

# **The impact of overtourism on architecture and urban space in historic cities: an understudied phenomenon**

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## **Abstract**

Since the massive scale of urban tourism (at the end of the 20th century), which caused an exponential increase of visitors to cities, the density of tourist activity in historic boroughs has come to cause strong tourist pressure on the grid and buildings of these spaces. Motivated by local policies, which promote tourist attraction and expansion, this monoculture results in a simplification of the way in which urban centres operate. Beyond the academic acceptance of the concept of overtourism, the aim of this study is to lay the foundations to delve into a dimension of such impact that is barely explored: the influences of overtourism on the architecture and urban space of historic centres, affecting functionality, space, buildings, and urban landscape. In other words, the elements of heritage. The study of the state of the art on tourism and touristification in historic cities has made it

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possible to document the impacts of overtourism that affect the architectural and urban component of heritage cities mentioned in the scientific literature. This analysis reveals a significant lack of studies that address overtourism from the point of view of architecture and urban space and show the relevance of the subject.

**Keywords:** Architecture and Urbanism; Historic City Centres; Tourist Monoculture; Tourist Space; Touristification; Urban Tourism.

## 1 Introduction

The tourism-city nexus does not have a clear origin. Although “the journey” exists from classical antiquity, and the beginning of this phenomenon could be placed in the first journeys of the Renaissance in search of knowledge. In the mid-19th century, tourism was an activity that spread gradually. This concept is rooted in a very old idea of travelling, which entailed the traveller yearning to explore “remote” cultures and civilisations. From that moment on, “urban tourism” was consolidated as a new concept. The 20th century witnessed a gradual rise in this phenomenon that became modern tourism. Associated with the progressive well-being of growing areas of the world (Rivera and Rodríguez, 2012), the so-called urban tourism is gradually popularised, where the city, in its historical, monumental, patrimonial and cultural aspect, becomes the main attraction of the trip (Law, 1993) (Cazes et al., 1996). Thus, must be added the interest of tourist on anthropological manifestations (García Hernández et al., 2019), who find them in the city, or at least a deproblematized substitute. Nowadays, the popularity and accessibility of the phenomenon has caused tourism to increase, in many destinations, to a high overcrowding that affects the functionality of the city and its own architectural and urban elements that define it. This was reflected in the fact that this issue also impacts on the “right to the city”, a concept coined by Lefebvre (1968, 1976, 2013). His work can be considered the basis of all the studies on the injustices through socio-spatial processes and the transformation of social spaces, developed due to an accelerated growth of tourism and overtourism (Diaz-Parra & Jover, 2020).

The meaning of two basic concepts (overtourism and touristification) must be clarified for the development of this research. Overtourism refers to the negative impact of tourist concentration in local territories and communities (Capocchi et al., 2019). Touristification is related to the transformation of a territory due to overtourism or tourist activity. This definition has been used since the end of the 20th century in a purely geographical context and not with the negative approach of gentrification and tourism phobia that became associated with it later (Ojeda et al., 2020). In this research, this current connoted meaning, which implies the transformations that affect the tourist environment, will be used.

In many European cities, as well as in other regions, tourist activity tends to be concentrated in historic centres, where the city has a greater patrimonial load (de la Calle, 2019). This is precisely the nucleus that holds a large part of the historical and patrimonial values of the cities, due to chronological decantation, and which also represents them and constitutes their identity. The growth of tourism is reducing, in many cases, the functionality of this space to a mere tourist attraction. As the same author indicated, this process implies a functional transformation of a fragment of the city, in which those activities are linked to the visitors' consumption. In these cases, one can speak of "tourism impacts" as changes and problems that occur in an environment after this activity takes place (Geoffrey, 2002).

This touristification of historic boroughs has notable repercussions on architecture and cities, though insufficiently analysed and categorised. It is a phenomenon of outsourcing and specialisation capable of transforming the historic urban landscape and changing existing uses, modifying architectural typologies and morphologies (potentially valuable and, in any case, constitutive of a previous environment). These modifications have a negative impact on the functional balance of cities, especially on dwellings, compromising their habitability. As the Charter on Cultural Tourism (1976) stated:

Tourism is an irreversible social, human, economic and cultural fact. Its influence in the sphere of monuments and sites is particularly important and can but increase because of the known conditions of that activity's development.

Likewise, the International Cultural Tourism Charter (1999) stated:

Excessive or poorly managed tourism and tourism related development can threaten their physical nature, integrity and significant characteristics. The ecological setting, culture and lifestyles of host communities may also be degraded, along with the visitor's experience of the place.

As in the same charter it is defined, the heritage concept is understood as that which "includes the natural as well as the cultural environment" and "encompasses landscapes, historic places, sites and built environments". It is observed that the authors who have studied the phenomenon of overtourism indicate several impacts. Each of these impacts could be described in a list of specific conditions, which can also be generic or characteristic of one city or another.

In this research we are talking about historic centers which are characterized, particularly in Europe, for being large containers of heritage, hence the concept of architectural heritage must also be considered and defined. As we can extract from the European Charter for Architectural Heritage (1975), it is formed by our monuments and the ensembles that constitute our cities and our traditional towns in their natural environment or built. Possesses a common patrimony of all peoples and that, therefore, its preservation requires the effective solidarity of European States.

The benefits of tourism cannot be denied in terms of income and employment, although it could be a controversial issue regarding the distribution of these benefits and the percentage of local repercussion (Milne and Ateljevic, 2001). When tourism becomes touristification, however, it also produces negative effects borne by the physical and cultural environment and the inhabitants themselves (Troitiño, 1998) (Mínguez et al., 2019). As there is no single model of tourist-historic city (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2000), the level of this transformation does not affect all cities equally. It varies depending on the magnitude of the tourist activity in relation to the size and population structure of the city itself and the economic power that flows from its other activities (the same tourist flow would not affect Berlin or San Gimignano in the same way, for example). Especially relevant are the degree of accessibility by air of the city or the layout of a cruise port; the characteristics of each historic centre; the level of dissemination of its tourist image in foreign markets and, of course, the role that local governments play in managing this activity (de la Calle, 2019).

The different characteristics and settings that make up the historic cities cause an uneven distribution of tourist pressure in the urban space. In this sense, the concentration of the activity generates the so-called tourist space or district. In this field, the studies by Judd (1999) on the "tourist bubble" or Pearce (1998, 1999) on tourist districts in large polycentric urban areas stand out, with the city of Paris as a model. These publications and some cited below are not listed among those assessed because their contributions are very specific and/or structural, though important in the definition of the mentioned criteria. It is specifically in these touristified spaces of the ancient city where these impacts become more evident, due to its peculiar urban fabric, resulting from realities and processes very different from the contemporary ones. They are also very recognisable tourist environments, not only by the concentration of tourists, but also by the appearance of elements intended exclusively for the visitor: signs, advertisements, "free tours", Segway tours, horse-drawn carriages, terraces and an extensive hotel offer. All these elements coincide with those of the tourism system analysed by López et al. (2011).

Despite the difficulty of determining the origin of this process, de la Calle (2019) identifies three vectors as triggers for the touristification of urban centres: urban policies aimed at generating economic growth through the attractiveness of the city, promoting emblematic operations, infrastructure improvement and major events; the marketing approach in tourism policies after the financial crisis, as tourism was one of the few sectors that maintained its level of activity; and the economic recovery after the 2008 crisis and its subsequent management (Zavos et al., 2017), where the demand for tourism has maintained constant growth.

As de la Calle (2019) concludes, or Knafou (1996) anticipated, the irruption of low-cost airlines is very important in the increase in tourist traffic after reducing the final cost of travel (Saladié et al., 2014), plus the cost reduction of the stay due to online platforms, such as Airbnb, the existence of "free tours" and the acceleration of a new urban mobility (Uber, Cabify and Segway tours). That is, an increase in supply and demand motivated by low-cost. These facts have been reflected in the cities and caused the congestion of the historic urban centres, the trivialization of its symbolic image (González, 2016) and the increase in tourist

space. This is due, among other factors, to the flexibility of housing for tourist uses and the increase in hotel accommodation.

