

Unpacking Overtourism as a Discursive Formation through Interdiscursivity

| | |
|------------------|---|
| Journal: | <i>Tourism Review</i> |
| Manuscript ID | TR-12-2020-0594.R3 |
| Manuscript Type: | Conceptual Paper |
| Keywords: | Overtourism, discourse, discursive formation, tourism, tourist behaviour, carrying capacity |
| | |

Unpacking Overtourism as a Discursive Formation through Interdiscursivity

Purpose - As tourism destinations grapple with declines in tourist arrivals due to COVID-19 measures, scholarly debate on overtourism remains active, with discussions on solutions that could be enacted in order to contain the excessive regrowth of tourism and the return of ‘overtourism.’ As social science holds an important role and responsibility to inform the debate on overtourism, this paper seeks to understand overtourism by examining it as a discursive formation.

Design/methodology/approach – The paper explores recurring thematic threads in scholarly overtourism texts, given the phrases coherence as a nodal-point is partially held in place by a collective body of texts authored by a network of scholars who have invested in it. The paper uses interdiscursivity as an interpretative framework to identify overlapping thematic trajectories found in existing discourses.

Findings – Overtourism, as a discursive formation, determines what can and should be said about the self-evident ‘truths’ of excessive tourist arrivals, the changes tourists bring to destinations and the range of discursive solutions available to manage or end overtourism. As the interpellation of these thematic threads into scholarly texts is based on a sense of crisis and urgency, we find that the themes contain rhetoric, arguments and metaphors that problematise tourists and construct them as objects in need of control and correction.

Originality/value – While the persistence of the discursive formation will be determined by the degree to which scholarly and other actors recognise themselves in it, this paper may enable overtourism scholars to become aware of the limits of their discursive domain and help them to expand the discourse or weave a new one.

Introduction

While tourism’s impact on destination and management of tourists have long been explored through concepts such as carrying capacity (Shelby and Heberlein, 1987), the tourist area life cycle (Butler, 1980) and the irritation index (Doxey, 1975), the temporal emergence of overtourism as a phrase in 2016 soon moved to a label and social fact, as it became one of the Oxford English Dictionary words of the year in 2018. While the phrase was in circulation prior to 2016 (Milano *et al.*, 2019c), when SKIFT.com reporter Andrew Sheivachman used it in a report on excessive tourism in Iceland (Sheivachman, 2016), it was soon used by critical tourism scholars to frame tourism in some destinations as “spiralling out of control” (Koens *et al.*, 2018) due to the “excessive growth of visitors leading to overcrowding in areas where

1
2
3 residents suffer” (Milano *et al.*, 2018). The United Nations World Tourism Organization
4 (UNWTO, 2018, p. 4) describe overtourism as “the impact of tourism on a destination, or
5 parts thereof, that excessively influences perceived quality of life of citizens and/or quality of
6 visitors experiences in a negative way.” Scholars identified the phenomenon in Ljubljana
7 (Kuščer and Mihalič, 2019), Munich (Namberger *et al.*, 2019), Budapest (Smith *et al.*,
8 2019), Barcelona (Bourliataux-Lajoinie *et al.*, 2019), Berlin (Novy, 2017) and Montreal
9 (Khomsy *et al.*, 2020). It was also identified in specific towns and villages, rural areas,
10 festivals and events, tourist attractions and heritage sites.

11
12
13
14
15
16
17 Overtourism, adopted simultaneously as a phrase, label, analytical concept,
18 framework and methodological approach is also a discursive formation, which emerges when
19 “objects, types of statement, concepts or thematic choices” coalesce with much regularity
20 around a given central topic (Foucault, 1972, p. 38). A discursive formation emerges as a
21 result of the articulation of a variety of discourses into a relatively unified whole, to combine
22 and produce truth claims about some subject matter. Just like discursive formations such as
23 Orientalism, Plain English, national security, Islamic terrorism, digital divide, cyberterrorism
24 and 9/11, the coherence of meanings around overtourism discourse is held in place by the
25 governing term ‘overtourism,’ which is a master signifier and nodal point that “enables
26 everything that happens in this discourse to be situated” (Lacan, 1993, p. 268). Rather than
27 seeing overtourism as a bottom-up counter-discourse representing a counter-public, which
28 might deliberately negate the dominant discourses of tourism, this “emergency discourse”
29 (Debrix, 2007) is largely produced and distributed by a number of tourism scholars through
30 scholarly texts, which constitute statements in the context of the discursive formation. While
31 the symptoms of a dysfunctional tourism system have long existed, overtourism emerged
32 rapidly in the lexicon of tourism studies by scholars alarmed by the ‘truth’ and ‘realities’ of
33 excessive tourism. Like a discursive engine, scholars have generated numerous articles,
34 books and syllabi, and contributed to media stories and policy documents (cf. Peeters *et al.*,
35 2018), which continue to enter discursive circulation. While discursive formations are never
36 fixed and can be contested, those who speak from within an academic discourse community
37 (Swales, 2016) seek to disperse the formation (containing devices such as rhetoric,
38 arguments, concepts, premises, claims to truth, and visual representations) by
39 perpetuating it.

40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60
While overtourism discourse can be perceived as a sub-topic of sustainable tourism
and consumption discourses, with individual statements referring to and drawing meaning
from existing discursive formations, we argue that overtourism discourse has been

1
2
3 reconstructed and repurposed to fit new kinds of social, cultural, and political contexts. The
4 systematic appearance and continued use of a separate set of statements have formed a new
5 macro-level discourse with specific thematic threads. As well as identifying thematic threads
6 derived from interrelated scholarly texts, this conceptual paper, by way of interdiscursivity,
7 seeks to explore relations between those thematic threads and other discursive formations. As
8 interdiscursivity is an inherent feature of all discourses, we argue that overtourism and
9 migration discourses interpenetrate, with inter-discursive relations between metaphors,
10 rhetoric and arguments. Rather than seeking fault with individual scholars drawn to the
11 discourse, the aim of this conceptual paper is to help generate a new reflexive attitude
12 amongst overtourism scholars about their discursive formation, and how the nature of the
13 discursive formation may hinder research into social and spatial justice, and just transitions to
14 more sustainable futures.
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25

26 **Methodology**

27 As a discursive formation, overtourism did not enter the world fully formed in 2016 and did
28 not possess a pre-discursive identity. The phrase was grasped, undoubtedly by many, because
29 it met emerging concerns about rising tourist movements, disruptiveness and perceived
30 overcrowding. While the components of a discursive formation include ‘surfaces of
31 emergence,’ which point to specific discursive and institutional sites, such as an exhibition,
32 an industry report or documentary (Screti, 2021), our paper focuses on scholarly output in
33 academic books and journals. The statements they contain have solidified and reinforced the
34 overtourism discourse, with statements repeated and consolidated in media stories and policy
35 documents elsewhere. After being embraced and enhanced by the legitimacy of an academic
36 discourse community, scholarly publications have helped give license to the phrase and mark
37 it with a sense of urgency. The large corpus of scholarly texts associated with the discourse
38 have had significant consequences for societal and political understanding of overtourism,
39 given the expertise attributed to academics researching the topic, as they “create not only
40 knowledge but also the very reality they appear to describe” (Said, 1978, p. 94). The
41 collection of texts is organised with respect to each other and are “interventions, directions, or
42 specifications at the level of discourse/language with a view to attaining or realising certain
43 preferred meanings or representations” (Debrix, 2007, p. 13). The texts suggest the phrase is
44 a stable analytical category by drawing on indicators such as increased traffic, crime rates,
45 real estate prices, residential dissatisfaction, overcrowding, displacement, and noise, air and
46 water pollution (Insch, 2020; Koh and Fakfare, 2019; Kuščer and Mihalič, 2019).
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 Discursive formations are a common object of inquiry in the social sciences and
4 humanities (Wight, 2019), with Foucault (2002, p. 24) noting that “facts of discourse that
5 deserve to be analysed beside others; of course, they also have complex relations with each
6 other, but they are not intrinsic, autochthonous, and universally recognisable characteristics.”
7
8 Foucault (2002, p. 26) goes on to argue that “[w]hat we must do, in fact, is to tear away from
9 their [discursive formations] virtual self-evidence. We must recognise that they may not, in
10 the last resort, be what they seem at first sight.” The most common themes in overtourism
11 discourse were identified by grouping together similar parts of the discourse. From a reading
12 of over 120 scholarly texts on overtourism, we found the discourse is consistent as to its
13 salient thematic threads. They are that excessive tourist arrivals and activity leads to negative
14 destination change, with tourist behaviour contributing to perceptions of overtourism, and the
15 existence of discursive solutions to overtourism. While Said (1978, p. 23) insisted on the
16 “determining imprint of individual authors upon the otherwise anonymous collective body of
17 texts constituting a discursive formation,” the aim of this paper is not to point fingers at
18 specific authors, but take what is deemed important and relevant from recurring thematic
19 threads in a small number of salient texts. While some scholarly output demanded close
20 analysis, given their impact and number of citations, we also consider texts that are otherwise
21 illustrative of the discursive formation. We draw on paradigmatic, influential, and
22 provocative statements that largely uphold the formation, and clearly exhibit discursive
23 regularities (Fathallah, 2017).
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37

