Managing Tourism in Barcelona

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Responsible Tourism is about using tourism to make better places for people to live in, first; and second, better places for people to visit. The aspiration is to use tourism rather than to be used by it. Barcelona has experienced very rapid growth since the 1992 Olympics. Tourism growth has been rapidly from 2 million in 1990 to 7.5 million staying in hotels in the city for an average stay of over two nights in 2013. Barcelona comes fourth, with over 6 million overnight stays by international tourists in the ranking of European cities, behind London, Paris and Rome. London grew by 16% between 2005 and 2013 Barcelona grew by more than 54% in eight years. In 2012 the city attracted 24.5 million visitors (temporary citizens); 12 million stayed overnight, 12.5 million were day visitors. Of the day visitors 52% were Catalans, 48% were Spanish or international. Of the 12 million who stayed within the city only 54% stayed in hotels, 21% were VFR, 8% were in holiday rentals, 6% in pensions and 11% in hotels and similar accommodations. Barcelona has a very diverse range of accommodation, diverse market and relatively low seasonality. Close to 50% of those staying in hotels have been before, more than 28% are visiting for a third time or more. Only just over 50% of hotel guests are on holiday. The latest date from the University of Girona estimates that the aggregate turnover for tourism lies between 8 billion euros and 9.7 billion euros, representing between 10% and 12% of the city's GNP, and generating between 96,000 and 120,000 jobs, around 14% of total employment in the city.

The history of tourism development, the policy changes which have occurred in this century and the data on tourism in the city is both very detailed and readily available online, an excellent resource for teaching destination management. Barcelona publishes a very extensive range of data, analysis and policy – an invaluable resource for teaching and research. Barcelona has divided the DMO functions; the management of tourism in the city is the responsibility of the Ajuntament de Barcelona & Barcelona Activa and marketing being undertaken by Turisme de Barcelona. The issue of overtourism has been a concern since 2004 and an issue formally engaged with by the Ajuntament de Barcelona since 2008. Two of the characteristics of the development of tourism policy in Barcelona are unusual, even rare. The first is the determination to engage widely in discussions about the issues and to base those discussions on published evidence and data. And second the continuity of policy and implementation which follows from building a widely shared understanding of the issues and thoroughly discussing and reaching agreement on appropriate and effective ways of tackling the issues.

1 Ajuntament de Barcelona & Barcelona Activa (2014) Barcelona’s tourism activity development and management:27
2 ibid 30-31 & 33.
3 Tourism Department, Ajuntament de Barcelona (2016) Barcelona Strategic Tourism Plan for 2020 Strategic Diagnosis: 43
The history of tourism in Barcelona has been relatively brief. In the 1960s tourism developed on the coast of Catalunya. The staging of the Olympic Games in Barcelona in 1992 drew to the world’s attention the dramatic and photogenic architecture of the city. A tired provincial, heavy industrial, port city was transformed, through a major urban renewal programme, into a cosmopolitan city with Mediterranean beaches, a city open to the sea. Barcelona was launched by the Games as a major European destination – the city was transformed by the Olympic Games, it became a great place to live and work and to visit.6

The redevelopment of the city for the Olympics created a new Barcelona oberta a la mar a Barcelona open to the sea. The old docks were torn down and tons of sand was brought to create miles of sandy beaches which now stretch from Barceloneta to the Port Olimpic, crowds of tourists, day visitors and locals come to enjoy the Mediterranean beaches. The importance of the transformation of the city for residents cannot be overstated. The architect Josep Martorell described the transformation as a “great urban adventure of rebuilding the Barcelona of 1992 to put it at the service of the people of Barcelona and so that in future we shall all be able to enjoy a city open to the sea...”7 Josep Ramoneda, writing in 2011 as director of the Barcelona Contemporary Culture Centre, argued, in an article Barcelona, open city, that to be successful Barcelona needed to be pluricultural, to be in the world, a “Cosmopolitan Barcelona. Cultural space open to everyone a City of free, open culture.8 “Barcelona is a modern, cosmopolitan and open city that is proud of its diversity.”9 Barcelona’s open city identity is also used to attract skilled labour: “Barcelona is one of the world’s most dynamic, cosmopolitan cities, figuring among the top European cities in quality of life rankings. It is a modern, tolerant and open city, offering a wide range of cultural and tourist attractions.”10 Tourism to Barcelona, the capital of Catalunya, has also been used “as a platform for projecting Barcelona and Catalunya to the world.”11

Barcelona’s open aspect, open to the sea and open to pluriculturalism is widely felt and contributes to the city’s success as a tourism destination. Barcelona has been very successfully developed as a major tourism destination in Europe. Tourism is one of the City Council’s priorities because of the economic value it generates, the employment it creates and the contribution it makes to building Barcelona’s international image.12 Nor have the city authorities neglected the challenge of sustainability, in 2011 Barcelona was the first city in the world to be awarded Biosphere Destination certification.13

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6 There is a brief but comprehensive outline history of the development of tourism in Barcelona from 1888 in Ajuntament de Barcelona & Barcelona Activa (2014) Barcelona’s tourism activity development and management:20-24
11 http://rtd7.org/home/declaration
13 https://www.biospheretourism.com/en/entity/catalunya/142
The issue of managing the impact of the cruise lines on Barcelona is more difficult for the city to manage as the port is answerable only to central government. In 2000 there were 572,000 cruise passengers in Barcelona; this had risen fivefold to 2,540,000 in 2015. In 2014 only 24% of cruise passengers spent a night or more in the city, and only 57% were day excursionists in Barcelona.¹⁴

**Coping with success**

As early as 2004, during the Forum of Cultures held in Barcelona, there was critical comment about tourism and sustainability in the city.¹⁵ By 2008 adverse comment was being voiced more regularly in mainstream and social media, about stag parties and drug dealing; drunken tourists, “desperate prostitutes and petty crooks” were reported to have rendered Las Ramblas “charlessm, tawdry and dangerous”.¹⁶ It was during 2009 that negative reports about the tourist experience of Barcelona and the experience of being visited increased in frequency.¹⁷ In December 2009 residents and traders in Raval sent over 500 Christmas cards to city officials with candid photographs of prostitutes, drug dealers, and tourists using the street as a toilet and having sex in public. Banners appeared on balconies with a single phrase in Catalan: "Volem un barri digne!" (We want a dignified district!)¹⁸ The previous year the city authorities had begun to consider how tourism in the city might better be managed.