The origins of overtourism and the consequent touristification, as well as its economic and social aspects, have a growing line of research (Capocchi et al., 2019) (Dodds and Butler, 2019). However, when information referring to the field of architecture and urban space has attempted to be obtained, the scarcity of studies on the subject has been verified. Added to this drawback is the existence of a significant dispersion and repetition in the related works that contain relevant information in this regard. Although the appearance of the first studies of the impact of tourism appeared in the third quarter of the 20th century (Forster, 1964) (Doxey, 1975), it is not until the end of the latter when some contributions that refer to our field of study can be identified. In this sense, some of the authors have subsequently developed studies that raise the implications of this binomial, associated with the sustainability of the tourism phenomenon (Sánchez-Montañés, 2000, 2009) and found studies associated with urban growth and architectural formalisation linked to tourism from the last century in works of a more historiographical nature (de Lacour-Jiménez et al., 2010) (González-Martínez et al., 2007) (Loren-Méndez, 2007, 2014) (Loren-Méndez et al. , 2013a, 2013b, 2018). However, neither of these approaches include the effects of overtourism on the city.

The research of Troitiño (1995, 1998) on tourism in historic centres was the first in which some of the traces that tourism causes on the architecture and urban space of cities are mentioned, collected as cultural or functional impacts. Contemporaneously, van der Borg et al. (1996) analysed the benefits and costs of tourism in seven European heritage cities (Aix-en-Provence, Amsterdam, Bruges, Florence, Oxford, Salzburg and Venice), considering sustainable terms and assessing their management, urban and patrimonial integrity and the quality of life of their residents. Impacts such as congestion of public space, outsourcing, gentrification and loss of patrimonial integrity were identified. De la Calle (2019) is the author who has come closest to the phenomenon we are studying, which is why the references are repeated in this article. The other publications that note these impacts appear in the 21st century, most of them attending to specific case studies. Likewise, the studies that analyse the opinions of residents of touristified areas are of interest. These reveal the evolution of the

phenomenon from a local perspective, the impacts caused and their attitudes towards visitors. In this sense, studies such as those of Postma and Schmuecker (2017), Seraphin et al. (2020) and Szromek et al. (2020) have played an important role. There is also an important discursive debate around urban tourism, confronting its traditional defenders with a very diverse set of social and neighborhood movements, analyzed by Barrado-Timón & Hidalgo-Giralt (2019) using methods of Corpus Linguistics (CL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to consider the tourist references that have appeared in the written press in the last fifteen years, taking as almost a study in the Madrid neighborhood of Lavapiés.

Due to the lack of a specific bibliography on the topic (architectural and urban impacts of touristification), the novelty of our contribution is based on the identification of its characteristics, which makes relevant identifying the existing gaps, being the knowledge of the state of the art of the argumentation that is proposed the main question of the article. This same bibliographic scarcity justifies the relatively small number of articles that we have been able to include in the Results section. Since the literature existing so far is limited, the following methodology would share parameters with the reviews but emphasising a critical approach to emerging theories as well as own contributions. It is intended to systematize the theoretical corpus that lays the foundations of discourse to address the issue of the conditions that concern us.

## **2 Objectives**

The main objective of this article is to understand the importance of the effects of overtourism on the urban and architectural dimensions of the historic city. Second to this, another objective is to identify the main gaps in this subject in order to propose future studies. To fulfil such objectives, it summarises and organises the scarce published material on the subject and introduces a critical approach. Touristification constitutes a theme around which many critical academic currents have emerged, some of them markedly activist (de la Calle, 2019), because the analysis of overtourism reveals negative impacts on the city.

As a by-product of the main objective, and beyond selecting, ordering and defining the references that evaluate the effects of touristification on the historic city, this study gathers what has been written up to this moment, systematises the results of that information and



lays the documentary bases for future studies on the issue, which is highly relevant and necessary for the management of urban centres. These future works will focus on a specific territory as case study. They may support with data the impacts collected in the discourse analysis carried out in this work, which will provide a new guide to measure the levels of impact in a tourist destination, as identified by Glasson et al. in 1995.

### **3 Methodology**

For this research, the first tool for the knowledge of the state of the art has been a review through relevant publications on tourism and touristification in historic cities, as well as others that, although less specific, address some of the aspects of the phenomenon with sufficient interest. It falls on the negative impacts and sift the readings from an urban and architectural perspective, as the concrete framework of our study. It is also reviewed what interests on the subject have moved scholars and what issues are being pointed out to in their research.

The methodology (Figure 1), is developed according to the following phases:

- Selection of relevant publications after the new emergence of urban tourism at the end of the 20th century.
- Extraction of significant data from each selected publication.
- Cross-reference to find relationships between the selected publications and create a defined publication corpus.
- Analysis and evaluation of recurring keywords and concepts to create a concept map.
- Extraction and assessment of data related to the focus of our research from every publication.

The assessment has been done on publications accessible to international researchers to be a point of reference and able to form a body of knowledge useful as a source of information and a basis for future updates.

- Phase 1. The analysed literature has been identified through the main expert data bases: the WOS and Scopus bibliographic databases; the academic search engine Google Scholar; the academic social network ResearchGate and through the review

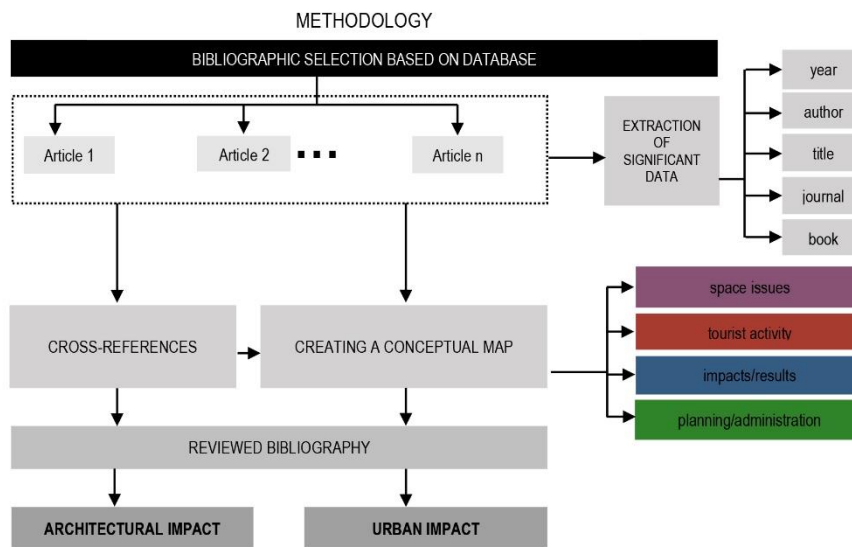


of the references included in the most widespread and accessible documents. The selection of these documents starts from the inclusion of the studies that address the analysis of tourism in cities and historic centres and of those that study the impacts of tourism or touristification on cities, whether they provide quantified data or not. On the impact of overtourism on architecture and urban space in historic cities.

- Phase 2. The publications selected in Table 1 are ordered, according to the following structure and data: year; author/s; title of the research and title of the scientific medium (magazines and books). Thus, is grouped the relevant publications to be reviewed in our article in chronological order.
- Phase 3. After grouping the relevant sources and prior to study their content, it has been proceeded to analyse the existing relationships between the publications based on the cross-references included in the documents in Figure 2. Then, the publications are collected in the figure by author and date and sorted again in chronological order. The cross-referencing is carried out by checking whether in each publication exist citations of the previous texts in the table.
- Phase 4. It is carried out in the Figure 3 an evaluation of the articles' keywords to determine the specific field of research of each publication selected in the review. They are arranged alphabetically into four conceptual families, accompanied by their frequency of use. They have been extracted from twenty-seven of the final articles selected in the review, (neither of the two chapters included or the communication to congress contain keywords). For a better comparison, all the keywords have been translated into English, the most frequent language of the analysed articles.
- Phase 5. In this final phase, the data of interest to our study are extracted from the selected publications for the development of the research result. The content related to architectural, urban or hybrid impacts (those that can be classified as both architectural and urban) is arranged in Table 2 and is included in the Results section, responding to the following structure:  
  
(1) Architectural impacts/Year and Author(s); (2) Urban impacts/Year and Author(s);  
(3) Hybrid impacts/Year and Author(s).

Some impacts have been included that do not have a direct approach to architecture and urban planning but that need to be analyzed because they affect the study and conception of the city.

**Figure 1. Scheme of the Methodology.**



Source: Authors.

## 4 Results

Applying this methodology, it has been observed that the concept "tourism" constitutes a field that allows multiple points of view and can be studied from many academic branches. However, after analysing the selected literature, it observes that so far there is a lack of studies approached from Architecture and Urban Space and the few related ideas that appear in the texts are repetitive. The very concept of "negative impacts of tourism", despite being a widely studied phenomenon in the 20th century, has had very little revision from the architectural and urban point of view. This fact opens the opportunity to explore this specific aspect, the importance and implications of which have been posed in the introduction of this research. At the same time, it highlights the need for a much more purposeful approach than a standard literature review would have.