38 A discourse can find its starting point within one field of discourse and proceed
39 through another one as they “overlap, refer to each other, or are in some other way socio-
40 functionally linked with each other” (Reisigl and Wodak, 2005, p. 37). Therefore, we utilise
41 the concept of interdiscursivity to explore interdiscursive links to other discourses so as to
42 explore discerning patterns of connections (Courtine, 1981). This approach recognises the
43 “interdiscursive dependencies” (Foucault, 1991, p. 58) between different discursive
44 formations. We argue that the overtourism discourse has implicit or explicit relations with
45 migration discourses, whose overlapping arguments, metaphors, and rhetoric make the
46 discourse possible. By exploring interdiscursivity, we do not claim a discursive ‘import’ of
47 values, ideologies and beliefs, but note that discourses tend to bleed over into each other, with
48 language, metaphors and rhetoric straddling multiple discursive formations (Radford and
49 Radford, 2005). While the interrelationships between migration and tourism are complicated
50 (Hall and Williams, 2002), both arise out of a combination of social, economic and/or
51 political factors, with movement full of dreams, hopes, fears, and uncertainties (Carling and
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 Collins, 2018; Salazar, 2018; Zhang and Su, 2020). Like transitory, circular, seasonal and
4 temporary international migration, international tourism was at an all-time high prior to
5 COVID-19 (Collins, 2011; Vosko *et al.*, 2014). Like tourism, the problematisation of
6 migration has been the subject of policy debates and socio-political discourse, with thematic
7 threads about excessive migration, disruption to communities and migrant behaviour present
8 since the 1980s (Duffy and Frere-Smith, 2014). Therefore, as a discursive formation is
9 defined by what is thinkable and sayable, methodologically and conceptually, this paper
10 challenges and transgresses the authoritative texts and predominant themes that frame and
11 bound overtourism discourse by using interdiscursivity as an interpretative framework that
12 that raises provocative questions as to the future of the phrase.

21 22 **The problematisation of tourism and Overtourism discourse**

23
24 Tourists, once categorised and classified into types, based on the degree to which they sought
25 familiarity and novelty, are increasingly framed as a global monoculture driven by political,
26 institutional and corporate forces (Milano *et al.*, 2019c). While the problematisation of
27 tourism and the construction of tourists as threatening destinations and ways of life is not
28 new, the overtourism phrase simplified complex issues to suggest ever greater tourist
29 numbers has led to ‘too much tourism’ (Goodwin, 2017; Innerhofer *et al.*, 2019) and ‘too
30 many tourists’ (Dodds and Butler, 2019b) in particular destinations. The phrase, coined to
31 address growing concern about the negative impacts of tourists soon attracted rhetoric and
32 metaphors. The rhetoric of ‘taking over’ has long been applied to student migrants (Sage *et*
33 *al.*, 2012), lifestyle migrants (Sandow and Lundholm, 2019), second homeowners (Atkinson
34 *et al.*, 2009), and labour migrants (GLOBSEC, 2019). A tourist led ‘takeover’ (Murzyn-
35 Kupisz and Hołuj, 2020) is also seen to lead to ‘expulsion’ (Sequera and Nofre, 2019), and
36 ‘displacement’ (Milano *et al.*, 2019a) of residents, who are economically ‘expelled’ (Żemła,
37 2020) after their locality falls ‘prey’ or ‘victim’ to ‘waves’ of tourists (Cheung and Ling-Hin,
38 2019; Jover and Díaz-Parra, 2020; Seraphin *et al.*, 2018). Metaphoric representations, such as
39 the picture of an overcrowded Mount Everest in 2019, cast tourists as destructive pollutants
40 (Clark and Nyaupane, 2020) that ‘disrupt’ place attachment and normal ways of life.
41 Metaphors and rhetoric have sought to cement the sociocultural valorisation of ‘locals,’ who
42 are described as ‘original’ and ‘permanent’ (Żemła, 2020), and their culture and values
43 authenticated as cohesive, homogeneous, and self-contained. They are represented as having
44 emotional, cognitive, moral, and material bonds with destinations (Insch, 2020; Kuščer and
45 Mihalic, 2019). They are moralised as victims of overtourism (Seraphin *et al.*, 2020), but also

1
2
3 framed as activists (Torres, 2021) and celebrated for their resilience (Hutton, 2016) and
4 resistance (Colomb and Novy, 2016).

5
6 While rhetoric and metaphors might never be as damaging to tourists, the use of
7 dramatic phrases like ‘emergency’ (Burton, 2018), ‘plague’ (Tourtellot, 2017), ‘malaise’
8 (Cañadav, 2019), ‘destruction’ (Lowrey, 2019), ‘decline’ (Benner, 2020), ‘suffer’ (Khomsi
9 *et al.*, 2020), ‘perfect storm’ (Dodds and Butler, 2019b) and ‘invasion’ (Frey, 2021) in relation
10 to overtourism is clearly negative. They draw attention to overtourism as something
11 destination authorities and residents have to ‘cope’ or ‘deal’ with (Murzyn-Kupisz and Hołuj,
12 2020), to ‘tame’ (Becker, 2017), ‘combat’ (Becker, 2018b) and even ‘revolt’ against (Becker,
13 2015). The use of rhetoric and metaphors make overtourism a distinct social and political
14 phenomenon and renders tourists as a discursive category of persons available for acting
15 upon, while largely omitting the institutional and corporate structures that enable tourism.
16 Rather than unpacking the use of rhetoric and metaphors, we explore three thematic threads,
17 beginning with the logic that excessive tourists’ arrivals and activity brings destination
18 change. The second thematic thread is that tourist behaviour contributes to overtourism.
19 Finally, we explore the discursive solutions to overtourism as the final thematic thread.
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31

32 **Overtourism, destination change and tourist behaviour**

33 A core thematic thread in overtourism discourse is that excessive arrivals bring rapid and
34 negative destination change, which poses challenges for residents, infrastructure and public
35 services. While partially drawing on broader discourses such as neoliberalism, overtourism
36 discourse describes tourism as threatening social cohesion and feelings of home (Goodwin,
37 2017) through tourism-led neighbourhood and community change (Cocola-Gant and Lopez-
38 Gay, 2020). While the discourse projects destinations as relatively static and unprepared for
39 tourism, it draws attention to practices of contestation such as resistance, dissent and other
40 expressions of anti-tourism sentiment (Colomb and Novy, 2016; Martín Martín *et al.*, 2018;
41 Milano *et al.*, 2019d), with texts drawing on and linking protests in Barcelona, Venice, and
42 Budapest (Smith *et al.*, 2019; Zerva *et al.*, 2019).
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50

51 However, the ongoing search for capital-bearing individuals cannot be easily
52 separated out, given the overlap in destination branding strategies linking higher education,
53 migration and tourism (Malet Calvo, 2018). When destinations promote their cultural
54 heritage to attract capital bearers like digital nomads (Mancinelli, 2020), the super-rich
55 (Atkinson, 2019) and the diaspora (Gentile, 2018), particular neighbourhoods and groups
56 may not be actively involved in the processes that give rise to subsequent rapid or gradual
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 sedimentation of change. Protests have given many in the academic discourse community the
4 assumption of some global and uniform demand for the slow down or unfolding of tourism in
5 destinations suffering from overtourism (Higgins-Desbiolles *et al.*, 2022). However, it is
6 necessary to analyse whether such protests indicate a distinctive protest culture, and signify a
7 strategic resistance to overtourism, or whether protests are exoticised and misanalysed by
8 scholars who simultaneously dehistoricise and depoliticise what is happening in destinations
9 (Theodossopoulos, 2014). For example, the Barcelona protests in 2017 were primarily based
10 issues unrelated to overtourism discourse. The protests were about the housing bubble in
11 Spain, household debt, the marketing of the city, evictions, austerity cuts and changes to
12 urban plans (Ribas, 2020), and were largely driven by those seeking an independent
13 Catalonia, and further regionalisation (Hughes, 2018). In Amsterdam, the protests were about
14 “global forces, boosted by local government” (Pinkster and Boterman, 2017, p. 469), while
15 the Paris protests came from upper middle-class associations who had already displaced
16 working-class residents (Gravari-Barbas, 2017). There is little to connect these protests to a
17 broad grassroot ‘overtourism movement’ (Cheer *et al.*, 2019), or a lens to analyse overtourism
18 and ‘tourism phobia’ (Milano *et al.*, 2019d).

