Interrupting Movements in Barcelona

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Introduction

This article discusses a politics of movement and recognition made apparent by the political performance of an artist-activist in Barcelona's city center. While undertaking graduate research in Barcelona, Catalonia, in May 2017, I spent time exploring the city on foot to consider the perambulations of tourism and research.[1] I attended festivities and events around the city that walked me through regional and cultural histories, myths and legends, and it was during one of these events that I encountered a performer who called attention to mass tourism and its impacts upon local life.

With his political performance (elaborated below), this walking artist-activist I call Jordi, slowed the perambulation of tourists who were meandering the area and taking in sights and sites. Jordi utilized his movement (of walking and activism) to interrupt tourists' sightseeing, provoke reconsideration of tourists' entitlement to move and tour, and draw attention to ways in which taken-for-granted tourism practices promote the commodification of Catalan culture. By interfering in what he considered to be an invasive practice of relation, Jordi disturbed the leisure of tourism and shifted attention to a wider web of relations (socio-cultural, political, historical, and economical). Giving weight to Jordi's protest, a local action group I refer to as Los Unidos similarly slowed tourism's progression by occupying a demolished apartment lot to interrupt gentrification. Together, these critical maneuvers were throwing power dynamics off-balance and performing what anthropologist Audra Simpson describes as refusal (2016 328).

During the time of my research, Catalonia was in the middle of an independence movement. The summer was bustling with activity and a referendum was scheduled for October 1, 2017. This upcoming vote enlivened the city of Barcelona with celebrations, festivals, and events celebrating Catalan history and culture. I attended many of these festivities and spoke with many proud Catalans; however, their excitement was inflected with tension as well.[2] In speaking to various residents in the city I was informed that the rising number of annual tourists was becoming overbearing and had contributed to the displacement of residents who could no longer keep up with resulting costs of living (see Blanco-Romero, Blázquez-Salom, and Cànoves, who identify other contributing factors to the rising rental costs). I too had been overwhelmed by the density and intensity of tourism while conducting research, yet I was adding to this as a researcher and tourist from Canada. In response, my interlocutors informed me that locals' anxiety with tourist attention had led them to gather and protest the industry, pushing for firmer policy and regulation that might help them reach a level of tolerability as well as cultural awareness and respect from tourists themselves (see Blanco-Romero, Blázquez-Salom, and Cànoves, who speak to this as well).[3] These frustrations, my interlocutors elaborated, layered into mushrooming tensions with the Spanish State and thus added to the anticipation surrounding the Catalan independence movement.

At the time of our conversations, my interlocutors emphasized issues with Spanish rule, weaving together upset with mass tourism, Catalan (mis)recognition, and governmental policy. While these sentiments are valid, it is important to note that there is a larger history of urban redevelopment and renewal, gentrification, and international urban tourism in Barcelona that complicated these issues (see Arbaci and Tapada-Berteli, Blanco-Romero, Blázquez-Salom, and Cànoves, and Hughes).[4] Moreover, the growing aggravation with rising tourist numbers and living expenses, the refusal of cultural commodification, and the expressions of Catalan autonomy that I walked into were all interconnected, though they were not mutually exclusive. Indeed, the possibility of Catalan independence was not assumed to resolve the issues with mass tourism, rather, these historical threads came together and added to one another, intensifying local anxieties, movements, and enactments of refusal that emerged in 2017.

Following the examples in anthropologist Kenneth Little's *On the Nervous Edge of an Impossible Tropics: Affect, Tourism, Belize* and in anthropologist Kathleen Stewart's *Ordinary Affects*, I aim to trace through my encounters with an attention to the forces that came together as events, scenes, and/or happenings with affects, resonances, and potentials that were thus set in motion; as scenes that created intensities of feeling (Stewart 3), and possibilities for future re-combinations (Little 2020 4). While I relay the critiques, frustrations, and insights that my interlocutors shared—drawing support from scholars of tourism, political economy, and geography and urban studies—my intention is not to provide a critical analysis of tourism. Like Little, I intend to bring attention to "what else" these encounters might do (11); specifically, how these performances of refusal shifted a rhythm of relation in the moment of encounter (15).

In what follows, I will discuss how the political performance that I encountered brought awareness to the larger politics playing out in Barcelona at the time of my research. I advocate for attention to the "affective" and relational "dimensions of movement," in alignment with scholars of pedagogy Stephanie Springgay and Sarah E. Truman (27). In focusing on Jordi's performance piece in relation to other protest demonstrations, the purpose of this article is to consider how these critical formations expressed refusal of tourist entitlements and the commodification of culture, and how the reverberations of their instantiations were made apparent through an attention to movement and walking.

Theoretical Grounding and Methodology

Walking is a modality that is often engaged in anthropological research and by tourists, yet it is rarely acknowledged for its role in the (co-)creation of meanings.[5] Although I discuss the role of walking and movement in this paper, my focus is on the insights that arose from engaging walking as a methodology and "mode of attention," to borrow from anthropologist Natasha Myers (2017 76).[6] Similarly, Springgay and Truman call attention to broader "ethico-political engagement" and situated realities of history and power (30), extending from scholars of walking.[7] Springgay and Truman argue that walking is a "bodily methodology" that composes relations and is interconnected with larger processes such as local politics and activism (28). Following these scholars, I recognize walking is a methodology for research as well as for relationality.

