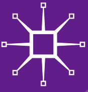

Edited by
Hugues Séraphin
Tatiana Gladkikh
Tan Vo Thanh

Overtourism

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Introduction

Hugues Séraphin, Tatiana Gladkikh, and Tan Vo Thanh

Sustainability and Tourism

The United Nations defined sustainability as any development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs. Three areas are concerned by this dogma: people, the planet and profit margins. To take care of all three areas, there is an urge to reduce, reuse and recycle in every industry and/or sector (Séraphin and Nolan 2019).

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The concept of sustainability is getting ground in tourism as we are more and more aware of the negative impacts of the industry on the environment and local communities. A destination is considered to be sustainable if responsible actions are taken in order to ensure that the tourism industry does not impact negatively on the locals, interactions between locals and visitors and on the environment. It is equally important that all three of these areas benefit from tourism. This is all the more important as visitors are more and savvier of sustainability not only in their daily life but also when going on holiday. The industry, therefore, needs to follow the path to meet their needs. Consequently, private and public sector organisations are putting in place strategies to reduce their negative impacts and maximise their positive contributions. Education providers are also taking the path of sustainability by incorporating sustainable/responsible tourism modules in their curriculum. Imbedding Principles of Responsible Management Education in the curriculum is a specific example of strategy adopting by some institutions in order to achieve Sustainable Development Goals (Séraphin and Nolan 2019).

Overtourism, Related Perverse Impacts and Strategies

Overtourism is 'the excessive growth of visitors leading to overcrowding in areas where residents suffer the consequences of temporary and seasonal tourism peaks, which have enforced permanent changes to their lifestyles, access to amenities and general well-being' (Milano et al. 2018 cited in Dodds and Butler 2019:1). Overtourism is a worldwide issue that is impacting destinations from different parts of the world (Milano et al. 2019). In Europe we could mention Venice (Visenti and Bertocchi 2019); in South-America, Costa Rica (Canada 2019); in Asia, Kyoto (Abe 2019); in the Indian Ocean, Australia (Canosa et al. 2019) and so on. The strategies suggested to tackle overtourism are all industry related and are all about immediate actions. For instance, Gretzel (2019) suggests the use of social media to address the issue. Cruz and Legaspi (2019) have identified the closing of popular natural sites. Joppe (2019) stresses the development and implementation of policy, planning and governance as a solution. This edited book takes a step further by proposing another

non-tourism industry approach, namely tourism education, which also suggests long-term return on investments regarding the impacts of this strategy. Education of the future generation of leaders and tourists is extremely important as they have an important part to play in the long-terms sustainability of the industry (Poria and Timothy 2014; Radic 2019; Séraphin and Yallop 2019a, b).

The Structure of the Book

This book serves to provide tourism academics, students (and even practitioners) with examples of potential strategies from a range of tourism organisations and contexts. Each chapter is unique and offers practical solutions that could be implemented by Destination Marketing Organisations (DMOs) and Companies, but also by other type of tourism businesses. The structure of this book reflects the Janus-faced character of tourism (Sanchez and Adams 2008; Séraphin 2012) by considering it as an industry and as a field of study. Indeed, the strategies suggested by the book are both industry (Part I and Part II) and education related (Part III).

Part I reframes overtourism as a field of research. Indeed, chapter "Overtourism: Definitions, Enablers, Impacts and Managerial Challenges" provides an overview of the evolution of overtourism as a concept highlighting its enables and its impacts, and then discusses the resulting managerial challenges. Chapter "Overtourism in Rural Areas" reviews the issue of overtourism in rural areas and identifies key characteristics and impacts of the phenomenon in non-urban settings. Chapter "Between Overtourism and Under-Tourism: Impacts, Implications, and Probable Solutions" highlights the discrepancy between destinations in terms of popularity with visitors. On the one hand, there is a growing number of destinations which are receiving too many tourists (overtourism) while on the other hand, there is quite a number of destinations which are struggling to receive their share in the tourism market (under-tourism). This chapter, therefore, investigates the impacts and implications of overtourism and under-tourism and proposes a number of solutions. Chapter "The Construction of 'Overtourism': The Case of UK Media Coverage of Barcelona's 2017 Tourism Protests and Their Aftermath" considers the way 'overtourism' has rapidly become an established part of the lexicon in

critiques of tourism. Its premise is that the term is more of an orientation towards problems rather than a description of those problems *per se*. As for chapter "Tourist Tracking Techniques as a Tool to Understand and Manage Tourism Flows", its aim is to discuss the importance of using tourist tracking techniques to gather data which tourism managers could use to address overtourism issues. And finally, chapter "Case Study 1: Overtourism in Valletta—Reality or Myth?" sets a clear context for establishing criteria for a destination to be considered overvisited. Taking Valletta as a case study, the purpose of this chapter is to consider whether or not this destination is subject to overtourism.

Part II focuses on initiatives taken by different stakeholders to tackle overtourism and related perverse impacts. Thus, chapter "Tackling Overtourism and Related Perverse Impacts Using DMO Website as a Tool of Social Innovation" illustrates how DMOs could use their websites as a tool for social tension mediation. As for chapter "Overtourism: How the International Organisations Are Seeing It?", its aim is to show the ambiguities of four key international organisations, UNWTO, UNESCO, OECD and WTTC, in their information (and strategies) concerning overtourism. Chapter "Overtourism at Heritage and Cultural Sites" provides an overview of the negative impacts associated with overtourism on heritage and cultural sites, as well as best practices utilised by establishments around the world to combat this issue. Chapter "Overtourism: Creative Solutions by Creative Residents" highlights the challenge faced by academics and practitioners. Indeed, overtourism is currently a topic of high interest to tourism researchers and stakeholders as tourism growth in city centres is causing social effects perceived as negative by some residents as it impacts their quality of life. Tourism scholars and stakeholders are challenged to develop policy to address this perceived excessive number of visitors. Some options previously discussed include diverting tourist flows to less frequently visited areas and preventing tourist actions perceived as misbehaviour. Chapter "Case Study 2: Broadly Engaging with Interaction Between Visitors and Locals—Towards Understanding Tourismphobia and Anti-tourism Movements " conceptualises the idea of "tourismphobia" by exploring the interactions between visitors and locals in the context of overtourism in order to understand the growth of anti-tourism movements. Finally, chapters "Case Study 3: "Overtourism" on Scotland's North Coast 500? Issues and Potential Solutions", "Case

study 4: Overtourism—The Case of the Palace of Versailles," and "Case Study 5: A Paradox of the UNESCO "World Heritage" Label? The Case of the Way of St James of Compostela in France" offer case studies. Chapter "Case Study 3: "Overtourism" on Scotland's North Coast 500? Issues and Potential Solutions" explores the phenomenon of "overtourism" in relation to the North Coast 500 (NC500)—a hugely popular "road trip" route around Scotland's Northern Highlands—and to highlight potential solutions. Chapter "Case study 4: Overtourism: The Case of the Palace of Versailles" focuses on Versailles where the Palace of Versailles (known in France as the *Chateau de Versailles*), with eight million visitors a year, faces a problem of overtourism. The heritage is threatened and the public reception conditions may deteriorate, therefore the chapter aims to determine a management model of overtourism in order to tackle the issue. As for chapter "Case Study 5: A Paradox of the UNESCO "World Heritage" Label? The Case of the Way of St James of Compostela in France", its objective is to highlight the paradox of labelling in the tourism field by adopting the perspective of sustainable tourism. Indeed, if the label helps to save tourist sites by a lack of notoriety and therefore attendance, it causes inconvenience related to overtourism. This is particularly the case of the "World Heritage of UNESCO" label. In fact, by definition the tourist sites benefiting from this label are fragile or even threatened, but the labelling can generate an over-satisfaction damaging to the sustainability of the site in question.

Part III, the third and final section of the book, presents 'tourism education' as a strategy for tackling overtourism. Chapter "ABC of Overtourism Education" aims to address the gap in literature on utilising tourist education to address overtourism. It introduces the concept of overtourism education (OE) defined as the process of increasing awareness among tourists about how their behaviours and choices could alter the sociocultural and environmental aspects of the destinations that they visit. Chapter "PRME: The Way Forward to Deal with Overtourism and Related Perverse Impacts" reflects the importance of management education in managing the impacts of overtourism through the application of six elements of United Nations Principles of Responsible Management Education (PRME). This is a platform, which provides guidelines and a learning network in order to transform curriculum, research and pedagogy, and therefore develop responsible attitude amongst students.

Chapter "Education as a Strategy to Tackle Over Tourism for Overtourism and Inclusive Sustainability in the Twenty-First Century" offers a debate on the pros and cons of employing education to mitigate the negative impacts of Overtourism. In doing this, the authors approach the phenomenon in all its dimensions and complexity. Chapter "Education as a Way to Tackle Overtourism: The Application of the Principles of Responsible Management Education (PRME)" aims to provide an additional perspective to how PRME could be used by practitioners towards achieving the SDGs, while dealing with the issue of overtourism through education. Chapter "Case Study 6: Mainstreaming Overtourism Education for Sustainable Behavioral Change in Kenya's Tourism Industry Context" is a case study that examines Kenya's tourism management education pedagogies and sustainable tourism curricula design for sustained behavioral change in Kenya's tourism sector. It also explores how overtourism education can be mainstreamed and be implemented in the current tourism education pedagogy in Kenya. Last but not least, chapter "Case Study 7: Principles of Responsible Management Education as a Tool to Tackle Overtourism—Potentials and Limitations for the University of Catania", taking Catania (Italy) as a case study, adopts a similar stand to chapter "Case Study 6: Mainstreaming Overtourism Education for Sustainable Behavioral Change in Kenya's Tourism Industry Context".

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Part I

Reframing Overtourism

Overtourism: Definitions, Enablers, Impacts and Managerial Challenges

Serena Volo

Overtourism: From a Buzzword to a Scholarly Debate

The unpreceded growth of tourism in the last decades seems coupled with its negative effects, indeed popular destinations appear to be overrun by tourists beyond the capacity of the tourist areas or the willingness of residents to welcome visitors. The buzzword "overtourism" has attracted the attention of the media, the stakeholder, the residents and even of the tourists themselves. Koens et al. (2018) asserted the popular origin of the term and the lack of scientific grounds, concluding that already existing terms or alternative neutral terms could better support the actions to be undertaken when destinations are faced with extreme tourism pressure. Rooted in the overconsumption typical of our contemporary economies and embedded in the complexity emblematic of our industry, overtourism is not a new concept, but it is one worth of scientific attention. For

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the purpose of this study overtourism is defined as an excessive presence of tourists that carries negative socio-cultural and environmental consequences for residents, destinations and tourists.

The popularity of the term has been widely documented in the recent literature and addressing overtourism has become a priority for destinations and scholars alike (Capocchi et al. 2019a; Dodds and Butler 2019a, b; Milano et al. 2018, 2019a; Perkumienė and Pranskūnienė 2019). Replacing the extremely negative term "tourismphobia", overtourism fuzzily describes the issues related to the overconsumption, overcrowding and overexploitation of tourism destinations or attractions. Goodwin (2017) emphasised the advantage of the term overtourism as a label immediately recognizable by tourists and residents and useful to express clear concerns with respect to excess of tourism. Environmental impacts to destinations have long been documented in the literature that dealt with the sustainability of tourism and destinations (Ap 1990; Lankford and Howard 1994; Clarke 1997; Gössling 2002; Dodds 2007; Buckley 2012). That the environment is extensively modified by tourism and for tourism is common knowledge. The negative impacts on natural and social environments and the frameworks for sustainable tourism were widely addressed in literature throughout several decades (Krippendorf 1987; Ap 1990; Lankford and Howard 1994; Clarke 1997; Dodds 2007; Buckley 2012, 2018a, b; Gössling 2002; Gössling and Hall 2006; Gössling and Peeters 2015; Butler 2018). Most authors addressing the issue of overtourism mildly refer to those contributions (Dodds and Butler 2019a, b) and other are attempting a stronger liaison (Oklevik et al. 2019) but much work in this direction is still needed. Overtourism has often been defined from the demand/supply perspective as a capacity problem—excess of demand or lack of capacity—focusing on carrying capacity and limits to growth. In other cases, the actions and behavior of tourists alarmed residents and media which lead to a stimatisation of tourists as destroyers of locals' quality of life. The literature indeed recognizes that this catchy term has had the ability to bring tourism sustainability debates to the center of public discourse raising the level of pressure on destinations, thus enforcing public and private operators to face responsibilities, undertake corrective managerial actions and plan for tourism sustainability policies. Among the most used definitions of

overtourism, the one by Goodwin (2017:1) labels the phenomenon as "destinations where hosts or guests, locals or visitors, feel that there are too many visitors and that the quality of life in the area or the quality of the experience has deteriorated unacceptably". Goodwin' definition (2017) focuses on both hosts and guests and their deteriorated daily life or tourism experience. Along the same line, the UNWTO (2018:3) defines overtourism as "the impact of tourism on a destination, or parts thereof, that excessively influences perceived quality of life of citizens and/or quality of visitor experiences in a negative way"; thus focusing on tourism excessive and negative influence on citizens' perceived quality of life and on visitors' perceived experiences. In their work, Milano et al. (2019a:1) focused on the negative effects of overcrowding on residents lifestyle and well-being, defining overtourism as "the excessive growth of visitors leading to overcrowding in areas where residents suffer the consequences of temporary and seasonal tourism peaks, which have enforced permanent changes to their lifestyles, access to amenities and general well-being". Namberger et al. (2019:455) used the term overtourism to describe "the excess of tourism, which can be answered with the demand for limits to growth or degrowth". As for Dodds and Butler (2019a), they took a more systematic approach in studying overtourism and while not proposing a new definition they noticed the constant presence of residents' dissatisfaction in the overtourism definitions and debates. Similarly, Visentin and Bertocchi (2019:20) defined overtourism as "an occurrence of far too many visitors for a particular destination to absorb over a given period", recognized that the quantification of overtourism is subjective and relative to each destination with respect to its number of residents, tourists and tourism businesses. While the number of tourists is certainly a significant factor in the definition of overtourism, a scrutiny of the literature offers a view that goes beyond the mere numbers, portraying improper behavior and actions undertaken by visitors that undermine the quality of life of residents and often undermine the experience of other tourists.

The debate is now fully documented with several case studies addressing different sizes and typologies of destinations and some authors discussing the possible managerial solutions to the problem (e.g. Seraphin et al. 2018; Becken and Simmons 2019; Goodwin 2019; Jamieson and

Jamieson 2019; Oklevik et al. 2019). The tourism industry is also responding to the call for more balance but with varying effects: some destinations seem to struggle to identify ways to solve the problem despite the growing public debate, others are undertaking extreme actions and some—forced by the excessive visitors' numbers—have decided to close to tourism attractions (Hess 2019; Dodds and Butler 2019c).

Overtourism Enablers and Impacts

Past literature describes and examines some of the most common enablers of overtourism (Dodds and Butler 2019a; Milano et al. 2019b). Most widely accepted facilitators of overtourism, and their consequences, can be grouped into three categories: (1) lack of a systematic approach to managing tourism destination flows; (2) disagreement on priorities from the stakeholders side; and (3) development of a new mobility coupled with technological progress.

The lack of a systematic approach to managing tourism destination flows has been documented in most case studies that deal with overtourism (Dodds and Butler 2019a). Destinations that can be reached with multiple transportation modes for example via land, sea and air are certainly more difficult to control and imposing a limit to the number of visitors that wish to arrive at the destination is an almost utopic objective for tourism management organisations. The reality of most destinations' organizations is that even the simplest tourism statistics—arrivals and overnight stays—are known only afterwards and are often incomplete (Volo 2004, 2018; Aroca et al. 2013) thus preventive actions to limit overflows are therefore of limited scope. Destinations' organizations should make better use of historical data and industry data and develop new tools to correct exisitng statistics (Volo 2018) in order to better estimate the flows, the seasonal peaks and related overcrowding periods. Furthermore, most destinations have failed in understanding that tourists are competing more and more with residents for the use of capacity within a destination. In some destinations, it is the imbalance between tourists and residents that exacerbates the sharing of the same space (Milano 2018; Milano et al. 2019b). Similarly, Dodds and Butler (2019a)

pointed out at the competition for space—whether urban or rural—and for attractions, amenities and public and private services. The responses and perceptions of hosts have also been widely studied in tourism, but the discourse on overtourism brings back the need to develop alternative multi-dimensional approaches to understand the antagonism often displayed by some hosting communities (Sharpley 2018). Urban areas across the globe (Barcelona, Dubrovnik, Prague, Venice) seem to have been the first to raise the issue of overtourism with public evidence of anti-tourism protests (Dodds and Butler 2019a), yet the public management of overflow of tourists was known long before the effects of overtourism. Management in fragile destinations –small islands, heritage sites and naturally delicate areas—has also been debated long before the advent of overtourism. Islands for their natural geographical characteristics have long attracted the attention of scholars (Conlin and Baum 1995; Bardolet and Sheldon 2008; Volo and Giambalvo 2008; Scheyvens and Momsen 2008), providing naturally enclosed spaces to manage arrivals; yet seasonal overflo

ws due to the lack of control of access and deterioration of resources due to the lack of sustainable management have been widely documented (Lim and Cooper 2009; Carlsen and Butler 2011; Volo 2017a).

Varying levels of disagreement on priorities from the stakeholders' side are also traceable in the past literature. The diverse roles of stakeholders and the multiplicity of layers have rendered diverging goals (Becken and Simmons 2019). Thus, mostly potential economic performance has been the only priority for many destinations. Overtourism is raising the consciousness of public sector stakeholders and private sector stakeholders as those not directly involved in tourism (residents, media and other institutions) are strongly expressing their opinion. Despite the common debates about sustainable tourism development, politicians, residents, tourists and other stakeholders have failed to establish other clear priorities. The strong push of destination management organizations towards a faster growth of tourism and the promise that this industry fosters the economic development of countries have facilitated the often uncontrolled development of tourists' arrivals and overnight stays at destination (Volo 2017a). Tourism areas with well-structured public infrastructure and a growing hospitality industry have benefited of these growth in flows. In

some destinations, income from tourism would support the development of community facilities making it tolerable for residents to cope with the enormous numbers of arrivals in their hometowns (e.g. the case of Orlando, Florida). In other cases, the burden of excessive tourism is leading to extremely negative responses of residents. Furthermore, the natural complexity of tourism is reflected in the numerous and different stakeholders involved in it. Different layers of interests and fragmented ownership of interests is common in tourism. Dodds and Butler (2019a) discuss the lack of purpose and shared goals and the imbalance of stakeholders' power. Often residents are not actively involved in the tourism planning activities of destinations and are tricked by the politicians' promises of job creation and economy boost through tourism. Cohesion and harmonization is often lacking in stakeholders vision and different layers of power overlap making it difficult for destinations to navigate towards a clear priority agenda. To explain the reluctant and inconsistent behavior of destinations' stakeholders, scholars pointed out to two sides of the coin: (a) impeding arrivals might be harming destination image and could lead to economic consequences for stakeholders (Milano et al. 2018) and furthermore often private tourism businesses direct their attention and efforts to promoting and achieving additional visitors (Dodds and Butler 2019b). The literature on overtourism also focuses on the negative effect of intensification and growth-focused mindset (Milano et al. 2019a; Dodds and Butler 2019d). The multiplicity of economic sectors that tourism embraces and their different levels of interest and influence in the system also contribute to difficulties in setting shared and socially desirable aims. The mutable and often conflicting stakeholders' goals have been also documented in past studies (Volo 2017b; Milano et al. 2019b). Agreements on sustainable development of destinations have often been more marketing slogans than actual political agendas and the vast scholarly works on tourism sustainability have often failed to see a practical application. Tourismphobia and overtourism protests, such as those in Barcelona or Venice, have given voice to residents but also to scholars. As a result, some destinations are devoting growing attention to the issue, and have assigned academics with consulting tasks. In their literature review of overtourism, Capocchi et al. (2019b) pointed out to

the political difficulties in balancing the need for regulation and leadership with the independent and self-governing approach to tourism.

Last but not least, the development of a new mobility coupled with technological progress is certainly among the enablers of overtourism. New mobility paradigms have permeated the tourism debate and the effects associated with them have been explored (Hannam et al. 2006, 2014; Lund-Durlacher and Dimanche 2013; Cooper 2017). Some reasons for the growing and changing mobility ought to be searched for in the economic development of many nations and the emergence of new economies. Other reasons are embedded in the social and cultural changes of this century. Tourism is no longer a discrete or special activity (Cooper 2017), and tourists move more often in this highly mobile society. Larsen et al. (2007) attributed this to the relatively inexpensive travel but also pointed out that tourism and other people movements and connections blend in new forms of mobilities. The reduced travel costs allow a greater share of the global population to engage in tourism. Low costs carriers have established new routes (Dodds and Butler 2019b) and reshaped the tourism destination map connecting some destinations with a larger number of countries and cities (Roncak 2019). Indeed, several cities (e.g. Budapest, Munich, Prague) have been promoted extensively by the low-cost airlines (Miroslav 2019; Namberger et al. 2019; Pinke-Sziva et al. 2019) which have played in the increased of mobility. The advent of peer-to-peer accommodations has led to a wider range of more affordable ways to host tourists (Roncak 2019) that has reshaped and boosted the second home mobility (Volo 2017b). Shared transportation means have also contributed to increasing the mobility by blending those traveling for non-tourism related reasons with those whose primary motivation is tourism and leisure. The affordability of travel has also affected the number of trips taken by those groups—middle class—with a certain disposable income. A growing number of tourists from high spending countries (for example China) has had easier access to visa and has travelled more (Dodds and Butler 2019a) and in some cases had effects on specific destinations (Weber et al. 2019). Large cruise ships have also contributed to growing numbers of tourists reaching costal destinations and have exacerbated the protests against tourism (Vianello 2017). Stressing the effects of the changed mobility and the sharing economy is certainly the

influence of the vast amount of communication stimuli that makes individuals voracious of consuming destinations (Dodds and Butler 2019b). Social media that have contributed to make known specific locations and have attracted huge number of virtual and actual followers to some sights (Gretzel 2019). Honeypot destinations, that are "must see" sights on social media, attract what Rickly (2019) describes as consensus crowds. Film and television series have strongly influenced many visitors to seek the specific locations of movies with more visits to certain hotspots destinations (Beeton 2016; Volo and Irimiás 2016; Irimiás et al. 2017). In other cases, it has been the power of retail and shopping opportunities that has played a role in the overcrowding of some destinations, an effect that has been also labeled as "commercialized tourism ghetto" (Dumbrovská 2017; Roncak 2019).

Managerial Challenges

Tourism is displaying its unbalanced nature. The emerging and less known destinations struggle to capture a viable market share while the honeypot destinations have grown under the overconsumption of their attractions, the reduced quality of life of their residents and the less satisfying experience of their tourists. Indeed, the contemporary scholarly debate revolves around the two extremes of a continuum: undertourism versus overtourism. As pointed out by Cheer et al. (2019), on one side there are destinations seeking to increase the flow of tourists' arrivals and on the other, there are destinations whose residents and stakeholders suffer the extremely excessive presence of tourists.

In this vein, the managerial challenges faced by destinations and their public and private stakeholders are herein considered in line with the three major enablers and the consequences of overtourism discussed above.

Structured and carefully planned agreements along the tourism value chain would be needed in order to limit arrivals. The involvement of the travel and the hospitality industries and the dedication of the tourism industry coupled with a sound public management of the destination could lead to controlled, foreseeable and well-managed flows. Destinations could initiate demarketing actions, introduce tourism taxes or can

attempt to pose limits to arrivals (Milano et al. 2018; Dodds and Butler 2019c). These are some of the tools that can be used as immediate response, but destinations need a systematic approach to manage their tourism flow and some issues remain unresolved. Tourism data and destinations statistics could be better integrated as to depict the full proportion of impacts and new technologies can help to gather quickly data on tourism flows. Tourism data analytics can be used for tourism design but also for emergency studies, predictions and precautions simulations (Li et al. 2018). Integrating information on tourism flows with that on residents will allow projections on impacts and can properly guide a systematic approach to managing flows.