19
20 While activists can utilise the discourse to build roadmaps towards post-capitalist
21 tourism, resident associations can draw on it to vocalise what they may see as possible
22 obstacles to their values and lifestyles. These may include localised and idealised imaginaries
23 of their own identity, a refusal to accept a subordinate role in their neighbourhood, perceived
24 insecurity caused by linguistic, cultural and racial differences or changes in political and
25 administrative structures. While conflicts and protest about transformation are highly
26 contingent and dependent upon context, conflict over the control, production and effects of
27 structures and processes (Thörn *et al.*, 2016) can happen in any specific, localised
28 neighbourhoods undergoing complex transitions due to mobile groupings arriving, transiting
29 or settling (Tsundoda and Mendlinger, 2009). While residents largely navigate through
30 neighbourhood change with nuance and complexity (Doucet and Koenders, 2018; Stienmetz
31 *et al.*, 2020), overtourism discourse often pits tourists against residents, and rarely addresses
32 (pre-)existing socio-cultural divisions and spatial injustices. While excesses such as forced
33 evictions, and land grabbing exist in specific contexts, no grouping, whether residents,
34 domestic and transnational migrants, commuters or tourists, are automatically privileged with
35 the power and possibilities to shape a city or neighbourhood. Overtourism discourse
36 overstates the role of tourists in processes of change and mislabels fragmented protests as a
37 global grassroots movement with the capacity to mobilise people. The discourse also

1
2
3 underestimates other elements such as the global process of urbanisation, domestic tourism
4 and local neoliberalisms driven by the (local) entrepreneurial class (Peck and Tickell, 2002).

5
6 Overtourism discourse, drawing from culturalist logics often seen in migration
7
8 discourse, posits that since tourist links to destinations are fleeting, given their ‘natural’ link
9 is to their countries of origin, their use of limited local resources is a liability (Benner, 2020;
10 Milano *et al.*, 2019b). Scholars claim they are speaking on behalf of local subjects with a
11 unified sense of belonging, against those who challenge, disturb and rupture the social,
12 cultural and spatial fabric of an ‘idealised’ city, region, or locality such as a neighbourhood
13 with a ‘authentic character’ (Crow, 2002; Żemła, 2020). The discourse does not see localities
14 as both relational and territorial, both in motion and simultaneously fixed. Studies often draw
15 on methodological nationalism (Wimmer and Glick Schiller, 2002) to assume that the nation,
16 state, society and neighbourhood is the natural, social and political form, whilst downplaying
17 external connections and linkages. Appadurai (1996) notes that disquiet and protest about the
18 loss or fragmentation of locality is often apprehension about changes to models of
19 acculturation, culture contact, heterogeneity, intercultural encounter, the multiplication of
20 identities, and the challenges posed by new forms of locality, which combine both place-
21 based and circulating populations (Brickell and Datta, 2011). For Appadurai (1996, p. 216;
22 original emphasis), “ties of marriage, work, business and leisure weave together various
23 circulating populations with kinds of ‘locals’ to create neighbourhoods, which belong in one
24 sense to particular nation-states, but are, from another point of view, what we might call
25 *translocalities*”. This does not reduce the importance of locales, but stretches them out, as
26 they adapt to the existence of “a range of mobilities across interconnected spatial scales –
27 homes, neighbourhoods, cities, and regions – between and across different scales of locality”
28 (Hall and Datta, 2010, p.70). We live in a globalised, de-territorialised, multi-scalar world,
29 where territories, boundaries and powers are being continually reshaped. Residents, migrants,
30 diaspora, refugees, digital nomads and tourists may simultaneously be a part of multiple
31 orders of indexicality, systems of meaning, entanglements, broader geographical and social
32 histories, meanings, experiences and practices, as they become involved in the processes of
33 constructing and producing locality (van Nuenen, 2016).

34
35 While inequalities exist in the age of translocality, overtourism texts discursively
36 construct residents and localities as needing protection from tourism. However, they are
37 speaking for an imagined collective identity and systems of being and thinking that does not
38 have an actual or natural foundation. While there are consequences to diverse mobilities,
39 given uneven power relations, tourism, like migration, is both a creative and disruptive force,
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 which challenges, reshapes and supports territories, boundaries and powers. Many
4 destinations identified as suffering from overtourism have long been internationally oriented
5 and are the product of multiple mobilities, having long been points of arrival, transit, and
6 departure for domestic and transnational migrants, international students, and tourists, as well
7 as flows of ideas, raw materials, capital, information and vehicles (trains, motor-vehicles,
8 freight) (Freudendal-Pedersen and Kesselring, 2020). By virtue of the transnational nature of
9 activities that sustain their existence (higher education, sport, finance, tourism, trade), the
10 local, the regional, the national, and the global mutually constitute one another, with the
11 global articulated in the local and local in the global through intersecting constellations of
12 mobility and multiple interpretations of identity, community, and belonging.

13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21 The second thematic thread in the discourse is that tourists are not making a positive
22 contribution to the destinations they visit. Filtered through a discourse of negativity, they are
23 blamed for contributing to overtourism by lacking moral agency and resisting making
24 changes to their travel behaviour (Caruana *et al.*, 2020). The discourse emphasises their
25 ambivalent status, and identifies tourists as different, their behaviour deviant (San Tropez,
26 2020), irresponsible (Koens *et al.*, 2018; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2019), selfish (Lowrey, 2019)
27 and threatening (Kuščer and Mihalic, 2019). Tourists, like migrants, are framed as distinct.
28 While not explicitly addressed in ethnic terms, some discursive texts show a definite bias, by
29 drawing on the country of origin of tourists (Weber *et al.*, 2019; Becker, 2018a). There is
30 little acknowledgement that tourists enter a complex web of economic relations and social
31 entanglements whilst at destinations, as they encounter and interact with other actors,
32 architectures, environments and processes. Just as student migrants have long-term impacts
33 on the fabric of cities or towns (Fincher *et al.*, 2009), tourists, through their embodied
34 presence, co-production, consumption and socialising practices can enhance destinations, and
35 help individuals, groups and communities living in tourist destinations to work on or renew
36 their individual and collective identities (Debarbieux, 2012).

37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48 Creative placemaking, through concrete actions, designs, plans, policies and
49 management control systems, has shown that destinations can address the needs of diverse
50 populations from low to high-income families, tourists, commuters, businesspeople, migrants,
51 refugees and students, whilst adding vibrancy, tolerance and multiculturalism to destinations,
52 and providing security and new social, economic, and cultural opportunities for all
53 (Freudendal-Pedersen and Kesselring, 2020). The discourse limits processes of incorporation,
54 and the possibility that today's tourists may be tomorrow's students, migrants, digital
55 nomads, entrepreneurs and residents if allowed to establish local and cross-border social
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 networks and translocal identities (Gheasi *et al.*, 2011; Valentine, 2008). Given movement
4 and connectivity (i.e. changing homes, travel, tourism, motorways) have been integral to
5 human history and destination and societal development (Shah, 2020), governments and
6 businesses could use migration and tourism as a resourcing model to solve demographic
7 transitions, a lack of key workers, global talent and as a means to regrow shrinking villages
8 and city centres (Makimoto and Manners, 1997).
9

10
11
12
13
14 Overtourism discourse draws on constructed figures of the deserving-undeserving,
15 high-low quality, and the legitimate-illegitimate tourist, as well as boundaries of inclusion,
16 and who can 'belong' to a destination (Higgins-Desbiolles *et al.*, 2019). While this logic has
17 led to biopolitical hierarchies based on the origin and religious background of tourists from
18 certain 'Shithole Countries' under President Trump (Williams, 2020), overtourism discourse
19 also demands some measure of 'deficits and dividends' and a return on investment (Higgins-
20 Desbiolles, 2018; Higgins-Desbiolles *et al.*, 2019). As hospitality is rarely removed,
21 conceptually or spatially, from the cold shoulder or suppressed welcome (Derrida, 2000),
22 overtourism discourse excludes pathways to develop diversity, heterogeneity, out-group trust,
23 solidarity and understanding of difference. There is little acknowledgement in the discourse
24 that tourists make sacrifices to travel and attempt (even if thwarted) to become acquainted
25 with difference (Edensor, 2007). There is little acknowledgement as to how tourists can
26 contribute to structures and processes for dialogue, reciprocity, generosity, altruism,
27 communalism, cooperation, openness, exchange, hybridisation and shared morality. The
28 discourse does not acknowledge that residents' identities can be mobile, multiple, and
29 dynamic, and shaped and contextualised in relation to other individuals and groups.
30 Adversarial attributions emerge from the discourse to blame tourists, given they are the
31 primary objects of overtourism text's attention. While some attention is given to hidden
32 'vested interests' (Antoci, *et al.*, 2021; Benner, 2019), the blame largely falls on the
33 collective tourist rather than the powerful multinational corporations, business elites,
34 governments, local entrepreneurs and citizenry that produce them.
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50