Considering the date of publication, the bibliographic framework covers a period from 1995 to 2022. It begins at the end of the 20th century coinciding with a "boom" in urban tourism and ends in the new era of touristification. The exploration carried out does not yield a

previous corpus of publications with the approach that it is proposed. Despite the temporal variation of the publications, similar problems have been occurring regularly. It is also recognizable how the rise of overtourism in recent years has been reflected in the publication's increase on the subject. Despite the fact that our first intention was to focus the analysis on general studies applied to urban centres of historic cities, and not on case studies, the aforementioned bibliographic paucity forced us to open up the field of study towards research that focuses its analysis on specific case studies of historic European cities, where similar impacts can be seen, such as the case of Barcelona (Milano, 2018); Granada (Rodríguez et al., 2018; Salguero et al., 2019); Madrid (de la Calle et al., 2018; de la Calle, 2020); Málaga (Barrera-Fernández et al., 2016; Marín et al., 2017; Barrera-Fernández et al., 2019); San Sebastián (García et al., 2017); Seville (Barrero, 2019; Mínguez et al., 2019; Diaz-Parra and Jover, 2020; Jover and Diaz-Parra, 2020) and Toledo (Escudero et al., 2019) in Spain, Dubrovnik (Panayiotopoulos and Pisano, 2019) in Croatia, Hamburg (Postma and Schmuecker, 2017) in Germany, Florence (Loda et al., 2020) and Venice (Russo, 2002; Milano, 2018); Seraphin et al., 2018) in Italy, Kraków (Szromek et al., 2020) in Poland or Lisbon (Nofre and Sequera, 2019) in Portugal.

The selected publications are listed in Table 1 in chronological order, which shows for each study: the year; the authors; the title of the research and the title of the scientific media (journal in general) in which it is included.

**Table 1. Summary of the selected literature.**

	Author(s)	Year	Title	Journal	Book
1	M. A. Troitiño Vinuesa	1995	El turismo en las ciudades históricas	POLÍGONOS, Revista de Geografía	-
2	J. van der Borg P. Costa G.Gotti	1996	Tourism in European heritage cities	Annals of Tourism Research	-
3	M. A. Troitiño Vinuesa	1998	Turismo y desarrollo sostenible en ciudades históricas	Ería: Revista cuatrimestral de geografía	-
4	M. Delgado	2002	Los efectos sociales y culturales del turismo en las ciudades históricas	Congreso Internacional sobre el desarrollo turístico integral de ciudades monumentales*	
5	A.P. Russo	2002	The "Vicious Circle" of Tourism Development in Heritage Cities	Annals of Tourism Research	-

6	M. A. Williams	2010	Mass tourism, culture and the historic city	Rivista di Scienze del Turismo	-
7	D. Barrera-Fernández E. M. Acevedo Salomao L. Arista Castillo	2014	Tourist use of historic cities: Review of international agreements and literature	International Humanities Studies	-
8	D. Barrera-Fernández M. Hernández-Escampa A. Balbuena	2016	Tourism management in historic cities. The impact of Urban Planning policies	International Journal of Scientific Management and Tourism	-
9	M. García Hernández M. de la Calle Vaquero C. Yubero	2017	Cultural Heritage and Urban Tourism: Historic City Centres under Pressure	Sustainability	-
10	P. Marín Cots A. Guevara Plaza E. Navarro Jurado	2017	Renovación urbana y masificación turística en la ciudad antigua: pérdida de población y conflictos sociales	Ciudad y Territorio. Estudios Territoriales	-
11	A. Postma D. Schmuecker	2017	Understanding and overcoming negative impacts of tourism in city destinations: conceptual model and strategic framework	Journal of Tourism Futures	-
12	M. de la Calle Vaquero E. Ferreiro Calzada S. Mendoza de Miguel	2018	Concentración y desconcentración de la actividad turística sobre el espacio urbano: Reflexiones en torno a Madrid	Polígonos, Revista de Geografía	-
13	K. Koens A. Postma B. Papp	2018	Is Overtourism Overused? Understanding the Impact of Tourism in a City Context	Sustainability	-
14	J. Hernández-Ramírez	2018	La voracidad del turismo y el derecho a la ciudad	Revista Andaluza de Antropología	-
15	J. S. Rodríguez Medela A. Cota O. Salguero Montaña E. García-García	2018	Gentrificación y turistificación en los barrios, "turismofobia" en la tele y hegemonía de la marca Granada	Ciudad de vacaciones	-
16	H. Seraphin P. Sheeran M. Pilato	2018	Over-tourism and the fall of Venice as a destination	Journal of destination and Management	-
17	C. Milano	2018	Overtourism, malestar social y turismofobia. Un debate controvertido	PASO. Revista de Turismo y Patrimonio Cultural	-
18	J. Sequera J. Nofre	2018	Shaken, not stirred	City	-
19	M. Barrero Rescalvo	2019	Algo se muere de las Setas a la Alameda. Efectos del turismo	Revista PH	-

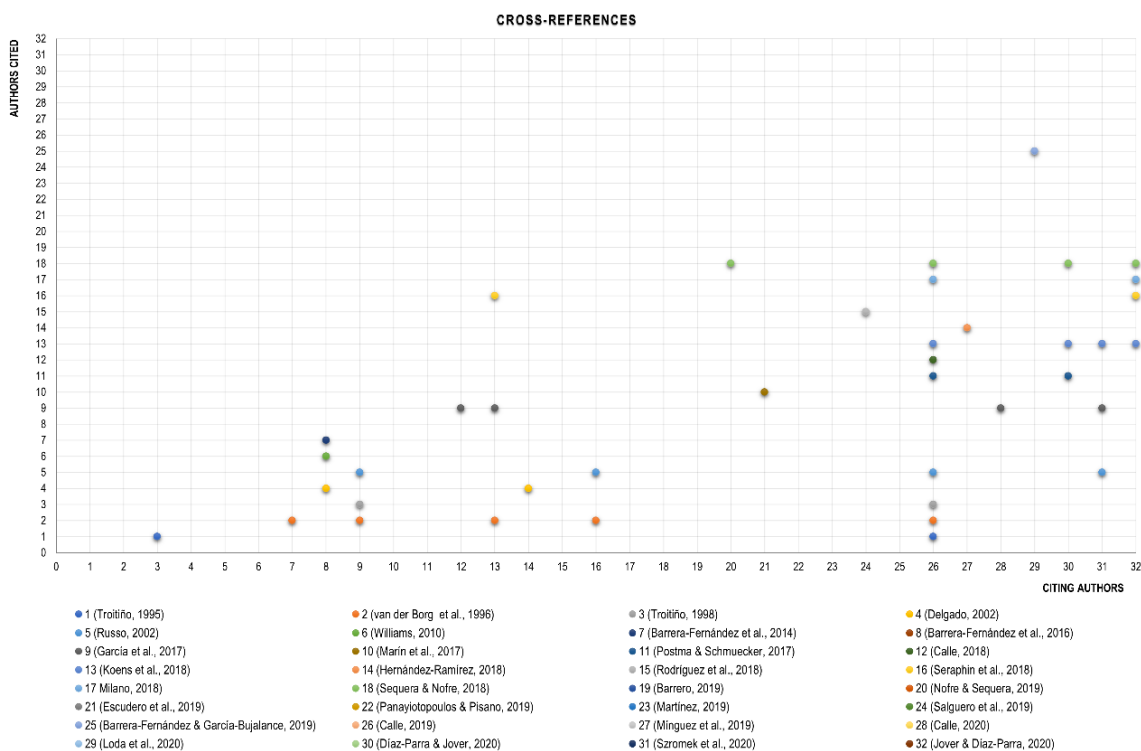
			sobre la población y el patrimonio en el casco norte de Sevilla		
20	J. Nofre J. Sequera	2019	Dinámicas urbanas y turistificación en el barrio de Alfama (Lisboa): una aproximación a los condicionantes históricos y políticos en el proceso de Airbnbización	Estudios Geográficos	-
21	L. A. Escudero Gómez B. Ruiz-Apilánez E. Solís Trapero	2019	Las dinámicas de los centros históricos europeos en el presente: Toledo (España)	Boletín Geográfico	-
22	A. Panayiotopoulos C. Pisano	2019	Overtourism Dystopias and Socialist Utopias: Towards an Urban Armature for Dubrovnik	Tourism Planning and Development	-
23	E. M. Martínez	2019	Reflexividad urbana y mirada turística: sobre la producción y el consumo de los espacios urbanos	OBETS. Revista de Ciencias Sociales	-
24	O. Salguero A. Sánchez J. Rodríguez	2019	Tensiones y distensiones entre turistificación y comunidad. El patrimonio como conflicto y el conflicto como patrimonio	Revista PH	-
25	D. Barrera- Fernández S. García Bujalance M. Scalici	2019	Touristification in historic cities: Reflections on Malaga	Revista de Turismo Contemporáneo - RTC	-
26	M. de la Calle Vaquero	2019	Turistificación de centros urbanos: clarificando el debate	Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles	-
27	C. Mínguez M. J. Piñera A. Fernández- Tabales	2019	Social Vulnerability and Touristification of Historic Centers	Sustainability	-
28	M. de la Calle Vaquero	2020	El impacto del turismo sobre los centros urbanos. Consideraciones sobre el caso de Madrid	-	La ciudad de turismo. Arquitectura, patrimonio urbano y espacio público
29	M. Loda S. Bonati M. Puttilli	2020	History to eat: The foodification of the historic city centre of Florence	Cities	-
30	I. Díaz-Parra J. Jover	2020	Overtourism, place alienation and the right to the city: insights from the historic centre of Seville, Spain	Journal of Sustainable Tourism	-
31	A. R. Szromek Z. Kruczek B. Walas	2020	The attitude of Tourist Destination Residents towards the Effects of Overtourism – Kraków Case Study	Sustainability	-
32	J. Jover I. Díaz-Parra	2020	Who is the City For? Overtourism Lifestyle Migration and Social Sustainability	Tourism Geographies	-

