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COLLABORATIVE ENGAGEMENT ON SOCIETAL ISSUES

WP2 - Pilot implementation and Open Call

Lisbon Tourism Observatory
Final Report

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Lisbon Tourism Observatory Final Report

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I. Lisbon Tourism Observatory Final Report

Introduction

This report documents the collaborative research concerning recent urban transformations related to mass tourism in Lisbon (Portugal). The research was conducted under COESO (Collaborative Engagement on Societal Issues), a citizen science project which involved small scale pilot projects with high intensity collaboration. The pilot project "Mass tourism's impact on urban communities" resulted from the collaboration of researchers from CRIA (Centre for Research in Anthropology), and members of the environmentalist NGO ZERO (Association for the Sustainability of the Earth System). An anthropologist from the CNRS (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique / French National Centre for Scientific Research), also working within the COESO project, observed and documented the collaborative processes of our citizen science pilot project, and contributed to the fieldwork. Through this pilot, CRIA and ZERO were involved in a co-creation process in which researchers, experts and activists jointly discuss and define objectives, scope and methods of research. Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa (UAL) and the Junta de Freguesia de Santo António (Santo Antonio Parish Council, one of Lisbon's 24 civil parishes) were local partners, providing logistical support and being involved in part of the activities (see section 2 of this report).

"Lisbon Tourism Observatory" was conceived as a general framework to observe and analyse urban transformations in Lisbon, through concrete situations, discourses, conflict, controversies and policies in an urban area under pressure from mass tourism. It aimed to contribute to a better understanding of the evolution of the central area of Lisbon, in a context of growing tourism and rapid transformation of the contemporary city (new inhabitants, new shops and consumption practices, new services activities, transformation of lifestyles, etc.). The Observatory was designed to collect data and to increase knowledge about tourism in Lisbon, employing different approaches and methodologies which have different levels of participant engagement. In other words, this investigation was an opportunity to explore, question and test theoretical and methodological advantages of a research design that adopted participatory and collaborative approaches. This research has thus had an exploratory dimension.

This report is organized in seven sections: An introduction (I); a general presentation of our approach, within the general challenges of tourism studies and urban studies in Social Sciences and Humanities (II); a description of the different phases, methods and approaches that characterize this citizen science project (III); data analysis based on fieldwork and other collaborative methods (IV); a display of the data gathered during a Focus Group (V); the synthesis of a discussion with the local President of the Parish Council (VI); and finally, conclusions on what we have learnt during this collaborative research on tourist practices (VII). Regarding the data analysis, the report index broadly follows the project's implementation chronology (sections IV, V and VI). The input of the President of the Parish Council comes at the end of the project, discussing its results.

The writing of this report was coordinated by CRIA (Frédéric Vidal and Elisa Lopes da Silva), with contributions from ZERO. Sections V and VI were designed by ZERO (Susana Valente and Susana Fonseca).

II. Challenges: how to think about tourism in Lisbon

2.1 Tourism is transforming the city

Since the late 1990s, Lisbon has become one of the fastest growing tourist destinations in Europe. Especially after the 2004 European Football Cup and the introduction of low-cost air travel, the drastic increase in tourism has deeply transformed the city. In the first two decades of the 21st century, Statistics Portugal showed a rapid growth of tourism and tourism industry in Portugal, namely in Lisbon district[1]. The number of tourists staying in hotels reached 21.6 million in Portugal (2019), 25.2% being within Lisbon Metropolitan Area (about 5.4 million). In the context of European city destinations, Lisbon's growth is even more expressive. Between 2014 and 2018, Lisbon stands out against other destinations with more than double the average growth rate: + 10.9% in Lisbon, versus + 7.2% in Madrid or + 1.8% in Barcelona[2]. Tourism is also the primary source of export revenues in this period.[3]

In this context of massive development of tourism, and despite numerous theoretical and methodological proposals that have considered the diversity of practices and situations in tourist places (Stock 2010), the question of urban tourism remains marked by the 'impact' theory (Doquet 2010). This approach considers mass tourism as a phenomenon that disrupts the economic, social and cultural life of urban societies, particularly from the point of view of the living conditions of residents (e.g., housing, traffic, noise pollution). The impact paradigm sees tourism and tourists as "disruptive" and "external" to local communities (Doquet 2010, Picard 2010). In this case, researchers emphasize the distinction between "passive tourism" and "active dwelling", as tourists are described as having "a mostly passive relationship with the city they are touring" (Kulka 2021, 76).

One of the main objectives of Tourism Studies in the Social Sciences and Humanities has thus been the critical analysis of the social and cultural dynamics underlying the local diffusion of tourism practices (Cousin 2008; Baptista 2017, Vidal 2021). Regarding this research agenda, Lisbon became a significant and multidimensional case study, as suggested by recent international literature. Studies published in recent years aimed to show how urban change was shaped and accelerated by tourism (Fontes Cordeiro 2022). New approaches on tourism impact have also emerged and are widespread in the field of urban studies. As Vaz (2022, 91) discussed, tourism and touristification arose in these studies as a variable (with greater or lesser relevance) in the analysis of the transformation of housing market, the evolution of housing models, the study of spatial fragmentation processes and the making of gated communities, urban requalification, musealization process, appropriation of public spaces, cultural practices transformation, or the confrontation between globalization and local identities (see among others: Pereira 2015; Alves Fernandes 2014; Cocola-Gant 2018; Tulumello Allegretti 2021; Garha Azevedo 2022). In the modern city, while tourism and tourists seem to be everywhere, their study has been struggling to ground them on a clear definition, specific observation methods, research designs and questions from the Social Sciences and Humanities perspective.

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[1] Instituto Nacional de Estatística, Estatísticas do Turismo: 2004. Lisbon: INE, 2005. https://www.ine.pt/xurl/pub/130350
Instituto Nacional de Estatística, Estatísticas do Turismo: 2019. Lisbon: INE, 2020. https://www.ine.pt/xurl/pub/133574
[2] Turismo de Lisboa, Plano Estratégico 2020/24 (resumo), https://www.ertlisboa.pt/fotos/editor2/planoestrategicoresumo.pdf
[3] https://www.pordata.pt/portugal/exportacoes+de+servicos+total+e+por+tipo-2352.

2.2 A continuum of actors, practices, and situations

The major challenge of the historiography of tourism has been to address the great diversity of "tourist practices", i.e., the ways of being a tourist. Tourists have been rarely seen as social actors whose choices and experiences could have influenced the evolution of tourism. From this point of view, social sciences literature has often been held hostage to the categories of thought and perception that emerged with the spread of tourism practices during the first half of the nineteenth century. From the 1830s onwards, in Europe, the word "tourist" came to designate a singular individual with a dubious reputation. The word is associated with the idea of absence of personality or personal taste. The tourist is primarily described as a "bad traveller" (Urbain 2002). Tourism has quickly gained economic interest - the expression "tourism industry" appeared at the end of the 19th century -, but it was generally understood as a global cultural and economic process which seemed to find its natural ending in the massification of the 1950s and 1960s.

Researching 'tourism practices' (plural) entails another type of approach. In her book on the origins of tourism in late 19th century Europe, Catherine Bertho-Lavenir (1999) argues that the invention of 'tourism practices' was a long-lasting process (about a century), linking the transformation of representations and perceptions of the environment (natural or urban) to cultural and technical mutations. Analysis should intertwine two essential dimensions of tourism: on the one hand, the cultural, affective, or sensory dimension (the perceptions) and, on the other hand, the social, material, and economic dimension (the uses of places). Our research within COESO's pilot 1 "Lisbon Tourism Observatory" has been mainly concerned with the perspective of the residents and local social actors (e.g., local politicians, retailers, students). At the same time, it has also aimed to study tourism and touristic places looking at the intersections the following dimensions: the way social actors describe or narrate their experiences with tourists; and the physical or material transformations of the urban place and urban community produced by or for tourism.

