



Organizações & Sociedade Journal
2025, 32(111), 001-023

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Section: Article

DOI 10.1590/1984-92302025v32n0005EN

e-location: ev32n0005EN

eISSN 1984-9230 | ISSN 1413-585X

www.revistaoes.ufba.br

NPGA, School of Management

Federal University of Bahia

Associate Editor:

Maria Elisabete Pereira dos Santos

Received: 28/06/2023

Accepted: 07/02/2025

Erratum: 04/07/2025

The Relationship between Tourism Development and the Gentrification Process in Pirenópolis (GO)

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Abstract

This paper aims to understand the relationship between gentrification and tourism development in Pirenópolis-GO based on spatial configuration. It focuses mainly on the tourism policies integrated by the municipality and their consequences, which encompass concrete and symbolic issues experienced by the individual in space. The paper is qualitative, and data were collected from documentary research, semi-structured interviews, and non-participant observation, which were analysed in the light of content analysis. The results show that state action focused on tourism-related economic activities overlaps social, cultural, historical and environmental relations. Indeed, gentrification is expressed in concrete aspects with the removal of the marginalized population from that centre to increasingly distant areas in substitution for the business class coming from outside the city, and symbolic, since individuals begin to feel a loss of value cultural-historical heritage and do not feel like an integral part of the new space designed for tourism.

Keywords: gentrification; tourism urbanization; tourism policies.

Introduction

Studies on tourism policies and their relationship with urban transformations (also called tourism urbanization) have intensified due to the link between this relationship and changes in the sociospatial dynamics of cities (Toledo, Alvarez Valdéz & Castroman Pollero, 2013; Barbosa, Oliveira & Resende, 2010; Araújo & Posenatto, 2012).

Tourism in the light of public administration began to be discussed worldwide as a result of the influence of the New Public Governance in the 1990s, which sought to strengthen tourism activities by forming partnerships with the private sector for local development (Paddison & Walmsley, 2018). Following the guidelines for conducting public administration similar to the management of private companies, some cities began to be planned and managed as enterprises, from the perspective of a rationality for homogenizing spaces, prioritizing territorial organization aimed at economic activities related to tourism, combining aesthetics and using the power of images to build tourism scenarios that would attract visitors (Harvey, 1996).

Within this new orientation, we can point to new tourism products, among which historic cities and ecotourism activities stand out. The latter were born in the midst of the debate on the need to preserve nature and have been gaining worldwide attention since the 1980s. Rodrigues (2003) points out that these are economic activities directed towards areas of significant natural, social and cultural value.

With regard to historic cities, their treatment within tourism policies in Brazil was introduced in the 1970s through the Integrated Program for Historic Cities, which represents the first national document for the recovery of urban cultural heritage for tourism (Troitiño & Vinuesa, 2003). Cultural heritage, as well as natural heritage (ecotourism), was considered an important resource in the design of the tourist space.

The State is directly involved in this process, formulating and implementing policies aimed at making tourism activities viable. The public policies that work in this direction are not limited to tourism and have a wide range of possibilities. They range from changes in the planning of the use of urban space to specific policies for the revitalization of historic regions. Given the scale of the impact of these policies, there is also a notable body of research investigating this phenomenon in large cities and metropolitan regions (Paes, 2017; Mendes, 2017). For Magnier et al. (2018), this spatial planning must necessarily be characterized as an integrated project involving local society – city residents and private initiative.

However, the reordering of geographical space, which involves the revitalization of historical heritage sites, either directly with public funds or through public-private partnerships, and its instrumentalization through urban marketing to attract new businesses, has as a consequence both objective structural elements, such as the rising cost of living and the exodus of residents to the peripheries, and cultural and symbolic ones, with the loss of ties and memories. This process has been called “gentrification” (Smith, 1982).

Although the process of gentrification is more directly linked to urban planning policies, there is a delicate relationship with tourism, which is even more acute in so-called tourism urbanization. Despite the factors generated, some authors see gentrification as something positive for local authorities (Bolzoni & Semi, 2023), since in many cases gentrification has been a means rather than an end to overcome economic crises, especially deindustrialization (Meethan, 1997;

Zhan, 2021).

This phenomenon has been addressed by national and international literature, for example, from the perspective of the advance of hotel companies (González-Perez, 2020), the impact on local populations (Almeida-Garcia, Cortés-Macías & Parzych, 2021; Curvelo & Lopes Júnior, 2021), or even considering its role within the economic matrix of countries (Zhang, Lu, Huang & Zhang, 2022).

Based on a greater role of private companies in the promotion of tourism, these studies reveal changes that have the same consequences as gentrification: the increase in the price of square meters due to real estate speculation and the increase in the number of tourists, the displacement of population contingents to more peripheral regions with less access to basic public services, and the breaking of symbolic ties historically created by these displaced contingents. Given the scope of this literature, it is interesting to understand the extent to which the process of gentrification is related to tourism policies that include, among other things, the preservation and revitalization of historical heritage.

Considering the important dimension of gentrification for the understanding of contemporary urban planning phenomena, as well as the abundance of tourism policies that touch on the same aspect, this paper aims to critically analyze the relationship between tourism policies in Pirenópolis and the process of gentrification that the city has undergone. It is understood that, in addition to contributing to the critical analysis of tourism policies in Brazil, it is also possible to contribute to the analysis of the phenomenon of gentrification in small cities where tourism is a relevant economic and social activity.

In addition to this introduction, the text is divided into five other sections. The next two discuss theoretical aspects of tourism policy in Brazil and the gentrification process, followed by the methodological procedures, data analysis, and concluding remarks.

