of local resistance to the growth of tourism, which were identified based on those who have expressed their opposition to that growth. To that end, we selected two cities which have different types of tourism but have similar conflicts in terms of the expansion of tourist housing (TH) and projects for the transformation of their port areas, which are representative of the traditional urban-tourist growth machine. The methodological nature of the research combines various techniques.

First, the exploratory and descriptive study of the tourist housing was carried out. Official and unofficial sources of information were used. All tourist housing in Andalusia must be registered in the Tourism Register with a registration code that must appear in any promotion of the accommodation. The unofficial sources consulted use scraping techniques by means of software to gather automated information about the platforms on which tourist homes are marketed, creating a directory of tourist housing advertisements that is periodically updated. These sources may be social innovation and open data projects, such as Datahippo, Tom Slee and Airbnb Inside, or commercial tools for investors such as AirDNA.

The main obstacle to quantifying the supply of tourist housing available is the variety of results obtained for the same territory, meaning that the volume of housing varies between one source and another. In addition, each source extracts data from different platforms, and there are even platforms from which no data is extracted (booking.com, rentalia, niumba, etc). Likewise, scraping techniques present a snapshot of a specific point in time, and as such care must be exercised when sizing and examining this type of accommodation, especially when its degree of flexibility is taken into account, as an establishment may be taken on or off the market at its owner's discretion with a simple click of the mouse. Finally, a large proportion of tourist housing is marketed on more than one platform, but the existing data sources are unable to identify the volume of housing which operates on several platforms at the same time, which means that all the figures may be

overestimated. Random tests were carried out in this study, which show that at least 20% of the housing may be operating on several platforms at the same time.

The information gathered is georeferenced in a geographic information system. The location of tourist housing should not be considered as 100% accurate. Factors that corroborate this include the fact that the owners of the accommodation tend to present a location that is more attractive to tourists, usually near historic centres and tourist attractions, and the platforms conceal the real postal address of the accommodation until the client makes the reservation.

After the data for the tourist housing (number of homes, places, prices, number of rooms and beds) has been extracted, processed and tabulated, it is compared with the regulated supply of tourist accommodation (hotel and apartment places) available. With data from the municipal register, territorial area and housing census for 2011, these are used to calculate indicators of excess tourism (density and intensity) as established by Guevara, Ruggles-Brise, Turner, Constantin, Dichter, Köpke, Lim & Seitzman (2017). The data for Malaga and Marbella are compared with the indicators for other European cities that have been analysed in previous studies of overtourism: Amsterdam, Berlin, Paris, London, Lisbon, Milan, Barcelona, San Sebastian, Valencia and Palma de Mallorca.

Second, both the analysis of controversial tourism projects and the analysis of social movements identified after the conflicts are fundamentally qualitative. The details of the methodological tools used are presented in Table 1.

The tools used to check the theory in the case studies were participant observation and documentary research, and two discussion groups provided the basis for characterising the projects and examining the claims of the resistance movements. This phase includes a review of the documents published and provided by the resistance movements. Interviews based on a script were subsequently conducted to study the characteristics of each movement, its network of actors and the dynamics of its activities. The participants were selected due to being the leading representatives of each of the three movements.

Port transformation projects were selected because they all involve four significant aspects: (1) they are projects involving new construction or the regeneration of urban space; (2) they are located in places of interest for the development of tourism; (3) they incorporate tourist services, facilities and infrastructure; (4) they have led to reactions of social resistance in response. Two of the social movements (Defend our horizon and the network established by the Marbella Historic City Centre Residents' Association) were identified based on these projects, while the third movement (Malaga

Historic Centre Residents' Association) was identified based on the protests associated with the intense growth of tourism in the city centre, in which housing for tourism is a significant factor.

Table 1. Methodological tools

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION AND DOCUMENTARY RESEARCH (JANUARY 2017 - NOV. 2018)
- Applied to: Urban-tourism growth projects and analysis of social movements   - Work subjects: - Identification of case studies - large UGM type projects - in Malaga and Marbella.   - Identification of promoters and resistance and contact groups   - Review of social networks (Twitter), articles, manifestos and other documents published by the resistance movements.   - Analysis sheets of selected projects, reasons for conflict and resistance.
DISCUSSION GROUP 1 (NOVEMBER 30, 2017)
- Applied to: analysis of social movements (8 participants*: 6 men and 2 women)   - Script of topics covered: - Characteristics of the resistance movement   - Actors: who support them, those they oppose, those who are absent and would like to incorporate   - Successful actions and improvement   - Participant selection criteria: representatives of local social movements that have reacted against the projects selected or tourist housing.
DISCUSSION GROUP 2 (FEBRUARY 21, 2018)
- Applied to: analysis of social movements (7 participants*: 5 men and 2 women)   - Script of topics covered: - Return of results from the first Discussion Group.   - Validation of analysis sheets for each project they oppose   - The relationship between the project the movements are resisting and the development of tourism and the tourism destination.   - The relationship between the project and the economy and demographic and urban growth. Perception of the concept of degrowth with respect to the movement's demands.   - Internal management of each movement (short-term tactics and long-term strategies)   - Participant selection criteria: representatives of local social movements that have reacted against the projects selected or tourist housing.
INTERVIEWS
- Applied to: analysis of social movements (7 participants: 6 men and 1 woman):   - Defend Our Horizon (15 June, 2018), 1 participant.   - Malaga Historic City Centre Residents' Association (July 9, 2018), 5 participants.   - Marbella Historic City Centre Residents' Association (November 20, 2018), 1 participant.   - Script of topics covered: - In-depth study of each movement's characteristics and internal management (genealogy; evolution of tactics and strategies, main milestones reached).   - In-depth study of the map of agents (degree of importance of the promoters, decisive people within the resistance movement, other groups they relate to and their influences).   - Tourism and urban policy (relationship of the city model and the tourism model with the project they oppose, perception of the questioning of the benefits of tourism).