With regard to social and cultural geography, there is a "relational definition of tourism" (Stock 2021) that was discussed with ZERO members and other stakeholders in the initial phase of the project (see section III). Tourism should be seen as "a specific relationship to the world, where the contribution to recreation and otherness are essential" (Stock 2021, 3). To analyse tourist practices and situations in the city helps to address "different dimensions of inhabiting" (Stock 2021, 25). In other words, tourism should be considered as a way of inhabiting the city - that is, relating socially and affectively to urban places - which is becoming increasingly common in contemporary cities, and is not limited to situations clearly identified as touristic (Lussault 2007). This perspective invites us to reconsider the distinctions between resident/visitor, local/tourist, and to privilege an analysis of "the capital and resource flows of those who use the city" (Vaz 2022, 95).

2.3 Tourism is political

The boundary between tourist and non-tourist practices in cities "have always been fluctuating" (Colomb Novy 2017, 7). We argue that the diversity of tourist practices and situations could be seen as a strategic observation point of urban life but also of the urban environmental issues. We consider also that tourism is fundamentally political: at micro-level - a neighbourhood, a street, a building - we can observe and capture conflicts, emergence of new forms of political participation, more or less institutionalized, "infrapolitics" or '" micropolitics" forms of resistance to overtourism (Gravari-Barbas Jacquot 2017), but also mediation or agreement process, that combine to shape urban life.

Overtourism remains "under-theorised" in academic literature (Koens Postma Papp 2018). The World Tourism Organization defines it as 'the impact of tourism on a destination, or parts thereof, that excessively influences perceived quality of life of citizens and/or quality of visitor experiences in a negative way' (UNWTO, 2018a, p. 4, cited by Koens Postma Papp 2018). Is overtourism just another way to refer to tourism intensification within and around urban areas? As Koens, Postma and Papp (2018), we defend that it is not merely a tourism-only problem as it jeopardizes urban lifestyle, residential functions, economic and environmental resources, and highlight the limits or failure of public policies and urban planning.

This issue can be then linked to a broader analysis of the role played by tourism in public policies at different scales (see: Vidal 2021). As discussed by Boukhris and Chapuis (2016), the field of tourism offers possibilities for thinking about politics and polices in a broad way, from state structure to relationships among individuals, including antagonistic relationships between social groups. Tourism has historically been closely linked to the production and circulation of political ideologies, participating in their triple function of social integration, legitimization and domination (Boukhris Chapuis, 2016). Most studies on tourism policies have assumed that the conflicts and tensions surrounding tourism and its transformative role in local economic, social or cultural life, are related to the intensification of this process, i.e., the massification of tourism in Europe and the United States from the 1950s onwards (Vainikka 2013; Harrison Sharpley 2017). This view ends up being reinforced by historical analyses that usually stress the "consensual" dimension of the first political actions in Europe at the beginning of the 20th century (Bertho-Lavenir 1999) or, adopting a more "neutral" position (Harrison Sharpley 2017), document the importance that tourism had on the reconfiguration of urban spaces and lifestyles from the second half of the 19th century (Cocks 2001).

At the local scale, the analysis of the social contexts of the emergence of public action in tourism has made it possible to uncover the complex, and sometimes paradoxical, relationship between tourism and economic development (Guilbert 2012; Baptista 2017). The critical analysis of political discourses and strategies has notably shown how the "local development" argument can be mobilized to justify the implementation of services or the construction of leisure infrastructures that, in reality, correspond to the taste and desire of the middle and upper-middle class (Cousin 2007; Réau Poupeau 2007). "Local scale" and "local policies" also need to be better defined. In our research on Lisbon, we observed that the issue of tourism and tourism policies was approached in very different and sometimes antagonistic ways depending on the administrative scale at which the political actors were involved. On one hand, there is a great proximity between Lisbon City Council and the Lisbon Tourism Association which depends on it[4]. In 2016, the centre-left Mayor of Lisbon went as far as to deny the problem of an excessive presence of tourists in the city[5]. On the other hand, the "anti-tourism" movement has often been led at the parish scale (especially in the historical neighbourhood Alfama, but not only), contesting the positions and actions of the City Council (regarding for example short-rental accommodation, vehicles allocated to tourism, etc.).

Studies on the conflicts generated by the massification of tourism, the social protests that emerged in urban contexts and the forms of "anti-tourism" provide a relevant framework of analysis (Colomb Novy 2017). In Lisbon, as in other cities with similar patterns of tourism densification, formal and informal resistance movements emerged. Between 2010 and 2020, claims and protests against tourism were frequent and sometimes highly mediatized. Very diverse and sometimes creative (films, posters, graffiti, performances), these protests appeared partly related to other social movements or broader local social conflicts (against gentrification, housing problems, or urban policies). The "impact paradigm" has been somewhat reinforced by the convergence between researchers' critical analysis and social movements discourses (Mendes 2020). Regarding our collaborative research project, it's also quite interesting to question how, in the field of urban tourism studies, the way of doing social science can be openly political. This research field could be a good example of how social movements contribute to the production of knowledge and their actions "have the potential to change the way we understand reality and create new categories for interpreting it" (Accornero 2022, 9).

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[4] See the board of the Lisbon Tourism Association: https://www.visitlisboa.com/pt-pt/sobre-o-turismo-de-lisboa/p/corpos-sociais
[5] O Público, 27-09-2016 https://www.publico.pt/2016/09/27/local/noticia/fernando-medina-disse-desconhecer-a-ideia-de-ter-turistas-a-mais-em-lisboa-1745337?fbclid=IwAR0_PEIIA5HQm-N8dPQIaN4ldxMPYQ5m3fMCg91h-Lr-bCbRzfHW6NV73K0

2.4 A research project in pandemic times

The objective and scope of this pilot was firstly defined in 2019 before the COVID-19 pandemic. However, the project's fieldwork was conducted between June 2021 and September 2022. In Lisbon, as in all touristic cities in Europe, COVID-19 has had a huge impact on the tourism economy (Brito-Henriques Larrabure 2021). Based on statistical data and economic forecasting, the decline in tourism flows seems to have been transitory, and almost limited to the year of 2021. In 2022, revenues generated by tourism in Portugal were higher than in 2019, and Lisbon strengthened its position as the principal tourist destination in the country[6]. During this exceptional period, discussion emerged about the importance and the organisation of the tourism industry, namely in the city centre. At the end of 2021, the Municipal Assembly of Lisbon voted in a new regulation for short-term rentals (namely accommodation for rental on the Airbnb platform), that *de facto* prohibited new rental licenses in the city centre[7]. This issue has been an important element of political confrontation, especially in the context of the municipal elections of 26 September 2021 which led to the election of new local representatives, including the mayor (centre-right), in the City Council. From the point of view of tourist stakeholders and tourist policies, a better-informed and balanced view regarding the benefits and risks of mass tourism development seems to have gained ground, but the close relationship between tourism and economic development is still predominant (Novo Barros 2022).

The pandemic affected the implementation part of the project (June 2021 – march 2022), causing delays that lead to methodological adaptations (see section 2 of this report), but did not profoundly change the main objectives of this collaborative research. However, considering the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic in tourism flows, project members decided to study the pandemic effects on the perceptions and practices of the stakeholders involved when it comes to their understanding of tourism in the city. The pandemic highlighted above all how tourism was, in fact, deeply entrenched in the daily lives of urban places, i.e., in the social, cultural and economic processes of the inhabitants of these places, whether they were settled or itinerant (Sampaio Vidal Lourenço 2021).

