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**PROGRAMA DE DOCTORADO EN CIENCIAS ECONÓMICAS Y
EMPRESARIALES**



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TESIS DOCTORAL

**Estudios sobre el impacto de la nueva economía
digital en la actividad económica y la sociedad.
Especial referencia al sector turístico.**

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RESUMEN Y ESTRUCTURA DE LA TESIS

La tesis que se presenta en este documento se configura como un reagrupamiento de trabajos publicados por el doctorando en tres revistas indexadas en el Journal Citation Index (JCR), Scopus y Econlit. **El objetivo principal de las investigaciones compiladas ha sido evaluar algunas de las componentes del impacto en la actividad económica y en la sociedad que tienen los nuevos modelos de economía digital, focalizando en los sistemas de intermediación online de alojamientos turísticos.** A lo largo de los tres trabajos de los que se compone esta tesis se han aplicado diferentes metodologías que se expondrán en este documento y que asumen como hilo conductor el objetivo de analizar el impacto que tienen, en diferentes ámbitos, las actividades de intermediación de alojamientos turísticos englobadas en la llamada “sharing economy” que en los últimos años ha alterado de forma considerable el contexto de la oferta de alojamientos vacacionales (Guttentag, 2019; Martín et al., 2020).

Las empresas pertenecientes a la denominada “P2P (Peer to Peer) accommodation market” tratan básicamente de interconectar directamente a viajeros con anfitriones y de entre las diversas empresas que existe, Airbnb es la compañía líder y pionera en el mercado, hospedando de media a más de dos millones de habitantes por noche (Airbnb, 2020). En los últimos años, el desarrollo de este tipos de actividades ha provocado el aumento de los flujos de turistas hacía entornos residenciales, generando diferentes tipos de impactos sobre los propios destinos y vecindarios que soportan una mayor densidad de viviendas turísticas (Quattrone et al., 2016; Gunter & Önder, 2018; Gutiérrez et al., 2017). Todo ello ha generado un debate sobre la propia sostenibilidad social del modelo turístico en cuestión. Modelo regulado de forma muy heterogénea y atomizada a nivel municipal. A lo anterior, se añade como condicionante el impacto sufrido tras el confinamiento de marzo de 2020, que ha afectado especialmente al sector turístico, incluido al sector de alquileres a corto plazo de viviendas vacacionales.

El primer trabajo, **“Interferences generated on the well-being of local communities by the activity of online platforms for tourist accommodation”** ha sido publicado en la revista “Journal of Sustainable Tourism” indexada en el JCR (Q1). Tiene por objetivo arrojar luz sobre aspectos cruciales del impacto de las plataformas de alojamiento basadas en tecnología P2P sobre el bienestar de los residentes en áreas

turísticas. Para ello se ha utilizado como metodología el enfoque Human Scale Development (HSD), evaluando la compatibilidad entre sostenibilidad económica y social, los problemas de regulación y la necesidad del establecimiento de mecanismo de participación y cooperación entre grupos de interés.

El segundo trabajo, “**An Analysis of the Media Coverage of the Socio-Economic Impacts Generated by Online Tourist Rental Platforms**” ha sido publicado en la revista “International Journal of Enterprise Information Systems (IJEIS)” indexada en Scopus (Q3) y en Econlit. Tiene por objetivo determinar mediante un análisis de prensa el posicionamiento de los medios de comunicación sobre los problemas generados por el crecimiento de la presión turística en los centros de las ciudades y por la expansión de los alojamientos turísticos intermediados en línea, determinando los defectos considerados de mayor importancia y la postura a adoptar en relación con ellos. En concreto, se analizan, clasifican y agrupan los principales medios y agencias de prensa y su posicionamiento con respecto a su cobertura de los impactos socioeconómicos vinculados a las plataformas de alojamiento turístico. Para ello se han utilizado dos técnicas concretas: el Escalamiento Multidimensional y la Clasificación Ascendente Jerárquica.

Finalmente, el tercer trabajo, “**Exploring conflicts between stakeholders in tourism industry. Citizen attitude toward peer-to-peer accommodation platforms**” ha sido publicado en la revista “International Journal of Conflict Management” indexada en el JCR (Q2). Este trabajo propone un estudio exploratorio que trata de arrojar luz sobre algunas de las principales cuestiones planteadas con el fin de apoyar futuras investigaciones. El objetivo principal ha sido analizar qué impactos son percibidos como más positivos o negativos por cada grupo a los que se le plantea y con ello la creación de un índice de conflicto para estos grupos en cuanto a su percepción de dichos impactos. El trabajo se ha apoyado en un trabajo de campo realizado en abril de 2020, que consistió en 600 encuestas online a vecinos de la ciudad de Granada.

Una vez realizada la introducción del presente trabajo se presentarán los resultados obtenidos, concretados en los tres artículos anexados y se realizará una discusión y análisis de las conclusiones, para finalizar con una propuesta de futuras investigaciones a esta obra que pudieran contribuir a algunas de las discusiones que se plantean sobre el objeto del estudio.

Índice

1.	INTRODUCCIÓN	6
1.1.	Introducción a la investigación.	6
1.2.	Contexto.	9
1.3.	Justificación y objetivo de la tesis.	12
1.4.	Metodología.	16
2.	RESULTADOS	21
2.1.	Trabajo 1. Interferences generated on the well-being of local communities by the activity of online platforms for tourist accommodation.	21
2.2.	Trabajo 2. An Analysis of the Media Coverage of the Socio-Economic Impacts Generated by Online Tourist Rental Platforms.	22
2.3.	Trabajo 3. Exploring conflicts between stakeholders in tourism industry. Citizen attitude toward peer-to-peer accommodation platforms.....	23
3.	DISCUSIÓN Y CONCLUSIONES	24
3.1.	Discusión.....	24
3.2.	Conclusiones.	28
4.	FUTURAS INVESTIGACIONES.	32
5.	BIBLIOGRAFÍA	34
6.	ANEXOS	55
6.1.	Interferences generated on the well-being of local communities by the activity of online platforms for tourist accommodation.	55
6.2.	An Analysis of the Media Coverage of the Socio-Economic Impacts Generated by Online Tourist Rental Platforms.	84
6.3.	Exploring conflicts between stakeholders in tourism industry. Citizen attitude toward peer-to-peer accommodation platforms.....	102

1. INTRODUCCIÓN

1.1. Introducción a la investigación.

En los últimos años la aparición de plataformas de alquiler a corto plazo de viviendas para uso turístico, apoyadas en desarrollo de la tecnología peer-to-peer, ha alterado el contexto el sector turístico a nivel mundial. Empresas como Airbnb, HomeExchange o Vrbo ofrecen alojamientos en casas y habitaciones privadas de manera colaborativa, utilizando las plataformas digitales, inicialmente bajo del modelo de economía compartida y de consumo colaborativo (Dredge y Gyimothy, 2015). Relacionado con este fuerte crecimiento son muchos los estudios sobre dichas plataformas que han sido publicados en los últimos años, profundizando en conceptos como la rentabilidad, imagen del destino turístico o configuración de la oferta. Sin embargo, existen pocos estudios que analicen los impactos de esta nueva modalidad turística en auge.

La llegada de turistas a los entornos residenciales ha provocado un amplio abanico de impactos positivos y negativos, dando lugar a conflictos entre los diferentes actores participantes en el sector que se inició ya hace años con la creciente presión ejercida sobre ciertas ciudades como resultado de décadas de políticas a favor del crecimiento y la expansión de los paquetes de viajes de bajo coste (Russo y Quagliari, 2014). A esto se añaden los impactos disruptivos generados por la expansión de las plataformas de alojamiento peer-to-peer (Gallagher, 2017). Todo ello ha aumentado la interacción de las comunidades locales con los turistas, ya que el crecimiento de las llegadas es paralelo al hecho de que cada vez más turistas pernoctan en edificios residenciales (Gravari-Barbas y Guinand, 2017). Los impactos del turismo en los destinos de acogida son cada vez más intensos y diversos (Martín, Ostos y Salinas, 2019). De hecho, los primeros escenarios que podrían describirse bajo el término sobreturismo han dado lugar a la ya conocida turismofobia, incluso en contextos económicamente dependientes del turismo (Coldwell, 2017; Martín, Rodríguez, Zermeño, Salinas, 2018).

Partiendo de la base de que el desarrollo de la actividad turística implica a diferentes grupos de interés, las interacciones resultantes de estas plataformas también impactarán a cada grupo de interés (Martín, Guaita, Salinas, Rodríguez, 2018). Varios autores han señalado la importancia de analizar cómo los residentes en zonas turísticas perciben los

impactos generados por este tipo de plataformas (Lyons y Wearing, 2015; Richardson, 2015; Gutiérrez, García-Palomares, Romanillos, Salas-Olmedo, 2017). Guttentag (2015) afirma que los impactos generados por estas plataformas son todavía imprevisibles, pero que analizarlos es necesario y merece la pena. Analizar la percepción social es importante por la necesidad de conseguir el apoyo de los ciudadanos, que puede garantizar el éxito de los destinos turísticos (Martin, 2019), e incorporar sus opiniones al proceso de planificación (Dyer, Gursoy, Sharma, Carter, 2007). Pero además de la opinión de los residentes como tal, los demás grupos de interés que forman parte de la comunidad también son indispensables para el buen desarrollo de la industria turística (Vargas-Sánchez, Oom, da Costa, Albino, 2015).

En esta línea, tanto Guttentag (2015) como Gallagher (2017) han afirmado que la innovación disruptiva en el sector turístico provocada por esta categoría de plataformas de alquiler merece ser estudiada más a fondo, sobre todo teniendo en cuenta sus imprevisibles resultados. Entre otros muchos beneficios plausibles de nuevos análisis, Cheng (2016) afirma que una mejor comprensión de esta situación podría ayudar a las autoridades públicas a mejorar la legislación y diseñar una hoja de ruta para aprovechar las oportunidades que puedan surgir. Esto es aún más probable si se tiene en cuenta el supuesto general del potencial de creación de riqueza material y empleo que se asocia a la economía colaborativa (OECD, 2016). Además, este potencial se vería reforzado en caso de que la normativa establecida fuera capaz de promover un crecimiento ordenado y respetuoso con los intereses de los distintos actores implicados (Martin et al., 2019a). El hecho de que estas actividades provoquen numerosos conflictos entre las partes interesadas implica que el sector se beneficiaría enormemente de la atención adicional que la comunidad de investigación académica podría conceder (Cohen y Muñoz, 2016). Por lo tanto, el conocimiento de estas interacciones y conflictos debería dar lugar a una línea de investigación académica activa.

Se hace necesario investigar y evaluar las percepciones de los residentes en zonas turísticas respecto a los impactos que el intenso crecimiento de los alojamientos de alquiler turístico tiene sobre su bienestar social. La necesidad de arrojar luz sobre las percepciones de los residentes ha sido destacada por Guttentag (2015), McGehee y Andereck (2004) y Suess, Woosnam, Mody, Dogru y Sirakaya Turk (2020). Estos autores

también subrayan los beneficios de conocer si estas percepciones están condicionadas por los vínculos financieros entre los residentes y el sector turístico.

Como consecuencia del aumento de la presión turística que se está produciendo en determinados destinos, se está desarrollando un sentimiento de rechazo al turismo, conocido por turismofobia-. Este sentimiento es consecuencia de los impactos soportados por la población local (Martín et al., 2018). La turismofobia también se ve alimentada por la expansión de las plataformas de intermediación online tipo Airbnb, que han introducido una actividad económica en entornos residenciales, impactando consecuentemente en la vida de los residentes y en cuestiones tan sensibles como el precio de la vivienda (Martín et al., 2019a). Estudios recientes han analizado los impactos derivados de estos nuevos modelos de organización del turismo (Lee y Trimi, 2018; Revilla et al, 2019), e incluso algunos han estudiado la percepción ciudadana de dichos modelos, que se comentarán más adelante. Es fundamental entender este fenómeno de rechazo y sus causas para lograr un modelo de convivencia sostenible y poder desarrollar eficazmente la legislación necesaria.

En definitiva, la necesidad de estudiar este fenómeno turístico, relativamente reciente, debería servir de ayuda a la hora de futuras planificaciones regulatorias, sobre todo en los casos que afecten a los entornos residenciales, debiendo también tener en cuenta las opiniones, no solo de los residentes, sino de otros grupos de interés implicados, permitiendo reducir al mínimo los posibles conflictos para no renunciar a la sostenibilidad social del turismo.

1.2. Contexto.

La importancia del sector turístico y la presión turística

El turismo es un sector económico estratégico en España. Según el Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE), en 2019 la industria turística representó el 12,8% del PIB en España y fue responsable directa de 2,72 millones de empleos, más que cualquier otra actividad económica (INE, 2020). El crecimiento de la actividad turística ha sido un elemento clave en el proceso de recuperación de la economía española tras la crisis de 2007 (Aguilera et al., 2014). El porcentaje de empleo creado directamente por este sector no ha bajado del 10% en el periodo 2010-2017 (INE, 2018). La importancia de la actividad turística también se aprecia al hacer una comparación internacional. Según la Organización Mundial del Turismo (OMT), en 2019, España fue el segundo destino del mundo en número de visitantes, solo por detrás de Francia. Como dato relevante, en el año 2019, el turismo contribuyó de forma directa e indirecta en 170.000 millones de euros a la economía española (Hosteltur, 2021).

Los datos anteriores demuestran que España depende en gran medida del sector turístico, que juega un papel importante en su desarrollo económico. A pesar de esta evidencia, se está desarrollando un sentimiento de rechazo al turismo en algunas de las principales zonas turísticas del país (Martín et al., 2019a), que ha llegado a provocar numerosos actos vandálicos y protestas por parte de sus habitantes (Ordiz, 2017). Esta situación parece ser el resultado de décadas de políticas turísticas centradas en atraer al mayor número de visitantes durante el mayor tiempo posible (Morant, 1996). Esto, sin duda, aumenta los beneficios empresariales a costa de generar impactos negativos. Esta estrategia ha tenido eco en muchas ciudades europeas, donde las estrategias pro-crecimiento dirigidas a atraer turistas se han complementado con el auge de los vuelos de bajo coste y, recientemente, con la consolidación de plataformas económicas colaborativas (Russo y Quagliari, 2014). Varios estudios han relacionado los impactos que el turismo tiene en la calidad de vida de los residentes, la forma en que estos perciben dichos impactos y su apoyo al turismo (Andereck y Nyaupane, 2011; Croes, 2012; Ridderstaat et al., 2013).

La presión turística sobre los centros de algunas ciudades ha aumentado notablemente tras la expansión de las plataformas de alquiler turístico online. La intermediación de

viviendas turísticas se había desarrollada de manera informal, pero la difusión de la web 2.0 y la tecnología de intercambio P2P han provocado un gran aumento del número de transacciones entre particulares (Russo y Quagliari, 2014). Airbnb y Couchsurfing ilustran dos ejemplos de estos nuevos sistemas de intermediación de alojamiento entre particulares. Couchsurfing comenzó su actividad como plataforma sin ánimo de lucro en 2004, pero a partir de 2011 este enfoque quedó atrás. Airbnb inició su actividad en 2008 como una plataforma que permitía alquilar espacios disponibles en viviendas a cambio de una tarifa (Stephany, 2015). La mejor rentabilidad de este tipo de alquiler de apartamentos por días, en comparación con el alquiler residencial de larga estancia, ha favorecido la conversión de numerosos apartamentos en los centros de las ciudades turísticas (Martin et al., 2018). Esto ha trastocado la vida en entornos residenciales que ahora se han convertido en el escenario de una actividad económica derivada de la interacción entre residentes y turistas. De momento, es un negocio incluso para inversores de nicho dado que, según Merrill Lynch, Airbnb podría absorber el 1,2% de la oferta hotelera y el 3,6-4,3% del inventario en 2020, creciendo a un ritmo anual del 40-50% (Heo, 2016).

Las plataformas de intercambio de viviendas comenzaron su actividad en 2008 y desde entonces el ritmo de difusión ha sido muy rápido (Gallagher, 2017). Dentro de estas plataformas, Airbnb es, con diferencia, la principal, aunque es solo una parte "de un surgimiento más general de empresas basadas en internet que permiten a la gente corriente ofrecer alojamiento turístico" (Guttentag, 2015). Otras empresas con actividad similar son Wimdu, 9flats, Roomorama, Onefinestay, HouseTrip, FlipKey, CouchSurfing, MisterAirbnb, etc. Los impactos descritos anteriormente, asociados a estas plataformas, han suscitado serias preocupaciones (Dredge y Gyimóthy, 2015; Queensland Tourism Industry Council, 2014). En parte, como resultado de la falta de planificación asociada a un modelo disruptivo y poco regulado (Martin et al., 2019; Nieuwland y van Melik, 2020). En algunas ciudades se ha producido un intenso debate sobre la legitimidad de estas plataformas (Bort, 2014; Brustein, 2014), que ha dado lugar a medidas de regulación muy diversas en cuanto a su contenido y a la severidad de las restricciones (Martín et al., 2019).

Percepción de los impactos y propuestas de regulación

Aunque los impactos positivos son bien conocidos y pueden aumentar los beneficios del turismo para la sociedad, se ha desarrollado una creciente sensación de preocupación paralela a estas actividades (Dredge y Gyimóthy, 2015; Queensland Tourism Industry Council, 2014). Posiblemente, debido a la falta de planificación asociada a un modelo poco regulado (Martin et al., 2019a). Como se ha mencionado anteriormente, la economía colaborativa puede aumentar o completar los ingresos de los residentes pero, al mismo tiempo, puede contribuir a la degradación de las condiciones de trabajo cuando los ingresos dependen exclusivamente de este tipo de actividades (Lyones y Wearing, 2015; Schor y Fitzmaurice, 2015).

En lo que respecta a la componente social de estos impactos, se ha señalado una pérdida de cohesión en barrios tradicionales (Cócola, 2016; Gallagher, 2018), mayor inseguridad para los viajeros (Sigala, 2017), más tráfico, alteración del sentimiento de seguridad, más ruido en edificios residenciales, apropiación del espacio público y en general congestión en espacios públicos (Gallagher, 2018; Gurran y Phibbs, 2017; Martin et al., 2017; Suess et al., 2020). También se ha indicado que este tipo de actividades pueden generar una mayor evasión de impuestos y una competencia desleal a otro tipo de alojamiento más regulados (Lyons y Wearing, 2015; Oskam y Boswijk, 2016).

Uno de los elementos que han provocado un mayor rechazo social es el aumento de los precios de la vivienda y del alquiler, ya que ha obligado a los residentes en zonas turísticas a abandonar sus hogares (Martin et al., 2018). La falta de regulación uniforme y la ausencia de planificación pública también parecen estar detrás del creciente rechazo (Martin et al., 2019b). Los impactos turísticos más negativamente percibidos se asocian al aumento del precio de los alquileres, la pérdida de población, los conflictos relacionados con el uso de los espacios públicos, la desaparición de los comercios dirigidos a los residentes, el aumento de los precios del comercio minorista, la masificación, la falta de tranquilidad en el entorno y el aumento del consumo de alcohol y drogas (Abril-Sellarés et al., 2015; Morant, 1996). En cuanto a los impactos asociados a los flujos crecientes de turistas y, por tanto, a la presión sobre los centros urbanos, los impactos negativos más percibidos son los relacionados con la pérdida de calidad de vida,

la falta de tranquilidad y la alteración de los estilos de vida tradicionales (Abril-Sellarés et al., 2015; Abubakar et al., 2019).

A lo largo de los trabajos ya realizados y una vez detectados los problemas principales, se proponen diferentes ideas novedosas y variadas en cuanto a la regulación de la comentada actividad en los viviendas para uso turístico, entre las que destacan, limitar los apartamentos turísticos a la primera planta de los edificios para minimizar las molestias, establecer un sistema de puntos que las comunidades puedan utilizar para denunciar ruidos y molestias y que ayude a promover la retirada automática de la licencia de vivienda turística o la posibilidad de que los alojamientos turísticos sólo se permitan en edificios destinados exclusivamente a ese fin.

Necesidad de mayor conocimiento del sector

El conocimiento de la percepción de los impactos asociados a este modelo de intermediación de alojamientos es realmente útil. A partir de esta información será posible apoyar procesos de regulación y estrategias claras y participativas que tengan en cuenta las necesidades de los colectivos afectados (Stergiou y Farmaki, 2019). Además, **los principales impactos descritos en la literatura académica parece que se asocian a una falta de regulación y planificación** (Martin et al., 2019; Nieuwland y van Melik, 2020). En este sentido se han descrito efectos tales como un menor grado de ocupación en alojamientos tradicionales (Fang et., 2016), bajadas en los salarios de los empleados en el sector turístico (Suciu, 2016), creación de empleos de baja calidad (Lyons y Wearing, 2015; Schor y Fitzmaurice, 2015), desahucios de inquilinos de larga estancia, incremento de los precios de los alquileres y escasez de viviendas en áreas turísticas (Edelman y Geradin, 2016; Jefferson-Jones, 2014; Lines, 2015).

1.3. Justificación y objetivo de la tesis.

El objetivo principal de esta Tesis busca ampliar información ante el fenómeno anteriormente descrito para poder contribuir a ordenarlo de forma coherente, dado que los estudios sobre la temática son crecientes en los últimos años. Una rama de los mismos se centra en estudiar la percepción de los impactos asociados a la actividad alrededor de las plataformas on line de alquiler a corto plazo de viviendas para uso turístico, campo

sobre el que desarrolla este trabajo, focalizando en esta modalidad de economía digital en el ámbito turístico.

Destacar que todavía las investigaciones sobre la percepción de los impactos son escasas y, sobre todo, no entran en la perspectiva de la sostenibilidad social en relación a los diferentes grupos de interés que rodean a esta actividad económica, incluido la percepciones moduladas a través de la prensa. Este trabajo pretende también contribuir en aportar diferentes estrategias para la regulación y ordenación de esta actividad desde las administraciones públicas, debido a la gran dispersión en cuanto a regulación que actualmente existe.

Para alcanzar este gran objetivo sobre el mayor grado de conocimiento de la percepción social derivado de las comentadas plataformas, se aportan tres trabajos de investigación que tratan de responder a las diferentes preguntas de investigación planteadas en cada uno de los trabajo.

El **primer trabajo** ofrece una doble contribución a la literatura académica. **En primer lugar**, arroja luz sobre los problemas creados para el bienestar de los residentes por el crecimiento del alojamiento turístico mediado a través de plataformas online. Y en **segundo lugar**, opta por un procedimiento novedoso que toma como punto de partida las necesidades humanas, una metodología que rara vez se ha utilizado antes con este fin. En concreto, la primera aportación señalada se canaliza a través de tres preguntas de investigación.

RQ1: ¿Cómo valoran los residentes los cambios en su bienestar asociados a las plataformas de alquiler turístico?

RQ2: ¿Cuáles son los factores subyacentes que condicionan la actitud de los residentes?

RQ3: ¿Qué acciones podrían limitar los efectos negativos en la vida de los residentes?

Este estudio se centró en la realización de diferentes talleres focalizados en las necesidades de los residentes del centro turístico de Barcelona. Se eligió Barcelona porque es uno de los principales puntos turísticos de España y Europa, siendo una ciudad que sufre una gran presión turística en su centro histórico. Para ello se utilizó el enfoque

HSD (Human Scale Development) para revelar los tipos de interacciones que perjudicaban la sostenibilidad social entre las actividades turísticas y el impacto en los residentes. Asimismo, esta metodología ayudó a descubrir posibles intervenciones públicas que pueden contribuir a satisfacer las necesidades de los vecinos, preservando la sostenibilidad social, y garantizando la viabilidad de la actividad turística vinculada a estas plataformas. Por lo tanto, al divulgar los hallazgos del trabajo, se intenta aportar una perspectiva utilizando una metodología novedosa aplicada a la industria turística, que podría llegar a ser replicada en otros destinos y contextos.

El **segundo trabajo** tiene por objetivo realizar un análisis de prensa para arrojar luz al posicionamiento de los medios de comunicación sobre los problemas generados a partir del crecimiento de la presión turística en los centros de las ciudades y la expansión de los apartamentos turísticos intermediados vía online. Con ello se pudo determinar a qué efectos se les presta una mayor atención y tienen mayor importancia y que posicionamiento de las partes implicadas se definen en torno a ellos, contrastando los resultados obtenidos con las evidencias aportadas por estudios anteriores sobre la percepción de los residentes respecto a los impactos más negativos de este tipo de actividades turísticas. Este análisis, no realizado hasta el momento, pretende delimitar qué tipo de impactos tienen una mayor repercusión mediática y cuales son ignorados. Igualmente se trata de definir el posicionamiento de los medios de comunicación en torno a estos problemas.

Este análisis es fundamental, pues el papel de los medios de comunicación, como se ha expuesto, es determinante en la configuración de la opinión colectiva, lo que a su vez puede determinar el sentido de la política pública y el propio rechazo de las actividades turísticas comentadas que están en proceso de crecimiento.

A lo largo del trabajo se trata de responder a las siguientes preguntas ya anteriormente comentadas:

RQ1: ¿Cómo se posicionan los medios de comunicación ante los problemas generados por el alquiler de viviendas vacacionales a través de plataformas on line?

RQ2: ¿Existen efectos a los que se les presta una mayor importancia?