Public policies and the transformation of space through tourism in Brazil

Until the 1960s, there were no policies directly aimed at tourism, apart from the regulation of certain activities. In Brazil, the first state guidelines for tourism were established in 1966 with the creation of the National Tourism Policy (PNT), the National Tourism Council (CNTur) and the Brazilian Tourism Corporation (Embratur). During this period, there was a very close relationship between the Brazilian state and private companies involved in the sector, as evidenced by the lines of public funding for tourism. In 1971, Decree-Law No. 1,191 was enacted to create the General Tourism Fund to finance tourism works, services and activities of national interest. Decree-Law No. 1,376 of 1974 defined the Sectoral Investment Fund for tourism, fishing, reforestation and accommodation, the latter for investments in infrastructure (Silva, 2015).

On the initiative of the Secretariat for Planning, in partnership with Embratur, the Integrated Program for Historic Cities was implemented (1973-1979). This was the first federal investment program for the recovery of urban cultural heritage and marked the introduction of tourism development in historic cities. The program initially worked in the cities of the Northeast and was later disseminated to other Brazilian cities for the recovery of urban cultural heritage (Ribeiro, 2005).

In the 1970s, there was also a focus on historical heritage with the Integrated Program for the Reconstruction of Historic Cities (PCH). This program was also based on a clear relationship between the state and the private sector, which played an important role in defining policy guidelines. The very choice of cities in the Northeast led to an increase in real estate speculation to the detriment of regional development (Fridman, Araújo & Daibert, 2019). According to the author, “few properties were used for housing and the intention of a 'national system' resulted in isolated federal, state and municipal preservation systems.” Institutionally, until 1980, there was little participation of the federal units and municipalities in the actions of the National Tourism Policy (PNT), which was implemented centrally without the participation of the subnational spheres (especially the local ones, where tourism actually takes place) (Silva, 2015).

Since 1990, the Brazilian state has prioritized tourism as an economic activity, building policies based on decentralization to municipalities through the implementation of the National Tourism Municipalization Program (PNMT), in addition to the establishment of the new National Tourism Policy (1996-1999), which institutionalized the participatory management of municipal tourism. In the 2000s, the Ministry of Tourism (MTur) created the Tourism Regionalization Program (PRT) and defined 65 Regional Tourism Development Destinations, which was updated to 3,265 destinations in 2015 (Brazil, 2022).

In the context of tourism development, only economic plans with short-term objectives were in force (Henz, Leite & Anjos, 2010). Until then, there was little participation of states and municipalities in the actions of the National Tourism Policy (PNT), whose implementation was centralized without the participation of the subnational spheres (Silva, 2015). Adopting a territorial approach, in 1994 the government institutionalized the National Tourism Municipalization Program, which aimed at participatory planning and local tourism management, so that municipalities would be responsible for the development of their localities, while the federal government would act by organizing and making decisions (Cruz, 2000). During this period, the scope of the policies in terms of coverage in the states and municipalities, the coverage of a wide range of tourism activities, and also the maintenance of the logic of alliance between public power and private initiative are noteworthy.

The National Program for the Development and Structuring of Tourism (PRODETUR) for the Northeast is a clear example of this process. “The funds, which came from public-private partnerships, were to be used to modernize the hotel network and airports, offer professional courses, and revitalize the historical heritage of the main cities of the Northeast” (Fridman et al., 2019, p. 627). In this sense, the very notion of regional development was embodied in the abundance of service and commercial economic activities related to historical heritage.

Historic cities began to stand out due to the emergence of new tourism products, which led to changes in consumer profiles. Coriolano and Vasconcelos (2012) emphasize that this was only possible thanks to the different forms of tourism that materialized in urban space, consolidating expressions of tourist practice and offering experiences that attracted a significant flow of visitors. For this reason, since the 1970s (when the first policies focused on historical heritage were implemented), cultural heritage has increasingly been considered an important resource in the configuration of space, as it has become an ally in the development of tourism, favoring the creation of jobs and the social cohesion of a locality (Coriolano & Vasconcelos, 2012).

Here, it is worth opening an important window on the turn of tourism in historic cities, when in the 1970s the Historic Cities Program (PCH), aimed at preserving and conserving Brazil's material heritage, especially that of the Northeast, was fundamental (Correa, 2016), coinciding with the initiatives of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) to promote tourism, starting in 1965. During the urbanization process experienced by Brazilian cities, land use faced a process of valorization that, in a way, compressed the historical heritage, due to population densification and the use of areas for industrialization. Therefore, there was an urgent need to recover these degraded areas in order to reintegrate them into the very logic of valorization of the urban fabric (Correa, 2016).

In 2003, the Ministry of Tourism was created to plan regional tourism development actions and the National Tourism Policy (2003-2007), which included the Tourism Regionalization Program. The main objective of regionalization is to promote sustainable tourism development, diversify the tourism offer in the municipalities, continue the territorial planning strategies implemented by the National Tourism Municipalization Program (PNMT), and extrapolate the territorial logic of tourism from the municipality to the region (MTur, 2022). Following the 1988 Federal Constitution, the protection of historical and cultural heritage and the responsibility for assets of historical value were addressed in the 1992 National Tourism Policy (PNT). However, Ribeiro (2005) points out that the 1996 National Tourism Policy (PNT) did not mention this issue, and the same happened in the 2003 National Tourism Policy (PNT), which did not include the heritage issue in its program goals and objectives.

In 2007, the Ministry of Tourism launched the National Tourism Plan (2007-2010) to structure 65 destinations with international quality standards. The proposal and the number, according to the Federal Government, were based on data from the previous National Tourism Policy (PNT) of the Tourism Regionalization Program – *Roteiros do Brasil*, and the action established the structuring of itineraries in tourist regions and was based on the principles of cooperation, integration and environmental, economic, socio-cultural and political-institutional sustainability (MTur, 2022). In 2015, the Regional Tourism Development Destinations were updated to 3,265 (MTur, 2022).