In attending to my movements around the city, I noticed that walking embedded me in the surrounding context, and I became inspired by unpredictable encounters that my movement conjured—social theorist Brian Massumi says the unpredictable impels an openness to, if not beckoning for, movement and change (5). Paying attention to such connections and relations that unfolded through walking, I began to cultivate a different way of noticing and inquiring, as Myers advocates (2017 76-77). In this way, my attention was sharpened to my entanglement with the politics of movement burgeoning in the area which was illuminated by the unsettling performance that I happened upon while ambling through the city center. The local expressions of refusal, as I have come to interpret them (extending from Simpson 2016 328), incited critical self-reflection and pointed attention to my privileged movement around the city.[8] Despite being there for research, I was provoked to recognize myself as a tourist as well and thus involved in the politics of movement and recognition that were unfolding (see Cocola-Gant and Lopez-Gay for a discussion of lifestyle tourism and its similar privileges).

Audra Simpson, a political anthropologist, presents a model for ethnographies of refusal in her book *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life across the Borders of Settler States*. In this work, Simpson struggles with enactments of refusal among the Mohawks of Kahnawà:ke, a community in what is now southwestern Quebec, Canada (2014 10). For Simpson, refusal was "a stance but also a theory of the political that was being pronounced over and over again" (2016 328). Further, Simpson proposes that refusal offers an alternative to recognition with an interruptive capacity, challenging settler colonial structures and epistemologies (2014 11 and 33). Guided by questions of Mohawk identity, Simpson theorizes a politics of refusal that unsettles modes of knowing and perceiving (or apprehending) Mohawk people within wider colonial frameworks of governance and representation (2014 99-102).

Theorizing refusal further, anthropologist and historian Carole McGranahan elaborates that refusal is not the same as resistance, though the two are genealogically linked (320). Rather than describing "the nature and forms of domination" (Abu-Lughod qtd. in McGranahan 320), the concept of refusal is contextually specific and variously expressed, in both official and mundane enactments (320). Ultimately, refusal is "about staking claims to the sociality that underlies all relationships" and performed "in ways that redirect levels of engagement" (320).

Refusals were prominent in multiple ways during the course of my research. At the fore, Jordi's performance shifted power dynamics between the performer and tourists. As Simpson argues, instances of refusal are significant and need to be accounted for and considered critically (2014 104). Thus, I attended my thinking and methodology to the socio-political issues that were catching me in their unfoldings: their contingent and shifting manifestations (Little 2014 239), which took shape as explicit refusals (from Jordi) as well as anti-tourism protests and activities and expressions of Catalan autonomy. Specifically, Jordi's political performance interrupted the pleasure of tourist gazing and sight-seeing and refused static cultural representations, as I will discuss in more detail later.

Performance studies scholar Diana Taylor offers a foundation for understanding Jordi's performance and for exploring its affects, reverberations, and implications. On one hand, consideration of Jordi's walking art and activism as performing refusal, constitutes his movement (of walking and artistic protest) through a methodological lens that also renders the event *as* performance—which Taylor might also contend. Moreover, Taylor reminds me that my understanding of Jordi's performance is situated within a North American anthropological epistemology that views such events as performance and performative. Simultaneously, as an act of transfer, as Taylor suggests (2), Jordi's performance was both an artistic expression and a political commentary with the aim of inciting self-reflection and awareness; it was the instantiation of what Little might describe as a *something* (2020 16), or an unfolding moment of "potentiality" and emergence (2014 221).

While Taylor's discussion of performance provides grounding, I depart from her work here to think more closely with Little. In his earlier work, Little describes the role of vision and the "perspectival gaze" in spectacle performance—in consideration of a performance called "broken mirror" by a clown duo called The Chickys (1993 117). Extending Little's discussion to consider my encounter with Jordi, I came to recognize the "perspectival gaze" (1993 117) in tourism, and its reordering effect made apparent by Jordi's performance. Little proposes,

> [the] perspectival gaze[...] is based on the 'self' as a stable, coherent, and bounded entity that organizes itself according to the trope of the disembodied eye/I. This 'self' is the sign of untouchable and invisible knowingness and reason that provides a privileged insight into the objective world of external reality and is a transparent vehicle for deeper truth about reality" (1993 120)

Yet there is an irony to this, Little clarifies, because this sense of "reality" is always already prefigured through representations which we seek to authenticate (1993 120 and 1991 157)—as Little suggests, "beyond the spectacle is more spectacle" (1993 120). What is more, the "perspectival gaze" conjures and normalizes a disciplinary order in which the eye/I, the viewer, holds authority and power (1993 120-21). This is significant in the exploration of tourist-local relations and Jordi's political performance.