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[6] Expresso, 14-11-2022
https://expresso.pt/economia/2022-11-14-No-ultimo-mes-do-verao-receitas-do-turismo-ficaram-mais-de-20-acima-de-2019-a8c8c161
[7] O Público, 16-11-2021
https://www.publico.pt/2021/11/16/local/noticia/ps-quer-suspender-novos-alojamentos-locais-lisboa-1985196

III. Citizen Science in the making

This citizen science project was implemented as a scientific co-creation process in which each research moment was progressively defined by scientists, activists, stakeholders and local community members (Bonney, Dickinson: 2012). This is a small-scale project which aimed to produce effects in two interrelated dimensions: in renewal of the modes of production of social scientific knowledge and in community intervention. On the one hand, the collective discussion of the initial research questions, the definition of collaborative methodologies, the interpretations of the research outcomes with citizens and scientists of different social and academic backgrounds and local engagement allowed us to recognise and challenge ways of doing science. On the other hand, the integration of the interests and concerns of the local community members in the research process was an instrument for the social and environmental improvement of their neighbourhood.

The research began with the desire to understand forms of collaboration between social science researchers, environmental activists and other local stakeholders while studying tourism. Each project member approached tourism differently depending on their scientific background, employment, political commitments and place of residence. To overcome these different research standpoints, the project members decided to engage in a panoply of research methods (archive inquiry, workshops, multimodal ethnography, urban walks, interviews), which were progressively debated and agreed during the project's implementation. The multiplication of methodologies also corresponded to a multiplication of the collaborations set in place. The use of "experimental collaborations" aimed to denote "a distinctive mode of devising fieldwork through 'joint problem-making'" (Sánchez Criado, Estalella, 2018, p. 5). These different "ways of doing" research nourished the citizen science project.

Each research moment led to results that feed into the next research step. The pilot's activities started in June 2021 with archival research, due the difficulty in conducting face-to-face fieldwork during the COVID-19 sanitary restrictions[8]. The documental set that resulted from this research was worked on by researchers and raised themes and questions that were subsequently presented and discussed with ZERO members and other stakeholders. In September 2021, ZERO mobilised its members to participate in an online workshop[9], which started to gather a research team to discuss different ways to relate to and know Santo Antonio. Based on the questions raised in this workshop, CRIA organised two urban walks with ZERO members and CRIA researchers in the Santo António district[10].

These 'exploratory' or 'ethnographic walks' were collaborative in the sense that researchers and citizens were "epistemic partners", i.e., walkers who jointly shared the effort of problematizing the city through the act of walking together, moving at the same pace and looking at similar sights (Marcus, 2016). These new 'work colleagues' (academic and non-academic researchers), who walked the streets of Santo António in an attitude of distance and recording their observations, without directly interacting with the environment and the people they meet on their way, avoided the extractive and hierarchical mode of immersive fieldwork. During the urban walks, photography was used by different project members as a visual participatory method to explore and visualise urban transformations and the impact of tourism in daily life in the neighbourhood.[11] Photography was thus used as a device to reveal the multi-sensory experiences of the walk (Pink 2015)[12]. Also, the *dialogue* between the walkers presented itself as an alternative to the symbolic centrality of participatory observation in the ethnographic method. The dialogues between the walkers were recorded by CRIA researchers and later used to identify themes and questions that help to shape the interviews conducted with local community members.

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[8] Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the sanitary restrictions that were in place in Portugal delayed meetings in person between ZERO members and CRIA researchers and the planned fieldwork in the Santo Antonio district. Our first meeting in person only occurred in November 2021 and the first interviews were conducted in January and February 2022. In order to have enough time to implement the different activities of the pilot, we suggested including an extra 3 months in the pilot schedule (July to September 2022).

[9] See: https://civtur.hypotheses.org/123

[10] For a presentation of the fieldwork context: "Estudo de caso: freguesia de Santo António de Lisboa", Cidade (in)visível. Turismo e outras práticas urbanas. Available at https://civtur.hypotheses.org/70

[11] "Uma minhota, duas fotografias", Cidade (in)visível. Turismo e outras práticas urbanas. Available at https://civtur.hypotheses.org/159

[12] "Roupa colorida que a gente estendeu", *Cidade (in)visível. Turismo e outras práticas urbanas*. Available at https://civtur.hypotheses.org/190

These experimental collaborative methods, however fruitful in exploring new forms of doing research, presented limitations for our investigation: there was a lack of diversity of the participants in terms of socio-economic or education background; and the participants' relationship with the Santo António neighbourhood was mainly as passers-by. Also, in ethnographic walks, although people expressed different views and experiences, the fact they were walking together influenced their account, and help to shape a 'common narrative' about the neighbourhood.

The research then evolved to an intensive collaboration with Camilo León Quijano, a visual anthropologist whose first mission inside COESO was to observe and document this pilot research (under COESO WP6 activities). His mission to do an ethnography of the collaborative research carried out by pilot 1 evolved from participatory observation to an immersion in the field, involving local citizens that resided, studied or worked in the neighbourhood. The pilot's collaborative research was then enriched by a multimodal ethnography. During the first half of 2022, the fieldwork aimed to support the dual purpose of mapping everyday uses of urban space, including potential conflicts between different dwellers, and also to be an integral part of social interventions with impacts in public policies.

Following previous visual methods developed during the ethnographic walks, the pilot began to use photovoice as a method of participatory research with residents and local traders to visually document and reflect on the presence of tourism (uses of space, everyday practices, etc.) in their neighbourhood. Disposable cameras were distributed to some of the interviewees and, after developing the film, the researchers asked them to comment on their own photos. A montage of those multimodal fieldwork materials is displayed in a transmedia website, designed by Camilo León-Quijano.[13] The website displays the results of the various research methodologies (ethnographic walks, interviews, photovoice, guided tour, focus groups), stemming from different forms of collaboration in the field.

During the first four months of 2022, the research also involved other stakeholders and local partners in the planning of research tasks. ZERO members, with the support of CRIA researchers, organised a focus group (11 May 2022), where representatives of local economic activities, students of Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa (UAL) (COESO's local partner), local residents, members of ZERO and members of the COESO team - from CRIA and ZERO, with CNRS contribution - were present[14]. CRIA and ZERO also organised a guided tour in the neighbourhood, led by the president of the local council ('civil parish') of Santo António, for a ZERO board member in order to discuss the impacts of tourism, amongst other city dynamics, and parish public policies. Finally, in June and July 2022, a group of UAL undergraduate students enrolled in the Contemporary History course joined the project to conduct historical research about the Santo António district[15]. The data collected during this archival research was presented by them in the pilot's blog "(In)visible City. Tourism and other everyday practices in Lisbon" members, a dissemination media platform where these students are editors alongside CRIA researchers and ZERO members[16].

During the project, CRIA and ZERO also collaborated in the writing of three papers presented at conferences on citizen science or urban sociology: *Encontro Nacional de Ciência Cidadã* [National Meeting of Citizen Science] (Oeiras, November 2021); V Midterm Conference of European Sociological Associations Research Network 37 (Berlin, October 2022); 4th International ECSA Conference 2022 (Berlin, October 2022)

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[13] COESO D6.2 - Transmedia website on the LTO engagement in the urban space. Available at https://saojose.huma-num.fr/more/itineraries.
[14] "Colaboração e Comunidade", *Cidade (in)visível. Turismo e outras práticas urbanas*. Available at https://civtur.hypotheses.org/505
[15] "A cidade em arquivo. Um exercício de leitura do jornal Público dos anos 1990 e 2000", *Cidade (in)visível. Turismo e outras práticas urbanas*. Available at: https://civtur.hypotheses.org/260
[16] *Cidade (in)visível. Turismo e outras práticas urbanas*. Available at https://civtur.hypotheses.org/

IV. Fieldwork analysis

The pilot developed several collaborative approaches that challenged and complemented each other, considering scales of research and scales of intervention of CRIA researchers and NGO members. Taking Lisbon as a case study, considering different scales helped to elaborate a more complex knowledge on tourism past practices, future effects, and possible ways of intervention.