The Ministry of Tourism became the body responsible for establishing the National Tourism Policy (PNT) in Brazil (Law 11,771/2008). The Tourism Regionalization Program was relaunched in 2013 with the aim of supporting the management, structuring and promotion of tourism in a regional and decentralized manner. In the same year, the government launched the National Tourism Plan (2013-2016), which, together with the Tourism Regionalization Program, promoted guidelines and actions that allowed the participation of regions and municipalities in the construction of national public policies, in addition to the local policies that already existed (Silva, 2015).

Because of this incomplete incorporation of historical heritage issues into tourism policies, this process of decentralization and participation was expressed in a hybrid way in the historical heritage revitalization programs. The *Monumenta* program, which was active between 1996 and 2006, allowed for the participation of state entities, but also followed the guidelines of the Inter-American Development Bank, which financed it, and was also managed by external consultants (Fridman et al., 2009). Also in the mid-2000s, the Growth Acceleration Program – Historic Cities was launched, also financed by national public companies and banks, which followed the logic of

decentralization and maintained the idea of linking the preservation of the historical heritage with economic activities, also taking into account the major events that would take place in the country.

In 2013, the Ministry of Planning approved the creation of a credit line exclusively for historic urban sites protected by the National Institute of Historical and Artistic Heritage (Iphan), which gave rise to the Historic Cities Growth Acceleration Program. The projects and infrastructure works were carried out under the coordination of the Ministry of Planning, in collaboration with Iphan and in partnership with municipalities, universities, federal institutions and state governments (Iphan, 2018).

The historical trajectory of tourism policies in Brazil, especially those that also include historical heritage, reveals important institutional ruptures with the increasing participation of subnational entities in the formulation and implementation process. It also reveals continuities with the intimate relationship between the State and capital. In this sense, it is essential to characterize the possible consequences of this relationship, which, in the case under study, materialize in points such as the gentrification process.

The sociospatial consequences of the relationship between tourism and gentrification

Tourism can be promoted through public policies that include direct actions by the State, tax incentives, and marketing that allow the installation of equipment, infrastructure, and conditions necessary to serve visitors and private investors, especially those that seek political interests and stimulate the local economy for tourism activities (Coriolano & Vasconcelos, 2012).

Tourism activities have a direct impact on the use and occupation of space, involving the management of the territory, as Steinberger (2009) notes. Social space is historically constructed and tourism is one of the activities of contemporary society that stimulates the economy and constantly acts in the production of history and space itself. Thus, tourism production is materialized in space over time through objects or forms, and for this reason it is necessary to consider the unfolding of sociospatial dynamics.

This tourism production is materialized in space through natural or artificial geographical objects (attractions and facilities), from which flows are generated (movements that constitute life and drive this materiality). These objects can be shaped by techniques over time. In this way, tourism appropriates and updates the “roughness,” the traces left by time in the space, producing forms and content that give meaning to tourism activity (Steinberger, 2009, p. 44).

From this perspective of the territory used, tourism is in principle not just an economic activity. It includes considerations such as the appropriation of natural and artificial objects that, reconfigured over the years, involve political actions resulting from the tourist use of the territory. Among these actions, Luchiari (2004, p. 105) defines this process as “tourism urbanization,” which “reinvents and creates new functions,” establishing a new sociospatial organization.

Understanding territory involves the multiplicity of ways in which space is appropriated and transformed by different groups and social classes. Different functions are attributed to appropriated, territorialized places in different temporalities, assuming a diversity of meanings from the agents that produce territorialization in space (Coriolano & Vasconcellos, 2012). This

territorialization is a key concept for understanding the current actions of the State and for designing public, urban, economic or tourism policies that involve public actions and those of private entrepreneurs in society.

According to Cruz (2000), territorial appropriation can occur, for example, through the direction of a public tourism policy in a given place. In this case, public managers outline the objectives and guidelines of these policies, which guide the sociospatial development of the activity in terms of the public and private spheres. Therefore, territorialization, mediated by different and often conflicting conditions and interests, shows the relationship between territory, politics and tourism. Even when there is a more organic process of growth in tourism activity, supported by and with the participation of the community, there are some negative externalities, such as the impact on services for the local population and the depletion of natural resources (Brida et al., 2014).

The State can promote tourism activity in partnership with private companies, appropriating spaces and transforming them into tourist spaces in order to accumulate capital. On the one hand, this trend follows an economic logic of developing tourism as a source of employment and business opportunities for the city's inhabitants. On the other hand, it has consequences such as the formation of gentrification processes and the failure to identify the new space conceived as a space experienced by the local population itself.

The term gentrification was first used in the early 1960s by Ruth Glass (1963) to describe the process of ennoblement of an area of London. Since then, the term has been popularized by various authors, leading to new interpretations of gentrification. More broadly, Hamnett (1984) defines it as a phenomenon that is at once physical, economic, social and cultural, involving social, physical (housing stock at the neighborhood level), and economic (land and real estate markets) changes.

According to Smith (2007), the language of urban renaissance is not new and has been used in the United States in a different sense than the poetic one evoked by Ruth Glass, since the current language of urban renaissance is evidence of the generalization of gentrification (Smith, 2007). Although the phenomenon of gentrification is a good strategy for preserving the physical fabric of the city, with beautiful houses and streets, cafés, small shops and squares, as the case of New York has shown, gentrifiers change the local economy in a way that benefits them over the majority of the city's inhabitants (Zukin, 2010). The author criticizes the fact that these agents support consumer markets that cater to specific audiences and disregard small shops and street markets on which lower-income residents depend.

Specifically, Savage and Warde (1993) present four processes that result from gentrification: i) the reorganization of the social geography of the city in areas that are replaced by a higher class social group; ii) the spatial regrouping of individuals with similar lifestyles and cultural characteristics; iii) the transformation of the built environment, with the creation of new services and requalification of housing, which includes architectural improvements; iv) the change in the land tenure, which in most cases determines the rise in values, increasing the proportion of housing. As a result of this process, there is the "elitization of certain areas, with the replacement of the traditional population by residents with greater purchasing power, based on their redevelopment, with an increase in infrastructure and/or urban requalification" (Ribeiro, 2018, p. 1338).