*Includes participants from other social movements operating beyond the scope of the case studies examined here.

Source: compiled by the authors.

4 Area of study

Malaga has experienced a very significant transformation in recent years as a destination on the Costa del Sol in its own right. It has become an established urban-cultural tourist destination, with a strategy that is considered a successful model to be studied and reproduced (the city of museums). This activity is concentrated in the Historic Centre of the city, and has recently begun to expand radially. This urban area is also subject to plans of varying territorial scope (the General Urban Plan and Special Plan for Inner Protection and Reform); strategic plans; plans for raising European funds (the Urban Plan and the current "Perchel-Lagunillas" Integrated Sustainable Urban Development Strategies); and various tourism plans (from 1997 to the current 2016—2020 plan). Malaga has undergone a long process of urban regeneration - which is still in progress - in its Historic Centre, which began in 1994, and has led to the creation of new economic activities, including tourism. The deterioration of the urban environment led to a decline in the resident population, which moved to the city's new neighbourhoods. Part of the population that remained in the historic centre was characterised by limited economic resources and old age. The decline in population between 2006 (5,915 inhabitants) and 2015 (4,720 inhabitants, the most recent data published) is significant (-18.6%).

The negative consequences of its concentration in a residential area are also emerging as a result of the success of the model expressed in the exponential growth of tourism. It increased by 440% in Malaga between 2000 and 2018, from 4,316 regulated beds to 19,019 beds (of which 10,136 are in hotels), and 16,524 beds in official tourist housing (TH) in 2018. The comparison between hotels and tourist housing gives an idea of the extent of the phenomenon:

> 30% of hotel beds are located inside the Historic Centre (2,937), and another 25% an average of less than one kilometre away, which highlights its spatial concentration within a small area of the city (Marín Cots, Guevara Plaza & Navarro-Jurado, 2017, p. 459).

This growth of tourism, which is inversely proportional to the evolution of the population, is creating situations of social tension which are explained below, based on a study of local opposition movements in two controversial cases in the city. (1) The hotel-skyscraper project in the port would be the tallest building in the city, located at the tip of the breakwater farthest from the coast, in a project backed by a Qatari investment group with no experience in tourism. The Defend Our Horizon Platform was established in 2017, and is supported by 30 organisations. (2) The Historic Centre, where the conflict focuses on the touristification, gentrification and social deterioration of this area, where one of the biggest problems is now coexistence between residents and tourists

staying in TH. The residents' association was established 25 years ago, but resident-tourist coexistence has been the source of more conflicts since 2015, and this issue is spreading to the surrounding neighbourhoods, leading residents' associations in other districts such as the Lagunillas neighbourhood to join the protests.

Tourism in Marbella dates back to the 1940s, and the town experienced a transformation as a tourist destination from the 1960s onwards. The destination has a tourism model which has developed based on the construction of housing and residential expansion along its coastline, taking advantage of its strategic location and climate. It has been one of the main poles of attraction for construction companies and investment. This development of tourism has led Marbella to live from tourism and trade, and it continues to be the focus of interest of international investment groups which play a leading role in controversial projects such as the expansion of the Port.