When tourism is studied from the point of view of sustainability, its impact must be viewed not only at the local level but also at its national and planetary levels. Tourism impact should be measured in relation to the resources it demands which depends on the underlying tourism model. From the ZERO point of view, the predominant tourism model in Lisbon is mass tourism which implies a strong pressure on the resources and life of the city, threatening to reach its limit (overtourism). At the local level, the infrastructure needed to accommodate tourists and their consumption (products and services) as well as the waste production, pollution and congestion (namely local mobility, heating, sewage - more people, more waste) associated with their stay are the most important issues to take care of.

In contrast, sustainable tourism from the ZERO point of view should be based on small-scale activity and focus on local products versus the standardization needed to respond to mass tourism. Mass tourism is associated with a concept of 'check-list tourism': "I have been there, I´ve done that" but has a gap with the so-called 'true place' and 'the local people'. Reversely, 'sustainable tourism' promotes a healthy relationship between travellers and residents and the promotion, dissemination and awareness of local culture in a more personal way.

While most of ZERO lobbyist activity is directed at national government and European institutions, in the *Cidade (In)visivel* Workshop (September 2021) and the Urban Walk (October 2021)[17], ZERO members expressed their concerns, first and foremost, with the acute transformations regarding housing prices and the defacement of the unique identity of the neighbourhood brought by visitors coming from "outside" Santo António Parish. In a similar vein, the president of Santo António Parish collaborating with the pilot stressed the need to better regularize low-cost tourism because of its impact on residents (noise pollution, waste management, sewers infrastructure), even if it could lead to lowering the financial benefits for the city council.

Other views, perceptions, and representations of tourism practices arose from the collaborative research based on interviews with other city dwellers. This small-scale ethnography in Santo António conducted mostly by CRIA researchers was fed by the views and policies advocated by ZERO members and elected representatives. The interviews with residents and local traders about their life courses revealed a representation of tourism benefits and drawbacks in their communities constructed by the influence of spatially, diverse and entangled processes. The research into life courses situated the neighbourhood in its historical time, revealing a perception of it as continuously changing space, partly due to social structures and past events that occurred beyond neighbourhood limits. Amongst other urban transformations, the interviews draw attention to the suburban sprawl in the last 40 years (long-term local traders in Santo António commute to Lisbon since 1990s), highlighting how the city centre was produced as part of a larger urban social space. Also, individual perceptions and press representations researched by UAL university students highlighted changes in the daily uses and representations of Santo António public in close relation with the city outskirts.[18] This data was collected by a group of 7 UAL undergraduate students who, guided by Frédéric Vidal (Professor in Contemporary History) and Rudney Castro (PhD student in History), participated in a collective reading exercise of the *Público* newspaper from the 1990s and 2000s at the National Library of Portugal.[19] A perception of the neighbourhood's

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[17] Information on these activities available at https://civtur.hypotheses.org/123 and https://civtur.hypotheses.org/131.
[18] https://civtur.hypotheses.org
[19] https://civtur.hypotheses.org/260

historicity by its long-term inhabitants and traders contributed to understanding tourism activities and tourists' practices less as an outside force and more as part of the evolution and construction of the city.

Concluding, in the course of the collaborative research, each research partner and city dweller underlined different ways to understand and study the neighbourhood in its entanglement at local, national and international levels.

4.1 Dwelling practices in Santo António

In the last few years, media discourse, social movements and some fields of social sciences have portrayed tourism in Lisbon (and Porto) using categories such as 'tourists' or 'inhabitants', 'visitors' and 'residents', which are usually placed in opposition. These categories were particularly common in discourses and controversies about city housing, which came to be more relevant from the 2010s onwards. These representations reacted, in part, to the major transformations, some of them disruptive, that have occurred over the past 10 years in Lisbon city centre, especially arising from the demand for housing by groups with greater purchasing power ('rich' foreigners, with 'golden visas', who bought luxurious accommodations in Avenida da Liberdade; tourists accommodated through online short-term rental platforms, European pensioners with second homes in Lisbon or digital nomads in short-rentals). A central theme in social sciences, in social movements claims and in public policies discussions, the 'housing problem' has frequently been framed opposing short-term (foreigner) residents to long-time (national) inhabitants (see section 1 of this report). Those categories are used to define stable positions, carriers of a certain type of interests or sensitivities, considered as divergent or potentially conflicting. The opposition of visitors and inhabitants was also commonly used by the local elected representatives of Santo António Parish whose constituency is composed exclusively of 'primary-residence' voters.

However, in the participatory ethnography done in São António Parish, the interviews we conducted allowed us to highlight much more flexible uses of the categories of tourist/ foreigner, visitor/resident, depending on individual experiences and social situations. We interviewed long-term residents, long-term traders but also recent migrant traders, Portuguese and migrant recent residents and university students. Small-scale methodologies presented opportunities for self-expression, encouraged participant engagement, and, thus, recognised multiple experiences, interests, discourses and possibilities in urban practices and, namely those related with tourist practices. In the fieldwork, categories such as foreigner/tourist/resident/neighbour varied in meaning according to the situation in which they were mentioned. It enabled mapping multiple entanglements between different city dwellers. Studying tourism centred on lived experiences at a small scale (parish/street) led to recognizing the diversity of ways of dwelling in the city. More than just mapping the different city dwellers, and opposing their interest and views, the research highlighted how the different dwellers relate to each other and lead to the constitution of new everyday city practices. Here, we provide examples from the interviews of the inclusion of a certain category of tourist in the relations of everyday life.

Elisabete L. works at a grocery store in Rua de São José. She is 42 years old, does not live in the parish of Santo António, but has been working there since 1991. She commutes from the municipality of Vila Franca de Xira, 30 minutes away from the grocery store. About the presence of tourism in the neighbourhood, she mentions the "tourism by older couples, who like to buy a good wine, a good cheese, and get to know local Portuguese traditions". Over time - 15 years - she has made friends with tourists, who have become regular customers and then friends. She describes these relations as centred on her business activities. Tourists are customers, as probably most of the relations she has in the neighbourhood. But these friendships are preserved and mediated through regular exchanges on social networks (WhatsApp).

Elisabete L.: "Tourism itself changed, so now we befriend certain tourist couples that return every year. For example, there is a couple, an English couple. They are both in their late seventies. I think that in the meantime they bought a house here, in one of these backstreets, and they spend approximately a fortnight in Portugal during the year. And they are like friends to us. We exchange texts via whatsapp on a monthly basis, exchange

holiday cards, and we ended up creating a friendship. And there is another lady, a teacher, who comes to Portugal in the holidays, a weekend, because her husband taught here in Portugal, and they fell in love with the city of Lisbon. And every time they come to Portugal they come here, even if it's only for a quick coffee and to talk a little with us."
(Interview with Elisabete L, January 2022)

Mariana O. is 47 years old, has a law degree and has lived in the neighbourhood for 13 years. She lives on one of the central streets of the Parish, but until two years ago she lived a few meters further down. She moved because her landlord wanted to increase the rent. In her new house, the relations with the tourists are clearly integrated in the ordinary neighbourhood connections. Mariana describes friendly and helpful behaviour or good neighbourliness: exchange of gifts or small services, etc.