Por último, el **tercer trabajo** se centra en el reconocimiento de la necesidad de ampliar el análisis y conocimiento de los impactos generados por las plataformas de alojamiento turístico y los conflictos generados entre los diferentes grupos de interés. Se considera vital analizar los diferentes impactos que afectan a los grupos de interés y la percepción que cada grupo tiene frente a ellos (Guttentag, 2015; McGehee y Andereck, 2004) para determinar los potenciales conflictos que pueden surgir. Este mayor conocimiento es clave, ya que permitiría apoyar los procesos de regulación de este tipo de actividad para que se aprovechen las potenciales oportunidades (OCDE, 2016) respetando los intereses o derechos de cada grupo de interés (Cheng, 2016). Además, el adecuado crecimiento de esta actividad requiere de una correcta regulación, y esto implica atender las necesidades de los diferentes grupos de interés (Martin et al., 2019), por lo que entender cómo perciben los impactos los diferentes grupos de interés es fundamental.

En concreto, se analiza la percepción de los distintos grupos de interés implicados en el desarrollo turístico respecto a los impactos positivos y negativos asociados a las plataformas de alquiler turístico, bajo la Teoría del Intercambio Social (TIS). Según esta teoría, los ciudadanos evalúan o comparan los beneficios económicos potenciales frente a los costes esperados asociados al desarrollo turístico, lo que, a su vez, conformará su actitud (Ap, 1992).

En resumen, la investigación del tercer trabajo se traduce en tres preguntas de investigación (RQ) específicas:

RQ1: ¿Existen grandes variaciones en la percepción de los impactos asociados a las plataformas de alojamiento entre pares entre los distintos interesados?

RQ2: ¿La evaluación de los impactos se inscribe en el ámbito de la teoría del intercambio social?

RQ3: ¿Qué tipo de impactos generan el mayor nivel de conflicto entre las partes interesadas?

Además, teniendo en cuenta la situación vivida en los últimos dos años en relación a la pandemia relacionada con el COVID19 comenzada el pasado febrero de 2020, se ha

analizado también la percepción del miedo potencial a las enfermedades que portan los turistas. Se trata de recoger si los residentes locales perciben el potencial contagio como un impacto negativo, en la medida en que las plataformas de alojamiento entre pares acercan a los turistas a los entornos residenciales que otras formas de alojamiento y considerando que puede aportar información considerable para futuras pandemias.

Los grupos de interés que se han establecido en este trabajo son los siguiente:

1. Residentes en barrios turísticos.
2. Residentes en barrios no turísticos.
3. Propietarios de pisos turísticos.
4. Propietarios de comercios ambulantes y restaurantes.
5. Profesionales cuyos ingresos dependen del turismo.
6. Ciudadanos locales que viven en edificios con viviendas turísticas.
7. Usuarios de plataformas de alquiler vacacional.

En definitiva, el objetivo final de este tercer trabajo ha sido que impactos son percibidos como más positivos o negativos por cada grupo de interés, creando a su vez diferentes índices de conflicto para estos grupos que recojan su percepción de dichos impactos. De este modo, se trata de abordar la laguna de la investigación en la literatura académica anteriormente definida, a la vez que se proporcionará información útil para la planificación y el desarrollo normativo del turismo también comentado en la introducción.

1.4. Metodología.

Para el **primer trabajo** planteado se ha utilizado el enfoque HSD (Human Scale Development) que fue propuesto en la década de 1980 por el economista Manfred Max-Neef y otros expertos para apoyar los procesos de desarrollo endógeno. Este enfoque se basa en tres pilares: autosuficiencia, relaciones equilibradas y satisfacción de las necesidades humanas (Guillén-Royo et al., 2017). Este estudio propone el uso de un marco novedoso para lograr el propósito descrito.

Como se ha detallado anteriormente, este marco amplía el conocimiento de las interacciones entre turistas y locales considerando las nuevas formas de turismo. La recogida de datos en Barcelona se realizó en dos fases durante septiembre de 2019. La primera fase consistió en un cuestionario de encuesta telefónica a los residentes del centro de la ciudad. Esta encuesta incluía preguntas sobre características demográficas y socioeconómicas. En este cuestionario también se preguntó a los ciudadanos sobre su disposición a participar en uno de los talleres de HSD. Un total de 269 participantes respondieron al cuestionario y 39 de ellos contestaron afirmativamente a participar en los talleres.

Siguiendo estudios anteriores que utilizaban la misma metodología, (ver Guillen-Royo, 2016), se fijó el objetivo de reclutar entre 30-40 participantes, de manera que cada uno de los dos talleres iniciales estuviera formado por entre 15 y 20 personas. Los barrios de Barcelona en los que se aplicó la encuesta telefónica, y por tanto las zonas de residencia de los participantes en los talleres, son: El Raval, Barrio Gótico, La Barceloneta, Sant Pere, Santa Caterina i la Ribera, Sagrada Família, Poble Nou, Vila de Gràcia, Dreta de l'Eixample, Poble Sec, Sagrada Família, l'Antiga, Sant Antoni, Nova Esquerra y Fort Pienc. La selección de estos barrios se realizó teniendo en cuenta la presencia de viviendas ofertadas en Airbnb en la ciudad de Barcelona, de manera que se consideraron los barrios con mayor actividad. Se incentivó la participación de los voluntarios y se les agradeció con el reembolso de sus gastos de desplazamiento en metro y/o autobús. Además, se les ofreció un servicio de catering en el descanso previo a la tercera reunión, y se les concedió un certificado de participación. La mayoría de estos voluntarios declararon que su principal motivación para cooperar era la oportunidad de comentar asuntos que afectaban a su vida, a la de sus familiares y, en general, a la sociedad en la que vivían.

Para el **segundo trabajo aportado** se ha utilizado como base a los medios de comunicación, tanto prensa escrita como digital. Gran parte de la información que proporcionan los periódicos procede, a su vez, de agencias de noticias como Europa Press y la Agencia EFE. A efectos del estudio, conviene conocer la distribución geográfica de la prensa. La prensa nacional está formada por grandes periódicos como El País, El Mundo, ABC, La Razón, Público y La Vanguardia. Otros periódicos se establecen a nivel regional, provincial o local, lo que los lleva a ofrecer más espacio y atención a los hechos

y acontecimientos locales, como El Heraldo de Aragón, La Voz de Galicia, La Verdad de Murcia, el Ideal, El Diario Montañés, Diario Sur, El Diario de Sevilla.

Como el objetivo principal de este trabajo ha sido analizar, clasificar y agrupar los principales medios y agencias de prensa y su posicionamiento respecto a su cobertura de los impactos socioeconómicos vinculados a las plataformas de alojamiento turístico, se realizó un análisis de contenido de la terminología relacionada con las noticias sobre este tema. Se utilizaron dos técnicas estadísticas diferentes, el Escalamiento Multidimensional y la Clasificación Ascendente Jerárquica (Clustering). En una segunda etapa se realizó un análisis descriptivo de la cobertura de los periódicos. Los datos se han extraído de la base de datos MyNewsOnline® y los términos de búsqueda fueron (**Airbnb, apartamentos turísticos, alojamiento turístico**). Estos términos se buscaron en los titulares de las noticias y en parte del cuerpo de las mismas, así como en los feeds de noticias de MyNewsOnline®, dentro del periodo entre junio y septiembre de 2018, correspondiente a la temporada alta turística en España.

Una vez normalizadas y eliminadas las noticias duplicadas por los medios de comunicación o los resultados inexactos, quedó un conjunto de 4.860 noticias únicas. En primer lugar, se realizó un análisis estadístico de la distribución de las noticias por día, periódico y agencia de prensa. A continuación, con la ayuda del programa informático de análisis léxico AntConc®, se seleccionaron los 20 términos léxicos que muestran con mayor frecuencia los aspectos negativos del fenómeno. Como primera conclusión, términos positivos se utilizaron indistintamente en todos los periódicos y resultó complejo distinguir qué términos positivos o neutros son los que diferencian las distintas tendencias, mientras que, en el uso de los términos asociados a aspectos negativos, se hace más evidente el perfil de los periódicos, que ignoran términos o hacen un uso anormal de ellos (excesivo o insuficiente).

El conjunto de datos analizados está pues conformado por las relaciones percibidas entre los distintos periódicos. Éstas se identificaron mediante los veinte términos negativos más utilizados. Para ello se generó una matriz simétrica Δ (nxn) que mostró la similitud entre cada par de periódicos y agencias. Esta matriz simétrica se utilizó para realizar dos tipos de análisis estadísticos.

a) **Escala multidimensional**. Tuvo por objetivo modelar las proximidades entre los ítems analizados de forma que pudieran representarse en un espacio de dimensiones limitadas (para el caso dos dimensiones). Para ello, utilizó el modelo de algoritmo SMACOF (Scaling by Majorizing a Convex Function). Los resultados se han representado en un espacio bidimensional.

b) **Clasificación Jerárquica Ascendente**. Tiene por objetivo agrupar elementos similares. Para ello se ha utilizado la aproximación de la distancia media UPGMA (Unweighted Pair Group Method with Arithmetic Mean) y los resultados se mostraron en un dendrograma.

Finalmente, para el **tercer trabajo** se realizó un trabajo de campo durante el pasado mes abril de 2020, que ha consistido en la realización de 600 encuestas online a residentes en la ciudad de Granada. Esta ciudad, uno de los principales puntos turísticos de España, acoge anualmente a más de 2 millones de turistas (INE, 2020a), excluyendo los que se alojan en establecimientos no reglados de los que no se dispone de estadísticas oficiales. En esta ciudad, la oferta de plazas hoteleras asciende a 15.000, mientras que la oferta de alojamiento turístico intermediado mediante plataformas on line se estima en 3.750 (Datahippo, 2020). Esto proporciona una visión general de la presión turística que experimenta una ciudad de 232.000 habitantes (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2020b). Aunque Granada es la sexta ciudad más visitada de España, algunos estudios indican que este destino es el punto turístico de España con mayor presión turística por habitante. Se estima que el porcentaje de visitantes anuales respecto a la población residente alcanza el 11,7%, mientras que la media nacional es del 7,4% (Exceltur, 2018). Por tanto, se justifica un análisis realizado en esta ciudad.

El cuestionario se realizó de forma online, mediante un enlace distribuido a través de diferentes medios. En concreto, se contó con la colaboración de asociaciones de vecinos, medios digitales, el Ayuntamiento de Granada y la Universidad de Granada. Cabe destacar que la recogida de datos asociada a este estudio ha estado condicionada por las restricciones a la movilidad impuestas por el Gobierno español en marzo de 2020, como consecuencia del estado de alarma nacional provocado por Covid-19. Esto ha impedido encuestar a colectivos como los propietarios de hoteles o los gestores públicos -los hoteles estaban cerrados-, lo que queda por hacer en una segunda fase de este estudio. Se contactó

con todos los colectivos por el mismo procedimiento y fueron los encuestados los que se identificaron como pertenecientes a uno u otro grupo. El uso del número de teléfono como identificación evitó que los encuestados completaran la encuesta dos veces. El objetivo era llegar a 600 encuestas en total. El porcentaje de encuestados en cada grupo se describe en el trabajo, incluyendo el perfil demográfico. Cabe destacar que sólo se encuestó a personas mayores de 18 años y que llevarán al menos un año viviendo en la ciudad de Granada.

2. RESULTADOS

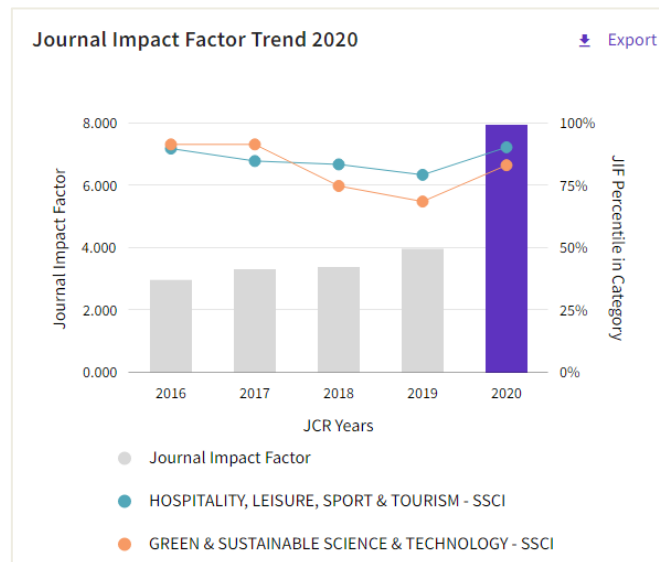
2.1. Trabajo 1. Interferences generated on the well-being of local communities by the activity of online platforms for tourist accommodation.

Revista: **Journal of Sustainable Tourism**

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2020.1861455>

Factor de impacto:

En el año 2020, la revista ocupa el puesto 6/58 (**Q1**), en el área de HOSPITALITY, LEISURE, SPORT & TOURISM y 2/9 (**Q1**) en el área GREEN & SUSTAINABLE SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY, ambos para el Journal Citation Reports (JCR).



HOSPITALITY, LEISURE, SPORT & TOURISM				GREEN & SUSTAINABLE SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY			
JCR YEAR	JIF RANK	JIF QUARTILE	JIF PERCENTILE	JCR YEAR	JIF RANK	JIF QUARTILE	JIF PERCENTILE
2020	6/58	Q1	90.52	2020	2/9	Q1	83.33
2019	12/56	Q1	79.46	2019	3/8	Q2	68.75
2018	9/52	Q1	83.65	2018	2/6	Q2	75.00
2017	8/50	Q1	85.00	2017	1/6	Q1	91.67
2016	5/45	Q1	90.00	2016	1/6	Q1	91.67

2.2. Trabajo 2. **An Analysis of the Media Coverage of the Socio-Economic Impacts Generated by Online Tourist Rental Platforms.**

Revista: **International Journal of Enterprise Information Systems (IJEIS)**

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4018/ijeis.2020070104>

Factor de impacto:

En el año 2020, la revista se encuentra indexada en Econlit, Web of Science Emerging Sources Citation Index (ESCI), SCOPUS, entre otros. Se encuentra en el **Q3** en el Scimago Journal & Country Rank (Scopus) en tres áreas diferentes. Además, la revista se encuentra listada en Econlit.



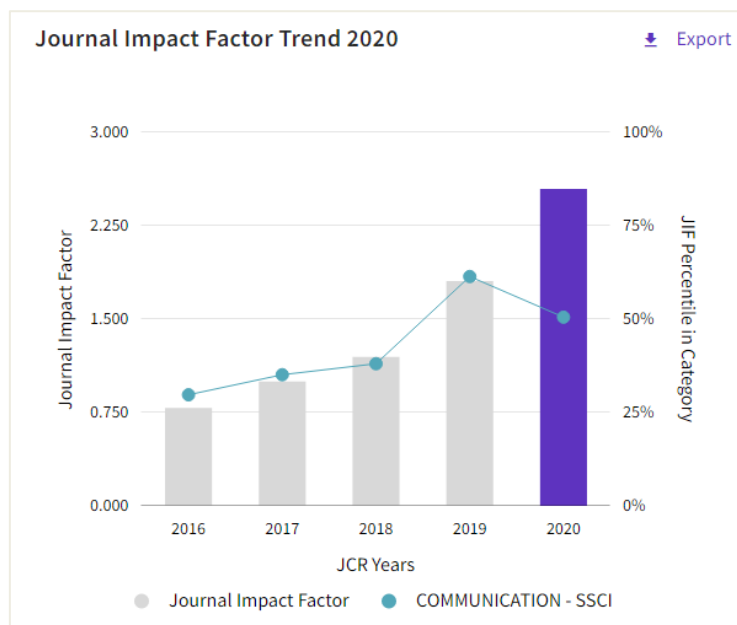
2.3. Trabajo 3. **Exploring conflicts between stakeholders in tourism industry.**
Citizen attitude toward peer-to-peer accommodation platforms.

Revista: **International Journal of Conflict Management**

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJCM-12-2020-0201>

Factor de impacto:

En el año 2020, la revista ocupa el puesto 47/94 (**Q2**), en el área de COMMUNICATION para el Journal Citation Reports (JCR).



COMMUNICATION
47/94

JCR YEAR	JIF RANK	JIF QUARTILE	JIF PERCENTILE	Visual Progress
2020	47/94	Q2	50.53	<div style="width: 50.53%;"></div>
2019	36/92	Q2	61.41	<div style="width: 61.41%;"></div>
2018	55/88	Q3	38.07	<div style="width: 38.07%;"></div>
2017	55/84	Q3	35.12	<div style="width: 35.12%;"></div>
2016	56/79	Q3	29.75	<div style="width: 29.75%;"></div>

3. DISCUSIÓN Y CONCLUSIONES

3.1. *Discusión.*

Daño en las estructuras sociales, bienestar y rechazo

En base a los datos que se han obtenido de los trabajos, parece claro que a pesar de que para gran parte de los implicados, de forma voluntaria o no, en estas actividades turísticas originadas a través de la plataformas, sus ingresos dependen del turismo, los principales impactos producidos tienen que ver con los datos directos que provocan dichas actividades en las comunidades y barrios, incidiendo de forma directa en la satisfacción de sus necesidades básicas. Coincidiendo con las aportaciones de Martín et al. (2018a). Los participantes destacaron que si el turismo no es socialmente viable, el clima de conflicto generado perjudicará a la postre a esta actividad, bajo el símil de la sostenibilidad ambiental.

Este daño social producido por este tipo de actividades turísticas impacta directamente en el bienestar general, considerándose por los residentes que esta preocupación social es más intensa que los posibles efectos económicos, debido en parte porque estos efectos económicos son los que desencadenan el daño social producido. Este daño social provocaría actitudes de rechazo a este tipo de actividades.

En definitiva, se podría argumentar que, en concreto, el grupo de residentes ve los impactos económicos como grandes desencadenantes de los cambios sociales, ya sean estos positivos como negativos. Como ejemplo de estos cambios sociales se pueden identificar la pérdida de la población en los barrios o el empeoramiento de la cohesión social derivado del aumento del precio de la vivienda, de los establecimientos comerciales y de los productos al por menor de los comercios de alrededor.

Pérdida de identidad local y rechazo ante la falta de regulación

Se ha destacado que cuando los residentes perciben un perjuicio para ellos mismos o para el bienestar de sus comunidades, se producirá un rechazo tanto a estas plataformas como a la actividad turística en su conjunto. Esto coincide con los hallazgos de Garau-Vadell, Gutiérrez -Tano, y Díaz- Armas (2018), Suess, Baloglu y Busser (2018) y Uysal, Sirgy, Woo y Lina (2016). Por lo que parece claro la necesidad de buscar el consenso

entre los diferentes grupos de interés implicados en el desarrollo del sector a través de una mejora regulativa.

Uno de los principales motivos que están en el fondo del rechazo social de este tipo de actividades estaría en la falta de regulación y planificación para minorar y contener los posibles efectos negativos, demandando la comunidad ser escuchada y una mayor implicación de los responsables políticos. Se estaría demandando un proceso en donde se debería de implicar a todas las partes en la regulación del sector de la propia actividad, considerando que podría lograr un cambio de actitud por parte de los residentes y de los otros integrantes de los diferentes grupos de interés, sobre todo si se incide en variables como la preservación de la identidad local y el fomento de las actividades tradicionales de los barrios que permitan mantener las rutinas de barrio y las interacciones entre personas en espacios públicos destinados a tal efecto.

Construcción relato por los medios y opinión pública

Respecto a los impactos recogidos por la prensa, tanto positivos y negativos, producidos por las actividades turísticas a través de estas plataformas, parece claro que en todas las noticias analizadas se hace especial referencia principalmente a los impactos negativos. Creyendo que esto podría ser usado como propio cebo para la noticia. Aunque en el 14% de los casos la noticia se complementa con la descripción de impactos positivos, este tratamiento podría provocar un claro efecto de sesgo informativo que condicione a la opinión pública. Se destaca especialmente que los impactos relacionados con la capacidad para mantener un alojamiento turístico en la zona turística concreta son los más señalados por la prensa.

Por ejemplo, especial importancia tienen los impactos relacionados con el aumento del precio tanto del alquiler, tanto del alquiler a corto como a largo plazo y del precio de la compraventa de viviendas en las zonas afectadas. También, de los impactos más destacados, estaría la falta de regulación que tienen este tipo de actividades, lo que coincide con lo anteriormente comentado. Igualmente se recoge la preocupación por la aparición del fenómeno de la turismofobia, generado principalmente por la presión que este tipo de actividades provoca sobre los destinos con mayor densidad de viviendas para

uso turístico, fenómeno que hila también con las averiguaciones del tercer trabajo aportado.

Finalmente, son también relevantes los impactos positivos comentados por la prensa, aunque con menor predominancia que los negativos. Entre estos impactos positivos estaría el aumento de la competitividad en la zona, los beneficios para las empresas de la zona, lo que sin duda podría estar generando un conflicto de intereses entre los diferentes grupos implicados.

Necesidad de regulación y soluciones

Se han identificado claramente las necesidades demandadas por el grupo compuesto por vecinos de barrios con viviendas para uso turístico. Estas demandas incluyen propuestas genéricas para mejorar la cooperación entre las diferentes instituciones hasta la implantación de acciones concretas para crear y mantener estructuras de cooperación y participación en los procesos normativos y regulatorios. Además, se propone realizar una reflexión conjunta sobre las políticas de acceso a la vivienda, el control de la densidad de los alojamientos dedicados a la actividad turística y el promover las actividades tradicionales en los barrios. Estas preocupaciones coinciden con los hallazgos de Martín et al. (2018a).

También se proponen soluciones más imaginativas como la implantación de un sistema de puntos vinculados a las licencias de los alojamientos turísticos o la limitación de dichas actividades turísticas a edificios independientes o solo en la primera planta. Algunas ciudades ya han regulado en estos aspectos. Otra propuesta concreta sería crear algún tipo de compensación para los colectivos más afectados por estas actividades.

Todas estas consideraciones deberían de ser tenidas en cuenta por los planificadores públicos a la hora de liderar e implantar procesos regulatorios que conjuguen los intereses de todos los grupos de interés.

Discrepancia entre grupos de interés

Es interesante destacar que mientras los usuarios que utilizan este tipo de plataformas para alquilar alojamientos turísticos valoran los impactos positivos que esta actividad tienen sobre los destinos, existe un desacuerdo, por ejemplo entre el grupo de propietarios y las personas que dependen económicamente del turismo, con otros dos grupos como son los no residentes y los ciudadanos que viven en edificios con alojamientos turísticos. Sobre todo a la hora de valorar el efecto negativo de la pérdida de población local y la generación de inseguridad ciudadana, discrepando claramente los dos citados conjunto de grupos. Situación que se ha comentado en el punto anterior en cuanto a la generación de intereses contrapuestos entre los distintos grupos de interés.

Miedo contagio enfermedades

Es importante destacar como aportación original de esta investigación, que el miedo al contagio de enfermedades portadas por los turistas se posiciona como el 5º impacto más importante recogido entre los diferentes grupos de interés. Esto es interesante, ya que los residentes han dado más valor a este impacto que a otros ampliamente consolidados ya tradicionales. Por tanto, constituye un nuevo elemento a tener en cuenta en el análisis de los impactos asociados a estas actividades turísticas a través de las plataformas, ya que en este tipo de alojamientos, el turista entra en contacto más directo con los barrios residenciales y la interacción entre el turista y el ciudadano es mayor respecto a otras formas de alojamiento tradicional.

3.2. Conclusiones.

A lo largo de los tres trabajos de investigación se han ido respondiendo a las diferentes preguntas de investigación planteadas que conforman parte de los resultados obtenidos.

Para el primer trabajo se planteó la cuestión RQ1: ¿Cómo valoran los residentes los cambios en su bienestar asociados al uso de las plataformas de alquiler turístico?

La principal conclusión obtenida es que los participantes en las diferentes investigaciones señalan claramente el daño que este tipo de actividades turísticas produce a las estructuras sociales, lo que conlleva cambios en el bienestar general. Se ha señalado que la preocupación del daño social es más intensa que los posibles efectos económicos, en parte debido a que estos efectos económicos se consideran desencadenantes del daño social que se produce finalmente.

Respecto a la cuestión RQ2: ¿Cuáles son los factores subyacentes que condicionan la actitud de los residentes?

Se puede también extraer de datos analizados que gran parte del rechazo que se produce al turismo, asociado a la actividad de estas plataformas, se debe sobre todo a la falta de planificación y regulación para la contención de los posibles efectos negativos. Se muestra claramente la necesidad de exigir una mayor implicación a los responsables políticos, siempre escuchando la voz de la comunidad.

Finalmente, para la cuestión RQ3: ¿Qué acciones podrían limitar los impactos negativos en la vida de los residentes?

Se propone un cambio en el modelo de implicación de los residentes en los procesos de regulación y control, de forma que se pudiera lograr un cambio de actitud de estos y de otros grupos de interés. Se debería promover la participación de los ciudadanos en los procesos de regulación, introducción de variables como el respeto mutuo, la preservación de la identidad local y el fomento de las actividades tradicionales. Se ha destacado que cuando los residentes perciben un perjuicio para ellos mismos o para el bienestar de sus comunidades, se producirá un rechazo tanto a estas plataformas como a la actividad turística en su conjunto. En concreto, se ha dado gran importancia al mantenimiento de

las rutinas del barrio, al relevo generacional y a las interacciones entre las personas en los espacios públicos.

Para el segundo trabajo se planteó la cuestión RQ1: ¿Cómo se posicionan los medios de comunicación ante los problemas generados por el alquiler de viviendas vacacionales a través de plataformas on line?

Es importante destacar que todas las noticias analizadas hacen referencia a impactos negativos, que podrían servir de cebo, aunque en el 14% de los casos la noticia se complementa con la descripción de impactos positivos. Esto provoca un claro sesgo informativo y condiciona la opinión pública.