¹⁴ Consell Turisme i Ciutat (2016) Informe activitat turística:12-13
¹⁵ http://rtd7.org/home/declaration
¹⁷ For references see http://responsibletourismpartnership.org/overtourism/
¹⁸ http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/8427888.stm
Turisme de Barcelona is the public-private consortium comprising the Chamber of Commerce and the City Council established in 1993, just after the Olympics. It has been responsible for very successfully promoting the city for close to 25 years. In 2008 the City Council approved a Municipal Action Plan (PAM) which committed the City to develop a Strategic Plan of Tourism. This Strategic Plan was developed with Turisme de Barcelona between 2008 and 2010; it was intended “to promote a tourism model” which would “strengthen the balance between local residents and tourists, while preserving the identity values of the city.” The purpose was to foster improvements in tourist activity in the city and to “ensure that tourism fitted better with the needs of the city.”19 This involved planning the city’s capacity “for hosting tourists and guarantee[ing] the quality and sustainability” of the sector; planning the city’s capacity for hosting tourists “in accordance with the characteristics of the public space and with regard to the impact of tourism”; promoting cultural tourism based on the role of Barcelona as the Catalan capital, with its architectural heritage and Catalan language and cuisine; and promoting tourism “that includes civic-minded attitudes as a value for coexistence” From the outset it was recognised that the community had to be “successfully involved” in developing the plan in order to “lay the foundations for a tourism model that [would] strengthen the balance between residents and visitors, preserving the city’s values identity and coexistence.” Both the City Council and Turisme de Barcelona have consistently avoided negative and divisive language in discussing the impact of tourism and tourist behaviours in Barcelona emphasising “identity and coexistence”, the imperative to manage tourism better and referring to tourists as temporary residents have framed the discourse since 2008. From the outset the development of new policy and approaches to tourism management has been based on reflection, dialogue and debate; contrasting different views of tourism in the city and accepting that tourism and the city are “constructed mutually”. Tourism cannot be understood merely as an economic sector “closed and independent”; tourism is perceived by the City and Turisme de Barcelona as “embedded in the different economic, territorial, social and cultural facets of the city.” Visitors to “great urban centres such as Barcelona” do not fit the classic tourist stereotype.20

The people of Barcelona are seen as “active participants and creators of the city” and of tourism. There is an echo of one of the central tenets of Responsible Tourism, that it is about using tourism to create better places for people to live in: “The health of the city’s tourist activity stems from the well-being of its population, which must be cause and effect of the successful development of Barcelona as a tourist destination.” The Strategic Tourism Plan was from 2008 benchmarked against the Municipal Strategic Plan.21 There was a marked rebalancing from an emphasis on promotion and marketing through Turisme de Barcelona to placing considerably more emphasis on managing tourism by the municipal government. Working commissions were established to “create a dialogue and shared analysis about the way tourism fits in with the needs of the city.”22 In June 2009, by mayoral decree, the Tourism and City Technical Committee was established chaired by the municipal manager, and coordinated by the Economic Promotion Department. Its members include representatives from the different municipal departments: Municipal Management; Economic Promotion, Environment; Prevention, Mobility and Safety; General Services and Territorial

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19 Economic Promotion Department of the City of Barcelona (2010) Tourism Strategic Plan 2015:9
20 Ajuntament de Barcelona and Barcelona Turisme (2010) City of Barcelona Strategic Plan, Diagnosis and strategic proposal Executive Summary:5
21 Ibid. 8-9
22 Ibid. 12
Coordination; Urban Planning and Infrastructures; Education, Culture and Welfare; and the Ciutat Vella District Council. 23 It is rare for a municipal government to create a tourism committee which brings together so many departments to co-ordinate action to manage tourism.

The 2010-2015 Plan

The 2010-2015 plan saw the introduction of “a new approach to ... tourism management, the importance of education and a search for complicities24, the opportunities for territorial deconcentration, adaptation to demand ... in an increasingly changing and competitive environment ...” 25 The Strategic Tourism Plan26 for 2010-2015 recognised the success of Turisme de Barcelona in promoting the city as a tourism destination, making it the European city with the ‘greatest proportional growth’ in the scale of the tourism sector, making Barcelona one of the world’s main urban tourism destinations.27 Barcelona’s status as a tourist city had led “to a series of functional and social adaptations” which meant that “over a relatively short space of time, its inhabitants ... had to learn to live with the new “temporary citizens” who choose Barcelona to do business, experience culture, undergo training and enjoy themselves.”28 The authorities in Barcelona have consistently recognised the diversity of reasons for people to visit the city attracted for business, recreation, training, medical treatment and sport. The “high profile” of the city is recognised as contributing to “its dynamism as a financial and business centre” and the growth in its diversity of employment and the “revitalisation of cultural, recreational and leisure29 facilities and services.

Barcelona recognizes that tourism is an important part of the “tertiarisation processes” being experienced in many cities around the world and that it is fundamental to the life of the city: “...it would be hard to imagine Barcelona without tourism...”30 In 2010 the authorities recognised that tourism was having both positive and negative impacts on the city: “some effects of tourism are often a nuisance and inconvenience to the local community, making it difficult for the tourist phenomenon to be understood and viewed in a positive way.”31 It was explicitly recognised that some of the negative effects of tourism were creating an anti-tourism discourse.

“The inconvenience experienced by some local residents, which creates a feeling of unease and anti-tourist sentiments, ends up converging on and having feedback in certain discourses and public (and/or published) opinions by journalists, intellectuals and professionals who can make their opinions heard, thereby constructing a social discourse which is sceptical about or against tourism.” 32

23 ibid. 12
24 Complicities here means synergies
25 ibid. 18
26 Ajuntament de Barcelona and Barcelona Turisme (2010) City of Barcelona Strategic Tourism Plan Diagnosis and strategic proposal, the report and many documents are available online www.turismebcn2015.cat
27 ibid. 3
28 ibid. 3 emphasis in the original
29 ibid. 3
30 ibid. 3 tertiarisation refers to the growth of the third sector, of which tourism is a major part.
31 ibid. 4
32 ibid. 4
So in 2010 the authorities in Barcelona began “a deep reflection process” which involved “adopting a new approach ... to the type of growth and tourism management model, the territorial boundaries of the destination, the extent and consequences of the impact and effect of tourism and the modes of coexistence between local residents and visitors.”

The city council and the tourism promotion agency had jointly identified both the challenge and the agenda for change by 2010.