Often moved by industry-driven needs and by the allure of tourism-generated income most stakeholders planning activities aim at increasing tourists' arrivals with very little attention for any other set of priorities. Furthermore, recent literature strengthens the need to develop long-term views of development at which stakeholders cohesively should aim (Krutwaysho and Bramwell 2010; Waligo et al. 2013). In this vein, stakeholders should embrace overtourism issues as a clear call to establish long-term objectives that last more than political mandates do. Setting priorities should be considered as a basis for resources allocation in tourism and new approaches to preservation and valorization of intangible assets should be implemented (Croce 2018). Collaborations among the different stakeholders will be a must and private stakeholders ought to be called accountable for the excessive impact they implicitly encourage with their marketing actions. To cope with overtourism, Seraphin et al. (2018) propose the implementation of the ambidextrous management, pointing out to the need of using both an exploitation and an exploration technique. As pointed out by Cheer et al. (2019), the involvement of tourism scholars should happen prior to problems occurrence and could then lead to proactive actions rather than mere reactions.

The challenges that tourism faces with respect to the transformation of mobility and the popularity of destination enhanced by social media are most likely the more interesting and at the same time the more challenging as they involve society at large and tourism educators in particular. Leading tourism, hospitality and travel businesses should monitor their social impacts and not simply their turnover as indicators of their

performance Metrics of success for companies could include measurements of the social and environmental impacts and those metrics could be used by public decision makers to facilitate or impede some businesses in destinations. Success of a destination or its image ought not to rely on the number of likes or the photos posted on social media, nor on the number of low-cost flights landing. These changes of perspective need time and education. The role that education and information can play in fighting against overtourism effects ought to be strongly considered as an empowerment tool for all involved players (Dodds and Butler 2019e). Fast, cheap and uncontrolled mobility should be replaced by informative campaigns of mobility to better support tourists' decisions with respect to their traveling choices. Social media and technologies can be successfully used to combat excessive flows of tourists and to provide prevention and early-warning tools (Gretzel 2019; Volo 2019).

Conclusively, responsibilities rest with all different tourism stakeholders and also with the academia that too often remains distant from the public discourse. Finally, in the attempt to modulating overtourism, multidisciplinary approaches ought to be considered as the involvement of different disciplines can be extremely beneficial in untangling this interwoven phenomenon of our contemporary society.

Conclusions

Overtourism issues, concerns and managerial difficulties are dominating the current scientific debate. This emerging concept has attracted the attention of public and private stakeholders; indeed, uncontrolled and excessive tourism has affected many destinations around the globe. The vast amount of literature developed in the last three years and the echo of the media have contributed to raising the attention level and to giving voice to the long-term interests of destinations residents, stakeholders and tourists. This chapter contributes to the current debate on overtourism by offering a concise, well-versed and significant outlook at the concept, its facilitators and consequences, and at the relevant management issues. Indeed, firstly, the origins of the phenomenon were investigated, and available definitions were compared; secondly, the main enablers and

impacts of overtourism were presented and discussed; thirdly, managerial challenges were debated with respect to planning, policy and governance of tourism destinations.

Conclusively, from a practical perspective, destinations should prioritize a considerate system of tourism flows measurement which should be integrated with the management and marketing of the destination, and which could inform decision-makers and allow them to take the right decision. Furthermore, a new forward-looking approach is needed, one that could incorporate real-time data from tourists and businesses and offer the destination early warning signals and indicators of excessive tourism. Combining the scholarly knowledge with the destinations realities without failure would lead to effective prevention and management of overtourism issues allowing an adequate path for tourism development.

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Overtourism in Rural Areas

Richard W. Butler

Introduction

In the relatively short time that overtourism has become a well-known term, it has been mostly associated with what are felt to be excessive numbers of tourists in urban centres, and Venice, Dubrovnik, and Barcelona in particular have received considerable media attention because of concerns over large numbers of visitors (Dodds and Butler 2019). The topic of overtourism has received little serious examination by academics until very recently, and such attention has been almost exclusively focused on urban centres, with much of the information being derived from media sources. To consider overtourism only an urban phenomenon and problem would be a mistake, as it is now clear that overtourism, in terms of undesired and excessive numbers of tourists, has become a problem in rural and non-urban locations as well. This is because the phenomenon is not purely related to large numbers of tourists, as found in large urban centres, but is better understood in relative, rather than absolute, terms.

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In rural situations, small numbers of tourists may create problems in terms of being far more visitors than desired or expected in small communities which previously had experienced only very limited levels of tourism and tourists. In his oft-cited paper from 1975, Doxey noted "the natives are getting restless", not in the context of the nearby urban centre of Niagara Falls, but in the much smaller and far less visited small town of Niagara on the Lake. In that study problems relating to tourist visitation were mostly related to coach traffic and also the transformation of the retail outlets from being locally-oriented to those serving the needs of tourists. Thus, the problems associated with tourist pressure are not new, even if major media coverage is only a decade or so old (Schievachman 2016). In many rural areas however, the presence of relatively large numbers of tourists is a new or recent phenomenon and part of the concern of residents of such affected areas is the speed at which numbers of visitors have grown. Another related concern in many areas is the inappropriate and disconcerting behaviour of some of these visitors such that the quality of life and daily activities of residents are negatively affected (Horne 2016). This chapter discusses first, the factors that have allowed such situations to develop, and then explores in some detail specific examples of what are felt to be excessive numbers of visitors and their inappropriate behaviour in a number of locations in rural Scotland. Rural Scotland is typical of many parts of northern Europe and other mountainous thinly populated areas which attract tourism based on natural landscape, traditional culture and a low level of development of any kind. It notes the similarity of these examples to the problems of large numbers of tourists at rural sites in other parts of the world. In conclusion the chapter considers potential actions which might be taken to mitigate these negative effects and which agencies should be responsible for taking such actions.

Context

Before exploring examples of the above problems, it is appropriate to briefly review the reasons such situations have come about. There are a number of factors which have enabled overtourism to become a problem,

although to categorise any of these as causes would be misleading. It is the combination of various forces which have created what could be termed “a perfect storm” in the context of the global growth of tourism. An increase in global population is one factor: more specifically in the context of tourism, the growth of the global middle-class with sufficient wealth to engage in tourism, has created more tourists. Combined with a growth in global affluence has been a reduction in travel costs, in real and relative terms, reflecting low fuel prices, low cost airlines, and ease of access to travel modes. Technological improvements and innovations allow tourists to reach almost any location in the world within 24 hours of travel, and also to reach previously remote and inaccessible places. The recent illustration of line-ups to reach the summit of Mount Everest (Brown 2019) is a perfect example of the combination of lower costs, improved accessibility, and increased logistic assistance coinciding with a lack of control on numbers. Crowding on Mount Everest may not be overtourism in the commonly accepted view of the term, as there are no residents on Mount Everest to be directly affected. This, however, raises the conceptual issue of whether overtourism only occurs when local residents are inconvenienced, making situations like Everest merely examples of crowding or overuse. In the context of rural areas, technological advances and innovations often have proved problematic with respect to visitors and their presence. Innovative transport modes such as snowmobiles, hovercraft, mountain bikes and off-road vehicles in general have all had both positive and negative impacts on rural residents by improving access, not only for residents, but also for visitors who may not follow accepted forms of behaviour and cause disturbance, trespass and damage, often because of a desire to use affected rural locations as a setting for recreational activities rather than as an attraction in their own right (Butler 1974). That is, a change in purpose from primarily passive use such as viewing and non-mechanised use to active, often mechanically enabled purposes. Two other enabling factors are of considerable and growing importance.

One is the paradox of the ongoing promotion of scenic and often protected areas (e.g. National Parks) by governments and private sector agencies engaged in general tourism promotion. In Canada, for example, the Canadian Tourism Commission, a quasi-industry-government body,

promotes tourism in many parts of the country including Banff and other National Parks, while a government agency, Environment Canada, is charged with maintaining those parks unimpaired for future generations (Butler 2018). The second factor is the attention generated by various forms of media to sites which emerge as "trending" or being "important" additions to "bucket lists" (Turner 2019) on social media outlets (Gretzel 2019). These include in particular, sites which feature in films, television programmes, music videos, and news items, or are holiday locations for celebrities. All of these factors together provide a powerful force in directing increasing numbers of tourists to specific locations, regardless of whether those sites are capable of handling those numbers or not. In many sites which are currently experiencing overtourism the level of tourism being reached was not anticipated, and nor was the speed at which tourism numbers grew. This lack of foresight has led to inadequate provision of facilities, overcrowding of existing services and disruption of local resident activities If appropriate controls and management of tourism at such sites are not implemented, the result can be negative impacts in environmental, social, and even economic terms that would appear to outweigh the sought-after economic benefits.

Examples in Rural Scotland

Scotland has long been a country that has attracted tourists, based primarily on its natural landscape and its cultural heritage, despite being relatively remote and thus a somewhat difficult and expensive destination to visit because of its distant location relative to major tourist markets and limited transportation services (Butler 2008; Gold and Gold 1995). Those tourists travelling to Scotland have always been very much destination focused, in that they are visiting Scotland as a specific destination in order to see historic sites and impressive landscapes, following a tradition established in Victorian times by romantic writers such as Sir Walter Scott and Wordsworth, and artists like Turner and Landseer, and tacitly endorsed by the British royal family with the continued use of their summer home at Balmoral (Butler 2008). More recent visitors have been encouraged to visit the country by various official and private tourist

agencies through advertising campaigns which, over the years, have emphasised a welcoming Scottish culture, the historical attractions of castles and battlefields, and the magnificent relatively unpopulated scenery throughout the Highlands and Islands in particular. In recent years however, there has been increasing media attention given to complaints by residents of these areas about the numbers and behaviour of tourists and the negative effects that disturbance, litter, and crowding are having on their quality of life.

Scotland has an extremely attractive and well-established image to tourists based on its scenery and cultural heritage as mentioned above. This image, combining elements of history (castles, battlefields, personalities), cultural heritage (whisky, tartan), environmental resources (mountains, lochs, wildlife) and activities (walking, mountaineering, water based activities, golf) is a powerful one and is highly visual (Butler 1998). Images in brochures, publicity material, product labelling and many publications contain pictures of impressive scenery, generally with few people and little contemporary human development, and featuring empty roads and deserted beaches (Gold and Gold 1995). Crowds of tourists, anti-tourist slogans, congestion and pollution or garbage are inevitably absent from such publicity. Preserving the reality of this image is of crucial importance to the continued success of tourism in and to Scotland, but of equal importance is, or should be, the continued support for tourism in all parts of Scotland by the residents of areas experiencing tourism. In some cases, the numbers of tourists and the actions they engage in are threatening both the appeal of Scotland and the welcome its residents give to tourists (Horne 2017).

Tourist numbers to Scotland have grown steadily and impressively over the last two decades in particular, reflecting increased and improved transportation and accommodation services, the provision of many additional tourist attractions and facilities and widespread use of Scotland as a setting for movies and television dramas and sporting events (*Braveheart, Rob Roy, Trainspotting, Harry Potter films, Outlander, Game of Thrones, Grand Tour, Shetland*), and coverage of golf events (Ryder Cup and The Open), and music videos. Thus, the image of Scotland has widened from being a place to visit to see scenery and culture to being as well an active playground for walking, golf, fishing, mountain climbing, cycling,

surfing and wildlife "bagging". In the process the characteristics of visitors to Scotland have changed from being over-represented in the middle aged and middle-class car borne segment of the market to being far broader and including a higher proportion of younger and more active visitors travelling more widely to specific locations seen in the popular media. Several areas have experienced major increases in tourist visitation and resulting problems in the last decade in particular, including the Isle of Skye, the North Coast, and the Orkney Islands (now the leading cruise ship destination in the United Kingdom).

Isle of Skye: Jacobite Romanticism and Harry Potter Wizardry

The Isle of Skye is one of the largest of the islands off the west coast of Scotland. Its attraction to tourists pre-dates Victorian times, based on scenery and romantic illusions. The volcanic landscape is stark and impressive and fitted well with the Romantic image of nature as awe-inspiring and potentially dangerous. In addition, Skye gained prominence because of its association with Bonnie Prince Charlie and the ill-fated Jacobite rebellion of 1745, during which Charles Stuart was hidden from English soldiers by Flora MacDonald on the Isle of Skye, enabling him to escape to France (an event captured in the Victorian sentimental *Skye Boat Song*), Thus Skye has attracted tourists for over two centuries, despite the fact that access was difficult and time consuming before the road improvements undertaken by the army of occupation and the advent of the railway and steam ship. Initially the tourist industry in Skye consisted of mostly climbers, walkers, artists, and fishermen, staying at a limited number of hotels in small numbers. While the appearance of the motor car and coaches saw a noticeable rise in tourist numbers in the middle of the twentieth century, a major boost to tourism was the opening of a bridge to the mainland in 1994. Combined with road improvements over recent decades and the improvement of ferry services to Skye from Mallaig and Glenelg, tourism by road experienced a steady and consistent rise in numbers. Numbers also increased because Skye became a gateway to the Outer Hebrides by way of car ferries from Uig, and

services and facilities for tourists increased both in quantity and quality, and a range of attractions were developed to cater for tourists, including distilleries, geological sites, heritage museums and castles. Most recently, overtourism has appeared as the road route to Skye from Fort William has experienced massive increases in tourist traffic, related to scenes in the *Harry Potter* movies, as noted below, with many tourists going on to Skye.

It is fair to say that until the early years of the twenty-first century Skye had been able to handle reasonably effectively the increasing numbers of tourists resulting from the improved facilities and services noted above. While there were occasional indications that capacity, in terms of accommodation and ferry spaces were being reached in the high summer season, there were few complaints by residents or tourists about over-crowding. Residents in general were accepting of tourists and tourism, although many were happy to see the end of the tourist season (Brougham and Butler 1981), and did have concerns about the increasing number of properties being converted to holiday or second homes in some of the small communities. In the last five years however, there has been considerable media attention to the issue of overcrowding and overtourism on Skye, associated with excessive numbers of tourists and inappropriate behaviour of some of those visitors, and overuse of facilities with numbers of visitors exceeding accommodation capacity. There have been no accurate counts of numbers visiting Skye but passengers travelling to Skye on the car ferry from Mallaig have risen from 187,000 in 2008 to 285,000 in 2017 (CalMac 2019). Mallaig itself has seen a far larger increase in tourist numbers because of tourists wishing to ride on the *Hogwarts Express*, the steam train which runs between Fort William and Mallaig, and crosses the viaduct at Glenfinnan made famous in the *Harry Potter* movies. The viaduct site is adjacent to a site operated by the National Trust for Scotland and numbers visiting this site have increased five-fold in the last ten years, resulting in new car parks having to be built and disturbance to local events in the small community there. The increase in visitor numbers (to 330,000 in 2018) (Gibson 2018) is directly related to the *Hogwarts Express* phenomenon, as numbers vary during the day according to when the train is due to cross the viaduct.

On Skye itself the tourists have been placing pressure on a number of locations that have few or no specific tourist facilities but that have

become popular almost entirely because of the influence of media coverage. The island has featured in music videos for several popular music groups and also for off road mountain-biking, while Dunvegan and other castles have been used as the settings for a number of films and television programmes, most significantly, for several episodes of the television programme *Game of Thrones*. Visitor numbers have increased so rapidly and extensively that in 2017 the local police were advising potential visitors not to come to the island without confirmed accommodation, in order to avoid illegal camping in car parks and in roadside lay-bye (Rudgard 2017). As some of the roads on the island are still single track only with passing places (particularly in northern Skye in the scenic Quirang which featured several times in *Game of Thrones*), congestion and delays were becoming common, inconveniencing locals and restricting emergency vehicle operations. One area which suddenly received very heavy tourist traffic, was a series of small waterfalls and pools that became known as the Faerie Pools. This is a good example of an attraction being created by social media, as these pools were not known for any "fairy" connections and very little visited even a decade ago. They can only be reached by a considerable walk from a small car park at the end of a single track road, and have no services such as toilets or refreshments available. Social media coverage has established the pools as a "go to" attraction on Skye, resulting in considerable erosion of the footpath, litter accumulation and parking and driving problems on the access road and car park. As a result, facilities have had to be established with the car park enlarged, but without adequate facilities or supervision and problems still remain (Wade 2017) and the footpath has been accidentally widened by excessive use.

Additionally, in the vicinity of the pools and elsewhere on Skye, tourists have taken to piling stones in small cairns to the annoyance and inconvenience of the local residents. These cairns or small mounds represent a hazard to pedestrians and animals, and at times residents have destroyed them, only to be criticised by tourists who apparently felt it their right to build and photograph such cairns (Ross 2018). A similar phenomenon is taking place in what has become known as Bruce's Cave on the Island of Arran in south west Scotland (C. Butler, personal communication 2018). Traditionally in the highlands and islands cairns were sometimes erected at places at which funeral corteges would rest, and also

by clansmen going to battle (removing their stones if they returned from war), so old cairns have genuine cultural significance to the local populations, but some of these have been destroyed and their stones used to build new cairns by tourists. Such actions are in themselves of minor significance, but to a small local population represent a considerable intrusion into their lifestyle and a destruction of a part of their heritage. Opposition to increased tourist numbers is not universal on Skye, and as in many areas visited by tourists, there are residents and enterprises that desire tourism to remain and increase. *Skye Connect* is an organisation of tourist operators on Skye and along with representatives of other communities and interests have been publicising the attractions of Skye and assuring tourists that they are welcome on the island. The contrasting attitudes of these groups is a common situation in many tourist destinations, reflecting the potential conflicts or difference of opinions between those receiving economic benefits from tourism and those paying the costs at the local level. The attitudes of local residents are complex, combining the traditional element of hospitality to visitors with feelings of annoyance at the behaviour of some of those visitors. At the time of writing (summer 2019) there has been less coverage of tourism issues on Skye, so it may be that behaviour has changed as a result of negative coverage in the social and print media, and because the establishment of additional facilities and improvements in key locations have relieved some of the pressures and problems.

North Coast 500: 'Scotland's Route 66'

The problems noted in Skye are occurring in other parts of rural Scotland. One of the successes of tourism promotion in Scotland in recent years has been the creation and popularisation of what has become known as the North Coast 500. This is a route around the north west, north and north east coast of the Scottish mainland, slightly in excess of five hundred miles in length. It is made up entirely of public roads, which inevitably brings tourists into contact with local residents as they share the public highways. This is a common situation in most countries and is not normally a significant problem but some specific characteristics of roads

making up the North Coast 500 make such interaction problematic at times. Large stretches are on single track roads with many bends and blind summits, paradoxically running through some of the most visually impressive landscapes in rural Scotland which compete for the drivers' attention. Driving on such roads requires not only considerable care and attention to the road and traffic, but also an understanding of what has developed as appropriate behaviour on such highways, and the ability to reverse in difficult situations. To avoid conflict and frustration, drivers soon have to learn to give way if they reach a passing place before an oncoming driver, so that an individual does not have to reverse to a passing place behind them, but such accommodation means a slow speed is essential and driving times are longer than might be expected. Local residents have concerns not only with safety issues because of speeding and inappropriate driving habits of tourists, but also because of the potential to cause delays in emergency vehicles operating, and problems for moving stock, produce, and agricultural vehicles (Wade 2019).

In real and absolute terms, the numbers involved are not large (29,000 are estimated to have driven the route since its promotion), but in relative terms they represent a major problem and source of conflict in the area, with local residents noting an increase in "antagonistic encounters between residents and tourists" (www.thetimes.co.uk/article/bad-driving-crackdown-on-the-north-coast-500-trail-l3tnqjnjb). The establishment of the route was deliberately done by the North Highland Initiative (a charity bringing agriculture, tourism and other economic activities together) in order to encourage tourism to provide employment and income to residents, and in these it has been very successful, gaining a place in the list of top drives to be made in the world (Kerr 2015). However, the establishment and popularisation was done with little forethought as to problems which could arise from international popularity of the route, with drivers not only unfamiliar with such roads but also not used to driving on the British side of the road. As well, the popularisation of the route by VisitScotland (the national tourism promotion agency) has been less than appropriate, as at least one illustration of the route on their website was not of a scene from the route but a glen several miles away. There has been a failure to anticipate and mitigate potential problems, particularly unexpected popularity, driven in part by social media. The North Coast 500 has its own website and is an increasing feature on Facebook (albeit most of the illustrations posted feature individuals rather than the route itself), and

overall, the common presumption that it is acceptable to use the route for leisure purposes even when these may be in conflict with the basic function of the feature itself. It is now being used by some visitors as a race-track, in efforts to see who can traverse it the fastest, by bicycle, motor-bike and car, or complete the route in 24 hours, and local police have had to become involved, resulting in Police Scotland holding a clampdown on traffic offences on the route in August 2019, with almost 300 drivers being stopped and over 40 charges laid (www.thetimes.co.uk/article/bad-driving-crackdown-on-the-north-coast-500-trail-l3tnqjnjb). As in the case of the Isle of Skye, not all residents are opposed to the development of the route and the subsequent growth of tourism, because of the benefits accruing to the area from increases in employment and income generation from tourist expenditure. In the case of the North Coast 500 however, the deliberate promotion of the use of a public facility used by local residents in their daily activities and by emergency services when necessary, as a tourist attraction and opportunity, has created problems and anti-tourist attitudes that might well have been foreseen and mitigated.

Finnich Glen and 'Outlander'

The most recent example of overtourism resulting from social and other media coverage, and the resulting local response is that of Finnich Glen, a formerly little-visited beauty spot near Killin in Stirlingshire, on the borders of the Highlands (Reid 2018a). The site traditionally received limited visitation to a 70-foot gorge feature known as the Devil's Pulpit, from a few sightseers and canyonists traversing the river. There are no facilities, no formal means of access to the gorge, no formal parking, and those visiting have to walk along a narrow road with no sidewalk and use an unfenced path and steps. The glen was used as location in two recent films, *The Eagle* (2011) and *Detective Pikachu* (2019) but began to attract large numbers of visitors in 2014 when it appeared in Episode 6 of the first series of *"Outlander",* as Liar's Spring. The result was the appearance in following years of several hundred visitors to the site on busy days, with the effects of crumbling access steps, dangerous parking on the road and a large amount of litter, including human waste. The hazards of the site can be judged from the fact that the local mountain rescue team has

had several calls to assist people unable to climb out of the gorge. The popularity of the site has been increased by the presence of the site on Facebook and other social media, as well as it being listed as a place to visit near Glasgow, resulting in queries from as far afield as America, and the landowner estimates 70,000 tourists have visited the site (Baynes 2019). Although the site is on private land, Scotland is covered by right-to-roam legislation which means the area is open for access by the public at large and cannot be closed off (MacLellan 2017). The landowner has decided to make the best of the situation and to develop the site for tourist use by providing a number of facilities (Baynes 2019). His plan, with an estimated expenditure of £1.5 million, will include a car park to alleviate congestion (with over 100 vehicles parked on and along the access road in one day in August 2019), a visitor centre, a restaurant and toilet facilities. The landowner consulted local residents who were generally supportive of the plans to mitigate the current problems and dangers, and to prevent further damage to fences and footpaths and the surrounding environment, although there are concerns about the overall impact of increased tourism on the local countryside (Reid 2018b). This example illustrates clearly the nature and speed of the impacts of overtourism at the local scale in rural areas, necessitating a rapid local response to mitigate the negative effects.

