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**Tourism and social sustainability: Perceptions of the Local Community in
Donostia-San Sebastian's Old Town**

FINAL MASTER PROJECT

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ABSTRACT

The global expansion of tourism has put the most touristic destinations in a compromising situation with their residents. The terms “tourism phobia”, “overtourism” or “touristification” appear in the news, in the scientific literature and in the daily life of local communities. Donostia has been a tourist city for more than 150 years, the local community of the city lives different realities depending on the neighborhood in which is located, but as it is well known the Old Town is the area with more tourist affluence. The main objective of the present TFM is to know the perception of the local community of the Old Town about tourism in their neighborhood. After an analysis of the scientific literature related to the topic presented in the theoretical framework section, together with the study of the results obtained from a mixed methodology, it has been reached the conclusion that the perception of the local community changes according to its profile.

Keywords: Touristification, tourism phobia, tourism perception, overtourism, local community, social sustainability, Donostia-San Sebastian, Parte Vieja.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Summary and justification

Donostia-San Sebastian has been a tourist destination since the late 18th century. Its beginnings date back to the time when spas and their positive health effects became fashionable in the European context. Like many other European cities, Donostia-San Sebastian did not lag behind in this new trend and began to receive visits from families from Madrid, who were looking for a cooler place where they could enjoy the sea. However, the visits that truly promoted Donostia-San Sebastian were those of Queen Isabel II, who traveled continuously to the city to treat her herpes. These visits by Queen Isabel II led to people from other countries, mainly from France and the United Kingdom, also starting to frequent the city (Sansebastianturismoa.eus, 2024).

Nevertheless, Donostia-San Sebastian did not naturally evolve into a tourist city, but was deliberately transformed for tourism purposes. In the 19th century, specifically in 1865, following the demolition of the city walls (1863), the City Council debated two different perspectives: the *antiboulevardistas*, who wanted the city to be a commercial, port, and industrial hub, and the *boulevardistas*, who sought to create a beautiful and pleasant Donostia-San Sebastian by transforming it into a tourist city. Ultimately, after a tie, the deciding vote of Mayor Tadeo Ruiz de Ogarrio led to the decision to turn Donostia-San Sebastian into a tourist city. From that moment on, investments were made in the construction of resources aimed at enhancing visitors' experiences, such as the *Semana Grande* (Great Week), the Atotxa bullring, the Grand Casino, the Concha regattas, and one of the most beautiful spas in the world at that time, the famous *La Perla del Océano* spa. However, health tourism gradually gave way to leisure tourism, leading to the development of infrastructures that completely transformed the city's urban landscape, shaping it into what it is today (Sansebastianturismo.eus, 2023).

And what about Donostia-San Sebastian today? Has it reached the point of *touristification*? To answer this, it is essential to understand the concept beforehand. *Touristification* has existed as a concept since the 20th century and has been analyzed and studied by various scholars. Lanfant (1994, p. 286), in his seminal contribution, explains that *touristification* can be understood "as a neologism correlated with heritage-making, policies, and the rebound effects of tourism, such as its transformation, massification, and appropriation (time-space), responding to the logic of capital production." Likewise, according to Jasen-Verbeke (1998) the concept of *touristification* is also considered a definitive process of conversion of the forms and functions of historic cities (all cited in Martínez León and Gómez Maturano, 2022).

If the concept is analyzed from the perspective of territory and its relationship with tourism, according to Remy Knafou (n.d.), it can be observed that since tourism directly affects the territory, the latter is modified by it, not only due to the sense of ownership that tourists develop toward the destination but also due to the work of planners and tourism promoters, as well as the practices associated with tourism. In addition to the aforementioned perspectives, various experts have defined this concept, leading the author to conclude that *touristification* is the evolution of tourism development and highlights the effects that mass tourism has on different territories (Martínez León and Gómez Maturano, 2022).

Residents of the most visited cities do not agree with the number of visitors they receive, and the problem is growing, not only in Donostia-San Sebastian but also in national destinations such as Mallorca, Málaga, Barcelona, Tenerife, etc., as well as international destinations like Berlin, Lisbon, Venice, New York, etc. (Lobera, 2023; Milano, 2017). In Donostia-San Sebastian, the concept of *touristification* is becoming widely used; it is no longer a term used only by tourism professionals but has also started to spread among the general population. This is reflected in news headlines such as "A protest in San Sebastian denounces the

damage caused by the 'touristification' of the city," "Gentrification and Touristification of Donostia's Parte Vieja," or "Residents of Donostia say 'stop to touristification.'"¹

Nowadays in Donostia-San Sebastian, the vision of tourism has changed, the level of concern for the damage that tourism is creating is increasing. As mentioned in the article of Europapress (2023) part of the citizens of Donostia-San Sebastian consider that tourism is now used to do business through its own activity, and that as a consequence, the urban space is being transformed. This transformation generates problems such as the loss of habitability of neighbourhoods, problems with housing payments, the decline of small shops, the danger of losing culture, heritage, language, etc. Public institutions are also accused of profiting from those who want to enrich themselves through the tourist business and of conveying the idea that sustainable measures are being taken. The latter is not demonstrated by the opening of new hotels and tourist flats or by the issue of tourist taxes (Europapress.es., 2023). However, in theory, the level of importance given to the problem can be seen with the launch of the sustainable tourism plan 'Plan Visit Bizi 2023-2027' created by the city council. This plan is based on the previous one, but more focused on the management of Donostia-San Sebastian as a tourist destination, with the aim of giving quality of life to the citizens (Donostia.eus, 2023).

The effect of tourism covers a large part of the city, however, the most affected neighbourhood is the Old Town (hereinafter referred to as Parte Vieja). As Arberas (2020) argues: 'The Parte Vieja has been undergoing a process of constant gentrification and touristification for many years. A process that is neither natural nor an accident, but an intentional and planned strategy'.



Note: San Sebastian Turismoa

¹ Headlines from widely circulated newspapers and news agency: *Europa Press*, 2023; *El Diario Vasco*, 2020; *Gipuzkoa Gaur*, 2023.

The Parte Vieja of Donostia-San Sebastian has been undergoing changes in the urban environment and in the living conditions and quality of life of its residents for years. These consequences have brought the neighbourhood to a point of deadlock. It is no longer enough to denounce what is happening; it is necessary to state that the way in which it has been managed has destroyed the durability of the Parte Vieja as a neighbourhood (Arberas, 2020).

This is why platforms such as Bizilaguenkin or associations such as Parte Zaharrea Bizi have been created, where the residents of the Parte Vieja of Donostia-San Sebastian denounce the massification of tourism and the problems that this entails, such as noise, obstacles when moving around the streets or impediments for residents to carry out their daily tasks (Lobera, 2023). Furthermore, the Bizilagunekin collective stresses that tourism is currently being promoted with a short-term vision and aimed at the private sector, which is detrimental to the city's residents. He explains that the time has come to change course by working to reduce tourism and putting citizens first. The consequences of the excessive increase in visitors are not only of concern to the tourism sector, but to different groups, such as neighbourhood associations, trade unions, environmentalists, architectural heritage protection associations and more (Donostitik.com, 2023). Likewise, initiatives have been taken such as the mailbox to denounce tourist housing fraud, with the aim that neighbours can anonymously help the government to identify clandestine tourist housing (Diariovasco.com, 2019).

In the aftermath of the crisis, the COVID-19 period was seen as an opportunity to transform the global tourism system towards one that was more oriented to meet the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). However, despite the 'new normal' being seen as an opportunity to rethink the growth trajectory of the tourism sector and to question the idea that the more arrivals, the greater the profits, the opposite occurred (Rivera García and Pastor Ruíz, 2020). As can be seen in the news item by Díaz (2024), an increase in the number of visits continues to be sought; in 2023, record figures were seen compared to years prior to

COVID, and in 2024 it was hoped that these figures will equal or grow even more. Furthermore, activities continue to be organised with the aim of attracting more visitors, so it can be seen that the pandemic has not finally been taken as an opportunity for change, at least not in the city of Donostia-San Sebastian (Díaz, 2024).

1.2. Research questions and Objectives of the research

In the justification of the topic it has been found that there are associations, news, groups that talk about the situation of the Parte Vieja in terms of tourism, however, what perception does the local community of the Parte Vieja have about tourism in their neighbourhood? Do they consider that there is tourist saturation?

In order to answer the research question, the general objective of this thesis is to **analyse the current perception of the local community of the Parte Vieja of Donostia-San Sebastian about tourism in their neighbourhood.**

To achieve this main objective, specific objectives have been selected on the basis of three of the project's sections, starting with the theoretical framework, followed by the methodology and ending with the conclusion:

- Conceptualise the necessary theoretical information on sustainable tourism, Overtourism and carrying capacity, as well as the evolution of tourism in Donostia-San Sebastian in order to contextualise the project and thus work on the general objective.
- Select indicators to measure the perception of the local community of the Parte Vieja on tourism.
- Design measurement tools (interviews and questionnaires) for the local community of the Parte Vieja to facilitate fieldwork and the collection of data and information.
- To explore potential measures to improve the local community's perception of tourism in Donostia-San Sebastian's Parte Vieja in order to be able to work along these lines and provide different options as a solution.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In the following section, a series of essential concepts will be developed to understand and contextualise the study carried out. Firstly, the concept of sustainable tourism will be analysed in order to arrive at social sustainability focused on tourism and to understand the meaning of touristification. And secondly the concepts of overtourism and tourism phobia will be studied, as well as their direct relationship with tourism and social carrying capacity.

2.1. Sustainable tourism

The first step is to understand what sustainable tourism is. The World Tourism Organization [UNWTO] (n.d.) explains that sustainable tourism is tourism that takes into consideration the current and future economic, social and environmental impacts of the industry. It aims to meet the needs of the whole community, including visitors, industry, environment and residents. Sustainable tourism seeks to create a balance between these three areas in order to develop the industry in a sustainable way in the long term, applying the principles of sustainable management and development to all destinations and all types of tourism (López López and de Esteban Curiel, 2010).

Furthermore, López Bonilla and López Bonilla (2008) review different definitions where Bramwell and Lane (1993) explain that sustainable tourism is a positive approach aimed at reducing the problems created by the interactions between the tourism sector, the environment, visitors and the local community. According to these authors, sustainable tourism not only gives importance to the economic factor but at the same time is based on local culture, natural and cultural resources. It also takes into account the tourist, the local community, the entrepreneurs and the public administration, as they are responsible for working together in order to elaborate strategic plans. These plans are based on sustainable tourism development, prioritising the creation of ethical codes for all actors involved in tourism (Cardoso, 2007). Likewise, with the intention of grouping the basic principles of

sustainability and helping to apply them in practice, Vera et al. (2001, cited in López Bonilla and López Bonilla, 2008, p.126) explain that

Sustainable tourism development is a process of qualitative change derived from the political will which, with the indispensable participation of the local population, adapts the institutional and legal framework as well as the planning and management instruments to a tourism development based on a balance between the preservation of the natural and cultural heritage, the economic viability of tourism and the social equity of development.

Although there are different definitions, they all agree that sustainable tourism must be based on the three pillars of sustainability (economic, social and environmental sustainability). At the same time, it has to guarantee the best use of environmental resources, which are an essential component of tourism development. In addition, it must take into account the sociocultural authenticity of the host communities, preserving their culture and traditions and ensuring that economic activities are feasible in the long term. Sustainable tourism also coordinates local internal and external resources, creating an opportunity for social, economic, environmental and cultural benefits. That is why it is necessary to know how to manage the possibilities of the destination based on the real situation, to avoid falling into the short term and into tourism models that fracture the harmony of the territory (López López and de Esteban Curiel, 2010).

Furthermore, according to Herrero (2002, cited in López Bonilla and López Bonilla, 2008, p.128) 'From the perspective of tourism that is planned and governed by the principles of sustainable development, the impacts of tourism must be defined, classified and measured in reference to a system of indicators'. These indicators began to be developed from the 1990s onwards by three international institutions, the World Travel Tourism Council (WWTC), the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) and the International Federation of Tour Operators. All these indicators are based on the three dimensions of sustainability: economic, sociocultural and environmental (Hughes 2002, cited in López

Bonilla and López Bonilla, 2008). According to the UNWTO, the 11 basic indicators are those that appear in Figure 1.

Figure 2

Basic sustainable tourism indicators

1. Local protection system or protection category according to the IUCN (International Union for Conservation of Nature) index
2. Pressure or number of tourists per year and month of high season
3. Intensity of use measured per tourist per hectare
4. Social impact or ratio of tourists to resident population (in high and mid season)
5. Control of the development or existence of a process for reviewing environmental impacts
6. Waste management or percentage of waste treated
7. Planning process or existence of a regional tourism plan
8. Critical ecosystems or number of endangered species
9. Consumer satisfaction or level of visitor satisfaction
10. Resident satisfaction or local level of satisfaction
11. Contribution of tourism to the local economy or proportion of total economic activity generated by tourism

Note: Own elaboration from Flores Asenjo and Parra Meroño (2010, p.3).

When talking about sustainable tourism, we must mention the Sustainable Development Goals, which, as the United Nations explains (n.d.), were a 'universal call to end poverty, protect the planet and ensure that by 2030 all people enjoy peace and prosperity'. The SDGs are 17 different goals dedicated to poverty, hunger, health and well-being, education, etc. Within the eighth goal, 'Decent work and economic growth', as well as within SDG 12, 'Responsible consumption and production', the importance of promoting sustainable tourism that creates jobs and promotes local culture and products is mentioned, creating tools to control the effects on sustainable development (undp.org, n.d.).

Thus, with the aim of laying the foundations for Spanish tourism to become a model of sustained and sustainable growth, the Spanish Government, with the help of the Secretary of State for Tourism, is developing the Spanish Sustainable Tourism Strategy 2030

(Ministerio de Industria y Turismo, 2022). This national tourism agenda seeks to address the challenges of tourism in the medium and long term, promoting the three dimensions of sustainability and involving both the tourism sector and the country's autonomous communities in the process. This new model will be based on improving the competitive capacity and profitability of tourism, the distinctive cultural and natural values of each destination and the equitable distribution of the benefits and burdens of the industry (Turismo.gob.es, n.d.).

In this theoretical context, it is essential to analyse how these principles are being applied in destinations such as Donostia-San Sebastian. This city has been particularly sensitive to the effects of mass tourism and has therefore committed to a clear strategy towards sustainable tourism. Donostia-San Sebastian's Tourism Master Plan (Plan Director Visit-Bizi 2023-2027) not only aims to improve the destination's competitiveness, but also places the balance between economic development, respect for the environment and the quality of life of citizens at the centre of tourism management. This plan aims to decentralise tourism, reduce seasonality and promote a more respectful model of tourism that is in line with local values Sansebastianturismoa.eus (2023).

2.1.1. Social sustainability

Having contextualised sustainability in the tourism sector, in this section we focus on the pillar on which this research work is based: the social pillar. As mentioned above, social sustainability is one of the three pillars of sustainable development set out in the Brundtland report from 1987 and is complemented by the other two, environmental and economic. It is true that several authors have spoken about social sustainability, however, no agreement has been reached on the exact meaning of the concept Puentes et al., (2021). Despite the lack of an exact definition, there is a set of terms and concepts that help to understand the concept, such as those proposed by Parada-Zuluaga and Sánchez-Vásquez (2014, cited in Puentes et al., 2021, p.98): 'the relationships between people, their forms of organisation,

their interactions, participation in decision-making and the distribution or redistribution of the benefits of development’.

Furthermore, Axelsson et al. (2013) comment that initially in the Brundtland report social sustainability focused on issues such as income inequality and poor health. However, at the Rio Conference on Environment and Development (1992), the issues of the right to live a dignified life, social justice between generations and local participation in sustainable development processes were added (McGuinn et al., 2020).

With regard to the social sustainability of tourism, there is also no consensus on the exact definition of the concept. However, the existing definitions agree that the social sustainability of tourism emphasises the needs and interests of residents, the preservation of their identity, the balance of social or cultural systems, as well as the permanence of social capital (Pareto Boada et al., 2020).