Tourism is a topic of particular interest to the local authorities. The Marbella 2022 Strategic Plan considers excessive dependence on the sector to be a local challenge that is addressed in a themed central section, and three strategies aimed at making the town aspire to be competitive without losing its distinctive cultural identity. Since 2011, the data have shown a growth in tourism despite the global economic crisis, in which the supply of hotel beds and the number of travellers have increased (by 10.5% and 30% respectively), making Marbella the municipality in the province with the most tourist establishments and beds (17%). In addition, the number of TH increased by 99% between 2010 and 2018. In some areas of the town this has led to various conflicts between tourism and residents, according to residents' associations which have reported problems related to disturbances, noise and rising costs in long-term rentals and shopping in recent years, especially in the old town and on the seafront.
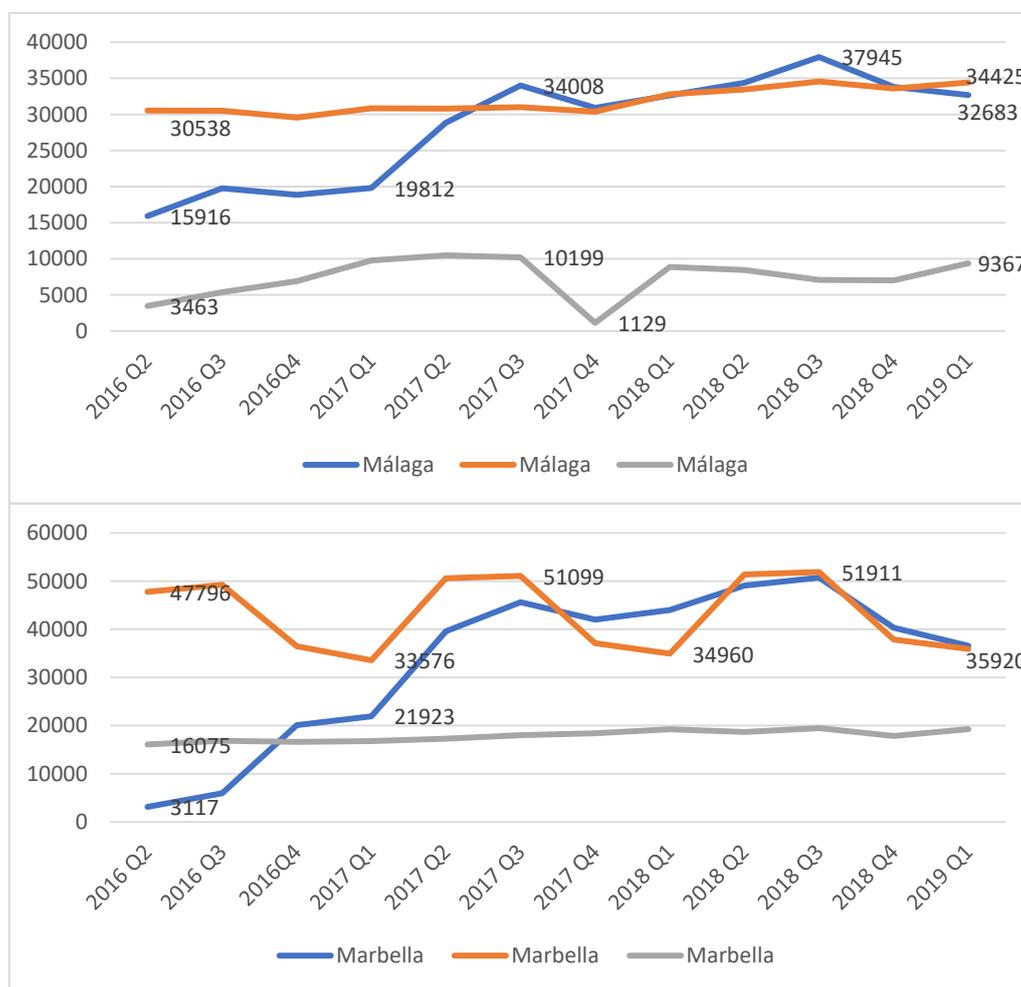
5   Results and discussion

5.1 Analysis of tourist housing in Malaga and Marbella

The number of tourist homes in both Malaga and Marbella has increased significantly over the last three years, with the numbers doubling in Malaga and increasing more than elevenfold in Marbella. The number of beds began to behave more like hotel accommodation, which is seasonal, in late 2018. Far from being conclusive, these figures initially appear to suggest that the impact of tourist housing has not affected the volume of hotel beds (Figure 1). While it is true that to date, studies in San Francisco, Chicago, Texas and Scandinavia, among other areas, show that the impact of tourist housing is not as great as would be expected, given the growth of the platforms

that promote it (Moreno Izquierdo et.al., 2016), the research which examines the direct impact of tourist housing rentals on hotels remains limited (Blal et al., 2018).
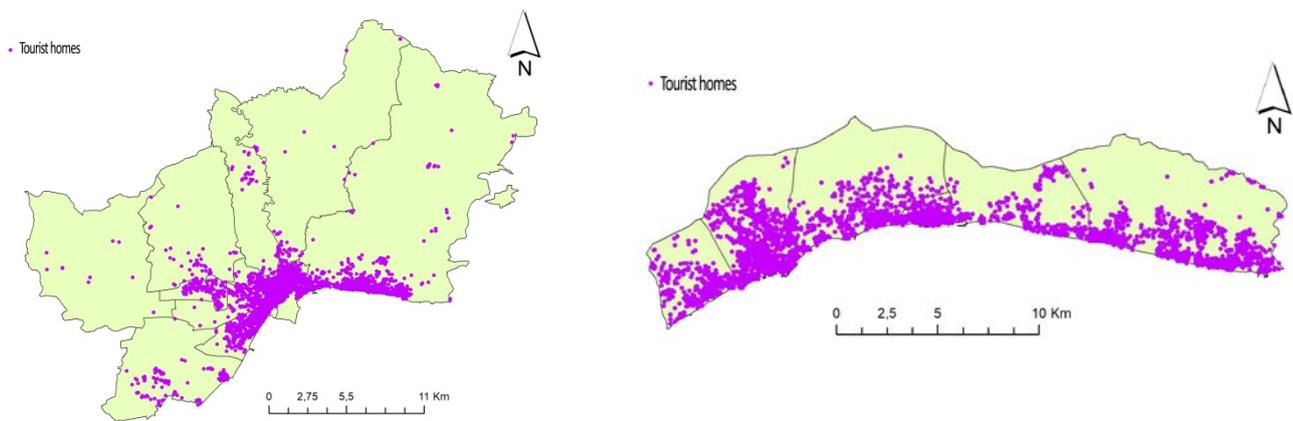
The tourist housing (Figure 2) in both cities is heavily concentrated on the coast (70% in Malaga and 81% in Marbella) and in the urban centres, particularly in the historic centres. The areas with the most tourist housing in Marbella are Nueva Andalucía (33.9%), the eastern part of Chapas (25.3%) and Marbella Oeste (17.7%), but the neighbourhood with the highest density of beds is the urban centre (819 places/km^2) - a figure eight times higher than in other areas of the town. The concentration in Malaga, where 70% are located in the Centro district, is higher than in Marbella.