Según los tipos de periódicos, tratan de forma muy diferente las noticias relacionadas con el fenómeno aquí analizado. Los periódicos regionales que operan en zonas turísticas son los que principalmente publican sobre los impactos negativos, así como los periódicos posicionados en una línea editorial de centroderecha. Otro grupo de periódicos se ha destacado como más proclive a mostrar los impactos más positivos asociados a este tipo de modelo turístico.

En cuanto a la segunda cuestión RQ2: ¿Existen efectos a los que se les presta una mayor importancia?

A lo largo de los más de diez años de funcionamiento de estas plataformas, la prensa ha recogido una gran cantidad de información sobre los impactos del turismo, tanto positivos como negativos. Principalmente, se han señalado 24 impactos, 12 positivos y otros tantos negativos, lo que demuestra la gran complejidad de este fenómeno y el eco que la prensa se hace de él. Los impactos relacionados con la capacidad de mantener una vivienda en la zona turística son los más señalados por la prensa. Entre este tipo de impactos se incluyen el aumento del precio de los alquileres/viviendas, la falta de regulación, la presión turística, o la despoblación. Entre los impactos positivos más destacados están el aumento de la competitividad, la bajada de los precios de los hoteles y los efectos beneficiosos para las empresas, entre otros.

Finalmente, respecto al tercer trabajo de investigación se planteó la cuestión RQ1: ¿Existen grandes variaciones en la percepción de los impactos asociados a las plataformas de alojamiento turístico entre las diferentes partes interesadas?

Al centrar el análisis en cada grupo en particular, se pueden extraer algunas conclusiones interesantes. La percepción del grupo de propietarios de pisos turísticos es especialmente crítica con respecto a los impactos relacionados con "Efectos negativos sobre los alojamientos tradicionales", "Pérdida de población local" y "Aumento del precio de la vivienda y de los establecimientos comerciales". Este mismo grupo destaca el papel de esta actividad en la preservación de los edificios, las zonas urbanas, la generación de riqueza y el aumento del valor de las propiedades.

Los grupos formados por los no residentes en zonas turísticas y los que viven en edificios donde hay pisos turísticos son los que han repartido más equitativamente el peso de los diferentes elementos valorados, tanto en términos de efectos positivos como negativos. Es interesante cómo los usuarios de las plataformas de alquiler vacacional han valorado más intensamente algunos efectos económicos positivos, en comparación con los propietarios o empresarios. Dicha valoración podría explicarse por el hecho de que los usuarios de este tipo de alojamiento basan su elección en la suposición de que esta actividad tiene un impacto económico positivo en el destino.

Respecto a la segunda cuestión RQ2: ¿La evaluación de los impactos se inscribe en el ámbito de la Teoría del Intercambio Social?

Cabe mencionar que el análisis global de los resultados indica que los impactos de carácter económico, tanto positivos como negativos, son los más destacados. Esto es coherente con los resultados de estudios anteriores, que han atribuido una base económica al rechazo de este tipo de plataformas (Martin et. al 2019). Asimismo, estos resultados son coherentes con la teoría del intercambio social (SET), ya que esta teoría revela la importancia de la valoración de los costes y beneficios económicos en la configuración de las actitudes hacia el turismo (Ward y Berno 2011).

Y por último, respecto a la pregunta RQ3: ¿Qué tipo de impactos generan el mayor nivel de conflicto entre las partes interesadas?

En respuesta a la tercera pregunta de investigación, se destaca que el mayor grado de desacuerdo está asociado a la mejora de la conservación de los edificios, lo que se traduce en un índice de conflicto de 0,083, seguido de las valoraciones del efecto positivo asociado a una mayor interacción cultural (0,050) y del aumento de la oferta de actividades de ocio (0,048). El mayor desacuerdo se explica porque los propietarios de pisos turísticos han valorado mucho más el primer ítem.

Respecto a los residentes en barrios turísticos, estos han dado una mayor puntuación a "Mayor interacción cultural", mientras que los no residentes lo han hecho en el caso de "Aumento de la oferta de ocio". En cuanto a los impactos negativos, la mayor discrepancia se asocia a los impactos relacionados con la "Pérdida de población local" y el "Aumento de la inseguridad". De nuevo, el desacuerdo está asociado a la opinión enfrentada del grupo de propietarios. El conflicto en relación con el "Aumento de la inseguridad" también ha sido provocado por una mayor valoración por parte de los grupos de no residentes y vecinos.

4. FUTURAS INVESTIGACIONES.

Ampliación a nuevos contextos y aplicación de técnicas cuantitativas.

Teniendo en cuenta que dos de los trabajos se realizan en un contexto de ciudades con alta densidad turística y un modelo específico de relaciones sociales, sería deseable replicar los mismos trabajos en diferentes contextos, pues la particularidad de cada uno de estos podría influir en los resultados obtenidos. Además de replicar el esquema de trabajo en otros contextos, un análisis más específico en diferentes contextos podría arrojar más luz sobre los diferentes aspectos de los resultados obtenidos, añadiendo la utilización de técnicas cuantitativas para reforzar o refutar las conclusiones de los trabajos con la ampliación del número de sujetos.

Mayor conocimiento de los conflictos detectados.

Respecto al análisis de los conflictos detectados, se debería ampliar con otros trabajos para ahondar en el conocimiento de dichos conflictos. De interés sería ampliar el uso de los cuestionarios utilizados a otros entornos diferentes, como zonas rurales, costeras o áreas con estructuras sociales diferentes a las analizadas. Esto podría proporcionar una información valiosa sobre las características del entorno, de sus grupos de interés y del tipo de turismo que generan los impactos, las percepciones de los mismos y que podría aportar un mayor conocimiento de los conflictos generados.

Además, conocidos los diferentes conflictos entre los grupos de interés, se podría proponer un análisis en mayor profundidad de dichos conflictos para tratar de desvelar su origen. Como han señalado numerosos autores la expansión de los alojamientos turísticos a través de Internet es un fenómeno que puede aportar notables beneficios, pero también puede reducir la calidad de vida de los residentes y de otros grupos de interés.

Impacto al miedo al contagio de enfermedades.

Como se ha comentado en el propio trabajo, el miedo al contagio de enfermedades portadas por los turistas se posiciona como el 5º impacto más importante. Sería interesante analizar en futuras investigaciones el posible rechazo asociado al miedo asociado al posible contagio de enfermedades portadas por turistas, incluso ampliar el posible medio

reciproco entre los grupos de interés. Teniendo en cuenta también que dichas investigaciones podrían servir para aprender ante futuras posibles pandemias, considerando que la pandemia del Covid-19 ha sido la primera que ha afectado globalmente a todos los sectores y en especial al sector turístico.

Origen de tratamiento en los medios y redes sociales.

Teniendo en cuenta la sobreexposición de los impactos negativos en los medios de comunicación y los posibles condicionamientos de los participantes a estas noticias negativas, se podría proponer una nueva investigación para averiguar el origen a esta predisposición a los impactos negativos en los medios, dando un valor secundario a los positivos. Además, dado que la información asociada a muchos de estos impactos ha pasado de medios periodísticos a redes sociales, se podría plantear nueva investigación para conocer el sentido de los diferentes relatos, a favor y en contra, que se producen en las redes sociales pero que tienen su origen en los medios, mediante la utilización de diferentes metodologías cualitativas.

Desarrollo de viabilidad de las propuestas de regulación, colaboración y compensación.

Por último, cada una de las propuestas que se describen para la mejora de la regulación de la actividad de las plataformas de intermediación de alojamientos turísticos, podría ser objeto de una mayor profundización de forma específica. En concreto, se podría llegar a analizar la viabilidad de establecer algún tipo de compensación a favor de los grupos interés afectados por dichas actividades, aprovechando también las oportunidades que ofrecen las nuevas tecnologías aplicadas al sector que podrían dotar de mayor transparencia al mismo. En definitiva, se trataría de profundizar en las medidas que mejoren la regulación de la actividad, en coordinación con las administraciones públicas.

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6. ANEXOS

6.1. Interferences generated on the well-being of local communities by the activity of online platforms for tourist accommodation.

Abstract

The tourism sector can boost the economic and social development of entire cities while simultaneously triggering critical challenges to its own sustainability. Specifically, the additional stress imposed on residential neighborhoods due to the increasing number of tourist accommodations mediated online can compromise the social sustainability of tourism. This study focuses on the city of Barcelona (Spain) to shed light on crucial aspects of the impact of peer-to-peer accommodation platforms upon the well-being of its residents. A key contribution is that this work uses for the first time in tourism the Human Scale Development (HSD) approach. Among the many consequential findings, of particular interest to economists and policy makers are the fact that there is no economic sustainability without social sustainability, and that guaranteeing social cohesion and the permanence of a fixed resident population in tourist neighborhoods is essential. One additional breakthrough is the participants' strong viewpoint that a major roadblock to any progress is the lack of adequate regulation. In their opinion, any satisfactory legal framework should use participatory mechanisms to incorporate the neighbors' feedback over issues that affect their lifestyle. Last, the importance of establishing cooperation mechanisms between institutions, tourists, neighbors, and businesses was also forcefully emphasized.

Key Words: sharing economy, peer-to-peer accommodation; sharing platform, Airbnb, social sustainability, home-sharing, overtourism, urban tourism.

1. Introduction.

The social dimension of sustainability has increasingly assumed a more prominent role in the literature over time (Dempsey, Bramley, Power & Brown, 2011). However, this attention is still insufficient particularly in works analyzing tourism competitiveness, which for the most part, do not include social dimension indicators (Guaita, Martín & Salinas, 2020; Salinas, Serdeira, Martín & Rodríguez, 2020). One reason for this, is that

the tourism sector has prioritized economic growth over other needs. Consequently, the problems generated by this activity such as those associated with social conflicts among stakeholders, have been routinely overlooked (Martin, Guaita & Salinas, 2018). Overall, Europe has chosen simple strategies to develop the tourism sector, mainly by accepting pro-growth strategies which often exclude sustainability indicators as a measure of success (Russo & Quagliari, 2014).

Lack of attention towards the social sustainability aspect of tourism, at least as compared to that paid to environmental sustainability, contrasts with the increased scrutiny demanded by numerous collectives. Over the last decade, multiple voices have been raised pointing to the urgent need to consider the receiving communities' wants. In fact, the sustainable tourism indicator system of the International Tourism Organization (UNWTO) includes the social perspective explicitly (UNWTO, 2004). In 1987, the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) already defined Sustainable Development as the “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED, 1987:43). This document attributed equal importance to the impacts that development has on the economy, on the society, and on the natural environment. This perspective inspired the political guidelines agreement at the United Nations (UN) conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, as well as those of ensuing symposiums on sustainability organized within the framework of the UN (Adams, 2009; UN, 1992; UN, 2012). Regarding this sector's competitiveness, one of the most widespread indicators is The Travel & Tourism Competitiveness Report (TTCR) published by the World Economic Forum. This work already singled out the importance of promoting Sustainable Development models capable of guaranteeing respect for both the environment and the local communities that depend on tourism in its 2017 edition (WEF, 2017).

The institutional recognition of social sustainability as a relevant objective (Guaita, Martín, Salinas & Mogorrón-Guerrero, 2019), and the increased pressure on tourist destinations, which often spur tourism-phobia feelings among the receiving communities (Martín et al., 2018), have resulted in growing attention to these values and dynamics. Given that peer-to-peer online platforms for tourist accommodation introduce tourist flows into residential environments, this tension has intensified concurrently with the penetration and use of these technological tools (Martin, Ostos & Salinas, 2019; Gravari-

Barbas & Guinand, 2017). These platforms are a part of the set of activities known as the “sharing economy”, which refers to the shared use of underutilized vehicles, spaces, and other assets (Botsman & Rogers, 2010; Geron, 2013; Sacks, 2011). Guttentag (2015; 1193) describes them as: “essentially an online platform through which ordinary people rent out their spaces as accommodation for tourists”.

A considerable number of studies have looked into the far-reaching effects that this type of tourist intermediation systems have on tourist destination communities (see for example Quattrone, Prosepio, Quercia, Capra & Musolesi, 2016; Gunter & Önder, 2018; Gutierrez, García- Palomares, Romanillos & Salas-Olmedo, 2017). It is significant that many of these works have denounced meaningful alterations on the lives and local culture of residents in tourist areas, such as loss of social cohesion (Gallagher, 2017; Cocola, 2016; Martin et al., 2018a). However, even though the number of studies that describe the different impacts derived from this type of platforms grows, the literature on the perception of residents in tourist areas with respect to the interferences generated in their lives is scarce. Nonetheless, as an exception, recent works by Mody, Woosnam, Suess and Dogru (2020), and Yeager, Boley, Woosnam, and Green (2020), have looked into the perception that residents have on the impacts of this type of tourism. In their works, the authors stress the need to increase the number of theoretical contributions on this type of analysis.

Several authors have highlighted the importance of closing this research gap (Lyons & Wearing, 2015; Richardson, 2015; Gutierrez, et al., 2017). In this line, both Guttentag (2015) and Gallagher (2017) have asserted that the disruptive innovation in the tourism sector caused by this category of rental platform deserves to be studied further, particularly considering its unpredictable outcomes. Among the many other plausible benefits of further analyses, Cheng (2016) asserts that a better understanding of this plight could help public authorities improve legislation and design a roadmap to take advantage of the opportunities that may arise. This is even more likely considering the general assumption of material wealth and employment creation potential that is associated with the sharing economy (OECD, 2016). Furthermore, this potential would be reinforced should the established regulations be capable of promoting an orderly growth that respects the interests of the various stakeholders involved (Martin et al., 2019a). The fact that these activities provoke numerous conflicts among stakeholders implies the sector would

greatly benefit from the additional attention the academic research community could grant (Cohen & Munoz, 2016). Therefore, knowledge of these interactions and conflicts should result in an active line of academic research.

This study attempts to cover the mentioned research gap and evaluate the perceptions of residents in tourist areas with respect to the impacts that the intense growth on tourist rental accommodations has on their social well-being. The need to shed light on the residents' perceptions has been highlighted by Guttentag (2015), McGehee and Andereck (2004) and Suess, Woosnam, Mody, Dogru and Sirakaya Turk (2020). These authors also underline the benefits of learning whether these perceptions are conditioned by the financial links between residents and the tourism sector. Thus, to fulfill these objectives, and for the first time in the tourism sector, we use the Human Scale Development (HSD) approach (Max-Neef, 1991). This theoretical framework puts human needs at the center of development, and grants equal importance to economic, social, and environmental dimensions, emphasizing the interdependence among all three. HSD focuses on the importance of balanced relationships between society, the economy, and the environment. The satisfaction of human needs is at the core of this conceptual framework which proposes a participatory methodology to help communities and public authorities plan their development (Guillén-Royo, Guardiola & García-Quero, 2017).

This work offers a double contribution to the academic literature. First, it sheds light on the problems created for residents' well-being by the growth of tourist accommodation mediated through online platforms. And second, it chooses a novel procedure that takes human needs as a starting point, a methodology that has rarely been used for this purpose before. Specifically, the first contribution indicated was channeled through three research questions. RQ1: How do residents assess the changes in their well-being associated with tourist rental platforms? RQ2: What are the underlying factors that condition the attitude of the residents? RQ3: What actions could limit the negative effects on the lives of the residents?

This study centers around needs-based workshops in which residents living in the tourist center of Barcelona participated. Barcelona was chosen because it is one of the prime tourist hotspots in Spain and Europe, being a city that suffers from high tourist pressure in its historical center. This case study illustrates how the HSD approach is used to reveal

the types of interactions that harm social sustainability. Also, this methodology helps to uncover possible interventions that can contribute to meet the needs of the neighbors, preserving social sustainability, and ensuring the viability of the tourist activity linked to these platforms. Therefore, in disclosing our findings, we contribute a unique perspective using a novel methodology applied to the tourism industry, which may be replicated in other destinations.

2. Tourist development and social sustainability.

Growing pressure upon receiving communities results from the ease with which interactions are generated when tourist accommodation platforms are used (Russo & Quagliari, 2014). One important side effect is the additional strain that can push residents to abandon the main tourist areas seeking more livable spaces (Russo, 2002). In extreme cases, these gentrification processes can alter the profile of the residents and business activities located in these hard-hit neighborhoods (Gotham, 2005). Cocola (2015: 4) defines this phenomenon as “a process of socio-spatial change in which neighborhoods are transformed according to the needs of affluent consumers, residents and visitors alike”. The main effects associated with this process are the displacement of long-term tenants, rent increases, a shortage of rental property, and the loss of local identity (Edelman & Geradin, 2015; Guttentag, 2015; Gurran & Phibbs, 2017; Wegmann & Jiao, 2017; Postma & Schmuecker 2017; Richards, Brown & Dilettuso, 2019). Therefore, the excessive concentration of short-term rental apartments in some areas and the increase in rental prices that is associated with it, can serve as a trigger or enhancer of the aforementioned gentrification (Richards, 2016). This would be the expression of the phenomenon known as "airbnbification" (Richards, 2016). The recognition of these phenomena has lead observers to infer that the activities related to tourism have great capacity to transform city centers, both in tangible and intangible ways (Gutierrez et al., 2017; Martin, Salinas, Rodríguez & Ostos, 2019).

Tourism generates complex and varied interactions with the environment in which it develops. In the academic literature, numerous studies have identified both positive and negative impacts associated with this activity (Puczkó & Rátz, 2000). With respect to the negative aspects, Puczkó and Rátz (2000) point out that an inadequate tourism development usually implies an increase in pressure on destinations, as well as negative

changes in the socio-cultural and environmental characteristics of these (Martín, 2019). With respect to the positive ones, the intrinsic virtues in tourism are highlighted. As an example, this activity is considered environmentally benign and a viable economic alternative to other more damaging options (Doswell, 1997). Furthermore, tourism often draws attention to aspects that stimulate environmental conservation initiatives (Doswell, 1997), hence potentially contributing to Sustainable Development. However, there are also negative impacts inherent to the social and natural environment that should be identified and contained in as much as possible (Puczkó & Rátz, 2000). The final balance and the magnitude of the impacts will depend on variables such as the volume of tourists, the activities carried out by them, the fragility of the environment, or the strength of the local culture (Roberts & Hall, 2001). Equally important are the way the tourism activity system is organized, the regulation of the sector, and the structured mechanisms available to adjust this activity to the needs of each of the stakeholders involved (Martin et al., 2019a; Fang, Ye & Law, 2016).

Indeed, the development of activities related to tourism can lead to positive and negative impacts on local communities (Youell, 1998). These are the so-called “tourism impacts” (Mathieson & Wall, 1982). From a broad perspective, the impacts can derive positive aspects for local communities such as: the generation of new employment opportunities for residents (Andereck & Nyaupane, 2011); the improvement and strengthening of the business network, the contribution to valuing and preservation of the local heritage (Andereck, Valentine, Knopf, & Vogt, 2005); or improvements in local identity and pride (Andereck et al., 2005). On the other hand, the impacts can also derive negative heterogeneous aspects. These incorporate a wide range of phenomena grouped into environmental, socio-cultural, and economic categories (Martin, Jiménez & Molina, 2014). Examples include: the effects on infrastructure congestion, price growth, increased alcohol consumption, environmental damage, greater generation of waste, and the alteration of the lifestyle of local communities (Martín, Salinas, Rodríguez & Jiménez, 2017).

The new ways in which tourism is organized have contributed unique opportunities, but have also brought interactions with local communities leading to novel impacts or variants of those observed traditionally (Ioannides, Röslmaier & Van der Zee, 2018). Airbnb, Couchsurfing and Homestay are the best-known examples of this type of tourist

accommodation platforms. Couchsurfing started in 2004 as a non-profit organization; however, in 2011 it changed its legal form to become a for-profit business. In 2008, Airbnb was founded as an online platform that charged a fee to enable users the opportunity to share spare spaces and all sorts of tourist accommodation solutions. According to Merrill Lynch, by 2020 Airbnb could account for up to 1.2% of the hotel offering and 3.6–4.3% of the inventory with an estimated 40–50% growth in annual listings (Heo, 2016). The expansion of online tourist accommodation platforms has generated debates about the legitimacy of companies such as Airbnb in several of the most-affected cities (Bort, 2014; Brustein, 2014).

The academic literature has described various benefits associated with this type of accommodation intermediation models. For example, visitors can enjoy a more authentic experience (Forno & Garibaldi, 2015; Sigala, 2017; OECD, 2016; Tussyadiah & Pesonen, 2018; Russo & Quagliari, 2016), and it becomes more plausible to improve the interaction with locals (Belarmino, Whalen, Kohl, & Bowen, 2017). Also, these platforms expand the variety of accommodation options available at affordable prices (Shaheen, Mallery, & Kingsley, 2012; Juul, 2015; Ioannides et al., 2018), and this reduction in costs may result in an increase in tourism (Zervas, Proseprio & Byers, 2014). Three other positive aspects are: that this alternative drives tourist spending to neighborhoods which have not benefited from these earnings before (Porges, 2013); that it is easier to start up a business in the framework of the collaborative economy (Nadler, 2014); and that this new type of accommodation offer increases the lodging capacity of destinations in peak times, thus completing traditional services (Juul, 2015).

However, even though the positive impacts are well-known, there is an increasing concern (Dredge & Gyimóthy, 2015; Queensland Tourism Industry Council, 2014) possibly due to the lack of planning associated with the disruptive and poorly regulated economic model linked to this sort of activity (Martin et al., 2019a; Nieuwland & van Melik, 2020). The analyses of the impacts derived from the sharing economy (SE) are incomplete, particularly those related to these types of lodging services (Guttentag, 2015). As pointed out by Cheng (2016: 67): “there appears scope for more research into the ecological, economic, and social impacts of SE”. The inquiry on Sustainable Development linked with these services has earned relatively little attention in the past. Nonetheless, in recent years the academic community has shown a growing interest in

studying innovation processes in the collaborative economy and the sustainability realms (Martin & Upham, 2016). As a result, new works have been published contrasting the benefits and the risks inherent to these platforms for intermediated accommodation. Some of the findings point to the fact that even though the collaborative economy can increase the income of residents in tourist areas, it can also lead to the degradation of working conditions when the locals' earning capacity depends exclusively on these types of activities (Lyons & Wearing, 2015; Schor & Fitzmaurice, 2015). Evidence points to its impact on the salary level of hotel employees resulting in lower incomes (Suciu, 2016) and in the reduction of the occupation level of hotel accommodations generating layoffs that are not balanced out by the hiring in tourist dwellings (Fang et., 2016). Recent studies have described other problems such as the increase in residential housing prices, evictions of long-term tenants, and lack of residential housing in tourist areas (Edelman & Geradin, 2016; Jefferson-Jones, 2014; Lines, 2015). The latter points to the evidence that investors groups purchase residential housing to convert it into tourist accommodation (Gurran & Phibbs, 2017). There have also been reports of discomfort and loss of social cohesion in traditional neighborhoods (Cócola, 2016; Gallagher, 2017) as well as added traffic, more noise in residential buildings, the appropriation of public space and the congestion of public areas (Gallagher, 2017; Gurran & Phibbs, 2017; Martin et al., 2017). In addition, changes have been reported in the perception of safety in residential neighborhoods (Suess, Woosnam & Erul, 2020). Additional consequences with impacts on society as a whole are tax evasion and unfair competition (Lyons & Wearing, 2015; Oskam & Boswijk, 2016).

The competition exerted on the traditional hotel sector has also been analyzed (Zevras et al., 2014; Choi, Jung, Ryu, Do Kim & Yoon, 2015). The creation of large companies capable of significantly increasing the flow of tourists implies an increasing power of influence in defining the legal framework (Martin et al., 2019a). New risks have also emerged as, under this new business model, it is now more complex to guarantee the personal safety of travelers and ensure problem-free economic transactions (Sigala, 2017). The reason for this is due to the fact that traditional roles of consumers and suppliers have been redefined, as well as the context in which the overnight stay itself is carried out (Cheng, 2016).

The need to expand research on the mechanisms of interaction between the users of the accommodations described and the communities in which they are located, as well as the importance of evaluating the impacts derived from these new business models, have been highlighted by numerous authors (Martin et al., 2018a). The fact that these platforms have introduced tourist activity in residential buildings and areas demands a detailed study of the social impacts generated. In this context, Martin, Upham and Budd (2015) point out the importance of establishing communication channels among members of the community to build resilient networks through empowerment. These interactions do not need to be solely negative. As John (2013) indicates, the introduction of activities linked to the collaborative economy in local communities could contribute to promoting values such as equality, mutuality, honesty, openness, empathy, and an ethic of care. It has also been postulated that these activities and the feeling of belonging to the community generates could help build social capital as people interact in the process of sharing through communication and could allow a more equitable distribution of goods and services (Martin et al., 2015).

In summary, it could be concluded that the Sustainable Development in the tourism sector should establish goals of improving the quality of life of residents, optimizing the economic benefits perceived by the local communities, and protecting the environment while offering a quality experience to the visitor (Bramwell & Lane, 1993; McIntyre, 1993; Park, Yoon & Lee, 2008; Park & Yoon, 2009; Martin et al., 2019b). Tourism development must be economically viable but also socially and environmentally sensitive (Puczko & Rätz, 2000). The participation and support of residents in the tourist area are essential for the sustainability of the tourism industry in any destination (Gursoy, Chi & Dyer, 2010). This support depends on the perception that citizens have with respect to the negative and positive impacts linked to tourism (Martin, 2019). Therefore, it is essential to learn about and understand the point of view of the local residents in relation to the negative impacts generated, so that through appropriate strategies, the community can be most supportive of tourism (Prayag, Hosany, Nunkoo & Alders, 2013).