51 **Discursive solutions and calls to action**

52
53 Those in the academic discourse community are morally obligated to find discursive
54 solutions to the problems they have identified, given the discourse, having achieved
55 coherence, is now in broad circulation in the media and other domains. By framing solutions
56 within its own range of possible legitimate logics, the solutions are not neutral, as they
57 exclude solutions seen as irrelevant or not radical enough. For scholars who produce texts
58
59
60

1
2
3 within overtourism discourse, any nudging of tourist behaviour towards responsible and
4 sustainable practices set within a paradigm of growth is insufficient for a global ‘overtourism
5 crisis’ (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2020c; Yuval, 2021). For scholars who see tourism as
6 underpinned by a “pro-growth ideology that results from neoliberal capitalism” (Higgins-
7 Desbiolles *et al.*, 2019, p. 2), voluntary degrowth is a plausible solution (Andriotis, 2018;
8 Milano *et al.*, 2019c). Discursive solutions also include prescriptive systems, such as facial
9 recognition, CCTV, big data, and other technological tools. These seek to track, repel, and
10 control tourist movements, as well as guide the implementation of regulatory mechanisms
11 related to the excessive use of places (Insch, 2020; Goodwin, 2017; Padrón-Ávila and
12 Hernández-Martín, 2020). Other solutions include the implementation of an overtourism
13 educational process (San Tropez, 2020), so as to promote ethical consumption and a new
14 global consciousness (Chowdhary *et al.*, 2020; Galvani *et al.*, 2020), gamification,
15 discriminatory pricing, codes of conduct, demarketing, fines for bad behaviour, localism, and
16 a focus on mass domestic tourism (Çakar and Uzut, 2020; Dodds and Butler, 2019a,b;
17 Higgins-Desbiolles *et al.*, 2019; Pechlaner *et al.*, 2019).

18
19 Presenting overtourism as a global issue, with its own rules of evidence, key texts,
20 historical events, and its own self-evident truths, the discursive solutions are not based on
21 universal principles. Solutions that include increased domestic tourism should consider those
22 countries without large domestic populations (and those that are too large), and the income
23 distribution within those countries. Demarketing, given the ubiquity of social media, may
24 create the opposite effect, either by accident or design, by enhancing consumer attitudes and
25 behavioural intentions to visit destinations that value sustainability. Likewise, dispersal of
26 tourists to other locations requires political and policy support to remove the things that lock
27 tourists (and local workers) to gateway destinations, with authorities doing little to facilitate
28 movement by improving transport, affordable housing and supporting businesses that could
29 anchor workers and divert tourist flows. The use of technology would need to be acceptable
30 to other resident categories (e.g. minorities, undocumented) who might be afraid of being
31 identified and tracked. Any surveillance of tourists, such as hotlines to report tourist
32 behaviour may have unintended effects, if technology leads to repressive interventions,
33 erosion of privacy, and the displacement of residents who oppose technologisation.

34
35 Many of the discursive solutions, based on classification, control, management, and
36 restriction are reactive to subjective indicators and draw on security and emergency
37 discourses. Largely designed to be externally imposed, rather than consented to by those
38 tourists trying, even if failing, to do the right thing, the solutions are a form of ‘Othering’ that
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 articulates difference. Similar to ‘migration management’ involving “promoting humane and
4 orderly migration for the benefit of all” (IOM, 2020), conditional and regulated openness is
5 based on interventions for order, slow down and push back, as the right sort of tourist is
6 encouraged to prove themselves as deserving, and on the right side of economic and
7 geopolitical circumstances. Unless tourists act like an idealised ‘us,’ and commit themselves
8 to be “compatible with societies and cultures” (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2020a, p. 2), they are not
9 playing a responsible role. Rather than long-term, innovative and creative placemaking and
10 partnership across sectors, the solutions offered within the discourse lay in projecting its
11 inherent contradictions upon the Other, who has been made the Other by the overtourism
12 discourse to begin with.
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21

22 **Discussion and Conclusions**

23
24 Overtourism as a governing term and nodal point has become an influential frame through
25 which to understand and respond to a suite of interconnected social, cultural, and ecological
26 changes unfolding across tourist destinations. The discourse has been filled with a range of
27 differential elements, asserted, and even acclaimed by those that may think, believe, or feel to
28 be the truth about excessive tourism. It has allowed scholars critical of tourism and proficient
29 in discourse competence to situate themselves in relation to each other and articulate, speak,
30 and write about excessive tourist arrivals, the type and time frame of tourist visits, and tourist
31 behaviour in new ways. Scholars have used the phrase as an alternative conceptual
32 framework to reconceptualise old problems and take account of what they see are new
33 undeniable ‘realities’. By allowing scholars to work beyond the limits of what can be
34 verbalised through existing discourses, such as sustainability and sustainable consumption,
35 the description of socio-spatial injustices, gentrification, displacement, tourist bubbles, and
36 place alienation (Diaz-Parra and Jover, 2020) are vividly told with the ‘public interest’ in
37 mind (Perkumienė and Pranskūnienė, 2019). With the phrase acting as a discursive engine,
38 overtourism has had a momentous impact on the production and appearance of other material
39 statements and has appeared in many different places and formats, from documentaries to
40 academic keynotes, under the eyes of many different viewers and readers (Radford and
41 Radford, 2005). It has entered discursive circulation and produces conferences, UNWTO
42 policy documents, media stories to university syllabi, its thematic threads legitimising,
43 naturalising and propagating political, social, and moral claims. Its circulation, in turn, also
44 has the potential to generate many more statements, and so on, ad infinitum (Radford and
45 Radford, 2005).
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

This paper argues that overtourism, as a discursive formation, must be analysed and unpacked critically, given it may hinder future tourism research (Radford, 2003). Given the discursive formation is both the starting and the end point of analysis, it is not a solid conceptual space that can facilitate different and conflicting perspectives structured in relation to the changes caused by tourism and tourists. Rather than create possibilities of responsibility and scholarly reflexivity, the discursive formation contributes to an ideological climate and has the effect of polarising those who take up positions for-and-against the discourse (Screti, 2021). Rather than a framework or concept to generate sustainable and equitable pathways for a post COVID-19 world (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2020b), the discourse is designated in arbitrary terms according to shifting criteria. Endowed with meaning through an appearance of “factual evidence, historical accuracy, or a truth claim” (Debrix, 2008, p. 7), scholars who produce texts within the discourse have the means to look at tourism and tourists through narratives of power, conflict, subordination, excess and domination. These narratives then form the grounds for discursive solutions against tourists, who are perceived to be destroyers of neighbourhoods, cultures, and livelihoods. As every discourse has performative power to generate particular visions of the world and convey a certain view of reality, overtourism discourse can over-write our understanding of tourism, polarise tourist-host distinctions, and lead to a range of divisive solutions that may not work, or have unintended consequences. Rather than economic scenario planning gives or modelling, there is a hope for forms and types of tourism “found in the days of the Grand Tour or the spiritual journeys of great religious pilgrimages” (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2018, p. 159).

While destination inhabitants and tourists undoubtedly suffer if tourism makes destinations dysfunctional, discourse made in the name of imagined majorities such as a monolith of homogenised destination residents, cannot offer novel solutions to deep seated economic, environmental, and spatial inequalities. Rather than identify tourism as something normative or something to live with, the subjective appeal of the discourse encourages a narrative of emergency and provides space for a retreat into identitarianism, where tourists are exceptional and dangerous to the ‘normal lives’ of residents (Sari and Nazli, 2020). Once rhetoric and metaphors are embedded, they are hard to undo. A dystopian undercurrent in the discourse, alongside nostalgia, and a sedentary bias draws on notions of idealised communities under attack may have unintended consequences. A media driven campaign in the United Kingdom that associated ‘health tourists’ with criminality, for example, soon leading to fundamental and unwarranted changes to the principle of universal healthcare (Speed and Mannion, 2017).

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

There is a fear about tourist mobility as a form of ‘rupture’ (Bourliataux-Lajoinie *et al.*, 2019) and an anxiety about where tourists ‘fit in’. Just as ‘invasions’ of migrants have been framed as a “form of rupture” (Collins, 2011, p. 324) as they spread into middle-class suburbs (Arcimaviciene and Baglama, 2018; Cisneros, 2008), there are worries about tourist movement in historic centres (Costa, 2019), tourist ghettos (Dumbrovská, 2017), and their attempts to penetrate deeper into residential areas (Namberger *et al.*, 2019). By drawing on restrictionist logics, whilst omitting wider mobility norms, infrastructures, policies and ongoing transitions, the discourse may “limit the human encounter between different cultures, traditions, and societies” (Said, 1978, pp. 45–46) as well as economic and political costs. While tourism can challenge social solidarity, altruism and inhibit social capital in the short term, tourists do not need to rupture residents’ desire to belong, feel valued, safe, secure, and understood. Tourism can help construct more encompassing cosmopolitan identities in the long term. This can happen through meeting and mixing, where spaces, ideas, and practices can be formulated and shared (Putnam, 2007). While there will be changes to structures, cultures, values, lifestyles, and practices (Hartman, 2018), unique and specific elements of value to less mobile and more dependent destination populations can be protected from commodification.