The authorities Barcelona were concerned that negative attitudes towards tourism would diminish Barcelona’s reputation. The 2010-2015 Strategic Tourism Plan recognised that in recent years the growth in tourism had led to “a certain unease among the community” as a consequence of the significant change in the “social, retail and urbanistic network of the city”: “opinions had emerged that are critical towards tourism, reflecting a disapproval, not so much of tourism itself, but the lack of management of its impact or simply a feeling of abandonment.”

The 2010-15 plan recognised that more active management of tourism was necessary where “the processes of transformation in retail activities or the problems of coexistence and cohabitation” made it “difficult for tourism to fit in with the city” mainly at the Sagrada Familia, the Park Guell and parts of the Ciutat Vella. “Certain prejudices and stereotypes” had “emerged about tourists as a result of this unease ...”. Tourism was “identified as responsible for some of the city’s problems.”

The strategy recognised that “the massification and standardisation” of the tourism offer, and the negative impacts associated with it, could “become a contributing factor to the deterioration of Barcelona” negatively impacting on the “quality of life the local community and spoiling the visitors’ experience.” It was explicitly recognised in the 2010-15 strategy that the image of Barcelona “is prone to be undermined if the visitors themselves start to have bad experiences.” Ignorance of the positive effects of tourism in the city was identified as one of the causes of the “polarised opinions between praise and criticism” resulting in a discourse in the media fluctuating between “self-satisfaction and rejection.” The global economic crisis of 2008 was identified as a further cause for concern. The 2010-15 strategy asserted that tourism “must be everyone’s concern” because the whole population of the city receives both the positive and negative impacts, tourism had to become “a shared, not-sectorial, project” requiring a new approach to urban tourism “with the greatest possible involvement of the community and institutions.”

The 2010-15 strategy developed a vision for tourism in Barcelona through to 2020 as the “most vibrant and dynamic tourist destination in the Mediterranean” a city driven forward by culture, creativity and knowledge, “distinguished by its environmental sustainability”. The vision is both ambitious and ground breaking, a city where:

“... the community recognises all kinds of visitors as other (temporary) citizens. The hospitable character of the locals makes it a friendly, different city that people are fond of.”

“...there is no room for ‘ghettos’ or neighbourhoods that cater exclusively to tourists.”

“Tourist activity continues to contribute to Barcelona’s success by fostering the improvement of the quality of life and social cohesion of its community, to the upkeep and
creation of new amenities, and the success of other economic sectors and the dissemination of Barcelona around the world.”

The vision required a “desired tourism model” founded on three core principles: (i) coherence with the city model; (ii) a synergic relationship between visitors and residents; (iii) economic, social, environmental and heritage sustainability. Four of the “substantial traits” of Barcelona’s desired city model are that: it should be “heterogeneous and diverse... plac[ing] the emphasis on people”; “tolerant and civic minded”; “inclusive, and committed to social cohesion”; with “an open attitude to welcoming visitors”. In the full strategic plan the aspiration is to have visitors as temporary citizens, “beyond the traditional concept of the tourist”, a city with “stories that can be shared between the community and visitors” and an inclusive form of tourism, one “which is respectful and has rights and duties.”

Barcelona has clearly understood the need for a whole of city government approach to managing tourism. In 2010 the city created a Directorate for Tourism and Events which had responsibility for managing tourism in the city to maintain its economic importance while improving the quality of life for citizens. In the same year Barcelona City Council established the Technical Council for Tourism and the City which sought to co-ordinate the management of tourism across the different functions of the council and which answered to the Chief Executive Officer. In 2016, the Municipal Council for Tourism and the City was finally established by the new government.

In 2012 the regional Government of Catalonia introduced a Tax on Stays at Tourist Establishments with effect from November 1st. Barcelona receives 34%, of which half goes to promotion through Turisme de Barcelona and half is used by the city for management.

The 2010-2015 strategy identified four key challenges for the management of tourism in the city each of which would require the engagement of the “broadest possible range of agents” and involve “agreements, commitments, and shared actions.”

1. **Territorial deconcentration** of tourist activity, extending the destination of the metropolitan area, creating new economic attractions and managing tourism in the neighbourhoods “giving them greater protagonism” in order “to foster a more equitable distribution of the economic and social effects caused by tourism” to produce a “territorial reequilibrium, releasing the pressure on some zones of the city.”

2. **Governance** of tourism, from promotion to governance, from the generation of data to the generation of shared knowledge to facilitate management and moving from managing tourists to managing visitors.

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36 ibid. 18  
37 ibid. 20-21  
38 ibid. 19. There are 20 substantial traits.  
40 Ajuntament de Barcelona & Barcelona Activa (2014) Barcelona’s tourism activity development and management: 8-9  
41 ibid. 9-10  
42 A multi-stakeholder dialogue and action.  
43 Scope to engage and make change.  
44 Ajuntament de Barcelona and Barcelona Turisme (2010) City of Barcelona Strategic Plan, Diagnosis and strategic proposal Executive Summary:20.
3. **Generation of synergies** with the society and institutions, moving from indifference to involving the community, from competition with, to developing synergies with, Catalonia. The ambition is to integrate tourism “naturally” into the city and Catalonia, both the territory and the culture, “fostering hospitality, extending a warm welcome to visitors, coexistence and reciprocal exchanges”, and “reinforcing Barcelona’s role as the Catalan capital and raising the profile of Catalonia.”

4. **Competitive improvements**, moving from accelerated growth to the “consolidation of sustainable growth ‘post-crisis’” and from being a tourist city to “leadership in tourism in the city.” In the strategic plan the link between competitiveness and sustainability is clearly and firmly asserted: “There can be no long-term success without sustainability and there is no sustainability without the ability to be competitive.”

At the 7th International Conference on Responsible Tourism in Destinations in October 2013 there were discussions and debates with contributors from Australia, Canada, the Gambia, South Africa and UNWTO from the public and private sector with professionals from the industry and government in Catalunya. The conference declaration reflected the changing priorities in Barcelona: reducing tourism “concentration in specific locations and spreading the benefits across the territory, promoting sustainability and local community participation.” There was increasing “recognition that less emphasis needs to be placed on increasing the number of arrivals and a greater emphasis put on the management of tourism; reducing seasonality and increasing the yield, along with a more equitable distribution of the impacts of tourism, both positive and negative.”

The declaration reaffirmed the city’s commitment to sustainability, to balancing the relationship between residents and visitors and changing “the priority from marketing and promotion to governance.”