In other words, when we talk about social sustainability in tourism, we are talking about an interrelationship between quality of life, social development and tourist activity. And this sustainability is based on 10 criteria, which are measured on the basis of different indicators (to see the indicators for each criteria, see Appendix A) (Pareto Boada et al., 2020):

1. Respecting the sociocultural authenticity of host communities
2. Preserving the social carrying capacity of the territory
3. Guaranteeing the functional diversity of the city
4. Involving citizens in the tourism planning process
5. Guaranteeing access to housing
6. Guaranteeing accessibility
7. Guaranteeing a quality coexistence between residents and visitors
8. Guaranteeing access to decent work
9. Guarantee security
10. Guarantee gender equality

The aforementioned Donostia-San Sebastian Master Plan is structured around five pillars: sustainability (in its three dimensions: social, environmental and economic), balance (between residents, visitors and industry stakeholders), quality (of life, of visits and of the destination itself), authenticity (defence of local identity, the Basque language and traditions), and participation and collaboration (between citizens, visitors and the public/private sector). These pillars are clearly aligned with the ten criteria for social sustainability proposed by Pareto Boada et al. (2020), such as respect for sociocultural authenticity, preservation of carrying capacity, citizen participation in planning, and the guarantee of quality coexistence.

At the same time, campaigns such as 'Donostiarras a favor de un turismo sostenible' (Donostia-San Sebastian's residents in favour of sustainable tourism) demonstrate a clear political will to involve citizens in the reflection on the tourism model. These actions seek to raise awareness among both residents and visitors about the challenges of tourism and the need for respectful coexistence (Sansebastianturismoa.eus, 2023).

2.1.2. Touristification

In this section, we will analyse touristification, a concept mentioned in the introduction, in greater depth with the aim of contextualising the project.

The process of touristification is a functional change of space, with an increase in the activities carried out by visitors to a destination and caused both by these visitors and by tourism companies and/or the managers of the territory (Calle Vaquero, 2019). On 7 March 2017, the Fundación del Español Urgente (Fundéu) recognised the term 'touristification' as a proper noun meaning 'the impact that tourist overcrowding has on the commercial and social fabric of certain neighbourhoods or cities' (Martínez León and Gómez Maturano, 2022, p.285). Furthermore, according to the Fundéu dictionary (2017, cited in Ramírez-Vázquez and De la Cruz-Dávila, 2020, p.34) the noun touristification also defines 'the impact on the residents of a neighbourhood or city of the fact that services, facilities and shops are oriented and conceived with the tourist in mind rather than the citizen who lives there

permanently'. Likewise, as Knafou (1996, cited in Calle Vaquero 2019, p.2) explains, the scope of this change 'varies depending on the magnitude of tourist activity, the specific characteristics of each centre and the capacity of local governments to address this situation'.

But how does the process of touristification manifest itself? Calle Vaquero (2019) proposes the idea that touristification in urban centres is created by the presence of five factors:

1. A greater number of visitors to urban areas.
2. An increase in activities directly related to the tourism sector.
3. An increase in businesses aimed at visitors rather than residents.
4. The transformation of housing into a tourism product.
5. The creation of an urban landscape where tourism elements prevail.

The first factor is the presence of visitors in cities. They are present in the streets, on the roads, in museums and monuments, in squares, on public transport, in tourist areas, in car parks, etc., and their pace is not usually in line with that of the locals. The places they frequent are places travelled by residents busy with their chores and the presence of visitors hinders their mobility. In addition, a large part of them move around in groups, thus occupying transit space. Although these situations are already known, there is still a long way to go to master them.

We are still not able to determine their weight within the group of people who habitually use urban centres. Only a small number of museums and monuments record the origin of visitors, beyond their status as national or foreign. And mobility studies do not usually discriminate between tourist and non-tourist components. (Calle Vaquero, 2019, p.15)

The second factor is the adaptation of consumer activities to the interests of visitors. The basis of these activities is accommodation, since spending the night away from home is a

fundamental factor in visitors being considered tourists. According to the data that appears in the Hotel Tourism Survey carried out by INE, overnight stays in hotel establishments in July 2023, at more than 43.1 million, exceed those of the previous year by 2.5% (INE, 2023). Furthermore, if we compare these figures with those of 10 years ago, we can see that this amount has been increasing, since in 2013, 37.6 million visits were registered in the same month (INE, 2013). Furthermore, the increase in visitors not only benefits accommodation activities, but tourist-oriented businesses such as souvenir shops, exchange offices, tour guide companies, transport companies and excursion companies are also expanding as the number of visitors increases.

The third factor of touristification is directly related to the second, as it is the reallocation of commercial and hospitality activities towards tourists. Businesses such as bars, bookshops, food shops or even clothes shops are adapting to the needs of tourists. They adapt their opening hours, their prices, the languages of customer service, even the products they sell. Clear examples are the local bars and restaurants, which adapt their meals for tourists by creating takeaway options, or the food shops that offer products such as drinks, sandwiches or individual fruits.

The fourth factor is about the conversion of housing into a tourist product. As Calle Vaquero (2019, p.17) rightly says, in the past 'the creation of space for tourist accommodation was a slow process and subject to strong administrative control, as it involved the construction or transformation of entire buildings located in areas generally subject to heritage restrictions'. However, today, the supply of tourist accommodation adapts perfectly to variations in demand, which means that it operates in an irregular way and makes it very difficult to control.

And finally, the fifth factor is a direct consequence of the previous ones, as everything mentioned directly affects the urban landscape. Cities fill up with visitors, businesses adapt to their interests and their signs clutter the pavements, tourist accommodation increases,

etc. All these manifestations have six clear effects: the deterioration of the urban scene, increased pollution and congestion, the simplification of the destination, residential decline, the deterioration of tourist resources and, finally, local rejection of tourism.

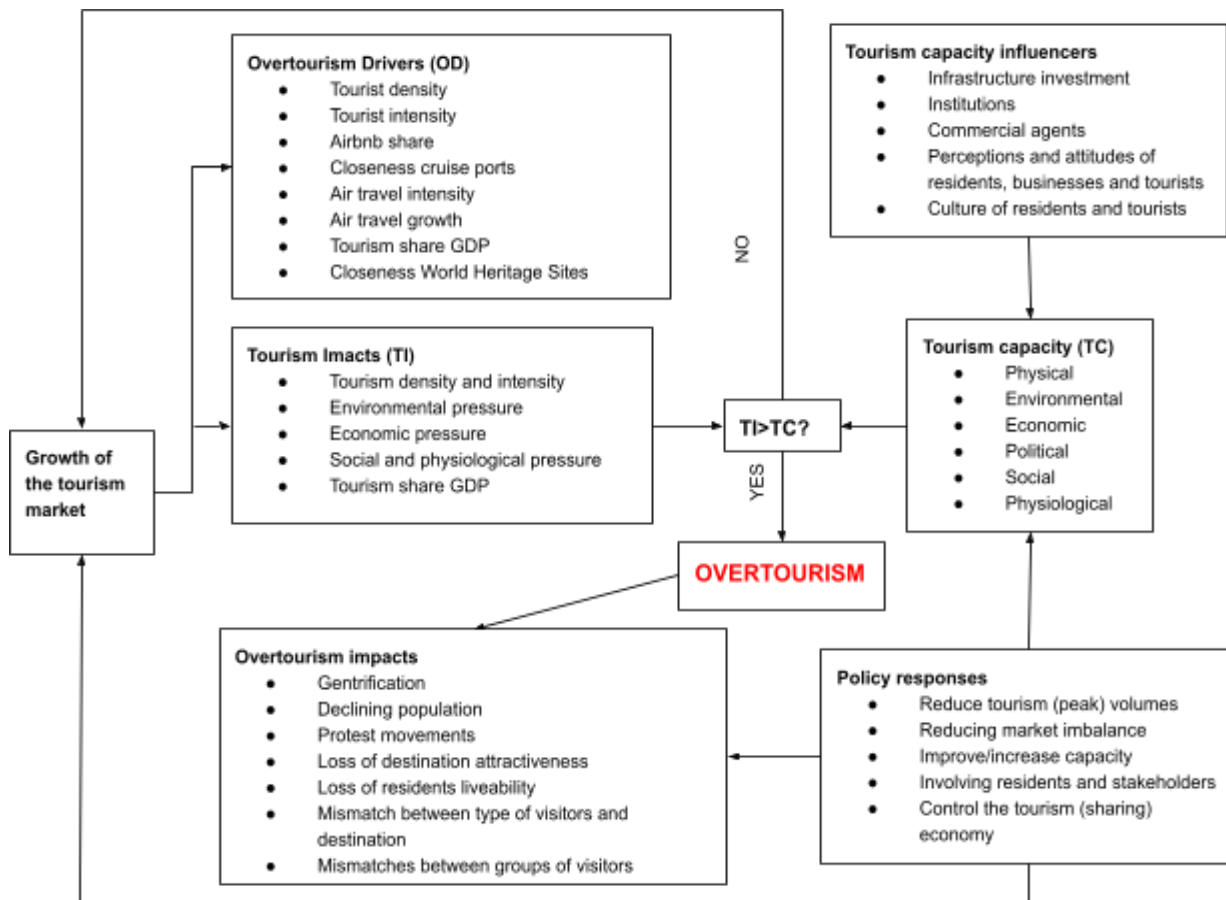
2.2. Overtourism and Tourism Phobia

As Cheung and Li (2019) explain, the concept of 'overtourism' began to be seen as a massive, poorly coordinated influx of visitors to the most popular places. Furthermore, according to Goodwin (2017) this term describes destinations where both tourists and residents consider that there are too many visitors, which leads to a deterioration in the quality of life and the travel experience (all of them cited in Veríssimo et al., 2020).

In order to connect and summarise the most important aspects of Overtourism, Peeters et al., (2018), have created a conceptual model of the phenomenon that provides an overview of its main elements, which are represented in Figure 1. What this model shows is that each destination has a different composition, volume and growth of the tourism market. As can be seen in the mentioned figure, there are different factors that can lead to overtourism, such as tourist density or the proximity of cruise ports. The drivers of overtourism cause tourist impacts, which are interrelated with tourist density and pressure in different areas such as the physical, environmental, economical, social, physiological and political. For each area of impact there are different limits. These limits are not constant or the same for each destination and can change according to investments in infrastructure and the evolution of residents' perceptions and attitudes. Even if only one of the limits in these areas is exceeded in a destination, the destination enters a state of Overtourism, and in that case social and/or cultural conflicts between visitors and residents could begin to occur (Peeters et al., 2018).

Figure 3

Conceptual model of Overtourism



Note: Own elaboration from Peeters et al., (2018).

Furthermore, Singh (2018) makes a distinction, in this case between Overtourism and mass tourism, and according to this author, mass tourism occurs when large numbers of tourists visit the same place at the same time of year, this being the best known and most affordable type of tourism. Whereas Overtourism describes places where there is a feeling that there are too many tourists, which jeopardises the quality of the experience (all of them cited in Veríssimo et al., 2020). This is why the feeling of saturation will be conditioned by the perception of all the agents involved in the process and not only by the number of visits (Milano, 2018). According to this same author (p.556) 'based on certain criticisms and complaints, the different groups have been weaving synergies that have converged in numerous meetings in cities such as Barcelona, Madrid, Palma, Venice, Seville, Lisbon and Donostia-San Sebastian giving rise to several protests in different places. These meetings

and protests have managed to direct local policies, social movements and the media to question this industry, managing to reduce tourism to political instrumentalisation and the media ostentation of the term 'tourism phobia' (Milano, 2018).

But what is tourism phobia? According to Milano (2017), tourism phobia is a term used in the media to describe the declaration of social unease against tourist pressure. This unease, a consequence of the saturation caused by tourism, has been observed in different European destinations for a decade now and has been denounced in different ways. However, 'given the different causes, characteristics and concerns, one must avoid the trap of falling into a reductionist view of this complex and contemporary phenomenon' (p.5). It should also be noted that although each destination experiences a different situation, there are several specific practices that cause this unease (Milano, 2017, 2018):

- The privatisation and congestion of public areas.
- The obstruction of public areas of the city.
- The growth of cruise tourism and, consequently, the growth of the seasonal nature of the day-tripper and the congestion that this entails.
- The increase in housing prices.
- The deterioration of the purchasing power of the inhabitants of the destination.
- Imbalance between the number of visitors and residents.
- Environmental impact, pollution and waste generation.
- Precariousness and outsourcing in tourism sector jobs.

Other authors such as Pérez-García and García Abad (2018, p.203) explain that this concept, in the case of Spain, 'manifested itself intensely in 2017 as a result of a spectacular and drastic growth in tourism, especially on the Mediterranean coast and on the Spanish islands'. The word itself denotes the residents' rejection of tourism. Behaviors such as the graffiti 'tourists go home' or protests against the rise in prices of more central housing due to tourist apartments, are evidence that a large part of the inhabitants have a negative opinion

and vision of tourism. Considering tourists ‘a kind of invader who not only generates benefits but also damages the quality of life’ (p.203). In the case of Donostia-San Sebastian, this phenomenon has become increasingly visible in recent years, especially during the summer months. Local media have reported on the discomfort among residents due to overcrowding in the city centre, the rising cost of housing, and the saturation of public spaces such as La Concha or Parte Vieja (Lobera, 2023). In response, proposals like the creation of a Tourism Pressure Index by political groups such as EH Bildu show a growing institutional concern (Lozano and Goyoaga, 2024; Lopetegi, 2024). The presence of protest slogans, such as “Tourists go home” or “The neighbourhood it is not for sale”, local mobilisations and increasing criticism in the press reflect a rising perception that the current tourism model is eroding the quality of life of local citizens. In this context, the case of Donostia-San Sebastian exemplifies how a globally attractive destination can begin to face social tensions when the balance between residents' well-being and the pressures of the tourism industry is not adequately managed.

When talking about the phenomenon of ‘tourism phobia’, we must not forget Doxey's Irritability Index (Irridex). This is one of the oldest and most prestigious theoretical models that have attempted to explain the relationship between tourism development and the social impact on the destination (Quaglieri Domínguez, 2018). This model mentions four phases of the responses of host communities to the impacts of tourism development (Gursoy and Nunkoo, 2019):

1. Euphoria: Tourism development begins and residents show an enthusiastic attitude towards the presence of visitors in their city.
2. Apathy: Residents perceive the increase in tourists and some begin to take advantage of this tourist development and create commercial relationships with the sector, while others begin to see the social, cultural, economic and environmental

changes that tourism is creating in their environment. Tourism is no longer a novelty and the enthusiastic attitudes of the first stage begin to fade.

3. Irritation: This phase is characterised by greater intensity, residents begin to become irritated as a result of tourism, which provokes negative attitudes towards the sector.
4. Antagonism: Residents express their opposition to tourism development. The community stops welcoming visitors and begins to display behaviour ranging from indifference to hostility. According to Gursoy and Nunkoo (2019), during this stage not only does the profile of visitors change, but the community also begins to develop negative stereotypes about the industry and the tourists themselves. The destination no longer attracts travellers looking for an exclusive or niche product and, depending on the development of the product and the tourism policies adopted, the place declines or rejuvenates.

It is in the last two phases where the presence of tourism phobia can be seen, as in these there is a clear rejection of tourism, a consequence of the excess of visitors at the destination (Pérez-García and García Abad, 2018).

2.2.1. Tourism Carrying Capacity

According to García (2003, cited in Álvarez, 2010, p.227) carrying capacity is 'the maximum number of visitors beyond which the costs generated by tourist activity exceed the benefits it produces'. Likewise, according to the UNWTO (1981, cited in Pulido-Fernández et al., 2024, p.1) tourist carrying capacity 'measures the volume of tourists who can visit a destination without causing serious physical, economic or sociocultural alterations in the territory, on the one hand, and without affecting visitor satisfaction, on the other'. But, as Segrado, Palafox and Arroyo (2008, cited in López Bonilla and López Bonilla, 2008, p.136) explain, 'the concept of tourist carrying capacity should not be interpreted exclusively as a limiter, but also as an identifier of the factors linked to the growth of tourist activity'. The objective of

measuring carrying capacity is to know when congestion and obstruction in tourism development begins (Vera et al. 1997, cited in López Bonilla and López Bonilla, 2008).

In addition, carrying capacity is made up of three elements Esquivel Ríos et al. (2022):

1. Physical carrying capacity, which determines the maximum number of visits that can be made to a place at a specific time (Cifuentes M., 1992).
2. Economic carrying capacity, that is, the capacity of the destination to support tourism without affecting the development of the destination's activities (Clavé and González, 2011).
3. Social carrying capacity, which according to González, M. and León, C., (2010) analyses 'the level of tourism activity above which residents perceive their well-being to begin declining' (p.10).