3. Methodology and data.

Conceptual framework

The HSD approach was proposed in the 1980s by economist Manfred Max-Neef and other experts to support endogenous development processes. This approach is based on three pillars: self-reliance, balanced relationships, and human needs satisfaction (Guillén-Royo et al., 2017). The first point refers to the concept of centrality of communities and the need to activate their endogenous development. The second, involves the necessity of maintaining balanced horizontal relationships between levels or dimensions of human activity. For example, among public powers, institutions and the economic sectors, or between the technology, the economy, and nature. The third pillar highlights the urgency of respecting and meeting human needs in any development process. This conceptual framework is associated with a methodological system based on participatory workshops (Max-Neef, 1991).

Human needs are not only understood as requirements for a good life, but also represent opportunities for personal and social mobilization that can support processes of social change. They are considered to have a socio-universal character (Alkire, 2002), meaning that they are shared by different cultures over time, even if they are not felt with the same degree of intensity at any given moment (Cruz, Stahel & Max Neef, 2009). Fundamental human needs are defined as the axiological needs for subsistence, protection, affection, understanding, participation, leisure, creation, identity and freedom, as well as with the existential needs of being, having, doing, and interacting. As per Max-Neef, there is no hierarchy of needs although some can logically precede others, as could be the case of the need for subsistence. Existential needs represent the ways in which needs are expressed. Therefore "being" refers to the attributes of individuals or groups, "having" concerns institutions, values, tools, and forms of organization, "doing" identifies collective and personal actions, and "interacting" links the characteristics of spaces and environments. The HSD needs approach is usually represented by a matrix in which the first column characterizes the nine axiological needs and the first row characterizes the four existential needs.

The thirty-six cells resulting from the intersection of axiological and existential needs identify the satisfiers: the ways of being, having, doing, and interacting associated with the fulfillment of needs. Satisfiers are the values, attitudes, norms, laws, institutional agreements, organizations, actions, and ways of using space, resources, and nature that define the needs for satisfaction in a specific context and that vary throughout time and cultures. For example, in relation to the fundamental need for subsistence, a sustainable community can be characterized by satisfiers such as: being cooperative, supportive, and caring (being); basic income schemes and organic farming activities (having); volunteering, respecting other community members and contributing to local initiatives (doing); and the availability of communal land and open flexible spaces for gatherings (interacting) (Guillen-Royo, 2016).

Modern capitalist societies, by contrast, may require sets of interlinked satisfiers different from those listed above. As Cruz et al., (2009) point out “the rise of modern free-market society, (as a new interacting milieu), requires for the members of society a full range of new satisfiers at the having level (money, property, credit, etc.), of being (consumer, owner, free to buy and sell, etc.) and doing level (shopping, acting 'rationally' in chrematistic terms, etc.) in order to satisfy their fundamental needs” (Cruz et al., 2009: 2023). A wide range of satisfiers can be found in societies, and these may have different capacities to meet needs. To clarify this point, Max-Neef proposed a classification with five groups of satisfiers. The first group consists of satisfiers that focus on meeting only one out of the nine fundamental needs (singular); the second considers satisfiers that simultaneously support the updating of more than one need (synergic); the third involves satisfiers which over-satisfy a particular need while they reduce the ability to meet other needs (inhibiting); the fourth encompasses satisfiers that confuse people into believing that a need is satisfied while in the long run, the effect is the opposite (pseudo-satisfier); and the fifth group represents satisfiers that prevent fulfilling a long-term need at the same time that they prevent reaching other needs (destroyers or violators) (Max-Neef, 1991). When societies are characterized by the satisfiers described in the last three groups, the fulfillment of personal and social needs is nullified, and the conservation and protection of the environment is threatened.

The relationship between destroyers, inhibiting satisfiers and pseudo-satisfiers, and environmental degradation was not addressed in Max-Neef's initial work. Recent studies

have suggested that satisfiers such as pollution of water and soil sources, the effects of global warming in terms of droughts and floods, the loss of biodiversity, and the progressive erosion of green areas are related to other satisfiers. Some examples are authoritarianism, consumerism, and overconsumption materialistic values, hectic lifestyles, marginalization, lack of institutional transparency, and limited political participation (see Guillen-Royo, 2016; Smith & Max-Neef, 2011 for further references). Therefore, from the need's-based perspective, the satisfiers that characterize the economic, social or environmental sustainability, or lack of sustainability, cannot be understood in isolation, but should be explored in terms of their interconnections. In this context, decisions should lead to improving aspects such as energy efficiency, the way in which decisions are made, the rhythm of daily life, and the values that inspire personal development and social coexistence (Guillen-Royo, 2016). Even though this conceptual scheme is solid both conceptually and methodologically, Max-Neef's concern was that this theory should not become static but that it would stay flexible to generate frameworks fitted to the professional requirements of each task (Guillen-Royo et al., 2017).

Max-Neef upheld the belief that collaborating in workshops designed to support participatory processes in communities was potentially enriching for the members of such communities. This idea was sustained by surmounting worldwide evidence (Smith & Max-Neef, 2011). The authors suggested the use of empty matrices in the participatory workshops designed to boost these participatory processes in the hopes of improving the situation of these communities and their sustainability. An example of such matrix is represented in Table 1.

Table 1. Matrix of needs and satisfiers

	Being	Having	Doing	Interacting
Subsistence				
Protection				
Affection				
Understanding				
Participation				
Idleness				
Creation				
Identity				
Freedom				

Source: Max-Neef (1991: 32-33).

Study context.

The city of Barcelona is located in northeastern Spain. With a population of 1.6 million (National Statistics Institute, 2020a), and a metropolitan area of 5.5 million inhabitants, Barcelona is the second-most populated city in the country, representing a highly crowded area with a density of 158.3 inhabitants per hectare (Gutierrez et al., 2017). Barcelona is the capital of one of the richest regions in Spain, where tourism is at the core of the economy representing 15% of its GDP and 9% of its employment (Barcelona City Council, 2017). Tourism in Barcelona grew considerably after the celebration of the 1992 Olympic Games. In 1990, the city was visited annually by 1.73 million tourists, while in 2019 the number of people staying at hotels exceeded 9.4 million (National Institute Statistics, 2019). Nonetheless, if we add those lodged in other types of establishments, the arrivals sum to 13.9 million per year in the metropolitan area, and 20.2 million in the area of the joint tourist destination. These figures only include visitors who stay overnight (Barcelona City Council, 2020). Considering international arrivals alone, Barcelona is the 4th most visited city in Europe (Lonely Planet, 2020), and the 17th in the world (Hosteltur, 2020). The success of this city as a tourist attraction is based on the wide-

range of resources it can offer including cultural tourism, conferences and meetings, sun and beach, shopping, sports, and so on.

In recent years, the activity linked to tourist accommodation platforms has significantly increased the city's lodging capacity. Two elements have come together to alter the organization of tourism in this city: the expansion of tourist lodging intermediated by individuals, and the growth of low-cost flights (Martin et al., 2018a). These have generated a new visitor profile, which interacts with the city in a different way (Abril-Sellarés, Azpelicueta & Sánchez-Fernández, 2015).

Together with Berlin, Barcelona has been the city with the highest growth in the number of tourist accommodations (Europa Press, 2017). In 2019, the area that delimits the tourist destination of Barcelona had 331,747 lodgments: 58,583 of the 149,467 that concentrated in the city, were online intermediated tourist accommodations (Barcelona City Council, 2020). In this city, only 50.5% of the tourists who stayed overnight used hotels or apart-hotels, according to the Barcelona's Tourism Activity Report (Barcelona City Council, 2016). Therefore, the new models of tourism organization coincide with an increase in the pressure exerted upon the city by tourism (Gutierrez et al., 2017). In terms of overnight stays, Barcelona registers a ratio of 9,807 nights per 1,000 residents, almost twice the European Union (EU) average (5,209 nights per 1,000 inhabitants) (Barcelona City Council, 2016). As a result of the stress that these trends cause upon the resident population, an area highly dependent on tourism has developed a strong feeling of rejection towards this sector. Barcelona, Berlin, and Venice are the three European cities suffering the worse overcrowding problems. This has provoked feelings of aversion from the local population, not only due to the pressure of tourism but also because of its impact in residential areas (Europa Press, 2017). With respect to Barcelona, many factors have contributed to this rejection or "tourism-phobia"; one example is the increase in the price of housing. Between 2013 and 2018 the average price of rentals in Barcelona grew by 36.4% (Martin et al., 2018a). Also, Cócola (2016) points out to the loss of social cohesion in some of the city's neighborhoods and even an alteration of the local culture, a trend shared by other cities throughout the world (Gallagher, 2017). In the 2017 Barcelona's biannual barometer, its residents singled out tourism as the city's biggest problem. Furthermore, according to the 2017 Barcelona's Tourism Activity Report (Barcelona City Council, 2017), the number of residents claiming that tourist activity in the city has

peaked went from a 25% in 2012 to a 48.9% in 2016. In parallel, acts of vandalism linked to the rejection of tourism has begun to occur. Among other, these included: graffiti, assaults on tourist buses, and demonstrations which have occurred mostly in Barcelona but also in the Balearic Islands (Martín, Rodríguez, Zermeño & Salinas, 2018b).

Methodology and data

This study proposes the use of a novel framework to achieved the described purpose. As detailed earlier, this framework expands the knowledge of the interactions between tourists and locals considering the new forms of tourism. The data collection in Barcelona was carried out in two phases during September 2019. The first phase consisted on a telephone survey questionnaire to city center residents. This inquiry included questions on demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. In this questionnaire, the citizens were also asked about their willingness to participate in one of the HSD workshops. A total of 269 participants responded to the questionnaire and 39 of those answered positively to participating in the workshops. Following earlier studies using the same methodology, (see Guillen-Royo, 2016), the objective of recruiting between 30-40 participants was set, so that each of the two initial workshops consisted of 15 to 20 individuals. That is because a larger number of participants would have created operational problems. The profile of those attending the HSD workshops did not differ from the profiles obtained in the prior survey (Table 2). Therefore, no additional adjustments in the sample obtained were needed. The volunteers became the members of the working groups. Had it been required, a representative sample of the population profile would have been randomly generated. However, this was not necessary. The neighborhoods of Barcelona in which the telephone survey was applied, and thus the areas of residence of the participants in the workshops are: El Raval, Barrio Gótico, La Barceloneta, Sant Pere, Santa Caterina i la Ribera, Sagrada Familia, Poble Nou, Vila de Gràcia, Dreta de l'Eixample, Poble Sec, Sagrada Familia, l'Antiga, Sant Antoni, Nova Esquerra and Fort Pienc. The selection of these neighborhoods was made taking into account the presence of homes offered on Airbnb in the city of Barcelona, so that the neighborhoods with the highest activity were considered. Volunteers' participation was encouraged and thanked with the reimbursement for their metro and/or bus travelling expenses. In addition, they were offered catering services in the break prior to the third meeting, and they were granted a certificate of participation. Most of these volunteers

declared that their main motivation to cooperate was the opportunity to comment on matters that affected their lives, that of their family members and, in general, the society in which they lived.

Table 2. Main characteristics of the participants in the study.

Characteristics	Survey participants	Workshops participants
Men	42.0%	45.0%
Women	58.0%	55.0%
18-30	27.1%	30.0%
31-45	23.9%	22.0%
46-65	31.2%	28.7%
Over 65	17.8%	19.3%
Primary education	5.2%	2.90%
Secondary education	45.8%	44.2%
Higher education	49.0%	52.9%
Unemployed	5.4%	7.2%
Monthly family income <1,000€	4.9%	6.9%
1,000€ - 2,000€	48.3%	45.1%
2,000€ - 5,000€	36.2%	37.8%
> 5,000 €	10.6%	10.2%
Born in Barcelona	54.3%	61.1%
Resident in Barcelona >10 years	89.4%	91.6%
His/her income depends in part on the tourism sector	15.4%	17.7%

Source: Own elaboration. April 2020.

The second phase of data collection revolved around three Human Needs-Based participatory workshops. These workshops were planned aiming to: 1) generate a negative matrix -a matrix including those satisfiers labeled as inhibiting, destroyers, and pseudo-satisfiers, which hamper the fulfillment of needs; 2) define a utopian matrix -a matrix including those synergic and singular satisfiers that can promote the optimal

fulfillment of needs; and, 3) identify the bridge that would allow society to progress towards the utopian scenario (Guillen-Royo, 2016). Participants had to choose between joining the first or second workshop, but everyone had to participate in the third. The reason was to prevent people in the second workshop using the information from the first to construct a utopian matrix that was simply the opposite of the negative one.

The first step consisted in defining the negative matrix. Here, a poster-size copy of the matrix was used in such a way that little by little stickers with specific proposals were added to each of the 36 cells. This process was supported by "facilitators" who guided participants with respect to the meaning of each cell in accordance to the theory, but who could not make their own proposals or formulate ideas. Upon completion of this step, the facilitators coordinated the participants so they reached a consensus on which were the one or two most representative items for each cell. This process was repeated to build the utopian matrix. Following Guillen-Royo (2016), the research team analyzed the utopian matrix prior to the last workshop to identify common categories that could summarize the synergic and singular satisfiers suggested by participants. These themes or categories of satisfiers were then proposed as those that define a society with optimal needs satisfaction and were used as the grounds for the discussion in the third workshop. This analysis was performed during the break between sessions, when no participants were present. The objective of this preliminary analysis was to provide general guidelines to conducting the last session. Copies of the negative and utopian matrices were distributed among the participants of the third workshop, to allow a choice of information to be made when they analyzed the classification and offered their opinion on the suggested categories. To promote an in-depth discussion on synergic bridging satisfiers that would allow society to progress towards a utopian scenario, the 39 participants in the latter workshop were divided into two groups, both of which addressed two of the proposed categories. In this case, the focus was on the formulas proposed to reflect mechanisms, supports, and practical tools - endogenous and exogenous - available and realistic, defined as means to reach the ideal situation. Both groups used a system similar to that described above. With a poster size matrix representation, the initial ideas were added by placing stickers. Then, a discussion followed and work was done to reach consensus. In order to generate strategies that could make the synergic satisfiers emerge, this debate was articulated

around the forms of Being, Having, Doing and Interacting. In the following section, we present the analysis of the satisfiers analyzed in the workshops.

In this process, the work of the facilitators is essential. At first, they presented the objectives of the fieldwork in a simple way and the nine fundamental human needs (i.e., protection, subsistence, affection, participation, understanding, idleness, creation, identity and freedom) as well as the four existential categories (i.e., having, being, doing and interacting), through examples applied to an area other than tourism (in this case the examples referred to environmental pollution). Following the methodological basis of this proposal, “Being would be identified by adjectives (e.g., chauvinist, authoritarian, compassionate, inclusive, open, etc.), Having by nouns concerning values, laws, traditions, tools or institutional agreements (e.g., basic income, greed, formal education, repressive police forces, non-independent media), Doing by verbs (e.g., cooperating, excluding, sharing, discriminating, etc.) and Interacting by the characteristics of spaces or environments (e.g., free public parks, surveillance cameras, information in indigenous language, sports facilities, spaces for creativity, etc.)” (Guillén-Royo, 2016: 65). In a second phase, the facilitators presented the objective of each matrix, and last they presented the information that should be expressed in each cell. The latter was done right before starting to work with a new cell in order to keep concepts fresh. The facilitators are researchers who know this methodology and its conceptual framework in depth. The definition of the consensus was carried out after a brief debate, once several ideas had emerged to complete each cell. Therefore, it was required that the participants reach a consensus before completing the work associated with each cell, trying to minimize interference from researchers.

4. Results.

Identification of satisfiers that limit and enhance Sustainable Development

This section presents the analysis of the satisfiers gathered from the negative and utopian synthesis matrices, taking into account the three contexts suggested by Max-Neef (1991:18). The contexts are: (a) oneself (Eigenwelt-the individual level); (b) the social group (Mitwelt-the community level); and (c) the environment (Umwelt-the societal or ‘governance’ level). These three levels will be considered to illustrate the potential focus

of public policies (Jolibert, Paavola & Rauschmayer, 2014). However, this work does not center on the analysis between levels or contexts, but on the interconnections between satisfiers.

The negative matrix summarized in Table 3 shows the satisfiers that hamper the fulfillment of the residents' needs, according to their own reports. This matrix describes a society characterized by the loss of quality of life and by the degradation of the social structures due to the appropriation of neighborhood spaces by tourists and the activities aimed at these. At the individual level, individualism, lack of cooperation, or even certain fears condition the citizen's vision of the process of degradation of their environment. These individual feelings connect with a social perspective in which three forces of transformation stand out: economic interests distant from social dynamics, the disconnect of citizens and the regulation and planning processes that affect them, and the loss of neighborhood cohesion. The environmental aspect was introduced as an element of debate in the dynamics of the workshops. However, the participants did not clearly associate the growth processes of tourism with the environmental pressure. This connection only occurred when the lack of quality public spaces at the residents' service that had not been appropriated by tourism and in which there was a damaged social interaction, was pointed out to them.

Table 3. Negative Matrix

	BEING	HAVING	DOING	INTERACTING
SUBSISTENCE	Individualist, closed	System that benefits large investors	Individualistic behaviors	Loss of population and local commerce
PROTECTION	Fearful of interactions	Evictions of residents	Lack of proximity police	Police indifference to street and building noise
AFFECTION	Individualist	Lack of neighborhood associations	The network of affection between neighbors is lost	Interactions become temporary & short-term
UNDERSTANDING	Vulnerable	Neighbors do not intervene in regulation	Unproductive protests and acts of vandalism	Disconnection of regulation with the needs of neighbors
PARTICIPATION	Selfishness	There are no channels to create community	Scarce organization capacities of residents to maintain the essence	Superficial relationships with tourists
IDLENESS	Dissatisfied	Lack of resident-oriented spaces and activities	Reduction of social leisure	The spaces are geared to tourists rather than to citizens
CREATION	Standardization	Loss of cultural identity	There is no implication in the definition of activities	The authentic is replaced by the commercial
IDENTITY	Independence	Loss of local identity	Places are stereotyped	The commercial replaces the social
FREEDOM	Depression	Loss of lifestyle	Alteration of social environments	Discomfort in community life

Source: Own elaboration. April 2020.

With respect to the singular and synergic satisfiers discussed in the second workshop, the analysis carried out by the researchers uncovered three categories of satisfiers. These are presented in the summary utopian matrix in Table 4. The first category of satisfiers relates to the need of keeping a cohesive community and to the creation of meeting spaces. The second refers to the need of maintaining the identity of the neighborhood. And the third, looks into the interconnection processes, either between citizen and legislators or between citizen and tourists, in a framework of respect to the needs of each party and to the benefits that each stakeholder can derive. These categories encompass the vision of a society that balances the respect for the life of the locals and the openness to an economic activity generally valued as positive.

Table 4. Utopic Matrix

	BEING	HAVING	DOING	INTERACTING
SUBSISTENCE	Proactive	Preserve the family residency	Contain the increase in housing prices	Maintain resident population
PROTECTION	Solidary	Avoid speculation	Commercial activities in residential areas	Generate social cohesion
AFFECTION	Empathic	Neighbors and family networks	Improvement of public spaces	Interaction activities with tourists
UNDERSTANDING	Involved	Neighborhood information	Consider residents' opinion	Interaction with tourists
PARTICIPATION	Active	Spaces for communal activities	Participation in the making of the regulation	Effective channels of participation
IDLENESS	Committed	Maintain resident-focused services	Local leisure opportunities	Leisure proposals from the community
CREATION	Happy	Have cultural spaces	Creation as a link in the community	Visitor attraction based on culture
IDENTITY	Proud	Maintain the essence of the neighborhood	Keep the neighborhood local commerce	Introduce tourists to local commerce
FREEDOM	Satisfied	Possibility of choosing to live in the neighborhood	Guarantee the generational replacement	Maintain daily routines

Source: Own elaboration. April 2020.

The first category of satisfiers turned out to be by far the ones that raised the most concerns among residents. From an individual point of view, the need to generate collaborative, caring, and committed attitudes that translate into greater fulfillment and personal satisfaction is highlighted. Part of this process is associated with guaranteeing the permanence of neighbors, ensuring the generational replacement, and maintaining a community based on daily routine relationships, interactions among individuals and between these and neighborhood commerce. An important component in this category is the need to ensure the availability of meeting areas at the service of the citizen. These spaces would guarantee satisfying that the individual needs for interaction and accompaniment are fulfilled through the social activity that secures them. As a key fact, residents point out that the planning of these spaces should not focus on tourists, and that their use is not privatized with this excuse, but rather that it responds to neighborhood needs, even if the spaces are then shared with the visitors.

The second category concerns the identity of the neighborhood, and particularly stresses the commercial aspect of the activities proposed to be displayed in its environment. Here, the participants defend the need to protect local commerce, to maintain the identity elements of the neighborhood, to avoid the replacement of traditional activities, and even to prevent residents actions leading to a "theme park" model that results in a facade without real human content.

The third category deals with the need to guarantee interactions that mobilize citizens. In this dimension, the first concern centers on the importance of considering the voice of citizens structured through neighborhood associations. This voice is expected to be particularly relevant in planning and legislation processes; specifically with respect to the regulation of tourist homes, in the creation of common spaces, in the definition of mobility, and in the promotion of local commerce. In the second place, the importance of tourism in economic terms and in cultural enrichment is recognized, and for this reason it is pointed out that interaction between residents and tourists based on mutual respect, should be encouraged.

Synergic bridging satisfiers: towards socially sustainable development.

The last workshop dealt with specific synergic bridging satisfiers that could make the connection between the negative matrix and the utopian matrix. Following Max-Neef (1991) the participants in this workshop discussed these bridging satisfiers in terms of either their endogenous or their exogenous character. This process required the participants' assessment of the community's capacity to propose satisfiers without external help (endogenous). If the local groups turned out to be incapable of performing such task, then it was proposed that experts, policymakers or organizations that can contribute to the design of satisfiers (exogenous) should be identified and engaged. In the analysis that follows (Table 5), we differentiate the individual, community, and social context in which satisfiers are expressed.

Starting with the individual context, participants believed that to achieve the proposed goals each resident should first adjust its own attitudes and behaviors; the reason is that the sum of the individuals' behaviors is the main axis and the key engine of social transformation. Participants pointed out that promoting social participation and interaction is essential to unite the community. To this end, they suggested that neighborhood associations receive funds directly from the city council. In this way, these organizations can run their own activities, meetings, projects to better the neighborhood, and so on. This would contribute to improving the socialization of citizens. In this sense, external help is required to define the correct control and participation mechanisms.

Table 5. Summary of harmful, synergic and synergic bridging satisfiers in Barcelona

Workshop 1. Negative matrix. (Inhibits, pseudo-satisfiers and destroyers)	Workshop 3. Synergic bridging satisfiers.	Workshop 2. Utopian matrix (synergic satisfiers and singular satisfiers)
Population loss as a result of speculation and the conversion of homes into tourist accommodation	Improvement of the regulation agreed upon with neighborhood associations.	Maintain cohesive local communities, guaranteeing generational replacement
Loss of tranquility in residential environments and alteration of quality of life	Reduce the pressure of tourist housing in residential areas.	Foster the identity of the neighborhood, and proximity activities
Loss of social cohesion and interactions that generate the social network	Create codes of conduct for tourists. And promote more respectful tourism models.	Interaction with tourists based on mutual respect mechanisms.
Lack of spaces, commerce and policies at the service of the citizens	Promote social interaction.	Participation infrastructures, socialization that include tourists.
Disconnect between neighborhood needs and regulation	Creation of public spaces at the service of residents' needs.	Involvement of the residents in decision-making processes.

Source: Own elaboration. April 2020.

The community context is directly related to the issues discussed above. In this case, the bridges defined are based on the creation of spaces available to citizens and not privatized with commercial excuses (bar terraces in public squares, paid museums, spaces designed for passing individuals, etc.). It is proposed that these elements become the scenarios of associative policies. The participants vehemently exhort the need to establish a permanent population that will promote a natural generational change in the community. To this end, they suggest setting maximum quotas for tourist homes in each neighborhood as well as giving voice to residents' associations in tourism legislation. Furthermore, albeit unsure of how to go about this goal, another recommendation is to structure policies that promote local businesses and commerce of proximity that is not geared to tourists needs. With respect to the regulation of tourist accommodation, several novel ideas are proposed: limiting tourist apartments to the first floor of buildings to minimize discomfort; a system of points that communities can use to report noise and discomfort and that will help

promote the automatic withdrawal of the tourist housing license; and the possibility that tourist lodgings are only permitted in buildings intended for that purpose exclusively.

Last, with respect to the society dimension, the proposals are very focused on the tourism model. Consistently, three lines of action are proposed to help move from a negative model to the utopian matrix. The first of these proposals, relies in the clear commitment of the public sector to promote more respectful models of tourism. As an example, citizens directly point to alcohol and party tourism. They also indicate that load capacities should be specified at the neighborhood level, and that maximum inflows distributed throughout the year should be set. They advocate that the neighborhoods should be treated as monuments, in which the number of visits - in this case, overnight stays - are controlled to avoid deterioration. Lastly, they propose that codes of good conduct for tourists are created and that resident-tourist interaction events are promoted to generate greater empathy between both groups.