Giving weight to Jordi's claims, scholars of tourism, geography, and political economy similarly discuss the commodification of local life in tourist destinations and the consequential animosity between visitors and locals (see Blanco-Romero, Blázquez-Salom, and Cànoves, Cocola-Gant and Lopez-Gay, Bruner, Greenwood, Handler and Linniken, Hughes, Little 1991, and Ritzer and Liska). As international tourism grew as an industry, scholars began drawing connections between travel and the sense of rejuvenation that it arouses. Early tourism studies drew from scholar of religion Victor Turner to explore how out-of-the-ordinary experiences during travel, or "liminoid" periods (Graburn 47), incite re-creation and revitalization from the burden and dissatisfaction of mundane and structured life (Turner cited in Graburn 47). As such, the concept of authenticity became central in these discourses (see Graburn, MacCannell, and Urry), and was theorized in relation to ordinary and extra-ordinary experiences: the ordinariness of everyday life was considered an experience of inauthenticity, whereas extra-ordinariness (of travel) came to be thought of as the search for authenticity (Graburn 42 and Urry 173).

What becomes of authenticity in tourism studies is of further interest in order for me to think about how locals were responding to the influx of tourists moving through their city, and because I aim to move beyond discussions and ideas of the authentic to focus on how enactments of refusal took hold and incited awareness through movement. A focus on authenticity led tourism scholars to think about how the authentic is staged and constructed through various signs and markers (see Goffman, MacCannell, Little 1991, and Urry). Building from this, Dean MacCannell's "staged authenticity" describes constructed tourist spaces that are set up to appear as "back regions" (589)—hidden and more "real" aspects of life—that thus provide a sense of what people believe is authenticity (595-96). Further, Richard Handler and Joselyn Linnekin propose that supposed "authentic" traditions, which are displayed in tourist settings, are actually "invented" for tourists (279, also see Bruner). These displays become, Handler and Linniken argue, a model of the past—a representation of what the past is thought to have been (274-5). And thus, they propose, these traditions are continuously in the process of being invented and reinvented to construct meaning (Handler and Linniken 280). In this way, cultural displays can become products that are commoditized and sold for tourist consumption (of the "authentic") through cultural displays, tours, and food, for example (see Greenwood 130 and Ritzer and Liska 100). These foundational developments in tourism studies highlight the implications and consequences for local life in places being toured, and therefore help me recognize and problematize "tourism logics and practices" that have become commonplace and potentially extractive, with the intent to move beyond these analyses and shift attention to self-awareness—following Little's example (2020 11).

Little's recent work shifts thinking further in tourism studies with his book *On the Nervous Edge of an Impossible Tropics*, in which he treads through a collection of stories about encounters in Wallaceville, a fictionalized tourist-town in Belize. In this work, Little notes recent shifts in tourism literature that move away from a focus on the representational and turn towards thinking about how tourist encounters are "performed, enacted, and embodied" (12).[9] With the seven stories he unfolds, Little traces a swirl of happenings and forces that incite affective politics and evoke ambivalence for locals and tourists in a place where life is becoming impossible. There are resonances between Little's stories of encounter and the collective refusals that I experienced in Barcelona: as with Little's Wallaceville, these encounters came together and were (co-)created in the moment, and acted to "generate sensations and intensities" (163). As Little reminds us, "[t]ourism is about movement and change" (162), and an attention to tourist encounters opens our thinking to the possibilities, flux, and rearrangements that these moments can activate.

Scenes of Commotion

> *"It ain't fun to live like this.*
> *Every day of the – year.*

> *It ain't funny they're not aware.*
> *So don't ever care – about you"*
> (Section of Jordi's poem, unpublished data 2017).[10]

While walking through Plaça Nova, a square close to the Barcelona Cathedral and the Gaudí Exhibition Center, I noticed a Catalan festival taking place and joined the crowd to watch. After a few weeks of getting to know Catalonia's capital, Barcelona, by attending performances, visiting museums and galleries, and walking and talking to people, I was interested in how the display would represent Catalan history and culture. The display attracted a large crowd of tourists who seemed to be enjoying the show. But this enjoyment quickly changed as a middle-aged man wandered into the area donning antagonistic messages that were directed at tourists, protesting the tourism industry. He had short white hair, a mid-length white beard, and wore a loose button-down shirt, dark slacks, and suspenders. At first glance the man appeared unhinged. Several messages were written on cardboard and paper, tacked together, and shaped into an enormous hat. He also had messages written on pieces of paper that were dangling from his body (such as the segment of the poem in the epigraph above). As the man circled the festival, with a blank expression that bordered on anger, the words: "This isn't tourism it's an invasion" confronted us, the audience members, as we were taking in the display of Catalan traditions. We quickly became unsettled and agitated, unsure what he was intending and what he might do. Some people hurried away, others waited as the festival performances continued, tentatively watching the man and the festival simultaneously.

After circling the crowd a few times, he ambled over to the steps of the Barcelona Cathedral where he settled himself, across the square from where the festival was taking place. Here he continued to distress other tourists who were meandering through the area, gazing at the cathedral, and taking selfies in the otherwise idyllic setting of Gothic architecture. Upon speaking with the man, I learned that he was a performer and that this was his mobile performance piece in protest of what he considered excessive tourism. Despite being open to conversation, his demeanour did not change much. Bearing a hard expression and an appearance of frustration, he spoke in a stern voice and introduced himself as Jordi.