In this regard, Donostia-San Sebastian has taken as a significant step by launching a study to assess its own carrying capacity. This initiative was officially approved by the City Council with the aim of improving tourism management and ensuring that the city's social, environmental and economic balance is not compromised (Ayuntamiento de Donostia, 2023). The measure was promoted by the perception of increasing tourist pressure, especially during the summer season and in emblematic areas such as the Parte Vieja and La Concha. By analysing the city's limits in terms of infrastructure, services and resident well-being, the municipality aims to define a strategic threshold that will allow for more sustainable planning, helping to prevent overcrowding and to protect both the quality of life of residents and the tourists experience itself (Donostia.eus, 2025).

2.2.2. Social Carrying Capacity

As seen in the previous section and as with sustainability, carrying capacity also has a social dimension. Saveriades (2000, cited in Tokarchuk et al., 2021) defines the concept of 'social carrying capacity' as the maximum number of tourists that can be in a destination, without

their activities being unacceptable to local residents and without preventing tourists from enjoying the destination.

Likewise, according to Echamendi Lorente (2001, p.15) 'this type of capacity refers to the level of tolerance of the host populations towards the presence and behaviour of tourists and is related to cultural impacts'. Therefore, social carrying capacity has two components: the first is the quality of the tourist's experience before they look for another destination, and the second is the local population's level of tolerance of the presence of tourists (Pirdaus bin Yusoh et al., 2021).

From the tourist's perspective, it can be said to be the 'minimum level of satisfaction of the tourist destination visitor without unacceptably altering their interest in their visit' (López Bonilla and López Bonilla, 2007, p.27). Or as they rightly say (Brandolini and Mosetti, 2005; De Ruyck et al., 1997; Kong et al., 2014, cited in Pulido-Fernández et al., 2024, p.3) 'refers to the maximum number of visitors tolerated by the tourists themselves without reducing the quality of their recreational experience and without wishing to go to an alternative destination or even return home'.

From the perspective of residents on the presence of tourism, it can be said that it is the level of impact that tourism has on their lives (Tokarchuk et al., 2021) and 'the maximum number of visitors that residents can bear without it affecting their daily lives' (Brandolini and Mosetti, 2005; De Ruyck et al., 1997; Kong et al., 2014, cited in Pulido-Fernández et al., 2024, p.3)

The social carrying capacity is one of the most difficult to measure compared to the physical, ecological and economic carrying capacity, as it depends on the different perceptions and values of individuals (Saveriades, 2000; Symmonds and Hammitt, 2000, cited in Pirdaus bin Yusoh et al., 2021). Despite being difficult to measure, there are indicators that can help to measure the social carrying capacity of a destination from the perspective of residents, such as those proposed by Flores Asenjo and Parra Meroño (2010) and shown in Table 2.

Table 1*Indicators of social carrying capacity from the perspective of the resident*

Carrying capacity indicators	
Perception of environmental problems	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Response to variations in water and energy tariffs. -Assessment of supply management. -Renewable energy sources/non-renewable sources. -Importance given by the population to conservation (survey). -Participation rate in conservation programmes. -Percentage of expenditure on environmental education and expenditure per capita. -Percentage of participation in environmental training.
Perception of social costs and economic benefits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Number of jobs generated by the activity. -Cost/benefit ratio of the main tourist attractions. -Tourism's contribution to tax revenues
Maximising the participation of the local community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Number of local tourist businesses/total number of tourist businesses. -Local tourist and conservation activities/total activities. -Local and regional tourist development plans.
Perception of saturation/overcrowding	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Perception-satisfaction survey. No. of visitors/hotel beds/bars and restaurants. - Satisfaction with quality/price and percentage of repeat visits.

Note: Own elaboration from Flores Asenjo and Parra Meroño (2010, p. 8,9).

3. METHODOLOGY

According to Hernández Sampieri et al. (2014), all research is a collection of methodical, critical, and practical processes that are applied to the analysis of a fact or problem. Furthermore, as the author rightly points out, 'All research must be transparent and subject to criticism and replication, and this exercise is only possible if the researcher clearly defines the population studied and makes the sample selection process explicit' (p. 170). For this reason, we have proceeded to select the appropriate sample for this research and then to select the tools we will use to search for information.

3.1. Sample selection

To begin with, the samples to be used must be selected. In this case, sampling have been intentional or convenient, since the groups are carefully selected, guided by the researcher's interests. There have been 10 baseline samples, which will then be used to distribute the questionnaires to more samples. These have been selected from a list and have been considered a stratified sample, as it will be divided into three groups: residents of the Parte Vieja, workers and business owners in the same neighbourhood, see Table 2 (Hernández Sampieri et al., 2014; Hernández Ávila and Carpio, 2019).

The selection of the three profiles: residents, workers and property owners in la Parte Vieja of Donostia-San Sebastian, responds to the need to address the perception of tourism from a broad perspective that is representative of the social realities that coexist in the neighborhood. Each of these profiles is related to the territory in a different way, which allows for a more complete and nuanced view of the phenomenon of touristification and its impacts.

Since the percentage of responses for each profile is likely to vary, it has been decided to give the same analytical weight to each group. This decision reflects the exploratory nature of the study, which does not aim to provide a proportional statistical representation of the population, but rather to understand the perceptual differences between profiles.

Table 2*Sample selection*

GROUPS	PROFILE	JUSTIFICATION
Residents	This group is made up of people who live in the neighborhood and experience it as their everyday living place.	There are people who live in the neighborhood as their home, with an emotional and everyday connection to it. Their perception is key to understanding how tourism affects fundamental aspects such as livability, neighborhood identity, the transformation of local commerce, and daily coexistence. Living in the neighborhood, they can offer a direct view of the changes they perceive and their emotional and practical impact.
Workers	This group includes people who work in the neighborhood, especially in sectors that have direct contact with the public, such as hospitality, retail and leisure.	This profile has been considered in order to analyze how tourism is perceived from an employment perspective, paying particular attention to issues such as job security, seasonal pressure, working conditions and daily interactions with visitors.
Business owners	This profile includes people who have business or establishments operating within the neighborhood.	Different types of businesses to analyse different perceptions, regardless of whether they benefit directly from tourism or not. This group has been chosen because it provides a perspective from the economic management of urban space, allowing for an assessment of the role of tourism in the viability of businesses, changes in clientele, and the perception of opportunities or problems associated with the current model.

Note: Own elaboration

3.2. Design of measurement tools

After selecting the sample, the next step is to identify the appropriate instruments for collecting the necessary information. Data collection can be both quantitative and qualitative; in this case, due to the nature of the work, a mixed measurement has been chosen (Hernández Sampieri et al., 2014).

The questionnaire was implemented using Google Forms and distributed digitally, encouraging anonymous and voluntary participation. The initial structure of the form collects basic demographic data such as age and gender, as well as a classification question to identify the profile of the respondent. Based on this response, a branching logic was activated that automatically directs each person to a specific block of questions tailored to their situation.

The block of questions for residents explores issues such as the transformation of the neighbourhood (touristification) and the perception of tourist saturation, as well as questions related to the indicators mentioned above. The block aimed at workers includes similar questions, but focused on their work experience in the neighbourhood, their working conditions and the relationship between tourism and precariousness. Finally, the block for business owners also includes questions about renting or buying premises, relationships with customers and how tourism affects the stability of their business.

14 questions have been asked, mostly in a closed format (yes/no and Likert scale), the option "I don't know" has not been included because previous surveys have shown that many people choose this answer even when they have an opinion. To obtain clearer and more comparable data, it was important that respondents clearly state their position with a yes or no answer. In addition, four open-ended questions have been included at the end of the form to gather personal impressions on the impact of tourism, both positive and negative, and suggestions for improving coexistence between residents and visitors (to see the survey go to Appendix B).

In order to ensure a sufficient sample for analysis, a minimum of 15-20 responses per profile has been established, representing a minimum total of between 45 and 60 completed surveys. This figure is considered adequate within the exploratory approach of this study, allowing trends to be observed, common problems to be identified and fundamental lines of argument to be established from the point of view of the local population. Based on the approach mentioned in the section on "Sample selection," each group will be analyzed individually, paying attention to its own internal trends, and then compared with the other profiles in relation to the same indicators.

According to the questions, it has been verified that all the topics mentioned in the theoretical framework have similar indicators (since they all refer to the social dimension and its relationship with tourism). That is why a table has been drawn up for the development of the questions. In this table, the indicators are separated by topics developed in the theoretical framework and by their authors, in order to collect the most repeated and relevant indicators (see Appendix C).

After creating this table, the following indicators were selected:

1. The increase in activities and businesses directly related to the sector (events, festivals, bars, music, restaurants, etc.) and respect for the sociocultural authenticity of the host communities.
2. Housing problems (transformation of housing into a tourist product, loss of habitability for residents, increase in housing prices, etc.).
3. The imbalance between the number of visitors and residents (preserving the social carrying capacity of the territory, perception of saturation, ensuring quality coexistence between residents and visitors, overcrowding, protests).
4. The privatisation, obstruction and congestion of public spaces.
5. The level of participation and involvement of the local community in the tourism planning process.

6. Job insecurity and outsourcing in the tourism sector.
7. Environmental impact (waste generation, noise and light pollution, deterioration of the urban landscape with tourist elements etc.).
8. Declining safety and rising crime.

Following Hernández Sampieri et al. (2014), a descriptive and comparative analysis will be carried out using a concurrent triangulation approach (DITRIAC), in which quantitative and qualitative data will be analysed in parallel and interpreted in an integrated manner, with the aim of enriching the understanding of the phenomenon studied. In relation to quantitative data, frequency calculations, percentages and central tendency measures (mean, mode) will be performed and, in some cases, basic comparisons between profiles will be made. Qualitative data will be analysed by reading and categorising the open-ended responses by theme, looking for narrative patterns and specific proposals from the participants. Depending on the final size of the sample by groups, the possibility of applying the Chi-square or ANOVA test will be assessed. Finally, the data will be processed using Excel.

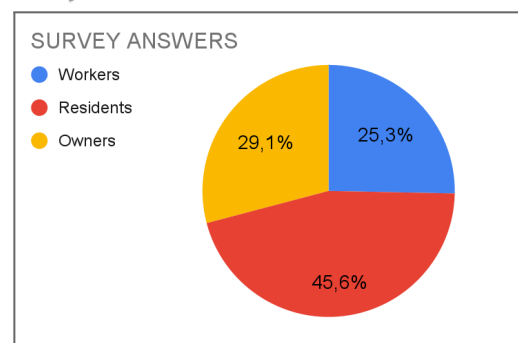
4. ANALYSIS AND RESULTS OBTAINED

4.1. Demographic results analysis

Before addressing the socio-demographic profile of the respondents, it should be noted that the questionnaire obtained a total of 79 valid responses. 45.6% of the responses came from residents, providing a direct, everyday view of the impact of tourism on daily life. Meanwhile, 25.3% corresponded to workers in the neighbourhood,

allowing perceptions to be gathered from work experience, especially in sectors linked to tourism, and the remainder were business owners, whose point of view is key to understanding the economic and commercial approaches derived from tourist activity.

Figure 4
Survey Answers



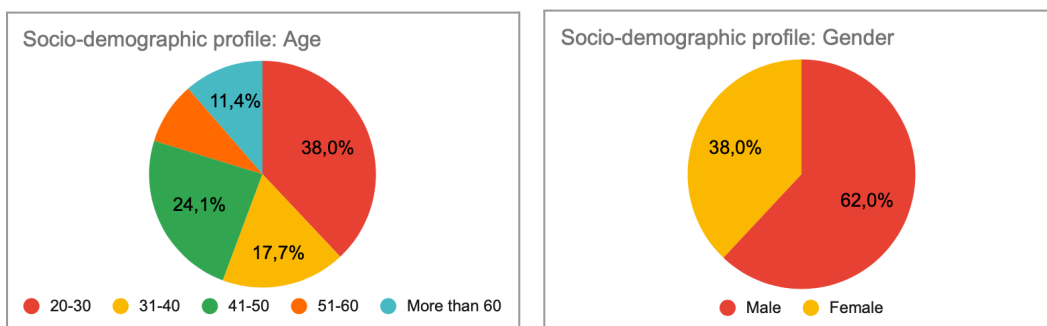
Note: Own elaboration

This distribution balances the three profiles proposed by the study, although with a greater presence of residents, which reinforces the social and territorial nature of the opinions gathered. It should be noted that, as the profiles analysed do not have the same sample weight, each one is studied separately, respecting its proportion within the total number of responses. The analysis will focus on comparing internal trends by profile rather than constructing a generalised average, in order to avoid biases arising from unequal numerical representation.

In terms of sociodemographic profile, it is worth mentioning that most of the people surveyed are between 20 and 30 years old, followed by the 41 to 50 age group. This suggests that the perceptions gathered come mainly from a young adult population who, although they may not have as much historical background in the neighbourhood as previous generations, are very much present in the daily life of the Parte Vieja, whether as recent residents, workers in the sector or leisure consumers.

The over-60s, probably one of the groups most affected by the transformation of the neighbourhood due to tourism, are under-represented, which may be a significant limitation when analysing perceptions linked to loss of identity, noise, insecurity or the expulsion of traditional businesses.

Figure 5
Sociodemographic profiles

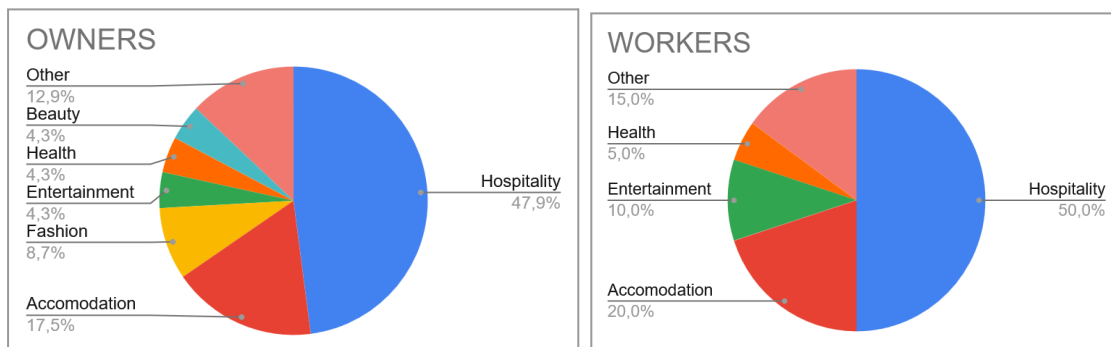


Note: Own elaboration

From a gender perspective, the higher proportion of male responses (62%) may influence the interpretation of some variables, especially those related to perceptions of safety, use of public space and coexistence, which tend to differ by gender in many urban studies.

When asked about the sector in which they work or own a business, the results show a clear predominance of tourism. In the case of workers, 50% are employed in the hospitality industry, followed by 20% in the accommodation sector and 10% in entertainment, confirming the importance of tourism in the neighbourhood's employability. As for business owners, the distribution is similar: 47.8% say they have a hospitality establishment, while 17.4% are linked to accommodation and 8.7% to fashion shops. These figures reinforce the idea that much of the economic activity in the Parte Vieja is visitor-oriented, and that both workers and owners have a direct relationship with sectors that are particularly sensitive to tourist numbers.

Figure 6
Working sector



Note: Own elaboration

In order to gain a broader understanding of participant profiles and gender weighting, certain data has been cross-referenced in detail. To this end, the age groups with the highest representation in the sample were selected and analyzed. Based on these groups, the variables of gender, profile (resident, worker, or owner) and, in the case of workers and owners, the sector of activity to which they belong, were cross-referenced. This selection and cross-referencing of data provides a richer and more nuanced view of the dynamics present in the sample, as well as the possible differences between men and women and between different age groups.