\*Note: This publication is a congress paper.

Source: Compiled by the authors.

The cross-references between the selected authors are shown in Figure 2. The most cited authors are van der Borg et al. (1996) (5); Russo (2002) (4); García et al. (2017) (4); Koens et al. (2018) (4) and Sequera & Nofre (2018) (4). There is an observable lack of cross-references that identify a consolidated corpus on the subject, and it may be due to the breadth of the term and the lack of specialization in the framework of architecture and urban space within the studies of tourism impacts, as this review proposed. The study carried out by de la Calle (2019) is the one that refers to the largest number of selected authors (9).

**Figure 2. Cross-references.**

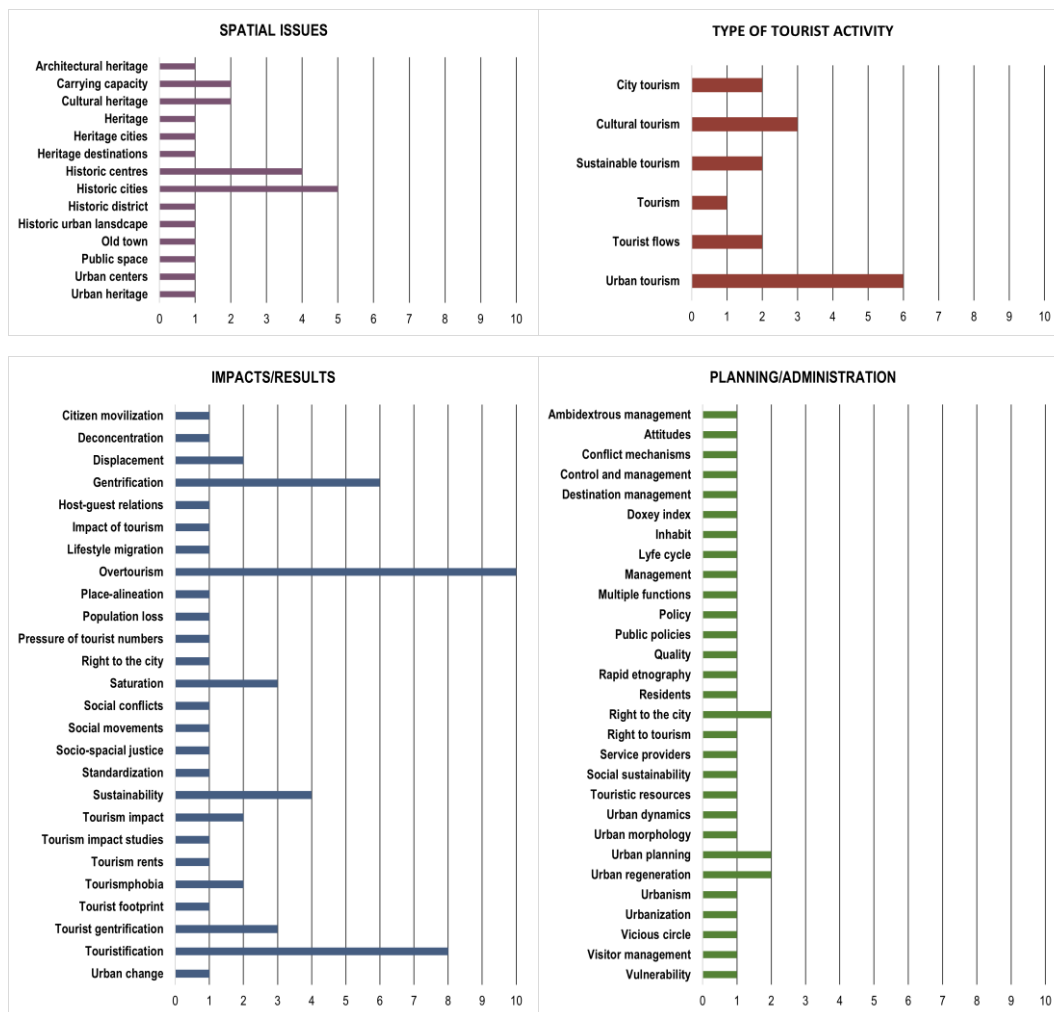


Source: Authors.

After the selection of keywords, collected in Figure 3, it is observed that *overtourism* is the one with the highest frequency of use. It is used ten times, followed by *touristification* (8); *gentrification and urban tourism* (6) and *historic cities* (5). In general, very generic concepts are proposed where specificity can be reduced to four conceptual "families" that could be: 1. spatial issues (*Historic cities; Cultural heritage...*); 2. type of tourist activity (*City tourism;*

Urban tourism...); 3. impacts/results (*Overtourism; Touristification; Tourist gentrification; Tourismphobia...*) and 4. planning/administration (*Management; Multiple functions; Touristic resources; Urban planning*). The dispersion of keywords in such a limited field and such a small number of contributions is surprising. The number of concepts that are associated to is obviously less and this disparity reveals a relatively incipient field of knowledge with concepts that are still insufficiently consolidated. Thus, none of them indicates a perspective of analysis of the subject from an urban and architectural vision, which underlines the relevance of our work.

**Figure 3. Keywords.**



Source: Authors.



There are keywords of low relevance to our study, also included in the reviewed literature, namely: *Barcelona* (1); *Donostia-San Sebastián* (1); *Dubrovnik* (1); *Florence* (1); *Food* (1); *Globalization* (1); *Governance* (1); *Kraków* (1); *Lefebvre* (1); *Lisbon* (1); *Madrid* (1); *Post-Socialism* (1); *Research by design* (1); *Spain* (1); *Seville* (3); *Trexit* (1); *Venice* (1); *Vindication* (1); *Voracity* (1); *5D* (1).

Down below, in Table 2 it is summarised the urban and architectural aspects identified as consequences of the impact of overtourism on the urban centres of historic cities, from the selected literature. They have been labeled as Positive (P) or Negative (N) following scientific opinion and under a criterion of affectation on the city and its inhabitants or Neither (Ne).