Reflecting on the challenge for Catalunya the declaration pointed to the principle that

“What is good for citizens is good for the tourist. Places that are good to live in are also good to visit. Efforts will be made to improve the quality of life for local people by managing the friction between residents and visitors and to improve the interaction between hosts and guests…..” and that the “tourist that Catalunya wants to attract is the one who will respect the environment, the society and the local culture, eager to discover and share experiences.”

By 2014 the city was reporting 27 million visitors per year, around 13.5 million of whom stayed at least on night as tourists. There are 360 hotels and around 10,000 registered tourism apartments. The city’s tourism is international, de-seasonalised and fuelled by a variety of motivations. The city authorities see Barcelona as “a creative, diverse and cosmopolitan city that has become an

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45 Complicities in the original.
46 This is a reference to the global financial crisis of 2008.
47 ibid. 21
48 [http://rtd7.org/conference-program](http://rtd7.org/conference-program) Declaration:
49 [http://rtd7.org/home/declaration](http://rtd7.org/home/declaration) 1.4 & 1.5
50 [http://rtd7.org/home/declaration](http://rtd7.org/home/declaration) 2.1 & 2.2
51 [http://rtd7.org/home/declaration](http://rtd7.org/home/declaration) 2.3 a & c
indisputable icon in contemporary urban tourism, enjoying undeniable international prestige with a well-known, firmly-established image. Barcelona is Mediterranean and European, traditional and modern.” The city’s authorities recognised that they had a “proactive role” to play in “establishing the necessary tools and measures to ensure the sector develops correctly.” The city authorities recognised that they had a dual responsibility for tourism and that they needed to develop an “innovative and pioneering new tourism policy model.” The city had recognised that the “maturity of any tourist destination depends on the provision of management and planning tools, as well as tools for promotion.”

The new policy model was based on a “commitment to sustainable tourism... improving relations between tourism and the city, and a “new system of finance and redistribution of tourism activity throughout the territory.” The city moved from a model based on promotion to “a new paradigm that integrates promotion and management” to deliver “sustained growth, maintaining the destination’s competitiveness and internationalisation.” The new model was based on a commitment to “economic, environmental, territorial, social and cultural sustainability”, “social responsibility and concern for the interests of citizens”, the protection of cultural resources and values, integration between tourism and city management, continuing public-private sector partnership and the development of tourism intelligence and data not just for promotion, but also for planning, action and evaluation.

The city of Barcelona has been actively implementing environmental and social sustainability policies, reducing noise, water consumption, making public transport more accessible and working to create “high levels of social cohesion and quality of life.” These policies have been pursued to make Barcelona a better place to live in, the same policies enhance its attractiveness for visitors. As in other cities initiatives taken to make urban life more sustainable for residents make tourism more sustainable. Barcelona adopted an Agenda 21 plan after Rio in 1992 and followed this with a Citizen Commitment to Sustainability plan for 2012-2022 The ten goals of this plan included moving “from the consumer society to responsible consumption” and “from a welcoming city to a cohesive society.” Objective 8.7 in the plan defines clear goals for tourism:

“To advance sustainable tourism in harmony with the region and with positive effects on local communities. To work towards the joint responsibility of institutions, the tourist industry and visitors in the efficient use of natural resources, the maintenance of environmental quality and the conservation of our tangible and intangible cultural heritage.”

The 2014 report detailed the city’s approach to decongestion of tourism activity, district tourism plans, an enlarged destination Barcelona, tourist mobility, safety and security, management of accommodation and sites, industry support and the development of tourism intelligence and the management of events. It is important to note that before the elections in 2015, and international

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52 Ajuntament de Barcelona & Barcelona Activa (2014) Barcelona’s tourism activity development and management: 4  
53 ibid:5  
54 ibid:6. Barcelona is beginning to develop the use of big and real time data for the management of tourism concentrations and flows in the city.  
56 http://www.sostenibilitatbcn.cat/attachments/article/413/compromisangles.pdf  
57 ibid.11  
58 ibid: 12-19
awareness of the tourism issues in Barcelona, the city authorities had been analysing the challenges and identifying ways of improving the management of tourism – they were already moving from a primary focus on promotion to management. In the first quarter of 2015 the city had undertaken a major consultation process to determine the basics for a “local agreement on the management and promotion of responsible and sustainable tourism.”

Positive and negative impacts were recorded, amongst the negative impacts were: “overcrowding, high concentration and tension in certain areas and spaces”; “loss of identity, trivialisation and uniformity of the city”; “a rise in anti-social behaviours and coexistence conflicts”; “inconvenience and side effects of tourism experienced by residents; “a negative perception of tourism among residents, ‘tourist phobia’”; “poor redistribution of the wealth generated and poor-quality jobs”; and “fraud and underground economy.” The agenda for change, and the proposed actions developed by the previous administration, and the work done in the city government since 2008, meant that there was considerable continuity when the ruling group changed following the elections in May 2015. For the incoming administration there was a substantial body of technical and policy making work to build on. Amongst the 35 proposed actions were many that would be implemented by the new administration: the creation and promotion of new focal points and landmarks; measures to tackle the most significant problems that cause tension (Barceloneta, the Boqueria market, the Sagrada Familia, The Rambles, the concentrations of tourist coaches, illegal tourist accommodation, anti-social behaviours, and safety); improving infrastructure and managing negative impacts; managing tourism in the city with a comprehensive, cross-sectoral approach; redefining Barcelona’s tourism model and creating a comprehensive smart tourism system in Barcelona; strengthening the control of public spaces and reinforcing control processes and penalties for breaches in tourism activities.

The May 2015 election

The election of Ada Colau on the Barcelona en Comú (Barcelona in Common) citizen platform with 25% of the vote and as the largest party brought international attention to the ‘new’ tourism agenda in the city; although, as we have seen, there were strong antecedents in the development of policy back to 2008. Barcelona en Comú, launched in June 2014, grew out of the anti-austerity movement against austerity, inequality and corruption in the wake of the 2008 global financial crisis. Barcelona en Comú now governs with the support of Podemos, the Initiative for Catalonia Greens-United and Alternative Left (ICV-EUiA) and Constituent Process (PC). Barcelona en Comú’s broad policy agenda includes defending social justice and community rights, promoting participatory democracy, introducing mechanisms to tackle corruption, and developing a new model of tourism for Barcelona.