The data obtained show the following:

- Women in the range of 20-30 years old: within this age range, 46.15% are residents, the same percentage are workers, and 7.70% are homeowners. Female workers are distributed among the accommodation (50%), hospitality (16.67%), law (16.67%), and entertainment (16.67%) sectors. The only property owner runs a beauty salon.
- Women in the range of 41-50 years old: Of this age group, 37.5% are residents. 12.5% work in the health sector and 50% are property owners, half of whom run accommodation and hospitality businesses and the other half fashion and sports businesses.
- Men in the range of 20-30 years old: This group includes 58.82% of residents, 29.41% of workers, of whom 80% are employed in hospitality, 10% in accommodation, and the remaining 10% in construction. And 11.76% are property owners, 60% of whom have a hospitality business, followed by 20% in accommodation and another 20% in entertainment.
- Men in the range of 41-50 years old: Of the men in this age group, 27.27% are residents, the same percentage are workers, and the rest are property owners (45.45%). Workers are distributed as follows: 66.66% in the hospitality sector and the rest in other sectors. Among property owners, those related to hospitality and accommodation predominate.

If we analyze all of the above, we see that there are a number of relevant trends to consider: In both genders, the weight of the owner profile increases with age, although this increase is more pronounced among men, especially in sectors linked to leisure and tourism (hospitality, accommodation, entertainment). This is a logical process linked to the life and professional cycle, as acquiring a business requires capital, experience, stability, etc., elements that are acquired with age. It also reflects the effect of traditional roles, where men have historically had a greater presence in business management.

In the case of young women (aged 20-30), there is greater sectoral diversity among workers and less access to property. This may be due to the fact that women now have greater access to different professional fields. However, access to property is more limited than in the group of young men, for the reasons already mentioned.

In contrast, in the 41-50 age group, the profile of female property owners gains weight and is oriented towards both housing and specialized commerce (fashion, sports). With age, women gain greater access to property, but they do so especially in traditional businesses that have been more closely linked to women, such as fashion retail or accommodation, a sector in which female participation has been more notable in the area of small family businesses.

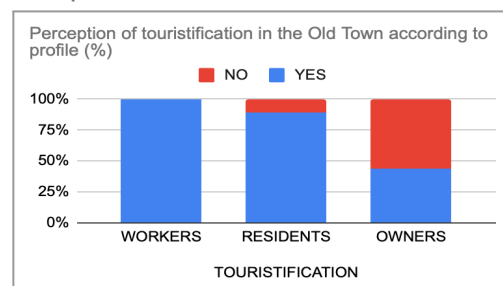
Young men, on the other hand, have a profile clearly linked to residence and work in the hospitality industry, and when they become homeowners, they do so exclusively in rental accommodation. This reflects direct entry into sectors with high demand for young labor, such as catering.

Finally, among men aged 41-50, property ownership is mainly linked to tourism and leisure, confirming the predominance of men in these sectors from a certain age onwards.

4.2. Touristification and Tourism Phobia results analysis

When asked whether they consider the Parte Vieja to be touristified, 100% of workers say yes, the neighbourhood is clearly geared towards tourism. Among residents, 88.9% also perceive it this way, while only 11.1% do not.

Figure 7
Perception of touristification



Note: Own elaboration

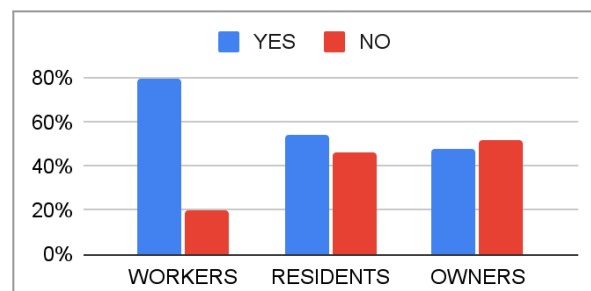
Among business owners, however, the trend is reversed, with 56.5% considering that the neighbourhood is not touristified, compared to 43.5% who do. These results reflect a clear division between those who experience the

neighbourhood in their daily lives (residents and workers) and those who manage it as an economic space (owners). In other words, the fact that all workers and almost all residents perceive touristification suggests a direct experience of the transformations in the environment. On the other hand, the perception of owners is more divided and even mostly denies touristification. This could be understood as the normalisation of the tourism model as part of the business and the assimilation of tourism, as it is an economic opportunity, especially considering the sector that predominates in the profile of property owners.

Regarding the question on tourism phobia: Have you witnessed or felt attitudes of rejection or tension towards tourists or tourism in the neighbourhood (tourism phobia)? The results reveal a more balanced and less overwhelming distribution than in the perception of touristification:

- Among workers, 78.9% say they have perceived tourism phobia, compared to 21.1% who have not.
- In the case of residents, 55.6% acknowledge having observed or felt it, while 44.4% have not.
- For their part, property owners show almost the opposite result: 52.2% say they have not perceived tourism phobia and 47.8% have.

Figure 8
Perception of tourism phobia



Note: Own elaboration

These results show that, although there is a widespread perception that the neighbourhood is touristified, this does not necessarily translate into an equally widespread presence of tourism phobia. The consensus around touristification is clear and cross-cutting among the three profiles (especially workers and residents), but the existence of negative attitudes towards tourists is more nuanced. Workers, who are in direct contact with visitors on a daily basis, are the ones who perceive the most tourism phobia. This can be explained by direct

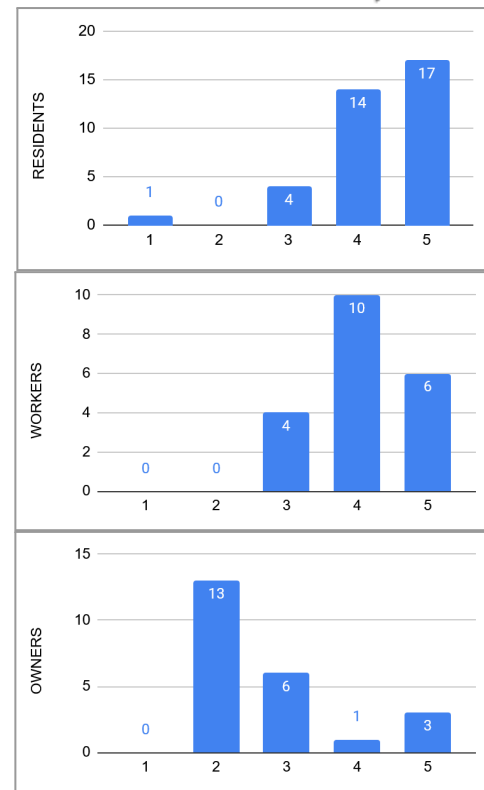
contact, tense situations, or the extra workload associated with periods of high tourist numbers. On the other hand, residents, although more than 50% admit to having observed tensions, show a more divided perception. This suggests that many of them, although they experience the consequences of tourism, do not necessarily express direct rejection towards tourists. Finally, property owners once again show a more restrained perception. More than half have not perceived tourism phobia, which may be related to their more economic than emotional connection to the neighbourhood.

4.3. Indicators results analysis

In terms of the eight indicators selected for the development of the questions, for the indicator: Tourist activities VS sociocultural authenticity, where the question was: Do you think that the increase in tourist businesses has negatively affected the daily life and traditions of the neighbourhood? A Likert scale was used, where 0 was not at all and 5 was very much.

In the case of workers, 52.6% gave a score of 4 and 26.3% gave a score of 5. In other words, 78.9% perceive a high or very high negative impact on their daily lives and neighbourhood traditions. On the other hand, 47.2% of residents rated the impact as 5, and 38.9% as 4. Therefore, 86.1% consider the negative impact to be high. In contrast, 56.5% of owners responded with a 2, 26.1% with a 3, 4.3% with a 4 and only 13% with a 5. This shows that more than half consider the negative impact to be low (2) and less than 18% score above 4.

Figure 9
Tourist activities VS sociocultural authenticity

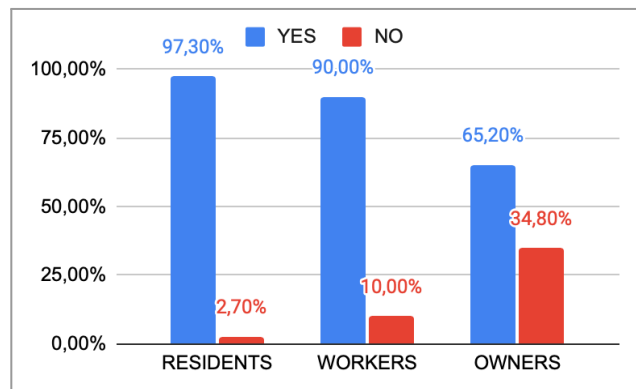


Note: Own elaboration

This indicator and these results reveal a clear gap between the perceptions of residents and workers and those of property owners. While the former consider that tourism is seriously eroding the socio-cultural authenticity of the neighbourhood, the latter mostly interpret it as having a moderate impact. This contrast suggests that touristification not only transforms the physical space of the neighbourhood, but also the way in which different actors value that transformation. For those who live or work in the old part of the city on a daily basis, the change is perceived as a loss. However, for those who run businesses, it can be seen as a necessary or even desirable adaptation.

With regard to the second indicator, which focuses on housing problems associated with tourism, such as the conversion of homes into tourist accommodation and the loss of habitability, the data show a very high perception of impact among residents and workers. 97.3% of residents say that tourism has had a negative impact on housing issues, while 90% of workers say

Figure 10
Housing problems



Note: Own elaboration

that tourism has made it difficult to find housing near their place of work. These percentages reflect widespread concern about access to housing, which is clearly perceived as one of the main negative effects of the current tourism model.

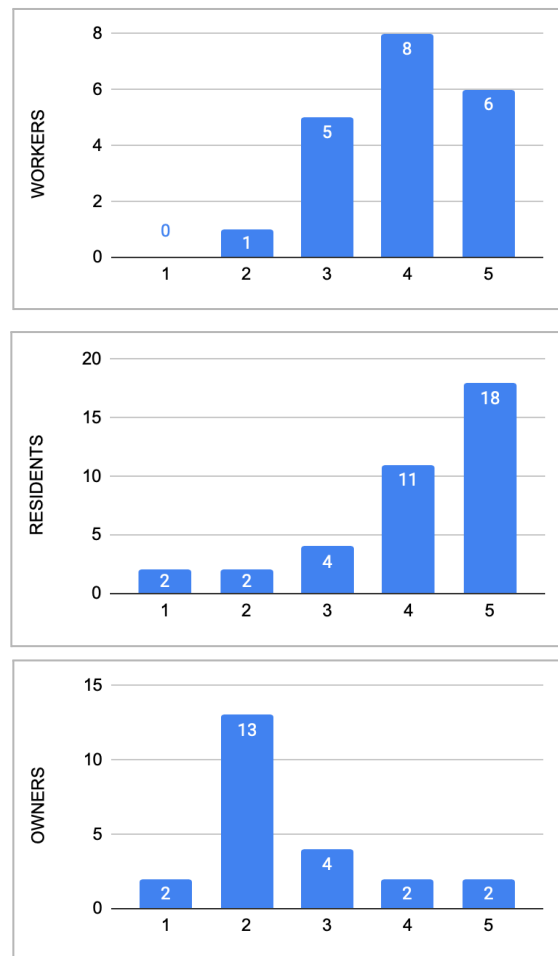
However, the view of business owners differs significantly: 65.2% say they have not had any problems related to renting or buying their premises because of tourism, and only 34.8% acknowledge having been affected. This divergence could be explained by the fact that many owners have owned their premises for years or have accepted market changes as part of the natural functioning of the neighbourhood.

In relation to the question posed about saturation and coexistence: ‘Do you feel that tourist saturation is affecting the normal development of your business or your relationship with local customers?’ A Likert scale from 1 to 5 was used, where 1 indicated ‘not at all’ and 5 indicated ‘very much’. The results show clear differences between the profiles, allowing us to understand how each group perceives the effects of tourist saturation on coexistence and neighbourhood dynamics.

Among workers, the majority have a high perception of the impact: 25% scored 5, 30% scored 4 and 40% scored 3, which adds up to 95% of responses in the medium-high impact range. Only 5% responded with a 2 and no workers selected 1. This distribution shows that, for those in direct contact with the tourist flow, the saturation of the neighbourhood hinders daily relations with local customers and disrupts the normal rhythm of work.

In the case of residents, the pattern is similar, with an even greater weighting in the highest ratings. 47.2% selected the maximum value (5) and 30.6% marked a 4. Overall, more than 77% consider that tourist saturation greatly or significantly affects daily coexistence. This perception is in line with the idea that residents do not only experience tourism as an external phenomenon, but as a direct disruption of their living space, routines and social life in the neighbourhood.

Figure 11
Saturation and coexistence

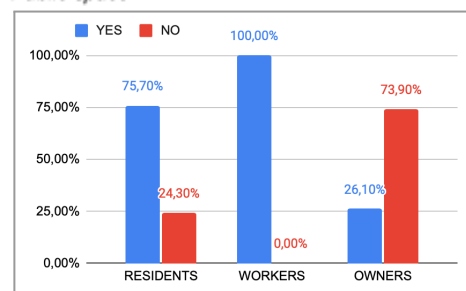


Note: Own elaboration

In contrast, business owners have a much more moderate perception. The majority (56.5%) responded with a two, which means a low perception of the impact of tourist saturation on their relationship with customers. Only 8.7% selected the highest value, with the rest distributed among intermediate scores. This difference can be interpreted as a normalisation of tourist numbers, or even as adaptation, since if their clientele is largely tourist, they may not perceive as a problem what residents and workers experience as saturation.

Regarding the public space indicator, when asked, 'Do you feel that public spaces (squares, streets, benches, etc.) are more dedicated to tourism than to regular neighbourhood use?', the answers show a marked contrast between profiles. 100% of workers consider that they are, as do 75.7% of residents, while

Figure 12
Public space

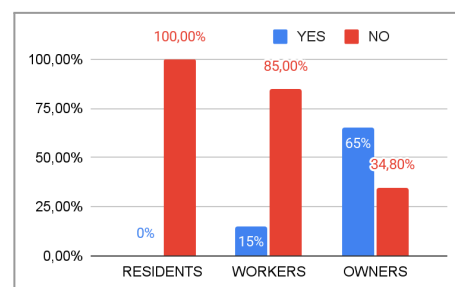


Note: Own elaboration

only 26.1% of property owners perceive this to be the case, compared to 73.9% who do not. These data reflect how those who live and work directly in the neighbourhood detect a clear transformation of public space, occupied by terraces, tourist flows and commercial activities. On the contrary, property owners tend not to see this occupation as problematic, possibly because they understand it as part of the economic functioning of the neighbourhood.

When asked whether they feel listened to or represented in decisions related to tourism, the results show a perception of low, especially among those who work or live in the neighbourhood. 85% of workers say they do not feel represented, as do 100% of residents.

Figure 13
Community participation



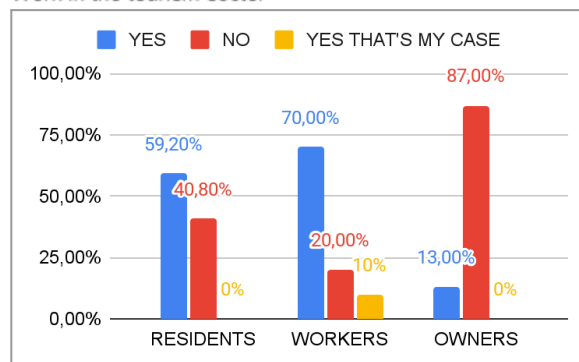
Note: Own elaboration

In contrast, among property owners, 65.2% consider themselves represented, while 34.8% indicate the opposite. This contrast reinforces the idea that those exposed to the daily impact of tourism perceive a clear exclusion from decision-making processes, while property

owners, who are more aligned with the economic logic of the tourism model, feel more included.

In relation to the question: 'Do you know anyone in the neighbourhood working in the tourism sector in precarious conditions or do you consider that this is the case for you?', the responses were as follows: 70% of workers said they knew someone in this situation and an additional 10% said that this was their own case, while 20% said they were not aware of any such situations. Among residents, 59.2% also said they knew of cases, compared to 40.8% who did not. In contrast, among property owners, 87% said they were not aware of any precarious situations and only 13% acknowledged that they were.