Figure 1. Beds in tourist accommodation in Malaga and Marbella 2016 Q2 - 2019 Q1

Source: compiled by the authors based on AirDNA
and data from the Spanish National Institute of Statistics

Figure 2. Spatial distribution of TH
in the municipalities of Malaga (left) and Marbella (right)

Source: compiled by the authors based on Datahippo

The two municipalities account for over a third of the TH beds in the province of Malaga, despite their different areas of specialisation in tourism, with the largest volume of TH marketed through the platform Airbnb (Table 2).

Table 2. Quantification and classification of tourist rental homes 2018

MALAGA						
	No. of tourist homes	Beds	Rooms	Average capacity (pax)	Average price	Availability
Airbnb	6,453	26,586	1.59	4.12	67 €	
Homeaway	2,401	11,525	1.81	4.8	€ 96	
Housetrip	273	1,414		5.18	€ 80	
Official register	4,176	21,214	2.11	5.08		
AirDNA	5,321	25,009	1.7	4.7	€ 81	42%
MARBELLA						
Airbnb	5,107	28,497	2.15	5.58	€ 144	
Homeaway	2,242	14,461	2.92	6.45	€ 147	
Housetrip	917	6,043		6.59	€ 129	
Official register	4,074	23,426	2.62	5.75		
AirDNA	4,997	29,482	2.6	5.9	€ 150	25%

Source: compiled by the authors based on Datahippo,

the Andalusia Tourism Register and AirDNA

In absolute terms, no significant differences were identified for the number of homes and beds between Malaga and Marbella. The characteristics of the homes differ, as they are larger in Marbella (2.57 bedrooms on average, compared to 1.85 in Malaga) as houses, villas and bungalows predominate; the average stay in the municipality of Marbella, associated with sun and

sand and residential tourism is also longer, and prices are much higher than in Malaga (€ 150 compared to 81€) .

Another significant detail is the seasonality of tourism based on the availability of the housing. In Malaga, 40% is available for more than 300 days every year, while in Marbella this percentage is only 25% (100% in the summer months). Together with construction data for recent years, this figure to a certain extent reflects the findings of previous studies, (Peeters et al., 2018), i.e. technology may be one of the causes of excess tourism, because tourist housing does not come out of nowhere, but instead is placed on the market using the technology in the platforms.

One finding when comparing the data for the platforms with those from the Andalusia Tourism Register is the volume of regulated tourist housing. Using the Datahippo figures as a benchmark, only 46.2% of the homes that were marketed on the platforms in Malaga in 2018 were legal, while the percentage in Marbella was 40.3%. These types of homes are not subject to tax like other tourist accommodation, and as such there is an ongoing debate about the need to regulate this housing and the opportunity to levy tourist taxes (García López et al., 2018), which could be used to offset the consequences of excess tourism.

Table 3 shows the tourism density indicators for Malaga and Marbella. Taking into account that there are no official figures for the volume of demand for tourist housing which would show the number of overnight stays, it is impossible to calculate the tourism intensity and density indices in the same way as in the previous studies of overtourism mentioned above. For this reason, the numbers of overnight stays are replaced by the number of beds in tourist housing in comparison with the municipalities' area and number of inhabitants. The results show greater pressure on the ground by this type of accommodation in Marbella, which exceeds Malaga in all the variables.

If the study area is compared with other Spanish and European cities where local authorities have taken specific measures to regulate tourist rental homes, with 0.44 and 0.07 beds/inhabitant respectively Marbella and Malaga have a higher tourist intensity than cities such as Barcelona and Paris (0.06) and Amsterdam, Milan and San Sebastian (0.04). The same applies to the figures for tourism density (TH beds/Km^2), for which Marbella (497.39) has double the rate of cities such as Milan (276.83) and Valencia (247.92). Meanwhile Malaga (106.13), with a somewhat lower density, is similar to Madrid (115.94) and has double the level of Palma (52.11).

In short, the characteristics of tourist housing in a coastal destination and in an urban-cultural destination are different. Malaga, with a concentration in the historic centre (where the attractions are), a smaller room size and a lower level of seasonality, is an urban destination. The same

variables in Marbella point to a classic coastal destination, with a sun and sand model, with clients with greater purchasing power given the average price, attractions located on the coast (30km long) near the residential estates scattered across the entire region. Rental housing in Marbella dates back to the beginning of the growth in tourism, when it was summer tourism that was previously counted as unregulated. The change that has taken place is that its international profile has been raised and it has increased due to the platforms.

Table 3. Basic Indicators 2018

Densities	Malaga		Marbella	
	DataHippo	ATR	DataHippo	ATR
TH beds/inhabitants	0.07	0.04	0.44	0.17
TH beds/km^2	106.13	57.73	497.39	195.16
TH/Registered housing	0.04	0.02	0.12	0.05

Source: compiled by the authors based on the Andalusia Tourism Register and DataHippo.org

5.2 Analysis of the growth of tourism in Malaga and Marbella by projects

Two projects with similar characteristics in Marbella and Malaga have been selected, in order to study other types of tourism growth that have generated social reactions: the Pier 1 Hotel-Skyscraper Project in the Port of Malaga, and the New Marina Project in Marbella. Both projects involve the conversion of a port area, incorporating use for tourism that entails the transformation of the landscape of a central area in the city's consciousness. These projects are typical of how the urban growth machine expands in tourist destinations (Romero et al., 2017).