Comparing two gentrified neighborhoods in Brazil and Portugal, Leite (2007) found that the places underwent specific interventions by modifying the urban architecture with the strong visual

appeal built for tourists. The idea is that this new scenario attracts the attention of tourists and satisfies their demands, in addition to real estate appreciation, safety, and urban cleanliness for reappropriation by the middle and upper classes, which will be able to support themselves in these ennobled places.

These gentrification policies have a market interest, formulated by building an image of the city that attracts public and private investment, mainly under the discourse of cultural restoration of space (Leite, 2007; Botelho, 2004). As a result, certain spaces have been targeted by public authorities to generate activities and increase revenues for some municipalities.

Leite (2007) points out that the tendency towards homogenization resulting from gentrification promotes the loss of elements of identity of its inhabitants. When these spaces are reproduced, there are consequences such as a loss of sociospatial meaning. This is due to the coexistence of land use, as well as the complexity of sociospatial dynamics and the intensification of tourism promotion.

There is a clear link between tourism policies involving historical heritage and the process of gentrification, as noted by Ribeiro (2018) for cities such as Recife and Salvador. Precisely because the revitalization of certain areas attracts new businesses, it increases the cost of living and displaces residents. In this sense, it is worth analyzing a specific case in Brazil that follows the decentralization of tourism policies and also affects towns in rural areas.

Methodological procedures

Since it aims to understand the relationship between tourism policies and the gentrification process in the spatial configuration of Pirenópolis, in the state of Goiás (GO), this research can be classified as descriptive. In terms of approach, it is characterized as essentially qualitative research, since it is concerned with understanding and explaining the dynamics of social relations. Data collection included documentary research, semi-structured scripted interviews, and non-participant observation such as field diary notes. The source of the bibliographic data used were articles published in the city's newspapers and magazines, as well as websites such as the Pirenópolis Tourism Portal, the City Hall, the Goiás Geographic Observatory, Iphan-GO, IBGE, among others, related to the development of tourism and the configuration of the urban space of Pirenópolis.

In addition to documentary research, semi-structured interviews were conducted, with the corpus defined by categorical saturation, in which the observation notes and recruitment of new participants were interrupted when no category emerged from the field. During data collection, participants were approached at random, and some of them were approached at the suggestion of the interviewees themselves. Data collection took place at different times and in different locations in the city in order to capture different perspectives on the topic under study. Five groups of interviewees were defined, divided according to the different actors involved in tourism and the urban space of Pirenópolis: Iphan, the local government, business people, the local population and tourists, totaling 55 interviews, of which thirteen made up the corpus of analysis for this study. The following table shows the interview codes and their respective references:

Table 1

Interview codes and their references

Code	Identification	Number of subjects
ERS1	People associated with Iphan	2
ERS2	Local government	2
ERS3	Business people	2
ERS4	Local population (minimum age 40)	6
ERS5	Tourists	1

Source: Research data.

Finally, non-participant observation was used, in which the researcher remains a spectator of the object being observed, according to Gil (2008). During this technique, the observer does not interact with the object of observation, so the subjects are unaware that they are being observed. The instrument used to record data during non-participant observation was the field diary, in which notes were taken during interviews, conversations, and walks through the city streets. This note-taking technique makes it possible to describe and analyze the dynamics under study, as well as to understand the places described to the observer by those being observed, and to clarify the observer's attitude in interacting with them (Weber, 2009). Since the researcher's task is to seek a reading of the text in terms of its symbols (May, 2004), photographic records were taken to capture the materiality of the space.

Content analysis was used to analyze the data, which allowed the content of documents and texts to be read, described, and interpreted. According to Bardin (2016), content analysis is a set of communication analysis techniques aimed at describing the content of messages through systematic and objective procedures in order to obtain quantitative or qualitative indicators that allow the inference of knowledge about the conditions of production/reception of these messages. The message expresses a meaning, a sense, which is captured in its qualitative aspect.

Content analysis is a personal interpretation that the researcher has of their own decoding process, through which they analyze, infer, and interpret about the process of coding products. Among the different forms of analysis, such as experimentation and categorization, Bardin (2016) suggests three chronological poles for carrying out the method: i) pre-analysis (organization); ii) exploration of the material (coding and categorization); iii) treatment of the results, inference and interpretation (information provided by the analysis).

The first phase aims to organize, although it consists of unstructured activities. It corresponds to a period of intuition in which initial ideas are operationalized and systematized, leading to an outline of the development of an analysis plan. In the material exploration phase, the preparation of the material is completed in terms of coding, decomposition or enumeration operations, according to previously formulated rules. These operations are performed automatically (computer operations) or manually. In the third phase, the analysis itself, "the raw results are processed in a way that makes them meaningful ('speaking') and valid" (Bardin, 2016, p. 131).

Defining the categories of analysis

After organizing the collected material for analysis, the main categories of analysis were identified. The guidelines of tourism urbanization based on the implementation of policies produce

changes in urban space that influence people's daily practices. Consequently, these changes cause strangeness in their concrete gentrification and symbolic aspects as a result of the use of space by tourism itself. Considering the theoretical discussion so far, it was possible to identify the main categories of analysis for examining the material extracted from the empirical incursions. Systematically, the categories of analysis were associated with their indicators, as shown in the diagram below.