Figure 14
Work in the tourism sector



Note: Own elaboration

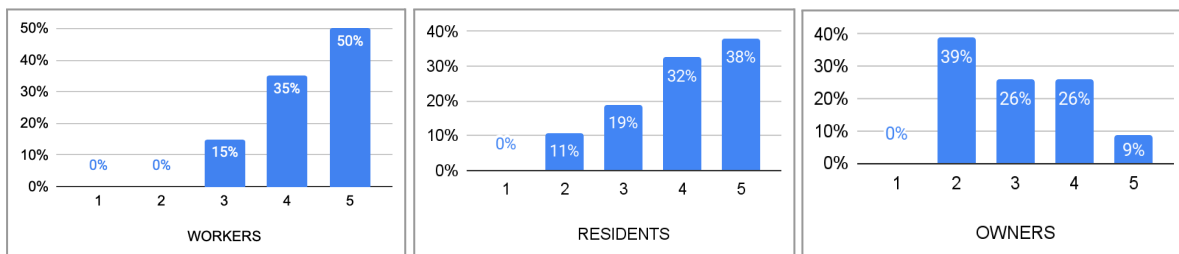
These data show a clear difference in perception according to profile: workers and residents, who are closer to the local working environment, recognise the existence of precarious conditions to a significant extent, while property owners tend not to perceive this problem. Overall, this indicator shows that job insecurity is a real dimension of the tourism model in the Parte Vieja, although it is not always recognised by those who manage the businesses.

The question of whether tourism has negative effects on the urban environment (noise, waste or aesthetic alterations) was once again assessed on a Likert scale, where 1 is 'none' and 5 is 'a lot'. Thus, 50% of workers gave a score of 5, i.e. a high impact, and 35% gave a score of 4, meaning that 85% perceive a high impact on the environment. Residents also have a mostly negative perception, with 38% giving a score of 5, 32% giving a score of 4 and 19% giving a score of 3. Only 11% gave a score of 2. Overall, almost 70% have a high level of negative perception.

In contrast, among property owners, the level of perceived impact is much lower: 39.1% rated it as 2, 26% as 3, 26% as 4 and only 9% as 5. This reflects a much more moderate or tolerant view of the effects of tourism in the urban environment.

In summary, this indicator confirms a trend that has already been observed: those who live or work in the neighbourhood perceive the consequences of tourism in the area they inhabit more intensely, while property owners, who are closer to the economic activity, do not relativise or prioritise environmental deterioration as a significant problem.

Figure 15
Urban environment



Note: Own elaboration

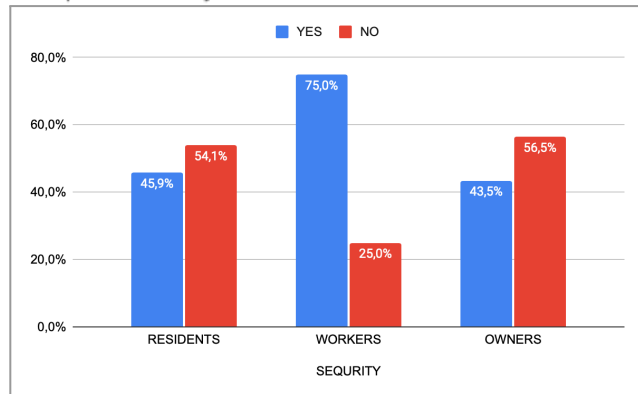
Finally, in response to the question ‘Do you think tourism has contributed to increased insecurity or crime in the neighbourhood?’ 75% of workers believe that insecurity has increased due to tourism. This perception may be related to their daily experience in public spaces and in highly influential contexts, where they may be more likely to witness situations of conflict, overcrowding or disturbances to the daily routine.

Among residents, perceptions are more divided: 52.8% say no, compared to 47.2% who say yes. This division could be explained by the existence of other social factors that also influence perceptions of insecurity, such as increased conflicts linked to the immigration situation or urban pressure in general.

In the case of property owners, the majority also consider that tourism has not increased insecurity: 56.5% say no, while 43.5% do perceive it as such.

Overall, this indicator shows that the perception of insecurity associated with tourism does not generate as much consensus as other impacts (such as touristification or the use of public space). It also reveals that insecurity in the Parte Vieja is perceived as a multi-causal phenomenon, with tourism being only one of the factors at play.

Figure 16
Perception of security



Note: Own elaboration

4.4. Qualitative results analysis

In addition to the closed quantitative questions mentioned above, the questionnaire included four open-ended questions designed to gather participants' personal and subjective perceptions of the impact of tourism on the Parte Vieja (to see qualitative questions answers go to Appendix D). These questions allow for a deeper exploration of aspects that are not always reflected in statistical data, providing important insights into the emotions, everyday experiences and personal assessments of the respondents. In this section, we analyse the qualitative responses obtained, organising them according to the profile of each respondent (resident, worker or owner).

It should be noted that the open-ended questions were not mandatory, so not all participants answered them. The group of residents provided the most open-ended responses, 22 to be exact, which reinforces this profile's interest in expressing how tourism has altered their daily lives. Forteen responses were obtained from the worker profile and 16 from the owner profile. However, the number and richness of the responses collected allow for a representative and useful analysis to complement the quantitative view previously developed.

Below is the analysis of the first open question: **‘Describe in your own words how tourism has influenced your daily life.’**

Among the most recurring themes are the overcrowding of the neighbourhood, which has led to the loss of everyday spaces (squares, bars, streets, etc.), the difficulty of getting around or socialising normally, and a general feeling of symbolic and practical displacement. Several residents say they can no longer enjoy the neighbourhood as they used to, and complain that the Parte Vieja has become an ‘amusement park’ or a space ‘for tourists’, losing its value as a meeting place for different generations.

Another key issue is the rising cost of living, especially in terms of housing and restaurants. Many residents say they can no longer afford to go out for dinner or drinks in their own neighbourhood, which contributes to a gradual loss of emotional attachment to the place. Added to this is the perception that traditional shops have been replaced by visitor-oriented businesses, weakening the neighbourhood's functionality as a living space.

In the case of workers in general, their perception is ambivalent, with a nuanced assessment of the impact of tourism. On the one hand, it is recognised that tourism has generated more work and job opportunities. Some participants even claim that they do not lack employment and that, from this point of view, tourism has been beneficial. However, this apparent positive aspect is counterbalanced by direct references to job insecurity, increased work pressure and the imbalance between income and conditions. It is also pointed out that tourist saturation affects the urban environment and quality of life: noise, overcrowding, waste and loss of the local character of the neighbourhood. Thus, although tourism is valued as an engine of employment and more positively than residents, its social, environmental and emotional costs are also recognised, especially in terms of professional burnout and loss of a sense of community.

Finally, in the case of business owners, positive or neutral perceptions of tourism clearly predominate. Most of these comments highlight the economic benefits associated with the

influx of visitors: more income, more visibility, more movement and, in some cases, the possibility of hiring staff or renovating premises.

Several owners believe that tourism has brought 'life to the neighbourhood' or helped to keep their businesses going, especially in high season. Although some mention a change in the profile of their clientele (fewer locals, more tourists), this transformation is not perceived as a problem but as a natural adaptation of the business model. Only one or two comments reflect a negative experience, associated with the loss of local customers or a drop in sales.

Table 3

Summary of responses by profile on the influence of tourism on daily life

PROFILE	PREDOMINANT TONE	MAIN ASPECTS
RESIDENTS	Mostly critical	Overcrowding of the neighbourhood, loss of everyday spaces, symbolic displacement, rising cost of living, replacement of traditional shops.
WORKERS	Mixed opinions: positive and negative	Recognition of job creation, but criticism of job insecurity, professional pressure and loss of neighbourhood identity.
OWNERS	Mostly positive	Economic benefits (more income, visibility, movement), adaptation to changes in clientele. Generally favourable perception of the impact of tourism.

Note: Own elaboration

The second open question in the questionnaire is analysed below: **'What positive and negative aspects would you highlight about the presence of tourists in your neighbourhood?'**

The aim of this question was to obtain a more nuanced view of how different profiles perceive the effects of tourism, allowing them to express both the benefits and disadvantages associated with this activity.

Among residents, most comments express a critical view of tourism in the neighbourhood, although almost all also acknowledge some positive aspects. Among the most valued

elements are the increase in economic activity and the survival of some businesses thanks to tourist spending. However, these benefits are usually mentioned as something indirect or collective and not as a perceived improvement in residents' daily lives.

The negative aspects are much more numerous and repeated. There is talk of a general increase in prices (housing, restaurants, shops, etc.), the loss of the neighbourhood's identity and overcrowding, which makes it difficult to live a normal life in the Parte Vieja. Some comments directly mention the expulsion of residents, the replacement of local shops by tourist businesses, and increased noise, dirt and insecurity. Several residents conclude that the neighbourhood is no longer for the people of Donostia-San Sebastian but for visitors.

The group of workers shows a more ambivalent perception, ranging from recognition of benefits to criticism of the current tourism model. On the positive side, they highlight job creation, greater visibility for the hospitality industry, and the cultural and economic dynamism brought about by the influx of tourists. Many agree that tourism benefits them directly, especially in terms of employment. However, this positive assessment is tempered by the identification of structural problems: job insecurity, long working hours with low wages, high rents, and a growing difficulty in balancing work with neighbourhood life. The loss of the essence of the area is also mentioned, as well as the fact that many businesses focus exclusively on tourism, excluding the local public.

Finally, the group of owners predominantly has a positive or neutral view of tourism. The most notable positive aspects are economic growth, increased sales and the visibility that tourism brings to businesses, especially in high season.

Some comments acknowledge certain inconveniences associated with tourism, such as noise, overcrowding, and the disappearance of traditional businesses. However, these criticisms tend to take a back seat or are understood as acceptable effects of the tourism

Table 4*Summary of proposals by profile*

PROFILE	PROPOSALS
RESIDENTS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Limiting tourist accommodation (licences, second homes, tourist flats, etc.) - Discouraging mass tourism: proposals such as tendering for the size of tourist groups, applying tourist taxes or curbing institutional promotion of tourism. - Protecting local businesses and reclaiming public spaces for neighbourhood use - Awareness campaigns for tourists, with the aim of promoting respect for the environment, local schedules and customs. - Greater citizen participation in decisions about the neighbourhood's tourism model.
WORKERS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Better control of opening hours and noise in bars and streets. - More effective management of public space and waste, especially by businesses. - Limiting the number of tourist flats and stricter regulations on licences. - Investment in public services and improved cleanliness and safety, without criminalising visitors. - Campaigns to promote mutual respect and encourage traditional trade.
OWNERS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Regulate tourist accommodation and excessive urban growth (especially hotels). - Protect neighbourhood life and public services, proposing that investment be prioritised for residents. - Subsidise traditional local businesses or reduce their tax burden. - Strengthen security, order and cleanliness, especially during high season. - Promote mutual respect and education between visitors and the local community.

Note: Own elaboration

In the context of tourism management in the Parte Vieja, this table shows that each group, according to its interests, has expressed a series of specific demands, marked by its own realities and concerns. However, the development of effective public policies requires moving towards measures that, beyond responding to particular interests, achieve a broad and equitable social consensus. In other words, it is a question of designing a set of policies that, without ignoring differences, are capable of articulating shared solutions that improve coexistence, territorial balance, and the sustainability of the destination. Based on the

analysis of the proposals presented by the three profiles, several consensus measures have been identified that could respond in an integrated manner to the main common concerns:

- **Balanced regulation of tourist accommodation:** Limited licenses for tourist apartments and apply stricter criteria, prioritizing residential use in certain areas, but allowing a margin of controlled activity to ensure a minimum regulated supply and prevent the underground economy.
- **Awareness and mutual respect campaigns:** Develop campaigns aimed at both tourists and residents, promoting respect for local rules, schedules, the urban environment and the neighborhood way of life. This approach responds to the common demand to foster coexistence and reduce conflicts.
- **Strengthening control of public spaces and cleanliness:** Improving the management of public spaces and cleanliness, especially during peak season, with particular attention to collection schedules, street maintenance, and noise control. This benefits residents, workers and property owners at the same time.
- **Citizen participation and transparency:** Include mechanisms for active participation in decision-making on the tourism model, opening spaces for dialogue between residents, businesses, and the administration. This would legitimize the measures adopted and increase their social acceptance.

Finally, a section entitled '**Additional comments**' was added to provide a space for respondents to add ideas or reflections not covered by the previous questions. As the previous questions had offered respondents the opportunity to express their opinions and experiences, fewer responses were received in this section, although the content collected is equally significant. A summary of the most frequently repeated and relevant responses is provided below:

- Residents: Responses focus on criticism of the lack of effective measures by the City Council, excessive tourism promotion and the loss of urban balance. Some call for

limiting tourism and recovering neighbourhood spaces, while others recognise that tourism could be positive if managed well and with respect for local identity.

- Workers: The prevailing view is that tourism is not the problem in itself, but rather poor institutional planning. Like residents, they call for greater involvement from the City Council and better conditions for coexistence.
- Property owners: Responses reflect a moderate stance, recognising that tourism can benefit everyone if managed in a balanced way. They ask that both residents and the general public in Donostia-San Sebastian be taken into account and that decisions be based on rigorous studies.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This research stems from the urgent need to understand how tourism transforms, conditions and redefines everyday life in historic neighbourhoods, taking the Parte Vieja of Donostia-San Sebastian as a case study. At a time when the city is facing an evident process of tourist saturation, the need to analyse the social and cultural consequences of tourism becomes particularly relevant. Real estate pressure, the progressive loss of traditional commerce, the increase in the cost of living, the disappearance of the Basque language in public spaces and the fragmentation of the community fabric are symptoms of a model that prioritises economic performance over the quality of life of its inhabitants. This work is therefore part of a local context that reflects a global problem.

The results obtained confirm many of the concepts addressed in the theoretical framework. Firstly, social sustainability, as one of the three fundamental pillars of sustainable development, appears to be compromised in the Parte Vieja. The perceptions gathered, especially from residents, point to a growing imbalance between the needs of visitors and those of the local population. The neighbourhood's capacity to sustain mass tourism without eroding its social dynamics, residential structure and sense of community seems to have been exceeded, which connects with the concepts of social carrying capacity, Flores Asenjo and Parra Meroño (2010). This overload has a direct impact on the perception of exclusion

among residents, who see their possibilities for enjoying the neighbourhood as a living space as limited.

In this context, the notion of touristification takes centre stage. Analysing this from the perspective of the five factors of touristification identified by Calle Vaquero (2019), the following can be observed:

1. **Constant presence of visitors:** The massive occupation of public space by tourist groups interferes with the daily dynamics of residents, altering their rhythms and limiting their mobility. This factor is clearly evident in the Parte Vieja, where tourist flows have overwhelmed its capacity to accommodate visitors, generating tensions in coexistence.
2. **Adaptation of consumer activities to tourist interests:** The boom in tourist accommodation, the increase in overnight stays and the growth of businesses aimed exclusively at visitors reflect a functional transformation of the neighbourhood.
3. **Reorientation of the commercial and hospitality fabric:** Many traditional establishments have been replaced by businesses that prioritise tourist profits, altering the commercial identity of the neighbourhood.
4. **Conversion of housing into a tourist product:** The proliferation of tourist flats has intensified real estate pressure, displaced the resident population and made access to affordable housing more difficult.
5. **Transformation of the urban landscape:** The cumulative impact of these factors generates visible effects such as deterioration of the environment, loss of authenticity, increased noise and pollution, as well as growing neighbourhood rejection.

Likewise, the data analysed reveal clear signs of the phenomenon of tourism phobia and overtourism. Although there is no explicit rejection of tourists as individuals, there is a rejection of the model of tourism that prioritises economic profit over liveability. The

discomfort, irritation and feeling of rootlessness expressed by many respondents are social responses to the collapse of the traditional balance in the neighbourhood. As Milano (2018) points out, tourism phobia is not a symptom of intolerance, but rather a defensive response to the lack of regulation of benefit redistribution and citizen participation in urban decisions.

At the same time, the phenomenon of overtourism, or excessive tourism, is present in all the profiles analysed. Demonstrations in public spaces, queues at restaurants, transport congestion, constant noise and the expansion of exclusively tourist businesses are all factors that reinforce the perception of a city overwhelmed by its own capacity to welcome visitors. This not only erodes neighbourhood well-being, but also compromises the quality of the tourist experience and the long-term sustainability of the destination.