Mariana O.: [Then] It was different from the building where I live now. Where I live now there are tourists, foreigners living here. In the other one, they didn't live there, it was mostly an older age building. And it's different here. Here there might be a neighbour at Christmas who leaves a bottle of wine at the door. It is different. There is a different connection. The building is also smaller. People know each other. There is a Whatsapp for everyone.
Interviewer: Even Portuguese and foreigners?
M.: Yes, even Portuguese and foreigners.
Interviewer: Do you know the foreigners in your building?
- Yes. One of them even tutored my son in German.
(…)
Interviewer: Do you feel solidarity? (37')

M.: Yes, but there it is, with those who are here. I think there is solidarity with those who are here. With those who pass by - because it's a crossing zone - I don't know if there is so much, because they are never the same. If they are the same... A tourist who comes, and stays and sleeps and stays here for six months, I think the people here are receptive, and are welcoming. 'Look... we're here for whatever you need.' (Mariana, January 2022)

These variations or fluctuations arise both from the way in which relations established with tourists are described (they are tourists, customers, but they are also friends), and the ways in which tourists themselves are identified (they are tourists, foreigners, but they are also neighbours). The strength of social bonds - the solidarity - depends on permanence in the space.

4.2 Tourist practices

The collaborative research allowed us to understand how tourist practices in Santo António influence and produce new urban practices. More than a conflict between urban practices and tourist practices, a diversity of lived experiences and entwined social relations of different city dwellers was uncovered. On the one hand, tourist practices developed new ways for long-time residents and traders to experience the city, and, on the other hand, their urban practices influenced tourists' experiences. The interviews provided examples of the entanglement of tourist practices and other urban daily experiences. Here we quote an excerpt of an interview with Tom L.

Tom L. is a Brazilian who arrived in Portugal about 5 years ago and came to São José about 2 years ago. He runs a small restaurant-cafe in Rua de Santa Marta that benefits from a wide range of clientele: local people, students and teachers from the university, employees of companies in the area (communication and marketing areas, many foreigners). His discourse reflects the ability to mobilize quite diverse resources and knowledge, some very rooted in local contexts or situations (small community of the neighbourhood), others more individualized (that depend on individual experiences, tastes, affections). He circulates easily between networks of sociability operating at different

scales (street corner, neighbourhood, city, transnational movements). In his case, tourist practices are an extension of everyday life, influenced by the opportunities it can offer (practices also shaped by this experience). There is a sense of continuity between various places and experiences (residence, work, visit) and tourism does not imply ruptures with daily life, and in some way defines his 'lifestyle'.

Tom L.: "Now, for example, when I went to Seville, I had two people who had invited me to their house when I went there. And I went there and met them. I wasn't at their house, I rented a hotel but anyway, we went out, we drank. And that's one of the things I like.
(...)
I went to Rome last year when we closed in December (...). And I met up with two people I had met here. That for me is wonderful. It's the possibility to make contact with other cultures. And that, effectively, is one of the things I want in life: to meet people from different places than from where I was born." (8')
(Interview with Tom L., January 2022)

Besides interviews, the researchers used photovoice as a methodology of participatory research developed with residents and local traders to visually document and reflect on the presence of tourism (uses of space, everyday practices, etc.) in their neighbourhood. The photovoice methodology was also an opportunity to create a reflective analysis of the everyday experiences of tourism practices from the participant point of view. Mariana O., a long-time São José resident, was one of the research citizens who used photovoice in the collaborative research and took the opportunity to reflect on the appropriation of urban space that has been brought about by tourist practices. Here we provide photos shot by Mariana and her comments on them made in August 2022.

Photograph taken by Mariana O.

"This photo shows exactly the kind of thing that locals perhaps don't do, because they pass by on the go. And because it's just passing by or it's the place where we go every day, we don't sit back, we don't take the time to appreciate. And that's a good thing about tourists, they sit down, appreciate, and probably enjoy things that the locals sometimes pass by and don't enjoy."

Photograph taken by Mariana O.

"And then there's photo number 16, which is awesome…. this is in the lower part of Torel, where there's a pond. But here it's not only tourists – I've also heard them speak Portuguese. So, sometimes, when it's very hot, this is a swimming pool. If I didn't live here… As a resident, I wouldn't dream of being there in a swimsuit… I don't know, I wouldn't feel at ease. But if this wasn't my neighbourhood, if I were a tourist, I'd probably do the same thing."

Photograph taken by Mariana O.

"So, this one, number 18, is completely out of focus, because I didn't look at the thing. What have we here? This is in the lower part of Jardim do Torel, in the part facing the primary school, the one my son went to. And what do we see here? We see a couple, with a blanket on the ground, they're having a little picnic; they looked like tourists to me because of their clothes, which were flashier. And they were enjoying. So, once again, in a concealed place, where I would never think of laying a blanket, because it was facing the school where I left my kid, but where it makes perfect sense. So, this is once again the ability of outsiders to discover things that maybe we probably pass by without seeing or enjoying." (Mariana O., August 2022)

The bonds that are built with tourists or tourist practices are closely linked to individual biography or life path.

4.3 Micropolitics and everyday conflicts

Daily encounters in the neighbourhood brought to light power relations that shape the city. Everyday practices revealed points of tension and micro-conflicts considering spaces, powers, interests and actions that questioned the role of tourism and tourists in Lisbon daily life. These everyday tensions and conflicts are related to broader urban structures and processes, but assume on certain configurations and particularities at a micro-level.

The main points of everyday conflict identified by the research partners and ZERO participants in different moments of the research concerned community issues ["relações de vizinhança"], waste management and noise pollution. ZERO's research partners and the president of the local parish underlined the consequences of the exponential growth of short-term accommodation, at a time of weak regulation, on the diminishing supply of long-term housing in areas of greater tourist pressure. This, they added in interviews, has led to an increase in the rent prices in Santo António and a

consequent decrease in the permanent population of the parish. The 2021 Census confirms these partners' view, testifying to a 6.4 per cent decrease in the resident population (main dwelling) since 2011[20]. The change in the social composition of the neighbourhood had effects on the daily social life of the urban buildings, with the coexistence of long and short-term residents. The multiplication of functions (particularly, tourism and teleworking) in the house brought about new daily tensions, conflicts and negotiations. Neighbourhood relations have started to entail forms of negotiation between social actors that include various languages of communication and various rhythms of living.

The interview with D. Quitéria allows to better understand the daily negotiations brought by new neighbourhood sociabilities. D. Quitéria, in her late 80s, is known to be one of the oldest inhabitants of the neighbourhood. Born in Beira Interior, she came to Lisbon when she was 14 years old to work as a domestic servant. She is a steady and prominent reference for long-standing shopkeepers and residents of São José and her memories of youth relationships in the neighbourhood guide her current sociability.

Interviewer: And have you made any new friends recently? Or is it just the older people?

D. Quitéria: Only the old ones. There's no one here to make friends with now!

Interviewer: Isn't there?

D. Quitéria: No, there is no one here.

Interviewer: Even the new ones coming and going?

D. Quitéria: There are young people who, when they see me, look like "my God", but there are no boys here anymore, no girls, there is no one here. No old men anymore, no old women anymore.

Interviewer: And the tourists, don't you talk to the tourists? Don't they talk to you?

D. Quitéria: No, I don't know how to speak to them anyway.

Interviewer: They don't speak Portuguese either.

Agostinho [a neighbour hearing the interview] (A): Come on, the people who live on the fourth floor, they speak to you!