The projects include hotels, commercial areas and auditoriums; the Malaga project also includes a casino, while among other items, the project in Marbella includes a terminal for cruise ships and an expansion of the mooring area (1,220 berths).

The promoters include the same architect in both projects, as well as the public authorities at three levels (local, regional and national) which facilitate the processing of authorisations for changes of land uses, even when this involves changes in current urban planning. The initial investment amounts to between 150—200 million euros, and comes from Qatari funds in both cases. In Marbella the lack of guarantees of financial solvency halted the project, and led to it being reawarded. The characteristics of the two projects are presented in Table 4.

Another characteristic common to both projects is that they have triggered citizens' reactions against them, and these have led to organised social movements. *Defend our horizon* in Malaga is a civic platform (with no formal legal status) that has a support network of about 40 institutions and

citizen's groups. The issues it criticises include the significant impact on the landscape and the alteration of the city's symbolic image, the privatisation of the public space and the lack of genuine public participation.

Table 4. Description of the selected projects in Malaga and Marbella

PROJECT / PROMOTION	SKYSCRAPERS ON PIER 1 OF THE PORT OF MALAGA	NEW MARINA IN MARBELLA
PURPOSE OF THE PROMOTION		
Purpose	Luxury Hotel, commercial and leisure premises. Casino and auditorium. Space-exclusive-bubble	Marina, cruise liner terminal, luxury hotel, shopping area, large auditorium. Area inspired by Puerto Banús
Impact	Bay of Malaga landscape Area = 3 Ha Est. Budget = 150 million	Urban coastline Area = 40 Ha Est. Budget = 200 million €
Area of influence	Bay of Malaga landscape	Coastline
Future development	Continue real estate business and the rentier focus of the port: operation in pier 4	"[.].define and enhance the urban development of the town of Marbella in its Eastern Sector [...]" (J. Seguí (2016). The new port of La Bajadilla: a challenge for the city
AGENTS AND INVESTMENT		
Initiative and investment	Port of Malaga and a company without unknown activity, backed by a Qatari investment group	Promotion by the Ports of Andalusia Public Agency, awarded to the TJV of investors from Qatar and Marbella Town Council (Puerto Deportivo S.A.)
Social capital (strategy)	Convergence of interests (established by the architect: Investors, Port, Andalusia Regional Government and Ministry of Public Works)	Ministry of Public Works and Transport - Andalusia Regional Government, Marbella Town Council, tourism and real estate entrepreneurs
CURRENT SITUATION		
Work	Not started	Not started
Legal status	Administrative permits applied for Environmental impact favourable (And. Reg. Gov.). Judicial review appeal made due to change of use in Special Plan	Application procedure halted due to investors' failure to meet commitments. Subject to legal action for ownership of the Concession

Source: compiled by the authors based on Romero et al. (2017)

In Marbella, the project contributed to a relatively disorganised initial mobilisation: they were not very interconnected, and did not use social networks, the 15-M movement had not yet emerged, etc. The main demands included the right to landscape, the city and public participation. This initial

movement was the embryo for a citizens' response network. Its most active members are representatives of the Association of Traders and Professionals of the Old Town of Marbella, and the Old Town Residents' Association. This network has subsequently been very active in terms of the public response in subsequent actions, but particularly in the protests over the felling of trees in the city, the expansion of hostelry terraces/tables and the increase in housing for tourism. The next section discusses their perceptions of the conflict and the nature of their actions.

5.3 Reactions from residents: perception of conflict, actions taken and demands

The analysis and diagnosis of the resistance investigated is divided into 3 dimensions: (1) territorial-environmental; (2) social and collective subjectivity; (3) tourist-economic. In the territorial-environmental sphere, an idea of spatial justice related to their daily space is advocated. According to their own criteria, they are entitled to this as users of the space and it is being taken from them in an authoritarian way. Urban planning and administrative disputes have been reported due to possible irregularities in some of the processes. There is a perceived lack of protection, a distrust on the political level), and those concerned say that

> [It is] very difficult to understand what is happening in Malaga with the #Skyscraper. A Qatari investment group, with the help of the authorities in Malaga, is planning to undertake a private project on publicly-owned land in the port (the Defend Our Horizon Platform via @noskyscraper).

> We have been complaining about this vulnerability, illegality and expulsion for two years and no officials have done anything about it (Malaga Historic City Centre Residents' Association via @residentsmalaga).

Compliance with the regulations is perceived as arbitrary, because respect for them is not encouraged, that is what they're complaining about in the centres of Malaga and Marbella, because of the high noise levels, the occupation of public roads, the preference for commercial and hotel uses over residential uses. This example of touristification suggests that there is no perceived clear model for the city or tourism, the citizens are not consulted to define it, and the approved plans are not respected:

> Is there a tourism model? There isn't one as far as I know (Discussion Group DG1).

> We're constantly asking the council what model for the city they want [...]. If it's a Malaga of museums, then they should say so clearly but they shouldn't use residents to raise funds when in fact what they're creating is a stage set, a theme park (Discussion Group DG2).