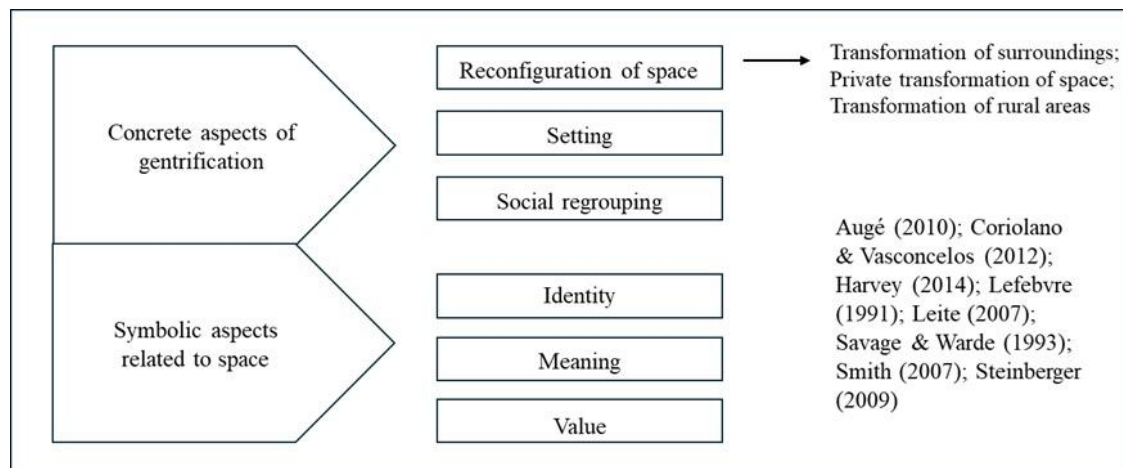


Figure 1. Diagram of the Evolution of Tourism Urbanization in Pirenópolis

Source: Research data.

The concrete aspects of gentrification are materialized in space, causing the reconfiguration of urban space and the formation of a scenario and social regrouping (Santos, 2008; Savage & Warde, 1993). Concrete aspects of gentrification include the reconfiguration of urban space through the transformation of the surroundings, private and rural areas; the formation of a scenario based on the homogenization of tourism to meet this type of demand; and social regrouping due to real estate appreciation. The indicators of the category of symbolic aspects related to space are identity, meaning and value, with the emerging category of reciprocity of place. In this sociospatial dynamic, concrete and symbolic aspects are directly linked. When there is an intervention in the space that leads to gentrification, there is a loss of social identity that is linked to the symbolic loss of value in the individual's social construction of the space. Despite the initial alienation, the individual tends to resignify the space in their new location, creating new values and identities. This form of resignification happens through appropriation, using it in a concrete way, materializing its meanings in the space between them (Lefebvre, 1991).

Presentation and discussion of results

The city of Pirenópolis is part of one of the 21 regions surrounding the Federal District, located 150 km from Brasília and 130 km from Goiânia. From its foundation in 1727 to the present day, the city has been characterized by four cycles, according to the Pirenópolis Tourism Portal (PTP, 2018), adapted in this research and divided as follows: Gold Cycle (1727 - 1800), Agriculture and

Trade Cycle (1800 - 1930), Stone and Art Cycle (1930 - 1989), and Tourism Cycle (1989 - 2018). On November 22, 1989, Pirenópolis was listed by Iphan as an architectural, urbanistic, landscape and historical site, and from 1997 onwards, renovation projects began in the Historic Center. Since then, tourism has been strongly promoted by the state and municipal governments and currently represents the main economic activity of the municipality (PTP, 2018).

The reconfiguration of the space necessarily involves the growth of tourism activity, which has had a direct impact on the urban dynamics of the city. Analyzing the statements collected in the interviews and considering the concrete aspects of gentrification, when asked if the municipal government shares the idea of the formation of this process in Pirenópolis, Secretary ERS2-4 describes the urban configuration since tourism:

The city has grown in the last 30 years, but the population has grown very little, it's stable. If you look at a photograph of the city from 1980, it's impressive to see how much it's grown with the construction of condominiums and rental houses. So there's a lot of swelling, which is a problem because we're losing population within the Historic Center (ERS2-4).

This growth has intensified since the beginning of the Tourism Cycle, which represents the reconfiguration of the urban space through the advance of construction. One factor that may have caused this expansion of construction is the difficulty of regulation and supervision by the public authorities. Since the Master Plan did not define the zones for land use and occupation, many irregular buildings have been constructed, causing the urban and rural areas to swell.

The interviews revealed that the residents of the Center are increasingly moving to the outskirts of the city, causing a process of social regrouping. As a result of the processes of spatial reconfiguration and regrouping, the Historic Center is seen as a setting for tourists and has a low demographic density. This is due to real estate speculation and the intensification of commerce in this highly valued area, as former Iphan employee ERS1-1 explains: "The square meter inflated and many people began to build in the shadows, using the spaces they had to earn an income, or they sold their houses and moved to the suburbs."

Three types of transformations were identified in the reconfiguration of space in Pirenópolis: the surroundings, the private space, and the rural areas. The transformation of the surroundings represents the construction of modern residences and guesthouses, such as Vila Zezito Pompeu I and II (known as Alto do Carmo) and Vila Vulpina. According to ERS2-5, a public official, these outlying areas are expensive due to real estate speculation.

Since the houses in the Historic Center are generally expensive to maintain, most families end up selling their properties to business people from outside the city or turning them into guesthouses. This results in the displacement of former residents to the outskirts of the city, as ERS2-5, a government representative, describes the current scenario. "People from Pirenópolis can only buy houses in the countryside, because the outskirts are being occupied by closed or horizontal communities of temporary residents, who usually buy plots in the city with groups of friends" (ERS2-5).

On the one hand, there is forced segregation of the people of Pirenópolis, due to the impossibility of buying land in the surrounding area as a result of real estate speculation. On the other hand, there is self-segregation of the class of temporary residents and entrepreneurs who choose to live far from the center, schools, health centers and shops. In this sense, it is worth considering that, historically, gentrification is a phenomenon directly linked to the planning of urban space and, in the case under study, the policies to promote tourism in the Historic Center are combined with the construction of new housing. It should also be noted that the people of Pirenópolis are increasingly moving to the rural areas of the municipality, occupying, for example, the areas known as Passagem Funda and Vila Mutirão.