5. Discussion and conclusions

Contrary to what could have been expected of a context highly dependent on tourism, the promotion of this activity or the need to preserve it was barely been taken into account. Even though the income of a large proportion of the participants in the workshops depended directly on tourism, the problems they prioritized were related to the direct damage that these activities provoked in their communities, preventing basic needs from being met. This is in line with Martín et al. (2018a) conclusions. Following the simile of environmental sustainability, the participants stressed that if tourism is not socially viable, the climate of conflict generated will damage this activity at the end. From the discussions generated in the workshops we can extract several distinctly significant conclusions. First, it is particularly relevant that in improving their social situation residents credit a key role to the personal behavior, attitudes, and individual involvement of locals. In this context, they attribute a predominant role to the maintenance of the cohesion of the neighborhoods, in their different aspects. The aforementioned aspects affect the dimensions of Sustainable Development - economic, social and environmental-, although the latter has less importance in this urban environment. Therefore, with respect to RQ1: "How do residents assess the changes in their well-being associated with the use of tourist rental platforms?" some conclusions can be highlighted. First and foremost, the

participants clearly point out to the damage done to social structures, which leads to changes in their well-being. These changes imply a loss of cohesion in society and the promotion of individualism. The importance that residents attribute to social cohesion has been described in previous works (e.g., Yeager, Boley, Woosnam & Green, 2020). The findings showed a more intense concern with respect to the social damage than to the economic effects of the platforms, in part because the latter are considered triggers for the social damage that ultimately occurs.

RQ2 asks: What are the underlying factors that condition the attitude of residents? The results show how the rejection of tourism is rather a derivative of a lack of planning, and a lack of containment of the negative impacts it generates, therefore residents ask for more involvement from policy-makers, albeit taking into account the voice of local communities. Another conditioning factor of their attitude mentioned is the breakdown of the balance between legitimate economic interests and respect for the life of the locals. Citizens have acknowledged and valued the positive impacts associated with this kind of accommodation service. Despite this, they also call for a fairer balance between their personal interests as neighbors and those of the owners. This is in line with the findings of Nunkoo & So (2016), Mody, Suess & Dogru (2019) and Suess, Woosnam & Erul (2020). A change in attitude could be achieved by promoting citizen participation in the regulatory processes if this implies the creation of regulation models based on mutual respect, and on the preservation of the local identity, traditional activities and the cohesion in the neighborhoods. It has been highlighted that when residents perceive harm to themselves or their communities' well-being, there will be a rejection of both these platforms and the tourist activity as a whole. This is in line with Garau-Vadell, Gutierrez-Tano, and Diaz-Armas (2018), Suess, Baloglu and Busser (2018) and Uysal, Sirgy, Woo and Lina (2016) findings.

Finally, RQ3 asks: What actions could limit the negative impacts on the lives of residents? The workshop geared to the definition of corrective measures was really productive, and aside from the information summarized in this work, many nuances, ideas, and useful perspectives for public planning were uncovered. Hence, this methodology should be replicated in tourist environments suffering from high pressure. Following Andersen and Siim (2004: 3), citizens' empowerment can be defined as “the process of awareness and capacity-building, which increases the participation and decision-making power of

citizens and may potentially lead to transformative action.” It seems that this awareness is clear among the citizens of Barcelona; that consciousness justifies the demand that the voices of the associations become more relevant, even though the need to improve neighborhood cohesion is also pointed out as a previous step. A number of studies support the idea that the empowerment of residents and their active participation in decision-making will condition their support for these activities and their perception of the impact of those on their lives (Mody, Woosnam, Suess & Dogru, 2020; Yeager et al., 2020). Institutionalizing neighborhood participation in decision processes is a synergic satisfier supporting people's empowerment. In the process of containing the problems derive from excessive tourism pressure, cohesion, and neighborhood participation are found to be as important as the regulation of the tourism sector itself. It is interesting to analyze the way in which satisfiers across contexts (personal, societal, and environmental) and sustainability dimensions (economic, social, and environmental) are connected. Understanding these connections, and how they should be cared for and delivered, is a basic aspect of solving problems that affect local communities. It is interesting to highlight some specific proposals or needs mentioned. For example, great importance has been attached to maintaining neighborhood routines, generational replacement, and the interactions among people in public spaces. In summary, the increase in tourist pressure on urban centers and the increasing influx of tourists into residential environments that tourist accommodation brokerage platforms enable, has generated problems of considerable importance for citizens. This obviously complex situation requires the consensus of the agents involved in the development of tourism. Methodologies such as the one presented here have helped to systematize citizen sentiment, and to define lines of improvement and action to achieve a sustainable situation for local communities that guarantees the viability of an economic activity as important as this one. Therefore, a clear public policy recommendation is offered: in order to systematically collect citizen sentiment communication channels with local communities should be improved. Improving neighborhood cooperation networks would be the first step on a path that would culminate in an update of the regulation so that it integrates the needs of citizens. In this sense, residents have expressed the need for some type of institutional external help that allows the creation and maintenance of structures of cooperation and participation in the regulatory processes. Citizens have paid special attention to the final expression of some problems. For example, they have expressed the importance of

guaranteeing generational change and the routines within the neighborhood. This implies reflecting on policies for access to housing, controlling the density of tourist apartments in each neighborhood, and promoting the preservation of traditional activities. These concerns are in line with Martin et al. (2018a) findings. They have also expressed the importance of guaranteeing coexistence in residential spaces. In this sense, imaginative solutions are proposed such as point systems linked to the continuity of a license, limiting tourist dwellings to the first floor of buildings or to independent buildings. Public authorities should take up some of these ideas and proposals in future regulatory processes. This study should be replicated in different contexts, since it is understood that the particular nature of each social context can influence the results obtained. The repetition of the study will help to understand the different citizen attitudes towards this context and the influence of the environment on this attitude.

The interpretation of the results must take into account one key limitation of this study which should be highlighted: the context. That is because one ought to keep present the environment of high tourist pressure as well as the specific model of social relations. This study should be replicated in different contexts, since it is understood that the particular nature of each social context can influence the results obtained. Therefore, the main limitation associated with the current study offers an opportunity for future research. It is recommended then, that other fieldworks of equivalent characteristics are performed in cities with less tourist pressure, in rural environments, coastal destinations, and in tourist destinations with a different model of social relations than the one ruling in Barcelona. The repetition of the study will help to understand the different citizen attitudes towards this context and the influence of the environment on this attitude. In addition, this study assumes three constraints associated the methodology used (Guillén-Royo, 2016). First, it is the “inner dimension”, which refers to the excessive influence that certain marginalized portions of the population could have when trying to reach groups' conclusions. The second limitation refers to the anticipated frustration that may condition working groups when they expect their proposals will not be considered or will be diluted. Finally, there are problems in articulating public policy recommendations from the point of view of the HSD perspective. No specific “recipes” have been developed to help articulate different levels of governance to organize a transition towards sustainable development around the indicated principles.

In addition to replicating this work scheme in other contexts, a specific analysis of some of the conclusions and insights issued by the work groups could shed further light over different aspects of this work. This extension should use quantitative techniques, so that the number of subjects could be expanded to reinforce or refute the conclusions of this work. We do not recommend a direct translation of the methodology used in this work to a quantitative analysis, as an adapted framework has not yet been developed. This is in itself a challenge for the future. Applying this methodology through a survey-based process could bring some advantages, even though the problems to be resolved in this pursuit are numerous.

6.2. An Analysis of the Media Coverage of the Socio-Economic Impacts Generated by Online Tourist Rental Platforms.

Abstract

The expansion of online tourist accommodations intermediated online has generated new options for residents, but it has also intensified some of the negative impacts. This work aims to determine, by means of a press analysis, the positioning of the media on the problems generated by the growth of tourist pressure in city centers and by the expansion of tourist accommodation intermediated online. It will determine which effects are considered to be of greater importance and which stance is adopted in relation to them. The main objective of this work is to analyze, classify and group the main press media and agencies and their positioning with respect to their coverage of socio-economic impacts linked to tourist accommodation platforms. To do so, a content analysis of the terminology related to news on this subject will be performed. Two different statistical techniques will be used, MultiDimensional Scaling and Hierarchical Ascending Classification (Clustering). Mainly, 24 impacts have been pinpointed, 12 positive and as many negatives, which shows the great complexity of this phenomenon and the echo that the press makes of it. The impacts related to the ability to retain a dwelling in the tourist area are most frequently reported by the press, the increase in the price of rents/homes, the lack of regulation, the tourist pressure, or depopulation.

Keywords: tourism, impacts, media, rental platforms, Spain.

INTRODUCTION

For decades, the role of the media in the social perception of reality has been embraced (Berger and Luckman, 1967; Searle, 1995). This role has been consolidated through the use of informative, documentary, fictional or mixed discourses, which are based on linguistic, social, and cultural codes; being the message transmitted by various channels (cinema, radio, television, press, and Internet). Since we cannot access reality directly, the media act as mediators, as is their nature, and make the facts available to us through their specific discourses (Repiso et al., 2013). The nature of the message may be conditioned by several factors such as scarce diffusion or lack of knowledge of certain

aspects of the event to be reported, although the content may also be conditioned by the selection of the most popular newspapers.

The media narrate and report on the socio-economic impacts derived from the expansion of online tourist rental platforms, which coincides with an increase in the pressure that tourism puts on city centers (Cossío et al., 2019). This narrative includes a plane of content and a plane of expression, concepts explored by Hjemslev (1961), Chatman (1978), García (1993), García-García (2006) and other authors. The plane of content refers to the history that is transmitted, to what happened; that is, to the set of events, facts and actions that take place, regarding their referential and ideological aspects, from the perspective of the people (tourists, local inhabitants, politicians, and companies involved). It considers their space (the city centers of the main tourist destinations), their time (currently) and the action (the growth of tourist pressure in the city centers and the growth of online intermediation platforms for tourist apartments). All of this shapes the narrative of the informative content (news, reports, chronicles). The history or events themselves comprise the plane of expression, the discourse either from the perspective of the substance of expression (with its verbal, iconic, sonorous, graphic, 3D material nature...), or from the perspective of the form of expression (the narrative structure that takes into account the selection factors of information, order, duration and frequency, as well as all rhetorical and expressive resources) (Repiso et al., 2013).

As a result of the increase in tourist pressure which is being placed on certain destinations, a feeling of rejection of tourism -or tourismphobia is developing. This feeling is a consequence of the impacts endured by the local population (Martín et al., 2018). Tourismphobia is also fueled by the expansion of Airbnb-like online intermediation platforms, which have introduced an economic activity in residential environments, consequently impacting residents' lives and such sensitive issues as house prices (Martín et al., 2019a). Recent studies have analyzed the impacts derived from these new models of tourism organization (Lee and Trimi, 2018; Revilla et al, 2019), and some have even studied the citizen perception of such models, which will be further discussed later. It is essential to understand this phenomenon of rejection and its causes in order to achieve a model of sustainable coexistence and to be able to effectively develop the necessary legislation.

This work aims to determine, by means of a press analysis, the positioning of the media on the problems generated by the growth of tourist pressure in city centers and by the expansion of tourist accommodation intermediated online. It will determine which effects are considered to be of greater importance and which stance is adopted in relation to them. Additionally, the results obtained will be compared with the evidence provided by studies on the perception of residents regarding the most negative impacts. This analysis, which has not yet been carried out, aims to determine which types of impacts have the greatest media repercussions and which are ignored. Likewise, it will also evaluate the positioning of the media towards these problems. An analysis like this is key since the role of the media is decisive, as explained above, in shaping the public opinion, which in turn can determine the direction of public policies and the very rejection of a rising activity like this one.

The way in which reality is expressed is of major importance in the construction of the informative discourse, since the events, the actors, and the time and space -in short, the history, is identical for each of the media. In this particular case, for each of the newspapers that make up the sample of this study. However, the selection of the events, the order in which they are arranged within the news, the length or space dedicated to them or the reiteration of certain aspects of the story, are treated differently by each newspaper. Each newspaper takes a stand on events, hence revealing its identity to its target audience and the general public (Flood, et al., 2011). The primary mission of the media is to communicate the facts with truth, neutrality, and impartiality, or in other words, to inform about reality in the most faithful way. The above is conditioned by the manner in which the information is transmitted. Guy Durandin and Ortí say that this requires three conditions: that the knowledge that the issuer wishes to communicate is as accurate as possible, that the addressee of the communication already has a minimum amount of knowledge -as there is no news that can be understood without it- and that there is a shared communication code between the parties involved (Durandin and Ortí, 1995).

LITERATURE REVIEW

Impacts generated by the rising tourist pressure and the expansion of tourist accommodation intermediated online

As the tourism sector develops its activity, it interacts very differently with the environment in which it operates, resulting in the so-called tourism impacts. Both positive and negative impacts associated with these interactions have been studied in academic literature (Burns and Holden, 1995; Puczko and Rátz, 2000). Negative impacts derive from inappropriate tourism development models and among them we find ecological, socio-cultural and economic impacts. The types of impacts generated in each destination and their intensity will depend on factors such as the tourism model, the social context, the type of visitors and the activities developed by them (Almeida et al., 2016). The impacts that the residents perceive more directly are the overcrowding of infrastructures and public spaces, the increase in prices, the substitution of local businesses for others intended for tourists, the disruption of lifestyles and tranquility, noise, insecurity, alcohol and drug consumption, increased waste production, environmental deterioration, and overuse of resources among others (Almeida et al., 2016; Martín et al., 2018). Some authors consider that social impacts tend to have the greatest effect on citizens, given that they can disrupt their lives to a greater extent, and thus, their perception of tourism (Cohen, 1984).

As for the positive impacts, they derive from the positive implications associated with tourist activity. Some authors claim that tourism is environmentally benign and a viable economic alternative to other more damaging activities (Ceballos-Lascurain, 1996; Doswell, 1997). In fact, tourism tends to draw attention to environmental aspects that stimulate conservation initiatives (Doswell, 1997). Several positive impacts have been documented in the academic literature, such as the generation of employment (Keogh, 1989), the preservation of local identity, the improvement of the quality of life of the locals, the development of infrastructures, the interaction with foreign cultures, the increase in local income, and the appreciation of natural and historical resources among others (Almeida et al., 2016; Andereck and Nyaupane, 2011). Thus, although it is generally acknowledged that tourism can contribute to sustainable development, this

activity is not exempt from potential impacts, either social, economic or environmental, which ought to be identified and contained (Puczkó and Rátz, 2000).

The way in which local inhabitants perceive these impacts and their assessment of the benefits and disadvantages associated with this activity will depend on several factors (Öberg, 2019). Among these factors, the following stand out: the number of visitors, the existence of resting periods, the type of activities carried out by said tourists, the fragility of the environment or the resilience of the local culture (Roberts and Hall, 2001; Martin, 2019; Guaita et al., 2019). Moreover, additional determining factors include the system of organization and planning of the tourist activity, the regulation of the industry, and the mechanisms implemented to adapt the activity to the needs of each of the stakeholders involved (Martin et al., 2019b). The participation and support of the local population are essential to ensure the sustainability of the tourism industry in any destination (Gursoy et al., 2002). Therefore, it is fundamental to know and understand the point of view of the locals concerning the negative impacts, so that the greatest possible degree of community support for the activity can be guaranteed through appropriate strategies (Prayag et al., 2013). In this sense, the coverage of tourism impacts in the press can be decisive in shaping residents' perceptions.

Particularly, the expansion of online tourist accommodations intermediated online has generated new options for residents but it has also intensified some of the negative impacts. This has sparked an intense debate about the legitimacy of platforms such as Airbnb in numerous cities (Bort, 2014; Brustein, 2014). The academic literature has identified a number of benefits associated with this type of activity: tourists can enjoy a more authentic travel experience (Forno and Garibaldi, 2015; Sigala, 2016; OECD, 2016) and there are more accommodation possibilities (Shaheen et al., 2012; Juul, 2015). Besides, local entrepreneurs find it easier to take up projects linked to this type of platform. In doing so, the revenue that tourism generates can be shared between a larger number of stakeholders (Nadler, 2014). The supply of accommodation available on these platforms makes it possible to improve the carrying capacity during peak periods, which complements traditional services (Juul, 2015).

Even though the positive impacts are well-known and can increase the benefits of tourism for the society, an increasing sense of concern has developed in parallel with these

activities (Dredge and Gyimóthy, 2015; Queensland Tourism Industry Council, 2014), possibly due to the lack of planning associated with a poorly regulated model (Martin et al., 2019a). As mentioned above, the collaborative economy can increase or complete the income of residents but at the same time, it can contribute to the degradation of working conditions when income depends solely on this type of activity (Lyones and Wearing, 2015; Schor and Fitzmaurice, 2015). Recent studies have documented negative impacts associated with rising housing prices, lack of housing in tourist areas, or evictions of long-stay tenants to reconvert such accommodations into tourist apartments (Edelman and Geradin, 2015). Other problems have also been discussed, such as nuisances to the neighbors, lack of social cohesion in traditional neighborhoods, more traffic, appropriation of public spaces, and overcrowding of public areas (Martín et al., 2018, Vargas, 2017, Dredge et al, 2016). In addition to the above, there are consequences for society as a whole, such as tax evasion and unfair competition (Lyons and Wearing, 2015). The creation of large companies that could considerably increase the flow of tourists implies a growing influence on the definition of the legal framework (Sheldon and Abenoja, 2001). The rise and development of collaborative economy platforms take place in a context in which many cities have developed pro-growth strategies over the years, which have been supported, among other factors, by the consolidation of low-cost airlines (Russo and Quagliari, 2014).

As far as citizens' perception is concerned, various studies have tried to determine which impacts generate the greatest problems for residents in tourist areas. Firstly, it should be noted that the feeling of rejection towards the growing pressure in residential areas of tourist destinations seems to be increasing. For example, in a city such as Barcelona that depends heavily on tourism as an economic activity, Barcelona's 2016 Tourism Activity Report shows that 48.9% of citizens claim that tourism has reached its peak (Ayuntamiento de Barcelona, 2017). This same percentage was of 25% in 2012. In any case, this problem does not only concern Spain. Conflicts related to the increase of tourist pressure on residential areas have also appeared in other cities such as Berlin, Paris, London, Amsterdam, Venice, Rome, or Florence. The term "Venice Syndrome" is frequently used to refer to the phenomenon of depopulation of tourist areas and overtourism (Seraphin et al., 2018).

One of the elements that have led to greater social rejection is the rising housing and rental prices, as it has forced residents in tourist areas out of their homes (Martin et al., 2018). The lack of uniform regulation and the absence of public planning also seem to be behind the growing rejection (Martin et al., 2019b). The perception of the negative impacts associated with holiday rentals platforms seems to be more intense than that derived from the increase in demand. And the most negatively perceived tourism impacts are associated with the increase in the price of rents, population loss, conflicts related to the use of public spaces, the disappearance of shops aimed at residents, the increase in retail prices, overcrowding, lack of peaceful surroundings, and increased use of alcohol and drugs (Abril-Sellarés et al., 2015; Morant, 1996). In terms of the impacts associated with the increasing flows of tourists and, therefore, pressure on urban centers, the most perceived negative impacts are those related to loss of quality of life, lack of tranquility, and disruption of traditional lifestyles (Abril-Sellarés et al., 2015; Abubakar et al., 2019). The fact that urban tourism is more stable throughout the year does not make it possible to have a time of rest that would benefit local communities (Park et al., 2012; Martin et al., 2014).

Case study

Tourism is a strategic economic sector in Spain. In 2017, the tourism industry accounted for 14.9% of GDP and was directly responsible for 2.8 million jobs, more than any other economic activity (Exceltur, 2018). The growth of tourist activity has been a key element in the process of recovery of the Spanish economy after the crisis of 2007 (Aguilera et al., 2014). In 2016 tourist activity contributed 1.0 points to the growth of GDP, seeing the same year an economic growth of 2.5% after having created one out of every seven jobs (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2018). The percentage of employment created directly by this sector has not fallen below 10% in the period 2010-2017 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2018). The importance of the tourist activity is also appreciated when making an international comparison. Spain is the second destination in the world in number of visitors, only behind China. Taking the volume of income as a reference, Spain ranks third in the world. In 2017 it generated revenue of USD 87 billion; a figure only surpassed by the USA (USD 205.9 billion) and China (USD 114 billion) (Hosteltur, 2017).

The aforementioned data show that Spain relies heavily on the tourism sector, which plays an important role in its economic development. Despite this evidence, a feeling of rejection of tourism is developing in some of the country's main tourist areas (Martin et al., 2019a), which has even led to numerous acts of vandalism and protests on the part of its inhabitants (Ordiz, 2017). This situation seems to be the result of decades of tourism policies focused on attracting as many visitors as possible for as long as possible (Morant, 1996). This undoubtedly increases business profits at the expense of generating negative impacts. This strategy has been echoed by many European cities, where pro-growth strategies aimed at attracting tourists have been complemented by the boom of low-cost flights and, recently, the consolidation of collaborative economic platforms (Russo and Quagliari, 2014). Several studies have linked the impacts that tourism has on the residents' quality of life, how residents perceive such impacts, and their support for tourism (Andereck and Nyaupane, 2011; Croes, 2012; Ridderstaat et al., 2013).

Tourist pressure on the centers of some cities has notably increased after the expansion of online tourist rental platforms. The intermediation of tourist housing had developed in an informal way, but the spread of the Web 2.0 has led to a large increase in the number of transactions between individuals (Russo and Quagliari, 2014). Airbnb and Couchsurfing illustrate two examples of these new systems of intermediation of accommodation between private individuals. Couchsurfing started its activity as a non-profit platform in 2004 but as of 2011, this approach is left behind. Airbnb started its activity in 2008 as a platform that made it possible to rent available spaces in homes for a fee (Stephany, 2015). The better profitability of this type of apartment rental per day, in comparison with the long-stay residential rental, has favored the conversion of numerous apartments in the centers of tourist cities (Martin et al., 2018). This has disrupted life in residential environments that have now become the scenario of an economic activity derived from the interaction between residents and tourists. At the moment, it is a business even for niche investors given that according to Merrill Lynch, Airbnb could absorb 1.2% of the hotel offering and 3.6-4.3% of inventory by 2020, growing at an annual rate of 40-50% (Heo, 2016).

METHODOLOGY AND DATA

The media through which information is transmitted in Spain are mainly written and digital press. A large portion of the information provided by newspapers comes, in turn, from news agencies such as Europa Press and the EFE Agency. For the purposes of the study, it is useful to know the geographical layout of the press. The national press is made up of major newspapers such as *El País*, *El Mundo*, *ABC*, *La Razón*, *Público*, and *La Vanguardia*. Other newspapers are established at the regional, provincial or local level, which leads them to offer more space and attention to local facts and events, such as *El Heraldo de Aragón*, *La Voz de Galicia*, *La Verdad de Murcia*, *el Ideal*, *El Diario Montañés*, *Diario Sur*, *El Diario de Sevilla*. There is a daily press which is distributed free of charge to citizens and which obtains its financing thanks to advertising, such as *20 Minutos*, *ADN* or *Metro*, which are members of the Spanish Free Press Association.

The content analysis applied to the press aims, by means of the study of the terms used in the news, to analyze underlying information which concerns the sender, the receiver, the meaning of the message and its effects (Repiso et al., 2013). The first studies to apply this methodology to the press were preceded by the first quantitative studies of the press, which basically focused on counting the number of articles in the different categories of newspapers (Matthews, 1910), including as well the physical measurement of the space occupied by the different categories of articles (Street, 1909). The studies mentioned above were based on themes such as social stereotypes (Lippman, 1922), racial stereotypes (Simpson, 1934), nationalisms, etc. Currently, the main advance in content analysis studies has come hand in hand with the application of computing to the discipline. The emergence of software devoted to textual analysis in the eighties brought about a boom in the production of this type of work, as these programs carry out the most laborious part of the process, reducing considerably the time required. Daniel Riffe (Riffe et al., 2005) categorizes computer-based content analysis techniques into the following categories: word frequency, KWIC (Key Words In Context) analysis, concordance, dictionaries, language structure, readability structure, artificial intelligence, and dynamic content analysis. Krippendorff (2004) lists 7 different ways of representing data in content analysis. These techniques include MultiDimensional Scaling (MDS) as the main method of representation in two-dimensional spaces and Hierarchical Clustering as a grouping technique. MDS is an exploratory technique used to visually display proximities in a

small space. It encompasses a set of methods whose purpose is to obtain information about the underlying structures of the relationships between entities by providing a geometric representation of these relationships in a given plane (Repiso et al., 2013). Such statistical techniques belong to the family of methods used to analyze multivariate data (Rodríguez et al., 2018). The second method of analysis used in this work is Clustering. This method is a type of grouping analysis that consists in organizing elements within different components in such a way that the elements assigned to the same component are related to each other to a greater extent than to the elements of other components. Clustering is one of the main techniques used in "data mining". There are dozens of algorithms to perform Clustering analyses. In this particular work, we have used the "Hierarchical Ascendant Classification", also known as "Clustering based on connectivity". Its main purpose is to calculate the distances between objects and to group them according to their proximity. The groups are established according to a theoretical maximum distance necessary to connect to all elements. One of the most common ways to represent this type of grouping algorithm is dendrograms. Dendrograms do not only show the existing groups but also provide a wide hierarchy where it is possible to see at which level of similarity are the different elements grouped. For the purpose of creating clusters, there are different methods of approximation that employ techniques such as the nearest neighbor or the average of distances.

The main objective of this work is to analyze, classify and group the main press media and agencies and their positioning with respect to their coverage of socio-economic impacts linked to tourist accommodation platforms. To do so, a content analysis of the terminology related to news on this subject will be performed. Two different statistical techniques will be used, MultiDimensional Scaling and Hierarchical Ascending Classification (Clustering). The second stage is a descriptive analysis of coverage by newspapers. The data have been extracted from the MyNewsOnline ® Database. The search terms were (Airbnb, tourist apartments, tourist accommodation). These terms are sought in the news headlines and part of the news body, as well as in MyNewsOnline's® news feeds only for the period of June-September 2018, which corresponds to the peak tourism season in Spain.

It is becoming increasingly common for scientists to use different sampling methods and population sizes to study the media in their respective countries (Song and Chang, 2012).