Through our discussion, I learned that he lives and works in Barcelona and that in his youth he had trained in clowning. His performances often took place during his time off from an office job. Jordi detailed that the artworks he would create and perform were mobile and his motivation was activism. His performances, he explained, were meant to wander the city as a way of ensuring visibility and targeting different sites and audiences. Therefore, he elaborated that he did not stay in one place for long and part of the punch of his work relied on an element of surprise, throwing touring pedestrians off-balance by popping up in unexpected places.

With the performance piece that I witnessed, Jordi aimed to incite critical self-reflection of the tourism industry and its mode of relating as well as an awareness of the larger histories and politics with which tourists became involved and "enflesh[ed]," as Springgay and Truman might say (34). He described tourism as something of a sacred object: framed as both pleasurable for the visitor and beneficial to local economies. According to Jordi, the 1992 Olympics put Barcelona on "the tourist map," which political economy and language scholar Neil Hughes notes as well (also see Montalbán). Yet at the same time, Jordi said, the games also led to what he described as "the death of Barcelona," meaning the dissolution of Catalan culture and the possibility for growth and change. Hughes similarly describes this predicament as "touristification" (2), a process that freezes and fixes culture into a static image that tourists can expect and consume (also see Blanco-Romero, Blázquez-Salom, and Cànoves 2).

One of Jordi's many provocative posters inspired thought about the sites and monuments that are often toured. It read,

> "Your enjoyment of our bloody violent cruel history means it still oppresses us. I mean, have you visited any Nonuments? ¿Has visitado algun Nonumentos?" (Jordi unpublished data 2017)

This commentary questioned assumptions about and the draw to "must-see" sites and sights, which both highlighted the larger web of relations connected through these attractions and provoked reconsideration of ordinary activities and spaces, or "nonuments," that are just as significant in the creation of meaning and experience.

We discussed the irony of how many tourists often expect to find the same comforts and commodities as they have at home, which was notable in the way tourists seemed to clog the areas that resemble what they know from home (assuming "home" to be a Western consumer country); and "home," recognized by the North-American and Euro-Western clothing and food chains, seemed to exist in concentrated spots. When I spoke with a tourist from Canada, she expressed disappointment with the restaurant service; she was unhappy that it was not faster and more attentive, like back home. And so, it did seem that tourists expected to experience the comforts of their home while on vacation. Stepping one street over from the famous "Rambla," a food and shopping street that intersects the Gothic Quarter and the adjacent neighborhood of El Raval, I was often able to dodge the slow moving crowds that scanned the store fronts as they sauntered by.

According to Jordi the commodification of Catalan culture has been essentializing and constraining because it has limited new artistic and cultural experiments by controlling the image of Catalonia. In other words, such industry-driven logics and practices were creating a repetitive image that was in many ways "invented," as Handler and Linnekin suggest (279), thus becoming products for tourist consumption (which is common in other tourist locales, as scholars point out: see Bruner 10-12, Little 1991 157, MacCannell 597, and Ritzer and Liska 103). This has contributed to a paradoxical relationship: economic dependence on the tourist industry, complicated with local upset and backlash because the city was becoming overrun with tourists. Other interlocutors explained that confusion about Catalonia's status among tourists—the uncertainty about whether Catalonia is an independent nation or a region of Spain—had added to the growing resentment among locals.

In an interview about hope, affect, and experience, Massumi suggests that moments of fear shift attention from the visual to the bodily experience, and Jordi's performance did just this: he "forc[ed] the situation to attention" (Zournazi and Massumi 3). As Jordi ambled through the Catalan festival and settled amid a crowd of tourists on the steps of Barcelona Cathedral, surrounding spectators froze; we were unsure what was going on or what to do next, as the moment unfolded with ambiguity and uncertainty. As mentioned earlier, without knowing what he was intending, this man appeared angry.

In the moment of encounter my sense of contentment and viewing was stopped short and was disrupted. My awareness went to Jordi's display, and uncertainty filled my body as I tried to make sense of the scene taking shape. I became entangled with a nervous tension filing the space, with the people around me, and suddenly focused on my physical vulnerability—anxious about Jordi's next move. As my attention moved to my body, sensing the precarious potential of the scene that I was pulled into, I realized that I was caught in a larger socio-political unfolding, which Springgay and Truman urge researchers to acknowledge (2017 35). Moreover, to extend from Little, this encounter was an affective becoming in which fragments of history unfolded in a random moment as an event, or a happening, which at once pulled us into the mix (of politics, people, temporalities, relationships, and sensations, to name a few) and implicated us in its contingent future recompositions (2020 6-14).