D. Quitéria: Huh?

Agostinho: The ones on the fourth floor...

D. Quitéria: They all do. Even yesterday the little boy carried my bag for me. I had bought two muffins, I gave him one, poor thing! Thank you! They also care for me.

Interviewer: Sure they do! Are the people on the fourth floor Portuguese?

D. Quitéria: No, they are foreigners. But you can understand what they say.

Interviewer: You can? Maybe they've been here for some time.

D. Quitéria: No, not even a year.

Interviewer: Not even a year?

D. Quitéria: No, just a little while ago. On the other door, there are also two boys who are also nice.

(Interview with D. Quitéria, July 2022)[21]

"Tom L: I also have good relations with the neighbours. Not at the beginning! They didn't like me... I think I'm the only young person on the street. Most of the people are a bit older, they've been living there for a long time.

Interviewer: Why didn't they like you?

Tom L.: When you land, you make noise, Brazilians speak loudly. Then you have some friends, two... but not to make a fuss, to disrespect. In my perception, it was simply a place to meet friends and so on. And for the folks,

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[20] Resident population of Santo António Parish decrease from 11836 to 11074 persons. (Data available at https://censos.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpgid=censos21_populacao&xpid=CENSOS21). The Portuguese census defines 'resident population' as the inhabitants who have their main residence situated in the local parish.

[21] An excerpt of the interview to D. Quitéria is available at https://saojose.huma-num.fr [Itinerary Transform].

it is annoying when someone new arrives. But I got into small talk, at Christmas we hand over the bottle, "look here, Merry Christmas". Now they are all friends, they come to my house. It's like I said, talking. I have a good relationship with everyone, I would describe it like this now. I have a good relationship with everyone, now everyone is a friend."
(Interview with Tom L, January 2022)

These two forms of tension were resolved in everyday life. Long-term resident D. Quitéria engaged in new friendly relations with nearby recent foreign residents, and, reversely, recently-migrant resident Tom L. cultivated good community relations.

The increase in urban waste, with the growing tourism, has challenged municipal powers and management, environmental proposals and everyday urban practices concerning the occupation of public space. Waste management needs have changed due to the growth of hotels and short-term private accommodation, with challenges heightened by the division of functions between municipal powers (city council and parish council). Daily tensions related to the use of public space arise in a neighbourhood where it is scarce and in permanent dispute. This tension concerning the degradation of the public space brought about by the increased tourism is attested by the open letter to the President of the Parish, in 2016.[22]

V. Focus Group: boost collaborative reflection around the neighbourhood

In April 2022, ZERO, in close collaboration with CRIA, the project started to develop a group dynamic activity, in Focus Group (FG) format, which would enable interaction between those directly involved in the project and those who had a direct connection to the neighbourhood. The main objective was to identify the role of tourism in the transformation of Santo António neighbourhood through different points of view, which also represented different relationships and experiences with this neighbourhood in Lisbon.

ZERO organized and facilitated the FG: secured the venue together with Santo António Parish Council (Arquitecto Cosmelli Sant'Anna Library - BACS), prepared the script and the necessary materials for the session, and formalized the invitations to participants, a total of 7:

- Frédéric Vidal | CRIA - ISCTE-IUL & UAL
- Elisa Lopes da Silva | CRIA – ISCTE-IUL
- Susana Fonseca | ZERO
- Tom | Owner of a cafe-restaurant on R. Santa Marta (interviewee)
- Paulo | UAL student
- Islene | Foreign resident in Santo António (ZERO) (urban walk)
- Mariana| Resident born in Santo António (interviewee)

The selection criteria for the participants were defined in order to form a group of members with different types of relations with the neighbourhood and associated with different project partners. It was also considered the continuity of involvement in project activities, such as interviews or visits that had previously been carried out.

The FG took place on May 11, 2022, lasting about 2 hours (from 6 pm to 8 pm) with the facilitation of a ZERO member (Susana Valente) and the presence of Camilo Léon-Quijano (CNRS), who ensured the image and sound recordings.

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[22] Source: https://www.noticiasaominuto.com/pais/564995/ruas-adjacentes-a-avenida-da-liberdade-parecem-uma-favela

A script was designed to foster interaction and dialogue between participants on a set of issues aligned with the project's objectives; the script articulates methodological approaches to visual anthropology (using local photographs and even photographs taken in other project activities - ethnographic walk - to encourage sharing and common reflection).

5.1. Data produced in the context of the FG

At the beginning of the FG, participants were asked to define and characterize their local relationship and experience with the neighbourhood. These narratives revealed a to be a rich source of knowledge, conveying details about the members' everyday experience and showed a strong emotional bond with the place, becoming a specific point of content analysis. The mention of tourism during open conversation will be analysed later on in the report.
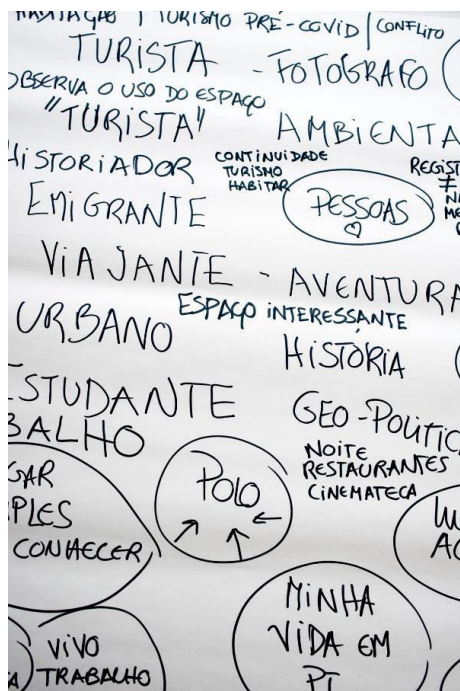
Photograph taken by Camilo León-Quijano

Roles experienced in the neighbourhood by the participants

- Local catering entrepreneur
- Local Resident born and raised in the neighbourhood
- Long-term foreign local resident
- Student at UAL university in the neighbourhood
- Works in the neighbourhood
- Ethnographic researcher within COESO
- Regular customer of neighbourhood restaurants
- Consumer in local stores
- Mother of a child who attends a local school
- Local gym goer
- National tourist

The participants claim a relationship of well-being and a positive perception of their local daily life. For those who have "always been residents" the dominant emotion is "feeling at home". Also, for those who are immigrants and have lived or worked in the neighbourhood for a shorter period of time, this is also the predominant emotion. They also describe this relationship as "feeling welcomed", "belonging to the local community", "it's my family".[23]

Reference was made to the fact that residents of this neighbourhood, due to its centrality in the city, are used to interacting with those who come from 'outside' - from another part of the city, from Lisbon Metropolitan Area (AML), from another part of Portugal or from another country. The attitude of those who live there is "to welcome" outsiders. Participants recognize and appreciate the centrality of this place and acknowledge it as a multicultural space.

The neighbourhood is also appreciated for offering a variety of services and public spaces, covering the basic needs of everyday life with shops, schools, clinics, green areas, cultural centres, restaurants, etc.

In this context of experiences, they recognize a growth in tourism in the last decade and its impact on the city. They refer to aspects such as the high cost of living and housing prices, as well as the proliferation of apartments licenced as short-term rental accommodation. The main effect of this transformation of the city's economy, associated with the tourism boom, was to 'expel' certain residents (low-income people) or certain types of commerce ('historic' retail stores). Added to this, there is a new type of rhythm/schedule conflict between residents and tourists on vacation.

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[23] All photographs were made by Camilo León-Quijano, unless otherwise stated.