In our case, we have chosen to analyze as many news as possible, and then process the data obtained semi-automatically. We retrieve 2,001 news from Agencies and 3,244 press releases that are stored and analyzed using Microsoft's Excel software. Once the news that were duplicated by the media or any inaccurate results were normalized and eliminated, we are left with a body of 4,860 unique news items. First, a statistical analysis of the distribution of news by day, newspaper and press agency is carried out. Then, with the help of the AntConc® lexical analysis software, the 20 lexical terms that most frequently show negative aspects of the phenomenon were selected. Positive terms are used indistinctly in all newspapers and it is complex to distinguish which positive or neutral terms are those that set different trends apart, whereas, in the use of terms associated with negative aspects, the newspapers' profile becomes more evident, thus ignoring terms or making abnormal use of them (excessive or insufficient). The terms selected for analysis together with their frequency appear in Table 3.

The set of data analyzed consists of the relationships perceived between the different newspapers. These were identified by means of the twenty most frequently used negative terms. A symmetrical matrix Δ (nxn) has been generated for this purpose, showing the similarity between each pair of newspapers and agencies. This symmetrical matrix has been used to perform two types of statistical analysis. a) MultiDimensional Scaling. The goal of the MDS is to model the proximities between the items analyzed in such a way that they can be represented in a space of limited dimensions (in our case 2 dimensions). To do so, the algorithm model SMACOF (Scaling by MAjorizing a Convex Function) has been used. The results have been represented in a two-dimensional space. b) Hierarchical Ascendant Classification. The purpose of the HAC is to group similar items. To this end, the average distance approximation UPGMA (Unweighted Pair Group Method with Arithmetic Mean) has been used and the results are displayed in a dendrogram.

RESULTS

Distribution of news with respect to impacts

The reason for choosing this time period is that these four months account for 60% of tourist arrivals in Spain (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2018). Figure 1 shows that in

the months of greatest pressure the number of news on this topic is considerably larger. During the month of August, the number of press releases almost triples those published in September. Table 1 shows the distribution of news by newspaper. A total of 10 newspapers account for 50.60% of the news published during the 4 months analyzed. Out of these 10 newspapers, 4 are regional (Ideal, Levante, La Vanguardia, and El Periódico de Catalunya) and the rest are national newspapers. 27.22% of the news related to the object of the study appeared in newspapers that were not considered for this study and that do not cover at least eight news during this period. Therefore, as a first conclusion, the great media repercussion of this phenomenon is confirmed, even when it is a fresh issue. Let us not forget that Airbnb started its activity in 2008 in the USA. There is also a high degree of penetration of information, as it is widely spread among a large number of newspapers.

Figure 1. Monthly distribution of news. Year 2018.

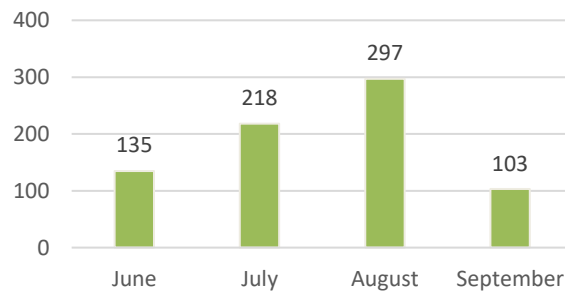


Table 1. News production by newspapers and press agencies

Newspaper	News
El País	48
20 Minutos	61
El Mundo	49
La Vanguardia	33
El Periódico de Catalunya	29
ABC	40
La Voz de Galicia	28
El Correo	11
La Nueva España	12
Heraldo de Aragón	17
Levante	35
Faro de Vigo	11
La Razón	27
La Verdad	29
El Diario Vasco	24
Última Hora	11
El Norte de Castilla	14
Diario Sur	13
Ideal	29
Diario de Navarra	27
Otros	205
TOTAL	753

Lexical analysis

From the analysis of the 753 news items that included the aforementioned terms, a first conclusion is drawn. Of all these news items related to holiday rental platforms, 100% mention some negative impact while only 14% of them mentions at least one positive impact. Therefore, the media is mainly concerned with expressing the negative effects associated with this accommodation system. Hence, paying very little attention to the benefits it can bring. Benefits that have been made clear and exposed in the academic literature.

The analysis by terms associated with both negative and positive impacts can be found in Table 2. As for the terms related to negative impacts, which are present in 100% of the news, the most frequent are those related to: the increase in the price of rents and housing in general (89%), the loss of population in urban centers (83%), the massification of visitors or tourist pressure (71%), and the negative effect of the scarce regulation (68%). There are many other effects also addressed in the academic literature, such as nuisance to the neighbors, loss of traditional commerce, and tax evasion among others. The presence of terms associated with positive impacts reaches only 14% of the news. Among the most widespread positive terms are those related to: the complementary income that this activity offers to certain vulnerable groups (12%), the improvement of the competitiveness among accommodations (12%), the positive effect on the local commerce (11%), or the decrease of the price of hotels (11%) among others. It can, therefore, be concluded that attention to positive and negative impacts is highly biased, even though there are numerous and varied positive effects. If we distinguish three groups involved: residents, hotels and owners and businesspeople, the press would be on the same side of the first two groups even though some of the positive impacts also benefit them, such as the improvement of their surroundings or the revitalization of certain types of commerce.

Table 2. Analysis by terms. Percentage of times that the positive and negative terms appear in the sample of news

Negative impacts	100%	Positive impacts	14%
Speculation	39%	Carrying capacity	10%
Loss of traditional commerce	41%	Profitability	9%
Lack of control	23%	Complementary income for vulnerable groups	12%
Increase in rental prices	89%	Revitalizes tourism	8%
Overcrowding/tourist pressure	71%	Improves the competitiveness of accommodations	12%
Lack of regulation	68%	Positive impact on commerce	11%
Gentrification	14%	Recovery of deteriorated areas	6%
Touristification	56%	Consumer empowerment	4%
Loss of population	83%	Boost of the image of the city	2%
Illegality/tax evasion	41%	Lower prices hotels	11%
Nuisances to the neighbors	63%	Increased visitor options	10%
Impact on hotels	34%	Empty properties reconverted into tourist accommodations	6%

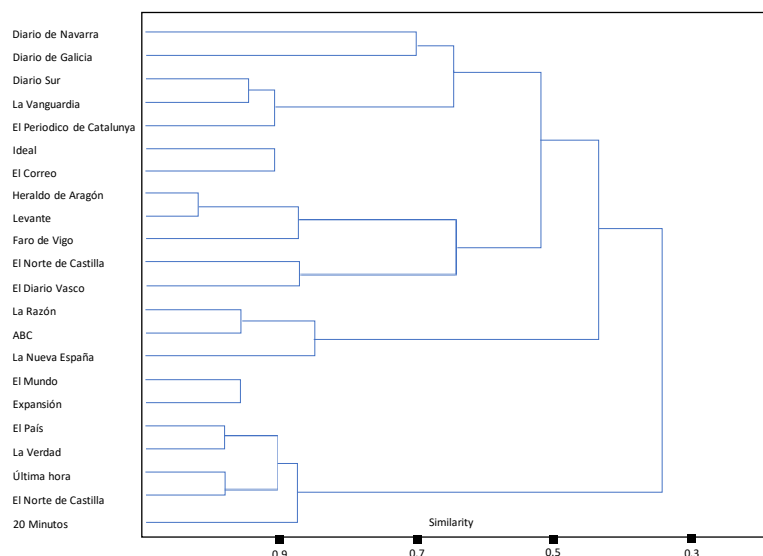
MultiDimensional and Cluster analyses

MultiDimensional analysis reduces the number of possible alternatives on the basis of which different newspapers can be categorized in relation to how they deal with tourism impacts, both positive and negative, resulting in a two-dimensional representation. Limiting the number of dimensions implies a certain loss of representativeness. In this case, the Kruskal test gives us a value of 0.2, which suggests that the representativeness of the distances between objects is altered when they are represented in two dimensions, thus becoming less reliable. It is, therefore, necessary to complete this analysis with yet another like clustering. The MultiDimensional Scaling figure demonstrates how trends in the use of negative terms group different newspapers together. The x-axis, the point where the "x" and "y" axes converge with the value $x,y = 0$, is an intermediate point, which in

MultiDimensional Scaling is obtained by calculating the average of the coordinates of all the elements. Therefore, proximity to the center is a factor that indicates that the newspaper adopts the dominant discourse as to how it addresses the phenomenon. The newspapers furthest from the center are those that differ most as a whole. Such newspapers are more inclined to point out either the negative or the positive impacts of this phenomenon. In our analysis, we notice how the newspaper El País is the most representative newspaper of the whole group or, in other words, the one that represents the average position of the sample. The newspapers that show a more negative image of the phenomenon are the regional ones located in tourist areas, such as El Ideal, La Vanguardia, El Periódico de Catalunya, and Diario Sur, as well as those positioned in a center-right editorial line, such as ABC and El Mundo. The newspapers that mostly show positive impacts, even when the impact is minimal, are La Verdad, El Diario Vasco, and El Diario de Navarra.

The cluster analysis is represented in the dendrogram in Figure 2. The resulting cluster considers three main components: a primary component including 12 newspapers where most of them are local and regional newspapers. Diario de Navarra, Diario de Galicia, Diario Sur, La Vanguardia, El Periódico de Catalunya, Ideal, El Correo, Heraldo de Aragón, Levante, Faro de Vigo, El Norte de Castilla, and El Diario Vasco. In this cluster, the most dissimilar newspapers are El Diario de Navarra, El Diario de Galicia, and El Faro de Vigo. The most similar newspapers are Heraldo de Aragón and Levante. The rest of the group values are high, which reveals the heterogeneity of the group. Following this, there are 2 other components made up of 5 elements each. The first consists of the newspapers El Mundo, ABC, La Nueva España, La Razón, and Expansión. Within this subgroup, ABC and La Razón are the most similar newspapers. The third component is made up of 5 newspapers of which Última Hora and El Norte de Castilla are the elements with the greatest affinity. Within this last group, it is the newspaper El Progreso that deviates the most from the rest of the components of the subgroup.

Figure 2. Dendrogram of the different newspapers according to their positioning.



CONCLUSIONS

It is important to know the way in which the press presents information about the socio-economic impacts derived from tourist rental platforms in order to understand how society shapes its image of this new tourism model. The academic literature has described several types of impacts associated with these platforms both positive and negative. This has made it complex to assess the final outcome for society and the industry at this point. The media contribute to building a story, to interpreting reality and in so doing, they can alter how society forms an opinion on this subject.

This analysis has been used to examine the news published in the press during the four months of greatest tourist activity in Spain, thus making it possible to obtain valuable information. Information about the type of impacts that the press gathers as a result of its research and social outreach. Information about the importance attributed to negative and positive impacts. Information about the type of impacts that give rise to a larger amount of news. And finally, information about what kind of newspapers offer a similar image of the phenomenon.

Throughout the ten years in which these platforms have been functioning, the press has gathered a great deal of information about the impacts of tourism, both positive and negative. Mainly, 24 impacts have been pinpointed, 12 positive and as many negatives,

which shows the great complexity of this phenomenon and the echo that the press makes of it. The impacts related to the ability to retain a dwelling in the tourist area are most frequently reported by the press. Among this type of impact are included the increase in the price of rents/homes, the lack of regulation, the tourist pressure, or depopulation. It is important to highlight how all the news analyzed make reference to negative impacts, which might serve as bait, although in 14% of the cases the news is complemented with a description of positive impacts. This results in a clear informative bias and conditions the public opinion. Among the most notable positive impacts are increased competitiveness, lower hotel prices, and beneficial effects for business among others.

As per the types of newspapers, they treat very differently the news related to the phenomenon here analyzed. Regional newspapers that operate in tourist areas are the ones that mainly publish about negative impacts, as well as newspapers positioned in a center-right editorial line. Another group of newspapers has been highlighted as more likely to show the most positive impacts associated with this type of tourism model.

The repercussions of this study are not minor, as tourism is comprised of numerous stakeholders who may have conflicting interests. Even though we are dealing with an activity that is starting to adjust and requires regulatory improvements, all aspects of the problem must be taken into account. This assessment should be taken into account by public planners, so as to lead the way in terms of regulatory processes that incorporate the interests of the different stakeholders.

6.3. *Exploring conflicts between stakeholders in tourism industry. Citizen attitude toward peer-to-peer accommodation platforms.*

Abstract

Purpose – The expansion of online platforms for renting tourist accommodations has given rise to a great deal of controversy in society. Likewise, the arrival of tourists in residential settings has led to a wide range of positive and negative impacts, resulting in conflicts between different stakeholders. The main goal of this work is to analyze whether there is variation in the perception of the impacts associated with peer-to-peer accommodation platforms among different stakeholders? Additionally, it also seeks to investigate what kind of impacts generate the highest level of conflict among stakeholders?

Design/methodology/approach – Given the relative novelty of the problem, this paper proposes an exploratory study that sheds light on some of the main issues with the purpose of supporting further research in the future. The aim is to analyze which impacts are perceived as more positive or negative by each group and to create indexes of conflict for these groups regarding their perception of the impacts. This study is based on a fieldwork carried out in April 2020, which consists of 600 online surveys of local residents in the city of Granada. This city, one of Spain's main tourist spots, suffers the highest tourist pressure in the country.

Findings - The exploratory study suggests that the greatest consensus is generated in the assessment of economic impacts, either negative or positive. The greatest conflicts are related to the assessment of the effect of this activity on housing preservation. The group comprised of accommodation owners of tourist flats is the one that shows a more dissenting opinion from the rest, confronting especially the group formed by citizens whose income depends on tourism.

Originality/value - There is a lack of studies on the perception of tourism impacts associated with online tourism rental platforms. This is the first study to analyze both, how the main stakeholders associated with this activity assess the different impacts derived from this form of tourist accommodation as a whole and the conflicts derived from such an assessment. An additional innovation is that the analysis investigates the potential

fear of disease transmission caused by tourists. It would be interesting to continue this research by applying the same questionnaire in different environments, such as rural areas or societies with different structures from the one analyzed here. Likewise, a future in-depth analysis of some of the conflicts is recommended so as to ascertain their origin.

Keywords: conflict analysis, voting method, Borda count, tourism impacts, stakeholders, COVID19, online platforms, Airbnb.

1. Introduction

There have been numerous changes in the tourism sector over the last few decades (Guttentag, 2015)) and some of them have been the source of strong conflicts between different groups of stakeholders. Apart from many other drivers of change, the first thing we can highlight is the increasing pressure exerted on certain cities as a result of decades of pro-growth policies and the expansion of low-cost travel packages (Russo and Quagliari, 2014). The second major change is associated with the disruptive impacts generated by the expansion of peer-to-peer accommodation platforms (Gallagher, 2017). These factors have increased the interaction of local communities with tourists since the growth in arrivals is parallel to the fact that more and more tourists spend the night in residential buildings (Gravari-Barbas and Guinand, 2017). Tourism impacts on hosting destinations have become more intense and diverse (Martin, Ostos & Salinas, 2019). In fact, early scenarios that could be described under the term over-tourism have led to the already well-known tourismphobia, even in contexts that are economically dependent on tourism (Coldwell, 2017; Martín, Rodríguez, Zermeño, Salinas, 2018).

The academic literature focused on tourist accommodation platforms has not stopped growing in recent years (Cheng, 2016). As Guttentag (2015; 1193) puts it, “It is essentially an online platform through which ordinary people rent out their spaces as accommodation for tourists”. One area of this research focuses on the analysis of tourism impacts and the interactions that result from the expansion of these platforms. On the assumption that the development of tourist activity involves different stakeholders, the interactions resulting from these platforms will also impact every stakeholder group (Martín, Guaita, Salinas & Rodriguez, 2018).

This paper sheds light on various research gaps identified in the academic literature. Several authors have pointed out the importance of analyzing how residents in tourist areas perceive the impacts generated by this type of platforms (Lyons and Wearing, 2015; Richardson, 2015; Gutierrez, García-Palomares, Romanillos, Salas-Olmedo, 2017). Guttentag (2015) claims that the impacts generated by these platforms are still unpredictable, but that analyzing them is necessary and worthwhile. Analyzing the social perception is important because of the need to gain citizen support, which can guarantee the success of tourist destinations (Martin, 2019), and incorporate their opinions into the planning process (Dyer, Gursoy, Sharma, Carter, 2007). But in addition to the opinion of the locals as such, the other stakeholders that are part of the community are also indispensable for the proper development of the tourism industry (Vargas-Sanchez, Oom, da Costa, Albino, 2015). Each group is impacted in very different ways, as will be discussed below, so their perceptions may be different too. In addition to the negative impacts themselves, strong conflicts between economic and social stakeholders generally lead to negative effects on industry and society (Yang et al., 2020). Cohen and Munoz (2016), indicate, precisely, that these activities cause numerous conflicts between stakeholders, which would require greater attention from academic research.

The contribution of this work is included within this line of research because, as has been explained, the academia acknowledges the need to widen the analysis of the impacts generated by tourist accommodation platforms and the conflicts generated between different groups of stakeholders. Thus, it is necessary to analyze the different impacts that affect the stakeholders and the perception that each group has in response to them (Guttentag, 2015; McGehee and Andereck, 2004) in order to determine the potential conflicts that may arise. This greater understanding is key, as it would make it possible to support regulatory processes for this type of activity so that potential opportunities are taken advantage of (OECD, 2016) while respecting the interests or rights of each stakeholder group (Cheng, 2016). The adequate growth of this activity requires proper regulation, and this implies attending to the needs of the different stakeholders (Martin *et al.*, 2019). In particular, this paper analyzes the perception of the various stakeholders involved in tourism development with regard to the positive and negative impacts associated with tourist rental platforms. This paper adopts one of the most widely accepted theories to explain the attitude of citizens to tourism development, the Social

Exchange Theory (SET). According to the theory, citizens assess or compare the potential economic benefits against the expected costs associated with tourism development, which will, in turn, shape their attitude (Ap, 1992).

The above could translate into three specific research questions (RQ). RQ1: Are there great variations in the perception of the impacts associated with peer-to-peer accommodation platforms among different stakeholders? RQ2: Does the assessment of the impacts fall within the scope of the Social Exchange Theory? RQ3: What kind of impacts generate the highest level of conflict among stakeholders? In this line, this study incorporates a new impact to be analyzed. Considering the context that has unfolded since the spread of the COVID19 pandemic in February 2020, we have included an item dealing with the potential fear of diseases carried by tourists. Therefore, we analyze whether local residents perceive the potential contagion as a negative impact, inasmuch as peer-to-peer accommodation platforms bring tourists closer to residential settings than other forms of accommodation.

The intensity and nature of the conflicts are factors that influence the severity of the aforementioned economic and social conflicts. Each stakeholder group deals with different stressors using both individual and collective strategies (Kozusznik et al., 2020). Furthermore, conflicts seriously hinder decision-making processes and consensus-building among groups. As Kiernan et al., (2019) claim “The complexity and ill-structured nature of many design problems involve sets of interrelated decisions which require iterative decision-making processes”. In complex cases like these, where social agents, economic factors, and regulations or lack thereof are entwined with opposing interests, problems of varying severity may arise. These problems include the generation of conflicts between different stakeholders, which can lead to a drop in demand, the obstruction of decision-making processes necessary for the success and maintenance of the industry, or preventing the growth of positive relationships between groups. In this sense, the first steps necessary for efficient conflict management are the identification and evaluation of conflicts (Chu-Carroll & Carberry, 2020).

The groups of stakeholders that have been established are: residents in tourist neighborhoods, residents in non-tourist neighborhoods, owners of tourist flats, street shops and restaurant owners, professionals whose income depends on tourism, local

citizens who live in buildings with tourist flats, and users of holiday rental platforms. As will be justified below, the selection of the stakeholders who took part in the study is conditioned by previous research, which had identified the groups especially affected by this activity. The aim is to analyze which impacts are perceived as more positive or negative by each group and to create indexes of conflict for these groups regarding their perception of the impacts. This will address the research gap in the academic literature while providing useful information for tourism planning and regulatory development.

2. Different interests, different impacts, different attitudes

The development of tourist activity results in diverse and complex interactions with the areas in which it unfolds (Guaita, Martín, Salinas, Mogorrón-Guerrero, 2019). Such interactions, both positive and negative, are known as tourism impacts (Mathieson and Wall, 1982). Tourist activity has the potential to contribute to sustainable development and, at the same time, generate negative impacts that must be identified before being dealt with (Doswell, 1997; Puczkó and Rátz, 2000). The final outcome depends on several factors, such as the volume of tourists, the activities they carry out, the strength of the local community, or the fragility of the environment (Roberts and Hall, 2001). Also crucial in this regard is the system for organizing tourism, the regulation of the sector, and the actions aimed at adapting tourist activity to the needs of each of the stakeholders involved (Fang, Ye, Law, 2016; Martin *et al.*, 2019).

Tourism impacts, based on their heterogeneous nature, affect with different intensity and form the various stakeholders involved in tourism development (Woo, Uysal, Sirgy, 2018). Analyses that take stakeholders into account help to understand the interactions that occur between them, which is indispensable to ensure social and economic sustainability (Mitchell, Agle, Wood, 1997). The aforementioned impacts and the ways in which they affect the stakeholders will lead to multiple interpretations/assessments of reality (Domínguez-Gómez and González-Gómez, 2017). It is thus necessary to take into account these diverse assessments and opinions, which arise from the different stakeholders involved in the growth of this industry, so as to make it more inclusive and sustainable (Flyvbjerg, 1998). The assessments and opinions of the different agents involved should be considered in the processes of destination planning and in the design of regulations, so that progress is made towards new models of governance (Lai, Hsu,

Wearing, 2016; León, González, Araña, De Leon, 2014; Sténs, Bjärstig, Nordström, Sandström, Fries, Johansson, 2016). The present work is based on such an assumption. Specifically, it seeks to analyze the perception of a number of stakeholder groups with regard to the impacts associated with tourist rental platforms while emphasizing possible conflicts. As a preliminary step, it seems interesting and necessary to highlight the main impacts described in the academic literature on this model of accommodation, indicating in each case which stakeholders would be primarily involved.

These platforms are not only having a clear effect on the business sector but also on the very neighborhoods in which they are located (Ioannides, Röslmaier, Van der Zee, 2018). It is important to bear in mind the incipient situation of research on this subject. Let us not forget that Airbnb, a pioneering company, began its activity in 2008. As Guttentag (2015) points out, the analysis of impacts is incomplete, which is confirmed by Cheng (2016: 67): “there appears scope for more research into the ecological, economic, and social impacts of SE”. As far as the economic dimension is concerned, the final outcome is difficult to determine, as a wide variety of positive and negative impacts have been reported (Nieuwland and van Melik, 2020). In addition, economic impacts have been the focus of much public concern (Martín *et al.*, 2018a). The diversity of these is evident in the studies carried out, and their potential effect is felt both by citizens and by the tourism industry itself. In fact, the economic aspect is behind intense debates on the legitimacy of the companies that support these intermediaries (Bort, 2014; Brustein, 2014). In relation to this and, as stated above, this paper is based on the Social Exchange Theory (SET), as it is the most widely accepted option in the academic literature to explain the way in which attitudes towards tourism are shaped (Prayag et al. 2013). According to this theory, those involved in tourist activity shape their attitude by comparing the expected economic benefits with the costs associated with such activity (Ap 1992). If the benefits are perceived to outweigh the costs the attitude towards tourism development will be positive (Lee 2013). This theory presupposes that communities may endure some of the costs associated with tourism in exchange for some compensation. Such a compensation can take various forms, such as the development of new infrastructure, increased income, job creation, etc. However, if the expected benefits do not meet expectations, a feeling of rejection is to be expected (Ward and Berno 2011).

For the purposes of this research, both the stakeholders and the impacts to be analyzed were taken from the academic literature on the topic. The groups selected have therefore been inspired by previous academic studies, as well as the impacts analyzed. This research does not seek to analyze undescribed impacts or to work with groups not considered in previous studies, but rather to gather information on the differences in perception of the impacts described and to construct indicators of conflict between the groups analyzed. Therefore, after reviewing the academic literature, an analysis based on seven groups of stakeholders has been proposed. In the methodology section we offer some references taken into account in the design of the questionnaire. The impacts associated with the stakeholders considered in this study are shown below and given that this paper focuses on online peer-to-peer accommodation platforms, the impacts described will be related to this phenomenon.

Residents in tourist neighborhoods:

As noted, the disturbances to local communities associated with this type of accommodation are linked to and enhanced in many cases by increased tourism pressure, i.e., an increase in visitor arrivals at certain tourist spots (Russo and Quagliari, 2014; Martin *et al.*, 2019). New models of tourism organization, such as online platforms, have generated new impacts or variants of those already described (Ioannides, Röslmaier, Van der Zee, 2018), but also heightened them by concentrating more accommodation places in tourist areas (Gutierrez *et al.*, 2017). One of the effects associated with tourist accommodation platforms that generates more social protests is that concerning the housing market. Recent studies have reported increases in residential housing and rent prices, housing shortages in residential areas, and evictions of long-term tenants (Edelman and Geradin, 2016; Jefferson-Jones, 2014; Lines, 2015; Said, 2012; Shih, 2012). Several studies have described the important effect that the extension of tourist accommodation can have on the disruption of residents' lives (Gallagher, 2017), on the loss of social cohesion and the undermining of local culture (Cócola, 2016; Martin *et al.*, 2018a). On the positive side, there is an underlying idea in several studies, namely, that the interactions resulting from these accommodation models do not have to be negative; but can bring about new opportunities for the host community. The adoption of this type of activity can help to promote values such as equality, mutuality, honesty, openness, empathy, and an ethic of care (John, 2013). Furthermore, the sense of community that is

generated in response to a loss of cohesion can help build social capital and strengthen links of cooperation (Martin *et al.*, 2015).