Through our conversation it became clear that Jordi did not intend harm; however, he was angry. Jordi asserted that tourists' images of Catalonia were *mis*representations of Catalan culture because the cultural displays around Barcelona had been privileging characteristics of *Spanish* culture to meet tourist expectations. Jordi (and others) detailed that tourists typically assume locals speak Spanish, or Castilian, and do not recognize or know of the Catalan language. Giving support to this view, tourists with whom I spoke eagerly anticipated walking into scenes of Spanish guitar music or Flamenco dancing on random streets and in cafés and pubs, which, Jordi clarified, are Spanish art forms.[11] This expectation demonstrated how tourists' prefigured imaginaries and fixations with an "authentic" Spanish experience have become dominating, and as scholars of tourism point out, this is a rhythm of thinking and practice that has become common in top destinations (see Bruner 18, Little 1991 150-52, and Ritzer and Liska 107). Further, Jordi's performance, and discussions with my interlocutors, reflected what tourism scholars argue: that tourists typically seek romantic encounters with (an imagined) European charm (Graburn 49-50), in top destinations, or places "worth seeing" (Karlsdóttir 140), such as Barcelona—destinations that are advertised widely in North America and elsewhere (Little 1991 149 and Ritzer and Liska 97). As such, many people are unaware of Catalonia's cultural history and distinction from Spanish traditions, unless perhaps they take a tour. However, tours too are problematic because they become cultural commodities with reiterative tour-talk that reproduce what Jordi described as "more of the same"—meaning repetitive productions, or snap-shots, of Catalonia that have become essentializing.

Imaginaries such as these take hold and influence particular (often extractive) forms of relation, and these kinds of relations are caught up in, and "involv[ed]" with (Hustak and Myers 77),[12] larger politics of international tourism and economics; or in Little's words, the "global culture industries that act to circulate images of others, natures, cultures, artifacts, histories, adventures, and the like" (Little 2014 223). As a result, Jordi elaborated, to meet tourist expectations the tourism industry effectively undermines Catalan culture and autonomy which has led to residents' alienation from their home and culture. Thus, my interlocutors expressed, there is no longer local enjoyment of culture because residents are continually confronted with redundant expressions and images—invented for visitors as Handler and Linnekin might say (279)—which become boring and alienating for locals.

> *"Where have all the neighbours gone?*
> *Can't see one anywhere.*
> *Where have all the shops gone?*
> *Perhaps there were none.*
> *Where has all the local charm gone?*
> *Only in my mind.*
> *We've lost our home sweet home.*
> *We've lost our home sweet home."*

> (Section of Jordi's poem, unpublished data 2017).[13]

Jordi was not alone in his frustrations with the tourist industry. These limits were similarly expressed by another local group called Los Unidos—with whom Jordi was in conversation. While exploring an area called El Raval, the neighborhood in Barcelona that is adjacent to the Gothic Quarter and that Jordi described as an up-and-coming tourist "gem," I came across Los Unidos, a collective of residents and local-action group who were living in the area. This group had been occupying a community garden that doubled as meeting grounds for the collective. Together they endeavoured to stand against gentrification, which they said was caused by tourism, by "taking back" and holding public spaces with protests and continuous presence.[14]

At the time of our conversations they were occupying one space, the community garden, which they said had been transformed from a demolished apartment lot after a violent incident involving a neighbourhood resident and the police, and was a target tourism development.[15] Detailing the garden were mural paintings that commented on the dissolution of Catalan life and culture. Their intention, Los Unidos informed, was to interject in tourism's infrastructure and instead emphasise the importance of Barcelona's and El Raval's cultural diversity. Indeed, Los Unidos and Jordi asserted, locals had no problem with migration and immigration because they recognized the need to leave certain places and/or the desire to live in Catalonia. Therefore, they specified that it is tourism that is invasive and has been getting out-of-control.

Adding momentum to the growing tensions (entangling tourism, urban development, gentrification, and the Catalan independence movement), Jordi informed that residents were frustrated with overcrowding tourists whom they felt were invading and occupying the city—Melissa Garr also mentions the common view of Barcelona as a "constantly 'occupied city'" (Manuel Vázquez Montalbán cited in Garr 103).[16] Thus, anti-tourism movements had been escalating in the wake of what locals considered out-of-control tourist attention which had become rampant since hosting the Olympics in 1992, as mentioned earlier. A news article by France24 detailed similar views, noting that the leader of a dominant anti-tourism protesting group expressed upset with the misrecognition of Catalans (Sansom, also see Hughes).

As my interlocutors drew connections between Catalonia and the tourism industry, histories of political unrest and urban change folded into and blended with the festering tensions towards tourism.[17] Not unlike in Little's Wallaceville, various forces were brought together in an effort to instantiate new ways of relating and create something else; and in so doing, these scenes of commotion "generat[ed] sensations and intensities as their mode of addressing problems" (2020 163). By the summer of 2017, annoyance with tourism had reached a breaking point, frustration accelerated from protests to hostile backlash by August, according to Hughes who outlines these events (3-4). Violent action confronted tourists; for example, a sightseeing bus was stopped in Barcelona, near *Camp Nou* stadium, where a group of youths wearing masks slashed its tires and wrote "tourism kills neighbourhoods" on the side (Hughes 3), and at a restaurant in Mallorca protesters shot confetti at diners and shouted "tourists go home" (Hughes 3, also see Sansom).