Conclusions

The examples above share a number of features in common. All these sites were traditionally visited by relatively small numbers of tourists whose main purpose was to see the countryside, visit cultural and historic sites and to use the locations in a mostly passive way. The impacts of several factors, including improvements in access through transportation innovations and expansion, increased promotion both locally and nationally, and particularly, greatly increased visibility on social and other forms of media have drastically changed the level and nature of tourism in these locations in a relatively short time. Numbers have increased rapidly and enormously, both in relative and absolute terms, resulting in visitor numbers far exceeding the capacity of services and facilities, where these

existed at all, and the creation of congestion and overuse of local facilities, hazardous situations, and increasing resentment against tourists and tourism among at least some local residents as evidenced by reports in the local media (Horne 2017; Rudgard 2017). While tourism has a long history in the Scottish Highlands and islands, it has traditionally been on a limited scale and to a degree in a symbiotic relationship with other local economic activities, particularly farming, forestry and fishing. The rapid recent expansion of tourism has seen a transformation in attitudes and behaviour of tourists in many situations, with visitors becoming much more active in their use of the environment and demanding in terms of their expectations of acceptance of their actions, e.g. building stone cairns or accessing all areas without regard to fences and animals. Local responses have been mixed; the inability to close off particular sites means restrictions on access cannot be imposed and the take-over of local facilities such as car parks at Glenfinnan deprives locals of those places, while congestion and inappropriate driving on single-lane roads causes delays and accidents. On the other hand, many local establishments have benefitted from increased tourist numbers, and new facilities and services have been created, thus local attitudes are varied depending on individual circumstances. What is also characteristic of the sites discussed above is the failure of almost all public sector agencies, from national to local, to anticipate the effects of promoting tourism and to prepare any mitigating measures or creation of suitable services until the situation had become highly problematic, as also noted by Milano et al. (2019) in other locations.

The effects of overtourism in rural areas are not confined to Scotland as the following examples reveal. The recent appearance of large cruise ships in the Arctic (Stewart and Draper 2010) has caused concern amongst scientists as well as residents of small communities in Canada and Greenland being exposed to large numbers of visitors for the first time (Webster 2018). Similar concerns are being expressed in China where tourism development has impacted severely in the Dali rural region (Ash 2019). Inappropriate visitor behaviour with respect to local religious and sacred items has been recorded on Easter Island (Whipple 2019), although local indigenous concerns over tourists climbing Uluru in Australia (King 2018) will finally be resolved with the forthcoming (October 2019) prohibition of visitors accessing the monolith (Lagan

2019). In New Zealand, which has long promoted itself as a green and sustainable destination, complaints over excessive numbers of international visitors have led to imposition of a levy on foreign tourists from most destinations, the money to be spent on mitigating the negative impacts of visitors (Lagan 2018).

Similar situations have developed in urban as well as rural settings (Gutiérrez et al. 2017) and the pattern discussed above shares much with what has happened in Dubrovnik, Barcelona, Prague and elsewhere as described in Dodds and Butler (2019). In rural areas, however, small numbers in absolute terms, especially when they have increased rapidly, can have severe effects on a totally different scale to the impact of similar numbers in an urban setting. Other agents of overtourism such as Airbnb, now common in urban areas, have had little effect to date on rural tourist communities but these may appear in the future, Scotland has already these problems in Edinburgh, for example (Horne 2017). It is clear that in the absence of control and management being exerted by public agencies at all levels, tourism in many areas will continue to grow, often at rates and dimensions unacceptable to local residents and beyond the capacity of local facilities. Anticipatory planning and action is essential if areas currently receiving growing numbers of tourists are not to be exposed to overtourism. Advice and guidance to, and if necessary, restrictions on tourists and tourism will be required, and residents need to be given accurate advice on the consequences of tourism growth and what actions could be taken to mitigate resulting pressures. While the benefits of tourism development are often desired and sought-after in many rural areas, such development must be accompanied by the development of necessary services and facilities simultaneously or even in advance of development to avoid overtourism. Transportation improvements, expansion of accommodation businesses, and promotion of specific locations will all result in increased tourism and provision of associated services should mandated before the former is approved for development. Promotion on social media is harder to anticipate and can only be dealt with by response in kind, in other words, for example, providing information on social media about appropriate and acceptable behaviour and actions and indicating likely restrictions on access. At least equal attention and funding should be given to aiding the mitigation of the

potential negative effects of tourism expansion as is spent on promoting additional tourist visitation, and in some cases "depromotion" or at least not promoting tourism may be necessary, as may well be restrictions on access to and closure of some locations, such as Amsterdam is attempting. To fail to take appropriate actions may result in a decline in overall tourism because of tourist dissatisfaction with the quality of the experience and negative attitudes of locals (Horne 2017) and even involve steps being taken by residents to actively discourage tourism, despite the likely negative economic effects of such actions. Tourism in many areas affected by overtourism is a relatively recent phenomenon, but residents of affected areas may decide that their previous way of life before tourism would be preferable to life with overtourism.

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Between Overtourism and Under-Tourism: Impacts, Implications, and Probable Solutions

Vanessa Gaitree Gowreesunkar and Tan Vo Thanh

Introduction

Traditionally, tourism was regarded as a profitable activity envied by so many destinations. In contrast, nowadays, tourists are infiltrating so much into spaces and places that the industry is seen as pain rather than gain (see Seraphin et al. 2018b).

Raising this point to an another level, it would seem that, while a growing number of tourist destinations are experiencing over-visitation, quite a number of destinations are facing under-visitation (Mihalic 2017; Smith 2019a). This may literally be explained by the fact that both popular and unpopular destinations are fishing from the same pond with the

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'survival of the fittest' logic which applies: those using well-rehearsed marketing strategies are attracting more tourists while others with poor image and weak marketing technique are under-performing (Seraphin and Gowreesunkar 2017a). The contrast between the most and least visited places in the global tourism system is sometimes worthy of contention. For instance, a study in CNN travel in 2017 shows that nearly 87 million international tourists arrived in France, whereas only 2000 international tourists visited the South Pacific country of Tuvalu (Smith 2017). In extreme cases, both overtourism and under-tourism generate problems and challenges as it causes a form of disequilibrium in the global tourism economy. According to Soydanbay (2017), a branding strategist for tourism destinations, overtourism and under-tourism are related and their implications are inter-woven and complex to tackle. As such, both phenomena need to be researched jointly in order to understand their impacts and implications on each other. With this as foundation, this chapter seeks to investigate the impacts and implications of overtourism and under-tourism using a qualitative approach. Thus, a content analysis of various information sources (websites, online reviews, research publications, and newspaper articles) was adopted to produce a meaningful synthesis of the overall situation (overtourism and under-tourism). The use of various information sources aims to make the findings as robust as possible. In fact, previous studies have also analysed the content of websites (e.g. Choi et al. 2007; Seraphin et al. 2017a) or combined different information sources (e.g. Gowreesunkar 2019) to capture a specific phenomenon of concern. The research approach is, therefore, deemed reasonable and it is inductive and exploratory in nature.

To date, most researchers are interested in overtourism, little research focuses on under-tourism which is seen as an evil sibling of overtourism (Soydanbay 2017). Thus, it is important to have more debates revolving around the two extremes of the continuum (under-tourism vs. overtourism) (Milano et al. 2019; Mihalic 2017). This chapter will therefore attempt to investigate both phenomena and study their impacts and implications for tourism destinations.

The structure of the chapter is as follows: the first part will throw some theoretical insights on overtourism and under-tourism. In the second

part, the focus will be on their impacts and implications. The third part will provide some generic discussions and, as concluding note, the chapter will propose few realistic solutions for destinations facing overtourism and under-tourism.

Theoretical Background

Overtourism

Overtourism as a phenomenon has been described from various perspectives. In plain terms, it refers to a destination suffering the strain of tourism (Richardson 2017). In broader terms, it relates to a situation when a popular tourism destination no longer wishes to entertain tourists due to the negative consequences caused by tourism activities. For instance, across Europe many destinations (Barcelona, Cambridge, Dubrovnik, Florence, Oxford, Rome, Venice and York) have been voicing out their concern regarding the development of the tourism industry via protests, graffiti and physical intimidation (see Tapper 2017; Seraphin et al. 2018b). The claim is that overtourism is harming the landscape, damaging beaches, putting infrastructure under enormous strain and pricing residents out of the property market. While researching the historical root of overtourism, Koens et al. (2018) observe that overtourism arose mainly from media discourses and thus did not have much theoretical grounding. The phenomenon existed but it was discussed differently. For instance, in the 1960s, various studies were documented on the ways in which tourism negatively affected destinations and these culminated into concepts such as Doxey's Irridex Model (Doxey 1975), Butler's Tourist Area Life Cycle (Butler 1980) and Pizam's social costs Theory (Pizam 1978). A common thread in this early work was that excessive tourism concentrations led to harm to the local environment and negative attitudes among residents living at popular tourism destinations. In the 1980s, discussions regarding the carrying capacity of a destination moved this debate forward with the idea to find the limit with regards to the number of tourists who could visit without serious negative consequences, which may be higher or lower depending on the physical

characteristics of destinations and their people. While carrying capacity continues to be a popular concept to determine the negative consequences of tourism, the usefulness of this perspective was questioned. The main issue is its focus on tourism numbers, which brings along negative effects that are equated with mass tourism or increasing visitor numbers (McCool 2001). In the present century, the phenomenon is mainly described from sustainability perspective. The study of Mihalic (2017) on overtourism in Europe explains that the phenomenon is related to economic, social and environmental unsustainability. According to her study, overtourism implies too many tourists at a place and in an unsustainable way so that sustainable tourism can never be achieved. Indeed, overtourism represents an excessive growth of visitors leading to overcrowding in areas where residents suffer the consequences through enforced permanent changes in their lifestyles, limited or controlled access to amenities, changing physical environment, increase in property price and other economic discomfort which negatively affects their quality of life (Milano et al. 2019). Whereas, locals are now more interested in quality of life than in income generated by the tourism industry (Croes et al. 2017; Seraphin et al. 2018a).

Under-Tourism

While overtourism has been a hot topic over the past years, under-tourism, its evil sibling (as described by Soydanbay 2017), has gained momentum. Since under-tourism is a new term, while drawing a line of parallelism with overtourism, not much could be retrieved on it. In fact, under-tourism is like 'old wine in a new bottle' in the sense that under-visited destinations have always existed but these were interpreted differently. According to Mihalic (2017), under-tourism simply refers to an under-visited destination receiving fewer tourists or no tourists. Under-visited destinations do not receive visitors for various reasons. For instance, Liechtenstein is a small country situated between Austria and Switzerland having challenges to attract visitors despite being located between two popular tourism destinations; this double-land-locked country has infrastructure issues and it does not have any airport. Lack of

infrastructure has a negative impact on visitation as infrastructure contributes positively to tourist arrivals (Seetanah et al. 2011). Gunn (1988) and Inskeep (1991) also cite infrastructure as a potential determinant to attract tourists. Infrastructure forms an integral part of the tourism package. For instance, road infrastructure enhances accessibility of tourists to different parts of the destination country while sound airport infrastructure ensures that tourists experience a comfortable transition from the plane into the borders of the destination country and vice versa. However, if infrastructure is poor or absent, it may influence tourists to look for alternative destinations, and this indirectly implies that those destinations will not be visited. Poor publicity or bad image can also be a cause of under-visitation. The study of Seraphin et al. (2017b) shows that post-colonial, post conflict post disaster destinations such as Haiti, Syria, Turkey and Iraq could never fully exploit their tourism resources and attract visitors because of their negative image inherited through civil wars and terrorism. In other cases, destinations suffering from negative image due to diseases (Malaria, Dengue, Yellow Fever, and Ebola) are also under-visited or not visited at all (see Rosselló et al. 2017; Kuo et al. 2008; Seraphin and Gowreesunkar 2017a). Arguably, tourists are reluctant to travel to countries suffering from infectious diseases (Page 2009) and, therefore, destinations such as Burkina Faso, Nigeria, Niger and the like do not receive many tourists due to their image of 'diseased destination'. Gowreesunkar and Sotiriades (2015) indicated that images associated with destinations suffering from crisis (social, environmental or economic) represent negative attributes in the tourism decision-making process and hence significantly influence the choice of destinations. Such destinations indeed suffer from under-tourism and some are even closing or diversifying their tourism businesses as they fail to attract tourists due to bad publicity, negative reviews and poor image. To support this claim, Seraphin et al. (2018a) show that Haiti could not attract tourists despite the remarkable effort of the government as the destination was still branded as an unsecure destination and as a place where the worst was always likely to happen. Likewise, Dominica has unique tourism resources such as waterfalls, boiling lakes, historical places and pirates. Despite its richness in culture and heritage, it is one of the few Caribbean countries which is least visited. Few other reasons of under-visitation were traced in

the work of Gowreesunkar and Seraphin (2016) on their study in Haiti, a post colonial, post conflict and post disaster destination. The study shows that lack of financial support, feeling of insecurity, poor leadership, lack of education, no sense of community and poor vision can also be the causes of under-visitation. The study also reveals that due to the above mentioned blind spots, tourism enterprises in Haiti could never progress. Natural disasters sch as Hurricane, Tsunami and cyclone have also discouraged tourists to visit certain destinations, for example, Martinique, Dominica, Grenada, Polynesia, Malaysia and hence caused under-visitation.

Between Overtourism and Under-Tourism

By now, it is established that under-tourism and overtourism are interwoven and, based on their characteristics, they might be seen as the side effect of each other. When all potential destinations are fishing from the same tourism pond, it becomes apparent that some will be over-visited while others under-visited (and sometimes un-visited). How destinations balance between under-tourism and overtourism is worthy of contention. Overtourism is a situation when too many tourists visit the same place at the same time, whereas under-tourism implies destinations receiving very low or no tourist and struggling to get a share from the global tourism market (Milano et al. 2019; Peltier 2019). For instance, in a global tourism system comprising a given number of prospective travellers and a given number of tourism destinations, more visitors at a given destination would necessarily mean less visitors at another destination. Under-tourism is the side effect of overtourism and of those destinations going on the wrong track; seeking to increase tourism arrivals and measuring performance based on the volume of visitors do not necessarily mean an increase in tourism receipts. For instance, Venice kept on receiving tourists since the 1980s but the amount of money spent by those tourists were real determinants of the success of the destination rather than the number of visitors. The book *Destination London: Beyond an Expanding Visitor Economy* by Smith and Graham (2019) also paints a realistic picture of how under-tourism becomes a side effect of overtourism. The collection of articles from the book shows that there are many

tourism destinations which do not receive tourists despite having rich tourism characteristics. For instance, while destinations like Venice, London and Paris are overcrowded with tourists, tourism places such as San Marino (Italy) received only 60,000 international tourists in 2017, Liechtenstein (between Switzerland and Alp) received only 69,000 international tourist arrivals during the same period. Likewise, Monaco (near France) received only 336,000 international visitors and Moldova (near Romania) received only 121,000 international tourists (UNWTO 2019).

In between overtourism and under-tourism lie some benefits if destinations learn to capitalise from them. To expand this point, more destinations are now acknowledging that a handful of affluent travellers are better than many tourists who do not spend but rather spoil the destinations and go away. In his article, Peltier (2019) describes under-tourism as the new overtourism. The author lends support to the fact that under-visited destinations can capitalize on a certain niche market if they apply the appropriate marketing strategies. However, more research is needed to understand how a tourist spot is converted into tourism territory and then faces overtourism or how a potential tourist spot is blacklisted and suffers from under-tourism. This is a complex process and it is not reasonable to suggest that tourism commodifies or commercializes spaces. As argued by Biddulph (2017), tourism does not expand into an empty space, as the space that tourism is territorialising is already the site of a range of commercial activities and hence the reason why tourism businesses are ventured.

Common and Combined Causes of Overtourism and Under-Tourism

Historically, it would seem that changes in consumerism and technology have mainly fuelled the phenomenon of overtourism. Obviously, connectivity has not only boosted tourism but also created a new breed of tourists whose characteristics can be explained along a spectrum of emancipation and sophistication (Gowreesunkar 2019) The 'new tourists' are savvy and knowledgeable and their decision making process is influenced mostly by online reviews. Technology has also played a significant role in influencing

purchasing behaviour of potential tourists. Technological evolution facilitating virtual tours, online booking, e-marketing, tailor-made tourism products such as cruise ships carrying town-size populations have revolutionized travel. Since, we now live in a wired-world, technology-savvy tourists are permanently searching online and their trusted source is mostly the internet and search engines like Make-my-trip, Trip Advisor and the like where online reviews are posted by travellers. Tourists are indeed more interested to visit popular places like Paris or Venice as their perceptions are shaped by many factors, among which online reviews dominate (see Gowreesunkar and Dixit 2017); the present era is after all the dot.com generation separated by distance but connected by internet.

Another factor that explains overtourism is over-exposure and visibility of the destination. The successful marketing campaigns conducted by DMOs and image building activities attract more tourists. As tourism is an information-intensive industry, the search for information is guided by various models (Gowreesunkar and Dixit 2017) and internet is considered to be the most powerful because they can quickly alter a tourist's image of a destination. The image of a destination plays a significant role in its ability to attract visitors: the more positive the image is the more it is attractive to the tourists, and hence it has over-visitation; the less exposed is a destination the less it attracts tourists, and hence it is less visited (Seraphin and Gowreesunkar 2017b). In today's technology-mediated environment, word of mouse travels quicker that word of mouth. This implies that tourists share their experience within a click of their computer mouse and their impression are visible online and this is seen to count more than marketing experts. Based on the fact that online reviews play a major role in the way a destination is perceived, it becomes quite obvious that tourists will tend to choose specific, and often, same destinations. For instance, among islands, Seychelles, Maldives and Mauritius receive a considerable number of tourists whereas Marshall and Kiribati in Polynesia, Anguilla and Dominica in the Caribbean's, Djibouti and Sierra Leone in Africa suffer from under-tourism. The latter destinations have rich tourism resources (sea, sun, sand, nature and culture) and yet, due to negative or no reviews, tourists choose popular destinations for their vacation. Ultimately, those under-visited destinations

are not able to feature as popular tourism destinations in the international tourism map.

Over-mobility triggered by new tourism trends (rental websites, low-cost tourism, technology and online information sources, packaged holidays) and the substantial and fortuitous increase in demand for some destinations are also at the origin of the phenomenon of overtourism (see Seraphin et al. 2019b). With sophistication, globalisation and emancipation, people are indeed increasingly indulging in tourism and this is well supported by indicators from the United Nations World Tourism Organisations (UNWTO) which reports that the number of international trips taken yearly has increased from 25 million in the 1950s to 1.4 billion in 2018 (UNWTO 2019). Likewise, the work of Seraphin et al. (2018c) clearly explains that current and recent issues of overtourism in Europe are mainly due to a laissez faire economy which allows policy-makers and entrepreneurs to grow their businesses and expand exponentially due to the growth of digital bookings, which promote and offer ceaseless experiences over sustainable travel.

The Regulatory Focus Theory proposed by Higgins (2012) also explains why some destinations are overvisited while others under-visited. According to the author, a potential tourist will make a selection based on either promotion or prevention orientations. A promotion focus will usually influence individual to select the destination whereas prevention orientation implies safety and security concern. In the context of overtourism and under-tourism, it would imply that destinations may face over-demand for tourism due to promotion orientations whereas destinations not receiving tourists might have gone through the prevention orientation, most of the under-visited destinations being perceived as unsafe and insecure (see Seraphin et al. 2018c; Seraphin and Gowreesunkar 2017b). The tourism sector is safety and security dependent (Tarlow and Santana 2002) and it is highly vulnerable due to exogenous factors such as political instability, economic crises, natural disasters and the outbreak of diseases. Those factors can cause destinations to decline and sometimes even totally disappear from the tourism map (Seraphin and Gowreesunkar 2017b). Provision of a safe and secure environment is therefore a critical success factor for tourism development (Gowreesunkar 2019).

Impacts and Implications

The impacts and implications of overtourism and under-tourism are complex to understand. Both overtourism and under-tourism generate serious problems and challenges and therefore their root causes are interwoven and the devil is indeed in the details (Mihalic 2017). To exemplify the context, religious tourism is ambitiously promoted in India and places such as Vanarasi, Haridwar and Hrishikesh are not only overcrowded with tourists but also over-visited by locals (Singh and Gowreesunkar 2019). With India's continuous increase in population and their growing need to embark on religious trips, millions of devotees visit Haridwar in order to take ritual bath in the Ganges and eventually, they overcrowd the place. Moreover, on the national bathing festival (Kumbha), overtourism is severely experienced to the point that some pilgrims have been losing their lives in pushing and overcrowding caused during peak hours (prayer time called 'Aarti'). This situation not only pollutes water but also impacts negatively on the image of the destination, on the quality of life of locals and their physical environment. As a result, while analysing causes of overtourism, the above detail shows religious obligations may also trigger overtourism and techniques to discourage pilgrims to visit religious sites like Haridwar might not be workable.

In recent years, terms "overtourism" and "under-tourism" became unfortunately common in a number of tourism destinations and these situations gave rise to further new phenomena such as tourismphobia and anti-tourism movements. Destinations such as Barcelona, Cambridge, Dubrovnik, Florence, Oxford, Rome, Venice and York are voicing their concern regarding the development of the tourism industry via protests, graffiti and physical intimidation (see Smith 2019b; Tapper 2017). These destinations under anti-tourist anger are already planning to monitor tourists and tourism more closely by limiting the number of visitors, limiting cruise ships, introducing new tourism taxes and fines, having special patrols, encouraging tourists to visit other parts of the country that are less visited, restricting some places to tourists, ensuring that tourism is an enriching experience for visitors and hosts alike, encouraging tourists to visit beyond the central sights, diversifying tourist activities, reducing

seasonality and addressing the needs of the local community (Coldwell 2017; Tapper 2017). The tourism industry is based on the people and places and the interaction between them (Hanafiah et al. 2016). The industry is extremely sensitive to the social and physical conditions of the destination's micro and macro environment (Hanafiah and Harun 2010). The reasons for anti-tourism are due to the fact that the large number of tourists visiting some destinations is putting the UNESCO World Heritage status at risk; tourists are affecting the quality of life of locals and particularly killing neighbourhoods; and putting at risk the sustainability of the tourism industry of the destination. The ever growing number of visitors increases the use of several natural and man-made resources with a huge impact on the overall community causing undue pressure on some infrastructures, on the quality of residents' daily life, their mobility and in some areas in the price and rent of resident accommodation, goods and services. This has been witnessed in the work of Mathew and Sreejesh (2017) who investigated the impact of responsible tourism on destination sustainability and quality of life of community in the state of Kerala (India). Host communities experiencing overtourism face a deteriorating quality of life, outmigration, collapsing infrastructures and various sociocultural, environmental and economic hardships. Overtourism is an unpleasant sign as, in the minds of visitors, a negative experience caused by overtourism (for instance waiting for 3 hours to visit the Table Mountain in Capetown or making a long queue under the scorching sun to go up the Eiffel Tower) would not dissipate easily in a year. In the process, comments and online reviews are posted and these lead to negative publicity of the place. Viewed from an alternative angle, those reviews might be seen as blessing in disguise, as they act as de-marketing strategy and demotivate tourists to visit those places. On the other hand, communities which so far have not experienced substantial interest in their tourism assets may feel reluctant to initiate steps to exploit them, seeing the cost of tourism in places such as Venice and Barcelona (Smith 2019b). Thus, while in some emerging places, tourism development has to be planned sustainably, in others, mitigation of negative and unsustainable ramifications of overtourism has to be implemented.