**Table 2. Summary of impacts described and the publications that collect them.**

	Architectural impacts		Authors
Buildings	Occupation and use of obsolete buildings. Conservation and maintenance of monuments and buildings.	P	(1998) M. A. Troitiño Vinuesa; (2002) M. Delgado; (2014) D. Barrera-Fernández, E. M. Acevedo Salomao, L. Arista Castillo; (2019) D. Barrera-Fernández, S. García Bujalance, M. Scalici
	Alteration to frontage with new openings to adapt the property to a tourist use.	N	(2019) M. de la Calle Vaquero
	Destruction of architectural and artistic elements of traditional trade.	N	(2018) J. Hernández-Ramírez; (2019) C. Mínguez, M. J. Piñera, A. Fernández-Tabales; (2020) M. de la Calle Vaquero; (2020) J. Jover, I. Díaz-Parra
	“Fachadism”. Maintenance of the exterior building envelope and total restructuring of the interiors due to new use as hotel establishments.	N	(2020) M. de la Calle Vaquero
	Historical heritage loss or reconstruction as a result of new demand for infrastructures related to tourism, which contributes to demolishing or transforming historic buildings or their typological characteristics.	N	(2019) E. M. Martínez; (2019) D. Barrera-Fernández, S. García Bujalance, M. Scalici; (2019) M. de la Calle Vaquero

	"Neo-monumentalism". Erection of emblematic buildings as elements of attraction transforming the appearance of cities and provoking a radical aesthetic change, causing a great landscape impact.	N	(2002) M. Delgado; (2016) D. Barrera-Fernández; (2018) J. Hernández-Ramírez; (2020) M. de la Calle Vaquero
	Overuse and deterioration of the building common zones.	N	(2019) M. Barrero Rescalvo; (2019) D. Barrera-Fernández, S. García Bujalance, M. Scalici; (2019) C. Mínguez, M. J. Piñera, A. Fernández-Tabales
	Spread of the accommodation offer with new constructions or building adaptations for tourism purposes.	N	(2017) M. García Hernández, M. de la Calle Vaquero, C. Yubero; (2018) J. Hernández-Ramírez; (2019) J. Nofre, J. Sequera; (2019) L. A. Escudero Gómez, B. Ruiz-Apilánez, E. Solís Trapero; (2019) D. Barrera-Fernández, S. García Bujalance, M. Scalici; (2020) A. R. Szromek, Z. Kruczek, B. Walas
	New buildings <sup>1</sup> or renovation of building or commercial spaces <sup>2</sup> . Sometimes new pieces of unique architecture <sup>3</sup> are included (.).	Ne	(2010) M. A. Williams <sup>1-2</sup> ; (2016) D. Barrera-Fernández <sup>1-3</sup> ; (2019) J. Nofre, J. Sequera <sup>2</sup> ; (2019) C. Mínguez, M. J. Piñera, A. Fernández-Tabales; (2020) J. Jover, I. Díaz-Parra <sup>2</sup>
Heritage	Financing heritage conservation.	P	(2016) D. Barrera-Fernández
	Destruction of historical and cultural heritage.	N	(1995) M. A. Troitiño Vinuesa; (2018) H. Seraphin, P. Sheeran, M. Pilato; (2019) D. Barrera-Fernández, S. García Bujalance, M. Scalici
	Deterioration of material heritage elements.	N	(1996) J. van der Borg, P. Costa, G. Gotti; (2014) D. Barrera-Fernández, E. M. Acevedo Salomao, L. Arista Castillo; (2019) O. Salguero, A. Sánchez, J. Rodríguez
	"Museification".	N	(1995) M. A. Troitiño Vinuesa; (2002) M. Delgado; (2014) D. Barrera-Fernández, E. M. Acevedo Salomao, L. Arista Castillo; (2016) D. Barrera-Fernández; (2018) J. Hernández-Ramírez; (2019) D. Barrera-Fernández, S. García Bujalance, M. Scalici; (2019) L. A. Escudero Gómez, B. Ruiz-Apilánez, E. Solís Trapero; (2020) M. Loda, S. Bonati, M. Puttilli
	Overcrowding and impact on the carrying capacity of monuments or other heritage spaces which endangers heritage conservation.	N	(2014) D. Barrera-Fernández, E. M. Acevedo Salomao, L. Arista Castillo; (2016) D. Barrera-Fernández; (2019) C. Mínguez, M. J. Piñera, A. Fernández-Tabales; (2020) I. Díaz-Parra, J. Jover
	Trivialization, standardization and an excessive commercial treatment of heritage in cities.	N	(2014) D. Barrera-Fernández, E. M. Acevedo Salomao, L. Arista Castillo
Socials	Raising awareness on heritage conservation.	P	(2016) D. Barrera-Fernández
	Displacement of locals for the benefit of the tourist (access and prices, oriented activities, "festivalization" of the environment...).	N	(2010) M. A. Williams; (2016) D. Barrera-Fernández; (2018) J. Hernández-Ramírez; (2019) E. M. Martínez
	Loss of local cultural identity.	N	(2014) D. Barrera-Fernández, E. M. Acevedo Salomao, L. Arista Castillo; (2018) J. S. Rodríguez Medela, A. Cota, O. Salguero Montaña, E. García-García; (2018) H. Seraphin, P. Sheeran, M. Pilato; (2019) D. Barrera-Fernández, S. García Bujalance, M. Scalici; (2019) C. Mínguez, M. J. Piñera, A. Fernández-Tabales

		Urban impacts	Author(s)
Ground uses		Recovering old spaces (industrial, railway, port, degraded marginal neighborhoods) into new uses.	P (2018) J. Hernández-Ramírez
		Displacement of local and traditional businesses: banalization, simplification and standardization of the city's economic base due to a significant increase in rent and the new occupation by big multinationals of these premises. This phenomenon causes a lack of commercial establishments that cover the basic needs of the residents of the historic centre.	N (1998) M. A. Troitiño Vinuesa; (2002) A. P. Russo; (2016) D. Barrera-Fernández; (2017) M. García Hernández, M. de la Calle Vaquero, C. Yubero; (2018) M. de la Calle Vaquero, E. Ferreiro Calzada, S. Mendoza de Miguel; (2018) K. Koens, A. Postma, B. Papp; (2018) J. Hernández-Ramírez; (2018) C. Milano; (2018, 2019) J. Sequera, J. Nofre; (2019) M. Barrero Rescalvo; (2019) L. A. Escudero Gómez, B. Ruiz-Apilánez, E. Solís Trapero; (2019) E. M. Martínez; (2019) O. Salguero, A. Sánchez, J. Rodríguez; (2019) D. Barrera-Fernández, S. García Bujalance, M. Scalici; (2019) C. Mínguez, M. J. Piñera, A. Fernández-Tabales; (2020) M. Loda, S. Bonati, M. Puttilli; (2020) I. Díaz-Parra, J. Jover; (2020) A. R. Szromek, Z. Kruczek, B. Walas
		Expansion and predominance of conventional accommodation or homes for tourist use, thus establishing a concentration of tourist apartments.	N (1996) J. van der Borg, P. Costa, G. Gotti; (2017) P. Marín Cots, A. Guevara Plaza, F. Navarro Jurado; (2018) M. de la Calle Vaquero, E. Ferreiro Calzada, S. Mendoza de Miguel; (2018) C. Milano; (2018) J. Sequera, J. Nofre; (2019) M. Barrero Rescalvo; (2019) M. de la Calle Vaquero; (2020) M. de la Calle Vaquero; (2020) M. Loda, S. Bonati, M. Puttilli; (2020) I. Díaz-Parra, J. Jover; (2020) A. R. Szromek, Z. Kruczek, B. Walas; (2020) J. Jover, I. Díaz-Parra
		Growth of the tourist area promoted by local policies.	N (2020) I. Díaz-Parra, J. Jover
		Increase in prices of lands, properties and rents (unfair competition between permanent and holiday rentals). This provokes the reduction in housing offer.	(2002) M. Delgado; (2002) A. P. Russo; (2017) A. Postma, D. Schmuecker; (2018) K. Koens, A. Postma, B. Papp; (2018) J. Hernández-Ramírez; (2018) J. S. Rodríguez Medela, A. Cota, O. Salguero Montaña, E. García-García; (2018) H. Seraphin, P. Sheeran, M. Pilato; (2018) C. Milano; (2019) M. Barrero Rescalvo; (2019) J. Nofre, J. Sequera; (2019) A. Panayiotopoulos, C. Pisano; (2019) E. M. Martínez; (2019) O. Salguero, A. Sánchez, J. Rodríguez; (2020) I. Díaz-Parra, J. Jover; (2020) A. R. Szromek, Z. Kruczek, B. Walas; (2020) J. Jover, I. Díaz-Parra
		Reconversion of homes from residential to tourist use. Reduction of housing total area, causing a housing shortage. Disappearance of residential use.	N (2017) P. Marín Cots, A. Guevara Plaza, F. Navarro Jurado; (2017) M. García Hernández, M. de la Calle Vaquero, C. Yubero; (2017) A. Postma, D. Schmuecker; (2018) K. Koens, A. Postma, B. Papp; (2018) M. de la Calle Vaquero, E. Ferreiro, S. Mendoza; (2018) K. Koens, A. Postma, B. Papp; (2019) L. A. Escudero Gómez, B. Ruiz-Apilánez, E. Solís Trapero; (2019) M. de la Calle Vaquero; (2019) C. Mínguez, M. J. Piñera, A. Fernández-Tabales; (2020) M. de la Calle Vaquero; (2020) M. Loda, S. Bonati, M. Puttilli; (2020) I. Díaz-Parra, J. Jover
Mobility		Urban mobility problems (road traffic congestion <sup>1</sup> , parking problems <sup>2</sup> , crowded public transport <sup>3</sup> , pedestrian level <sup>4</sup> ).	N (1996) J. van der Borg <sup>1-2</sup> , P. Costa, G. Gotti; (2002) A. P. Russo <sup>1-2</sup> ; (2016) D. Barrera-Fernández <sup>1</sup> ; (2017) M. García Hernández, M. de la Calle Vaquero, C. Yubero <sup>1-2</sup>