> The general feeling in the absence of any measures #noise, the streets being invaded by unregulated #terraces, the defence of insolvent promoters #SaveTheMundial and the expulsion of #residents from their homes is that #Malaga is a lawless city... (Malaga Historic City Centre Residents' Association via @residentsmalaga)

The social movements describe the environmental impact as negative. They mention issues such as the lack of protection for the coast, pollution and the loss of urban green spaces. The deterioration of the urban landscape is a particularly sensitive issue. They mention how citizens have the

> Right to the landscape which has been recognised in the European Landscape Convention since 2000 and which [...] has to be transferred to practical regulations (Discussion group DG1).

The mobilisation in Marbella was strong, and they managed to stop trees being felled in the centre of town, which in some streets the restaurants and bars took advantage of to expand their area for chairs and tables (lampstands):

> It was a plan by the Provincial and Municipal Councils, they consult us for our opinion, and they've changed our entire urban landscape [...] for no reason, they simply said that it was because the city had to be modernised (Discussion Group DG1).

In Malaga, the recommendation by ICOMOS to reject the skyscraper project has reinforced the Defend Our Horizon movement. The report clearly states that the permanent nature of the building would have an irreversible impact, which would spoil the city's landscape and heritage values (ICOMOS, 2018).

In the social sphere and in the collective subjective consciousness, the main issue that arises is the negative effects on the quality of life. Citizens in Marbella complain that the felling of trees has led to a deterioration in their surroundings. In the Old Centre of Malaga, they say that their living conditions have been negatively affected, while residents of the nearby neighbourhoods they fear that the situation will spread to them:

> They've changed the entire urban landscape, you go down the street and you get hit by an east wind that kills you [...] we don't recognise our city (Discussion Group DG1).

> We are the victims and the forgotten people in residential environment [...] actors on a set [...] many people are seeing how their living conditions have deteriorated (Discussion Group DG1).

> [Lagunillas is] the typical case that appears in the media: gentrification, touristification, degraded neighbourhood, etc. (Discussion group DG1).

In the case of Malaga in particular, people are complaining that the investments made in urban regeneration have not ended the decline in population, or improved their living conditions (Del Sol, in Sau and Muñoz, 2018), and they are particularly concerned about the proposal to reduce the residential nature of the city centre made by one political party.

> Zoning is needed, which hasn't happened in the Historic Centre since 2007; the Centre should no longer be mainly residential (Cassá in Sau & Muñoz, 2018).

All the movements say that the creation of social networks and the Internet marked a turning point in terms of raising the profile of the problems created by the projects that they oppose, because it facilitates organisation and broadens their spectrum of action, e.g. signature collection campaigns, disseminating information, etc. The movements studied use these tools in combination with other actions in the street (e.g. demonstrations, bicycle marches, participation in debates), in the press (e.g. publishing articles) and legal actions (e.g. appeals, reports to the Ombudsman, declarations, participation in motions of censure at the Council's plenary sessions), and are even considering criminal proceedings (e.g. neglect on the issue of noise in the case of the Historic Centre of Malaga).

However, they are working against the tide of public opinion, which is still very favourable to developmentalism, as well as operating in an environment in which social inertia is very strong. Indeed, part of the discussion in the discussion groups focused on the lack of support from the population, and from young people in particular. The arguments cover two significant subjects in this regard - on the one hand, ignorance of the effects of these projects, e.g. in the case of the skyscraper-hotel in the port, and on the other, the lack of commitment from residents who although they show their support on social networks, do not get actively involved:

> People have an unpleasant surprise when they see the image, […] when we tell them that it is already quite far advanced with the permits, […] people get angry and at that point they start wanting to work with our platform" (Discussion group DG1)

> Activism, mobilisation, is moving into areas that I would suggest are more comfortable, involving mouse *clicks* and therefore social networks rather than face-to-face activism (Discussion Group DG1).

The lack of action by young people is striking for the resistance, given the "exodus from employment" they have experienced since 2008, and the characteristics of employment related to

tourism and hostelry: low qualifications, poor salaries and high levels of temporary work. The combination of these conditions and the rise in prices (of housing, services, etc.) has clear consequences. The younger generations cannot afford to live in the place where they work, which leads to gentrification and ageing of the population, among other effects:

> People from Marbella can't live in Marbella [...] there is above all an exodus of young people, especially those with the most qualifications" (Discussion Group DG2).

The resistance groups work in an environment defined by disproportionate resources in the dissemination of ideas. The social movements have to counteract the discourse of the promoters, which is based on the benefits of economic growth and

> On all the clichés of modernity, the argument about new symbols for the city or really the argument about progress … as well as the argument about employment" (Discussion group DG1).

The promoters and the associations that represent owners-managers of the TH draw their support from the social networks of the public institutions and use their authority, as well as those of other commercial and financial companies, local media, etc., to construct a positive public image. Meanwhile, despite containing numerous groups, the resistance movements depend on voluntary work by a few people and a minimal level of funds compared to the institutional authorities, as is apparent in the case of the complaint made about the effects of TH by residents' associations compared to the ability of the Spanish National Market and Competition Commission (CNMC) to issue reports and statements (e.g. the CNMC report, 2018).