Undoubtedly, technology has a major role in converting destinations to over-visited or under-visited place. Taking the example of Haiti (a

post-colonial, post-conflict, and post-disaster destination), Seraphin (2016) explained how technology can completely alter the image of a destination. Technology-savvy tourists draw extensively on the internet and these interactive mediums not only yield information but also provide feedback, and hence influence the image formation and decision making of tourists. People are now living in a wired world with higher purchasing power, greater propensity to spend and better standard of living, thus making travelling (and hence tourism) more affordable. Being permanently connected, many travellers share their travel pictures on different social media outlets and this is also where they find the inspiration for their next experiences. In most cases, common people are seen as expert as they post about their experience and tourists mostly trust their comments as compared to dedicated and qualified marketers. Exposure of destinations on social media and TV shows complete the traditional campaigns of promotion and communication from official tourism boards and maximize their visibility (Gowreesunkar and Dixit 2017). Alternatively, Bassil et al. (2019) suggests that a terrorism event in a given country has a spillover effect on the image of other surrounding countries. For instance, terrorism attack in Syria has negatively altered the image of popular tourism destinations such as Turkey and Greece. The mechanisms for information search used by tourists in the twenty-first century is mainly online sources (Gowreesunkar and Dixit 2017). As a result, potential tourists would prefer to visit places like Spain and Italy rather than Turkey and Greece. This also creates a stereotype among travellers that Turkey and Greece have security concerns whilst places like Spain and Italy are conflict-free and safe, a point also captured in Higgins's (2012) Theory of Regulatory Focus. It is therefore important for a destination with a negative image to take full control of their online presence and capitalise on their unique attributes to attract tourists.

The other side of the coin shows that, while exposed to various online sources, customers encounter a plethora of information and very often search further on negative information associated with under-visited destinations. They even share their impressions in their social network. Apparently, when destinations are over-crowded, the perceived value of the tourists' experiences are likely to diminish. Likewise, much more meaningful and positive experiences can be attained in places hardly

visited by tourists or sites that control their carrying capacities. As a result, under-visited places may sometimes benefit from the negative feedback on overvisited places.

Recommendations and Probable Solutions

According to Koens et al. (2018), the tourism industry is a *complex system and an opaque phenomenon*. Given that overtourism and under-tourism are the side effect of each other, it is not possible to propose specific solutions. Perhaps, overtourism is a symptom of the present era of unprecedented affluence and hyper mobility as a consequence of late capitalism. Therefore, adaptive and creative strategies need to be devised to uphold the rights of their residents and bring a balance to under-visited and overvisited tourism places. As a result, solutions proposed within this chapter are indicative and not conclusive.

Diversion and Diversification

In the age of overtourism, the world's less-visited places are seeing a new opportunity. Under-visited destinations are sometimes the favourite of some tourists. Under-tourism is also the increasingly common marketing tactic used by less-frequented destinations to attract tourists (see Peltier 2019). This strategy focuses on luring tourists who are interested in visiting virgin and under visited destinations like Bhutan and Burma rather than visiting popular destinations with masses. Puerto Rico is another case of under-tourism in practice. While parts of the island continue to struggle, Puerto Rico has also made significant progress in recovery efforts and bringing back tourism since Hurricane Maria in September 2017. The island is portrayed as an alternative to the crowded Caribbean islands where travellers would spend quality time rather than engaging with the local population and businesses. By diverting the gaze of tourists from overvisited places to under-visited places, destinations may temporarily relieve the strain from excessive visitors while giving tourism opportunities to other under-performing tourism places. For instance, London and

Avon are two cities of England which have tourism attributes. The diversion approach used reverse logic to tackle overtourism in London by actively promoting Avon, the under visited place. Diversification can also be a realistic alternative for destinations experiencing under-tourism or overtourism. For instance, Medellin in Colombia was a garbage spot in a mountain. The city administration diversified and transformed that area into a garden which is now creating more offerings outside of the city such as coffee farms so that those attractions help prevent overtourism within the city.

Ambidextrous Management Approach

Seraphin et al. (2018c) proposed the ambidextrous approach to tackle overtourism in Venice, a popular destination in Italy. Ambidexterity is an approach that works on two opposites of a context namely exploration and exploitation (Duncan 1976). The former strategy relates to the exploration of new capabilities, knowledge, products and services and enhancing the quality of what already exists. As for exploitation, the strategy relates to building upon what already exists to meet the need of an existing group (Duncan 1976). If exploration and exploitation may appear as opposite, they are entwined and interdependent. Nieto-Rodriguez (2014) underlines that successful organisations need to find a balance between both. Sharing this view, Mihalache and Mihalache (2016) state that ambidexterity enables tourism firms to make the most of their current capabilities while at the same time developing new ones to attract new customers. More importantly, they play an important role to gaining competitive advantage, improving customer relations and creating customer capital. Ambidextrous management is increasingly seen as a suitable alternative to tackle problems with contrasting and conflicting characteristics. For instance, Venice has been marketing for tourism but in contrast, it will be de-marketing its tourism as this is now conflicting with the interest of its residents. As a result, implementable practical suggestions for Venice (as explained in the work of Seraphin et al. 2018c) related to the use of existing strategies to mitigate the negative impacts of tourism (exploitation) and to develop new tailored ones to meet the need

of the destination (exploration) seem indispensable. Seraphin et al. (2018c) also suggested the de-marketing technique, that is, removing Venice from all promotional material, much in the same way that the Taj Mahal was dropped from some tourism booklets in an attempt to preserve its cultural dimension.

Destination Management Organisations' (DMOs) Roles

According to Crouch and Ritchie (2000), Destination Management Organisations (DMOs) are responsible for the planning, marketing, management, product development, industry advocacy and coordination of the tourism destination. The DMO is the nerve centre of the destination and as such, its role is not only focused on cost minimisation or customer satisfaction but rather on relationship optimisation (Gowreesunkar 2012). Tourism is an opportunity for communities and their people to share the benefits of tourism, which is why the relations between the sector and the communities need to be strengthened. In contrast, overtourism creates frustrations among stakeholders and degradation of tourism resources. To tackle the issue of overtourism and related perverse impacts, the role of the DMO is key as it is the authority which regulates the tourism system and works for the benefit of the destination and its people. Prioritizing the welfare of residents above the needs of the global tourism supply chain is as important as satisfying the increasing demand of tourism and sustaining tourism stakeholder businesses. As a result, a wide range of solutions have so far been suggested and implemented to overcome overtourism and under-tourism: better cooperation between the different stakeholders involved in the tourism industry of the destination (Seraphin et al. 2018a), repositioning of some destinations into special interest destinations (Seraphin et al. 2019c), development of community based festivals as a way to foster the development of dialogical spaces between locals and visitors (Seraphin et al. 2019a) and *Trexit* or tourism exit strategies (Seraphin et al. 2019b). Furthermore, it is observed that one of the leading strategies to be adopted in pursuit of overtourism reduction is pushing tourism from over demanded to under demanded spaces. While such a policy may make some sense, it also

encapsulates several risks and, if not well managed and controlled, may end up shifting overtourism to other locations instead of reducing the consequent stress. DMO role therefore is to devise pre-emptive strategies to ensure a balance is maintained and destinations have their share in tourism.

Wise Use of Technology

In today's era of technology, studies are increasingly focusing on strategies and coping capacities to tackle overtourism using technology. According to UNWTO (2019), smart technologies are considered the most effective solution to tackle effects of overtourism. For instance, Kyoto residents are angered by the traffic and congestion that tourism growth has caused, and the government has responded by running an experiment that analyses cell phone data. The experiment is ongoing and tracks the time of day when the most cell phones are present in the destination, usually in the early- to mid-afternoon hours. Kyoto has already adjusted its opening times for its tourism attractions as a result of data that was gleaned from the experiment. Pictures of consequences of overtourism may be posted and shared online and this may create some virtual pressure group which sometimes effectively convey the message the destination intends to reduce the strain of tourism. Places like Barcelona, Venice, Berlin, Hangzhou, Macau, Porto, Amsterdam and Bruges have already developed smart measures to combat negative impacts of overtourism and ensuring a responsible and sustainable tourism. For instance, in Barcelona, the city employs a team of over 50 inspectors as well as a website where residents can report illegal tourist apartments in their buildings (The Guardian 2018). Likewise, technology can also be used to introduce new destinations and highlight the existence of under-visited destinations like Kiribati and Marshall and commentaries may be produced and shared online to introduce new tourism spots to potential travellers. Virtual tours may help tourists to re-think few destinations like Syria and Turkey, which attractiveness has been clouded by the consequences of war. In Iceland, tourist authorities have embarked on campaigns to market under-visited tourism cities beyond its crowded capital Reykjavik

(The Guardian 2018). Moreover, in an era of technology where people have affordability and facility to indulge in tourism, it is important to devise strategies that neither compromise the right of people to visit places they wish to visit nor deprive the right of locals to live their lives the way they wish to live. Akinyi (2015) argues that the determinants of community well-being are based on social equity (connected, accessible and friendly community), cultural vitality (culturally rich and diverse city, strong identity, history, and sense of place), economic prosperity (dynamic and thriving centre for businesses and services) and, finally, environmental sustainability (pollution free, green and healthy environment).

Creative Tourism

The creative tourism idea stems from the notion that there has been an evolution of tourist demand as tourists are now sophisticated, connected and emancipated. The growing scope of creative tourism and the increasing diversity of the experiences offered can arguably be linked to the growth of the contemporary network society (Castells 1996). Creative tourism can be seen in numerous situations where visitors, service providers and the local community exchange ideas and skills and influence each other in a synergetic way. In recent years, creativity as a development tool and as a potential solution to a range of economic and social problems (the need for innovation, new approaches to learning, developing social capital and community cohesion and so on) have also been recognized. With the advent of the global financial crisis, the need for creativity seems to have climbed even higher up many political agendas. In the context of under-tourism and overtourism, creating and re-creating tourism products using existing and new resources is seen as a potential solution. To cite an example from Mauritius, the re-imaging and re-vamping of Aapravasi Ghat (a UNESCO world heritage site) has not only revived this historical site but also re-valued an under-visited tourism. Likewise, the conversion of an old sugar mill (Beau plan Sugar estate) to a sugar museum and the conversion of a sugar factory (Rose Belle sugar estate into a shopping mall) are examples of creative tourism that may also be

adopted by destinations facing under-tourism challenges of their tourism sites. Creative tourism appears, therefore, a key development option for various reasons and can serve distinctive objectives. Firstly, it responds to the need for tourism to re-invent itself as well as to the need for destinations to do something different in a saturated market. It can also meet the desire of tourists for more fulfilling and meaningful experiences. On another level, there is a growing raft of small creative enterprises looking for new markets to develop. Creativity is becoming an increasingly popular career option (McRobbie 2018) and the new creations need markets to target. The popularity of creative practices such as music, dance and photography is also increasing. Altogether, these trends explain and to a certain extent legitimate the popularity of creative development strategies among policy makers. Castells (1996) demonstrates how *creativetourist.com* has been established by the Manchester Museums Consortium and how the website acts more as an information board for people wanting to experience the creative scene in Manchester (see http://www.creativetourist.com). These developments underline the increasing intertwining of creativity, tourism, new media and networks in the contemporary network society. The benefits of creative tourism are captured in Fig. 1.

Conclusion

This chapter sought to offer some insights on the impacts and implications of overtourism and under-tourism on destinations and their people. Observations and opinions drawn together, it would seem that overtourism and under-tourism are inevitable in an era characterized by globalisation, sophistication and emancipation. Owing to the polarized nature of overtourism and under-tourism, it is important to re-think tourism from both points of view, as destinations scattered over a global tourism system juggle between both in order to survive and save their tourism businesses. Overtourism and under-tourism are the outcome of mismanaged destinations, poor planning and lack of coordination. Both share responsibility for destroying a destination, as different stakeholders nurture contrasting and conflicting interests. Thus, one of the critical success factors in the game of overtourism and under-tourism lies in the role played

Fig. 1 Benefits of creative tourism. (Adapted from Castells 1996)

by destination management organizations. The latter needs to ensure that product development achieves a balance between the optimal tourist experience and a commensurate local benefit. Tourists must also play their part by making travel choices that are sensitive to the places they visit and those who live in and around them. Tailor-made management strategy such as creative tourism may be developed to cope with the current situation in each specific destination. Research, planning and ongoing dialogue between stakeholders (e.g. tourism operators, regulators, civil society groups and local residents) are essential. Prioritising the welfare of local residents above the needs of the global tourism supply chain is obviously vital as residents form integral part of the tourism experience; for instance, a tourist cannot visit an island without people as tourism experience is co-created with locals. Moreover, prime consideration must

be given to ensuring that the level of visitation fits within a destination's capacity. Nonetheless, if under-visited destinations capitalize on the negative publicity of overvisited places, appropriate strategies need to be deployed to ensure that lesser-visited spots can risk becoming victims of their own success. The harmonization of tourism plans through creative tourism and ambidextrous management strategies can help in reviving less attractive cities which go unnoticed in tourism maps and explore and exploit tourism potential and talent. Last, but not least, it is important to learn from lessons derived from destinations facing similar challenges and accordingly, formulate adaptive strategies.

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The Construction of 'Overtourism': The Case of UK Media Coverage of Barcelona's 2017 Tourism Protests and Their Aftermath

Jim Butcher

Introduction: The Social Construction of Overtourism

Tourism has long had its critics. Sustainable tourism, ethical tourism and a plethora of other terms have featured widely in discussions of problems associated with tourism. This chapter examines the UK coverage of the Barcelona 2017 anti-tourism protests and their aftermath as a case study of an addition to the lexicon—'overtourism'. It considers overtourism not as an objectively verifiable phenomena *per se*, but as a provisional category, the meaning of which is provisional and constructed.

'Overtourism' originated as the hashtag #overtourism on the twitter social media platform in 2012 (Goodwin 2017). Rafat Ali, the entrepreneur and founder of the tourism business website Skift, used the term in

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the foreword to an article on Iceland's growing tourism industry in 2016 (Ali 2016).

However, it is a 12 month period from August 2017 that witnessed the establishment of the term in the media and generally. It featured in UK national newspapers first in 2017: in one article in February, two in May, zero in June and one in July. In each of August, September and October it featured in three articles respectively. Five articles in November, and eight in December, featured the term. In January 2018 five articles referred to 'overtourism'. Thereafter the term's usage has increased substantially to 17, 14, 18, 17 and 25 articles in the five successive months. Searches from the UK on Google for the term follow the same trend.[1] Not only was it rapidly adopted by the mainstream media in the UK, but also by trade bodies[2], campaigns and NGOs,[3] global bodies[4] and academia. It looks distinctly possible that overtourism represents something new in society's orientation towards the problems associated with mass tourism.

Yet thus far, much of the debate around overtourism seems to assume it is an objectively given set of related problems caused by mass tourism. This is evident in Goodwin's summary of the issue (2017). Yet social problems acquire their meaning through 'a process of collective definition' rather than being 'objective conditions and social arrangements' (Blumer 1971: 289). A sociological approach considers 'the process by which a society comes to recognize its social problems' (ibid: 300)—or, in effect, how overtourism is 'socially constructed' (Berger and Luckmann 1967).

Spector and Kitsuse (1973, 2001) described this process as 'individuals or groups making assertions of grievances and claims with respect to some putative conditions' (Spector and Kitsuse 1973: 415). These individuals or groups are 'claimsmakers' (Best 2007) and it is the interplay of claims that shapes a narrative that in turn gives 'overtourism' meaning. This is apposite in relation to a new term such as overtourism, the meaning of which is being worked through and established currently, with media coverage playing a key role.

[1] https://trends.google.com/trends/explore?date=today%205-y&geo=GB&q=overtourism

[2] e.g. https://abta.com/assets/uploads/general/Sustainable_Travel_Agenda_for_Website_FINAL_A N.pdf

[3] e.g. https://www.tourismconcern.org.uk/barcelonaovertourism-introduction/

[4] e.g. http://media.unwto.org/press-release/2017-11-08/communities-protests-over-tourism-wake-call-sector

The Case Study

Introduction

Barcelona has grown exceptionally rapidly as a tourist destination in recent decades. An important watershed was the 1992 Olympic Games (Blanco 2009; Duran 2002), which signalled Barcelona's ascendancy as a leading, exciting cultural destination (ibid.). Tourism has grown exceptionally rapidly since (Observatori del Turisme 2017). It has helped to maintain relative affluence in Catalonia in a period in which the Spanish economy has experienced difficult times (Sinkeviciute 2014).

Many more general factors have impacted Barcelona: the ascendency of low cost air travel, the rapid growth of the youth market, the growth of 'cultural tourism' and city breaks, and of course the platform capitalism of AirBnB have all contributed to crowds, congestion, pressures on housing and cultural changes (Goodwin 2017).

This case study focuses on UK newspaper coverage of tourism in Barcelona over the 12 month period from August 2017. The period and place were chosen purposively. The period covers the first usage of the term as well as it is becoming established, and also the start of a speight of protests criticising mass tourism organised by the Catalan nationalist group Arran. Barcelona itself was chosen as it received considerably more coverage in the UK press over that Summer, and over the 12 month period, than any other destination. That coverage coincides with the rise of, and refers to, 'overtourism'. The term is especially prominent in later pieces that reflect on the events of the Summer, referencing Barcelona's experience prominently.

A collection of articles were selected on the basis of clear reference to the city and to the perceived problems caused by too many tourists. From an initial reading of these articles, a number of key themes were identified: the scale of the problem; cultural loss; impact on housing; and the accusation of 'tourismphobia'. These themes are discussed briefly in turn below.

The Scale of the Problem

Many news reports of the protests included photographs of banners, stickers and graffiti with striking slogans such as Why call it tourist season if we can't shoot them?' (cited in Keeley 2017a) and 'Tourism kills neighbourhoods' (cited in Hunt 2017). Social media also acted as a transmission for stark statements critical of tourism, such as the hashtag #touristsgohome, which trended over the period of the protests.[5]

Arran supporters in Majorca and Valencia (considered Catalan by Catalan nationalists) unfurled banners with slogans such as 'Tourism is killing Majorca' and 'Stop mass tourism in the Catalan lands' (cited in Dearden 2017). Notably, Arran's actions were reprised in 2018 (Sobot 2018a). On its official Twitter account, Arran recently claimed it wanted to 'stop the mass tourism that is […] condemning the working classes of the Catalan lands to misery' (cited in Sobot 2018b).

These dramatic slogans were designed to draw attention to Arran's wider claims: that what they refer to as the 'massification' of tourism has severely impacted local culture in different ways, pushing up housing costs for residents.

Narratives of Cultural Loss

Whilst Arran had much to say on this theme, the protest coverage opened up a space for various claimsmakers to shape the emerging narrative of overtourism. A strong theme in that is the notion of a loss of cultural identity.

One Catalan local councillor, Oscar Esteban, director of the Funjdacio Tot Raval, an umbrella group coordinating voluntary and statutory organisations in the Raval area, is cited stating that: 'There's no question that a lot of people here live off tourism, but it can't be a case of anything goes – there have to be limits', and: 'We're losing much of the identity of the centre of the city, the port, the very traditions that attract visitors'. He refers to the impact of tourism as making the city 'more banal – the same

[5] https://twitter.com/hashtag/touristsgohome?f=tweets&vertical=default&src=hash

as everywhere else' (cited in Burgen 2018). The article itself refers to tourism as '… a threat to the city's very identity' (ibid.).

This chimes the emphasis of many other claimsmakers during and since the initial 2017 protests. In one notable piece written some months after the initial attacks, academic Paulo Giaccarina compared the view that tourism is being detrimental to the culture to a much more positive view of immigrants. He claims that 'increasingly it is tourism, not immigration, that people see as a threat to the city's very identity' (cited in Burgen 2018). The article also cites a local councillor for Barcelona's Ciutat Vella (old town district) to reinforce the point. She says: 'We see immigration as having a positive impact – people have integrated well', and unlike in the case of tourism, '[i]t's brought more than it's taken away in terms of identity' (cited in Burgen 2018). The counter position of immigration as positive and tourism as negative strikingly reverses the way the two phenomena are often portrayed.

However, it should be noted that many of the poorer immigrants who have settled in Barcelona work in the tourism industry. For some it has enabled them to gain a foothold and begin to make a life for themselves (Sinkeviciute 2014).

Some 400,000 people work in the city's tourism industry, often on temporary contracts. Arran and others on the populist Left have referred to this as exploitative and linked it to a wider critique of 'massification' of tourism, or capitalism itself. Yet it is also true that the flexibility of the tourism workforce has arguably maintained higher levels of employment and created opportunities (albeit far from the ideal) for immigrants who for reasons of language, education or social capital may have found other avenues of employment less accessible.

Other claimsmakers have been cited arguing that tourism has led to a reorientation of commerce and services away from the needs of residents towards those of tourists. This is a deeply cultural issue, impinging upon daily life. One report cites Albert Recio, a spokesman for the Barcelona Federation of Residents Associations (representing around 100 bodies), who states: 'People who live near the popular tourist spot of Park Güell can't get on the bus, because it's full of tourists' and '… many traditional businesses that have existed for over 100 years have been driven out' (Burgen 2018).

La Boqueria market is a typical example of this, referred to in a number of different articles, which brings together both the symbolic and practical value of culture (see Dimitrovski and Vallbona 2017). The market is not only a place of commerce but it also serves a cultural role in relation to community. It is reported as having increasingly become oriented towards tourists, with an impact upon prices, artisanship, products and also crowding (Lopez-Diaz 2017).

These claimsmakers, typical of others in the extensive coverage of the protests and the issues subsequently, argue that Barcelona is losing its cultural distinctiveness as its commerce has become oriented around the needs of visitors. Moreover, this distinctiveness of Barcelonan and Catalan cultures, which is also a part of a valued fabric of daily life, is seen as under threat.

The notion of cultural *loss*, as opposed to cultural *change*, comes across strongly both from Catalan claimsmakers as well as from UK commentators and campaigners. Few in the newspaper coverage make a positive and optimistic case for tourism as having culturally enriched the city for residents as well as tourists.

This may be an omission: view held, but not featured in the media. Many people from Barcelona and Catalonia enjoy the rich culture of the city which now includes many modern developments such as the Olympic park, landscaped gardens, statuary, fountains, and scenic cable car, alongside the rejuvenation of heritage sites.

Richards (2016) draws on the 'tourists in their own city' concept of Vann Driel and Blokker. He argues that tourism has been significantly repositioned from an activity undertaken by 'tourists' in specific 'tourist spaces' at specific times. It is now a 'mobilised, de-differentiated process of meaning construction engaged in by almost everyone.' (ibid.: 9). Hosts are tourists too, increasingly so in a society that has become wealthier in no small part through tourism.

The most notable cultural icon in the city, *La Sagrada Familia*, attracts large crowds and generates long queues. Gaudi's influence is seen on beautiful buildings and in the magical Parc Guel close by. Both the cathedral and also the Parc, have featured in coverage of the strains placed upon the city by tourists (see for example Lopez-Dias 2017).

Yet again the counter position of mass tourism to cultural loss may be somewhat contradictory. It is the revenue from the hundreds of thousands of visitors that largely funds work that should see its heroic completion around 2028 (building commenced in 1883).

Mass tourism, as with all development, creates as well as destroys. 'Overtourism', in this case, seems to carry the strong suggestion that the balance has turned towards the latter. In so far as this may be true, it is important not to read history backwards and neglect the improvements to living standards and cultural life, born of mass tourism despite all its faults. Indeed, the 'Barcelona model'—the redevelopment of the city starting with the preparation for the 1992 Olympics—has most often been regarded as a success (London East Research Institute 2007; Duran 2002; Sinkeviciute 2014; Monclús 2003).

Tourism and the Housing Question

The question of affordability rapidly emerged as a key issue in coverage and occupies a place roughly of equal prominence in the news coverage to the cultural concerns referred to above. The Barcelona protests of August 2017 were key in this, but the theme has remained prominent in relation to many other 'overtoured' destinations. The coverage strongly centres on AirBnB focusing on its impact upon rents and accommodation prices (e.g. Burgen 2018; Lopez-Diaz 2017). The question of regulation has been prominent. Many cities and towns around the world have been and are looking at how they regulate and relate to the advent of platform capitalism.