			<p><sup>3</sup>; (2018) M. de la Calle Vaquero, E. Ferreiro Calzada, S. Mendoza de Miguel<sup>1-4</sup>; (2018) K. Koens, A. Postma, B. Papp<sup>1-2</sup>; (2018) J. S. Rodríguez Medela, A. Cota, O. Salguero Montaña<sup>1-3</sup>, (2018) H. Seraphin, P. Sheeran, M. Pilato; E. García-García<sup>1</sup>; (2019) A. Panayiotopoulos, C. Pisano<sup>1-2</sup>; (2019) O. Salguero, A. Sánchez, J. Rodríguez<sup>1</sup>; (2019) D. Barrera-Fernández, S. García Bujalance, M. Scalici<sup>1</sup>; (2020) M. de la Calle Vaquero<sup>1-3-4</sup>; (2020) I. Díaz-Parra, J. Jover<sup>4</sup>; (2020) A. R. Szromek, Z. Kruczek, B. Walas<sup>1-2-3</sup>; (2020) J. Jover, I. Díaz-Parra<sup>1</sup></p>
<b>Public space</b>	Lack of continuity of public space.	N	(2019) A. Panayiotopoulos, C. Pisano
	Massive physical occupation of the public space as a place where street food is consumed by tourists.	N	(2020) M. Loda, S. Bonati, M. Puttilli
	Public space congestion. Abandonment of streets, squares and premises by locals.	N	(1996) J. van der Borg, P. Costa, G. Gotti; (1998) M. A. Troitiño Vinuesa; (2002) A. P. Russo; (2016) D. Barrera-Fernández; (2017) M. García Hernández, M. de la Calle Vaquero, C. Yubero; (2017) P. Marín Cots, A. Guevara Plaza, F. Navarro Jurado; (2018) M. de la Calle Vaquero, E. Ferreiro Calzada, S. Mendoza de Miguel; (2018) K. Koens, A. Postma, B. Papp; (2018) J. Hernández-Ramírez; (2018) J. S. Rodríguez Medela, A. Cota, O. Salguero Montaña, E. García-García; (2018) H. Seraphin, P. Sheeran, M. Pilato; (2018) C. Milano; (2018, 2019) J. Sequera, J. Nofre; (2019) A. Panayiotopoulos, C. Pisano; (2019) E. M. Martínez; (2019) O. Salguero, A. Sánchez, J. Rodríguez; (2019) D. Barrera-Fernández, S. García Bujalance, M. Scalici; (2019) C. Mínguez, M. J. Piñera, A. Fernández-Tabales; (2020) M. de la Calle Vaquero; (2020) A. R. Szromek, Z. Kruczek, B. Walas; (2020) J. Jover, I. Díaz-Parra
	“Tertiarisation” of public space. Privatization, “terracing” and commodification of space.	N	(1995) M. A. Troitiño Vinuesa; (2002) M. Delgado; (2016) D. Barrera-Fernández; (2017) M. García Hernández, M. de la Calle Vaquero, C. Yubero; (2017) P. Marín Cots, A. Guevara Plaza, F. Navarro; (2018) M. de la Calle Vaquero, E. Ferreiro Calzada, S. Mendoza de Miguel; (2018) K. Koens, A. Postma, B. Papp; (2018) J. Hernández-Ramírez; (2018) H. Seraphin, P. Sheeran, M. Pilato; (2018) C. Milano; (2019) M. Barrero Rescalvo; (2019) L. A. Escudero Gómez, B. Ruiz-Apilánez, E. Solís Traperó; (2019) E. M. Martínez; (2019) O. Salguero, A. Sánchez, J. Rodríguez; (2019) D. Barrera-Fernández, S. García Bujalance, M. Scalici; (2020) M. de la Calle Vaquero; (2020) M. Loda, S. Bonati, M. Puttilli; (2020) A. R. Szromek, Z. Kruczek, B. Walas; (2020) J. Jover, I. Díaz-Parra
<b>Socials</b>	Breakdown of the balance of the urban habitat <sup>1</sup> , decline in liveability for community <sup>2</sup> and destruction of the neighbourhood because of tourist gentrification <sup>3</sup> .	N	(2002) M. Delgado <sup>1-2-3</sup> ; (2014) D. Barrera-Fernández <sup>1-2</sup> ; (2017) P. Marín Cots, A. Guevara Plaza, F. Navarro Jurado <sup>1-2</sup> ; (2018) J. Hernández-Ramírez <sup>3</sup> ; (2018) J. S. Rodríguez Medela, A. Cota, O. Salguero Montaña, E. García-García <sup>3</sup> ; (2018) J. Sequera, J. Nofre <sup>3</sup> ; (2019) M. Barrero Rescalvo <sup>3</sup> ; (2019) L. A. Escudero Gómez, B. Ruiz-Apilánez, E. Solís Traperó <sup>3</sup> ; (2019) D. Barrera-

			Fernández, S. García Bujalance, M. Scalici <sup>3</sup> ; (2020) M. Loda, S. Bonati, M. Puttilli <sup>1-2</sup> ; (2020) I. Díaz-Parra, J. Jover <sup>1-2-3</sup> ; (2020) J. Jover, I. Díaz-Parra <sup>3</sup>
	Creation of inhospitable avenues for traffic but unattainable for pedestrians.	N	(2018) K. Koens, A. Postma, B. Papp
	Disappearance of urban life.	N	(1995) M. A. Troitiño Vinuesa
	Gentrification (touristic and/or transnational) or loss of population. Expelling the inhabitants and locals due to the increase in prices of real estate and rentals and to the expansion of the accommodation offer. Substitution of permanent population (neighbourhood) by another of a temporary nature (tourist).	N	(1996) J. van der Borg, P. Costa, G. Gotti; (2002) M. Delgado; (2002) A. P. Russo; (2014) D. Barrera-Fernández, E. M. Acevedo Salomao, L. Arista Castillo; (2017) P. Marín Cots, A. Guevara Plaza, F. Navarro Jurado; (2017) A. Postma, D. Schmuecker; (2018) K. Koens, A. Postma, B. Papp; (2018) J. Hernández-Ramírez; (2018) J. S. Rodríguez, A. Cota, O. Salguero, E. García-García; (2018) H. Seraphin, P. Sheeran, M. Pilato; (2018) C. Milano; (2018) J. Sequera, J. Nofre; (2019) M. Barrero Rescalvo; (2019) L. A. Escudero, B. Ruiz-Apilánez, E. Solís Trapero; (2019) A. Panayiotopoulos, C. Pisano; (2019) E. M. Martínez; (2019) O. Salguero, A. Sánchez, J. Rodríguez; (2019) D. Barrera-Fernández, S. García Bujalance, M. Scalici; (2019) M. de la Calle Vaquero; (2019) C. Mínguez, M. J. Piñera, A. Fernández-Tabales; (2020) M. de la Calle Vaquero; (2020) M. Loda, S. Bonati, M. Puttilli; (2020) I. Díaz-Parra, J. Jover; (2020) A. R. Szromek, Z. Kruczek, B. Walas; (2020) J. Jover, I. Díaz-Parra
	Imbalances in the number of visitors and residents.	N	(2018) C. Milano
	Marginalization of the local population and other inhabitants.	N	(2019) A. Panayiotopoulos, C. Pisano; (2020) M. Loda, S. Bonati, M. Puttilli
	Presence of tourists in residential areas.	N	(2020) I. Díaz-Parra, J. Jover
Urban space	Deterioration of the urban form. Compaction of the weft and densification of previously more porous spaces.	N	(2019) M. de la Calle Vaquero
	Impersonality of urban furniture design. Homogenization of public space.	N	(2018) K. Koens, A. Postma, B. Papp; (2020) M. de la Calle Vaquero
	Land consumption and radical transformation of the soil.	N	(1995) M. A. Troitiño Vinuesa; (2002) A. P. Russo; (2018) J. S. Rodríguez Medela, A. Cota, O. Salguero Montaña, E. García-García; (2019) E. M. Martínez