Tourism emerged as an issue in the 2015 election. In August 2014 there were a series of protests about the negative impacts of tourism, dubbed the “Barceloneta Crisis”, some protests attracting over a thousand participants. Barcelona’s Mayor promised an inspection and crackdown on illegal holiday apartments in La Barceloneta and 24 holiday apartments were closed. The demonstrations

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60 ibid.18

61 ibid. 29-35

were not so much anti-tourist as demanding a new model of tourism. Ada Colau drew parallels with the fate of Venice: “Any city that sacrifices itself on the altar of mass tourism will be abandoned by its people when they can no longer afford the cost of housing, food, and basic everyday necessities.” Colau argued that the scale of visitor numbers is “affecting not only residents’ quality of life, but their very ability to live in the area.” She went on to argue that the “… tourism crisis in Barcelona is further proof of the emptiness of the promises of neo-liberalism that deregulation and privatisation will allow us all to prosper.”

“Of course, the answer is not to attack tourism. Everyone is a tourist at some point in their life. Rather, we have to regulate the sector, return to the traditions of local urban planning, and put the rights of residents before those of big business.

The way of life for all Barcelonans is seriously under threat. And the only solution is to win back democracy for the city. This is precisely what the residents of La Barceloneta are doing – defending their neighbourhood, their city, from the free market and from the political elites that are putting our home up for sale.”

Images of three naked Italian tourists frolicking for three hours through the La Barceloneta neighbourhood in August were carried in the mainstream media. The number of complaints about noise, nudity, public drunkenness and littering has rocketed. One resident was quoted “Imagine that you’re in a tiny house, with three children, unemployed with no money for vacations and you have to put up with the screams and fiesta of tourists next door. It’s unbearable…” Protesters were seeking out the owners of tourism lets in Barconeleta urging them to close their businesses, there was under-recording by the city authorities of the numbers of tourism flats with 72 licensed tourism rentals in La Barconeleta but “a quick search of online rental portals like Airbnb show[ed] more than 600 tourists lets available in the area.” Bloomberg carried an article in September 2015 which reflected the tone of much international media coverage of the new mayor, and the city council and its policies: Barcelona’s New Mayor Wants to Send Tourists Packing. In July the Mayor halted further licensing and development of accommodation while a new plan was discussed and developed.

The 2016-2020 Plan

There are considerable continuities in policy development on successive administrations. In September 2016 the Ajuntament de Barcelona published its Strategic Tourism Plan for 2020. The 2020 Plan acknowledged that the 2015 Plan had two main goals: helping to improve tourist activities in Barcelona and ensuring tourism fitted in better with the city and that these goals were based on “criteria that were pretty novel in their time and which have proved to be essential today.”

1. “a single concept was proposed for the terms "tourism and city"”, “the one was inconceivable without the other” if followed that "the health of tourist activities in the city extends to the well-being of its population and has to be the cause and effect of the proper development of tourism in Barcelona"
2. “tourism was not just an economic sector, an industry, closed and independent, but that it was also part of a multiple and cross-cutting reality affecting "the whole of society and its economic, social, cultural and territorial life."

The 2016 Plan recognised that “many of the 150 aspects, trends and dynamics noted in 2009, after considerable analytical work, are just as valid today and can be completely integrated into the current diagnosis.” The 2016 Plan also quotes with approval part of the Barcelona Declaration developed by the 7th International Conference on Responsible Tourism in Destinations in 2013

“What is good for the citizen is good for tourism. The places that are good for living in are good for visiting. Efforts will focus on improving the quality of life of citizens, managing friction between residents and visitors and promoting dialogue and interaction between visitors and residents.”

The 2016 Plan reaffirms many of the conclusions of previous work including the conceptual shift from tourist to visitors reflecting and respecting the diversity of travel motivations and activities in the destination, the need for comprehensive management, and the “inseparable pairing” between sustainability and competitiveness. The 2016 Plan is based on five criteria - sustainability, responsibility, redistribution, cohesion and innovation – and it asserts that

“If we are to ensure the success of destinations, maintain their uniqueness, endow every value chain with added value, guarantee and promote new experiences and turn tourism into an innovative activity with added value; we need to ratify the commitments to sustainability and responsibility signed by the city and, more importantly, have them implemented through specific and courageous action proposals.”

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68 The plan’s web page is http://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/turisme/en/strategic-plan
69 Tourism Department, Ajuntament de Barcelona (2016) Barcelona Strategic Tourism Plan for 2020 Strategic Diagnosis: 13
70 ibid: 13
71 ibid: 13
72 ibid: 18
73 ibid: 23
74 ibid 25
75 ibid 27, 26
The Tourism Management Strategy in Barcelona

In many places around the world there is confusion about the roles of DMOs. The same acronym is used for both Destination Management Organisations and Destination Marketing Organisations with bodies composed primarily of private sector representatives spending private sector and public money on destination promotion. The management of tourism in Barcelona is unequivocally the responsibility of the city council. It is significant that the “objectives and strategic lines” of Turisme de Barcelona, the public private partnership organisation which markets the city include two public policy objectives in in bold below. Turisme de Barcelona recognises its “social and institutional responsibility” to “achieve a balance between tourist activity and everyday life in the city” and encouraging wider geographic distribution of tourism in the city.

a) To boost the financial impact of the sector and to attract tourists with high spending power;
b) To promote its own identity as a tourist attraction;
c) To reconcile tourists/local community;
d) To ensure the geographical and multi-sectorial distribution of tourism;
e) To strengthen the public-private promotional model.77

Agustí Colom, the Councillor for Enterprise and Tourism, has pointed out that although citizens perceive the economic benefits of tourism as something positive, they also see tourism as the fourth most serious problem in the city. “It’s imperative for tourism in Barcelona and the various realities of the city to be able to live side by side”.78

1. The knowledge base

Barcelona has had its own tourism statistics for many years, now comprising an annual tourist profile, a periodic citizen perception survey recently improved to give greater detail on those neighbourhoods with a larger tourist-activity presence. The tourist mobility plan and work currently underway undertaking big data analysis using sensors and mobile phone data will provide more tourism management information and a Tourist Activity Observatory is being developed with the Barcelona Provincial Council and the Barcelona Tourism Consortium. The City is investing in establishing the data resources it needs to develop and implement an effective tourist management system.80 The city is now able to forecast tourism activity on a monthly basis, based on data from the airport, the port, municipal services and the police, warning anyone who cares to check on the council website about the peak days and locations.81 The range and depth of data on tourism in Barcelona to be found on http://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/turisme/ is excellent, a valuable resource for understanding tourism development in Barcelona and for case study work with students.