Housing has been a pressing issue in Barcelona for some time (Colau 2014). In 2015 Ada Colau was elected as Mayor of Barcelona on a platform of controlling the number of lets and clamping down on illegal ones. She had previously been a spokesperson for the *Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca* (Platform for People Affected by Mortgages) which was set up in 2009 to oppose the evictions that rose dramatically following the 2008 financial crisis due to its impact on the property market. In 2014 she was elected to the Barcelona municipal council, and subsequently elected Mayor by her fellow councillors.

Claimsmakers have cited AirBnB as a very significant part of the overtourism problem. For example, Albert Recio of the Barcelona Federation of Residents Associations, is reported as arguing that: 'The dizzying rise of city breaks has had a significant impact on housing, with landlords choosing to make easy money renting to tourists, rather than residents and driving up rents in the process' (Burgen 2018).

Fátima Bernardo, assistant professor of social sciences at the University of Évora in Portugal, uses Ciutat Vella in Barcelona as an example of the problems of tourism that she does not want to see repeated in her own country in the Alfama district in Lisbon. She is cited as linking the housing issue to a wider sense of loss of 'authenticity' and 'identity': 'What tourists like about Alfama is its authenticity, but now it's too expensive and young people can't afford to live there, only older people with secure tenancies, so Alfama is dying. The neighbourhood's social dynamic has changed.' She puts her position bluntly: 'People in Lisbon are very worried about the possibility that our city and our identity might become like Barcelona—a parody and a theme park' (cited in Burgen 2018).

Bernardo's claims are interesting for three reasons. First the use of Barcelona as an example for others—'people in Lisbon'—to avoid. Second, the stark metaphor of death used in relation to cultural life is common in discussions of overtourism: 'dying', 'suffocating' or 'squeezing the life from'. Third, it is notable that the 'Barcelona model' has previously been written about as a positive example of successful development around tourism, culture and events, most notably with regard to the 1992 Olympics (Blanco 2009 Duran 2002; London East Research Institute 2007; Monclús 2003).

Some of the rhetoric from UK journalists and commentators (who are also claimsmakers in the unfolding narrative) regarding AirBnB is strong, even hyperbolic, in relation to Barcelona. Take the following passage from *The Independent*: 'Airbnb has ravaged Barcelona's housing market. In 2016, 57 percent of "hosts" – many of whom are rental companies, not individuals – were found to be operating multiple listings in direct violation of a local law that limits flat sharing for commercial use. Because of its proliferation, entire neighbourhoods – like Barri Gotic, Barceloneta and El Born, to give a few examples – have been uprooted, with rents sky-rocketing by 23 percent in the past three years and residents forced to

move elsewhere' (Bryant 2018). 'Ravaged', 'entire neighbourhoods […] uprooted', 'rents skyrocketing' and 'forced to live elsewhere' are suggestive of a very severe social problem indeed.

The claims regarding AirBnB are extensive. Yet it should be noted that despite a growing involvement of landlords, the majority of renters are homeowners looking to use their own property to derive an income following the original idea behind the AirBnB platform. It is likely that for some individuals it is the ability to obtain such an income that enables them to afford to remain in certain parts of the city. Yet those letting accommodations were not included in the articles, and therefore were not claimsmakers in the study.

Nonetheless, some of the less wealthy live in areas of the city that attract tourists and have seen prices rise strongly. Research cited widely in the UK media indicates a significant and growing disquiet with this state of affairs (e.g. see Burgen 2018).

'Tourismphobia' and the Importance of the Industry

A number of claimsmakers featured in the press coverage condemned the protests. Although objecting to the protests is not an argument against Arran's claims *per se*, it does imply disagreements with apparent anti-tourist element, exemplified by the social media #touristsgohome campaign, the targeting of tourist activities and on occasion rhetoric that could be deemed threatening. Most notably, the Mayor Ada Colau, whilst herself an advocate of further regulating aspects of mass tourism such as AirBnB, did not support Arran's protests: 'Protesting against tourism can never involve intimidating people or damaging property' (Keeley 2017b).

Some others went further in condemning the sentiment behind the protests. For example, Jaume Collboni, a Socialist councillor in the city's coalition government branded them 'xenophobic', telling Barcelona based daily *La Vanguardia* that the violent assaults were 'a red line that should never be crossed in a democracy' (cited in Strange 2017).

Some claimsmakers warned of 'tourismphobia' (sometimes referred to in the original Spanish, 'turismfobia'), especially given tourism is such a vital industry that is premised upon intercultural encounters. The Spanish

tourism minister, Álvaro Nadal, was cited warning against 'tourismphobia' saying that Spain 'can't allow itself to be perceived as a country that is hostile to tourists' (Dearden 2017). He added: 'A minority can't ruin the decades of prestige for our tourist industry' (ibid.). El Mundo, a national newspaper, headed an editorial: 'Tourismphobia: the worst message at the worst time' (cited in Graham-Harrison and Quinn 2017).

Roger Pallarols, head of the restaurateurs' union, emphasises that anti-tourism protests can 'damage the image of the city and of the people of Barcelona as welcoming people' (cited in Strange 2017). Here the economic importance of tourism is invoked: if the reputation for friendliness is undermined then people are less likely to visit which have implications on jobs and livelihoods.

In fact, many claimsmakers have stressed that the issue of anti-tourism sentiment is very important given the wider state of the Spanish economy (see Dearden 2017). These voices are not dismissing overtourism but are emphasising the economic importance of mass tourism. This sentiment has been quite widely reported in 2018 alongside reports that bookings and occupancy rates may be down from the previous year (most often attributed to the independence issue and associated protests).

Some residents have been cited distancing themselves from Arran's protests. For example, web designer Montserrat Salas is quoted as follows: 'The people posting those 'Gaudi hates you' stickers are a tiny minority, but the media automatically assumes we agree with their extremist views. We're not angry with tourists. But we are angry with the businesses that profit from them' (cited in Haslam 2017).

Thus, there is a critique of the legitimacy of the protests on the basis that they express tourismphobia as dislike of 'mass' tourists (see Butcher 2003, 2016). Some claimsmakers—generally Spanish national politicians/tourism officials, trade bodies, and some independent residents—adopt the term as a counter to radical proponents of overtourism and in favour of a more positive view of mass tourism.

Framings of Overtourism

Theorizations

In the spirit of social constructionism, it is important to explore framings, or 'theorizations' (Best 2007) of the topic at hand, especially given that social problems are the products of a 'process of collective definition' rather than 'objective conditions and social arrangements' (Blumer 1971: 289). Theorizations address the political, social or philosophical assumptions at play in the various, sometimes competing, claims. They provide a basis for examining how overtourism is being understood more broadly, beyond the particulars of the case study.

Overtourism as a Political Question

Arran want to bring about the 'end of the capitalist system and global injustice' and believe that mass tourism is 'destroying cities' and 'condemning the working classes of the Catalan Countries to misery' (cited in Ahluwalia 2017). They claim to be resisting a market that 'capitalises on collective assets like the natural or social environment for nothing in return' (cited in Dearden 2017). One supporter tweeted 'It is a general movement of citizens against an uncontrolled and predatory tourist model' (ibid.). Arran's Mallorca chapter were quoted as saying: 'Tourism has too many private interests, which are not the interests of the majority' (ibid.). In a video posted later on social media, the campaigners urged others to join them in bringing chaos to bear on the 'mass tourism [that] condemns the working classes to a life of misery'.

Arran link their opposition to overtourism to a radical Catalan nationalist anti-capitalism. It draws implicitly upon the notion of the right to the city (Harvey 2008). It is worth noting, though, that their politics is a specific and recent manifestation of radicalism. It associates globalisation in the form of mass tourism as damaging to Catalan culture as well as working class material interests. As such, it fits with the pervasive but contested shift of Left wing thought to critical consumerism (Clarke et al. 2011) and identity politics (Furedi 2014).

Many contemporary political questions have acquired a distinctly cultural emphasis reflecting a general politicisation of culture, itself a product of the decline in the purchase of 'grand narrative' political ideologies on public consciousness (Black 2016; Butcher 2016). This may shape some of the claims made over mass tourism, which amount to a politicisation of the culture of tourism. Mass tourism stands as the uncultured other to the assertion of cultural identity.

It is far from clear whether a defence of Catalan identity from mass tourism will become more of a focus. In fact, Arran enjoy very little electoral support. The newer service workers are employed in the tourism or cultural sector, which may mute support for actions that could impact the industry negatively.

Overtourism as a Cultural Critique

A second, closely related theorization is the linking of overtourism to an environmentally and culturally unsustainable tourism and tourist via the assumption of a damaging culture of consumerism. This view is far from new. It has consolidated with the take-off of the term 'overtourism'. It also links local limits to global ones and its premise is that global tourism needs to be reigned in.

Two articles published in *The Guardian* newspaper develop this view which chimes with a wider framing of the notion of cultural loss as expressed by many claimsmakers in the UK media. Martin Kettle links overtourism to a sense that personal freedoms have advanced beyond a level destinations can cope with: 'We may not be an infestation yet but we are a problem', and so 'we have to re-examine the idea that we enjoy an unfettered liberty to travel at will or for pleasure' (Kettle 2017). So, for Kettle (2017), we are at a 'tipping point' (ibid.).

For Suzanne Moore (2017), '… of course local people are willing and happy to have reasonable numbers of tourists in their home place. But thousands and thousands? It's ridiculous to think that there is no limit to their tolerance'. Moore is unequivocal in her criticism not only of tourism but tourists. 'I don't mean to ruin your holiday, but Europe hates tourists – and with good reason.' Moore continues: 'You are not wanted.

You are killing the thing you love. You are ruining everything. You are demanding and noisy and you drink too much. You think the locals are pleased to see you, but they are not. You are, in other words, a tourist' (ibid.).

In this cultural critique of mass tourism a few things are striking. First is the problematisation of human freedom—our 'unfettered liberty to travel' (Kettle 2017)—expressed through the market for holidays. That 'freedom to' travel for some is deemed at the expense of the 'freedom from' tourism for others. A sense of competing freedoms or in some cases that freedom is zero sum—more for some equals less for others—is evident in these and other commentaries.

Second, the notion of a 'tipping point' is notable. Goodwin has also argued that: 'In the last 2 years, there has been a radical change in the perceptions of local people of tourism, in many destinations a tipping point has been reached and mass tourism has become a local political issue, sometimes spilling over into the street' (Goodwin 2017).

Furedi (2018:18) argues that this idiom 'conveys a dark sense of foreboding about the world of the future, where one catastrophe will beget another' and is often invoked as part of a generalised fearful orientation towards the future and cultural change.

Third, the stark condemnation of tourists, who for Kettle (2017) comprise an 'infestation' and for Moore (2017) are '… ruining …', '… killing…', '…demanding …', hints at the nineteenth century elites' open prejudices against the masses on holiday. The difference to the past is that both authors include themselves in this culture—*mea culpa* is characteristic of many commentaries on mass tourism in Barcelona and elsewhere. So, whilst in the past the travel culture of the working class was denigrated, today 'overtourism' stresses a culture of limits to human freedoms (although, certainly, critiques of 'mass tourism' still target those less interested or financially able to travel as so called 'ethical tourists' (Butcher 2003, 2016)).

Justin Francis of Responsible Travel narrates a dramatic introduction at the start of their recent video 'Crowded Out: The Story of Overtourism', stating that 'Tourism has been widely regarded as a benign industry, a win –win […]. In 2017, everything changed' (2018). The video credits 'rebellious locals', such as Barcelona's protesters, with putting this vital

issue on the map. Elsewhere Francis asserts that 'there is an arrogance in all of us tourists' (Francis 2017a). He writes of ' …a deluge of complaints from destinations around the world about the negative impacts of mass tourism' (Francis 2017b) and that: 'Governments are realising tourism can't be a free for all' as '..local people have the right to go about their lives without seeing their homes and heritage trampled' (ibid.).

Thus, the view that tourism as a whole has exceeded limits globally, that these limits are linked to a surfeit of freedom for the individual enacted through the market, and that this is expressed through overtourism, comprises a commonplace cultural theorization of overtourism.

Overtourism Versus Pragmantism

A third understated theorization, but influential nonetheless, is that of pragmatism (see William James for the original account of this philosophical disposition). A pragmatist, in this context, asks about the practical effects of acting in pursuit of a higher principle, such as cultural preservation or sustainability. Pragmatism does not deny problems but in the context of the importance of the industry to livelihoods and its contribution to culture it may question at least some of the more radical assertions around overtourism.

A variety of claimsmakers have questioned the scale and severity of tourism generated problems in general, and also in relation to other problems they face, from a pragmatic perspective. They beg the question as to whether things are as bad as some claim, and, importantly, whether the prospective cure will lead to a worse outcome that the assumed problem.

Pragmatism is expressed by some claimsmakers in the case study. However, this framing may have lost out due to the propensity for the newspapers to look for forthright advocacy for, and reactions to, overtourism. In other words, there may be an element of sensationalism.

Disavowal of Overtourism

This theorisation views 'overtourism' as more of an opportunity than a threat. Whilst the issues raised by many claimsmakers are undoubtedly real and significant, they arguably adopt an *a priori* pessimism. This pessimism is manifested in a one sided focus upon negatives over positives, and an emphasis on those perceived to be victims over success stories. To question this is not Panglossian, or to imply a defence of the excesses of the industry, but to suggest the problems are born of a progress that can alleviate and overcome those very problems at a higher level of development (Butcher 2003).

Such a theorisation requires a certain optimism with regard to the capacity of contemporary society to rationally address and overcome problems whilst also expanding. In fact, quite a few articles featured in the case study cite critics of the critics of tourism. This is not always or necessarily a disavowal of overtourism *per se*, but a claim that it is not a *social* problem, or as substantial a problem as others—especially Arran—claim it to be.

It is worth adding that for all the rhetoric and analysis of overtourism, there are vast swathes of the globe where international tourism barely features and where it could prospectively contribute greatly to development. When overtourism is elevated from a set of issues to a global social problem, this global reality also needs to be born in mind.

Overtourism and Growing Populism

A final theorization to consider is that the protests and attendant portrayal of mass tourism as a social problem have wider contextual causes related to a growing populist sentiment. *The Guardian* in its coverage cites Duncan McCann of the *New Economics Foundation* who, referring to factors such as the rise of AirBnB, growth of city breaks, cruise tourism, people transferring from North Africa to Spain accepts that:

> *These shifts are really putting pressure on these locations, increasing the numbers and reducing the spread of the tourists. Once you factor in the layout of a lot of*

> *these continental cities – old, and with a network of smaller streets – people start to get the sense that they're being taken over.* (McCann, cited in Coldwell 2017)

He adds that this plays into the wider politics of the continent, with economies and political structures not seen to be working for people or addressing their concerns generally:

> *Though tourist numbers have increased, I am not sure they have increased enough in five years to cause this much agitation. What has really changed? A lot is that politics isn't out for the ordinary person anymore. Until that is addressed, I don't think we'll see this protest movement subside.* (ibid.)

It is an interesting perspective, especially given the growth of the populist Left in Catalonia and Spain. Populist platforms have been at the forefront of demands to regulate and control tourism and tourists to address a range of problems. A general rejection of a political class deemed technocratic, distant and at times corrupt may be manifested in demands to 'take back control' of aspects of the city from real estate and financial interests. Although there is not room to develop this further, it is notable that there has been nothing remarkable in the rate of growth of tourism in the last few years, yet polls indicate that tourism is seen as a markedly bigger issue.

Claims, Claimsmakers and the Construction of Overtourism as Social Problem

From the summary a number of things emerge regarding claims made and attendant contradictions. First, despite having a questionable level of support, Arran's actions were covered extensively and have become a point of reference since in the UK media. They were treated on occasion by critical commentators as the authentic voice of Barcelona's residents.

Second, a variety of cited claimsmakers viewed the extent of the problems differently to Arran. Overtourism was presented as contested.

Third, platform capitalism has clearly emerged centre stage as a major feature of the critique of mass tourism. This feeds into a much wider international debate about platform capitalism and economic liberalism as it concerns property and planning.

Fourth, there is almost no coverage of tourists' views of overtourism as they do not feature in the media as a claimsmaker. This is understandable but striking, not least because many Catalonians are often tourists in their own city (Richards 2016).

Fifth, Barcelona has been cited as a point of reference for a global problem of overtourism affecting places most unlike the Catalan capital, such as the Isle of Skye in Scotland. Both destinations have been labelled 'victims of mass tourism' (The Scotsman 2017). Note that there was a significant push back against the portrayal of Skye and also Edinburgh in this way in the letters pages of Scottish newspapers. In relation to Edinburgh, resident and novelist Ian Rankin optimistically declared 'Bring on the busloads!' (2017).

Conclusion

The Barcelona protests played a role in establishing 'overtourism' as a phenomenon of note in the UK media and subsequently in the public sphere. Overtourism is revealed as contested and also as a plastic phenomenon that can be moulded to fit the assumptions of the user. Hence, as with 'sustainable tourism', its usage may promote formal agreement whilst masking substantial disagreements over the nature of the problems and prospective solutions.

However, 'overtourism' indicates that limits have been surpassed and therefore it carries a suggestion of something qualitatively new. Its ubiquity and usage in UK newspapers over the 12 month period examined reflects the tone of much of the reporting and commentary elsewhere. As a category and as an assumption of limits, overtourism marks out a development in debates on tourism, development and culture.

Counterclaims exist, with their own claimsmakers and premises. The contestation of politics and culture through the discussion of mass tourism premised on differing framings is likely to be a continuing feature of

the media landscape. Overtourism is likely to be a significant term in that contestation. The case of UK newspaper coverage of Barcelona provides some insight into the birth and early development of the latest addition to the lexicon.

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Tourist Tracking Techniques as a Tool to Understand and Manage Tourism Flows

Hugo Padrón-Ávila and Raúl Hernández-Martín

Introduction: Linking Overtourism and Tracking

Tourism activity has a strong link with the territory due to the characteristics of the activity itself (INRouTe 2017). Thus, when analysing the tourism industry at local scale, very different realities can be observed within a single destination. Even in destinations facing overtourism issues, only few areas of the destination suffer from congestion issues, while most parts of the territory are mainly used by local population. Moreover, tourists usually visit attractions and points of interest at very specific timings and this causes these spaces to be congested only during particular times, while they usually are less frequented most part of the day. However, the high presence of tourists in certain spaces and times (overtourism) can cause degradation of natural and cultural spaces and the rejection of local population to visit these places (Goodwin 2017). In

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order to identify locations suffering from overtourism, tourist tracking techniques can be used to gather information regarding this issue to make prudent decisions for avoiding an unsustainable development of the destination or making residents feel displaced (Goodwin 2017).

Data points that tourism has continuously grown during last years (UNWTO 2019). However, this growth has been mainly focused in emerging regions that have not achieved an outstanding tourism industry yet. In the case of Europe, for example, current data and future previsions indicate that tourist arrivals will grow slightly (UNWTO 2019), as this continent has already experienced a significant tourism development. However, despite this growth may be smaller than in other places, it has taken place in already consolidated tourism destinations where a small growth of tourism arrivals may lead to overtourism and congestion. This fast-changing environment explains why tourism destinations' competitiveness must be based on the incorporation of new and better tools to improve destinations' decision-making process. Thus, improvements in technology, tourism governance, education and data analysis are decisive in this new environment (Sheehan et al. 2016). This situation has led World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) to recognise that a proper management of tourism destinations and firms is a key strategic element to help them overcome overtourism and congestion (Duignan 2019).

In order to properly manage tourism-related issues such as overtourism, data capable of making an adequate analysis of the current situation are needed. As more precise data are, a better analysis will be possible and, thus, better decisions will be made allowing a more effective later evaluation of the destination (INRouTe 2017; INRouTe & UNWTO 2013). In this regard, the current chapter focuses on explaining the possible applications of using tourist tracking techniques to gather data on tourists' mobility patterns and behaviour. These data can be used to know why some places are visited, the timing of the visits and the profile of tourists visiting these places (Getz 2014). Having this information may be useful to understand overtourism and congestion issues taking place within the destination and help decide the actions and policies to carry out (Smallwood et al. 2012).

The Importance of Analysing Tourism at Local Scale

The need of gathering tourism statistics at local scale is related to the high relationship connecting tourism with territory. This explains why this activity shows a very different distribution within continents, countries, regions and even municipalities (INRouTe & UNWTO 2013). These differences are caused by the nature of tourism industry itself, as in other industries the production and consumption take place in different locations and moments. However, in tourism industry, these processes usually occur in the same place and time. This obliges tourists to move to destinations in order to enjoy its resources and attractions. In addition, as certain places of destinations are more likely to attract a larger number of tourists, this also explains why tourism activity tends to concentrate in certain spaces while most areas of the destination are not usually frequented by tourists. Thus, when geotagged information is gathered, a very unequal distribution of tourism flows can be identified. These inequalities justify the importance of gathering information of tourist activities at local scale (INRouTe 2017; INRouTe & UNWTO 2013). In addition, this type of analysis facilitates setting up policies to re-invent mature destinations and attractions or start actions to reduce tourism flows to congested spaces (Padrón-Ávila and Hernández Martín 2019a, b).

In fact, previous studies have proven that the scale of analysis show the relevance of tourism activity in very specific spots (e.g. e Silva et al. 2018; Hernández-Martín et al. 2016; Lew and McKercher 2006). E Silva et al. (2018) gathered data of monthly overnight stays of tourists visiting the European Union (EU) countries at NUTS3 level. It allowed to identify which places of the EU had a greater amount of overnight stays and, thus, a bigger conglomeration of tourists. This study clearly showed that tourism activity is not equally distributed within countries and regions and that this distribution constantly changes depending on the time of the year. One of the principal contributions of this study was pointing out those most vulnerable NUTS3 due to their economic dependence to tourism activity, based on the number of tourists received and their seasonality.

Tracking Techniques in Tourism Research

The needs of tourism data have evolved over the years due to the increasing needs of destination managers (INRouTe & UNWTO 2013). These changes occur because the behaviour of tourists varies and this determines, to a large extent, that certain types of information are relevant to decision-making process (INRouTe 2017). These changes in the behaviour of tourists are relevant in determining why tourist arrivals to certain destinations or places are increased or reduced, in order to create new tourism products that meet the demand for specific segments or to identify the needs for infrastructure in certain spaces of the territory (Padrón-Ávila and Hernández Martín 2019a, b). In addition, given that destinations compete with each other to attract visitors, it is essential to have updated information about them to be able to know the characteristics of the destination that attract them, improve the quality of those products that differentiate their competitors or manage tourism flows so that current tourism activity does not adversely affect the sustainable development of the destination (Goodwin 2017).

At the end of the last century, certain techniques that allow to know how tourists move at local scale began to be used. Murphy and Keller (1990) conducted face-to-face interviews with tourists at departure and entry points to the destination to gather information regarding the places visited and the time spent in these places. Another technique was the direct observation of tourists in urban spaces while a researcher is following them, observing their behaviour and locating the places visited on a map (Thornton et al. 1997). In fact, Hartmann (1988) used both techniques (interview and direct observation) to study the movements of American tourists in Munich. However, he concluded that none of these techniques was efficient enough to be used in future research due to consuming a large amount of time. In addition, these techniques presented certain problems as they were unable to determine the purpose and meaning of the decisions and activities carried out by tourists (Hartmann 1988).

In more recent years, several tracking techniques have been developed to study tourists' movements. These include the analysis of mobile

positioning data, global positioning system data (GPS), Bluetooth data, user-generated data and geo-referenced photos uploaded to the Internet (Raun et al. 2016). Dattilo et al. (2016) point out that the use of Big Data represents a source of original and objective information about the spatial movements of individuals and tourist flows. The use of these data for statistical purposes could present various advantages in terms of efficiency, promptness, completeness and cost reduction (Dattilo et al. 2016). Tracking techniques seem to be based on the Big Data analysis available at the destination. Among the main advantages of using Big Data are the potential to predict future phenomena, behaviours, expectations and needs of tourist consumers (Invat.tur 2015).