However, although there is widespread consensus on these phenomena, perceptions and assessments of this transformation vary significantly depending on the role each person plays within the urban fabric. Residents, who have an emotional, daily and community relationship with the neighbourhood, are the group that most openly expresses its negative perception of tourism. Their responses, both quantitative and qualitative, reveal feelings of saturation, displacement and loss of identity.

On the other hand, workers offer a more ambivalent view. While many recognise the economic benefits of tourism in terms of job creation and economic dynamism, they also warn of the precariousness of working conditions, the pressure associated with working in crowded contexts and the progressive loss of the neighbourhood's local character.

In contrast, property owners have a mostly positive view of the phenomenon. For this group, tourism is primarily an opportunity: it is associated with more income, greater commercial visibility and economic stability.

Based on the above, when analysing the phase in which the Parte Vieja finds itself according to Doxey's Irritability Index Quaglieri Domínguez (2018), it is clear that it is not possible to make a uniform assessment of the situation, as this would simplify the result:

- Residents are the group that most clearly aligns with the phases of irritation and even antagonism, feeling displaced, invisible and excluded from the everyday use of the space in which they live.
- Owners are in phases close to euphoria or apathy, perceiving tourism mainly as an economic and commercial opportunity.
- Workers, on the other hand, show an ambivalent position between apathy and irritation: although they recognise the benefits of tourism, they also suffer the consequences of job insecurity and the stress associated with a saturated environment.

This nuanced reading allows us to affirm that the Parte Vieja is in an advanced phase of the Doxey cycle, although this is uneven among the different urban actors.

This difference in perspectives reveals not only a disparity in interests, but also an inequality in the capacity to adapt and in the levels of impact. Taken together, the results reflect a fragmented neighbourhood, where each actor perceives and experiences tourism from different frames of reference. This structural disagreement hinders the construction of a shared narrative about what type of tourism is desirable or sustainable and reinforces the need to open spaces for listening and participation that integrate the different voices of the territory. Furthermore, it highlights that the tourism phenomenon, beyond its visible impacts, is generating an underlying conflict around the appropriation, use and very meaning of urban space.

At the methodological level, the strategy applied has proven particularly appropriate. The combination of quantitative data with qualitative contributions has made it possible to capture not only general trends, but also the deeper meanings and specific experiences surrounding

the phenomenon of tourism. This methodological choice has enriched the analysis, providing it with complexity and depth, and has facilitated the articulation of consistent and coherent results.

In summary, this research concludes that tourism, as it is currently developing in the Parte Vieja of Donostia-San Sebastian, presents clear imbalances. Tourist activity has generated employment and revitalised certain economic sectors, but it has done so at the cost of growing social exclusion, a loss of neighbourhood identity and a weakening of community ties. There is an unequal distribution of benefits and impacts, with the most vulnerable groups, residents and workers, bearing the highest costs. While property owners, although economic beneficiaries, are not exempt from the inconveniences arising from the model.

Given this scenario, it is essential to activate governance mechanisms that recognise and balance the different interests present in the territory. The research points to the need to build a shared vision of what type of tourism is desirable, promoting spaces for citizen participation that allow for the collective redefinition of the tourism model based on criteria of spatial justice, social sustainability and respect for local identity.

However, it is important to note that the tourism management body in Donostia, as it can be seen in the Visit-Bizi 2023-2027 Master Plan, is aware of the complexity of the situation and has implemented various measures aimed at a more sustainable model. However, despite these institutional efforts, the perceptions of a large part of the population remain critical, and there is still rejection of the prevailing tourism model. This disconnect between the policies implemented and the everyday experience of residents reinforces the need to redirect actions towards the real well-being of the local community and its direct involvement in decision making. That is why the measures proposed take into account not only the suggestions made by respondents but also those that have already been implemented (see appendix F).

MEASURES PROPOSAL:

- **Presence of neighbourhood mediators during high season to prevent conflicts in public spaces:** During the busiest tourist months, it is recommended that community mediators be appointed to patrol the streets of the neighborhood. Their role would be twofold: on the one hand, to prevent conflicts through dialogue, and on the other to act as liaisons between visitors and the local community, observing the needs of both actors. These mediators could be linked to neighborhood associations or hired through municipal social employment programs. This measure would address residents' concerns about the use of public space, while promoting a more respectful tourist experience.

- **Organize regular meetings between the administration and community representatives:** It is proposed to organize quarterly meetings between the tourism management body (City Council and public/private tourism entities) and a plural neighborhood representation committee, composed of residents, workers in the sector, merchant associations and municipal technicians (Urbanismo, Medio ambiente, Vivienda, Movilidad, Cultura o patrimonio).

These meetings would allow for reviewing the impact of the policies implemented, proposing adjustments, and, above all, ensuring more dramatic and transparent decision-making. This measure seeks to respond to the cross-cutting demand from all profiles to feel more listened to and included in tourism planning.

- **Direct participation of neighborhood associations in strategic decisions:** Beyond informational meetings, it is suggested that the presence of a representative of neighborhood associations be institutionalized on the council or committee responsible for making decisions about licenses, events, and tourism policies. This measure aims to integrate the voice of the

neighborhood into formal decision-making processes, ensuring that the needs of the community are not subordinated exclusively to economic interests.

- **Rental assistance and prevention of residential displacement:** A key measure to curb the silent expulsion of the residents population is the creation of a municipal assistance fund to subsidize rent or support the purchase of housing for residents at risk of being displaced by pressure from the tourism market. This fund could be partially financed by tourist taxes or through public-private agreements. This would protect the demographic structure of the neighborhood and directly address the most critical concern of the local population: access to housing.
- **Tax incentives and economic support for traditional businesses:** To slow down the replacement of local businesses by establishments geared exclusively towards tourism, it is recommended to implement a support plan for traditional businesses through tax breaks, reduced rates, or direct subsidies. This measure could also be conditional on the maintenance of certain local products and services. This protects commercial diversity and preserves the day-to-day functionality of the neighborhood, which is a concern for both residents and workers.
- **Free activities for residents:** As a way of giving back some of the benefits of tourism to the local community and strengthening its roots, we propose organizing a regular program of free or subsidized activities for residents, such as guided tours of the neighborhood's history, traditional cooking workshops, crafts, or intergenerational cultural activities. This would not only contribute to the well-being of the neighborhood, but also strengthen the bond of identity with the area and promote more inclusive cultural tourism.

These measures do not mean the elimination of tourism, but rather its transformation into a more inclusive, fair, and resilient model. They seek to satisfy the essential interests of the three groups involved. In short, it is a question of moving from imposed tourism to negotiated tourism, where decisions are the result of a broad and conscious social agreement.

Finally as for future lines of research, the following is proposed:

- Conduct longitudinal studies to observe the evolution of perceptions and the impact of tourism over time.
- Expand the sample to other tourist neighbourhoods in Donostia-San Sebastian or cities with similar dynamics to generate comparative analyses.
- Incorporate geolocation tools to map areas of greater conflict or overload.
- Study tourists' perceptions of the neighbourhood and their behaviour.

In terms of limitations, one of this research has been the low number of responses obtained in the surveys. This factor has limited the scope of the analysis and the representativeness of the results. I believe that this low participation may be related to a certain weariness on the part of the local community, which often feels that it is not listened to in terms of tourism. In addition, the issue of tourism itself is controversial in the local context, which may have contributed to some people's preference not to participate in the study. It should be noted that a similar survey conducted the previous year obtained a very similar number of responses, suggesting that this low participation is not an isolated incident, but rather a trend that could reflect a certain lack of interest, mistrust, or saturation with regard to this type of consultation.

And finally it is worth mentioning that, among the ten initial baseline samples, many worked in hospitality or accommodation, introducing a slight bias. Their close link to tourism may have influenced perceptions, slightly overrepresenting views from those within the sector.

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7. APPENDIX

Appendix A. Indicators for social sustainability

Crterios	Indicadores
1. Respetar la autenticidad sociocultural de las comunidades anfitrionas	1.1. % de eventos celebrados en el destino centrados en la cultura y/o patrimonio tradicional y local
	1.2. N° de categorías de recursos turísticos (Inventario de los recursos turísticos que aparecen en los materiales promocionales)
	1.3. % de entidades asociativas involucradas en turismo por distrito sobre el total de asociaciones turísticas de la ciudad
	1.4. % de residentes satisfechos con la repercusión del turismo en la identidad del destino
2. Preservar la capacidad de carga social del territorio	2.1. N° de plazas de alojamiento turístico por cada 100 habitantes
	2.2. N° de turistas por kilómetro cuadrado
	2.3. Proporción entre población turística y residente (n° turistas/ 100 habitantes)
3. Garantizar la diversidad funcional de la ciudad	3.1. % de locales de souvenirs sobre el total de la ciudad
	3.2. % de comercios turísticos en relación al total de comercios
4. Involucrar a la ciudadanía en el proceso de planificación del turismo	4.1. % de asociaciones ciudadanas participativas en la definición de estrategias turísticas sobre el total de las candidaturas presentadas
5. Garantizar el acceso a la vivienda	5.1. Precio medio de la vivienda de compra (euros por m2) en relación a la renta media
	5.2. Precio medio de la vivienda de alquiler (euros por m2) en relación a la renta media
	5.3. % de variación del precio de la vivienda de compra (euros por m2)
	5.4. % de variación del precio de la vivienda de alquiler (euros m2 al mes)
	5.5. % de viviendas de protección oficial sobre el total de domicilios
	5.6. N° de órdenes de desahucio
6. Garantizar la accesibilidad	6.1. % de hoteles con habitaciones adaptadas para personas con movilidad reducida
	6.2. % de hoteles con habitaciones adaptadas para personas con discapacidad visual
	6.3. % de hoteles con habitaciones adaptadas para personas con discapacidad auditiva
	6.4. % de productos y atractivos turísticos accesibles a personas con algún tipo de discapacidad (motriz, visual, auditiva y cognitiva)
	6.5. % de transporte público accesible
7. Garantizar una convivencia de calidad entre los residentes y visitantes	7.1. % de la población residente que considera el turismo importante o beneficioso para la ciudad
	7.2. % de residentes que considera que hay demasiados turistas en la ciudad
	7.3. % de residentes que creen que la presencia de turistas en la ciudad hace que los precios en su barrio suban
	7.4. % de variación de la población empadronada
	7.5. % de residentes molestos con las viviendas de uso turístico
8. Garantizar el acceso a un trabajo digno	8.1. Salario medio anual de los residentes ocupados en turismo (€/año)
	8.2. Ratio entre salario medio de residentes ocupados en turismo respecto el de residentes ocupados en todos los sectores
	8.3. Ratio entre número de contratos temporales e indefinidos
9. Garantizar la seguridad	9.1. % de victimización sobre el total de la ciudad
	9.2. N° de hurtos registrados por distrito
	9.3. % de población que cree que el motivo por el cual ha empeorado la seguridad de su barrio es por el aumento de turismo
	9.4. Valoración de la seguridad en el destino (del 0 al 10)
10. Garantizar la igualdad de género	10.1. % de mujeres y hombres empleados en el sector turístico
	10.2. % de empresas turísticas con cargos de mando ocupados por mujeres
	10.3. Diferencia de tramos salariales por género

Note: Pareto Boada et al., (2020,p.254)

Appendix B. Survey

The following survey was designed and implemented for this research project. The structure of the questionnaire was based on a shared set of core questions applicable to all three selected profiles. However, in order to capture specific nuances of each group, additional sections were included for the worker and business owner profiles. These sections asked respondents to specify the sector in which they work or operate their business. The questionnaire was written in Spanish, as the research was conducted in San Sebastian, Spain, and all targeted respondents are Spanish-speaking.

PERCEPCIÓN SOBRE EL TURISMO EN LA PARTE VIEJA

Kaixo!

Soy estudiante del máster *Tourist Destination Management* en la Universitat Rovira i Virgili (URV) y estoy realizando mi Trabajo de Fin de Máster. El objetivo de este cuestionario es conocer la percepción que tienen los residentes, trabajadores y propietarios de negocios de la Parte Vieja de Donostia sobre el impacto del turismo en el barrio.

Tu participación es completamente anónima y no te llevará más de 5 minutos.

Eskerrik asko por tu colaboración!

Indica que la pregunta es obligatoria

¿Edad? *

Marca solo un óvalo.

- Menos de 20
- 20-30
- 31-40
- 41-50
- 51-60
- Más de 60

¿Género? *

Marca solo un óvalo.

- Masculino
- Femenino
- Otro / Prefiero no decirlo

¿Cuál es tu relación con la Parte Vieja? ¹

Marca solo un óvalo.

- Soy propietario/a de un negocio
- Soy trabajador/a (no propietario/a)
- Soy residente *Salta a la pregunta*

Turistificación: ¿Consideras que tu barrio se ha transformado en un lugar orientado principalmente al turismo (bares, eventos, fiestas, etc.)?

Marca solo un óvalo.

- Sí
- No

Turismofobia: ¿Has presenciado o sentido actitudes de rechazo o tensión hacia turistas o el turismo en tu barrio (turismofobia)?

Marca solo un óvalo.

- Sí
- No

Actividades turísticas VS autenticidad sociocultural: ¿Consideras que el aumento de negocios turísticos ha afectado negativamente a las costumbres y dinámicas sociales del barrio?

Marca solo un óvalo.

1 2 3 4 5

Nad Mucho

Vivienda: ¿Crees que el turismo ha dificultado encontrar vivienda cerca de tu lugar de trabajo (por precios, ruido, rotación de vecinos, etc.)?

Marca solo un óvalo.

- Sí
- No

Saturación y convivencia: ¿Sientes que el número de turistas supera la capacidad del barrio y perjudica la convivencia diaria?

Marca solo un óvalo.

1 2 3 4 5

Poci Mucho

Espacio público: ¿Consideras que los espacios públicos (plazas, calles, bancos, etc.) está más ocupados por actividades turísticas que por la vida cotidiana del barrio?

Marca solo un óvalo.

- Sí
 No

Participación comunitaria: ¿Te sientes escuchado/a o representado/a en las decisiones relacionadas con el turismo?

Marca solo un óvalo.

- Sí
 No

Trabajo en el sector turístico: ¿Conoces personas del barrio trabajando en el sector turístico en condiciones precarias o externalizadas?

Marca solo un óvalo.

- Sí
 No

Medioambiente urbano: ¿Percibes efectos negativos del turismo en el entorno del barrio (ruido, residuos, estética urbana)?

Marca solo un óvalo.

1 2 3 4 5
Nad Mucho

Seguridad: ¿Crees que el turismo ha influido en el aumento de la inseguridad o delincuencia en el barrio?

Marca solo un óvalo.

- Sí
 No

Impacto personal: Describe con tus palabras cómo el turismo ha influido en tu día a día (como residente, trabajador/a o propietario/a).

Pros y contras: ¿Qué aspectos positivos y negativos destacarías de la presencia de turistas en tu barrio?

Propuestas: ¿Qué propuestas harías para mejorar la convivencia entre vecinos y visitantes?

Comentarios adicionales

TRABAJADORES

¿A qué sector pertenece tu trabajo? *

Marca solo un óvalo.