In 2015, 91.5% of the residents surveyed thought tourism was beneficial to Barcelona. 79.6% stated that they liked having contact with tourists. When asked whether they wanted their neighbourhood to have more or fewer tourists, most (71.6%) answered that they were happy with the current number of tourists. However, 15.1% of Barcelona’s residents considered that their neighbourhood had too much tourist accommodation (hotels, youth hostels, tourist flats, etc.), and 38.9% stated they lived in a neighbourhood where there were lots of tourists. Nearly half (42.4%) had put up a

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77 http://professional.barcelonaturisme.com/Professionals/corporatius/corporatius-Objectius-i-linies-estrategiques/Objectives-and-Strategic-lines/_fRw6AmMgtpesWY3f3Bcy95STDceGxkTSiPllulLGE
79 The idea of setting up of a comprehensive, smart and innovative system improving both public and private tourist planning and management, eventually becoming international benchmarks in urban-tourism knowhow was included in the Strategic Tourism Plan 2010-2015.
80 ibid 28-31
relative or friend who had come to visit the city in the previous year. The average number of visitors put up in Barcelona homes was 4.1. 87.7% of the surveyed residents agreed that Barcelona’s future lay in “attracting more high-quality tourism”, 79.1% in “promoting a debate on tourism between city residents, institutions and the economic sector” and 73.9% in “a better distribution of tourism to include more of the city's neighbourhoods”.

However, 43% considered tourism to be reaching its limits in terms of the city's capacity to provide services for tourists, in Ciutat Vella and Eixample, both heavily impacted by tourism, this figure was higher. Close to half of the residents surveyed (47%) expressed the opinion that there was no need to continue attracting further tourists. The May 2016 Barcelona barometer put tourism as the city’s fourth biggest problem, 6.6%, mentioned it unprompted. In 2015 it was 6.4% and in 2014 3.8% - between 2006 and 2013 it hovered between 0.5% and 1.7%.

When asked in 2015 what citizens would most like the council to do for the city, reducing tourism and improving its quality came 9th, although amongst respondents in the Gothic Quarter is came first, in other old town neighbourhoods like Barceloneta it came 3rd. Tourism is seen as the gravest problem that Ciutat Vella currently has by 15.4% of respondents, in Eixample by 7.3%, and in Gracia by 9.8%.

The city also has comprehensive data from 2015 on what concerns citizens have about tourism. 43% are concerned about the poor behaviour of some uncivilised tourists and want the city to address the issue, 39.8% are concerend about tourist accommodation, 40.8% about noise in the street, 23% about spreading tourism more evenly across the city and 22% about safety.

Barcelona has high levels of repeat visiting and its data on visitor satisfaction suggests that the visitor experience is improving for the large majority of tourists. Barcelona City Council conducts a tourist survey every year in order to build up profiles of the people who visit the city. It also evaluates their level of satisfaction with their visits. The 2015 survey showed that, on a scale from 0 to 10, tourists gave the city a score of 8.6, a 0.2 increase compared over 2014. The aspects tourists valued most were architecture (9.1), the city’s cultural offer (8.8), entertainment (8.5) and public transport (8.4). The city's beaches received a score of 7.9, as did cleanliness in general, while accessibility for people with reduced mobility received 7.8, air quality 7.6 and noise levels 6.8.

Policy making in Barcelona is based on a body of shared knowledge and developed through discussion and debates. The development of a strong base of robust shared information and knowledge about tourism trends in urban tourism as well as data specific to Barcelona is critical to developing policies which can be successfully implemented to achieve agreed objectives. The process of discussion and debate between citizens, institutions and the business sector develops consensus and helps to explain the continuity between administrations in Barcelona. Strategic Tourism Plans are developed through analysis of the current situation and future scenarios based on data and analysis of trends and through discussions and debates with all the players involved. In this

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82 ibid 46
83 Consell Turisme i Ciutat (2016) Informe activitat turística:56
84 Consell Turisme i Ciutat (2016) Informe activitat turística:56-58
86 Consell Turisme i Ciutat (2016) Informe activitat turística:65
way plans are developed and implemented based on shared knowledge and agreed policy and actions. The tourism plans are integrated with the other city plans most importantly the Municipal Action Plan (PAM).88

2. Engagement in the decidim.barcelona89 participatory process
Barcelona has an extensive range of mechanisms linking participation in person to neighbourhoods through face-to-face meetings, discussions and debates and proposal collection trolleys; with digital participation through the decidim.barcelona platform and other social media networks.89 Tourism was included in the decidim.barcelona which ran in February and March 2016 to establish the Municipal Action Plan for 2015-2019. There was strong support for the Strategic Tourism Plan, a Master Plan for Park Güell, protecting local commerce against the negative effects of tourism, the Special Urban-Development Plan for Tourist Accommodation (PEUAT), boosting sustainable and Responsible Tourism, mitigating the negative impacts of tourism, controlling and closing down illegal tourist flats and reclaiming the Rambla for Barcelona’s residents.91 It is noteworthy that tourism is part of the participatory processes which Barcelona has developed to engage with its citizens in decision making through Open Government, rather than to create its own structures.92 The city regularly asks residents about their valuation of Barcelona’s management of tourism, it has averaged 64.3% positive since 2009, it peaked at 74.7% in 2013, across the city only Ciutat Vella, at 54.5%, differed much from the average.93 The city authorities are now also working with local neighbourhood associations to develop local tourism management priorities and plans.

3. Governance
With Barcelona’s strong, post Franco, public participation processes and recognition of the importance of tourism to the city it became a priority to establish public participation structures for the tourism sector. Asked in 2015 about whether or not there should be more debate about tourism between citizens, the institutions and the business sector, 79% said yes and only 5.8% disagreed. Since 2009 over 75% have consistently supported more debate about the impacts of tourism and how to manage them.94 In May 2016 there was a formal agreement to set up the City and Tourism Council as a standing body that will participate in developing tourism policies and strategies, maintain the quality of city residents’ lives and ensure visitors to the city enjoy their experience. In July 2016 the Full Council Meeting approved the establishing of a Tourism Council95 which aims to represent the general public as a whole. It is chaired by the Mayor and made up of representatives from the general public and neighbourhood sector, the tourist sector, the commerce and catering sector, culture and sport, trade unions, environmental, social and territorial groups, experts and municipal professionals, as well as representatives from each of the municipal political groups.96 The Tourism Council is a participatory body designed to enable the new tourism model to be debated and approved by consensus, allowing the general public to become involved in tourist-activity governance and collaborate in government actions on tourism policies, strategic lines and initiatives.97 A place where public bodies, associations and political representatives can share ideas and information and suggest

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89 http://decidim.barcelona platform
90 ibid 31-36
91 ibid 34-35 – there are 38 proposals in the list that was voted on.
93 Consell Turisme i Ciutat (2016) Informe activitat turística: 63-64
94 Consell Turisme i Ciutat (2016) Informe activitat turística:66
ways of improving Barcelona’s tourist sector; the resolutions adopted at the Council are not binding, but provide a basis for decisions taken at Full City Council meetings.