Again, even though the economy benefits from the tourist industry, my interlocutors argued that much of the revenue had been unevenly distributed throughout Spain with Catalonia seeing little benefits. According to Hughes, this perspective was also shared by a left-wing pro-independence party known as *Candidatura d'Unitat Popular* (Popular Unity Candidacy, also referred to as CUP), who in 2014 had begun backing anti-tourism activism, even the violent protests. Further, Hughes relays, this view was confirmed by nearly half of the population, evident in opinion polls where 48.9% of the people agreed that in 2017 tourism was the "main problem facing Barcelona" (5) (also see Blanco-Romero, Blázquez-Salom, and Cànoves who similarly note the paradox of economic benefits and consequences, noting these polls). Largely, Hughes reflects what my interlocutors asserted: local life in Barcelona had been facing the burden of overcrowding and rising costs of living (4). Like in other tourist locales, here too locals were finding that "life [was] becoming impossible to live, to believe in, and to accept" (Little 2020 44).

In particular, Jordi described frustration among residents with clogged streets and congested public spaces, the disintegration of cultural artistic expressions, and gentrification and displacement that were on the rise (see Blanco-Romero, Blázquez-Salom, and Cànoves, Hughes, and Cocola-Gant and Lopez-Gay). Nevertheless, the tourism industry leads consumers to believe that their business and attention is benevolent and economically helpful (with an image of tourism, and the tourist, as an important benefactor to local economies in tourist destinations while also benefiting tourists with educational and recreational experiences). What is more, tourism has become a commonplace practice, a means of education, and a rite of passage even—sometimes considered a form of pilgrimage (see Badone 183-4 and Graburn 44). And these views are "mass-mediated" (Little 1991 149); they are notable in tourism marketing campaigns and advertisements, through word of mouth, and on the ground through free walking tours and festivals directed at tourists (such as the one I was attending and into which Jordi ambled).

But as Jordi demonstrated, tourism is not an innocent entitlement free of local politics. Rather, Jordi's performance emphasized that tourism can be an invasive practice that takes its privileges for granted, too often disrespects local life, and propagates an entitled form of relation. In becoming tourist products, these productions were also instantiations of the very thing that Jordi and other local protesters had become fed up with and were refusing. Instead, these refusals were pushing towards *no* image: together Jordi and Los Unidos were asserting an unfinished and undetermined idea of Catalan culture that would allow for experimentation and movement—attempting to move away from ideas of authenticity and their fixed and static nature. Jordi, particularly, demonstrated a step towards shifting power dynamics at the level of individual tourists. In the moment of his arresting, protesting performance, the gaze was turned on us (tourists), which provoked people to look away, stop moving, or sit with the growing anxiety that was filling the space.

Numerous social theorists remind us that there is power in gazing, and in vision (see Haraway 581-85, Little 1991 155-56, Springgay and Truman 41-44, and Urry 174-78). Techno-science anthropologist Donna Haraway asserts that the eyes are active perceptual systems "building on translations and specific *ways* of seeing" which construct worlds (583; emphasis in original); therefore "[v]ision is always a question of the power to see—and perhaps of the violence implicit in our visualizing practices" (585). As outlined earlier, tourism scholars suggest the tourist gaze led to the development of back regions, and "staged authenticity," which redirected the tourist eye towards *performances* of culture (MacCannell

597).[18] Building from these arguments, Jordi's political performance was also a scene of "emergence and emergency" (Little 2014 239), an event that emerged in the moment, co-created with the individuals present and the larger socio-political web, and charged with affective intensities (inciting anxiety for those in the area).

This moment of encounter (between tourists and Jordi) is one example of the ways in which residents of Barcelona refused to consent to the "perspectival gaze" of tourism any longer (Little 1993 117). Simultaneously, this event "enflesh[ed]" us tourists in the moment of Jordi's performance and drew us into the structures of tourism and state relations that he was confronting (Springgay and Truman 34). Jordi's walking, artistic-activism ruptured the "pleasure of visual practice," as well as tourist perspectives that assume an entitlement to consume, and took back control of the scene, as Little might say (1991 154, 1993 120-21, and 2020 4). Moreover, Jordi fractured the visual practices that inform knowing and world-making by refusing continuous misrepresentation and misrecognition of Catalan culture, while pulling or "ingather[ing]" us into his visceral movement (Hustak and Myers 82). In this way, Jordi's and Los Unidos' refusals interrupted the sense-making practices of the visual by pushing for radical alterity: an unfinished, emergent image that entangled us in its immanence.

Concluding Thoughts

I have argued that there is significance in the ways in which visitors move and tour, and I advocate that scholars and tourists attend to their movement as a significant element of experience. It is important for those privileged enough to cross boundaries (i.e. researchers and tourists crossing national, cultural, and epistemological boundaries) to be aware of how they enter into conversation, how their knowledge of a place comes into formation, and how they become involved in larger networks of power and relation playing out on the ground—which scholars such as Audra Simpson, Kenneth Little 2020, Natasha Myers, and Stephanie Springgay and Sarah E. Truman argue we need to recognize and account for. And this requires thoughtfulness of specificities, historical, cultural, autoethnographic, and relational particularities, as well as their intersections and contradictions. The ways we move around the world and relate with one another should not be taken for granted. Indeed, the collective and independent enactments of refusal that I encountered accentuated the importance of thinking about movement and how forms of movement—that, for me, connected through ways of walking—influence and produce particular forms of relation and relationality.