Residents in non-tourist neighborhoods:

Another positive impact is the potential of this type of accommodation to bring tourist spending to neighborhoods that have not traditionally benefited from this activity (Porges, 2013). This impact is not only limited to their expenditure, but also involves the revitalization of neighborhoods in a broad sense (Fang *et al.*, 2016). Martin *et al.* (2019b) show how tourist flows associated with tourist accommodations intensify tourism seasonality, which can aggravate environmental pressure in sensitive destinations at peak times. In addition to the above, other environmental impacts have been highlighted, such as the generation of greater amounts of waste or noise.

Owners of tourist flats:

For owners of rental homes, the benefit is clear, as they can supplement their income and help pay mortgages (Gottlieb, 2013; Holm, 2016). However, there is no guarantee that the economic benefits associated with this activity end up reaching a large number of the local population. In fact, it has been concluded that a large portion of tourist accommodations are owned by investment groups (Gurran and Phibbs, 2017). From a social standpoint, emphasis should be laid on the value added by taking advantage of certain underutilized assets (Stephany, 2015), and in general, on the value of greater collaboration among equals (Belk, 2014). Although this vision may be too naive, there are investment groups dedicated to managing a high percentage of the accommodation available, as noted above (Gurran and Phibbs, 2017).

Street shops and restaurant owners:

Even such sectors as commerce or restaurants are benefiting from the new consumption patterns of tourists that do not stay in hotels (Fang *et al.*, 2016). It has also been pointed out that some of the stays associated with these accommodations are longer than the traditional hotel stays, which benefits the city by receiving more expenditure per tourist (Morgan Stanley Research, 2015). Other studies indicate that it is easier to embark on a business venture in the context of the collaborative economy (Nadler, 2014). In fact,

projects linking collaborative economics and sustainability can emerge from these activities (Martin and Upham, 2016).

Professionals whose income depends on tourism:

Society as a whole can be affected by this type of activity, given that part of the supply of tourist accommodation is associated with informal economy, so that tax evasion and unfair competition can be intensified (Lyons and Wearing, 2015; Oskam and Boswijk, 2016). In particular, analyses have been developed that highlight the unequal competition being faced by traditional accommodation companies (Zebras *et al.*, 2014; Choi, Jung, Ryu, Do Kim, Yoon, 2015), partly as a result of the different stages in the regulation of both types of accommodation (Martin *et al.*, 2018a). However, some authors indicate that the damage caused by these accommodation systems in comparison with traditional ones is marginal (Mayock's, 2013). Likewise, the offer of places associated with these accommodations complements the traditional one, making it possible to improve the carrying capacity of destinations in peak periods (Juul, 2015). While activities associated with the collaborative economy can increase the income of residents in tourist areas, they can also deteriorate labor conditions when relying solely on this income source (Lyon and Wearing, 2015; Schor and Fitzmaurice, 2015). It has also been pointed out that the pressure felt by hotels to reduce costs can lead to a decrease in the income of employees in this type of establishment (Suciu, 2016). Moreover, a lower occupancy rate in hotels may result in job losses that are not compensated for by any other type of accommodation (Fang *et al.*, 2016).

Local citizens who live in buildings with tourist flats:

As regards the disruption affecting the lives of neighbors, impacts such as increased traffic, noise generated in residential buildings, appropriation and congestion of public space have been analyzed (Gallagher, 2017; Gurran and Phibbs, 2017; Martin, Salinas, Rodríguez, Jiménez, 2017; Gottlieb, 2013; Leland, 2012; Said, 2012). Impacts associated with increased alcohol or drug use in residential settings and growing insecurity have also been analyzed (Gallagher, 2017; Gurran and Phibbs, 2017). With regard to the loss of cohesion, it stems from the aforementioned loss of local population (Neutsch and Nijkamp, 2012), which is replaced by temporary visitors (Martin *et al.*, 2018a). Some

studies have noted the need to ensure the creation of communication channels between community members to build resilient and empowered societies (Martin, Upham, Budd, 2015).

Users of peer-to-peer accommodation platforms:

This accommodation option has the ability to offer bed places at more affordable prices (Shaheen, Mallery, Kingsley, 2012; Juul, 2015; Ioannides *et al.*, 2018), which may draw segments of the population into the tourism market that would not have otherwise traveled, thus expanding its scope (Zervas, Prosepio, Byers, 2014; Lawler, 2012). From the tourist's point of view, it is possible to obtain a more authentic experience (Forno and Garibaldi, 2015; Sigala, 2017; OECD, 2016; Tussyadiah and Pesonen, 2015; Russo and Quagliari, 2016), which is linked to a closer interaction with local communities (Belarmino, Whalen, Kohl, and Bowen, 2017). While in a negative sense, there are also risks for tourists, such as those derived from guaranteeing their personal safety, an adequate standard of quality and hygiene, and avoiding complications in economic transactions (Sigala, 2017). This stems from the changes in the traditional roles of suppliers and consumers, and from the very circumstances in which the overnight stays take place (Cheng, 2016). Legislation should guarantee the same quality, safety, and health standards as those required of traditional establishments, so that consumers are adequately protected (Guttentag, 2015; Martin *et al.*, 2019).

As a result, many cities around the world are currently trying to regulate this type of accommodation (Guttentag, 2015). The response of the public authorities can be classified into three strategies: (1) prohibition, (2) laissez-faire, and (3) allowing it with certain restrictions (Jefferson-Jones, 2014; Miller, 2014). Regulation is expected to vary significantly between cities, as local circumstances and related impacts are also different (Guttentag, 2015; Oskam and Boswijk, 2016). It is also important to bear in mind the difficulty of assessing the impacts described, given the complexity of pinpointing their origin in the effects of tourist accommodation platforms and not in the tourism industry itself (Ioannides *et al.*, 2018).

3. Study context, both general and particular

Home-sharing platforms started in 2008 and since then the spread rate has been very rapid (Gallagher, 2017). Within these platforms, Airbnb is by far the leading one, although it is only a part “of a more general emergence of internet-based companies that permit ordinary people to offer tourism accommodation” (Guttentag, 2015). Other companies with similar activity are Wimdu, 9flats, Roomorama, Onefinestay, HouseTrip, FlipKey, CouchSurfing, MisterAirbnb, etc. The impacts described above, associated with these platforms, have raised serious concerns (Dredge and Gyimóthy, 2015; Queensland Tourism Industry Council, 2014). Partly as a result of the lack of planning associated with a disruptive and poorly regulated model (Martin *et al.*, 2019; Nieuwland and van Melik, 2020). In some cities, there has been an intense debate on the legitimacy of these platforms (Bort, 2014; Brustein, 2014), which has led to highly diverse regulatory measures in terms of their content and the severity of restrictions (Martín *et al.*, 2019).

The analysis presented here has been applied to the city of Granada, Spain. The city is located in the south of the country, has a population of approximately 232,000 inhabitants, and is part of a metropolitan area that concentrates 530,000 inhabitants. This city is one of the main cultural destinations in Spain, based on the power of attraction of the monumental complex of the Alhambra and Generalife, as well as the Albaicín quarter, declared a World Heritage Site by UNESCO (Andalusia Government, 2020). According to the data mentioned in the introduction, this is one of the Spanish cities experiencing great tourism pressure, as it is the sixth city in terms of number of arrivals (Exceltur, 2018). According to The Cultural and Creative Cities Monitor, published by the European Commission, the city of Granada ranks third in Spain as a cultural destination (European Commission, 2017). As in many other tourist cities, the main tourist resources of this city are concentrated in the historical center, a spatially reduced area that has problems improving its mobility (Romero and Leonditis, 2020).

The city receives more than 2 million tourists every year (National Statistics Institute, 2020a), except for those staying in non-regulated establishments, which are not included in the official statistics available. The supply of hotel beds amounts to 15,000, while the supply of computed-mediated tourist accommodation is around 3,750 (Datahippo, 2020). This provides an overview of the tourist pressure on a 232,000-inhabitant city (National

Statistics Institute, 2020b). Although Granada is the sixth most visited city in Spain, some studies suggest that this destination is the tourist spot in Spain experiencing the greatest tourist pressure per inhabitant. It is estimated that the percentage of annual visitors compared to the resident population reaches 11.7%, whereas the national average is 7.4% (Exceltur 2018).

The aim of this paper focuses on considering the opinion and perception of different groups involved in tourist activity. In cities such as Granada it is assumed that, as Schor and Attwood-Charles, (2017) point out, collaborative economy is one of the main challenges, partly in terms of social sustainability. Local residents will shape their perception based on individual criteria, so it can be assumed that their reaction to tourist platforms will be different, as Bakker and Twining-Ward (2018) point out. The tourist climate in this city has changed considerably over the last 10 years as in many other cities in which the growth in the supply of accommodations rented online has been very rapid (Hempel, 2012).

4. Methodology and data

4.1. Identification of stakeholders and data collection

This study is based on a fieldwork carried out in April 2020, which consists of 600 online surveys of local residents in the city of Granada. This city, one of Spain's main tourist spots, welcomes more than 2 million tourists annually (National Statistics Institute, 2020a), excluding those staying in non-regulated establishments for which no official statistics are available. In this city, the supply of hotel beds amounts to 15,000, while the supply of tourist accommodation mediated online is estimated at 3,750 (Datahippo, 2020). This provides an overview of the tourist pressure that a city of 232,000 inhabitants experiences (National Statistics Institute, 2020b). Although Granada is the sixth most visited city in Spain, some studies indicate that this destination is the tourist spot in Spain with the greatest tourist pressure per inhabitant. It is estimated that the percentage of annual visitors compared to the resident population reaches 11.7%, whereas the national average is 7.4% (Exceltur 2018). An analysis carried out in this city is therefore justified.

The questionnaire was carried out online, by means of a link distributed through different media. Specifically, we had the collaboration of neighborhood associations, digital media,

the City Council of Granada, and the University of Granada. It should be noted that the data collection associated with this study has been conditioned by the restrictions on mobility imposed by the Spanish Government in March 2020, as a result of the state of national alarm caused by Covid-19. This has prevented groups such as hotel owners or public managers from being surveyed – the hotels were closed-, which remains to be done in a second phase of this study. All of the groups were contacted using the same procedure and it was the respondents who identified themselves as belonging to one or another group. Using the telephone number as identification prevented respondents from completing the survey twice. The goal was to reach 600 surveys in total. The percentage of respondents in each group is described in Table 1, as well as the demographic profile. It should be highlighted that only persons over 18 years of age and who had been living in the city of Granada for at least one year were surveyed.

Table 1. Descriptive data of the field work

Stakeholder groups	Surveys	% Total
Professionals whose income depends on tourism	106	17,67%
Residents in non-tourist neighborhoods	100	16,67%
Local citizens who live in buildings with tourist flats	70	11,67%
Owners of tourist flats	62	10,33%
Residents in tourist neighborhoods	170	28,33%
Street shops and restaurant owners	64	10,67%
Users of holiday rental platforms	30	5,00%
	600	100,00%
Mean age		
Between 18 and 35 years of age.	248	41,33%
Between 36 and 55 years of age.	246	41,00%
Between 56 and 65 years of age.	82	13,67%
Over 65 years of age.	24	4,00%
Highest education level completed		
Primary education or No formal education	4	0,67%
Secondary education.	194	32,33%
University education.	402	67,00%

Interviewees were specifically asked about the role (whether resident, owner, etc.) that had conditioned their responses. The assigned groups are as follows: residents in tourist neighborhoods, residents in non-tourist neighborhoods, owners of tourist flats, street shops and restaurant owners, professionals whose income depends on tourism, local citizens who live in buildings with tourist flats and users of peer-to-peer accommodation platforms. The questionnaire was divided into the following sections. First, we asked respondents for personal data, such as age, education level, and place of residence. Citizens who had not lived for more than one year in the city of Granada were excluded. Respondents were then asked to rank a list of 10 positive impacts associated with tourist accommodation platforms (see Table 1), ensuring that the highest score is awarded to the one they consider most important - more clearly perceived. In a second stage, they ranked

the potentially negative impacts, awarding a 10 to the impact considered most negative - more clearly perceived (see Table 2). Questions were designed to classify respondents into different groups (tourist apartment owner, store owner, customer, etc.). Finally, the respondent was asked to indicate the role (whether resident, owner, etc.) that had conditioned his or her answers. The impacts included in the survey have been taken from the academic literature on this topic. The potential fear of contagion of diseases carried by tourists has been added to these impacts, as a consequence of the COVID19 pandemic. The survey included 11 questions in total, as a more extensive one might be met with rejection on the part of the respondents. The full details of the survey are included in Annex I.

The items included in the questionnaire were based on the academic literature on the social and economic impacts of online platforms for tourist accommodations. These impacts, which were already described, have been collected for assessment by stakeholders. Nonetheless, a previously undescribed impact has been added, namely the potential fear of disease transmission by tourists. As Guttentag (2015) and McGehee and Andereck (2004) point out, it would be interesting to see whether this perception can be conditioned by the residents' economic ties to the tourism industry. In particular, groups have been created to differentiate citizens whose income depends on tourism from those whose income depends directly on this type of rentals, which could condition their attitude to a greater extent (McGehee and Andereck, 2004). Given that tourist accommodations are mainly located in tourist areas themselves (Egan and Nield, 2000), it is understood that the greater pressure exerted on these areas could condition the opinion of their inhabitants in different ways, and, therefore, we have created differentiated groups for residents in tourist and non-tourist areas, and users of tourist platforms. In the shaping of attitudes toward tourism, one of the most widespread theories is the Social Exchange Theory (SET), which postulates that this attitude is shaped individually on the basis of the costs and benefits that each citizen associates with tourist activity (Martin, 2019). Under this approach, it can be foreseen that the different groups could exhibit differences in their attitudes toward the main impacts associated with these platforms.

4.2. Ranking of positive and negative effects

Voting methods have been widely used to solve decisional problems in multidisciplinary contexts which involve multiple decision-makers and to define rankings of qualitative perceptions. They are known as "soft methods", as they capture the preferences of decision-makers in an orderly way but not as constrained and structured as other methods of linear programming or hierarchical methods. These methods are particularly suitable for developing participatory processes because they are usually simple to both understand and apply. There are various types of voting methods, such as multi-stage voting or paired voting methods (Klamler and Pferschy, 2007). We have used a voting method based on the Borda count in our research for several reasons: it is a simple method and difficult to manipulate; there are no Condorcet losers, and it verifies the conditions of consistency, monotonicity and the Paretian optimal (Hiltunenm, Kangas, Pykäläinen, 2008). This method considers the preferences of the different voting groups with regard to the possible choices. For n items, each voter gives n votes to the item they consider to be more important, $n-1$ to the second and, finally, a single vote to the least important item. The item that gets the most votes is the winner (Menezes, Silveira, Drezner, 2016). In our research, the voting method has been used to elicit the opinions of the residents of the city of Granada in a ranking that, according to their importance, orders the effects, both positive and negative, of tourist accommodations.

The perceptions of the participants are recorded in the survey carried out, which has made it possible to create a ranking of the perceptions associated with the positive and negative effects of tourist apartments in their city. In our survey, each participant was asked to evaluate 10 positive effects by assigning 10 points to the effect they considered most important or perceived more clearly, 9 points to the next most important effect, 8 points to the third most important effect and so on until they assigned 1 point to the effect they considered least important. The sum of the values assigned to each impact provided a joint ranking for positive effects. The same procedure was used to organize the negative effects. Respondents assigned a score of 10 to the effect they considered or perceived to be the most negative and 1 point to the effect they considered least negative. Finally, all scores were normalized in order to obtain weights that represent the relative importance of each effect.

This voting method has been used in different contexts to analyze how different stakeholder groups assess the importance of each effect. It yields similar results to those obtained by applying more complex methods, such as the Analytical Hierarchy Process (de Castro, Pérez, Martín, Azevedo, 2019a). The advantage of the voting method is that it is much more easily understood by the participants.

4.3. Conflict analysis

In order to measure the level of conflict in relation to the relative importance assigned to every item by each group, a Conflict index was applied using Equation (1), based on Pang and Liang (2012). This indicator allows us to quantify the conflict generated between the individual assessments and the group assessment.

$$IC^a = 1 - \frac{\sqrt{\sum_{i=1}^n (\Delta_i^a - N)^2}}{\sqrt{\sum_{i=1}^n (\Delta_i^a - N)^2} + \sqrt{\sum_{i=1}^n (\Delta_i^a)^2}} \quad (1)$$

where Δ_i^a represents the absolute difference between α_i^a and α_i , so, $\Delta_i^a = |\alpha_i^a - \alpha_i|$

and α_i^a is the value assigned to each stakeholder a to each impact.

α_i is the value of the collective preference for each impact.

$0 \leq \Delta_i^a \leq N$, when the value of N is $a = \{\alpha_\alpha \mid \alpha = 0, 1, \dots, l\}$; then $N=l$; and N represents the maximum possible disagreement.

The value of the conflict index will always be $0 \leq IC^a \leq 1$. When $IC^a=0$, the individual assessment will be the same as the group assessment, i.e. full consensus will be reached. And when $IC^a=1$, the individual assessment will be the farthest from the group assessment, so the conflict will be at a maximum. This index has proven to be useful for measuring discrepancies between groups in other contexts (de Castro, Pérez, Martín, Azevedo, 2019b). It has also been used to identify the positive and negative effects that deviate most from the overall assessment and, therefore, those that could cause the strongest conflict.

The inter-group analysis allows for the identification of the most problematic stakeholder groups; that is, those whose assessments are most distant from each other. To quantify inter-group divergences in a structured way, conflict matrices have been generated. These matrices are made up of measures representing the conflict between each pair of stakeholders, so that each matrix is a diagonal $n \times n$ matrix where n is the number of stakeholder groups. To calculate the elements of the conflict matrices, we have used a distance measure based on Yu and Lai (2011) (equation 2).

$$d_{kl}^2 = (w_i^k - w_i^l)^2 \quad (2)$$

where kl represents the k^{th} and l^{th} stakeholder groups, i.e. $k=1, 2, \dots, p, l=1, 2, \dots, p$, and i denotes the i^{th} item to be assessed, $i=1, 2, \dots, n$. w_i^k is the normalized relative importance of item i , as assessed by group k , and w_i^l is the normalized distance of item i , as assessed by group l .

5. Results

5.1. Assessment of positive and negative factors

The analysis of the overall results shows that both the positive and negative impacts considered most important by the participants are those that have some kind of economic implication. Tables 2 and 3 show the global ranking of the relative importance assigned to the positive and negative effects of tourist accommodations in the city of Granada. The positive effects considered most important by the participants are "Creation of wealth and increase of economic activity", with a relative importance of 13.04%, "Increased tax collection" (11.32%) and "Greater opportunities for local entrepreneurs" (11.27%). Nonetheless, the effects associated with a positive change in terms of "city image" have been the poorest assessed.

The negative effects perceived as most important are "Increase in the price of housing and business establishments (rental and sale)", which has obtained a relative importance of 12.47% and "Increased price (shops, bars, etc.)", with 12.29% of relative importance. The contagion of diseases carried by tourists (10.59%) has ranked 5th in the global ranking of negative effects, which means that there is concern among citizens regarding

the situation at the time caused by the Covid-19 pandemic. However, it is probably seen as a transitory situation.

Table 2. Overall ranking of positive effects of holiday rental platforms.

1 st	Creation of wealth and increase of economic activity (13.04%)
2 nd	Increased tax collection (11.32%)
3 rd	Greater opportunities for local entrepreneurs (11.27%)
4 th	Increase in employment rate (11.01%)
5 th	Increase in leisure offer (9.61%)
6 th	Improvement of the state of conservation of buildings (9.31%)
7 th	Increase in the value of homes and businesses (8.99%)
8 th	Greater cultural interaction (8.66%)
9 th	Prevention of urban and historical areas' deterioration (8.65%)
10 th	Improvement of the image of the city (8.15%)

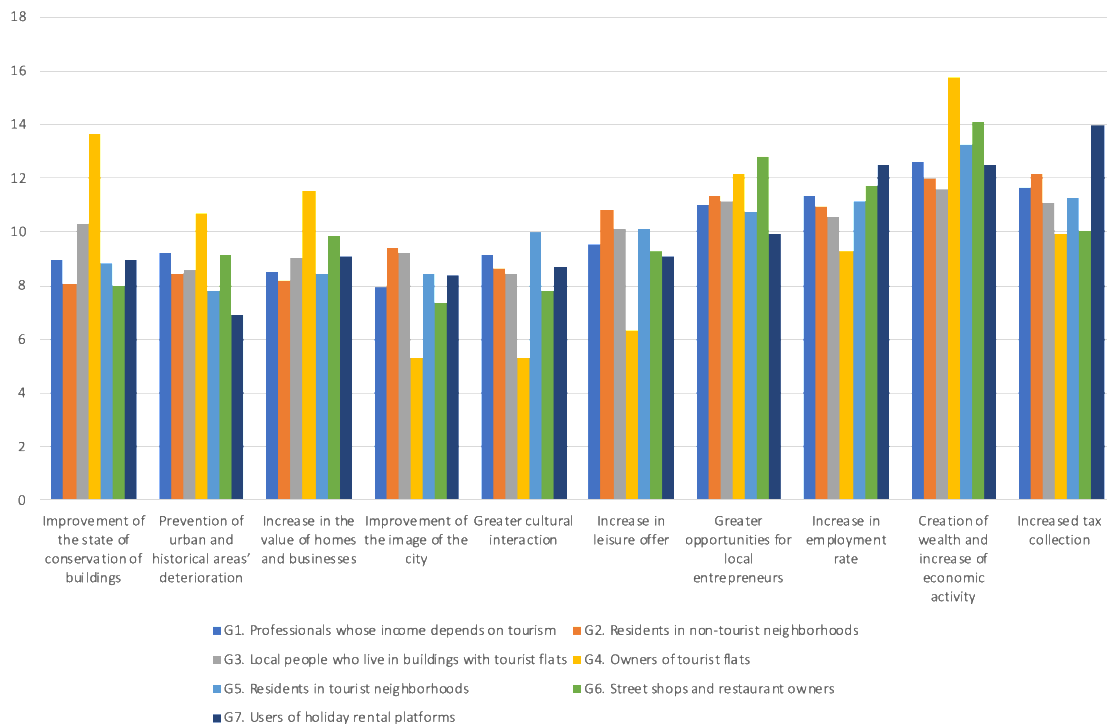
Table 3. Overall ranking of negative effects of holiday rental platforms.

1 st	Increase in the price of housing and business establishments (rental and sale) (12.47%)
2 nd	Increased prices (shops, bars, etc.) (12.29%)
3 rd	Loss of local population (11.44%)
4 th	Loss of traditional business establishments (10.98%)
5 th	Transmission of diseases carried by tourists (10.59%)
6 th	Increased insecurity: alcohol, drugs, etc. (8.90%)
7 th	Negative effects on traditional accommodations: hotels, etc. (8.76%)
8 th	Increased congestion: public spaces, traffic, etc. (8.57%)
9 th	Disruption of tranquility (8.07%)
10 th	Loss of social cohesion (7.93%)

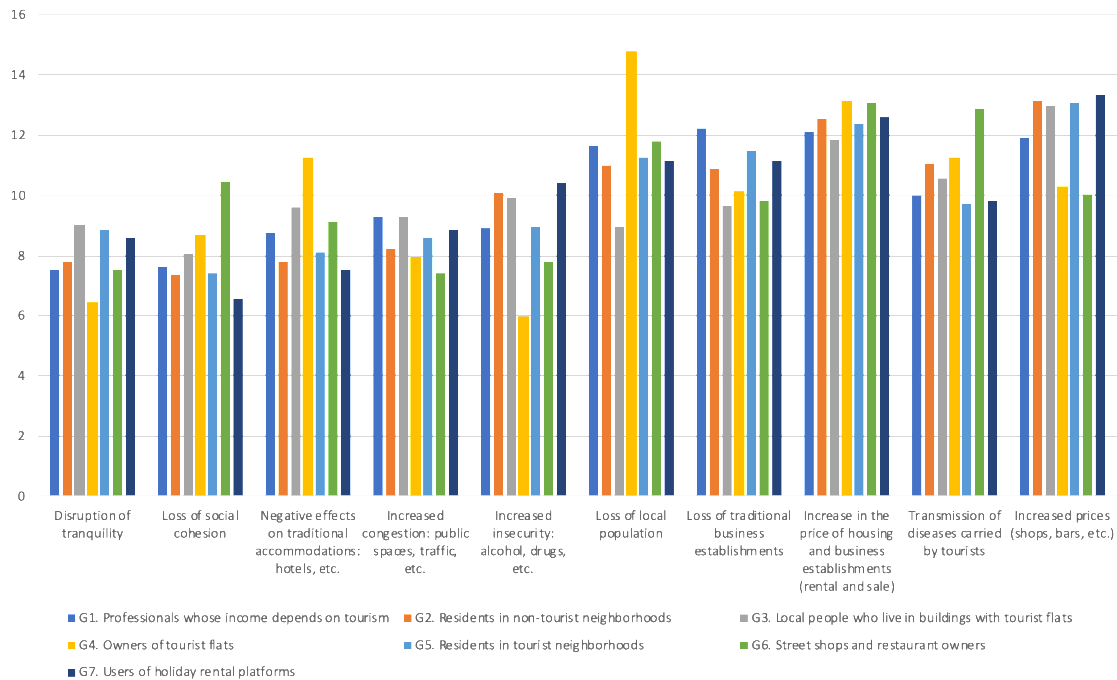
An analysis of the perception of the respondents shows that the group formed by owners of tourist flats offers a clearly differentiated assessment of all impacts, both positive and negative impacts. This group has significantly valued above all other groups the positive effects related to "Improvement of the state of conservation of buildings", "Prevention of urban and historical areas' deterioration", "Increase in the price of housing and business" and "Creation of wealth and increase of economic activity" (Graph 1). This same group has stood out from the rest of the groups by giving more relative importance to the

negative effects "Negative effects on traditional accommodations", "Loss of local population" and "Increase in the price of housing and business establishments" (Graph 2). The groups "Residents in non-tourist neighborhoods" and "Local citizens who live in buildings with tourist flats" have been the ones that have more evenly assigned weights to the different elements assessed, both in terms of positive and negative effects. It is noteworthy that the users of tourist accommodations have given more importance to certain positive effects with economic repercussions than some stakeholders directly linked to the exploitation of this activity. For example, this group considers the positive effects related to the increase in employment to be more important than owners of tourist flats, street shops and restaurant owners or residents in tourist neighborhoods. The increase in tax collection is also much more appreciated by this group than by the rest, although this is logical. Graphs 1 and 2 show a comparison between the relative importance assigned to the positive and negative effects by the different stakeholders.