Among the existing techniques, tracking of tourists using different kinds of GPS devices at a local scale has been the most commonly used approach (Xia et al. 2008), as well as the analysis of mobile phone data to cover studies of movements in larger areas (Roose 2010). Raun et al. (2016) argue that using GPS and mobile phones data allows for studying tourism more precisely and efficiently because these data have better spatial and temporal accuracy, the follow-up periods are longer, they allow to follow tourists during their whole visit and the collection and processing of big amounts of digital data are easier than with conventional data. However, the use of space-time information always raises moral and legal issues related to the protection of personal data and the privacy of the subjects being tracked (Raun et al. 2016).

It has to be recognised the use of mobile positioning data as a source of information to generate tourism statistics at local scale is still at an early stage (Alawwad et al. 2016). Therefore, it requires more detailed analytical models and calculations to improve the common data collection and processing methods. GPS data, for example, need a constant Internet connection so that the areas through which tourists have travelled can be registered (Shoval and Isaacson 2007). According to Zoltan and Masiero (2012), the use of mobile devices is lower among older people, so the sample of this segment of tourists would be much smaller and, thus, the analysis of the information would be severely conditioned by the size of the sample. Raun and Ahas (2016) also point out that these techniques do not reflect the motivations of tourists or their preferences, while this information can be collected through surveys or other traditional

data-gathering techniques. In fact, during the study of Ahas et al. (2007), data gathered through new techniques had to be compared with data obtained through surveys to complete and verify their findings. Pettersson and Zillinger (2011) found a similar problem and also had to combine GPS tracking data with surveys. Raun et al. (2016) have indicated that these techniques are not convenient for distinguishing large-scale destinations, but that they are appropriate for identifying the places visited in specific locations.

In the last decade, other sources of information based on the use of Big Data have also been used to know how tourists behave. De Oliveira and Porto (2016) extracted quantitative information from TripAdvisor to perform a data processing analysis that allowed developing a series of indicators of tourist attractions located in Minas Gerais. Signorelli et al. (2016), on the other hand, used Wikidata, the linked data source of the Wikimedia Foundation, to identify the tourist attractions of three European cities and to obtain the monthly views received on these pages in order to estimate the visits made to these attractions. The application programming interface (API) of social networks also facilitates analysing all the geotagged images and contents uploaded to them to know which places of the destination are visited (Popescu and Grefenstette 2009). Another technique that has been employed is the implementation of control mechanisms on access roads to certain resources and attractions of tourism destinations (Smallwood et al. 2012). In addition, the Spanish National Institute of Statistics used traffic controls in national borders to obtain information on the access of foreign vehicles and tourists to Spain (Izquierdo Valverde et al. 2016). For this study, Izquierdo Valverde et al. (2016) used traffic cameras and records collected at borders to know the type of vehicle accessing the country, the nationality of the occupants according to the registration number and the number of occupants per vehicle.

However, it should be also considered that certain tourist tracking techniques present certain moral, ethical and legal problems (Curry 2000; Renenger 2001). Most of these problems are related to people's right to privacy and laws limiting personal data processing (Shoval and Isaacson 2007). Some techniques such as the tracking of tourists through GPS devices carried during their trips, survey responses or the

installation of tracking apps in tourists' mobile phones require tourists' consent to be applied. However, mobile phone and social media companies, for example, can locate their users and the movements they make and transfer that information to third parties (Curry 2000), without obtaining tourists' permission to do so. In fact, according to Renenger (2001), legal systems are not yet fully prepared to face this reality and the problems associated with it. In general, it seems that the legal limits regarding the use of personal data are focussed around the consent of the users and the use of their information to identify tourist segment patterns, but not specific individuals' personal data. In addition, it seems that this impediment could limit the use of the data collected by these techniques to make comparisons between countries, since each country has a different legislation and, thus, it would be only possible to gather different types of data in each of them (Eurostat 2014).

Previous Approaches to Detect Overtourism

Due to the nature of overtourism, controlling tourists' arrivals to destinations and attractions becomes fundamental (Goodwin 2017). Thus, in the study of Khoshnevis Yazdi and Khanalizadeh (2017), data of tourists' arrivals over time are gathered to apply gravity models in order to establish which characteristics make tourists more likely to visit the destination. The objective of this kind of studies is regulating tourism flows as it can help avoiding congestion issues, among others (McKercher 1999). In the case of trying to identify overtourism issues, researchers have proposed several methods to detect locations suffering from congestion and similar problems (e.g. Benner 2019; Duignan 2019; Goodwin 2017). The different approaches most frequently used to detect and analyse overtourism are related to studying environmental damages, residents' perceptions and tourist satisfaction with different features of their trips (Goodwin 2017).

Perceptions of local population are the data most usually employed to support the existence of overtourism and congestion issues (Goodwin 2017). Thus, in the studies of Muler Gonzalez et al. (2018) and Jurado et al. (2012), authors adapt the traditional concept of carrying capacity

(used when analysing environmental issues) to residents' social carrying capacity. This concept refers to the capacity of residents to assume the arrival of tourists and integrate it into their societies without feeling displaced from destinations (Jurado et al. 2012; Muler Gonzalez et al. 2018). For these authors, this capacity is exceeded when destinations suffer from overtourism and congestion (Jurado et al. 2012; Muler Gonzalez et al. 2018). Perkumienė and Pranskūnienė (2019) have also supported the use of residents' perceptions as key indicator to detect these issues, as residents have the right to be able to enjoy the place where they live. Kuščer and Mihalič (2019) have even pointed that attitudes of residents are not only a tool to identify overtourism, but a good way to solve these problems if residents cooperate to achieve a solution.

Controlling the number of tourists arrived have also been a frequent tool used to establish when places are receiving too many tourists (Goodwin 2017; Khoshnevis Yazdi and Khanalizadeh 2017). Frequently, carrying capacity has been the most employed indicator pointing to possible environmental damages (Goodwin 2017). However, Milano et al. (2018) also proposed identifying overtourism through the evolution of the degradation of natural spaces, loss of species, damage to landscapes or overuse of land for tourism purposes. A link could be established between tourism and natural spaces suffering from these problems if the number of tourists is increasing in these locations when these issues start appearing (Milano et al. 2018). However, despite the effects of overtourism may be severe for the environment, it only affects local environments (Koens et al. 2018). Its effect on global nature and environment is almost imperceptible, so detecting these kind of issues becomes more complicated as very specific locations must be studied (Koens et al. 2018).

The perceptions of tourists has been also pointed as a mean to detect overtourism as tourist satisfaction could be lowered if tourists perceive the destination as crowded, polluted or dirty (Goodwin 2017). However, the problem of using tourists and residents' perception to detect overtourism is that perceptions are based on subjective criteria, so both segments could not perceived issues related to overtourism when they actually exist (Kuščer and Mihalič 2019). Carrying capacity can be a good tool to detect overtourism, but it presents problems when researchers intend to apply it on non-natural spaces. To avoid this, Padrón-Ávila

and Hernández Martín (2019a) consider that analysing the characteristics of tourists who visit main tourist attractions is fundamental for understanding overtourism issues. Knowing the characteristics of certain segments may help understanding what they do when visiting certain locations and how they behave (Scuderi and Dalle Nogare 2018). In fact, the importance of studying the behaviour of tourists to identify wrong demeanours and create campaigns to educate them has already been pointed out as a key source to solve overtourism (Seraphin et al. 2018). However, the problem lies in identifying this behaviour and tracking techniques may help in this task (Shoval and Isaacson 2007).

Improving Overtourism Management Through the Use of Tourist Tracking Techniques

Despite the plurality of techniques that could be used, Lau et al. (2017) affirm that the implications derived from tourist tracking analysis depend on the technique used to carry out the study, since each of them provides different information. Raun et al. (2016) used mobile phone data provided by phone companies to identify which places were more frequently visited depending on tourists' nationality, so they could segment tourism demand of the destination. Shoval et al. (2011) used GPS tracking devices to establish which places tourists were most likely to visit based on the location of their hotel, which can help company managers with offering activities in which their guests would be highly interested. Moreover, the results of analysing tourist tracking data not only depend on the technique chosen, but on the aim of the research and the places where the study is carried out (Lau et al. 2017). The main implications pointed out in tourism studies are usually linked to the improvement of the management of tourism destinations and companies (Shoval and Isaacson 2007). In addition, Shoval and Isaacson (2007) also pointed out that this type of study is also able to expand the existing boundaries existing in tourism research.

However, McKercher and Lau (2008) suggest that the main implications of this type of study are those related to the improvement of the

management of tourism destinations. Among others, they have a special impact on promoting the improvement of the planning of the attractions to be developed at the destination, the development of housing centres and the increase of transport connections (McKercher and Lau 2008). This type of study has direct and indirect implications that would help reduce the inequalities in the economic development of the region, in addition to controlling residents' migration patterns and distributing incomes and wealth generated by tourism (Lau et al. 2017). The monitoring of visitors also allows to evaluate the seasonality not only of the destination, but of its attractions, points of interest and itineraries (Raun et al. 2016). It is even possible to identify the location of specific tourist attractions that were not known by the managers of the tourism destinations (Alawwad et al. 2016). Understanding and measuring the daily movements of visitors is also an important task in other areas of management such as transport, taxation, public administrations, among others (Raun and Ahas 2016). Moreover, tracking tourists can have several implications for overtourism and congestion management. Knowing why some places are visited, the timing of the visits and the profile of tourists visiting these places is key to understand why certain places present a higher presence of tourists at specific timings (Getz 2014).

Destination managers can analyse tourist tracking data to identify elements to reduce tourism flows to certain places or timings. As these data allow knowing the characteristics of tourists less likely to visit certain locations, it also allows destination managers setting up strategies or marketing campaigns oriented to attract tourists not interested in visiting most congested attractions but others. This allows distributing tourism flows from most visited locations to secondary attractions. Moreover, identifying those timings in which tourists are more likely to visit certain locations also allows setting up policies aiming to redistribute tourism flows through different hours of the day (Getz 2014; Pettersson and Zillinger 2011). Tracking techniques can be also used to promote the visits of certain places among those tourists that show a greater interest in visiting them (Zoltan and McKercher 2015). These data are also useful for increasing the expenditure on tourists who visit more popular places (maximizing incomes generated by tourism and

reducing the number of visits to these places) and, at the same time, to increase the number of visits to other spaces (David-Negre et al. 2018). This can be used to promote secondary attractions (Lau and McKercher 2006) and, thereby, reduce the presence of tourists in specific locations of the destination while increase the amount of visits of other attractions. Koo et al. (2017) even indicate that these studies are relevant for the generation of new secondary and peripheral tourism destinations and not just attractions. Koo et al. (2017) point out that generating peripheral destinations is essential for the continuous development of mature tourism destinations that have a large influx of visitors. In addition, these studies also help to know the itineraries made by tourists, so they can be useful to manage road networks to facilitate the access to certain tourist attractions and, thus, distribute tourists flows (Smallwood et al. 2012).

Analysing these data is relevant because tourists' mobility patterns have an impact on the economic, social and environmental dimensions of the sustainable development of destinations (Ros Chaos et al. 2018). Thus, techniques capable of reducing tourist flows to specific areas or attractions have been already studied (McKercher and Lew 2003). Lew and McKercher (2004) stated that studies based on the direct observation of tourists reflect where an estimated number of tourists are concentrated, which can cause an unsustainable development of the destination in some areas. For this reason, this type of research can be used to initiate actions of concentration or dispersion of visitors in specific locations (McVetty 2002). The reduction of visitors in certain spaces helps to minimize the effect of tourism activity on the tourism destinations reduces the conflicts generated by tourism and preserves the resources that the destination contains (McVetty 2002; Swett et al. 2004). It is also possible to apply management policies and measures only during certain peak months or hours (Smallwood et al. 2012), as seasonality within destinations may cause some places to show overtourism issues only during specific timings. Moreover, tracking techniques also allow knowing how tourist attractions are linked and help establish a cooperation relationship between these attractions, which represents a crucial element for the sustainable development of the destination (Liu et al. 2017).

Conclusion

The continuous growth of tourists' arrival during last years has led destinations to develop overtourism and congestion issues (UNWTO 2019). However, these problems do not usually affect the whole destination, but particular attractions and points of interest. In this new environment, destinations have to understand and manage tourism flows in order to try to avoid this sort of problems (Milano et al. 2018). Despite traditional analyses of overtourism have been based on studying residents' perceptions, carrying capacities and tourist satisfaction (Goodwin 2017), these approaches cannot gather information regarding tourists' characteristics and behaviour. However, the use of tourist tracking techniques allow researchers and destination managers understand these features (Renenger 2001; Shoval and Isaacson 2007; Shoval et al. 2011). In spite of this, the application of tracking techniques is still at an early stage (Alawwad et al. 2016), so more studies are needed to help researchers know how to combine these techniques to gather larger amounts of data capable of helping destinations in their decision-making process (Kádár 2014; Raun et al. 2016). Moreover, tracking techniques also present some legal, moral and ethical issues that policy makers and researchers must address in order not to violate people's right to privacy (Renenger 2001). Even so, tracking techniques may allow understanding which places of the destination are more frequently visited and which tourist segments are more likely to visit certain locations (McKercher et al. 2012; Pettersson and Zillinger 2011), what can be used by destination managers and researcher to set up policies to distribute tourism flows (McVetty 2002) or educating tourists (Seraphin et al. 2018).

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Case Study 1: Overtourism in Valletta—Reality or Myth?

John Ebejer

Introduction

Tourism is often considered to be beneficial to host communities because of the income and the employment it generates. On the downside tourism imposes negative impacts on host communities (Zaei and Zaei 2013). The term overtourism is relatively new but this does not mean that the phenomenon is a new one. In academia, debates on negative impacts on local communities are often framed within discourses on tourism irritation index (Doxey 1975), sustainable development, mass tourism, carrying capacities (Koens et al. 2018), tourismphobia (Seraphin 2018) and more recently overtourism (Dodds and Butler 2019; Milano et al. 2019). In spite of several debates on overtourism in recent years, the term lacks a clear definition and is open to multiple interpretations. The term overtourism is "ill-defined, lacks clarity, and is highly difficult to operationalize"

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(Koens et al. 2018: 2). This makes an analysis of overtourism at a destination difficult and highly subjective.

The negative impacts associated with tourism include overcrowding in the city's public spaces, traffic congestion, excessive touristification of often-visited areas, inappropriate behaviour by visitors and damage to the physical environment and displacement of long-term residents (Koens et al. 2018; Briguglio and Avellino 2019). Other issues associated with tourism are social discomfort for local residents, undesirable experiences by visitors, overloaded infrastructure, environmental degradation and threats to culture and heritage. Overtourism is understood to be a situation where one or more of these negative impacts are perceived to be excessive or where they significantly exceed perceived benefits (McKinsey and Company 2017). A European Parliament study (Peeters et al. 2018: 22) adopts the definition of overtourism as follows; "the situation in which the impact of tourism, at certain times and in certain locations, exceeds physical, ecological, social, economic, psychological, and/or political capacity thresholds", but even this approach is not without its problems. Establishing thresholds is highly arbitrary and in any case most indicators are difficult to quantify.

In an urban context the intrusion of tourism into residential spaces is almost inevitable. Residents are often willing to put up with the resulting inconveniences when put in an overall context of the benefits that the tourism activity will derive to the place. On the other hand, the level of intrusion and inconvenience could become excessive and could generate anti-tourist sentiment amongst residents, as has happened in some destinations (Milano et al. 2019). Stakeholders feel that the excessive number of visitors has led to a deterioration of the quality of life. Overtourism is associated with a situation where the host community considers it undesirable to have more tourism activity (Briguglio and Avellino 2019).

Academic literature often refers to excessive crowding as being one aspect of overtourism. Crowding is caused by a disproportionately large influx of tourists at a visitor attraction or in an urban area of a destination (Oklevik et al. 2019). At tourism hotspots, residents' lives are affected by the noise, pollution and impediments to daily routines produced by increased traffic, tourist coaches and high concentrations of tourists. Residential spaces are intruded upon. In areas of strong concentration of

tourist activity, public spaces are being taken over for tourism use. For example, Las Ramblas is an iconic avenue that once was the main meeting place of Barcelona society. It is now perceived by the locals as having lost its symbolic significance and its traditional functions have been replaced with intense tourism activity (Russo and Scarnato 2018). In some cities, tourism is considered to be responsible for the severe disruption in residential housing supply. Prague's historic centre is losing its original use and value as a residential area and is being transformed into a 'tourism ghetto' implying "the separation of Prague's tourism form local culture, which has led to erosion of the sense of place and the identity of the historic core" (Roncak 2019: 161). In Barcelona's Gothic Quarter, the sharp increase in short-term tourism rentals[1] has induced 15 per cent loss in population as renting to tourists is more profitable than renting long-term to locals (Russo and Scarnato 2018). Central parts of Venice are subject to overcrowding but a more pertinent problem is that Venice is losing its soul as people are moving out, in part because of tourism but also due to strict restrictions on restoration of residential properties (Ebejer et al. 2018). Milano (2017: 9) refers to the Venice Syndrome as a "phenomenon of tourism saturation" and "the progressive disappearance of the city's social fabric." He notes how the decline in Venice population occurred concurrent with constant increases in the number of overnight tourist stays. A decline in population comes about because of reduced liveability and a reduced quality of life because of excessive presence of tourists.

This chapter debates whether Valletta is subject to overtourism. Valletta has changed over the past two decades with increased investment in the refurbishment of historic properties and evident signs of increased tourism activity. Concurrently there has been a sharp increase in the number of visitors to Malta. A study on overtourism in Valletta is timely not least for a better understanding of how Valletta is changing.

Wall (2019) claims that there are two approaches to measuring impacts: physical and perceptual. For this study, a predominantly perceptual approach is considered more appropriate for several reasons. Valletta is in

[1] In some academic literature, short-term tourism rental accommodation is referred to as shared accommodation or simply as Airbnb.

practice one small urban area forming part of a much larger urban conglomeration. Statistics relating to one small area would be difficult to interpret in isolation. Some tourism impacts (for example, on destination attractiveness) are difficult to measure (Peeters et al. 2018: 42), whereas for others there is no data specific for Valletta. Moreover, a perceptual approach allows for the evaluation of impacts within a wider understanding of the overall socio-cultural context.

Rather than delve directly into overtourism in Valletta, this chapter focuses on the impacts of tourism and debates them in the overall context of the changes to which Valletta has been subjected over the past two or three decades. Urban destinations, including historic areas, are shaped by a range of various economic, social and cultural forces. Very rarely can urban change be attributable solely to tourism. Inevitably therefore in discussing how Valletta has changed, the paper does not limit itself to tourism and its impacts but also considers other forces. Once the impacts, both negative and positive, are discussed and the overall context understood, the paper then moves on to consider overtourism in Valletta as perceived by different stakeholders.

The Development of Tourism in Malta

The Maltese Islands of Malta, Gozo and Comino are located in the Mediterranean Sea approximately 97 kilometres south of Sicily. Malta is an independent EU state with a population of less than half a million. With independence in 1964, there was an urgent need for Malta's economy to diversify. Tourism was the obvious choice because of Malta's pleasant weather and extensive coastline. The growth in tourist arrivals was matched by poor product development and a series of problems such as environmental degradation, infrastructural overloading, over-dependence on a single source market and seasonal fluctuations (Markwick 1999). Until the 1990s Malta's tourism grew in line with the demands of tour operators who persisted in selling Malta as a sun and sea holiday destination, peaking in July and August, with little else to offer during the rest of the year. The tourism authorities and the industry became increasingly aware that Malta was no longer competitive in the

basic sun and sea package because of larger and often newer destinations that could handle much larger volumes (Pollacco 2003).

For more than half a century Malta's tourism activity was based largely on sun and sea and it is only since the year 2000 that there have been efforts to promote other forms of tourism. A process of repositioning was set in motion. The Malta product was redefined and became more reliant on Malta's distinctive comparative advantage, away from the more traditional sun and sea product to one that also incorporates its rich heritage. Key heritage sites were upgraded to improve their interpretation, accessibility, conservation and promotion (Metaxas 2009).

Changes in the way the tourism industry operates have brought about major changes in tourism destinations worldwide, including Malta. Malta is an island destination and therefore all visitors arrive by air, except for a few tens of thousands that arrive from Sicily by sea. The number of visitors to Malta is dependent on the seat capacity on air travel routes that are available. In 2006, low cost airlines started to operate to Malta. This brought with it lower fares, access to new markets and a significant increase in seat capacity. It was almost inevitable therefore that, following 2006, there were sustained increases in tourism numbers (Ebejer 2019). Tourist arrivals nearly doubled since 2010, increasing at an average annual rate of 8.7 per cent, reaching 2.59 million tourists in 2018 (Briguglio and Avellino 2019).

Apart from low cost airlines, the increased tourist numbers were made possible by two other factors. The widespread use of internet technology gave potential tourists access to information on accommodation and travel without the need for an intermediary, other than online. It also made it possible for individuals to make their own bookings. Moreover, short-term rentals for tourists (through Airbnb, Wimdu, and similar agencies) significantly increased the choice and availability of tourist accommodation. Travel became more affordable making it possible for people to travel more frequently (Dodds and Butler 2019).

Global changes in the way tourism operates impacted on the nature and dynamics of Malta's tourism industry (Fig. 1). Low cost airlines, independent internet booking and tourism rentals have made travelling easier and cheaper resulting in a more diversified and less seasonal industry (Graham and Dennis 2010; Ebejer 2019). In particular it changed

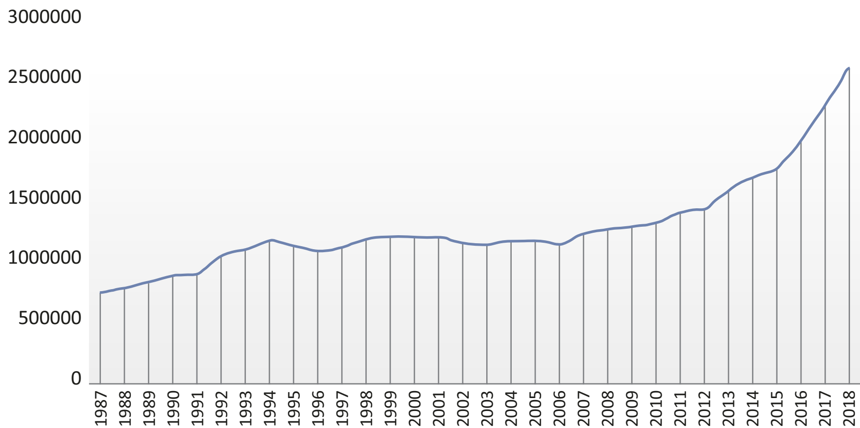

Fig. 1 Number of tourists visiting Malta. (Adapted from Graham and Dennis (2010) and Briguglio and Avellino (2019))

Malta's tourism from one that is heavily dependent on tour operator business to one that is more reliant on the individual travel tourist. The individual travel tourist (as opposed to tour operator tourist) rose from 33 per cent of the total in 2006 to 55 per cent of the total in 2010 (Ministry for Tourism 2012: 5).

Valletta: A Changing City

Valletta is the political and administrative capital of Malta. It is a relatively small area forming part of a much larger urban conglomeration around the Island's two main harbours. During the day it is full of life and activity, with innumerable offices, shops, cafes, restaurants, markets and sites to visit. The social and cultural life of Valletta residents revolves around the parishes, the band clubs and the annual parish feast (Ebejer 2019).