Consideration of the movement and perambulation of research and tourism provokes deeper thought about something that might be taken for granted: the movements of travel and the co-creation of the moments, happenings, events, and even the field-sites and meanings that we encounter and (co)compose. As a researcher and tourist exploring tourism in Barcelona in May 2017, my knowledge and understanding of this locale, its historical and socio-political motions, came into formation through my perambulation around the city. As I walked into scenes and was tripped up by local enactments of refusal, as Simpson defines it (2016 328), I co-created the context in Barcelona that I was studying. My movements around the city inspired me to attend to this context through embodied reflection; walking was a "mode of attention" (Myers 2017 76) that guided my awareness to the relationality between residents and visitors, and a politics of perambulation that highlighted tourists' privileged movement and gazing.

The critical formations discussed in this article rendered movement in various ways. With a walking performance piece that protested tourism, an artist-activist named Jordi interrupted a Catalan festival in the center of Barcelona and incited anxiety among tourists. In an up-and-coming tourist hot spot, an area of the city called El Raval, Los Unidos (a local action group) were similarly staging protest by occupying a community garden in a site that was said to be targeted for tourist development. Together these protesters were refusing forms of representation and modes of relating that they considered invasive, manifested with mass tourism. Through the medium of performance Jordi subverted the authority of tourist gazing by interrupting the pleasure of site- and sight-seeing, juxtaposing the image of the generous tourist with a contentious message that suggested tourism can be invasive. By walking into and interrupting a Catalan festival that was taking place, Jordi underscored the scene and made us tourists aware of our involvement in larger political forces, drawing us into the network as well. We were no longer able to perceive ourselves as benevolent tourists, innocently consuming Catalan culture. Specifically, Jordi argued that the tourism industry had been monopolizing local spaces with what Little refers to as the "perspectival gaze" (1993 120), which rendered local people, culture, and history as products for tourist consumption.

In drawing attention to our entanglement with larger power and politics, Jordi and Los Unidos focused primarily on the tourist industry's ways of relating while also alluding to historical instances of Catalan repression and recent moves towards independence. Although they pulled together these differing politics and their historical trajectories, Jordi and Los Unidos did not offer any clear solutions nor did they suggest that Catalan independence would resolve the issues with tourism; rather, they aimed to raise awareness of our involvements and advocate for recognition of Catalan history and culture (as distinct from that of Spain and thus alive and evolving) and for taking responsibility (touring respectfully and in tolerable quantities, which they hoped local policies would manage).

Accordingly, these scenes of refusal crosscut the tourist experience with uncertainty and incited self-reflection about our supposed benevolent economic contribution and entitlement to tour. Instead, we visitors were obliged to (re)consider the responsibility of our visit, the potential impacts upon local life, and larger contexts that we became involved with, which encouraged us to also think about what exactly it was we were touring. Ultimately, Jordi and Los Unidos aimed to swing things in another direction: towards an unfinished, undefined image of Catalan culture—rather than that of a touristic imaginary.[19]

Notes

1. From 2016-2018 I attended York University's Master's in Social Anthropology program in Toronto, Ontario Canada.

2. All interlocutors and discussions are anonymized. I spoke informally with tourists and locals whom I met in Barcelona, and the insights shared have been transcribed from field-notes and memory.

3. For my interlocutors, tourism was at the heart of the issues with gentrification and displacement. And while tourism is identified as a significant factor in the rising costs of living, particularly due to investments in real estate for temporary housing such as Airbnb, there are other factors that have led to these issues—see Note 4.

4. For instance, Sonia Arbaci and Teresa Tapada-Berteli discuss urban regeneration in Barcelona, reaching back into the 1980s, and trace a history in which urban renewal programs have aimed to address issues of poverty, social inequity, and housing conditions. However, they reveal that these have simultaneously contributed to issues of displacement and raised questions about who these programs benefit. With respect to rising rental prices in Barcelona, Asunción Blanco-Romero, Macià Blázquez-Salom, and Gemma Cànoves discuss variables that have led to a "rental bubble" (2). Of these varying factors, they note neoliberal policies, economic cycles (and crises), property markets, urban development, and the tourism industry which, they affirm, is "fed by the crisis" and has exacerbated the issue (2). Neil Hughes also details a trajectory of change that has led to anti-tourism movements, with a profile of anti-tourism activism in Barcelona. Hughes notes that anti-tourism protests "represent the latest manifestation in a long line of contestation against social and cultural dislocation wrought by a process of neoliberal urban redevelopment that began in the Catalan capital in the early 1990s" (2). Adding to this complicated history, a recent article by Agustin Cocola-Gant and Antonia Lopez-Gay highlights the role and impact of what they call "lifestyle migration" upon Barcelona's gentrification and local upset with visitors (3). This is significant because, as Cocola-Gant and Lopez-Gay rearticulate, "tourism is made and shaped by different forms of mobilities and, accordingly, overtourism implies the influx of different populations that are inherently mobile" (3). These works remind that there are more layers to Barcelona's history of development and local anti-tourism activism and protests.

5. Although there is a growing body of scholarship dedicated to walking methodologies (see Note 7), it is not often acknowledged in anthropological study broadly. This article advocates for more active engagement and recognition of the role of movement in research.