Sporadic support from university academics and professionals is in contrast to the lack of legal experts, which has been proven to be the most decisive area in all cases, compared to the respectable law firms that work with the promoters. For this reason, the resistance considers networking with the inclusion of new actors (especially lawyers and economists) a key factor. In Spain as a whole, they have begun to mobilise to unite social movements against the touristification of urban centres. An example of this is the application by the Coordinator of Residents' Associations of Historic Neighbourhoods for the president of the CNMC to present explanations about his report.

In the tourism-economic sphere, these movements protest against negative effects on the urban, social and even the economic environment, but they do not declare themselves to be against tourism. In fact, they reject being labelled as *tourismphobic*, because they believe that this term is used to discredit their demands. An example is the case of residents' associations in the city centre

of Malaga, which complain about the effects of tourism growth such as rising housing and rental prices, inconvenience and noise, and the gradual population expulsion process in general:

> Considering that our streets are obviously covered with chairs, tables, awnings, blackboards and junk from the terraces, we ask ourselves: whose street is it? (Malaga Historic City Centre Residents' Association via @residentsmalaga)

> We're not against tourism, but we want the regulations to be complied with (Discussion Group GD2)

> Tourist homes have replaced neighbours with low quality tourism. @malaga still isn't doing anything #TH #Housesarenthotels#ResidentsEndangeredSpecies (Malaga Historic City Centre Residents' Association via @residentsmalaga)

As regards the economic impact of tourism, the perception is: (1) that the real estate business is crucial to the development of tourism on the Costa del Sol, and the skyscraper in Malaga highlights its speculative nature.

> Such an ugly #skyscraper, like the strange administrative procedure they're using. As ugly as neglecting social consensus. As ugly as the hidden real estate aims, as well as the tourism objectives. (Defend Our Horizon Platform via @noskyscraper).

> Celebrate #40YearsOfConstitution with a new header image, remembering the right to #Housing and the authorities' obligation to prevent #Speculation #ConstitutionDay #NewHeader #Housesarenthotels #Malaga #TH (Malaga Historic City Centre Residents' Association via @residentsmalaga).

The groups have some doubts about the argument used by the promoters relating to the creation of employment, since they never give any details about the conditions in the contracts that will be created. They suggest that tourism can prevent the creation of jobs or even destroy jobs in other sectors, which involves an opportunity cost and a tendency towards dependence on tourism.

> Another important issue how the problem of unemployment is used to a degree is almost insulting, without considering the quality of the employment, its temporary nature or its duration and distribution (Discussion group DG2).

> Tourism is acting as a destroyer of employment that is not associated with tourism, like a cancer. A lot of industrial employment is being destroyed in Marbella in particular, there is no investment in renewable energy, in R+D ... Because everything is focused towards tourism (Discussion group DG2).

This perception is backed by the data presented by the groups. In particular, the Urban Indicators study (Spanish National Institute of Statistics, 2018) carried out in 126 cities, ranks municipalities on the Costa del Sol among the 20 municipalities with the most tourist overnight stays in Spain, but among the 20 municipalities with the lowest annual average income per household. Promoters and operators benefit from increased tourism, but citizens do not.

The conclusion is clear: tourism is beneficial, but they demand greater sectoral diversification, specific regulation to prevent *overtourism*, to prevent TH from invading the residential space, a greater adaptation or location of facilities in the case of the Puerto Malaga hotel-skyscraper, and for more participatory planning in order to be able to make decisions about their own everyday space.

> A characteristic of our movement is that it is a movement of several movements, which shift from one to another to defend citizens' right to their city (Discussion Group DG1).

> In a democracy, principles such as transparency, public participation and the preservation of the public realm must govern the decisions of governments and the consequent actions regulated by government bodies … but it is clear that this is not always the case (Defend Our Horizon Platform via @noskyscraper).

The demands made by the various social movements and an analysis of the projects studied provide a comparison of two ways of understanding the city. One is related to the traditional inertia of urban-tourist growth machines, and the other to defending the quality of everyday life. A systematisation of this comparison is presented in the following section.

5.4 Comparison of city or inhabitation models: growth and excess of tourism vs. the demands of social movements

As shown in the projects studied that transform port areas, and according to previous research (Romero et al., 2017), the growth machine process in destinations such as the Costa del Sol has been characterised by (Navarro-Jurado et al., 2019): (i) arguments based on a worldview that have penetrated on a top-down basis and are presented as an irrefutable; (ii) times taken to complete specific projects and interventions which are usually quick, due to the concentration of political, economic and media power enjoyed by the promoters; (iii) the exchange value and the promotion of the private sphere dominate the urban transformation and the production of spaces and uses. The incorporation of the dynamics of TH in the two municipalities studied is consistent with these three characteristics, and its progression is concentrated in space and time.

Taking into account the scenario of overtourism (World Tourism Organization et al., 2018) one of the consequences of this type of growth in tourist cities is social conflicts caused due to its

perceived negative impacts, and specifically those that as Goodwin (2017) points out, are considered unacceptable due to seriously altering or lowering the residents' perceived quality of life. The social movements that have been studied and their demands are an example of this type of conflict and of the social, cultural and spatial aspects highlighted by Soja (2008): they are more informal, autonomous and plural, with more specific and local demands. According to Lefevre (2013), their demands defend their everyday way of life and their right to the city from the local level, calling for spatial and environmental justice (Soja, 2008). This requires solid legislation and rights, and processes of change that are slow, local, on a smaller scale, easily assimilated and perceived as fair, which can be directly translated into types of economy and tourism that can be reconciled with these demands.