Valletta was built as a military stronghold of the Knights of the Order of St. John which controlled Malta from 1530 to 1798. It is surrounded by impressive fortifications most of which are still intact. The Order embellished it with many administrative, residential, cultural and

religious buildings. Valletta's streetscapes are characterised by distinctive timber balconies and extensive use of Maltese stone. Valletta's iconic nature was recognised with its designation as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 1980. Valletta is a city that constantly needs to adapt to changing needs, within the constraints set by the need to conserve the built heritage. Malta has an unusually rich heritage because of many layers of history and cultural influences (Ashworth and Tunbridge 2004). The urban heritage is dispersed throughout the islands but undoubtedly the highest concentration is in Valletta. Up until the millennium, there was very little public and private investment in urban conservation in Valletta. Without investment in maintenance and refurbishment, buildings deteriorate, especially if the buildings are old as is the case in Valletta. Public investment was limited to minor restoration, with projects worthy of note being few and far between. The lack of investment created a gradual yet steady downward spiral and increased dilapidation in many parts of Valletta (Ebejer 2019). Many streets and squares were occupied by moving traffic and the parked cars of office workers and shoppers. This generally detracted from the qualities of urban heritage spaces.

Beyond the millennium, there was an extensive programme of restoration of historic buildings and fortifications. There were several projects that used Valletta's built heritage in a distinctive and unique way including St. James Cavalier, Fort St. Elmo and the City Gate project (Ashworth and Tunbridge 2017).

Urban spaces and their quality are essential elements of the tourist experience in a historic area. Until relatively recently, only the main road of Valletta, Republic Street,[2] was pedestrianised. The turning point for Valletta was about 2005 when the authorities decided to invest more in the city. Pedestrian areas were extended to include other important spaces. This created spaces that are more amenable to pedestrians allowing visitors to better appreciate Valletta's urban heritage. Coupled with the extension of pedestrian spaces, transport access to Valletta was improved with the provision of extensive parking just outside Valletta and the introduction of a system of park and ride (Ebejer 2019). Parking in the

[2] Republic Street is the main spinal road of Valletta leading from City Gate to the main central square, St. George's Square and then on to Fort St. Elmo at the lower end of Valletta.

inner streets of Valletta was reduced and made against payment, except for residents. Bus terminus facilities were significantly improved and a passenger lift was built to connect the waterfront to the City centre. Ferry services across the harbour were improved with better boats and a more regular schedule (Deguara et al. 2019).

After the millennium, public sector investment in Valletta increased markedly in capital projects and in an extended programme of events. It was one of several factors that gave people added confidence to invest in Valletta properties, either for private residential use or for commercial use. Another factor was the designation of Valletta as a European Capital of Culture in 2018. Private investors realised the opportunities offered by a revitalized Valletta. Many historic private properties were rehabilitated and brought into use as high-end residences, boutique hotels, short-term tourism rental and catering establishments (Markwick 2018). Increased private sector investment in the restoration of historic buildings improves streetscapes and reduces the sense of dereliction in some streets. In spite of these developments, however, there are still pockets in Valletta where the dilapidation of buildings persists.

Tourism and Leisure in Valletta

Valletta contains the island's most important attractions all within walking distance of each other. Valletta's diverse and interesting urban spaces give visitors ample scope to explore and discover, this being an essential part of the tourist experience (Ebejer 2015). The main attraction is its historic character which is ever-present in all its streets and urban spaces. Moreover, it has numerous museums, churches and visitor attractions, all set in a historic context. The gardens at the periphery of the city provide quiet enclaves where people can relax and enjoy the open views.

The tourism attractiveness of Valletta inevitably translates into a demand for accommodation in or near the city. Until a decade ago, tourism accommodation in or near Valletta was very limited (Tunbridge 2008). The situation has changed in recent years with the increased provision of tourism accommodation in boutique hotels and tourism short-term rentals. In 2018, eight new boutique hotels added 160 tourist rooms

to the city (Cremona 2019). Moreover, the number of rental units (Airbnb or HomeAway) increased from 186 in 2016 to 530 in 2019[3] (Airdna n.d.). When compared to a dwelling stock of 3865 (National Statistics Office 2014), 530 rental units may seem substantial. One could argue that the high number of rental units exerts a further downward pressure on Valletta's population as it makes it more difficult for Valletta's first time buyers to acquire a home in the city. On the other hand, in 2011 one third of Valletta's dwelling stock were unoccupied dwellings and many of them required maintenance and repair[4] (National Statistics Office 2014). It may well be that many of the units now being used for tourism rental were previously unoccupied and/or on in bad state of repair. Their use for tourism accommodation provided the incentives to the owners to invest in the rehabilitation of their properties. From a destination perspective, increased tourism accommodation in Valletta is a positive development because it increases choice and the potential for the 'city break' market. An added benefit is that it generates more activity, including in the evenings.

Most tourism accommodation in Malta is located at some distance from Valletta meaning that a bus journey of between 20 and 50 minutes is required to visit. Inevitably the significant increases in tourism numbers to Malta translate themselves into more tourists spending at least a few hours in Valletta. Moreover, the cruise passenger terminal is a short walk away, so inevitably many cruise passengers choose to walk into Valletta. On the other hand, pedestrian areas in Valletta have increased, as have the number of food and beverage outlets. The capacity of Valletta to 'handle' greater numbers of tourists has been enhanced and thus potential impacts from tourist numbers can be better managed.

A rich urban heritage, increased tourism accommodation and more international tourists visiting Malta are factors that generate higher levels of tourism activity in Valletta. Tourism activity is also generated by a busy events calendar and revitalised leisure activity in the evenings.

[3] Eight-six per cent are apartments whereas the remainder are rooms in private homes (Airdna n.d.).

[4] Out of 3865 dwelling units, 1250 are vacant. Moreover, out of 3865 units, 994 are in need of minor repair and a further 1257 units are in need of moderate or serious repairs (NSO 2014).

In the 1970s, Valletta had virtually no evening leisure activity. This trend was reversed after the year 2000 with the opening of numerous bars and restaurants, many of which capitalise on the historic features of Valletta's buildings. Valletta offers numerous spaces where events can be held. Fabri (2016) lists as many as 16 different festivals that are held in Valletta throughout the year. Some target a national audience, others attract an international clientele and still others focus on local culture and religious traditions. These events are part of a long term strategy of bringing night time activity back into the City (Smith 2016).

In the daytime, additional tourism activity is generated by hundreds of cruise passengers. Upon arrival of a cruise ship, hundreds of passengers disembark over a short period of time along a short stretch of coastline. This could potentially be highly disruptive to the immediate area, particularly with regards to traffic. This was the situation in the first few years of the terminal but this has now been resolved with much better management. Some passengers choose to go on coach tours organised by the cruise ship itself. Others opt to take the hop-on hop-off tourist service, which stops immediately outside the terminal. Still others choose to make the short walk to Valletta. It is just a 15 minute walk, even less if the Upper Barrakka Lift is used. Passengers walking to Valletta have the added peace of mind that making it back to the Terminal on time is not reliant on transport services and traffic situations (Patiniott 2012). In 2017 the number of cruise liner passengers arriving in Malta was 670,000 (National Statistics Office 2019). On an average day, the author estimates that there are two to three thousand cruise passengers in Valletta. These are significant numbers, especially considering that central Valletta is a small area already subject to pressures from office workers, shoppers and tourists.

Population Trends and Valletta's Liveability

Being the Island's capital, Valletta was never far from public debate. In the 1990s the main issues were a declining population and a high number of vacant properties. The former was due in part to a trend of residential properties being converted into offices. This was addressed with a

planning policy for Valletta (Planning Authority 2002) that specifically prohibited the conversion of residential properties to office use, with some minor exceptions. This policy was instrumental in preventing widespread conversion of residential buildings to offices and hence prevented further significant population loss. Another issue was vacant dwellings largely due to anachronistic rent laws that acted as a disincentive against property owners renting property (Smith 2010), which in turn resulted in lack of investment in older properties and degraded streetscapes. Rent legislation was changed in the mid-1990s to facilitate residential renting but the problem of vacant properties in Valletta persisted with one third of 3865 dwelling units unoccupied in 2011 (National Statistics Office 2014).

For several decades, Valletta experienced a downward trend in population, with a drop of 20 per cent in population from 7262 in 1995 down to 5748 in 2011 (National Statistics Office 2014). People with family roots in the city are moving out and are being replaced in part by new residents who remain somewhat detached from the local community (Dingli 2016). The buying of properties in Valletta by non-Maltese nationals began in the 1990s but it has gained momentum more recently. Wealthy foreigners seek larger prestigious houses which they refurbish. More than just a property, the new owners are seeking a lifestyle they would not find elsewhere in Malta. The lifestyle sought is that of living in a magnificent historic context, within easy reach of enjoyable pedestrian spaces and gardens and close to several social and cultural facilities. In many cases, rehabilitated old houses are used by their new owners for short periods throughout the year. Gentrification is a process of change that is generally perceived to be a threat because of the increased risk of losing the social and cultural activities that are rooted in local communities. On the other hand, new residents bring much needed investment into the capital. Properties which would otherwise decay are restored and brought back into use.

Increased property values in Valletta has made it increasingly difficult for middle and low income people to move to Valletta. Prices have been pushed up because of demand for tourist uses such as boutique hotels and tourism rental accommodation and also because of the demand by wealthy non-Maltese (Ebejer 2016). There are intrinsic disincentives for

first time buyers to buy a property in Valletta including the high initial and running cost of rehabilitated properties. Planning constraints, even if well-intentioned, create further difficulties, including additional costs, making it more difficult for people to invest in Valletta's historic properties.

Increased tourism activity has reduced Valletta's liveability in several different ways. In recent years inconveniences for residents have increased in part due to increased tourism activity. Since the millennium there have been more bars and restaurants opening in Valletta (Grima 2016). Their initial focus was on lunchtime to cater for Valletta's office workers, but now most cater for both daytime and evenings. Up until the millennium, a widely held view was that Valletta was too quiet in the evenings so increased evening activity is a welcome change. There are, however, impacts. Many catering establishments have tables and chairs outside their premises. These generally create a pleasant ambience for diners and for passers-by. On the other hand, they are noise sources that cause nuisance to residents in the immediate vicinity, more so in the summer when residents tend to leave their windows open (Grima 2016). Noise issues are compounded because some of Valletta's urban spaces are sometimes used for popular music events with loud music playing late into the evening. One Valletta resident spoke about how noise pollution and extensions of entertainment facilities have created a disturbance to residents and that in conjunction with other difficulties "one ends up deciding that one might just as well leave Valletta" (Deguara et al. 2019: 26). Apart from noises, external tables and chairs also have aesthetic implications with far too many spaces being taken up. The canopies and umbrellas that go with them are often visually intrusive and undermine the aesthetics of the historic environment. There is evidence, however, that Valletta is transforming from a residential to a catering destination (Zammit and Taldeiri 2019). In some streets tables and chairs impede the flow of pedestrians resulting in crowding. Weak enforcement exacerbates the problems.

The lack of vehicle parking is another worrisome aspect of living in Valletta. Increased leisure and tourism activity increases demand for parking. This in turn impacts residents. The issue was partly addressed in 2006 with the introduction of a resident parking scheme. Moreover significant parking facilities outside Valletta and a park and ride helps to

ease the pressures but it is never quite enough, and problems of parking for residents persist.

A thriving local community has tourism implications because the social and cultural life of residents add vitality to a destination and therefore make the place more attractive to tourists. When visitors see and share the life of residents, there is a sense of connectedness that enhances the visitor experience (Ebejer 2015). There are several factors that have made Valletta less liveable and this will in the long term detract from Valletta's tourism attractiveness. Similar arguments could be made about Valletta's liveability. Valletta has become more amenable for those who seek a certain city-type of lifestyle, close to pleasant urban spaces with cafes and other amenities. On the other hand, for people starting a family, living in Valletta is much less convenient as families with young children are more reliant on cars to get to schools, health centres, sports and other facilities. As explained earlier, increased leisure and tourism activity in Valletta has made it less liveable, and also less affordable (Grima 2016; Deguara et al. 2019), but at the same time there are other social forces which are causing young born and bred Valletta residents to move out.

Is Valletta Subject to Overtourism?

When discussing overtourism, a holistic consideration of the impacts is required, both positive and negative. The sections above consider impacts to which Valletta is subject relating to increased tourism activity and also impacts on liveability. In spite of many debates on the subject in recent years, the term 'overtourism' lacks a clear definition and is open to multiple interpretations. The lack of clarity makes it very difficult to evaluate whether a destination is subject to overtourism. It is also highly subjective depending on the observer's background and point of view.

Taking anti-tourist sentiment as a marker of overtourism is subjective. At what point should the expression of dissatisfaction with tourism be considered overtourism? Moreover, public expression of dissatisfaction with tourism should be treated with caution. It could be a small group of people who are vociferous and who make effective use of the media. This is not to say that it should not be given due importance but it needs to be

placed in an overall context of both positive and negative impacts of tourism. People's understanding and interpretation of overtourism is dependent on their own perspective and involvement in the historic area.

In the past, stakeholders cooperating in the common space of historical cities had interests that more or less converged towards encouraging more tourism (Plichta 2019). Stakeholders included residents, tourists, business entities or public institutions. Historic areas provided the enjoyable experience for tourists. They also created the economic activity that benefited business entities and created more jobs for local residents. Public authorities also stood to gain from more tax revenue, while politicians gained more support from the electorate. As tourism activity increased and the impacts became more evident and pronounced, this convergence of interests broke down and hence the increased debate on overtourism. In line with this thinking, this chapter considers the perspectives of different stakeholders namely (i) Valletta residents, (ii) persons with an interest in the built heritage, (iii) tourists, (iv) business entities operating in Valletta and their employees, (v) the Maltese public. The presentations of these different perspectives are based on the author's dealings with these different groups over many years in different capacities[5] such as a voluntary activist, as an urban planner and as a researcher and academic. They are also supported by various opinions about Valletta that are featured in Malta's national printed media. Moreover, as a regular user, the author constantly observes Valletta's urban dynamics including tourism activity and its potential impacts.

(i) Residents would argue that Valletta is subject to overtourism because of the increased inconveniences from tourism and leisure activity in the evenings. They would also refer to a declining number of born-and-bred Valletta residents because of a growing trend of apartments being dedicated to short-term rentals for tourists (Deguara et al. 2019). There are also concerns that cruise ships entering the Grand

[5] The author was a committee member of Valletta Alive Foundation, an NGO that lobbied in favour of the City, its residents and the business community. In the 1990s, he worked as an urban planner on local plans, including on one that covered the Grand Harbour region. More recently as an academic, he carried out various research on Valletta and on Malta's tourism.

Harbour are very polluting and this affects the air quality in Valletta and surrounding towns (Times of Malta 2019b).

(ii) People with an interest in the built heritage would also express serious misgivings about building alterations and additions that might compromise their historic value and integrity. Recently, the Valletta Local Council, supported by three environmental NGOs, sent an open letter to the national government appealing for urgent action to safeguard the capital city's outstanding universal value. In their letter (Malta Independent 2017), they wrote:

> The recent reports of illegal developments taking place in historic properties are only the tip of the iceberg. Over the past months and years, we have watched Valletta being subjected to an unprecedented barrage of new developments, many of which are not sensitive to the values and fragile nature of the historic setting. As a result, we are gravely concerned that the very qualities that give Valletta its distinctive character are under threat. While acknowledging the great strides that have been made in reviving the city, we must also recognize that this intensification in activity is giving rise to new threats to the liveability of the city and to the safeguarding of its Outstanding Universal Value, which is the basis of its World Heritage Status.

There are concerns that tourism-related development of the upper floors of buildings negatively impact Valletta's iconic skyline (Times of Malta 2019a). Another concern is the visual intrusion caused by tables, chairs, umbrellas and canopies which bars and restaurants put out in the street. The intrusions undermine the appreciation of the historic buildings and urban spaces (Zammit and Taldeiri 2019). Some might attribute this to overtourism. The counter argument to that is that Valletta's built heritage is being made better use of and therefore this is more likely to be well maintained in the long run. As explained above, this is due to increased public investment in Valletta, motivated in part by tourism but also by the state's moral obligation of protecting its heritage.

(iii) In research carried out on tourist's experience of Valletta (Ebejer 2015), there is nothing to indicate that tourists consider the tourism activity to be excessive. Some tourists expressed the desire to get

away from the more touristy areas but this was due more to a wish to seek more authentic character of the place. There are, however, two instances where tourists may be affected negatively. The first is queuing for St. Johns Co-cathedral. This is Valletta's must-see site and is sought after by tourists and cruise passengers. Because of the arrival of large numbers of cruise passengers in a relatively short period of time, long queues often build up in mid-morning. Another negative situation may be the crowding at peak times in the mornings in Republic Street. This main pedestrian street is very popular with tourists and shoppers. The situation has been made worse with part of the street being taken up by external tables and chairs. In spite of the negative effects, it is debatable whether these two situations could be described as overtourism.

(iv) Business entities operating in Valletta are not unduly concerned about the impacts of tourism as long as the character and attractiveness of Valletta are not compromised. These include people who operate in retail, visitor attractions, catering establishments and hotels which are located in or close to Valletta, as well as their employees. There is also a growing number of Valletta property owners who rent out to tourists.

(v) The reaction of the Maltese public to tourism in Valletta is mixed. Valletta is a symbol of Malta's nationhood and therefore many people are pleased about the city's newly found splendour and vitality. In particular, people welcome the revitalisation of Valletta in the evening, in part because it makes the city attractive at night and in part because it provides a suitable alternative for evening leisure. Regular users of Valletta are concerned about the daytime overcrowding in the more touristy areas. In some streets pedestrian flows are disrupted because far too many tables and chairs are put out. The excessive take up of public space is generally viewed negatively by the public. Although there are concerns, the view held by the wider public is that Valletta is not subject to overtourism, at least not yet.

Some stakeholders would argue that Valletta is subject to overtourism. Others would claim that the tourism impacts are within reason and justifiable by the benefits. The author's stand is that there are the initial signs

of overtourism. These are related mostly to the loss to Valletta's long-term resident community. There are also concerns relating to the impacts of evening leisure as well as the occasional instances of overcrowding at some tourist hotspots. If no action is taken to mitigate, it is likely that some of these impacts will become severe and unacceptable. Over several decades, Valletta's population has declined significantly due to a range of socio-economic forces other than tourism. Increased tourism rental units and reduced liveability will accelerate the downward trend in population to the extent that there will not be enough people to sustain the social and cultural life of the city.

Limiting Tourism Impacts

To safeguard liveability for Valletta residents, there is a case to be made for preventing further increases of tourism rental units. This can be achieved through better enforcement as it is likely that some of the 530 units are being rented out without the appropriate license. Moreover, impacts on liveability necessitates better regulation and control of the use of public space by catering establishments. There is, however, a reluctance by the authorities to introduce better regulations and to enforce current ones. The authorities are more focused on pushing forward the commercialisation of parts of Valletta without any consideration that this will be detrimental to residents (Times of Malta 2015). Dodds and Butler (2019) discuss different approaches to address overtourism. No two destinations are the same and there is no one-size-fits-all solution for overtourism (Koens et al. 2018). One approach to deal with tourism impacts is the dispersal of tourists. An earlier section referred to the pedestrianisation of several streets and piazzas in Valletta. This was instrumental in creating more space for tourists and hence make the crowding less likely. Before the extension of pedestrian areas, the author distinctly remembers instances of groups of tourists crowding onto narrow pavements, blocking other pedestrians, while the guide explains. With extensive pedestrianisation, crowding is far less likely to occur.

Tourism activity in Valletta is concentrated in the central part. At the lower end of Valletta there is some tourism activity largely generated by a

couple of tourist attractions. The tourism impacts are limited and well within acceptable levels. To ease the pressures on the central area, one approach could be to encourage tourists to walk beyond the central area and explore other parts of Valletta. This would require investments primarily to improve the streets and piazzas in these other parts of Valletta and make them more pedestrian friendly. The counterargument to this approach would be that this could result in detrimental negative impacts on areas that are predominantly residential.

Conclusion

Urban areas are dynamic and evolve over time. Historic areas adapt to meet new social and economic demands. They do so within urban planning constraints intended to manage change in a manner that will safeguard the history and the cultural value of the area (Bandarin and Van Oers 2012). The predominant issues facing an urban area also change over time because of changing values and socio-cultural context. Prior to the year 2000, the issues in Valletta were a decaying built heritage, poor quality urban spaces, unutilised tourism potential, lack of activity in the evenings and issues of parking. To varying degrees these issues have been addressed through public and private investment but in the meantime new issues have come to the fore.

Tourism has impacted Valletta in many different ways. On the plus side, it has brought in investment for the rehabilitation of properties for tourism related uses. Although pockets of dereliction still exist, these have been reduced to some extent. The more important urban spaces in Valletta have been greatly enhanced mostly through pedestrianisation. There were also negative impacts primarily because of gentrification with long-term Valletta residents moving out and being replaced by people with no roots in the city. Leisure activities in the evening create noise and reduce liveability. A trend has been established with more and more tables and chairs occupying public spaces. Tourism was not the only force that brought about these changes. Social and cultural forces were also in play particularly the widespread desire in the Maltese population that the capital is treated in a manner that is appropriate to its status and its symbolic significance.

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Part II

Stakeholders and Their Initiatives to Tackle Overtourism and Related Perverse Impacts

Tackling Overtourism and Related Perverse Impacts Using DMO Website as a Tool of Social Innovation

Mustafeed Zaman, Tan Vo Thanh, and Laurent Botti

Introduction

In recent years, the increasing number of tourists and the lack of proper destination management have led to anti-tourism movement in major tourist destinations (Oklevik et al. 2019). This phenomenon has become an issue for local residents and all the major tourist destinations (e.g. Barcelona, New York City, Amsterdam, Venice, Reykavik, the Isle of Skye, Koh Phi Phi of Thailand), which are facing a large influx of tourists (Séraphin et al. 2018; Oklevik et al. 2019). By taking into consideration the ratio between the

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local population and the overnight visitors per year (1: 360 in Venice, 1: 33 in Dubrovnik, 1: 8 in Paris), the World Economic Forum (2017) urges tourism destinations to change their current pro-growth strategies and focus on destination management (Oklevik et al. 2019).

In this regard, the topics of overtourism, anti-tourism and sustainable management of a destination have gained a particular attention of tourism researchers in order to comprehend the issues, challenges and best practices for the industry professionals (e.g. Lawton and Weaver 2015; Séraphin et al. 2018; Séraphin et al. 2019a, b; Oklevik et al. 2019). Oklevik et al. (2019) underline that the pro-growth strategies for tourism destinations are no longer sustainable and tourism destinations should focus on the local stakeholders and sustainable experiences in order to contribute to economic growth. Therefore, the roles of DMOs (Destination Management Organisations) are not only limited to promotional and marketing activities but also act as a mediator between different stakeholders such as local residents, tourists, public and private stakeholders of the destination. In a recent study, Sheehan et al. (2016) have also identified DMO as a "gate-keeper" between the stakeholders of the destination as DMOs have started to redefine their roles (e.g. Buonincontri and Micera 2016).

In this chapter, DMO Website has been considered as a tool of social innovation (SI) to address the phenomenon of overtourism. Hillier et al. (2004) highlight different approaches of SI but this chapter only considers the territorial approach of SI in order to illustrate how to overcome the social tension between stakeholders of the destination. According to Hillier et al. (2004), the territorial approach of SI might reduce this tension through multi-scale governance and the creation of cooperation networks between community agents. Therefore, the aim of this chapter is to present how DMO as a legitimate organisation could reduce the tensions between stakeholders and create a cooperative network.

In recent years, Internet has had a major impact on consumer information search behaviour (Buhalis and Law 2008; Zaman et al. 2016a, b), especially for prospective tourists searching for information on destinations (Frías et al. 2012; Jacobsen and Munar 2012). Internet offers a number of benefits that enhance information processing and enable better consumer decision-making (e.g. Choi et al. 2007). Therefore, Internet

has become more important to marketers, not only because it is an effective communication tool but also because it has many advantages such as accessibility, convenience, interactivity and unlimited-service in time (Kim et al. 2009). In recent times, DMOs have been extending the reach of ICT usage beyond the pre-trip planning stage, using technology to stay connected with tourists during their experience at the destination (e.g. Neuhofer et al. 2012). Similarly, Buhalis and Foerste (2015) show how ICT allows tourism and hospitality professionals to do Social Context Mobile (SoCoMo) marketing, enabling a much more connected experience during the trip. Hoffman and Novak (2009) also argue that a well-developed Website facilitates virtual interactions between the firms and the customers. Therefore, the aim of this chapter is to illustrate how DMO Website could play a role of mediator among the stakeholders of the destination to reduce social tensions.