This transformation of the area highlights two unique aspects of gentrification, in its concrete and symbolic forms. The first is represented by the movement of residents to the rural area, which makes the population feel uncomfortable and becomes more frequent due to the constant changes. The symbolic one refers to the loss of meaning of the place because it is different from the one intended by those who control the spatial changes. This process leads to a loss of meaning for the inhabitants and ends up damaging the stimulus for interaction.

More directly on the symbolic aspects of the gentrification process, government representative ERS2-4 criticizes the current context:

I took part in the discussions of the Master Plan, and since the first one was approved in 2002, we've had a lot of trouble with gentrification, because it's turning the Historic Center into a shopping mall. Families are leaving and moving to the outskirts. The population is practically being expelled from the city, in the sense that the patriarch dies and the children sell to a third party. This house is used for rent or on the weekend. So we have a lot of empty houses and this is an interesting feature because people don't declare that this is their second home (ERS2-4).

Complementing the above excerpt, former Iphan employee ERS1-2 emphatically states that "Pirenópolis is turning into an open-air shopping mall, the city is losing its essence, prostituting itself, de-characterizing itself. But where hasn't that happened? At the end of his statement, however, he softens this development by justifying it as normal, as a process of naturalization resulting from the use of the space. After all, this happens in many places, and it won't be a problem if it happens in Pirenópolis, as he demonstrates in his statement.

The characterization of the Historic Center as a shopping mall marks the gentrification in which there have been interventions that have produced urban space for tourism activity, through the strong visual appeal built for tourists (Leite, 2007). These interventions are carried out by agents of the federal government, through Iphan, the state and municipal governments, who work together with business people to homogenize spaces in order to attract tourists, with a view to the economic development of the city. With the structural transformation of the Historic Center, there is also a cultural change in the relationships that used to take place in the area.

This tendency towards homogenization that results from gentrification has concrete consequences when it drives residents to the outskirts, far from the shops, schools, health centers and other services that tend to be concentrated in the city center. In addition, it promotes the loss

of elements of identity of the local population when it comes to this place, which has a historical-cultural heritage context involved.

The displacement of the population to more peripheral areas is a recurring theme in the statements. According to ERS2-5, due to real estate speculation and the conditions of underemployment offered by the tourism market, the people of Pirenópolis don't have the purchasing power to buy plots in the surrounding area or in the Historic Center, causing the population to move further and further away to rural areas:

The people of Pirenópolis are moving to the countryside, which is even further away, to small, often irregular plots that aren't within the size required by law. That's why the PDP is in this impasse, and also why the areas that are increasing in value are going up to the springs. The PDP was supposed to stop this, but it's involved a whole game of economic and political interests and very little focus on this population that's being expelled, and expelled deliberately, to areas that are increasingly distant from the center (ERS2-5).

This exclusion leads to isolation, segregation, and negative conflicts, such as the shattering of social identity, which is difficult for individuals to reconstruct in the face of the areas they are denied or neglected. All these dynamics lead to the marginalization of the population being pushed to the peripheries. Sociospatial inequality and precarious lifestyles are products of tourism urbanization (Luchiari, 2004) and a consequence of the capitalist mode of production (Harvey, 2014). In order to analyze the production of the urban space and sociospatial inequality, it is essential to understand the consequences of this process.

Among the problems of the Historic Center identified in the diagnosis of the Master Plan in 2002, the low demographic density already represented a movement of the population to the surroundings, a characteristic of the change of use of the converted houses for activities related to tourism. They have been transformed into guesthouses, bars, restaurants, handicraft shops and various businesses that have been incorporated as a result of the development of tourism (Pirenópolis Master Plan, 2002).

The dynamics of tourism urbanization lead to social regrouping through gentrification. The resident of Vila Matutina, ER4-36, contextualizes this process by pointing out that the financial gain of the people of Pirenópolis is linked to construction:

They build a good house, not to live in, but to rent on weekends and go to the countryside to hide. If you rent your house every weekend for R\$1,500, you're winning in life. A lot of people are living like this because the government is letting them. Those who can afford to turn their house into a guesthouse do so. Those who can't are forced to live with this anarchy, the mess, the noise, the garbage, and the next day they have to get up early to go to work. Sometimes you call the police 10 times and they don't come; you call *Central da Postura* and nobody answers. So the people here are desperate to move to the countryside because they can't stand living on the streets any longer. This is becoming a ghost town (ERS4-36).

Among the consequences of tourism urbanization in Pirenópolis, which lead to the process of gentrification, is the replacement of daily life by commercial transactions. The objective changes in the use of homes near the Historic Center are also changing the habits of the residents. People are moving out of their own homes, turning them into guesthouses to receive tourists and investing as a business opportunity. Interviewee ERS4-36 also highlights a peculiar feature of this development: some people from Pirenópolis rent out their homes on weekends and go to more remote places. This allows them to earn money and escape the inconveniences caused by the tourist invasion.

Social regrouping and the reconfiguration of the space reveal a city that is practically abandoned during the week. On weekends and holidays, the houses in the central area are occupied by tourists. From this perspective, according to public manager ERS2-5, it is essential to think about public policies for attracting tourists, since:

Tourists come and use all the space that has been built for the local population. They're in the street, at the gas station, in the restaurant, in the church. They occupy the space that should normally be occupied by the community that lives in the city (ERS2-5).