The City and Tourism Council, often referred to as the Tourism Council, is a standing advisory body with four functions:

i. “Advising the municipal government on municipal initiatives, policies and strategic lines of action in the area of tourism, from a global perspective.

ii. Proposing policies on tourism and to ensure its sustainability.

iii. Producing studies and opinions on issues concerning its sector, at the request of the Mayor.

iv. Producing an annual report on tourism in Barcelona that should include, among other things, impact assessment, proposals for improvements, municipal lines of action and the main actions carried out in this area, as well as warnings that enable appropriate steps to be taken in terms of conflict prevention.”

The City and Tourism Council can produce reports, opinions, proposals and suggestions as recommendations to City Council bodies, but they are not in any way binding.98

It is recognised that the horizontal and transversal impacts, positive and negative, of tourism require interdepartmental co-ordination to co-ordinate and periodically evaluate the management of tourism by the municipality. This is realised through the Tourism and City Council, the Tourism and City Municipal Working Group, a municipal interdepartmental working group. There is also a Tourist Management Work Group which co-ordinates a number of municipal-service initiatives.

4. Accommodation

Barcelona has a wide variety of tourist accommodation which makes the city attractive and available to a broad range of market segments. Hotels are concentrated in Ciutat Vella, Eixample and Sant Marti, pensions and hostels in Ciutat Vella, Eixample and Montjuic, and tourist apartments in Eixample 99 in Ciutat Vella 54.7% of respondents felt that there were too many tourist accommodations in their neighbourhood, in Eixample it was 27%, in Gracia 21.9% and Sant Marti, where there are many new hotels, 15.1%. 100

The growth of new forms of accommodation – less than half of all overnight visitors (tourists) to Barcelona stay in hotels – creates regulation and management challenges. The new municipal tourism management model has to find ways of effectively managing and taxing the new forms of accommodation, and the new forms of disintermediation, which have facilitated its spectacular growth: “the city authorities are aware of the need to regulate tourist facilities in the city, in terms of both their growth and specialisation and with regard to legal matters and territorial distribution issues.”101

Two sets of issues arise around tourism accommodation. There is a general set of issues which relate to over development of tourism in particular areas, hotels, hostels, licensed apartments and unlicensed apartments all contribute to the feeling of social fragmentation, negative impacts on community life and on the quality of people’s lives. The second set of issues arise around unlicensed tourism accommodation, this has grown dramatically in recent years, facilitated by the growth of

99 ibid 29-31
100 Consell Turisme i Ciutat (2016) Informe activitat turística: 62
101 Ajuntament de Barcelona & Barcelona Activa (2014) Barcelona’s tourism activity development and management: 15-16
social media and disintermediation websites like Airbnb and which raise issues of health and safety and taxation.

In July 2015, the municipal government suspended the processing of new permits for tourist-accommodation, student-residences and youth-hostel establishments, in order to analyse the impact of tourist-accommodation activities in all its aspects and to draft a special urban-development plan to regulate it.\textsuperscript{102} This involved taking a snapshot of the city's tourist accommodation, to evaluate and examine the existing range on offer and its economic and social impacts on access to housing, use of public areas, mobility, diversity of uses and waste production and management. The city has taken a holistic view of the issues which arise in the planning and management of tourism accommodation and is developing an interdepartmental approach to management and regulation. Ciutat Vella now has a Usage Plan designed to restrict the growth of tourist accommodation, whether hotels of apartments.\textsuperscript{103} A Tourist Accommodation Working Group has been tasked to complement municipal efforts to reduce the numbers of unlicensed apartments, and a parallel group is working to prevent the spread of souvenir shops in Ciutat Vella, Sagrada Família, Park Güell.\textsuperscript{104}

There is a substantial amount of illegal accommodation on offer in Barcelona that not only creates speculation and a black economy, but also undermines positive coexistence in local communities, in addition to changing housing uses and displacing residential activities, causing people to move out. In July 2016 an \textit{Emergency Inspection Plan against Illegal Tourist Flats} was launched designed to eliminate existing illegal accommodation in the city, with a budget of €1,350,000

The emergency plan includes measures that attempt to tighten the net around illegal tourist flats through various means. These include:

- Detection measures: the creation of a new team of viewers, for greater efficiency in identifying illegal activities and facilitating collaboration with local residents, there is an online complaint form at barcelona.cat/incidències/habitatgesturistics
- Measures for carrying out inspections and issuing fines: These include reinforcing the team of inspectors, more pressure on digital platforms and maximum fines for repeat-offender platforms.
- The city council provides to the tax office information on detected illegal homes for tourist use. 3000 inspections were started due to bank payments to the websites.
- Inter-authority collaboration measures: an agreement with the Generalitat to extend the use of web crawlers and data sharing with Spain’s Tax Authority.
- Regulatory measures: Working bilaterally with the Generalitat to ensure the new Tourism Regulations facilitate inspection work and, among other things, allow a quicker implementation of legal procedures to stop illegal activities.
- Awareness-raising measures: a new website for checking whether or not a tourist flat has a permit, and a communication campaign to foster positive coexistence, with special emphasis on tourist accommodation.

\textsuperscript{102} http://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/turisme/en/documents#normativa
\textsuperscript{103} Ibid. 16
\textsuperscript{104} Ibid 16
The city is raising awareness amongst visitors of the problems caused by illegal accommodation and enlisting their support in identifying the apartments, it is now easy to check whether the apartment being rented is illegal or not and to report illegal unlicensed properties.105

One of the tools used during the inspection campaign is the Call Reception Centre (CRT), which gives priority to complaints from the general public concerning any problems caused by tourists staying in tourist flats. The centre receives all 010 and 092 calls concerning tourist flats, and it then contacts the accommodation’s owner by phone to ensure they take immediate action to resolve the problem.