Graph 1. Comparison of the importance assigned to each positive effect by the stakeholders.



Graph 2. Comparison of the importance assigned to each negative effect by the stakeholders.



5.2. Analysis of conflicts by type of effect

An analysis of the conflict of perceptions of the different stakeholders on the positive impacts shows that the greatest disagreement is found in the assessment of the importance of improving the state of conservation of the buildings, with a conflict index of 0.083. Fairly below are the conflicts concerning the perceptions of the positive effects associated with greater cultural interaction (0.050) and the increase in the supply of leisure (0.048). The differences with respect to the item "Improvement of the state of conservation of buildings" were mostly due to the group of owners, who gave a much higher value to this item than the other groups. The conflict associated with the other two items is explained by the fact that owners assess them more poorly. Moreover, residents in tourist neighborhoods have given a higher score to "Greater cultural interaction", whereas non-residents have done so in the case of "Increase in leisure offer". The negative impacts which are perceived more differently by various groups are "Loss of local population" and "Increased insecurity". Again, the group formed by the owners has been the one that has caused the most conflict in these valuations. In fact, it has been the direct cause of the

conflict concerning the item "Loss of local population", which has been assigned a much higher score by this group than any other. The conflict regarding "Increased insecurity" has also been motivated by the non-resident and residents in tourist neighborhoods groups' appreciation. Table 4 shows the global conflict index for each of the positive and negative impacts assessed.

Table 4. Index of global conflicts regarding the positive and negative impacts of tourist accommodations.

Positive effect	CI	Negative effects	CI
Improvement of the state of conservation of buildings.	0.083	Disruption of tranquility.	0.019
Prevention of urban and historical areas' deterioration.	0.031	Loss of social cohesion.	0.035
Increases the value of homes and business establishments.	0.031	Negative effects on traditional accommodations: hotels, etc.	0.037
Improvement of the image of the city.	0.043	Increased congestion (spaces, traffic, etc.).	0.011
Greater cultural interaction.	0.050	Increased insecurity: alcohol, drugs, etc.	0.053
Increase in leisure offer.	0.048	Loss of local population.	0.063
Greater opportunities for local entrepreneurs.	0.020	Loss of traditional business establishments.	0.021
Increase in employment rate.	0.023	Increase in the price of housing and business establishments (rental and sale).	0.005
Creation of wealth and increase of economic activity.	0.045	Transmission of diseases carried by tourists	0.029
Increased tax collection.	0.041	Increased prices (shops, bars, etc.).	0.044

5.3. Inter-group conflict analysis

Inter-group conflict analysis allows for the quantification of the conflict between each pair of stakeholders. This analysis makes it possible to quantify the divergences between each stakeholder group by identifying, on the one hand, the groups which have a more conflictive stance and, on the other hand, the degree of conflict between pairs of groups. The criterion used to perform the inter-group analysis is the distance between the assessments issued by each pair of stakeholders, and is calculated using equations (1) and

(2), comparing the preferences of each pair of groups. This analysis is especially relevant to identify the groups among which there is greater conflict and the most conflictive items for them. The results of the analysis can help to guide the negotiation in decision-making processes, aiming at reaching the least conflictive solutions or, in any case, solutions agreeable to all participants.

The results are shown in Graphs 3 and 4. The inter-group analysis of the positive impacts of tourist accommodation has identified the owners of tourist flats as the most conflictive group. They assess the importance of the positive effects brought about by this type of accommodation in a very different way. The greatest level of conflict between this group and street shops and restaurant owners has been identified in assessing the positive effect associated with the benefits of building conservation. This item has been assigned more importance by the owners. In general, this element has been much more valued by the owners than by the other groups.

Cultural interaction and leisure offer also generate important conflicts in the group of owners. In particular, the greatest conflict associated with the first item is generated with respect to the residents in tourist neighborhoods' assessment. The greatest conflict associated with leisure activities involves non-residents. In both cases, the owners consider these advantages much less important than the rest of the stakeholders. When assessing the positive effects associated with local entrepreneurship and tax collection, the groups made up of street shops and restaurant owners and users of holiday rental platforms have shown a great level of conflict. Whereas users of this type of accommodation consider the increase in tax collection to be more important, business people consider the opportunities associated with entrepreneurship to be more important.

Graph 3. Inter-group conflict matrix concerning the positive effects of tourist accommodations.

E1.Improvement of the state of conservation of buildings	G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	G7	E6.Increase in leisure offer	G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	G7
G1	-	✓ 0,78	✓ 1,77	✗ 22,20	✓ 0,02	✓ 0,89	✓ 0,00	G1	-	✓ 1,60	✓ 0,31	! 10,48	✓ 0,29	✓ 0,10	✓ 0,23
G2		-	✓ 4,90	✗ 31,28	✓ 0,55	✓ 0,00	✓ 0,80	G2		-	✓ 0,50	✗ 20,27	✓ 0,53	✓ 2,48	✓ 3,05
G3			-	! 11,42	✓ 2,16	✓ 5,17	✓ 1,73	G3			-	✗ 14,41	✓ 0,00	✓ 0,75	✓ 1,08
G4				-	✗ 23,52	✗ 31,97	✗ 22,05	G4				-	✗ 14,22	! 8,57	! 7,60
G5					-	✓ 0,65	✓ 0,02	G5					-	✓ 0,71	✓ 1,03
G6						-	✓ 0,92	G6						-	✓ 0,03
G7							-	G7							-
E2.Prevention of urban and historical areas' deterioration	G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	G7	E7.Greater opportunities for local entrepreneurs	G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	G7
G1	-	✓ 0,52	✓ 0,39	✓ 2,19	✓ 1,88	✓ 0,00	! 5,22	G1	-	✓ 0,07	✓ 0,00	✓ 1,33	✓ 0,07	! 3,02	✓ 1,23
G2		-	✓ 0,01	! 4,85	✓ 0,42	✓ 0,46	✓ 2,44	G2		-	✓ 0,04	✓ 0,79	✓ 0,28	✓ 2,18	✓ 1,88
G3			-	✓ 4,42	✓ 0,56	✓ 0,33	✓ 2,76	G3			-	✓ 1,17	✓ 0,11	✓ 2,78	✓ 1,39
G4				-	! 8,13	✓ 2,33	✗ 14,18	G4				-	✓ 2,01	✓ 0,34	! 5,11
G5					-	✓ 1,76	✓ 0,83	G5					-	! 4,01	✓ 0,71
G6						-	! 5,01	G6						-	✗ 8,09
G7							-	G7							-
E3.Increase in the value of homes and businesses	G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	G7	E8.Increase in employment rate	G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	G7
G1	-	✓ 0,08	✓ 0,28	✗ 9,28	✓ 0,00	✓ 1,75	✓ 0,34	G1	-	✓ 0,17	✓ 0,66	! 4,36	✓ 0,05	✓ 0,12	✓ 1,28
G2		-	✓ 0,67	✗ 11,13	✓ 0,06	✓ 2,60	✓ 0,76	G2		-	✓ 0,16	✓ 2,82	✓ 0,04	✓ 0,58	✓ 2,37
G3			-	! 6,33	✓ 0,34	✓ 0,63	✓ 0,00	G3			-	✓ 1,63	✓ 0,36	✓ 1,34	! 3,76
G4				-	✗ 9,60	✓ 2,97	! 6,07	G4				-	! 3,51	! 5,94	✗ 10,36
G5					-	✓ 1,88	✓ 0,40	G5					-	✓ 0,32	✓ 1,80
G6						-	✓ 0,55	G6						-	✓ 0,61
G7							-	G7							-
E4.Improvement of the image of the city	G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	G7	E9.Creation of wealth and increase of economic activity	G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	G7
G1	-	✓ 2,02	✓ 1,53	! 7,18	✓ 0,23	✓ 0,40	✓ 0,16	G1	-	✓ 0,35	✓ 1,01	! 10,16	✓ 0,42	✓ 2,25	✓ 0,01
G2		-	✓ 0,03	✗ 16,84	✓ 0,90	✓ 4,21	✓ 1,04	G2		-	✓ 0,17	✗ 14,27	✓ 1,52	✓ 4,37	✓ 0,24
G3			-	✗ 15,34	✓ 0,58	✓ 3,48	✓ 0,69	G3			-	✗ 17,58	✓ 2,72	✓ 6,28	✓ 0,81
G4				-	! 9,97	✓ 4,21	! 9,52	G4				-	! 6,46	✓ 2,84	! 10,84
G5					-	✓ 1,22	✓ 0,01	G5					-	✓ 0,73	✓ 0,56
G6						-	✓ 1,07	G6						-	✓ 2,58
G7							-	G7							-
E5.Greater cultural interaction	G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	G7	E10.Increased tax collection	G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	G7
G1	-	✓ 0,29	✓ 0,48	✗ 14,61	✓ 0,64	✓ 1,89	✓ 0,19	G1	-	✓ 0,23	✓ 0,36	✓ 3,07	✓ 0,17	✓ 2,58	✓ 5,18
G2		-	✓ 0,02	! 10,76	✓ 1,79	✓ 0,70	✓ 0,01	G2		-	✓ 1,17	✓ 4,99	✓ 0,81	✓ 4,36	✓ 3,22
G3			-	! 9,80	✓ 2,22	✓ 0,47	✓ 0,07	G3			-	✓ 1,33	✓ 0,03	! 1,02	! 8,26
G4				-	✗ 21,35	✓ 5,99	! 11,49	G4				-	✓ 1,78	✓ 0,02	✗ 16,22
G5					-	✓ 4,72	✓ 1,51	G5					-	✓ 1,42	! 7,25
G6						-	✓ 0,89	G6						-	✗ 15,07
G7							-	G7							-

*G1: Professionals whose income depends on tourism, G2: Residents in non-tourist neighborhoods, G3: Local citizens who live in buildings with tourist flats, G4: Owners of tourist flats, G5: Residents in tourist neighborhoods, G6: Street shops and restaurant owners, G7: Users of holiday rental platforms.

The inter-group analysis of negative effects revealed that the joint group of the owners and the people who are economically dependent on tourism showed a great level of conflict with non-residents and local citizens who live in buildings with tourist flats. The greatest disagreements are found when assessing the negative effect related to the loss of local population, followed by citizen insecurity. The first item presents important divergences between owners and Local citizens who live in buildings with tourist flats, and between owners and users. In addition, it is perceived as being much more important

by the owners than by the other two groups. Insecurity, on the other hand, is perceived as a more important effect by non-residents and local citizens who live in buildings with tourist flats than by the owners. Although the negative effects linked to the loss of social cohesion do not show any major conflict, there is disagreement among business people, who perceive this factor to be more important than other interest groups. Business people have also valued other factors, such as the spread of diseases and the increase in the price of bars, restaurants, etc., slightly different from other groups.

Graph 4. Inter-group conflict matrix concerning the negative effects of tourist accommodations.

	G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	G7		G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	G7
E1. Disruption of tranquility								E6. Loss of local population							
G1	-	✓0,09	!2,33	✓1,13	✓1,87	✓0,00	✓2,12	G1	-	✓0,42	✓7,17	✓9,71	✓0,17	✓0,02	✓6,62
G2		-	✓1,49	✓1,87	✓1,13	✓0,10	✓1,33	G2		-	✓4,13	!14,15	✓0,05	✓0,64	✓3,71
G3			-	✗6,69	✓0,03	!2,37	✓0,00	G3			-	✗33,56	✓5,11	✓8,02	✓0,01
G4				-	✗5,89	✓1,10	✗6,34	G4				-	!12,48	✓8,77	✗32,37
G5					-	✓1,90	✓0,01	G5					-	✓0,33	✓4,65
G6						-	✓2,16	G6						-	✓7,44
G7							-	G7							-
E2. Loss of social cohesion								E7. Loss of traditional business establishments							
G1	-	✓0,07	✓0,19	✓1,13	✓0,03	!8,06	✓0,50	G1	-	✓1,79	✗6,68	4,41	✓0,62	✗5,84	✗5,33
G2		-	✓0,50	✓1,78	✓0,01	✗9,67	✓0,19	G2		-	✓1,55	✓0,58	✓0,30	✓1,17	✓0,94
G3			-	✓0,39	✓0,37	!5,77	✓1,31	G3			-	✓0,23	!3,23	✓0,03	✓0,08
G4				-	✓1,53	✓3,15	✓3,14	G4				-	✓1,72	✓0,10	✓0,04
G5					-	✗9,08	✓0,28	G5					-	!2,65	!2,31
G6						-	✗12,57	G6						-	✓0,01
G7							-	G7							-
E3. Negative effects on traditional accommodations: hotels, etc.								E8. Increase in the price of housing and business establishments (rental and sale)							
G1	-	✓0,86	✓0,74	!6,32	✓0,37	✓0,16	✓0,12	G1	-	✓0,19	✓0,07	!1,06	✓0,09	!0,92	✓0,14
G2		-	✓3,21	✗11,85	✓0,10	✓1,77	✓1,62	G2		-	✓0,49	✓0,35	✓0,02	✓0,27	✓0,00
G3			-	✓2,72	✓2,16	✓0,21	✓0,27	G3			-	✗1,67	✓0,32	✗1,50	✓0,41
G4				-	✗9,74	!4,47	!4,71	G4				-	✓0,53	✓0,00	✓0,43
G5					-	✓1,02	✓0,91	G5					-	✓0,43	✓0,01
G6						-	✓0,00	G6						-	✓0,34
G7							-	G7							-
E4. Increased congestion: public spaces, traffic, etc.								E9. Transmission of diseases carried by tourists							
G1	-	✓0,08	✓0,00	✓0,42	✓0,21	!1,58	✓0,06	G1	-	✓1,15	✓0,38	✓1,63	✓0,07	✗8,50	!6,26
G2		-	!1,17	✓0,06	✓0,15	✓0,60	✓0,02	G2		-	✓0,21	✓0,04	✓1,77	!3,40	✓2,05
G3			-	!1,75	✓0,48	✗3,44	✓0,87	G3			-	✓0,44	✓0,76	!5,29	!3,56
G4				-	✓0,39	✓0,28	✓0,15	G4				-	✓2,36	✓2,68	✓1,50
G5					-	!1,35	✓0,06	G5					-	✗10,07	✗7,62
G6						-	✓0,85	G6						-	✓0,17
G7							-	G7							-
E5. Increased insecurity: alcohol, drugs, etc.								E10. Increased prices (shops, bars, etc.)							
G1	-	✓1,42	✓1,01	!8,63	✓0,00	✓1,29	✓0,04	G1	-	✓1,59	✓1,17	✓2,50	✓1,45	✓3,41	✓4,14
G2		-	✓0,03	✗17,03	✓1,26	✓5,41	✓1,91	G2		-	✓0,03	!8,07	✓0,00	!9,65	✓0,60
G3			-	✗15,52	✓0,88	✓4,57	✓1,43	G3			-	!7,10	✓0,01	!8,59	✓0,91
G4				-	!9,02	✓3,25	!7,53	G4				-	!7,76	✓0,07	✗13,08
G5					-	✓1,44	✓0,07	G5					-	!9,31	✓0,69
G6						-	✓0,89	G6						-	✗15,07
G7							-	G7							-

*G1: Professionals whose income depends on tourism, G2: Residents in non-tourist neighborhoods, G3: Local citizens who live in buildings with tourist flats, G4: Owners of tourist flats, G5: Residents in tourist neighborhoods, G6: Street shops and restaurant owners, G7: Users of holiday rental platforms.

6. Conclusions y discussion

In presenting the conclusions of this study, we begin by recalling the research questions outlined in the introduction. RQ1: Are there great variations in the perception of the impacts associated with tourist accommodation platforms among different stakeholders? RQ2: Does the assessment of the impacts fall within the scope of the Social Exchange Theory? RQ3: What kind of impacts generate the highest level of conflict among stakeholders? As can be seen from the above results, we have obtained data that allows us to respond to them.

RQ1: If we focus the analysis on each particular group, some interesting conclusions can be drawn. The perception of the group of owners of tourist flats is particularly critical with regard to the impacts related to "Negative effects on traditional accommodation", "Loss of local population" and "Increase in the price of housing and business establishments". This same group emphasizes the role of this activity in the preservation of buildings, urban areas, wealth generation, and in the increase of the value of properties. As far as consensus is concerned, there is an unexpected result. The groups formed by non-residents in tourist areas and those who live in buildings where there are tourist flats are the ones who have more evenly distributed the weight of the different elements assessed, both in terms of positive and negative effects. It is interesting how users of holiday rental platforms have more intensively assessed some positive economic effects, compared to owners or business people. Such an assessment might be explained by the fact that users of this type of accommodation base their choice on the assumption that this activity has a positive economic impact on the destination.

RQ2: Firstly, it is worth mentioning that the overall analysis of the results indicates that the impacts of an economic nature, both positive and negative, are the most salient ones. This is consistent with the findings of previous studies, which have attributed an economic basis to the rejection of this type of platform (Martin et. al 2019). Likewise, these results are consistent with SET, as this theory reveals the importance of the assessment economic costs and benefits in shaping attitudes towards tourism (Ward and Berno 2011). This paper has demonstrated that this attitude is expressed by different stakeholders. In addition, economic impacts are also responsible for conditioning the assessment of the positive effects of this activity. It could be argued that the residents see

economic impacts as triggers for social change, either positive or negative ones. Such could be the case of the loss of population or social cohesion, which derived from an increase in housing prices. The main negative impacts are associated with the increase in the prices of housing, business establishments, and retail products. In addition, the owners of tourist accommodation stand out above the other groups, both in their evaluation of the impacts and in the comparison with the opinions of other groups. Therefore, the group with the highest economic compensation shows a distinctive attitude, which is consistent with the principles of the SET.

RQ3: In response to the third research question, we found that the highest degree of disagreement was associated with the improvement of building conservation, which resulted in a conflict index of 0.083, followed by evaluations of the positive effect associated with greater cultural interaction (0.050) and an increase in the supply of leisure activities (0.048). The greatest disagreement is explained by the fact that owners of tourist flats have assessed much more highly the first item. The conflict associated with the other two items is explained by the fact that owners assess them more poorly. Moreover, residents in tourist neighborhoods have given a higher score to “Greater cultural interaction”, whereas non-residents have done so in the case of “Increase in leisure offer”. With regard to negative impacts, the greatest discrepancy is associated with impacts related to "Loss of local population" and "Increased insecurity". Again, the disagreement is associated with the clashing opinion of the group of owners. The conflict regarding "Increased insecurity" has also been caused by a higher assessment by the groups of non-residents and neighbors. Considering all the assessments associated with each group, it can be seen that the most divergent opinions with respect to the other groups have been those issued by the group of owners, which would, therefore, be the one that shows the most distant perception from the rest. By comparing each stakeholder group with one another, it has been found that the greatest conflict arises between flats owners and business people. Other groups that have obtained significant levels of conflict have been the groups formed by business people and users when assessing the positive effects associated with local entrepreneurship and taxes. Whereas users of this type of accommodation consider the advantages associated with taxes to be more important, business people consider the opportunities associated with entrepreneurship to be more important.

Comparing pairs of groups shows that, with regard to the analysis of negative impacts, the highest levels of conflict are associated with disagreements between the joint group of the owners and the people who are economically dependent on tourism, with non-residents and with local citizens who live in buildings with tourist flats. Therefore, there is a differentiated assessment between two groups with economic interests, the one referring to the owners and the one referring to the rest of those involved in the tourism industry. The greatest disagreements are found when assessing the negative effect related to the loss of local population, followed by citizen insecurity. Although the negative effects linked to the loss of social cohesion do not show any major conflict, there is disagreement among business people, who perceive this factor to be more important than other interest groups. Business people have also valued other factors, such as the spread of diseases and the increase in the price of bars, restaurants, etc., slightly different from other groups.

It is important to highlight, as an original contribution of this research, that the fear of contagion of diseases carried by tourists is positioned as the 5th most important impact. This is interesting, as residents have given more value to this impact than to others that are widely consolidated. Thus, this constitutes a new element to be taken into account in the analysis of the impacts associated with these activities. What is more, it will condition this type of activity in a particular way. Indeed, in this type of accommodation, the tourist comes into more direct contact with residential neighborhoods and the interaction between the tourist and the citizen is greater.

7. Limitations, future lines of research, and proposals for regulation

The conclusions of this work should be properly contextualized, since they have been obtained in an environment with high tourist pressure. This may be of interest in order to make comparisons with other contexts. Likewise, this exploratory study should be completed with others capable of exploring in depth the conflicts detected here. Therefore, the main limitations of this study give rise to the continuity of this research. It would be interesting to continue this research by applying the same questionnaire in different environments, such as rural areas, coastal areas or societies with different structures from the one analyzed here. This would provide valuable information on how the characteristics of the environment and the type of tourism affect perceptions of the

impacts and the conflicts generated. It would also be interesting to provide information obtained in environments with different levels of economic dependence on tourism. Based on the information provided by the above-mentioned exploratory studies, in-depth analyses of some of the conflicts detected should be proposed in an attempt to reveal their origin. It is important to understand how the social and economic context can soften or enhance certain attitudes towards impacts. As numerous authors have pointed out, the expansion of online-mediated tourist accommodation is a phenomenon that can bring notable benefits but can also reduce the quality of life of residents.

The information provided in this paper should be taken into account in the design and development of regulations on tourist housing located in residential environments. In short, the current regulation does not address this problem and more information is needed to represent the opinions of the different parties involved. Taking into account the opinions and conflicts highlighted in this study will help to address the problem, so that residents can coexist peacefully with tourists, and both businesses and owners of tourist housing can take advantage of the associated economic benefits. For their part, customers will be able to make use of this type of accommodation knowing that the negative impacts have been diminished. A concrete proposal based on the findings of this study might include some kind of compensation for the groups most affected by the activity. It has been observed that the group of owners, those who benefit the most economically, are the ones who show a clearly differentiated attitude from the rest.

This study should be taken into account in public planning processes, so that the different assessments issued by each interest group on this matter are incorporated into them. Information is necessary but the great challenge lies in using it in the right way to develop regulation that can improve the situation. This would allow for conflicts to be kept to a minimum and for mutually accepted solutions to be found, making decision-making processes much simpler. As long as consensus is improved and progress is made in cooperation, it will help to improve the social sustainability of the destinations. This research should also be taken into account when designing specific policies to help limit the impacts perceived as more negative by the stakeholders.

Annex 1: Questionnaire applied.

- 1. Have you been living in Granada for a year at least?**
 - Yes.
 - No (end of survey).

- 2. Do you reside in a tourist area?**
 - Yes.
 - No.

- 3. Does your income depend to any extent on the tourism sector?**
 - Yes.
 - No.

- 4. Is there a tourist apartment in your building?**
 - Yes.
 - No.

- 5. Do you own a tourist apartment?**
 - Yes.
 - No.

- 6. Do you work or own a storefront in a tourist area?**
 - Yes.
 - No.

- 7. Choose your age range.**
 - Between 18 and 35 years of age.
 - Between 36 and 55 years of age.
 - Between 56 and 65 years of age.
 - Over 65 years of age.

- 8. Highest level of education completed:**
 - Primary education or No formal education
 - Secondary education.
 - University education.

- 9. Regarding online rental platforms for tourist accommodation (such as Airbnb) and the effects that their activity generates in their vicinity: rank the following impacts from the most positive to the least positive. 10 being the most positive and 1 being the least positive.**
 - Creation of wealth and increase of economic activity
 - Increased tax collection
 - Greater opportunities for local entrepreneurs
 - Increase in employment rate

- Increase in leisure offer
- Improvement of the state of conservation of buildings
- Increase in the value of homes and businesses
- Greater cultural interaction
- Prevention of urban and historical areas' deterioration
- Improvement of the image of the city

10. Regarding online rental platforms for tourist accommodation (such as Airbnb) and the effects that their activity generates in their vicinity: rank the following impacts from the most negative to the least negative. 10 being the most negative and 1 being the least negative.

- Increase in the price of housing and business establishments (rental and sale)
- Increased prices (shops, bars, etc.)
- Loss of local population
- Loss of traditional business establishments
- Transmission of diseases carried by tourists
- Increased insecurity: alcohol, drugs, etc.
- Negative effects on traditional accommodations: hotels, etc.
- Increased congestion: public spaces, traffic, etc.
- Disruption of tranquility
- Loss of social cohesion

11. If you may fall into more than one of the following groups described below, which perspective do you think has had a bigger impact on your answers? Check just one option.

- Professionals whose income depends on tourism
- Residents in non-tourist neighborhoods
- Local citizens who live in buildings with tourist flats
- Owners of tourist flats
- Residents in tourist neighborhoods
- Street shops and restaurant owners
- Users of holiday rental platforms