There is a governance deficit in many tourism destinations, which becomes visible when movements and flows of people, goods and vehicles overstretch and overload capacities and systems. Many destinations fall short in making destinations liveable and sustainable, equitable, accessible, resilient and convivial, or provide economic opportunities, spatial justice, quality of life and well-being to all. Governance and tourism are complex at the local scale (McCann and Ward, 2011) given differences in political ideology (Webster and Hristov, 2016) and routine disregard for voters, corruption (Rose-Ackerman and Palifka, 2016), illegality and acts of coalition with special interests. While tourism’s role in environmental and ecological degradation, socio-spatial segregation and exploitative labour practices should not be overlooked, a narrow scholarly gaze, recognisable in the overtourism discourse is not an effective counter-hegemonic framework, concept or methodological approach that is intrinsically subversive of dominant power relations. It is not a means to challenge deep seated issues and practices detrimental to the quality of life and the life satisfaction of destination communities. It is not an effective means to counter dominant tourism discourses and institutional, political, or structural factors and operations which organise and mould local and global tourism as well as other social, economic, cultural, and historical determinants.

1
2
3 While tourism may not have automatically lead to modernity, cosmopolitanism, and
4 entrepreneurial creativity, it has more broadly aided the integration of Europe into a common
5 market and a feeling of European-ness after the enmities of two world wars, and the end of
6 the Cold War (Holleran, 2019). It has staved off degrowth after industrial and manufacturing
7 decline, manmade and natural disasters, and where local economic demand was insufficient
8 to support destination upgrading. Solutions that might accelerate the transition to equitable,
9 sustainable, and liveable destinations for all should be driven by institutions and communities
10 that are democratically accountable. Depending on the local socio-political context, solutions
11 might include carbon taxes, rent controls, minimum wages, negative income taxes, support
12 for social entrepreneurship, free child care, public retirement facilities, education funding,
13 affordable housing, creative placemaking, participatory land use planning, online job training,
14 labour standards, and assistance for sustainability and mobility transitions at a destination
15 level (Koens *et al.*, 2021). Long term solutions must be based on longitudinal research that
16 explores the impact of tourism and any interventions/solutions at destination level. This
17 requires scholars to look at changes in objective statistical indicators such as income,
18 inequality, health, employment and housing, as well as subjective dimensions, which refer to
19 individual appraisal of life satisfaction and well-being. These solutions can provide
20 ontological security for all, and help generate a strategy that allocates rights, responsibilities,
21 costs, and burdens fairly.

22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36 The degree to which the overtourism discourse will continue to be mobilised in
37 different situations and contexts or be seen as an effective instrument for the formation and
38 accumulation of knowledge in a post COVID-19 world will be determined by the degree to
39 which scholars and other actors “whose interests it was made to express” (Skillington, 1997,
40 p. 506) continue to recognise themselves in it, and their ability to generate perceptions of
41 overtourism in a world seeking to recover from a global pandemic. Changes to the discursive
42 formation can occur through dissent by scholars with opposing viewpoints (Schweinsberg *et*
43 *al.*, 2021), discursive challenges and normative changes. Indeed, new discursive formations
44 on sustainable development, spatial justice and just transitions may emerge to supplant
45 overtourism and its confines. Rather than retreat back into the safe haven of the overtourism
46 discourse as tourism increases after COVID-19, a rival formation can incorporate broader
47 perspectives, replete with more emancipatory and empowering possibilities for all destination
48 stakeholders. Such a formation, drawing from the circular economy, post-growth and green
49 growth discourses, may hold the potential to fracture and subvert dominant forces that exert
50 the control over hegemonic tourism discourses. Given, what matters is effect, and the range
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 of possibilities enabled or closed by a discursive formation (Fathallah, 2017), overtourism
4 scholars should reflect upon its limits and their responsibility for its perpetuation.
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Tourism Review

References

- Andriotis, K. (2018), *Degrowth in tourism: Conceptual, theoretical and philosophical issues*, CABI, New York.
- Antoci, A., Russu, P., Sacco, P. L. and Blessi, G. T. (2021), "Preying on beauty? The complex social dynamics of overtourism", *Journal of Economic Interaction and Coordination*, 23, pp. 1-22.
- Appadurai, A. (1996), *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis and London.
- Arcimaviciene, L. and Baglama, S. H. (2018), Migration, metaphor and myth in media representations: The ideological dichotomy of "Them" and "Us". *Sage Open*, Vol. 8 No. 2, doi.org/10.1177/2158244018768657
- Atkinson, R. (2019), "Necrotecture: lifeless dwellings and London's super-rich", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol. 43 No. 1, pp. 2-13.
- Atkinson, R., Picken, F. and Tranter, B. (2009), "Home and away from home: The urban-regional dynamics of second home ownership in Australia", *Urban Research & Practice*, Vol. 2 No. 1, pp. 1-17.
- Becker, E. (2015), "The revolt against tourism", *New York Times*, 17 July, 2015. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/19/opinion/sunday/the-revolt-against-tourism.html>
- Becker, E. (2017), "Barcelona taming tourism", *Travel Weekly*, Vol. 76 No. 30, pp. 12-15.
- Becker, E. (2018a), "Tourism takeover: Chinese travelers changing the industry", *Travel Weekly*, Vol. 77 No. 30, pp. 14-20.
- Becker, E. (2018b), "Arctic Crush", *Travel Weekly*, Vol. 77 No. 47, pp. 14-32.
- Benner, M. (2019), "From overtourism to sustainability: A research agenda for qualitative tourism development in the Adriatic", MPRA paper, (92213).
- Benner, M. (2020), "Overcoming overtourism in Europe: Towards an institutional-behavioral research agenda", *Zeitschrift für Wirtschaftsgeographie*, Vol. 64 No. 2, pp. 74-87.
- Bourliataux-Lajoinie, S., Dosquet, F. and del Olmo Arriaga, J. L. (2019), "The dark side of digital technology to overtourism: the case of Barcelona", *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes*, Vol. 11 No. 5, pp. 582-593.
- Brickell, K. and Datta, A. (Eds), (2011), *Translocal geographies*, Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., Surrey, UK.
- Burton, K. (2018), "Paradise lost: Why overtourism is a global emergency", Retrieved from <https://www.ethicalcorp.com/paradise-lost-why-overtourism-global-emergency>

- 1
2
3 Butler, R.W. (1980), "The concept of tourism area cycle of evolution: implications for
4 management of resources", *Canadian Geographer*, Vol. 24 No. 1, pp. 5–12.
- 5
6 Çakar, K. and Smail Uzut (2020), "Exploring the stakeholder's role in sustainable degrowth
7 within the context of tourist destination governance: the case of Istanbul, Turkey", *Journal of*
8
9 *Travel & Tourism Marketing*, Vol. 37 No. 8-9, pp. 917-932.
- 10
11 Cañadav, E. (2019), "Responses to Overtourism in Guanacaste (Costa Rica): A Rural Water
12 Conflict Perspective", in Milano, C., Cheer, J. and Novelli, M. (Eds), *Overtourism: Excesses,*
13 *Discontents and Measures in Travel and Tourism*, CABI, Wallingford, pp. 107-124
- 14
15 Carling, J. and Collins, F. (2018), "Aspiration, desire and drivers of migration", *Journal of*
16
17 *Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 44 No. 6, pp. 909-926.
- 18
19 Caruana, R., Glozer, S. and Eckhardt, G. M. (2020), "Alternative Hedonism': Exploring the
20 Role of Pleasure in Moral Markets", *Journal of Business Ethics*, Vol. 166 No. 5, pp. 143–
21
22 158.
- 23
24 Cheer, J. M., Milano, C. and Novelli, M. (2019), "Tourism and community resilience in the
25 Anthropocene: accentuating temporal overtourism", *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, Vol. 27
26
27 No. 4, pp. 554-572.
- 28
29 Cheung, K. S. and Li, L. H. (2019), "Understanding visitor–resident relations in overtourism:
30 Developing resilience for sustainable tourism", *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, Vol. 27 No.
31
32 8, pp. 1197-1216.
- 33
34 Chowdhary, N., Tiwari, P. and Kainthola, S. (2020), "PRME: The Way Forward to Deal with
35 Overtourism and Related Perverse Impacts", in Séraphin, H., Gladkikh, T. and Vo Thanh, T.
36
37 (Eds), *Overtourism*, Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, pp. 319-339.
- 38
39 Cisneros, J. D. (2008), "Contaminated communities: The metaphor of "immigrant as
40 pollutant" in media representations of immigration", *Rhetoric and Public Affairs*, Vol. 11 No.
41
42 4, pp. 569-601.
- 43
44 Clark, C. and Nyaupane, G. P. (2020), "Overtourism: An analysis of its coverage in the
45 media by using framing theory", *Tourism Review International*, Vol. 4 No. 2-3, pp. 75-90.
- 46
47 Cocola-Gant, A. and Lopez-Gay, A. (2020), "Transnational gentrification, tourism and the
48 formation of 'foreign only' enclaves in Barcelona", *Urban Studies*, Volume 57 No. 15, pp.
49
50 3025-3043.
- 51
52 Collins, F. (2011), "Transnational mobilities and urban spatialities: Notes from the Asia-
53 Pacific. *Progress in Human Geography*, Vol. 36 No. 3, pp. 316–335.
- 54
55 Colomb, C. and Novy, J. (Eds), (2016), *Protest and resistance in the tourist city*, Routledge,
56
57 London.
- 58
59
60