From the moment tourists plan out their itinerary, they choose the attractions they will visit, the restaurants they will eat in, and where they will stay. It is worth noting whether there is any interest in getting to know the people who live there and what their traditions are. In general, visitors don't absorb or create a relationship with the place, as businesswoman ERS3-12 points out:

On certain dates, like New Year's Eve, you want to get out of here. What do these people come here for? Why do they come here? It's become a place of vandalism, debauchery, and unhealthy parties. What have I done? I close the shop doors because I have no security. If ten people enter my establishment, I have no control over anything. When the city gets crowded, everything runs out: water, energy, supermarket items, the traffic doesn't flow, it's impossible. On holidays, I don't set foot outside my house. Unfortunately, we have to choose the type of tourist who appreciates what we have here. The city is losing its character and its social context. Where is that beautiful, cultural and historical city?" (ERS3-12).

It is worth mentioning that this businesswoman targets the population of Pirenópolis due to the location of her business. In her statement, we noticed a feeling of being trapped in the place, which is related to the anxiety that is expressed at times of commemoration and holidays, such as "I close the shop doors" and "I don't set foot outside my house" (ERS3-12). As the interviewee points out, looting and vandalism in the city are characteristic acts of abandonment of activities related to cultural and heritage traditions.

This type of behavior was also easily identified in the interviews with the local population, as reported: "Carnival and New Year's Eve are tormenting, heavy festivals, the city is taken over, you can't leave the house" (ERS4-34). And from resident ERS4-29:

The New Year's Eve party was a horror show: the next day there were shards of glass everywhere. You thought the street had been built with broken glass, it was too much and I don't think there was anyone who wasn't horrified by what they saw. There were so many people, we didn't know where they came from, and the city can't handle it all (ERS4-29).

From these statements we can see that there is no reciprocity between the visitor and the place, which is formed by a type of behavior that remains distant from the receiving place, in such a way that we perceive a change in value not only in relation to the architectural ensemble, re-signified by commercial use, but also in relation to the traditional cultural manifestations of the city. This behavior generates a feeling of repulsion towards this type of visitor, who not only brings no benefit to the city, but also marks their passage with garbage, traffic disruption and unacceptable behavior. In this context, the resident of the Historic Center, ERS4-42, points out that the difficulty of living with tourists has become a frightening experience, since she has already been threatened with aggression:

To add to my joy, there's now a hostel next to my house. On weekends, I hardly sleep because the young people who stay there have the sound on 24 hours a day and at the highest volume. My children are even afraid because I always go there to complain, and some people have even tried to assault me when they were drunk. People from here sometimes don't even notice because they live far away from the city and go to their country house, but since I don't have that, I'm forced to stay here (ERS4-42).

The field research and interviews showed that although tourism has brought some improvements to the urban space and increased the income of the population, the people of Pirenópolis feel trapped in their place. Population movements and the spatial reconfigurations that lead to speculation and an increase in the price of housing near the Historic Center are compounded by cultural and symbolic changes, with the result that the population develops a sense of not belonging to their environment and, consequently, animosity towards outsiders.

The distance between tourists and residents is not the result of a voluntary process. There are a number of peculiarities in the tourism development strategy itself that do not favor this encounter between tourists and residents, and even the first visitors to the city feel this shortcoming. An example of this is the above-mentioned venues. The city doesn't offer adequate infrastructure to provide a space for this interaction between residents and tourists, and this was reported by some tourists as a negative factor in the activity. According to ERS5-48, "the city needs to encourage people to talk to us. We tourists just want to enjoy what the city has to offer."

The occupation of spaces normally used by the local population can lead to tensions between them and the inhabitants, who feel invaded. This is due to the complex process of spatial production that has taken place over the years, not only because of the presence of tourists, but above all in relation to the spatial transformations to meet the demands of tourism, implying the need to resignify the "new places" produced as a result of this dynamic.

Tourism used to be an economic advantage for those who made a living from it, but now it's becoming a disadvantage because it's turning my city into something I don't recognize. My city is no longer mine. I like something more organized: it's my city, you come here and use it carefully. As a resident, during the week I'm still in my normal routine, I'm working, I need my car ("oh, why don't you leave your car at home?"); and why doesn't the tourist leave their car at home? I have to go home for lunch, take my son to school and go back to work. It's so busy, I need my car! People start arriving here on Thursday. People are forced to hurry and take longer because there's no one to organize the traffic. It's a mess and people are destroying it. I feel invaded and cornered all the time (ERS4-36).

Because of the strangeness of the spatial changes, the local population sees the Historic Center as scenery, in other words, a space designed for tourism that no longer has space to live in. For this reason, the Historic Center is interpreted by the same interviewee in another excerpt above as a "ghost town," with a loss of meaning, identity, and value, in which they don't feel part and have no sense of belonging.

In the tourism scenario, the spatial conflict represents a contradictory experience because individuals have to share their living space with others. The greatest negative consequence of tourism, according to Municipal Secretary ERS2-5, is the sharing of space with strangers, because "it's one thing to share living space with people who share the same existence with you, such as neighbors, friends and relatives, but it's another to have to share the same space with tourists."

In this tourism urbanization of the current context, it is worth understanding what it actually represents for the population of Pirenópolis, identifying the preservation of heritage as a constituent part of the knowledge of history and memory represented by memories materialized in the existence of the preservation of this heritage (Meneses, 2004). In this sense, it is essential to build places of memory, which are constituted from the formation of a social role that forms senses and meanings for the community, allowing for the development of historical heritage.

Places of memory allow for the interpretation and critical reading of heritage. In this way, historical preservation should not simply be a collection of rare objects in space-time. Preservation must be interpreted in such a way that it fulfills its identity-forming role, in which the population feels part of the past, recognizes itself in the new configurations, identifies its symbols and perceives its values.

However, the transformations brought about by the process of tourism urbanization have ended up transforming the material and immaterial goods of the cultural heritage into commodities, placing the Historic Center in the dimensions of capitalist reproduction. According to Troitiño (2004), despite the fact that the locality tries to present instruments of cooperation aimed at helping to solve the problems of tourism related to heritage, it is in vain, since, according to the interviews, there is no conversation with the local population to help in the strategic development of tourism.