	Monofunctional zoning and tourist monoculture. Specialization of the city centre as an area mainly for hotels, restaurants, shops and tourist facilities. Transformation of historic centres into areas given over to consumption and leisure activities.	N	(1996) J. van der Borg, P. Costa, G. Gotti; (2002) M. Delgado; (2016) D. Barrera-Fernández; (2017) M. García Hernández, M. de la Calle Vaquero, C. Yubero; (2018) M. de la Calle Vaquero, E. Ferreiro Calzada, S. Mendoza de Miguel; (2018) K. Koens, A. Postma, B. Papp; (2018) J. Hernández-Ramírez; (2018) J. S. Rodríguez Medela, A. Cota, O. Salguero Montaña, E. García-García; (2018) J. Sequera, J. Nofre; (2019) M. Barrero Rescalvo; (2019) E. M. Martínez; (2019) D. Barrera-Fernández, S. García Bujalance, M. Scalici; (2019) M. de la Calle Vaquero; (2020) M. Loda, S. Bonati, M. Puttilli; (2020) I. Díaz-Parra, J. Jover
	Morphological and functional alterations, displacement of other uses, polarization of different urban activities and fragmentation of urban space.	N	(1995,1998) M. A. Troitiño Vínuesa; (1996) J. van der Borg, P. Costa, G. Gotti; (2014, 2016) D. Barrera-Fernández; (2018) J. Sequera, J. Nofre; (2019) M. Barrero Rescalvo; (2019) D. Barrera-Fernández, S. García Bujalance, M. Scalici
	New urban projects (pedestrianization of streets, remodelling of squares, underground roads, the signage of monuments and places of interest, etc.).	Ne	(2002) M. Delgado; (2016) D. Barrera-Fernández; (2018) J. Hernández-Ramírez; (2019) E. M. Martínez; (2019) D. Barrera-Fernández, S. García Bujalance, M. Scalici
<b>Hybrid impacts</b>		<b>Author(s)</b>	
<b>Administrative</b>	Conservation of monumental centres generating authentic theatrical spaces.	N	(2002) M. Delgado
	Deterioration of the environment and "urban scene".	N	(2019) D. Barrera-Fernández, S. García Bujalance, M. Scalici; (2020) M. de la Calle Vaquero
	Recoding of architectural and urban elements as tourist attractions.	N	(2019) E. M. Martínez
	Standardization <sup>1</sup> or "Disneyfication" <sup>2</sup> of historic centres. .	N	(2002) M. Delgado <sup>1-2</sup> ; (2010) M. A. Williams <sup>1</sup> ; (2018) J. Sequera, J. Nofre <sup>2</sup> ; (2019) E. M. Martínez <sup>1</sup> ; (2019) D. Barrera-Fernández, S. García Bujalance, M. Scalici <sup>2</sup> ; (2020) M. de la Calle Vaquero <sup>1</sup> ; (2020) M. Loda, S. Bonati, M. Puttilli <sup>1-2</sup>
	Patrimonialization of urban spaces.	Ne	(2002) M. Delgado; (2019) E. M. Martínez

Environment and livability	Livability and environmental problems (pollution <sup>1</sup> , waste <sup>2</sup> , noise <sup>3</sup> ).	N	(1996) J. van der Borg, P. Costa, G. Gotti <sup>1-2</sup> ; (2016) D. Barrera-Fernández <sup>1-3</sup> ; (2017) P. Marín Cots, A. Guevara Plaza, F. Navarro Jurado <sup>3</sup> ; (2018) J. S. Rodríguez Medela, A. Cota, O. Salguero Montaña, E. García-García <sup>1-2</sup> ; (2018) H. Seraphin, P. Sheeran, M. Pilato <sup>1</sup> ; (2018) C. Milano <sup>1-2</sup> ; (2018) J. Sequera, J. Nofre <sup>2-3</sup> ; (2019) M. Barrero Rescalvo <sup>3</sup> ; (2019) E. M. Martínez <sup>1</sup> ; (2019) O. Salguero, A. Sánchez, J. Rodríguez <sup>1</sup> ; (2019) D. Barrera-Fernández, S. García Bujalance, M. Scalici <sup>1-2-3</sup> ; (2019) C. Mínguez, M. J. Piñera, A. Fernández-Tabales <sup>1-3</sup> ; (2020) M. de la Calle Vaquero <sup>1-2</sup> ; (2020) M. Loda, S. Bonati, M. Puttilli; (2020) A. R. Szromek, Z. Kruczek, B. Walas <sup>1-2-3</sup> ; (2020) J. Jover, I. Díaz-Parra <sup>2</sup>
Infrastructures and resources	Creation of new facilities.	P	(2014) D. Barrera-Fernández, E. M. Acevedo Salomao, L. Arista Castillo
	Expansion and improvement of cultural resources.	P	(2019) D. Barrera-Fernández, S. García Bujalance, M. Scalici
	Improvement and expansion of services and infrastructures. Expansion of ports, railway stations and airports (P).		(2016) D. Barrera-Fernández; (2018) J. Hernández-Ramírez; (2019) E. M. Martínez; (2019) D. Barrera-Fernández, S. García Bujalance, M. Scalici
	Maintenance of urban services.	P	(2014) D. Barrera-Fernández, E. M. Acevedo Salomao, L. Arista Castillo; (2016) D. Barrera-Fernández
	Cruise tourism pressure.	N	(2018) C. Milano
	Degradation of natural and cultural resources.	N	(2020) A. R. Szromek, Z. Kruczek, B. Walas
	Intensive use of services, infrastructures and spaces <sup>1</sup> or resources (water, energy, etc.) <sup>2</sup> .	N	(2002) A. P. Russo <sup>2</sup> ; (2016) D. Barrera-Fernández <sup>1</sup> ; (2017) A. Postma, D. Schmuecker <sup>1</sup> ; (2018) J. S. Rodríguez, A. Cota, O. Salguero, E. García-García <sup>1-2</sup> ; (2019) D. Barrera-Fernández, S. García Bujalance, M. Scalici <sup>1-2</sup> ; (2019) C. Mínguez, M. J. Piñera, A. Fernández-Tabales <sup>1</sup> ; (2020) M. de la Calle Vaquero <sup>2</sup> ; (2020) A. R. Szromek, Z. Kruczek, B. Walas <sup>2</sup>
Historic urban landscape	Improvement of the image of the city, creating a greater sense of identity and well-being within the local community.	P	(2016) D. Barrera-Fernández
	Banalization and homogenization of the historic urban landscape.	N	(2017) M. García Hernández, M. de la Calle Vaquero, C. Yubero; (2018) M. de la Calle Vaquero, E. Ferreiro Calzada, S. Mendoza de Miguel; (2018) J. Hernández-Ramírez (2018) J. Sequera, J. Nofre; (2019) D. Barrera-Fernández, S. García Bujalance, M. Scalici; (2019) M. de la Calle Vaquero (2019); C. Mínguez, M. J. Piñera, A. Fernández-Tabales; (2020) M. de la Calle Vaquero
	Degradation of the assets that made the destination attractive, thus limiting the appeal of the city.	N	(2019) D. Barrera-Fernández, S. García Bujalance, M. Scalici; (2020) A. R. Szromek, Z. Kruczek, B. Walas
	Historicist imitation.	N	(2002) M. Delgado
	Increase in visual pollution (posters, tourist displays, kiosks, signage, etc.).	N	(2019, 2020) M. de la Calle Vaquero; (2020) A. R. Szromek, Z. Kruczek, B. Walas
	Landscape transformation.	N	(2002) M. Delgado
	Loss of the aesthetic quality of the landscape, authenticity and the system of cultural values embodied in the city.		(2002) A. P. Russo; (2016) D. Barrera-Fernández; (2017) M. García, M. de la Calle Vaquero, C. Yubero; (2020) I. Díaz-Parra, J. Jover; (2020) A. R. Szromek, Z. Kruczek, B. Walas



	Redesign of the city at the service of visitors, over the needs of the resident population.	N	(2018) J. Hernández-Ramírez
	Urban scene populated with tourist imagery, with occupation of facades and sidewalks with exhibitors and terraces that makes difficult circulation for pedestrian.	N	(2018) M. de la Calle Vaquero, E. Ferreiro Calzada, S. Mendoza de Miguel; (2019) M. de la Calle Vaquero; (2020) J. Jover, I. Díaz-Parra
Socials	Loss of a sense of belonging to the neighbourhood and a feeling of isolation. The historic centre is no longer understood as a neighbourhood.	N	(2019) M. Barrero Rescalvo; (2019) J. Nofre, J. Sequera; (2019) E. M. Martínez; (2019) D. Barrera-Fernández, S. García Bujalance, M. Scalici; (2019) M. de la Calle Vaquero; (2019) C. Mínguez, M. J. Piñera, A. Fernández-Tabales; (2020) I. Díaz-Parra, J. Jover; (2020) A. R. Szromek, Z. Kruczek, B. Walas
	Safety issues or insecurity feeling by strangers that are temporarily staying in these buildings.	N	(2018) J. S. Rodríguez Medela, A. Cota, O. Salguero Montañó, E. García-García; (2019) C. Mínguez, M. J. Piñera, A. Fernández-Tabales; (2020) A. R. Szromek, Z. Kruczek, B. Walas

Note: If the same impact has different factors, a superscript<sup>(1-2-3-n)</sup> indicates the author of each one.