- 1
2
3 Costa, C. (2019), "Tourism planning: a perspective paper. *Tourism Review*, Vol. 75 No. 1, pp.
4 198-202.
5
6 Courtine, J.-J. (1981), *Analyse du discours politique*, Langages, Paris.
7
8 Crow, G. (2002), "Community studies: Fifty years of theorization", *Sociological Research*
9 *Online*, Vol. 7 No. 3, pp. 82–91.
10
11 Debarbieux, B. (2012), "Tourism, Imaginaries and Identities: reversing the point of
12 view", Via. *Tourism Review*, Vol. 1. Doi.org/10.4000/viatourism.1197
13
14 Debrix, F. (2007), *Tabloid terror: War, culture, and geopolitics.*, Routledge.
15
16 Derrida, J. (2000), *Of Hospitality. Anne Dufourmantelle Invites Jacques Derrida to Respond.*
17 Trans. By Rachel Bowlby, Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA.
18
19 Díaz-Parra, I. and Jover, J. (2021), "Overtourism, place alienation and the right to the city:
20 insights from the historic centre of Seville, Spain", *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, Vol. 29
21 No. (2-3), pp. 158-175.
22
23 Dodds, R. and Butler, R. (Eds), (2019a), *Overtourism: Issues, realities and solutions* (Vol. 1),
24 Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co KG.
25
26 Dodds, R. and Butler, R. (2019b), "The phenomena of overtourism: A review", *International*
27 *Journal of Tourism Cities*, Vol. 5 No. 4, pp. 519-528.
28
29 Doucet, B. and Koenders, D. (2018), "'At least it's not a ghetto anymore': Experiencing
30 gentrification and 'false choice urbanism' in Rotterdam's Afrikaanderwijk", *Urban Studies*,
31 Vol. 55 No. 16, pp. 3631-3649.
32
33 Doxey, G. (1975), A Causation Theory of Visitor–Resident Irritants: Methodology and
34 Research Inferences. The Impact of Tourism. In the Sixth Annual Conference Proceedings,
35 *The Travel Research Association*, San Diego, pp. 195-198.
36
37 Duffy, B. and Frere-Smith, T. (2014), "Perceptions and reality: Public attitudes to
38 immigration", *Ipsos MORI*, 14.
39
40 Dumbrovská, V. (2017), Urban Tourism Development in Prague: From Tourist Mecca to
41 Tourist Ghetto, in Bellini, N. and Pasquinelli, C. (Eds), *Tourism in the City*, Springer
42 International Publishing AG, Switzerland, pp. 275–283.
43
44 Edensor, T. (2007), "Mundane mobilities, performances and spaces of tourism", *Social &*
45 *Cultural Geography*, Vol. 8 No. 2, pp. 199-215.
46
47 Fincher, R., Carter, P., Tombesi, P., Shaw, K. and Martel, A. (2009), *Transnational and*
48 *temporary: Students, community and place-making in central Melbourne*, final report 2009,
49 University of Melbourne, Melbourne.
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

- 1
2
3 Fathallah, J. (2017), *Fanfiction and the author: How fanfic changes popular cultural texts*,
4 Amsterdam University Press.
5
6 Foucault, M. (1972), *The archaeology of knowledge and discourse on language*, Harper and
7 Row, New York.
8
9 Foucault, M. (1991), "Politics and the study of discourse", in Burchill, G., Gordon, C. and
10 Frey, B. S. (2021), *Overcoming Overtourism: Creating Revived Originals*, Springer Nature.
11
12 Miller, P. (Eds), *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, University of Chicago
13 Press, Chicago, pp. 53-72.
14
15 Foucault, M. (2002), *The Archaeology of knowledge* (A. M. Sheridan Smith, Trans.),
16 Routledge, London.
17
18 Freudendal-Pedersen, M. and Kesselring, S. (2020), "What is the urban without physical
19 mobilities? COVID-19-induced immobility in the mobile risk society", *Mobilities*, Vol. 16
20 No. 1, pp. 81-95.
21
22 Galvani, A., Lew, A. A. and Perez, M. S. (2020), "COVID-19 is expanding global
23 consciousness and the sustainability of travel and tourism", *Tourism Geographies*, Vol. 22
24 No. 3, pp. 567-576.
25
26 Gentile, M. (2018), "Gentrifications in the Planetary Elsewhere: tele-urbanization,
27 Schengtrification, colour-splashing, and the mirage of "more-than-adequate" critical theory",
28 *Urban Geography*, Vol. 39 No. 10, pp. 1455-1464.
29
30 Gheasi, M., Nijkamp, P. and Rietveld, P. (2011), Migration and tourist flows. In Sarmiento,
31 M. (Ed), *Tourism Economics: Impact Analysis*, Physica-Verlag. Heidelberg, pp. 111-126.
32
33 GLOBSEC Policy Institute (2019), Europe's Migration Myths. Retrieved from
34 [https://www.globsec.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Europe%E2%80%99s-Migration-](https://www.globsec.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Europe%E2%80%99s-Migration-Myths_web_new1.pdf)
35 [Myths_web_new1.pdf](https://www.globsec.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Europe%E2%80%99s-Migration-Myths_web_new1.pdf)
36
37 Goodwin, H. (2017), "The Challenge of Overtourism", *Responsible Tourism Partnership*
38 *Working, Paper 4*, October.
39
40 Gravari-Barbas, M. (2017), *Super-Gentrification and Hyper-Tourismification in Le Marais,*
41 *Paris*, Routledge London, UK; New York, NY, USA.
42
43 Hall, C. M. and Williams, A. M. (Eds), (2002), *Tourism and migration: New relationships*
44 *between production and consumption*, Kluwer, Dordrecht.
45
46 Hall, S. and Datta, A. (2010), "The translocal street: shop signs and local multi-culture along
47 the Walworth Road, South London", *City, Culture and Society*, Vol. 1 No. 2, pp. 69-77.
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 Hartman, S. (2018), "Towards adaptive tourism areas: using fitness landscapes for managing
4 and futureproofing tourism area development", *Journal of Tourism Futures*, Vol. 4 No. 2, pp.
5 152-162.
6
7

8 Higgins-Desbiolles, F. (2018), "Sustainable tourism: Sustaining tourism or something
9 more?", *Tourism Management Perspectives*, Vol. 25, pp. 157-160.
10

11 Higgins-Desbiolles, F. (2019), "Tourists behaving badly are a threat to global tourism, and
12 the industry is partly to blame", *The Conversation*, Retrieved from
13 [https://theconversation.com/tourists-behaving-badly-are-a-threat-to-global-tourism-and-the-](https://theconversation.com/tourists-behaving-badly-are-a-threat-to-global-tourism-and-the-industry-is-partly-to-blame-112398)
14 [industry-is-partly-to-blame-112398](https://theconversation.com/tourists-behaving-badly-are-a-threat-to-global-tourism-and-the-industry-is-partly-to-blame-112398)
15
16
17

18 Higgins-Desbiolles, F. (2020a), "The "war over tourism": challenges to sustainable tourism
19 in the tourism academy after COVID-19", *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 1-19.
20

21 Higgins-Desbiolles, F. (2020b), "COVID-19 and tourism: Reclaiming tourism as a social
22 force", *ATLAS Tourism and Leisure Review*, Vol. 2, pp. 65-73.
23

24 Higgins-Desbiolles, F. (2020c), "Socialising tourism for social and ecological justice after
25 COVID-19", *Tourism Geographies*, Vol. 22 No. 3, pp. 610-623.
26
27

28 Higgins-Desbiolles, F., Carnicelli, S., Krolkowski, C., Wijesinghe, G. and Boluk, K. (2019),
29 "Degrowing tourism: rethinking tourism", *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, Vol. 27 No. 12,
30 pp. 1926-1944.
31
32
33