Table 5 Comparison of characteristics: growth and excess of tourism and demands of social movements

Characteristics	TH PROCESS AND PROJECTS (GROWTH)	DEMANDS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS
TERRITORIAL-URBAN-ENVIRONMENTAL DIMENSION	Global issues come first Liquid Legislation and Rights Urban inequality, environmental and spatial injustice Commodified housing (investment funds - tourists) Private public space (terraces, marketing events…)	Local issues come first Solid Legislation and Rights Right to the city, environmental and spatial justice Housing lived (individual ownership and rent) Common public space (community life, meetings, demonstrations, etc.)
SOCIAL DIMENSION AND COLLECTIVE SUBJECTIVITY	Times of fast transformations Representative or delegate democracy Tourist nutrition, commodified life Generic global identity	Slow transformation times Direct democracy Everyday, common way of life Own local collective identity
TOURIST-ECONOMIC DIMENSION	Economy based on competition between cities The value of change comes first Business issues come first Central role of financial capital and external investors High density generic tourism	Local and circular economy The usage value comes first Leisure comes first Central role of small neighbourhood businesses and local agents Low density responsible tourism

Source: compiled by the authors

The main characteristics linked to the process of growth of TH and the projects studied can be compared with the demands of the associated social movements (see Table 5). In short, faced with an understanding of the city's future that is primarily based on economic and tourism growth,

opportunities for working within a different scenario for the city and its tourism model, which incorporates the preservation and improvement of the quality of daily life, are opening up as a result of the demands made by the resistance movements.

6 Conclusions

Given the need for research on the subject (Milano, 2018; Bakker & Twining-Ward, 2018) this research attempts to shed light on the conflicts arising from the growth in tourism, with particular reference to the phenomenon of overtourism, from the perspective of local social movements. Tourist housing and the projects studied represent two types of growth in tourist cities that are likely to lead to conflicts due to use or economic expectations in an area (Del Romero, 2017). The recent conflict over incompatibilities between tourism and residence is not specific to the study area, but instead applies to European tourist cities as a whole (World Tourism Organization et al., 2018). While some authors point out that the phenomenon is not new and that there are consolidated conceptual foundations, such as those related to the carrying capacity of destinations (Koens, Postma & Papp, 2018), the emergence of the platform economy and the crisis have created a new scenario. The rapid growth in the supply of holiday housing has increased the pressure on tourist areas, and it now includes new neighbourhoods that were not previously used for tourism. There has been a major transition in the tourism alternatives available in chronological and geographical terms, with an intensity causing disruptive changes within a short period of time to the residents' daily lives, leading to them being considered unacceptable. In the study area examined, social movements are now beginning to be very active in the street, media, etc., and they work together by creating associations and acting as a lobby that aims to influence local, regional and national politicians, as has been the case with the Coordinator of Residents' Associations of Historic Neighbourhoods. These reactions and means of mobilisation are consistent with the shifts in the social, cultural and spatial nature of the movements (Soja, 2008; Castells, 2012), and with the influence of the 15-M movement in Spain. However, in the area studied and according to the results obtained by Casalderrey et al. (2018), tourismphobia is not part of the opinion of the residents, who do not say they are against tourism, but instead that they are against its negative impacts, and in favour of compliance with the regulations by all. The social movements are perceived to have a more democratic concept of participation than the public authorities.

The data and indicators from both municipalities show that overtourism and its driving forces are perceived as having different intensities in cities with a classic coastal tourism model (Marbella) and in cities with urban-cultural tourism (Malaga). Rental housing was a feature in Marbella since its origins as a tourism destination (rental housing for the summer that was part of the unregulated

supply). This led to the growth in real estate that has taken place since the 1980s, and which has now become visible because the platforms have placed it on the global market and contributed to its exponential growth. In Malaga, TH is a new type of accommodation.

Another issue is that the conflicts studied highlight the fact that tourism has reached saturation levels, and that its traditional management models are insufficient. The plans (territorial and tourism) currently in place do not provide solutions to the negative effects of the growth in tourism, because they were written before the current boom and also tend to address interests that differ from those of the residents (investors, traders, hoteliers, etc.). The growth model continues the inertia of urban growth machines in terms of both its approaches (ideas) and its instruments (plans and actions: e.g. the Malaga Strategic Tourism Plan and the Marbella Strategic Plan). However, practices that are the sources of other types of intervention in the city can be identified in the social movements defending everyday space which have been studied. In addition to resisting the projects and tourism inertia that affect them, they are demanding more information and a democratisation of the forms of government at the local level, as well as planning that is designed for a different, non-invasive tourism which is compatible with residents' interests.

Various limitations on an analysis of the supply and demand of tourist dwellings, related to the availability and reliability of data, were identified during the investigation. Future areas of work and research lines may be which are related to systems for the measurement and quantification of this supply, detailed information on the economic activity generated in the destination, inspection and monitoring procedures of illegal housing and the informal economy, etc.

Other future lines of work that arise from the results of this investigation include a more in-depth conceptualisation and analysis of the phenomenon of tourist saturation; and investigating mechanisms to prevent and manage the social conflicts caused by the perception of tourist saturation. Finally, academic reflection on the issue of the quantitative dimensions of the development of tourism, the parameters for assessing its positive evolution, and possible strategies for its containment and degrowth in tourist destinations affected by saturation must continue.

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