6. This article does not theorize walking methodologies in depth; rather, I use the concept of walking and movement as stepping-off points to explore the affects and effects of tourism in Barcelona in 2017. Following Natasha Myers, I position walking as a method for "becoming sensor" (2017). In "Becoming Sensor in Sentient Worlds: A More-than-natural History of a Black Oak Savannah," Myers advocates for "[d]ecolonizing the ecological sensorium" and "cultivate[ing] new modes of embodiment, attention, imagination, and new ways of telling stories about lands and bodies" (77). For a deeper analysis of walking, see Springgay and Truman 2017.

7. For detailed discussions of walking research see Ingold, Macpherson, Phillips, Pink, Pink et al., and Vergunst.

8. It is important to note that I was moving through this context with the privilege and freedom of a white-coded, able-bodied researcher from Canada. Thus, my discussion of walking is specifically tied to my own embodied experience, and my attention to movement generally aims to be inclusive and expansive—thinking of movement broadly and of various types of mobility and modalities.

9. Here, Little references recent works by scholars such as Crouch, Ness, Saldanha, and Tucker. And I would add to this list one of Little's previous works from 2014.

10. See Appendix 1 to view the entire poem.

11. This is not to say that Catalan people, or people of mixed ancestry, do not practice these forms as well. The point Jordi was making is that these expectations contribute to the erasure and lack of awareness of Catalan history and culture.

12. In the article "Involutionary Momentum: Affective Ecologies and the Sciences of Plant/Insect Encounters" Hustak and Myers (2012) explore what they call an "involutionary mode of attention" (77). Thinking from the concept of *e*volution, this "involutionary mode of attention" (77) explores and "amplifies accounts of the creative, improvisational, and fleeting practices through which plants and insects *involve* themselves in one another's lives" (77, emphasis in original).

13. See Appendix 1 to view the entire poem.

14. As mentioned earlier, there is more to the history of gentrification in Barcelona—see note 4.

15. Los Unidos explained that a young man named Andre was searching for his missing dog in the streets of El Raval when he was attacked

by the Spanish police who had mistaken him for a drug dealer. The confusion escalated to the point of brutal force which resulted in Andre's death. The community garden is, therefore, dedicated to this murdered man.

16. Although Jordi and other locals that I spoke with emphasized frustration with excessive tourism, this is not to say that all locals agree or feel the same way; there are certainly various opinions on the matter.

17. Scholars discuss how Barcelona has been central to many socio-political movements throughout history and has been a significant place of gathering for activism, resistance, and revolt (Meglar-Foraster 8-12). In grappling with a long history of turbulence, from centuries of foreign occupation and rebellion to recent and ongoing tension with Spanish rule (see Garr 103), Barcelona has also been an epicenter of the Catalan independence movement that officially began in 2009 and has been building incrementally since (Melgar-Foraster 35). Although Catalonia came under Spanish rule on September 11, 1714, from this point onwards Catalonia has continued to fight for independence, cultural preservation (Cánoves, Romagosa et al. 286-67), and for national independence (Balcells 15, also see Alba and Peers for an overview of Catalonia's history).

Residents in Barcelona explained that this independence movement is about more than money. Although an uneven distribution of wealth throughout the nation was considered in part an impetus, the movement was more to do with what Jordi and others described as continuous repression of and prejudice towards Catalan people. Moreover, issues of racism and cultural erasure were no longer being tolerated, Jordi asserted (also see Garr 103 and Tree for more on prejudice towards Catalans).

18. In an exploration of urban interactions described in Spanish author Eduardo Mendoza's detective trilogy, Melissa Garr (2010) similarly discusses the many layers, or "masks," of interaction and interrelation that emerge contextually and co-constitute urban life (102). Such "staged" scenes, images, and experiences for tourist consumption might be considered one such "masked space" that contributes to "a complex dialogic interplay of changing masks" (102).

19. As I prepare this paper for publication in 2020, I wonder how the moments of encounter that I unfold here (the provocations and affective politics that came together) have been reconfigured and entangled in new compositions and modes of relation charged with new and different forms of uncertainty, emergency, and imminence, three years later and in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Appendix

Jordi's Poem: transcribed from a hand-written message on paper adorning his person.

Where have all the neighbours gone?
Can't see one anywhere.
Where have all the shops gone?
Perhaps there were none.
Where has all the local charm gone?
Only in my mind.
We've lost our home sweet home.
We've lost our home sweet home.

Where have all the tourists come from?
They're all over everywhere.
Where have all the tourists come from?
As is they own our city.
Where have all the tourists come from?
I can remember when there were none.
They've taken our home sweet home
And made it their home from home!

To the tune of
"Where have all the flowers gone"
By Pete Seeger

It really is a piss off
Every time you go out
You get flattened by tsunamis of tourists
Hordes of tourists
Just like plagues of devouring locusts.

It really is a piss off
Every time you go out
You get routed by armies of holiday makers
Avalanches of sun seekers
Just like vast herds of stampeding animals

It ain't fun to live like this
Every day of the – year
It ain't funny they're not aware
So don't ever care – about you.

To the tune of
"It's a Heartache"
By Bonnie Tyler (A Poem by Jordi, unpublished data, 2017)

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