In order to deepen the knowledge and dialogue between the participants about their views on the neighbourhood, the ZERO team selected a set of 37 photographs from the collection of photographic images shot by the participant of the ethnographic walk (October 2021) that provided a comprehensive view of the neighbourhood. Each participant was asked to choose 2 photos - one that symbolized something they liked about the neighbourhood and another that symbolized something they didn't like. A space for sharing about the meaning of their choices was opened, appealing to a more affective and emotional component of the relationship with the place.

When asked about what they appreciated in the neighbourhood, there were systematic references to the architectural heritage and the ability to receive people associated with the neighbourhood centrality (aspects already mentioned above). In turn, concerning what they did not like, focus group members referred to a 'certain solidarity' that had been lost, the disappearance of a 'certain way of life', disconnections and problems associated with traffic and mobility.

1. Multicultural and social diversity
2. Typical neighbourhood buildings landscape
3. Food that unites
4. Neighbourhood life

1. Abandonment of certain places and disappearance of a certain way of life
2. Elite luxury that socially separates/excludes
3. Disrespect for public space (graffiti and scooters, tuk took, parking)
4. Traffic and noise

In this context of "likes and dislikes", the 'invasion' of public space was one of the negative effects associated with mobility (traffic, noise, parking, scooters), which was often related to tourism.

Following the group dynamics and appealing to the more analytical side of the participants, they were asked to identify positive and negative aspects of the neighbourhood, summarised below.

Positive aspects
- Centrality
- Multiculturalism
- Green, cultural, leisure and catering public spaces
- Space for everyday interaction (work, tourism, study, family, generations)
- Typical landscapes and urban rehabilitation
- Sense of community and neighbourhood
- Easy to walk
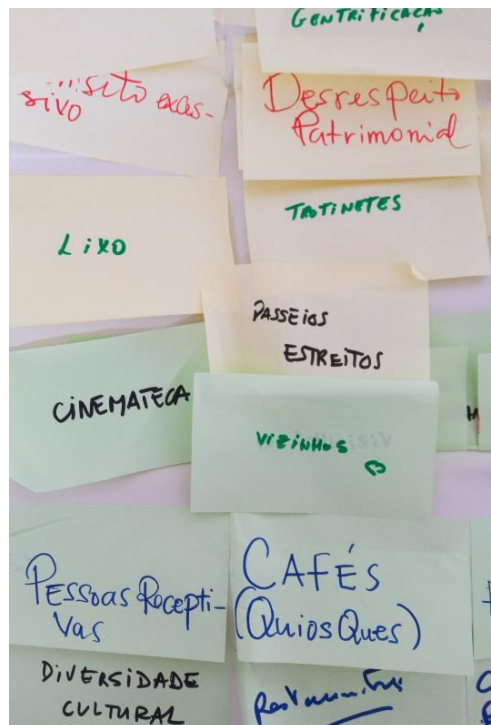
Negative aspects
- Traffic and noise
- Mess (cars on the sidewalk, abandoned scooters, etc.)
- Urban decline (sidewalks with holes, vandalism of buildings))
- Rubbish on the street and collection problems
- High housing prices and cost of living
- Outflow of people and local merchants due to the local price increase
- Gentrification

At this point, the explicit reference to tourism stood out, especially linked to the negative side of the high cost of housing, which made it unfeasible for several residents to continue residing in the neighbourhood. At the same time, the positive impact of tourism on the urban rehabilitation of buildings that has been consolidated in recent years is recognized, with fewer abandoned and degraded buildings, although some are empty because of their very high price.

5.2. Reflection on the FG as an opportunity for collaboration

This activity was explicitly directed at offering an opportunity for a mutual learning exercise, COESO's guiding approach, which aims to develop collaborative approaches between the sphere of research and knowledge and other spheres of society.

This type of methodological approach of the FG was chosen by ZERO with the intention of not only identifying the diversity of perceptions and experiences in the neighbourhood and crossing this diversity with the theme of tourism, but also of creating a collective moment of knowledge construction that involves different entities and local actors.

In addition to identifying positive and negative aspects of the neighbourhood and crossing these aspects with tourism, this inclusive approach of qualitative methodologies promoted group dynamics that were recognized by the participants themselves as an opportunity to build mutual knowledge and to experience the community.

"Community", "Communion", "Union", and "Knowledge" were the keywords that defined, on a personal level, the spirit created in this meeting and are inspiring to continue this type of approach based on an organic involvement of different stakeholders, united by the interest of local well-being and quality of life – "we are learning a lot from each other".

5.3. Content analysis and definition of potential action axes

Following the analysis of the data on the positive and negative aspects identified by the participants, the ZERO team created 4 large clusters that are a potential basis for work, namely in the alignment of some proposed solutions or strategic recommendations to improve or balance tourism activity with the neighbourhood's local life, and with the dynamics of the city of Lisbon in general.

The 4 clusters are:

- Mobility
- Use of public space
- Economic transformations
- Neighbourhood community

The following table shows the aspects identified by the FG participants, both positive and negative, which embody each of these areas of action. In general, all aspects articulate with each other and in some cases, it was even justified to place the same aspect in more than one cluster.

Clusters	Positive and negative aspects
Mobility	Easy to walk on foot (everything close)	Centrality	Excessive traffic	Cars everywhere	Cars on the sidewalk	Noise associated with traffic	Waiting time at traffic lights for pedestrians	Logistics and transit	Scooters
Use of public space	Public space Gardens and green spaces	Torel and Campo Santana	Cultural Diversity	Multicultural	Different people	Diversity in everyday social interaction	Leisure places	Fine restaurants and cafes	Scooters (abandoned)	Mess	Difficulty getting to the centre and complicated for trade	Logistics and transit	Property disrespect for buildings	Sidewalk, sidewalk with holes, poorly maintained	Narrow sidewalks for strolling	Waste (problems with collection, excessive presence on the street, torn bags, etc.)
Economic transformations	Typical landscapes	Typical catering	Careful urban rehabilitation	Good restaurants and cafes	Abandonment of certain stores	Elitist luxury	Only invoice	Price increase (tourism)	High housing price	Tourism as a form of pressure (expelled residents and businesses)	Gentrification and people forced to leave the neighbourhood
Neighbourhood community	Community feeling	Torel, Campo Santana and Cinematheque	Cultural Diversity	Multicultural	Different people	Diversity in everyday social interaction	Multipurpose neighbourhoods (work, leisure, family and everyday life, commerce, etc.)	Neighbours in the heart	Interactivity initiatives between generations	Positive people	Lack of nightlife	disconnection between generations

Several of the aspects highlighted are directly or indirectly related to tourism in the neighbourhood. Throughout the FG we recorded when the participants directly made this bridge by addressing their experience and more emotional or analytical view of the neighbourhood.

Main aspects articulated with tourism?

- High cost of living and housing (-)
- Conflicts because of parties at local accommodation (-)
- "Eviction" of former residents and closure of a certain type of local "aged" trade (-)
- Urban rehabilitation of the buildings (+)
- Tourist social reception capacity (+)
- Scooters, tuk-tuk invasion of public space (-)

Faced with these clusters, which can be assumed as axes, how to intervene? What concrete actions and who to involve in the implementation of the solutions? And regarding the positive aspects, what could be even better? What can be the main lines of action that most promote sustainable tourism (social, economic, and environmental)? These are some questions on which stakeholder engagement can bring some light and new and realist visions. For this matter, engaging with local entities is an important step to take.

VI. Shared reflections on the Pilot 1 results with the President of the Parish Council

On 12 December 2022, at the Arquitecto Cosmelli Sant'Anna Library (BACS), ZERO, in close collaboration with CRIA, promoted a reflection and debate session in the project's final phase with the President of Santo António Parish Council, one of Pilot 1's local partners.