Among the disadvantages of tourism activity, resident ERS4-17 says that "we lose the privacy of the city." Businessman ERS3-15 highlights the three main problems: irregular occupation, security and environmental quality, given the very high level of waste generation. Resident ERS4-18 was

more specific about waste disposal:

we have a very serious problem with garbage on the banks of the Almas River, where all the bars on Rua do Lazer dump it. It's filthy, fly-tipped, disgusting, horrible. So that was the first thing to do, because that's the center, that's where the tourists go all the time. If it's supposed to be pretty for tourists, then it's lost (ERS4-18).

In short, the increase in tourist traffic has been accompanied by an overload of vehicles and the consequent disorganization of traffic, since the streets of the Historic Center were built at a time when there were no cars; an increase in violence and robberies, jeopardizing urban security; and irregular occupations due to real estate appreciation marked by spatial reconfiguration.

Conclusion

This study aimed to understand the relationship between tourism policies and the gentrification process in Pirenópolis, in the state of Goiás (GO), based on an essentially qualitative study. Among the consequences of the changes, two main lines of analysis emerged from the interviews: the concrete aspects of gentrification and the symbolic aspects related to the space.

The concrete aspects of gentrification are characterized by the reconfiguration of the urban space, transforming the urban environment with the construction of private condominiums. In addition, the touristification of the urban center has had a significant impact on the occupation of the center by housing, so that a significant part of the buildings have been transformed into various businesses, which necessarily implies real estate appreciation in the Historic Center and its surroundings. As a result, the marginalized population has moved away from the city center to more and more distant areas, being replaced by the business class from outside the city, characterizing a social regrouping on the fringes of Pirenópolis. This process is aggravated by the fact that it goes hand in hand with the distancing of residents from the shops, schools, health centers and services that are generally concentrated in the city center.

The reconfiguration of the space also promotes the notion of the space as scenery, which, according to the interviews, is intended for the enjoyment of tourists and has no utility value, since it serves to compose a relatively homogeneous atmosphere, common in cities undergoing processes of touristification of their spaces (Meethan, 1997).

At the same time, changes in the habits of the population, cultural distancing and a segregated relationship between residents and tourists also accentuate symbolic points of this process, such as the elements of sociospatial identity, as individuals begin to feel a loss of value in the historical and cultural heritage and do not feel an integral part of the new space designed for tourism, as the meanings of these spaces are transformed by their new commercial function.

From a theoretical point of view, this is the main contribution of this article, which, through the case of Pirenópolis, sheds light on a process of gentrification based on the refunctionalization of the Historic Center, in which buildings become commercial spaces and, as a consequence, residents are moved to the outskirts, directly implying the production of meanings about the city, as well as the very identity of the city's inhabitants.

From a practical point of view, we can conclude that the process itself is a reflection of the policy of unequal geographical development in the production of the space, fueled by the weight of the city's Master Plan, whose tourism development strategy not only contributes to the gentrification process, but also hinders the functioning of other basic services. In Pirenópolis, there is a lack of governance and cooperation between public authorities, business and civil society. This lack of interaction greatly hinders the processes and development of public policies for urban planning and tourism, as well as actions to promote and support marketing in an integrated manner. This context is not similar to other tourist cities, such as Paraty (Silva, 2015), Fortaleza (Coriolano & Vasconcelos, 2012) and Recife (Leite, 2007).

As future research, based on sociospatial developments, we suggest an immersion in the research field, so that it is possible to analyze the governance mechanisms of tourism development and spatial transformations. Considering that the relationship between tourism policies and gentrification is still little explored, future research could look more closely at this agenda in other locations in Brazil. In this way, it is hoped that it will be possible to understand the context of municipal tourism development in comparison with other places, regionally and nationally, based on the consequences for spatial configuration caused by tourism urbanization. In this way, we will be able to develop tourism policies in collaboration with the actors (government, business and civil society) that have a direct influence on the configuration of the space.

In the process of designing public policies for tourism development, the social actors (government officials, business people, the local population and tourists) are revealed, along with their different expectations. It is up to the public authorities to articulate these often divergent political, economic, cultural and social interests. Finally, it should be noted that this reconciliation is formed in the face of territorial planning, the use of space, and ends up following the perspective of tourism development, currently considered as the driving force of development in Pirenópolis.

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Funding

The authors acknowledge the financial support of CAPES (Process ID 88887.692143/2022-00) and FAPEMIG (Process ID APQ-03362-18).

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Conflict of interests

The authors have stated that there is no conflict of interest.

Inclusive language

The authors use inclusive language that acknowledges diversity, conveys respect to all people, is sensitive to differences, and promotes equal opportunities.

Authors' contributions

First author: conceptualization (equal), data curation (lead), formal analysis (lead), investigation (lead), methodology (lead), supervision (equal), validation (lead), visualization (equal), writing-original draft (lead), writing-review & editing (equal).

Second author: conceptualization (equal), data curation (supporting), formal analysis (supporting), funding acquisition (lead), investigation (supporting), methodology (supporting), project administration (lead), resources (lead), supervision (equal), validation (supporting), visualization (equal), writing-original draft (supporting), writing-review & editing (equal).

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Erratum

In the article "The Relationship between Tourism Development and the Gentrification Process in Pirenópolis (GO)", published in Organizações & Sociedade, 32 (111), 2025, ev32n0005EN. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1590/1984-92302025v32n0005EN>, name and institutional affiliation of the co-author Leandro Theodoro Guedes.

Where it read:

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Data availability

O&S encourages data sharing. However, in compliance with ethical principles, it does not demand the disclosure of any means of identifying research participants, preserving fully their privacy. The practice of open data seeks to ensure the transparency of the research results, without requiring the identity of research participants.

The O&S is signatory to DORA (The Declaration on Research Assessment) and to COPE (Committee on Publication Ethics).



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