5. **Overcrowding and Deconcentration**

The honeypot ticketed attractions are the Sagrada Familia with 3.7m visitors in 2015 and Parc Guell with 2.7m.106 The concentration of visitor pressure is clear from data collected from Twitter.107

The city is pioneering the use of big data to aid its management of visitor movements and concentrations. In 2013 District Tourism Plans were developed designed to encourage residents of Barcelona and its hinterland and visitors, over half of whom have previously visited Barcelona, to encourage them to discover the “ten Barcelonas” through more than 500 points of interest in the

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106 Consell Turisme i Ciutat (2016) Informe activitat turística:15
107 ibid:23
city’s districts.\textsuperscript{108} This work is linked with the development a Tourist Mobility Plan designed to enable visitors to move around the city between the tourist nodes in ways that are compatible with ordinary mobility in the city and which improves, or at least preserves, the quality of mobility services for residents, making the city more enjoyable. The Barcelona is Much More\textsuperscript{109} campaign is encouraging international and domestic visitors and locals to enjoy what the 311 municipalities of the province of Barcelona have to offer beyond the city and ensuring that information about how to travel by public transport is available.\textsuperscript{110}

At Park Güell access to the Monument Area (7.9% of its area) has been regulated, in 2013 an 8€ entry fee was imposed, the number of people visiting the Monument Area at any given time has been limited to 400, local residents have unrestricted and free access, a mobility plan has been implemented in the surrounding area to manage the flow of tourists through 4 entry and 5 exit points, and heritage-friendly regulations have been established inside the Monument Area. The management plan was designed to reclaim the area for its everyday uses and reduce the negative effects of overcrowding, ensuring both the quality of the tourists’ experiences of the place and the leisure opportunities for local residents and the city’s residents in general.

The Sagrada Família church is a major honeypot, a must see for first time visitors. Tourism at the Sagrada Família has been reorganised (increased advanced bookings, revised opening hours, more ticket offices, extra access-point control staff); an improved system for parking coaches; the drafting of a Tourism Plan for the Eixample; an information service on unoccupied parking places for coaches; the cancellation of the stop on C/ Sardenya, transferred to the Mallorca-Marina chamfer. A regular inspection programme for bar terraces and souvenir shops has also been launched and a Special Plan for Regulating Tourist Accommodation has been approved. In the Sagrada Família area pavements have been cleared and bar terraces moved to wooden platforms erected in the adjacent street parking spaces.\textsuperscript{111}

The Plaça de les Glòries and the Modernista Sant Pau art nouveau complex are being redeveloped to make them more attractive for tourists to spread, and potentially dilute the impacts of tourism in the city. In April 2016 larger tour parties were barred from La Boqueria the very popular food market on La Rambla.

The multi-stakeholder partnerships which have been created by the City Council in Barcelona over the last 10 years have produced some innovative work on tourism management, the citizens and the industry work together to make tourism work better in Barcelona. The development of new institutions, the harnessing of participative processes long established in Barcelona to develop consensual solutions to tourism management, the creation of interdepartmental groups ion the municipality to manage tourism, the determination to balance promotion with management and the understanding that using tourism for sustainable development of the city is about more than just

\textsuperscript{108} \url{http://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/turisme/sites/default/files/documents/131220_mesura_de_govern_-_plans_de_turisme_de_districte.pdf}
\textsuperscript{109} \url{http://www.barcelonaeasmoltes.cat/en/}
\textsuperscript{111} \url{http://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/turisme/en/noticia/mores-space-for-pedestrians-in-the-area-around-the-sagrada-famzlia}
having more tourists every year is very unusual and probably unique. Barcelona is a leader amongst destinations in managing tourism and addressing the challenges of ‘overtourism’ in a city where tourists are everywhere every day, an invading group that arrives from the port and airport, by rail and by car. When the cruise excursionists arrive in La Rambla after breakfast aboard it can feel like a tidal wave – as many as 35,000 people arriving on foot at the Mirador de Colon, to walk up La Rambla. Some residents undoubtedly feel that they are losing their place, their Barcelona – there is nostalgia for a past which may, or may not, be misremembered; there is a demographic life cycle dimension to the issue. The issue is about the way the city is used by citizens and visitors – but the problem is not necessarily tourism, the beer terraces are used by citizens and visitors, international students come to study, invite their families to visit and stay to start businesses. The initiatives being taken in Barcelona are groundbreaking, the city is determined to remain an open Mediterranean city and a tourism city – tourism, they acknowledge, to be managed better. The first priority of the new government in Barcelona is to address inequality, the second is the management of tourism – and of course the two are not unrelated. The Second Deputy Mayor, Jaume Collboni, highlighting the need for Barcelona to handle 100% of its tourist tax to tackle the impact of tourism in the city; asserted that: “Tourism has to serve the city and not the other way around”.

There are many challenges, the city has little influence over the development of the airport and the port, it does not control arrivals, a new terminal is being built in the port, and the development of new forms of the sharing economy creates new management challenges. Barcelona is a small city of 1.6m and it is a well-connected city – 30 million visitors only half of whom sleep in the city as tourists, and only half of Barcelona’s tourists stay in the hotels. L'Hospitalet de Llobregat, often shortened to L'Hospitalet, is a municipality to the immediate southwest of Barcelona with a population of 260,000 - many hotels in that municipality are marketed as though it were a suburb of Barcelona, it is seamlessly connected to Barcelona but Barcelona cannot manage the growth of hotel accommodation there or along the coast. Barcelona is a tourist city, it’s a brand with a culture and lifestyle created and shared by citizens and tourists, it has to learn to manage tourism better and it is a leading example of how tourism can be used to make Barcelona a better place to live in, and a better place to visit.

\[^{112}\] Those cruise passengers who sleep overnight on the ship in the port pay the tourism tax (between 2.5 and 0.70€ depending on the grade of accommodation), the day excursionists, the vast majority of those walking about the city, pay only 1USD.

\[^{113}\] Barden R (2011) Sensing our way to a better “Old Town” to live in and visit unpublished MSc Report.


Since November 2012 there has been a Tax on Stays at Tourist Establishments (IEET), a tax that is levied by the Government of Catalonia. Barcelona receives 34% of the tax revenues collected. In 2013 Barcelona City Council’s Executive decided to transfer 50% of this revenue to Turisme de Barcelona and to directly manage the other 50%.