- Hostelería
- Moda
- Salud
- Alojamiento
- Entretenimiento
- Estética
- Alimentación
- Otro: _____

Appendix C. Selected indicators

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	INDICATORS	SELECTED INDICATORS
<p>SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY</p> <p>Boada, P., Delgado, A.T., Schwitzguébel, A.C., and Sanz, B.E (2020)</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Respect the socio-cultural authenticity of host communities 2. Preserve the social carrying capacity of the territory 3. Ensure the functional diversity of the city 4. Involve citizens in the tourism planning process 5. Ensure access to housing 6. Ensure accessibility 7. Ensure quality coexistence between residents and visitors 8. Guarantee access to decent work 9. Guarantee safety 10. Guarantee gender equality 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The increase in activities directly related to the tourism sector, the increase in businesses aimed at visitors rather than residents. Respecting the socio-cultural authenticity of host communities 2. Guarantee access to housing (the transformation of housing into a tourist product, loss of habitability for residents, increase in housing prices) 3. Imbalance between the number of visitors and residents (preserve the social carrying capacity of the territory, perception of saturation, guarantee quality coexistence between residents and visitors)
<p>TOURISTIFICATION</p> <p>De la Calle, M. (2019)</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Increased number of visitors to urban areas of the city 2. Increase in activities directly related to the tourism sector 3. Increase in businesses aimed at visitors rather than residents 4. Transformation of housing into a tourist product 5. Creation of an urban landscape where tourist elements prevail 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Privatisation and congestion of public areas and obstruction of public areas in the city 5. Involving citizens in the tourism planning process, protest movements, maximising local community participation 6. Environmental impact, pollution and waste generation, loss of attractiveness of destinations, perception of environmental problems 7. Guaranteeing safety
<p>OVERTOURISM</p> <p>Paul Peeters, Stefan Gössling, Jeroen Klijs, et al. (2018)</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Gentrification 2. Population decline 3. Protest movements 4. Loss of attractiveness as a destination 5. Loss of liveability for residents 6. Mismatch between the type of visitors and the 	

	<p>destination</p> <p>7. Mismatches between visitor groups</p>	
<p>TOURISM PHOBIA</p> <p>Claudio Milano (2017, 2018)</p>	<p>1. Privatisation and congestion of public areas</p> <p>2. Obstruction of public areas in the city</p> <p>3. Growth in cruise tourism and, as a result, an increase in the number of day trippers and the congestion that this brings</p> <p>4. Rising house prices</p> <p>5. Decline in the purchasing power of local residents</p> <p>6. Imbalance between the number of visitors and residents</p> <p>7. Environmental impact, pollution and waste generation</p> <p>8. Precariousness and outsourcing of jobs in the tourism sector</p>	
<p>SOCIAL CARRYING CAPACITY</p> <p>Flores Asenjo and Parra Meroño (2010)</p>	<p>1. Percepción de problemas ambientales</p> <p>2. Percepción de costes sociales y beneficios económicos</p> <p>3. Maximización de la participación de la comunidad local</p> <p>4. Percepción de la saturación/masificación</p>	

Note: Prepared internally based on De la Calle, M. (2019); Boada, P. P., Delgado, A. T., Schwitzguébel, A. C., and Sanz, B. E. (2020); Paul Peeters, Stefan Gössling, Jeroen Klijs, Claudio Milano, Marina Novelli, Corné Dijkmans, Eke Eijgelaar, Stefan Hartman, Jasper Heslinga, Rami Isaac, Ondrej Mitás, Simone Moretti, Jeroen Nawijn, Bernadett Papp and Albert Postma (2018); Claudio Milano (2017, 2018); Flores Asenjo and Parra Meroño (2010).

Appendix D. Qualitative questions answers

1. Impacto personal: Describe con tus palabras cómo el turismo ha influido en tu día a día (como residente, trabajador/a o propietario/a).

RESIDENTS:

- El no poder disfrutar como antes de los lugares que frecuentaba al estar masificados
- El ambiente o peculiaridad del barrio ha decaído. A veces me siento como un mono en un zoológico.
- Se escucha mas ingles que euskera que es el idioma de la region, cada vez se pierde mas la identidad y la lengua que tanto nos caracteriza
- la ciudad está cada vez más cara
- Cada vez es más difícil desarrollar actividades de la vida cotidiana: pasear, jugar, la compra, transitar... Afecta de manera especial a los niños y a las personas mayores.
- Cambio en las costumbres locales, comercios y hostelería orientados al turismo con inferior calidad y subida de precios.
- Se evitan ciertas calles y bares por la saturación de gente.
- En el ruido, dificultades para transitar por ciertas calles
- El número de residentes ha bajado porque el turismo ocupa muchas viviendas. El peso de la población local baja cuantitativa y cualitativamente. Cada vez es menos un barrio para los del barrio.
- Molestias en la vida cotidiana y desaparición de comercios funcionales al barrio por comercios de índole turística
- Mayor dificultad para acceder a los sitios y poder hacer vida normal
- el aumento de los precios debido entre otras cosas a la turistificación provoca que en muchos casos los residentes decidan no hacer su vida cotidiana en el barrio optando por otros barrios o lugares para potear o cenar
- Calles más ocupadas, más ruido y todo enfocado en el turismo
- En lo personal poco, pero sí se ve como gran parte de la hostelería está enfocada a los turistas, excluyendo casi a los ciudadanos de nuestros lugares de siempre.
- Es agobiante ver tanta gente.
- La parte vieja antes era un espacio de reunión y convivencia de varias generaciones de donostiarras. Un entorno muy ligado a nuestra cultura. Ahora se ha convertido en un espacio de souvenirs y sitios para turistas.
- He visto como poco a poco el ambiente de barrio que había antes en la parte vieja se ha convertido en un parque de atracciones para turistas, desplazando a los que viven aquí a vivir y hacer sus vidas en otros barrios
- Me parece importante que haya turistas, sin embargo el no poder entrar a un bar simplemente porque haya turistas es algo desmotivador
- Siento que el barrio está dedicado a los turistas. La parte vieja ya no es lugar de encuentro de los Donostiarras
- Como residente: me afecta el turismo porque cada vez es más costoso alquilar una vivienda en Donosti y sus alrededores. El precio en barra, restaurantes también ha subido mucho, parece que fueran solamente lugares orientados a extranjeros.
- El barrio es un parque de atracciones lleno de tiendas de souvenirs
- Como residente tengo que decir que aún que llevo aguantando ruido nocturno toda la vida estando en mi casa con el aumento del turismo se ha ido maximizando, no tengo

nada en contra de los turistas pero si opino que se les da más cancha de cara a su comportamiento (establecimientos,policía,ayuntamiento, etc...) y por supuesto si el turismo crece la delincuencia tambien.

WORKERS

- Como trabajadora de hostelería en la Parte Vieja de Donostia, el turismo ha transformado mi día a día. Aunque ha generado empleo, también ha traído precariedad laboral y ha encarecido la vivienda, obligando a muchos residentes a marcharse. El barrio se ha saturado de bares y pisos turísticos, perdiendo su esencia y convirtiéndose en un parque temático para visitantes. La vida comunitaria se ha debilitado, y la convivencia se ha vuelto difícil debido al ruido y la masificación. Aunque se han tomado medidas para frenar esta tendencia, como declarar la zona “saturada” y suspender nuevas licencias turísticas, aún queda mucho por hacer para recuperar el equilibrio y preservar nuestra identidad.
- Cada vez más negocios son enfocados principalmente a turistas, y los residuos que generan estos negocios no sé gestionan bien, colapsando el servicio de recogida de residuos
- Hay muchísimo más trabajo
- Como trabajador no puedo quejarme ya que no me falta trabajo
- Aglomeraciones, tiendas orientadas a consumo turístico, pérdida de identidad, locales y su patrimonio destrozado para “a adecuar” a los servicios turísticos, menos plazas de coches en calle pero sí a hoteles, terrazas que quitan espacio a vías de paso, imposibilidad de niños a jugar...
- Mucho para el turismo y poco o cada vez menos para la sociedad.
- Precios, menos tiendas, menos euskara
- Peligrosidad, barullo y alboroto, alza de precios
- Creo que hay una sobreexplotación de la ciudad como destino turístico. Ruido, masificación en calles, aumento de los precios en diversos aspectos, trabajos precarios, daños medioambientales y demás problemas evidentes. No creo que todo sean inconvenientes ya que el turismo, también genera beneficios pero la realidad es que - Donostia, sus habitantes y trabajadores, se encuentran en una situación de riesgo debido a la masificación.
- Cada vez hay mas turistas y mayor exigencia hacia los trabajadores en bares y restaurantes
- Más gente en transportes públicos , más difícil la movilidad y también el ocio
- Incremento de los precios
- Se me ha encarecido todo, sobretodo la vivienda.
- Todo está enfocado al turismo...el barrio no tiene vida de barrio está ocupado sobretodo en fines de semana y periodos vacacionales

OWNERS

- Para bien. Tengo más trabajo, sí, pero también más ingresos. He podido contratar a más gente y renovar parte del local gracias a la afluencia de turistas.
- Ganarme mi pan
- La verdad, de forma muy positiva. Mi negocio depende en gran parte del movimiento que trae el turismo. Cada temporada alta es una oportunidad de crecer, dar a conocer lo que hacemos y conectar con personas de todo el mundo. El barrio tiene mucha más vida.

- Antes tenía clientes de toda la vida. Ahora, con tanto turismo, han ido dejando de venir. Se sienten desplazados entre tanto bar moderno y precios subidos.
- El turismo me ha traído más movimiento. Antes teníamos épocas muy tranquilas, pero ahora incluso entre semana entra gente a mirar y comprar. Hay más idiomas en la calle, más vida, y eso al final ayuda a mantener el negocio.
- Tengo un bar y si que he visto una gran diferencia sobre todo tras el covid en el tipo de clientela que recibo. Hoy en día un mayor porcentaje son turistas.
- Como propietaria de una tienda de ropa, el turismo ha influido de forma positiva a mi negocio
- Mucho. Mis clientes eran vecinos, y cada vez hay menos. Muchos pisos ahora son turísticos, así que tengo menos ventas. Ya no se hace la compra como antes.
- No ha influido
- En realidad, no ha influido demasiado. Mi clientela es principalmente local, gente del barrio o de otros puntos de Donosti que viene expresamente a clase. El turismo no ha afectado ni para bien ni para mal, al menos en mi caso.
- El turismo ha supuesto el encarecimiento principalmente de actividades de ocio y vivienda.
- A mi me conviene por que me da más trabajo
- No me influye especialmente, pero si tuviese que elegir, prefiero que haya turismo, al final aun que mi negocio no tenga nada que ver con el turismo, alguno que otro si que se acerca y eso siempre es bueno
- es una ciudad turistica asi que tiene que haber turismo para que nuestros negocios prosperen
- me afecta bastante por que tengo una tiendita local dirigida a los vecinos del barrio y ahora con tanto turismo han dejado de venir
- agradezco que haya turismo

2. Pros y contras: ¿Qué aspectos positivos y negativos destacarías de la presencia de turistas en tu barrio?

RESIDENTS

- Positivo: genera más actividad económica y ayuda a que muchos comercios puedan crecer y mantenerse abiertos Negativo: subida de precios, no poder disfrutar de nuestros lugares del día a día por estar masificados, disminución de la calidad de vida, presencia de altercados, intranquilidad
- En positivo, aumento de la actividad económica. Negativo. Demasiado comercio dedicado al turismo (sobre todo en hostelería) y perdida del comercio local y las costumbres del barrio
- Como vecino no le veo aspectos positivos. Hay muchos negocios que viven de los turistas, pero al mismo tiempo han expulsado a clientes del resto de Donostia y de Gipuzkoa. Podrían vivir de esos clientes, en el caso de que no hubiera tanto turismo. Los aspectos negativos son muchos; han expulsado a muchísimos vecinos y están dañando las relaciones comunitarias, por el precio de la vivienda y por la cada vez mayor incomodidad de desarrollar un modo de vida normal en la Parte Vieja.
- Dan vida al barrio mueven ciertos comercios siempre que haya un número limitado de turistas, Encontrar pequeños comercios que no pueden subsistir a lo largo del año cuando no hay turismo y los vecinos han tenido que marcharse a otras zonas, porque no pueden soportar la presión del turismo ni ni la subida del valor de los pisos que son

comprados por turistas, que luego no viven más que 15 días o un mes año conviviendo el barrio en un barrio fantasma

- Mas sitio para turistas, menos para los locales. Perdida de identidad.
- positivo para aquel que se dedique al sector del turismo, para el ciudadano no tiene impacto positivo más allá del dinero que deja el turista a través de los impuestos pagados, que acaban en el presupuesto del ayuntamiento y que luego repercuten en la mejora de los servicios urbanos
- Destacaría más negativos que positivos. La ciudad está cambiando ofreciendo continuas experiencias a extranjeros, influyendo en el incremento de precios en muchas cosas que no están a la mano de la mayoría de los ciudadanos.
- En contra que se ha perdido todo el sentido y el significado del barrio.
- Pros: A los dueños de los negocios les viene bien para ganar dinero. Contras: Cada vez hay menos espacio para los autóctonos, los bares con precios altos, las calles saturadas, la vivienda también sube y los servicios también se ven afectados
- El aspecto más positivo si tendría que decir algo es el tema económico pero no para mí como persona si no para el territorio. Y el aspecto negativo es que todas las cosas nuevas que hacen en Donostia parece que están enfocadas al turismo y no para los Donostiarras.
- No encuentro nada positivo
- El lado positivo que identifiqué al turismo es que muchos negocios del barrio viven del turista, y por supuesto si se les tratase como iguales yo estaría encantada de que visiten y disfruten de mi ciudad.
- Si fuese menor y menos agresivo, el turismo puede ser muy bueno pero siempre respetando nuestro patrimonio. Negativo es que sube todo y sube y sube para adecuarse a lo que puede pagar un turista y deja al residente dolido en la cartera y sin poder ir a los sitios de siempre
- Se centran en la venta al turismo dejando a un lado a la ciudadanía, sin tener en cuenta los intereses y necesidades de los y las ciudadanos y ciudadanas.
- Positivos hay muchos: más ingresos, visibilidad, dinamismo en las calles, y la posibilidad de ofrecer experiencias nuevas a gente que valora lo local. Los negativos... bueno, puede haber algo de ruido o saturación en momentos puntuales, pero para mí no es nada que no se pueda gestionar con un poco de organización.
- El ambiente de gente de otros países que vienen a conocer nuestra cultura y nuestra tierra y tradiciones
- Positivos que hacen gasto. Negativos que todo se contruye por y para el turista, los negocios son cada vez menos auténticos, el turismo sube los precios para la gente que vive en la ciudad... nos podemos pasar aquí todo el día
- Peligrosidad, barullo y alboroto, alza de precios. Demasiados turistas. Positivo conocer otras culturas, gente de otros lugares
- Positivo: contribuye a la economía de la ciudad pero en especial a cadenas hotelera, barea y restaurante. Negativo: suciedad, ruido excesivo.
- Encarecimiento de la vida de la ciudad.
- Pros: tengo trabajo asegurado Contras: las condiciones del trabajo en hostelería y alojamiento no son especialmente agradables
- Positivo... poca cosa, sinceramente. Lo negativo es claro: menos residentes, menos clientes, más competencia de comida rápida o supermercados pensados para turistas.

WORKERS

- Positivo: dejan dinero en la ciudad. Aumentan las actividades culturales en la ciudad. Negativo: aumento de los costes de vida. Aumento del tráfico, ruido, suciedad.
- Más trabajo de peor calidad
- Pros: • Más empleo y actividad durante todo el año. • Mayor visibilidad para nuestros bares y restaurantes. Contras: • Jornadas largas y sueldos bajos. • Masificación que dificulta el trabajo diario. • Alquileres caros que expulsan a vecinos y trabajadores.
- Afluencia de gente para el sector hostelero, pero más complicaciones para los ciudadanos para hacer vida normal
- Pros: los comercios sacan provecho de ellos Contras: se enfocado todo más en el turismo, en vez de en la gente local
- Dinero para la ciudad en positivo e incomodidad en negativo
- El problema no son los turistas, sino el ayuntamiento y el modelo de turismo que ha impulsado para donosti. Aspectos positivos claro que tiene el turismo, pero este modelo de turismo no
- Puestos de trabajo precarios y negocios en manos de grupos de inversores. Nada positivo a mi entender
- Pros que siempre viene bien tener turistas por un ambiente más cultural , también hay más trabajo y la economía
- Es triste que en el barrio empiece a haber mas turistas que residentes. No obstante, a mi me beneficia directamente, por lo tanto no puedo quejarme.
- Pros: Impulso económico, creación de empleo, diversidad cultural etc. Contras: masificación, aumento del coste de vida, degradación del entorno etc.
- hay más trabajo pero el barrio esta perdiendo toda su esencia
- Amplían las ofertas de trabajo
- Hay mas trabajo pero en peores condiciones, muchas horas seguidas, pocas vacaciones, muy intenso..