After a brief description of the project's path and highlighting some of the data collected from neighbourhood residents/users, the session focused on the tourism challenges to the neighbourhood and, in general, to the city of Lisbon.

History was recalled by the President of the Parish Council. Until 2010, tourism was restricted to the Avenida da Liberdade hotels. It was in 2015, with the boom in short-term rental accommodation, that the dynamics and experience changed, making tourism a 'political problem' debated in the public sphere. In was then that the President of the Parish Council was seen in a large-audience television debate show, talking about housing problems: the imbalance of 80% of local dwelling being converted into short-term rental accommodation and the total absence of its regulation. The Parish Council president has been cultivating a close relationship with the media, which provides public support and media coverage to his political views, but, in his opinion, the financial interests involved in this area blocked the desired change.

Once a week, all the Lisbon Parish Councils have a legal mechanism to debate their local issues at a Municipal Assembly. However, according to the President of the Parish Council, this does not mean that they are really heard by the overarching municipal council. In 2015, Santo António Parish Council together with Santa Maria Mayor Parish Council confronted Lisbon City Council (CML).

At that time, there was a large increase in complaints and feelings of insecurity, especially by the elderly population. It was at this stage that a Compendium of Complaints was drawn up to be taken to the Municipal Assembly. There were several attempts to regulate short-term rental accommodation in the neighbourhood, but for a long time nothing was achieved. Despite the request to the City Council to create regulation for this matter, financial and party interests prevailed. Short-term accommodation means more incoming money (fees) for CML, which led to "blind" approvals which were justified by the urban rehabilitation opportunities.

The President of the Parish Council identifies the lack of political courage and the logic of small power that are installed at myriad levels of political power, associated with the lack of adequate enforcement and a bureaucratic system of denouncement/complaint that deters ordinary citizens.

In this context, the Parish Council provided legal support to citizens (mainly older and less literate) in a "guerrilla" phase against many landlords who wanted their tenants to leave their houses to transform them into short-term accommodation, a more profitable activity than long-term rental.

Another impact of short-term accommodation is reflected in the impact on infrastructures, for example plumbing or waste collection. In the case of plumbing, it is more invisible. For instance, a 3-bedroom property can accommodate 20 beds in short-term rentals, which has an obvious impact on the system and structure of the building. In the case of waste, it is more visible on the streets – tourism does not have timetables – and rubbish is placed on the street at any time when tourists leave the place.

The short-term accommodation tourism model favours a younger type of tourism and the so-called 'street tourism'. The hotel tourism model has a different dynamic, because it has its own regulations, provides local employment and, at the same time, the tourist profile boosts local commerce and restaurants.

From the perspective of the President of the Parish Council, it is important for the city to promote tourism that attracts tourists to return by investment in cultural tourism. This is the solution so that the tourism economy is not held hostage to hospitality, food and good weather.

This Parish Council prioritizes culture at the budget level. Its cultural programmes are designed for the parish and its inhabitants, not for the entire city. Only in partnership projects or under specific protocols do they cover more territory and, in this context, they may be able to use differentiated skills that they do not usually have in their staff. There is also a very clear focus on serving those who live in the parish and a clear distancing from tourist needs. The cultural program, as well as the services provided, are designed for those who live permanently in the parish.

In the President of the Parish Council´s vision, what are the main restraints to a more balance tourism?

- Good laws, but no enforcement.
- Law is not adapted to reality, lack of 'common sense'.
- "Public policies" are lagging behind societal development (a typical example is the procurement procedure for public purchases).
- The 'small powers' are stronger than the face of the political representatives; when they don't want to do it, they don't do it.
- Experts / universities are also sometimes out of touch with reality (reference to the case of traffic changes that led traffic to where people live, with the ensuing air and noise pollution, accentuated by the narrow streets, which does not facilitate air circulation and traffic flow).

And, what to do in the future to improve the tourism?

- Ability to adapt: if the dynamic has changed, cities must adapt.
- To make a difference, the Parish Council would need, above all, a larger budget that would allow it to increase enforcement powers with the capacity to act and to fine.
- Improve the way Lisbon receive tourists – how do they get here, what transport do they use, who gives them the 'key' and city rules?
- Be more radical in terms of mobility, particularly in some central axes of the parish – allow only residents, services, public transport and be mainly a pedestrian zone (this decision cannot be taken yet because things are not yet prepared in terms of public transport and parking outside the city).
- Assure the sidewalk for people to actually walk, increase 'common sense' in the use of public space, such as open-air cafe licences.
- Limits on the amount of tourists/accommodation by zone.

VII. Conclusion: what have we learnt?

This report on the pilot project "Mass tourism's impact on urban communities" presented phases of a research pathway that mobilized different levels of participatory and collaborative approaches. The Lisbon Tourism Observatory was conceived as a forum of discussion between researchers from CRIA and ZERO members, gradually opened to other kind of collaboration (with for example São José inhabitants and local traders, UAL students, Parish Council representatives).

This collaborative investigation led CRIA researchers and ZERO members to collect and analyse personal stories, lived experience accounts, social and media representations and political actions through participatory methods: archival research, guided tours, semi-structured interviews, ethnographic walks, focus group, workshop, etc. These experimental methods led to a partial and fragmented knowledge of the effects of tourism on the transformation of daily uses of urban space in Lisbon's Santo António Parish. This approach and the collected narratives help us to better understand how the presence of tourists and other short-term residents in the city may have had a lasting effect in transforming urban spaces, landscape and urban sociability altogether. Impact and perception of tourism depend on the opportunity that tourism and tourist gaze represent for city dwellers. In this neighbourhood, inhabitants learnt how to engage with tourists and tourism.

During this collaborative investigation, ZERO defended a holistic and inclusive vision of the challenges caused by mass tourism in Lisbon, focusing on the relationship between local tourist practices and their overall and environmental impact.[24] ZERO activism is mainly directed towards lobbying political representatives and institutions at municipal, national and European levels supported by its own studies on diverse sustainability issues. However, in the different phases of the project, ZERO experimented and examined new forms of dialogue and involvement with local communities, elected representatives and stakeholders. Avoiding the risk of being 'office environmentalists' meant experiencing the problems of everyday life. This direct knowledge promoted a more structured, inclusive and realistic environmental activism. For example, urban walks were one of the very interesting moments as a space for dialogue and involvement with the local reality. Along the walk, in dialogue with the President of the Parish Council, it was very interesting to see how perspectives on the impact of mass tourism in that area of the city could be aligned - problems associated with local accommodation and its interaction with the rhythms of the residents and working in that area. A new relationship was created with local entities, namely with the Parish Council that could continue, for example, with the use of the space for actions or meetings fostered by ZERO. There is an ongoing project with young people in Lisbon that could benefit from this new relationship.

This report ultimately opens a discussion on challenges, limits and benefits represented by the use of collaborative research methods for the study of tourism in an urban context. The main conclusion is that participatory research is particularly suited to the study of tourist practices. As a people-centred experience, the study of tourism has benefited from methods and techniques that encourage subjective expression, participant engagement and involvement, and, thus, could recognise multiple discourses (Westwood Morgan Pritchard 2006). Participatory techniques have revealed hidden information from the participants' perspective and included their reflexivity in the processes that they are involved in. It can also open a space for sharing opportunities and solutions, which benefit from the knowledge of all members of different communities.

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[24] "A encruzilhada do turismo", *Cidade (in)visível. Turismo e outras práticas urbanas*. Available at: https://civtur.hypotheses.org/176

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