Source: Compiled by the authors.

## 5 Discussion

At this point, in the field of architecture and urban planning of historic centres, it is possible to observe how the scientific literature records a greater number of negative impacts than positive ones. Numerous authors point to similar impacts or effects despite having carried out their studies on cities of different locations, scales, populations, morphologies or available infrastructures (García et al., 2017; Seraphin et al., 2018; Szromek et al., 2020; among others).

Even the supposedly positive aspects such as the rehabilitation of buildings for tertiary uses promoted by tourism, noted by Troitiño (1995), can result in an attack on the heritage. An issue pointed out by de la Calle (2019) is when the uncontrolled pressure of touristification forces this supposed "rehabilitation" to result in a perversion of the typology and finally in the destruction of the pre-existence, beyond the maintenance of the facade or prestigious elements, which remain as "trophies" of the new tourist use. This issue requires a study that delves into the implications of this type of aggression, putting into play the structural meaning of heritage as a memory of a society and not as a collection of elements due to their aesthetic values.

It may seem that some of the revealed conflicts do not entail a direct and appreciable architectural or urban impact, but they are related to the general component of the problem,

such as economic impacts (real estate speculation), consumption, land classification and uses (tertiarisation, privatisation of public space) or social impacts (gentrification). These are precisely the problems that lead to the increase in rental rates; the decline of the residential function; the occupation of public space or the increase in noise and waste. As a result, all these aspects have ended up generating a sensation of tourism phobia (Milano, 2018) in many inhabitants of touristified cities, who live and share the space and transport with a multitude of visitors.

There are many studies whose authors have focused on analysing the quality of tourism in historic centres or heritage sites. Similarly, it is fundamental to study the quality of life of locals as well as the conservation of its heritage, cultural and anthropological values. Those studies that assess the impacts of overtourism on the attractiveness of the destination are giving us clues as to how these impacts also affect the inhabitants of that place.

Still must be analysed and understood the deep meaning and consequences of the expulsion of residents from tourist areas, because of the gentrifying overpressure of the tourist industry and those that grow under its shelter, a phenomenon noted by several authors. Residential use is the primary reason to be of cities, it is even more clear in the historic city. Its fabric and architecture are previous to urban zoning and are designed from a complex residential logic. Consequently, the effects of residential depopulation in these urban fabrics would end up provoking serious effects that need to be studied.

Among the most notable impacts have been identified: the destruction of historical and cultural heritage; the modification of the typological characteristics; the morphological modification of buildings for new tertiary uses; the insertion of buildings with scales of composition different from the characteristic ones of the area; the proliferation of regulated and non-regulated tourist hotels and apartments; the inadequate implementation of signage and advertising signs on façades and urban spaces; the museification and trivialization of the city; loss of identity of residents; the saturation and terracification of public space; tourist gentrification or the decline of the residential function understood as a balanced structure, together with the network of services that support it and together with the disappearance of urban life that goes with it, among others. Each of these sections could be broken down into a list of specific conditions, which can also be generic or specific to one city or another.

It is necessary to delve into these impacts, since many of them have not been classified yet and are evident in cities, such as the urban transformation of a public space carried out by a hotel chain that is incorporated into a building located in that environment; the loss of exterior and interior ornamental and artistic elements caused by a "tabula rasa" after the reform and reconversion of the building as a new hotel or tourist apartment; the transformation of buildings, not catalogued as heritage but that constitute the "environmental style" of an area, into a new architecture; or how the rehabilitation of a publicly owned heritage building for touristic purposes enables the recovery of the property but deprives citizens of its use.

This article aims to be an element of novelty in the debate and discussion of overtourism that identifies its impacts on the architecture and urban spaces of historic centres and at the same time opens opportunities for future studies that quantify these impacts on one or more specific case studies.

## **6 Conclusions**

With the new appearance of urban tourism throughout the 20th and early 21st centuries, the city itself, and more specifically its historic centre, is the attraction and the basis for the development of this activity. Accordingly, it is insufficient to manage and investigate tourism and its impacts solely from the point of view of the categories that have been frequently studied, ignoring certain fields of interest. The need to consider the aspects proposed by this study (architecture and urban space) is more evident, as touristification is a process with physical, economic, social and environmental repercussions on a functional and living organism, such as the city. This is an organism composed of a dense population and socially, economically and administratively coordinated; based on a consolidated material fabric, with patrimonial values. It is precisely the built scene of the city, its architecture and urbanism, that feeds the exterior image and the attraction for visitors. In this way, the deterioration of the historical urban landscape or the trivialisation of its streets, caused by a specialised and excessive tertiarisation of the environment, plays against the tourist attraction itself. Above all, this constitutes an attack to the structural balance of that complex entity that is the city. In addition, let us not forget that historic centres, as functional organisms, are spaces shared by residents and tourists, designed to fulfil specific functions. In this sense, poor tourism

planning will affect urban planning, the socio-economic logic of the city as a whole and, therefore, will alter it morphologically and functionally, disturbing or making the life of its inhabitants unviable and leading to high-intensity tourist gentrification. It is at this point when the historic city becomes a “theme park” of itself, as has been pointed out frequently.

Another very important vector of the urban and architectural impacts of overtourism is the disproportionate increase in the hotel offer. The appropriation of the city by this business model reduces the area dedicated to other main uses such as residential ones and all those derived from it, which constitute the fundamental framework of the balanced historic city. It is also a typology that is difficult to reverse, which, despite occupying and maintaining obsolete buildings, causes typological and functional alterations, mismatched extensions and shape changes that affect the image of the building and the urban identity. The scope and repercussions of this phenomenon deserve specific studies.

It should be said that, just as tourism itself is not a negative phenomenon, not all the effects that it causes on the architecture, heritage and urban space of our cities (directly or indirectly) are negative either. As in so many things, the problem lies in the lack of moderation and the proportion between the load and the structure that supports it. A large part of the profits of visits to monuments or heritage buildings go to the conservation of the assets, which fuels the continuous maintenance of the buildings. On the other hand, tertiary use, mainly hotel use, is a necessary and positive use that can be adapted to different architectural typologies (e.g., palaces, convents and residential buildings). This allows obsolete or dilapidated buildings to be restored. Large developers seek, in these environments, to settle in buildings with heritage value, which adds a touch of quality to the establishment that makes it recognisable and attractive.

The aforementioned bibliographic scarcity highlights the urgent need to study and research the phenomenon by specific subjects and in specific case studies that allows the city to be treated as a living organism and tourism to be quantified and valued as a condition of precise magnitudes. Thus, an urban and architectural perspective must contribute to the debate with fundamental knowledge, now lacking or not systematised in this field. Knowledge is needed to identify the true dimension of the tourist space of cities and to carry out an assessment of its touristic carrying capacity, which defines the viable limits of the activity. All of this must

be carried out with consideration to the physical and social problems that must be identified in the necessary studies. Furthermore, this complete evaluation of the impacts can provide a sensitivity that has not yet existed in many of these environments, creating awareness along two lines: firstly, awareness of the values of the built urban landscape and its identity image, as opposed to the internationalised and banal image that is becoming normalised; and, secondly, social awareness of the value of one's own city as a multifunctional living space (useful for social empowerment in the face of touristification, but far from the impoverishing "hatred of tourists").

Societies come from a complex and long process in which the historic centres have gone from vitality to crisis, abandonment, recovery, gentrification and, finally, touristification. These urban fragments are the protagonists of the identity of cities, which have shown great resilience over time, but suffer threats that can lead to the definitive destruction of their ability to adapt and their loss of the city, understood as an inhabited and living structure.

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