OWNERS

- Positivo el intercambio cultural y negativo la saturación y desaparición de comercios no turísticos y vida de barrio
- Lo positivo es el crecimiento económico. Lo negativo es que a veces hay descontrol por la noche, especialmente con grupos grandes, y eso genera quejas entre vecinos.
- el turismo siempre trae dinero pero se ve que la ciudad no soporta tanta gente. todo se colapsa
- Positivos que generan trabajo y dejan ingresos. Negativos que el crecimiento del sector ha sido desproporcionado y ha repercutido negativamente en el acceso a la vivienda de los locales, etc
- Donosti se da a conocer y se deja dinero en la ciudad, aunque por el contrario hay masificación, el barrio pierde personalidad y los precios están por las nubes.
- Negativos: pérdida de identidad del barrio, desaparición de comercio de barrio, masificación y subida de precio de vivienda. Positivos, en otros niveles puede haber impacto económico y riqueza cultural, pero se ha pasado el límite y hoy en día no es así.
- Positivo: Más afluencia en los comercios Negativo: más suciedad, aglomeraciones en días puntuales
- Pros: crecimiento económico para la ciudad Contra: aglomeración y poco respeto por el medio ambiente
- Positivo económico y negativo el ruido y la masificación

- Lo único positivo es que a veces entra algún turista despistado. Pero en general lo negativo pesa más: subidas de alquiler, pérdida del ambiente de barrio, y dificultad para mantener un negocio tradicional.
- Lo positivo es el incremento de ventas, sobre todo en temporada alta. Muchos turistas valoran el diseño local y compran cosas que les recuerden a Donosti. Lo negativo quizás sea que a veces hay aglomeraciones que dificultan pasear, pero en general lo veo como algo bueno para todos.
- No considero que haya contras, no en mi caso. Los turistas consumen más que la gente local, algo que a mi me conviene.
- Desde mi punto de vista, ni positivos ni negativos directamente relacionados con mi negocio. A nivel general, se nota más ambiente en la calle, más movimiento, pero eso no ha afectado a cómo trabajamos ni a quién viene a clase.
- El barrio está más animado y crece económicamente
- Pros: más dinero para la ciudad Contrás: actividades y precios pensados para turismo y no accesibles para el día día de la gente del barrio en vivienda, restauración...
- Pros: hay gente maja q quiere Conocer nuestro. País Y cultura. Contrás: esta dejan donde ser Un entorno Urbano Y social para ser Parque tematico
- Positivo me gusta la afluencia de gente. Negativo encarece todo

Propuestas: ¿Qué propuestas harías para mejorar la convivencia entre vecinos y visitantes?

RESIDENTS

- Establecer límites a la sobreocupación o a ciertas actividades (como los alquileres turísticos masivos) para evitar la saturación del barrio. Promover el turismo responsable con mensajes que inviten a cuidar el entorno y respetar la vida del vecindario. Hacer participe a los residentes en las decisiones que se toman relacionadas con el turismo. Dar prioridad a los locales destinados a los residentes ante establecimientos únicamente pensados para turistas.
- que los pisos turísticos tengan un mínimo de un mes de alquiler para turistas
- Habría que limitar las plazas hoteleras para controlar el turismo y el comercio. La hostelería local debería mantener sus costumbres sin subir los precios.
- Dejar de fomentar el turismo
- Regular el turismo, los precios y hacer más actividades que incentiven a la gente de la ciudad a participar en ellas.
- Limitar los grupos turísticos: Restringir las visitas guiadas a un máximo de 25 personas para evitar aglomeraciones y facilitar el tránsito en las calles estrechas del barrio. Controlar los pisos turísticos: Suspender nuevas licencias en zonas saturadas y clausurar alojamientos ilegales para preservar el carácter residencial del barrio. Implementar una tasa turística: Destinar los ingresos a mejorar servicios públicos y compensar a los residentes por el impacto del turismo. Fomentar el respeto mutuo: Lanzar campañas de concienciación dirigidas a turistas para promover comportamientos respetuosos con la comunidad local.
- Decrecimiento turístico, eliminar pisos turísticos. Impulsar vida comunitaria y comercio de barrio
- Nonse
- devolver el guardetxe al barrio, evitar grupos grandes de tours turísticos en la parte vieja, establecer un impuesto al turismo,
- De las personas que vengán respeten nuestras calles y cultura.

- Que el ayuntamiento deje de convertir el barrio en un escaparate turístico, y que fomente negocios que tengan en cuenta nuestra cultura y que aporten algo al barrio. Cierran las tiendas y tabernas de toda la vida para abrir tiendas de souvenirs, moda, heladerías y comida rápida.
- Mi propuesta sería hacer que los turistas hagan actividades entendiendo y y adentrándose en nuestras costumbres locales. También intentaría mejorar la distribución de las zonas donde más turistas hay para evitar la masificación de personas del mismo.
- Se ha prostituido esta ciudad para que los mismos de siempre sigan haciendo dinero y los que de verdad amamos este barrio tenemos que abandonarlo por no poder asumir los precios, colas, aglomeraciones...El problema ha sido, es y sera el PNV
- Concienciar más a los turistas sobre la higiene y respeto de la ciudad. Respecto a los vecinos que entiendan que es una ayuda a la economía local de manera sostenible e equilibrada
- Recuperar espacios públicos para la gente, por ejemplo plaza Berria en la que antes jugaban los niños del barrio y ahora molestan, porque se prioriza el uso privado
- Yo ya pararía en inversión hotelera para empezar. Disminuiría los grupos de guías locales, disminuiría las actividades callejeras que invaden nuestras calles provocando nudos y bloqueos en nuestras calles. Cada 10'metros hay una actuación
- Horarios limitados o implicaciones de los turistas en las fiestas locales
- Seguir trabajando en campañas que promuevan el respeto por el entorno y las costumbres locales. También mejorar la limpieza y los servicios públicos en temporada alta, y quizá establecer horarios razonables para ciertas actividades nocturnas. Pero en general, con educación y empatía de ambas partes, no veo gran problema.
- Buscar un equilibrio entre la cantidad de turistas y la capacidad que tiene el barrio de asumirlos
- Suprimir pisos turisticos, prohibir segunda vivienda. Guías turisticos q informen de nuestra cultura, idioma...
- Quizás más señalización en diferentes idiomas para que los visitantes entiendan cómo comportarse, respeten los horarios y no generen tanto ruido en zonas residenciales.
- Intentar lograr un equilibrio entre ambos, intentar no inclinarse más hacia el beneficio de los turistas antes que el de los residentes.

WORKERS

- Regular mejor los horarios de ciertos bares, y tener más presencia de limpieza y seguridad, sin quitar libertad al visitante.
- No se me ocurre ninguna.
- Limitar los pisos turisticos y los grandes grupos hoteleros e inmobiliarios
- Un control del número de hoteles pensiones pisos turísticos, para controlar el número de turistas en el Barrio el control del ruido en las calles y en los bares
- Políticas no tendentes solo a favorecer el turismo y que defiendan los derechos de los habitantes del barrio.
- Que los bares y hoteles tengan sus propios contenedores de basura. -Que se cree una tasa turística. -Dejar de promocionar tanto turismo porque solo beneficia a unos pocos.
- Controlar el turismo y la delincuencia.
- Limitar alojamientos turísticos y sobre todo no aceptar inmigrantes si no vienen con un trabajo, sobre todo los jóvenes que vienen de países árabes (Marruecos) vienen a vagar y a vivir a nuestra costa sin trabajar

- Supongo que seguir fomentando el respeto mutuo. Que los visitantes entiendan que aquí también vive gente, y que la ciudad pueda acogerles sin perder su identidad. Pero como no me ha afectado especialmente, no tengo ninguna queja concreta.
- tienen que frenar el turismo
- Ninguno
- Reducir las licencias a hoteles.
- Reducir el número de alojamientos turísticos y regular los precios de los alquileres.
- Más restricciones

OWNERS

- Habría que reducir la actividad turística y hostelera; ponerle freno. Y no dejar que los grupos hosteleros influyan tanto en las políticas públicas. Mirar a la Parte Vieja como un barrio para vivir en cuanto a recursos y servicios públicos. Y proteger y fomentar todo lo que sea relaciones vecinales, asociaciones, actividades culturales organizadas de manera popular...
- Una mayor limitación de pisos turísticos. Para evitar el tráfico (totalmente colapsado en verano), tener los parkings disuasorios con una conexión al centro gratuita. El ayuntamiento empezó a cobrar el autobuses del parking de Illumbe el año pasado. Si tienes que pagar igualmente, para eso aparcas en el centro.
- Que todos tengan más educación mutuamente y respeto
- No conceder más licencias de alojamientos y limitar la posible inversión extranjera en inmuebles, pero eso es ilegal, por lo que cualquier propuesta creo que no servirá de mucho, hay un cambio que se está dando respecto al turismo en los últimos años y seguirá así hasta que algún día por alguna razón cambien las cosas.
- Creo que básicamente actuar con respeto
- Reducir el numero por guia turistico
- Optaría por una seguridad e igualdad de parte del ayuntamiento y Ertzaintza muchísimo más eficaz (los ruidos, las broncas, los cortes de las calles al acompañar a un guía...) LO NORMAL.
- Yo creo que la convivencia no es mala, el problema es la sensación de que el ayuntamiento cuida más la parte vieja para los de fuera que para la gente del barrio
- Yo creo que si se viera que hay movimientos para mejorar la calidad de vida de los ciudadanos, en vez de tener la sensación que todo se está haciendo hacia el turista, construcción de hoteles por todos lados, metro innecesario... ya sería un paso hacia adelante bastante importante
- Apoyar más a los locales de siempre con subvenciones o rebajas fiscales. Fomentar que los donostiarros vuelvan a la Parte Vieja.
- Regulación del alquiler turístico, gestión de los flujos turísticos, turismo responsable y sostenible, apoyo al comercio local etc.
- Desiscentivar el turismo de borrachera. Qué se promuevan más actividades culturales, lúdicas. Más proyectos de vivienda social por parte del ayuntamiento. No todos los que estamos en Donostia somos millonarios o con poder adquisitivo alto.
- Concienciar a la comunidad local de la realidad de la ciudad. Donostia vive del turismo y la gente no puede olvidar eso. Hay que recordarlo y recalcarlo.
- Limitar los pisos turísticos. Favorecer que haya más viviendas habituales. Y campañas que inviten a los donostiarros a comprar en el comercio tradicional.

- Nos llevamos muy bien
- Básicamente más inversiones en servicios públicos y para la ciudadanía y más control en lugares destinados a turistas y control de horarios

Comentarios adicionales

RESIDENTS

- La situación es muy grave, se habla mucho, pero no se está actuando con la contundencia necesaria. Solo estamos viento palabrería y gestos simbólicos.
- Creo que se ha hecho una gran inversión para turistizar la ciudad y dar prioridad a ese turismo frente a los habitantes, sin pensar en las consecuencias ni en la forma de regularlo.
- Ya no hay que hacer más campañas de turismo
- Implicación del Ayuntamiento de Donostia en el control del turismo
- Si ambas cosas mencionadas anteriormente se ponen de acuerdo creo que sería algo positivo
- Menos para el turismo y mas para l@s que vivimos en la ciudad y alrededores
- El turismo es una oportunidad, no una amenaza. Siempre que se haga con cabeza, puede ser una fuente de riqueza (económica, cultural y social) para todos. Y nosotros, como locales, también tenemos mucho que ganar si sabemos adaptarnos sin perder nuestra esencia.
- El turismo no debería sustituir la vida de barrio. Sin residentes, la Parte Vieja pierde su alma.
- Convertir los edificios de la bretxa y pescadería en lugares culturales con servicios públicos y para la ciudadanía Incorporación de servicios para trabajar la dinamización comunitaria y del barrio como educadores de calle...entre otros... Control en los pisos turísticos y locales de fiesta en cuanto horarios...
- Tourists go home

WORKERS

- Implicación y compromiso del ayuntamiento y de la Diputación y también de la policía para mantener el orden la convivencia
- No creo que el turismo sea el problema. Lo que hace falta es una mejor organización y planificación para que la ciudad pueda acoger bien a todos.
- En resumen no permitir la entrada de inmigrantes que no tengan un trabajo ni intención de tenerlo y vivir a nuestra costa. Limitar los alojamientos, hoteles ,... en la parte vieja
- La Parte Vieja no puede vivir solo del turismo. Hay que proteger a quienes llevamos años aquí trabajando para el barrio.

OWNERS

- Si se gestiona bien, el turismo puede beneficiar a todos. Pero hay que mantener el equilibrio para que la Parte Vieja siga siendo también para los de aquí.
- La Parte es además de todos los ciudadanos, como La Concha. Hay que tener en cuenta la opinión de los que viven allí, por supuesto, pero tb escuchar la del resto de los donostiarras.
- Deben seriamente el ayuntamiento junto con la academia estudiar el impacto de turismo en la ciudad y la vida de las personas. Está ciudad es muy bella, atrae mucho turista, pero

a mí parecer se están desbordando y no hay respuestas adecuadas desde las autoridades para desarrollar un turismo sostenible.

- Cada negocio vive una realidad distinta. En mi caso, el turismo no ha cambiado mucho las cosas, pero entiendo que para otros puede suponer tanto una oportunidad como un retos

Appendix E. Summary of positive and negative aspects of tourism

PROFILE	POSITIVE ASPECTS	NEGATIVE ASPECTS
RESIDENTS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increased economic activity - Survival of some businesses. <p>These are perceived as collective or indirect benefits, not personal ones.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Price increases - Loss of identity - Overcrowding - Expulsion of residents - Replacement of local businesses - Noise - Dirt - Insecurity
WORKERS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Job creation - Greater visibility for the hospitality industry - Cultural and economic dynamism - Direct employment benefits 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Job insecurity - Low wages - High rents - Overcrowding - Loss of neighbourhood character - Exclusion of local residents from shops
OWNERS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Economic growth - Increased sales - Commercial visibility - Greater activity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Noise - Overcrowding - Disappearance of traditional commerce - Price increases <p>These effects are often mentioned as acceptable or secondary within the tourism model.</p>

Note: Own elaboration

Appendix F. Donostia-San Sebastian Tourism Policies

- **Prohibition of megaphones:**

In 2022 Donostia-San Sebastian launched a campaign to control the use of megaphones on large guided tours, which were causing disturbances and did not comply with noise regulations. First, a warning was issued, and then, if it was not respected, a fine of up to €750 was imposed. Today, there is not a single guide in the city who uses a megaphone.

<https://www.donostia.eus/home.nsf/0/8C03C7EF072E5947C12589050041F2D9?OpenDocument&idioma=cas>

- **Suspension of licenses for hotels and VuT:**

In 2023 the city council approved a general suspension of new licenses for hotels and tourist accommodation in several neighborhoods as a temporary measure until the General Plan is amended. The moratorium affected neighborhoods such as Antiguo, Gros, and Centro, although it excluded the Old Town, as it is already regulated. No new openings or expansions were allowed, except in cases where licenses were already in process. With this decision, they sought to curb the expansion of tourist accommodation and ensure a balance between tourism and local life.

<https://www.donostia.eus/home.nsf/0/3E18A7FE2A6889A0C125896D0038C11F?OpenDocument&idioma=cas>

- **In 2028 Municipal ordinance regulating occupations in public spaces and areas**

<https://www.donostia.eus/secretaria/normunicipal.nsf/vListadoId/6DB45D4C453EDB72C12583D000222158?OpenDocument&sf=2&idioma=cas>

- **Limit of 25 people + tour guide for tourist groups:**

In 2024 the Donostia Governing Board has included guided tourist visits in the Public Space Ordinance, requiring an online declaration of responsibility and limited groups to 25 people. This measure reinforces the regulation of tourist activity to improve citizen coexistence.

<https://www.donostia.eus/home.nsf/0/F9B6F7F2807FEA50C1258B240039C5F8?OpenDocument&idioma=cas>

- **Old Town congested area**

In 2018 the Local Government Board approved an amendment to the General Plan declaring the Old Town a saturated economic activity area. While the final approval was processed, all licenses and authorizations in the area were suspended. The aim is to protect residential use and curb tourist pressure by expressly prohibiting new hotel uses on the upper floors of residential buildings.

<https://www.donostia.eus/home.nsf/0/71EEACAFDD4C1686C125828700422F55?OpenDocument&idioma=cas>

- **Temporary closure of the city to prevent gridlock during the summer months:**

In 2024 the City Council of Donostia-San Sebastian decided to implement a series of measures to regulate traffic during the summer months, with the aim of alleviating the inconveniences caused at times of high visitor numbers, placing special emphasis on public transport and city's network of peripheral car parks

<https://www.donostia.eus/home.nsf/0/2CB1BDD0A63118B5C1258B420038C81C?OpenDocument&idioma=cas>