34 Higgins-Desbiolles, F., Doering, A. and Bigby, B. C. (2022). Socialising tourism:
35 reimagining tourism's purpose. In Higgins-Desbiolles, F., Doering, A., Bigby, B. C. (Eds),
36 *Socialising Tourism*, Routledge, London, pp. 1-22.
37
38

39 Holleran, M. (2019), *Tourism, Urbanization, and the Evolving Periphery of the European*
40 *Union*, Springer Verlag, Singapore.
41

42 Hughes, N. (2018), "'Tourists go home': anti-tourism industry protest in Barcelona", *Social*
43 *movement studies*, Vol. 17 No. 4, pp. 471-477.
44
45

46 Hutton, M. (2016), "Neither passive not powerless: Reframing economic vulnerability via
47 resilient pathways", *Journal of Marketing Management*, Vol. 32 No. 3-4, pp. 252-274.
48

49 Innerhofer, E., Erschbamer, G. and Pechlaner, H. (2019). Overtourism: 3The challenge of
50 managing the limits. In Pechlaner, H., Innerhofer, E. and Erschbamer, G. (Eds), *Overtourism:*
51 *Tourism management and solutions*, Routledge, London, pp. 3-13.
52
53

54 Insch, A. (2020), "The challenges of over-tourism facing New Zealand: Risks and
55 responses", *Journal of Destination Marketing & Management*, Vol. 15,
56 doi.org/10.1016/j.jdmm.2019.100378.
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 IOM (2020), Our Work - The International Organization for Migration (IOM), Retrieved
4 from <https://www.iom.int/our-work>

5
6 Jover, J. and Díaz-Parra, I. (2020), “Who is the city for? Overtourism, lifestyle migration and
7 social sustainability”, *Tourism Geographies*, 1-24, doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2020.1713878

8
9 Khomsi, M. R., Fernandez-Aubin, L. and Rabier, L. (2020), “A prospective analysis of
10 overtourism in Montreal”, *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*. Vol. 37 No. 8-9, pp.
11 873-886.

12
13 Koens, K., Postma, A. and Papp, B. (2018), “Is overtourism overused? Understanding the
14 impact of tourism in a city context”, *Sustainability*, Vol. 10 No. 12, 4384.

15
16 Koens, K., Melissen, F., Mayer, I., and Aall, C. (2021), “The Smart City Hospitality
17 Framework: Creating a foundation for collaborative reflections on overtourism that support
18 destination design”, *Journal of Destination Marketing & Management*, 19,
19 doi.org/10.1016/j.jdmm.2019.100376

20
21 Koh, E. and Fakfare, P. (2019), “Overcoming “over-tourism”: The closure of Maya Bay”,
22 *International Journal of Tourism Cities*, Vol. 6 No. 2, pp. 279-296.

23
24 Kuščer, K. and Mihalič, T. (2019), “Residents’ attitudes towards overtourism from the
25 perspective of tourism impacts and cooperation -The case of Ljubljana”, *Sustainability*, Vol.
26 11 No. 6, 1823.

27
28 Lacan, J. (1993), *The Seminar of Jacques Lacan, Book III, The Psychoses, 1955–1956*,
29 W.W.Norton, New York, London.

30
31 Lowrey, A. (2019), “Too Many People Want to Travel”, *The Atlantic*, Retrieved from
32 [https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/06/crowds-tourists-are-ruining-popular-
33 destinations/590767/](https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/06/crowds-tourists-are-ruining-popular-destinations/590767/)

34
35 Makimoto, T. and Manners, D. (1997), *Digital nomad*, Wiley, Chichester, UK.

36
37 Malet Calvo, D. (2018), “Understanding international students beyond studentification: A
38 new class of transnational urban consumers. The example of Erasmus students in Lisbon
39 (Portugal)”, *Urban Studies*, Vol. 55 No. 10, pp. 2142-2158.

40
41 Mancinelli, F. (2020), “Digital nomads: freedom, responsibility and the neoliberal order”,
42 *Information Technology & Tourism*, Vol. 22, pp. 417–437.

43
44 Martín Martín, J. M., Guaita Martínez, J. M. and Salinas Fernández, J. A. (2018), “An
45 analysis of the factors behind the citizen’s attitude of rejection towards tourism in a context
46 of overtourism and economic dependence on this activity”, *Sustainability*, Vol. 10 No. 8,
47 2851.

- 1
2
3 McCann, E. and Ward, K. (Eds), (2011), *Mobile urbanism: cities and policymaking in the*
4 *global age* (Vol. 17), University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.
5
6 Milano, C., Cheer, J. M. and Novelli, M. (2018), "Overtourism: A growing global
7 problem", *The Conversation*, Retrieved from [https://theconversation.com/overtourism-a-](https://theconversation.com/overtourism-a-growing-global-problem-100029)
8 [growing-global-problem-100029](https://theconversation.com/overtourism-a-growing-global-problem-100029)
9
10
11 Milano, C., Cheer, J. M. and Novelli, M. (Eds), (2019a), *Overtourism: Excesses, discontents*
12 *and measures in travel and tourism*, CABI, Abingdon.
13
14 Milano, C., Cheer, J. M. and Novelli, M. (2019b), "Overtourism: an evolving phenomenon",
15 in Milano, C.; Cheer, J. and Novelli, M. (Eds). *Overtourism: excesses, discontents and*
16 *measures in travel and tourism*, CABI, Abingdon, pp. 1-17.
17
18 Milano, C., Novelli, M. and Cheer, J. M. (2019c), "Overtourism and degrowth: a social
19 movements perspective", *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, Vol. 27 No. 12, pp. 1857-1875.
20
21 Milano, C., Novelli, M. and Cheer, J. M. (2019d), "Overtourism and tourismphobia: A
22 journey through four decades of tourism development, planning and local concerns", *Tourism*
23 *Planning & Development*, Vol. 16 No. 4, pp. 353-357.
24
25 Murzyn-Kupisz, M. and Hołuj, D. (2020), "Museums and Coping with Overtourism",
26 *Sustainability*, Vol. 12 No. 5, 2054.
27
28 Namberger, P., Jackisch, S., Schmude, J. and Karl, M. (2019), "Overcrowding, overtourism
29 and local level disturbance: How much can Munich handle?" *Tourism Planning &*
30 *Development*, Vol. 16 No. 4, 452-472.
31
32 Novy, J. (2017), "The selling (out) of Berlin and the de- and re-politicization of urban
33 tourism in Europe's 'Capital of Cool'", in Colomb, C. and Novy, J. (Eds), *Protest and*
34 *resistance in the tourist city*, Routledge, London, pp. 52-72.
35
36 Padrón-Ávila, H. and Hernández-Martín, R. (2020), "How can researchers track tourists? A
37 bibliometric content analysis of tourist tracking techniques", *European Journal of Tourism*
38 *Research*, Vol. 26, 2601.
39
40 Pechlaner, H., Innerhofer, E. and Erschbamer, G. (Eds), (2019), *Overtourism: Tourism*
41 *management and solutions*, Routledge, London.
42
43 Peck, J. and Tickell, A. (2002), "Neoliberalizing space", *Antipode*, Vol. 34 No. 3, pp. 380-
44 404.
45
46 Perkumienė, D. and Pranskūnienė, R. (2019), "Overtourism: Between the right to travel and
47 residents' rights", *Sustainability*, Vol. 11 No. 7, 2138.
48
49 Peeters, P., S. Gössling, J. Klijs, C. Milano, M. Novelli, C. Dijkmans, E. Eijelaar et al.
50 (2018), "Overtourism: Impact and possible policy responses", *Overtourism: impact and*
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

- 1
2
3 possible policy responses. *Research for TRAN Committee European Parliament*, Policy
4 Department for Structural and Cohesion Policies, Brussels.
- 5
6 Pinkster, F. M. and Boterman, W. R. (2017), "When the spell is broken: Gentrification, urban
7 tourism and privileged discontent in the Amsterdam canal district", *Cultural*
8
9 *Geographies*, Vol. 24 No. 3, pp. 457-472.
- 10
11 Putnam, R. (2007), "E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-first
12 Century. The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture", *Scandinavian Political Studies*, Vol. 30 No.
13
14 2, pp. 137-174.
- 15
16 Radford, G. P. (2003), "Trapped in our own discursive formations: Toward an archaeology of
17 library and information science", *The library Quarterly*, Vol. 73 No. 1, pp. 1-18.
- 18
19 Radford, G. P. and Radford, M. L. (2005), "Structuralism, post-structuralism, and the library:
20 de Saussure and Foucault", *Journal of Documentation*, Vol. 61, pp. 60-78.
- 21
22 Reisigl, M. and Wodak, R. (2005), *Discourse and discrimination: Rhetorics of racism and*
23 *antisemitism*, Routledge, London.
- 24
25 Ribas, A. S. (2020). *Opening the Urban "black Box": The Role of the Local Context in Urban*
26 *Protest*, European University Institute, Fiesole.
- 27
28 Rose-Ackerman, S. and Palifka, B. J. (2016), *Corruption and government: Causes,*
29 *consequences, and reform*, Cambridge University Press.
- 30
31 Sage, J., Smith, D. and Hubbard, P. (2012), "The rapidity of studentification and population
32 change: There goes the (student) hood", *Population, Space and Place*, Vol. 18 No. 5, pp.
33
34 597-613.
- 35
36 Said, E. W. (1978), *Orientalism*, Pantheon Books.
- 37
38 Salazar, N. B. (2018), *Momentous mobilities: Anthropological musings on the meanings of*
39 *travel*, Oxford: Berghahn.
- 40
41 San Tropez, M.G.K. (2020), "ABC of Overtourism Education", in Séraphin H., Gladkikh T.,
42
43 Vo Thanh T. (Eds), *Overtourism*, Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, Switzerland.
- 44
45 Sandow, E. and Lundholm, E. (2019), "Which families move out from metropolitan areas?
46 Counterurban migration and professions in Sweden", *European Urban and Regional Studies*,
47
48 Vol. 27 No. 3, pp. 276-289.
- 49
50 Sari, F. O. and Nazli, M. (2020), "Exploring the effects of "excessive tourism growth" on
51 public health and ecosystem. *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Insights*, Vol. 4 No. 1, pp.
52
53 1-17.
- 54
55 Schweinsberg, S., Fennell, D. and Hassanli, N. (2021), "Academic dissent in a post COVID-
56
57 19 world", *Annals of Tourism Research*, 91, 103289, doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2021.103289
58
59
60

- 1
2
3 Screti, F. (2021), "Populism in mediated anti-tourism discourse: a critical analysis of the
4 documentary tourist go home!", *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, 1-16,
5 doi.org/10.1080/14766825.2021.1966024
6
7
8 Seraphin, H., Sheeran, P. and Pilato, M. (2018), "Over-tourism and the fall of Venice as a
9 destination", *Journal of Destination Marketing & Management*, Vol. 9, pp. 374-376.
10
11 Seraphin, H., Ivanov, S., Dosquet, F. and Bourliataux-Lajoie, S. (2020), "Archetypes of
12 locals in destinations victim of overtourism", *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*
13 *Management*, Vol. 43, pp. 283-288.
14
15 Sequera, J. and Nofre, J. (2019), "Touristification, transnational gentrification and urban
16 change in Lisbon: The neighbourhood of Alfama", *Urban Studies*, Vol. 57 No. 15, pp. 3169-
17 3189.
18
19 Shah, S. (2020), *The Next Great Migration: The Beauty and Terror of Life on the Move*,
20 Bloomsbury Publishing USA.
21
22 Sheivachman, A. (2016), "Iceland and the Trials of 21st Century Tourism", *Skift*, 30 July,
23 Retrieved from <https://skift.com/iceland-tourism/>
24
25 Shelby, B. and Heberlein, T. A. (1987), *Carrying capacity in recreation settings*, Oregon
26 State University Press.
27
28 Skillington, T. (1997), "Politics and the struggle to define: A discourse analysis of the
29 framing strategies of competing actors in a 'new' participatory forum", *British Journal of*
30 *Sociology*, Vol. 48, No. 3, pp. 493-513.
31
32 Smith, M. K., Sziva, I. P. and Olt, G. (2019), "Overtourism and resident resistance in
33 Budapest", *Tourism Planning & Development*, Vol. 16 No. 4, pp. 376-392.
34
35 Speed, E. and Mannion, R. (2017), "The rise of post-truth populism in pluralist liberal
36 democracies: challenges for health policy. *International Journal of Health Policy and*
37 *Management*, Vol. 6 No. 5, pp. 249-251.
38
39 Stienmetz, J. L., Liu, A. and Tussyadiah, I. P. (2020), "Impact of perceived peer to peer
40 accommodation development on community residents' well-being", *Current Issues in*
41 *Tourism*, doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2020.1797644
42
43 Swales, J. M. (2016), "Reflections on the concept of discourse community", *ASp. la revue du*
44 *GERAS* 69, pp. 7-19.
45
46 Theodossopoulos D. (2014), "On de-pathologizing resistance", *History and Anthropology*,
47 *Vol. 25 No. 4*, pp. 415-430.
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

- 1
2
3 Thörn, H., Mayer, M. and Thörn, C. (2016), “Re-Thinking Urban Social Movements, ‘Riots’
4 and Uprisings: An Introduction”, in Mayer, M., Thörn, C. and Thörn, H. (Eds), *Urban*
5 *Uprisings*, Palgrave Macmillan, London, pp. 3-55.
- 6
7
8 Torres, R. M. (2021), “The empty boxes of Venice: Overtourism—conflicts, politicisation
9 and activism”, in Ba, C., Frank, S., Müller, C., Raschke, A. L., Wellner, K., and Zecher, A.
10 (Eds), *The Power of New Urban Tourism*. Routledge, London. pp. 147-160.
- 11
12
13 Tourtellot, J. (2017), “Overtourism” plagues great destinations: Here’s why”, *National*
14 *Geographic*, Retrieved from [https://voices.nationalgeographic.org/2017/10/29/overtourism-](https://voices.nationalgeographic.org/2017/10/29/overtourism-plagues-greatdestinations-heres-why)
15 [plagues-greatdestinations-heres-why](https://voices.nationalgeographic.org/2017/10/29/overtourism-plagues-greatdestinations-heres-why)
16
- 17
18
19 Tsundoda, T. and Mendlinger, S. (2009), “Economic and social impact of tourism on a small
20 town: Peterborough New Hampshire”, *Journal of Service Science and Management*, Vol. 2
21 No. 2, pp. 61-70.
- 22
23
24 van Nuenen, T. (2016), The production of locality on peer-to-peer platforms, *Cogent Social*
25 *Sciences*, Vol. 2 No. 1, doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2016.1215780
- 26
27
28 Valentine, G. (2008), “Living with difference: reflections on geographies of encounter”,
29 *Progress in Human Geography*, Vol. 32 No. 3, pp. 323–337.
- 30
31
32 Vosko, L. F., Preston, V. and Latham, R. (Eds), (2014), *Liberating temporariness?:*
33 *Migration, work, and citizenship in an age of insecurity*, McGill-Queen's University Press,
34 Montreal and Kingston.
- 35
36
37 Weber, F., Egli, F., Ohnmacht, T. and Stettler, J. (2019), “Lucerne and the impact of Asian
38 group tours”, in Dodds, R. and Butler, R. (Eds), *Overtourism. Issues, realities and solutions*,
39 De Gruyter Berlin/Boston, MA., pp. 169-184
- 40
41
42 Webster, C. and Ivanov, S. (2016), “Political ideologies as shapers of future tourism
43 development”, *Journal of Tourism Futures*, Vol. 2 No. 2, pp. 109-124.
- 44
45
46 Williams, Q. (2020), “19 Rejoinders from the Shithole”, in McIntosh, J. and Mendoza-
47 Denton, N. (Eds), *Language in the Trump Era: Scandals and Emergencies*, University of
48 California, Los Angeles, pp. 265-276
- 49
50
51 Wimmer, A. and Glick Schiller, N. (2002), “Methodological nationalism and beyond: nation-
52 state building, migration and the social sciences”, *Global networks*, Vol. 2 No. 4, pp. 301-
53 334.
- 54
55
56 World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) (2018), “Overtourism’? – Understanding and
57 Managing Urban Tourism Growth beyond Perceptions”, *Executive Summary*, UNWTO,
58 Madrid.
59
60

1
2
3 Wight, A. C. (2019), "Putting Foucault to work in tourism research", *International Journal of*
4 *Tourism Research*, Vol. 21 No. 1, pp. 122-133.

5
6 Yuval, F. (2021), "To Compete or Cooperate? Intermunicipal Management of Overtourism."
7
8 *Journal of Travel Research*, <https://doi.org/10.1177/00472875211025088>.

9
10 Żemła, M. (2020), "Reasons and Consequences of Overtourism in Contemporary Cities—
11 Knowledge Gaps and Future Research", *Sustainability*, Vol. 12 No. 5, 1729.

12
13 Zerva, K., Palou, S., Blasco, D. and Donaire, J. A. B. (2019), "Tourism-philia versus tourism-
14 phobia: residents and destination management organization's publicly expressed tourism
15 perceptions in Barcelona", *Tourism Geographies*, Vol. 21 No. 2, pp. 306-329.

16
17 Zhang, H. and Su, X. (2020), "Lifestyle migration and the (un) making of ideal home",
18
19 *Geoforum*, Vol. 115, pp. 111-119.
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60