Social Innovation and DMO Website

Social Innovation

Research on social innovation has increased over the last decade, particularly stimulated by the growing interest in social issues related to management, entrepreneurship and public management (Cajaiba-Santana 2014). In the literature, researchers have distinguished different levels of SI and its application. First of all, SI has focused on individuals and it essentially refers to ways of doing things, actions and practices (Hillier et al. 2004). Therefore, in this stage, the SI is created and implemented by oneself and for oneself. So, the aim of this stage of SI is to expect changes occur first at the individual level (i.e. the individual changes his or her way of seeing the world, develops his or her potential and is encouraged to solve problems). When it comes to firm level, SI often refers to the reorganisation of work (i.e. a new division of labour and changes in power structures) (e.g. Gordon 1990; Kozlowski 1987; Dadoy 1998; Mulgan 2006; Phills et al. 2008). It also takes into consideration the reorganisation of working time (Dadoy 1998), especially because of its

consequences on living conditions (Dadoy 1998). In order to align with our research aim, this chapter does not focus on individual or firm's perspective. Therefore, it adopts a community-based perspective of SI.

Community-based SIs are oriented towards the environment and aim to develop a specific territory in order to improve its quality of life (Cloutier 2003; Hillier et al. 2004; Cajaiba-Santana 2014). According to Gueron (1984), SI can also be described by the creation of new institutions, modification of the role of existing institutions, which can lead to their "de-specialisation". Gueron (1984) situates SI in terms of reorganising the role of institutions (division or coordination of services). SI would be recognised as such because of the positive social consequences it brings (i.e. the positive changes it produces in a given territory). It would therefore be a new way of acting that would contribute, sometimes to solving economic and social problems (Henderson 1993), and improving the quality of life (Gueron 1984). According to Henderson (1993), SI is also about preventing social problems. Therefore, this chapter argues that these aspects of SI could be very efficient for destinations to reduce social tension between the destination stakeholders. In the literature, researchers highlight two approaches of community-based SI: the development approach (territory) (i.e. changing the role of institutions following the logic of the diversity of the economy—moving closer to Freeman's (1984) stakeholder theory) (e.g. Hillier et al. 2004) and the consumer approach (clean technologies, green products, etc.). Therefore, in order to align with our research aim, this chapter will only consider the territorial approach to address the tensions through multi-scale governance and creation of cooperation networks between community agents.

DMO Website as a Tool of SI

As explained earlier in this chapter, DMOs are extending the reach of ICT usage beyond the pre-trip planning stage and using technology to stay connected with tourists during their experience at the destination (e.g. Neuhofer et al. 2012; Buhalis and Foerste 2015). Hoffman and Novak (2009) also argue that a well-developed Website facilitates virtual interactions between the firms and the customers. In the literature, the

use of ICT is well recognised as a tool of value co-creation as it facilitates the exchange of information between customers and service providers/DMOs (Chathoth et al. 2013; Buonincontri and Micera 2016). Although most of the studies have focused on the e-WOM as a source of value co-creation (e.g. Cantallops and Salvi 2014; Zaman et al. 2016a; Vo Thanh and Kirova 2018), this chapter argues that the DMO Website could be used as a platform of exchange and cooperation networks between the actors of the territory (Presenza et al. 2014). As presented by Sheehan et al. (2016), as an "intelligent agent" of the destination, DMO should ensure the role of the "gate-keeper" between the internal and external stakeholders of the destination. Moreover, most of the actors are familiar with Internet and it will be very accessible and cost effective (Kim et al. 2009). Therefore, this chapter proposes the following theoretical model:

As illustrated in Fig. 1, as a legitimate mediator, through its Website DMO may ensure the interactions between stakeholders in order to overcome the social tension and improve the quality of life for the locals. DMO may be able to analyse all the interactions and adopt the strategies accordingly.

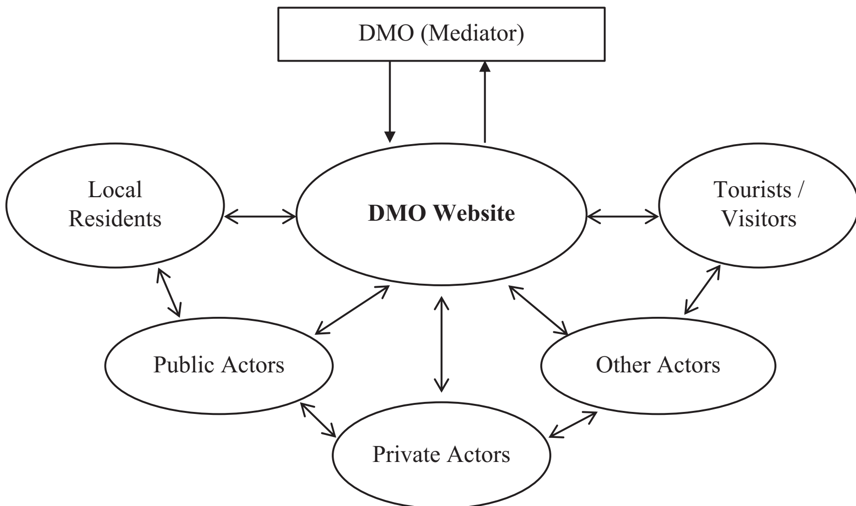

Fig. 1 DMO Website as a tool of SI. (Source: The authors)

Research Methodology

The aim of this chapter is to gain in-depth information regarding the phenomenon of overtourism. In this regard, the qualitative approaches are more adapted than the quantitative ones (Blanchet and Gotman 1992; Miles and Huberman 2005; Saunders et al. 2009; Miles et al. 2014; Vo Thanh and Kirova 2018; Zaman et al. 2018). Therefore, an exploratory qualitative approach has been adopted in order to gain insights into the overtourism and use of DMO Website as a tool to overcome the social tensions caused by the overtourism phenomenon.

Concerning the research field, this chapter has focused on Charente-Maritime destination which is situated in the West of France. Charente-Maritime is a family beach destination (Insee 2019). It is one of the top three destinations in France for French clientele and it has welcomed more than 100 million domestic and inbound tourists in 2018 (85% of them were French) (France 3 Regional 2019). In addition, Charente-Maritime remains the leading tourist destination in terms of number of overnight stays in summer for the French clientele (Charentes Tourisme 2018; France 3 Regional 2019). On the contrary, the district of Charente-Maritime has a population of 650,000 approximately (Insee 2019). So, the ratio between the local population and the overnight visitors is 1: 154. By taking into consideration this ratio, the case of Charente-Maritime seems to be the best case for this study.

In alignment with our research objective, semi-structured interviews of the stakeholders were conducted (Blanchet and Gotman 1992). As explained by Blanchet and Gotman (1992) and Zaman et al. (2018), the qualitative studies do not necessitate a huge sample as the aim of this approach is to gain in-depth insights into the studied phenomenon. In this regard, 12 persons (stakeholders) from Charente-Maritime destination were chosen for semi-structured interviews, based on the theoretical model developed in Fig. 1. Thus, the purposeful sampling strategy was adopted to choose respondents. Various profiles and affiliations of respondents, matching various stakeholders in a given destination (i.e. local residents, public actors, private actors, tourists, and professor in tourism) were purposefully selected. Furthermore, in order to ensure that

respondents sufficiently have knowledge about the studied tourism destination, except for tourists, only individuals aged 18 years old and over and having lived at least 1 year in the destination were interviewed. Table 1 presents the profiles of the interviewees.

The interview guide consisted of four main themes: perception of overtourism, problems faced in daily life, challenges for the stakeholders, and role of DMO Website as a tool of SI. The questions were designed based on these main four themes. For illustration, some sample questions are as follows:

- *What do you think about the overtourism in Charente-Maritime destination?*
- *What could be the problems caused by the overtourism in your daily life?*
- *As a tourist stakeholder, what should you do if the problem of overtourism was present in the destination?*
- *What would be the challenges for you?*

Table 1 Profile of the interviewees

Interviews' ID	Affiliation/Profile	Interview duration
Interview 1	DMO Manager	56 minutes
Interview 2	Manager, Tourist Office	1 hour 12 minutes
Interview 3	Executive, City Mayor Office	47 minutes
Interview 4	Hotel Manager 3⁎ Hotel – La Rochelle	1 hour 7 minutes
Interview 5	Hotel Manager 4⁎ Hotel – La Rochelle	55 minutes
Interview 6	Restaurant Owner	26 minutes
Interview 7	Restaurant Owner	37 minutes
Interview 8	Local Resident (63 Years Old, Living in the City centre)	1 hour 4 minutes
Interview 9	Local Resident (37 Years Old, Lining in the City centre)	1 hour 23 minutes
Interview 10	Tourist (1st Time Visitor)	47 minutes
Interview 11	Tourist (Visits Every Summer)	1 hour 43 minutes
Interview 12	Professor in Tourism	56 minutes

Source: The authors

- *What do you think about the role of DMO as a legitimate mediator of the social tensions between various stakeholders, especially between locals and tourists?*
- *Through its Website as a tool of SI, how could do a DMO to overcome the problem of overtourism?*
- *Could you provide us with concrete suggestions to make a DMO Website a relevant tool in reducing the social tensions between various stakeholders in a tourist destination?*

The interview guide was used as a flexible tool providing the list of themes and questions to be covered (Saunders et al. 2009). In line with Chan and Hawkins (2012), the interviewing process that comprised three main stages was followed: warm-up, development and closing. First, interviewers' information and an overview of the study were provided to respondents, and respondents' anonymity was assured to create a reliable and comfortable ambiance. Then, respondents' personal information was confirmed again before proceeding to the main interview. In the development stage, respondents were asked a diverse set of questions to comprehensively examine the nature of overtourism and role of DMO Website as a tool of SI with an emphasis on clarifying "how" a DMO as a legitimate mediator, through its Website as a tool of social innovation, could ensure the e-governance of the destination and the experience co-creation by the stakeholders' active participation, helping a destination to overcome the social tensions. The closing step focused on questions to confirm information elicited in the interviews and add additional details. After completing the interviews, the authors carefully summarized the data. At this stage, to improve data reliability, the process of member checking was used (Baxter and Jack 2008), which entailed contacting respondents via e-mail or Facebook to confirm the previously collected information.

Moreover, the secondary data, such as published articles in relation to overtourism from different local newspapers (e.g. Sud Ouest, France-Bleu) and travel blogs (e.g. TripAdvisor) were used to triangulate the findings. The interviews and other contents were analysed with content analysis software QSR NVivo 10, according the procedure indicated by Vo Thanh and Kirova (2018). QRS NVivo allows a more precise

thematic categorisation using both predefined and emergent themes (Kirova and Vo Thanh). This qualitative data processing software is widely used to analyse qualitative data in previous studies (e.g. Vo Thanh and Kirova 2018; Kirova and Vo Thanh 2019).

Findings

Findings from the interviews confirmed that all the actors are aware of the increasing number of tourists. However, the stakeholders perceive the phenomenon of overtourism differently. For the local residents, they are aware of the huge number of tourists but they do not express any dissatisfaction regarding the increasing number of tourists. Among the inconvenience faced, the interviewees have expressed the circulation as a problem:

> *[...] We face some inconvenient such as too many people in the port and it's not possible to pass through normally on bicycle [...].* (Interview 8)

> *Honestly, I do not feel disturbed by tourists. In high tourist season, the traffic in the downtown is a bit difficult, but the problem is surmountable. […].* (Interview 9)

For the service providers, especially for the hoteliers, they have expressed a positive attitude toward the tourists:

> *[...] This is good for our business and it generates a huge demand during that period [...].* (Interview 4)

> *[…] So far we do not have any major problem relating to overtourism yet. On the contrary, the attractiveness of Charente-Maritime destination has helped us a lot in our business.* (Interview 5)

However, the security has also become a concern and all the persons interviewed share that phenomenon:

> *[...] There is a huge number of cyclists in the destination, especially in the Ile de Ré Island and accidents are very frequent [...].* (Interview 9)

According to the local newspaper—Ré à la Hune (2018), the stakeholders of the destination of the Ile de Ré Island shared their anger and sadness regarding the accidents of bi-cycle. During the summer of 2018, there were 120 accidents of bi-cycle. The journal explains that Ile de Ré Island is "the victim of its success" and despite the huge track of 135 kilometres for biking, the accidents are very frequent during the peak tourist seasons. Another article published on France-Bleu (2019), the local residents explain that in summer there are too many tourists and they feel like they are in Paris.

> *[...] In summer, we have impression that we are the periphery of Paris [...].* (France-Bleu)

According the same journal, the law-enforcement authority is taking necessary steps. However, the locals estimate that there is problem of communication and this problem might be solved by the change of the tourists' behaviour.

When it comes to the roles of the DMO, the professionals interviewed confirmed that the roles of the DMO have been changing and they are focusing more on management than marketing.

> *[...] The role of the DMO is to become the community manager of the destination [...].* (Interview 1)

Therefore, the findings confirm the model of Sheehan et al. (2016), and DMO should ensure their role of "gate-keeper" or "community-manager" in order to deal with the internal and external stakeholders of the destination. Previous studies on Actor-Network Theory (e.g. Latour 2005; Paget et al. 2010; Zaman et al. 2018) underline the importance of a knowledge-based collaborative network between the actors of the destination, and DMO is legitimate to manager this kind of network.

Regarding the DMO Website, all the persons interviewed agree that it will help the stakeholders to communicate between them.

> *[...] As a local resident we do not have any possibility to participate in discussions and decision making process with the local authority. It will certainly help us to share our point of views [...].* (Interview 8)

> *[…] I live here but I really do not know the hotels or restaurants. If there is a platform, we can know each other and share our views […].* (Interview 9)

> *[…] We do have meetings with the locals to explain different orientations/projects of the city, but I do agree that city organises a lot of activities, events, etc. and having this kind of e-platform will allow us to know the perceptions and satisfaction of local residents easily […].* (Interview 3)

Furthermore, respondents highlight the usefulness of a DMO Website in reducing the social tensions when it is well designed.

> *In order to face the potential social tensions between different stakeholders, especially between local residents and tourists, it would be interesting to elaborate and communicate on the DMO Website a guide of conduct (vis-à-vis other customers, cultures of destinations visited, etc.). […].* (Interview 12)

> *[…] In my opinion, DMO has a big role to play in lessening the tensions between different stakeholders. For example, through a dedicated section on its Website DMO needs to encourage different stakeholders to post their ideas, suggestions, comments, etc. After, DMO should analyse carefully these ideas, suggestions, comments, etc. in order to adopt strategies accordingly.* (Interview 11)

Therefore, the findings align with the study of Presenza et al. (2014) where authors present the concept of e-democracy for the tourism destination in Italy. Their study shows that Website could be used in order to ensure the participation of stakeholders in decision-making process and in destination governance. In addition, Buonincontri and Micera (2016) highlight the importance of participation of all the stakeholders in co-creating the tourism experience.

Discussion

With the development of ICT (Information and Communication Technologies), the DMO Website has been playing a vital role for the destinations and tourists: (1) an effective and persuasive service providing tool for the DMOs and (2) a decision-making and trip preparation tool for the tourists (Zaman et al. 2017). The findings underline the need of

interactions between the stakeholders in order to overcome the social tensions. In addition, by using this e-platform of exchanges, tourists will be able to communicate with the local stakeholders, which will allow them to learn the locals' expectations. Moreover, the use of ICT especially allows the co-creation of value and experiences (e.g. Chathoth et al. 2013; Buonincontri and Micera 2016).

When it comes to local actors, the DMO Website could be used as a platform of e-governance of the territory (Presenza et al. 2014). Additionally, as highlighted by Zaman et al. (2018), this platform could be used as a place of exchanges between the professionals to develop skills and competencies. Moreover, through information exchanged on the platform, DMO managers will be able to answer the need of the local actors and adopt their strategies accordingly. Séraphin et al. (2019b) illustrate how a destination could organise community-based festivals in order to overcome anti-tourism movement. Therefore, it will allow DMO managers to plan events according to the need of their destinations (i.e. during the off-seasons for instance).

Finally, in line with Buonincontri and Micera (2016), this chapter shows the necessity to redefine the roles of DMOs, supporting partly the Sheehan et al.'s (2016) study. Indeed, Sheehan et al. (2016) have underlined the emerging and important role of DMO as a "gate-keeper" between the stakeholders in a given destination.

Conclusion

First of all, this chapter contributes to the literature by highlighting the roles of DMO as a mediator and its Website as a tool in dealing with the overtourism phenomenon through SI. Therefore, this chapter contributes to the overtourism literature by evoking the importance of multiples theories and concepts such as Social Innovation Theory, Actor-Network Theory, and e-Governance of Tourism Destinations. From a managerial point of view, this chapter presents the case of one of the top French destinations that welcomes more than 100 million tourists each year. Results show the issues and challenges that a destination might face because of the increasing number of tourists. Finally, this chapter gives in-depth

information for DMO managers and provides the directives for overcoming the challenges faced by the stakeholders of the destination. Moreover, in this chapter, two examples have been given. Thus, DMO managers may learn from these Websites and adopt their strategy accordingly.

This chapter has adopted an exploratory qualitative research approach, which is constrained for findings' generalisation. However, the aim of this research is to examine an individual and real case. Therefore, this limitation does not impair the study' theoretical and managerial contributions. Since this study was piloted in France, the findings may vary from one destination to another. In this regard, further research may take into consideration the quantitative data and be conducted in different contexts (i.e. in other destinations) in order to have more insights about the phenomenon.

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Overtourism: How the International Organisations Are Seeing It?

Robert Lanquar

Introduction

Since 2014, local and regional communities take an interest in "overtourism" to prevent the intensification of residents' criticisms against invasive mass tourism. The overcrowding caused by mass tourism, mainly urban, led to incidents and rejection phenomena that are becoming frequent in Europe. The word tourismophobia flourished in Italy, Spain or France and Portugal. Nevertheless, the research on overtourism just starts. In June 2015, Lanquar (in Bellini and Pasquinelli 2017) participated in an international workshop on "Tourism in the city: Towards an Integrative Agenda on Urban Tourism". "Overtourism" was not employed even in the presentation of the cases of Barcelona or Prague. Other words were also used, such as overcrowding, saturation, touristification, gentrification; rarely, the word "hypertourism" (Gravari-Barbas 2017).

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The objective of this chapter is to analyse the commitment of international organisations to addressing overtourism. The research is done through the content analysis of the communications they spread over the media and the public through social networks. The results show a recent increasing awareness to improve the governance of tourism destinations.

State of the Question

The tourist saturation concept was primarily used for protected areas. Recently, social and cultural impacts have been questioned in response to the incidents in Southern Europe against tourism activities linked to the shared economy, UNWTO called for a study on overtourism (UNWTO 2018) after the position was taken by some tourism officials such as the Chairman of Atout France, Christian Mantei, France. Highlighted by a columnist of Le Monde, Mr. Mantei sounded the alarm: “France is not yet in overtourism, but if we do not move, we will be there in three or four years”.[1]

An international conference in Valladolid (Spain) was indirectly dedicated to overtourism: “City Breaks: Creating Innovative Tourism Experiences”. The objective was to address the future of urban tourism with an emphasis on challenges such as smart tourism as well as public-private partnership’s practices to generate “opportunities along the entire tourism value chain of the city and integrating gastronomy and wine tourism in urban experiences” (UNWTO 2018). The Valladolid Conference was originally a forum to strengthen the demand on urban destinations, even if the term “dispersing” was used to expand the areas where tourists concentrate. The keynote speech was given by the Chairman of European Cities Marketing, Association for Tourist Boards, Convention Bureaus and City Marketing Organisations in Europe as DMOs (Destination Marketing Organisations). Quickly the debate focused on overtourism and the conference’s recommendations centered on possible solutions. The ambiguity was therefore opposed from the

[1] Michel Guérin, *Le touriste entre-t-il pour la culture dans la catégorie des nuisibles?* Le Monde, Paris, 23 novembre 2018.

outset. The touristification of the most attractive urban destinations leads to a gentrification of the city with serious social impacts well described in Barcelona, Lisbon or Venice where many residents move out the historical center (Lanquar 2017, 2018). At the same time, small traditional businesses are disappearing replaced with bars, restaurants, and luxury boutiques.

Intergovernmental and non- governmental organisations are acting against the negative impacts of overtourism: UNWTO, UNESCO, OECD and the London-based WTTC (World Travel and Tourism Council), as well as at local level the Network of Cities of Southern Europe against tourism, the Assembly of Neighborhoods for Sustainable Tourism (ABTS)[2] among many other non-governmental organisations.

Box 1: International Organisations in Charge of Tourism

UNWTO is the specialized Agency of the United Nations since 2003 responsible for the promotion of responsible, sustainable and universally accessible tourism. UNWTO encourages the implementation of the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism, to maximize tourism's socio-economic contribution while minimizing its possible negative impacts… (UNWTO) "is committed to promoting tourism as an instrument in achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), geared towards reducing poverty and fostering sustainable development worldwide" (Source: UNWTO).

UNESCO is the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. UNESCO's programmes contribute to the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals defined in Agenda 2030, including some aspects of tourism linked to environmental protection, education and world heritage (Source: UNESCO).

OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development is an "international organisation that works to build better policies for better lives. Our goal is to shape policies that foster prosperity, equality, opportunity and well-being for all" (Source: OECD). Founded in 1961 to stimulate economic progress and world trade, with 36 member countries in 2019, OECD is a forum of countries describing themselves as committed to democracy and the market economy, providing a platform to compare policy experiences, seek answers to common problems, identify good practices and coordinate domestic and international policies of its members (Source: Wikipedia).

WTTC (World Travel & Tourism Council) is the non-governmental body which represents the Travel & Tourism private sector. Its members include over 170 CEOs, Chairs and Presidents of the leading travel & tourism companies from all geographies covering all industries (Source: WTTC).

[2] http://theconversation.com/overtourism-a-growing-global-problem-100029

The concept of sustainable development started to be used by UNESCO back to the 1950s linked to its scientific work on the assessment of natural disasters. UNESCO is inconclusive with its World Heritage List and its Intangible Cultural Heritage List. The 1972 Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage was so effective in advanced economies that in 1994 the UNESCO World Heritage Committee had to launch the "Global Strategy for a Representative, Balanced and Credible World Heritage List" to use the same tool for developing countries (UNESCO 1994). When UNESCO published its first list of protected places, in 1978, 12 sites were summed. Nowadays the List contains 1122 different properties (July 2019[3]). China set off its tourist development strategy principally on its cultural and natural heritage. When China decided to expand its tourism in the late 1980s, it obtained the listing of 55 sites. Only Italy and Spain surpass China.[4]

The World Heritage List registration came to sites already well-visited, but their attendance was boosted. Clastres (2019) cites the French city of Albi which in 6 years, from 2010 to 2016, has doubled the number of visitors from 700,000 to 1,500,000. Cordoba (Spain) has more UNESCO Heritage sites than anywhere in the world. The site of the Caliphate City of Medina Azahara listed on 2018 in less than one year has seen an increase of visitors of around fifty percent. Clastres (2019) told: "Each year, some fifty natural or cultural sites apply for inclusion on the World Heritage List in order to be granted protection for the benefit of all humanity. However, in issuing this label, UNESCO also strongly guides tourism flows. A remunerative air call, but it can be devastating".

However, UNESCO may warn a city or site with being expelled from the World Heritage List. For Dubrovnik (Croatia) in 2016, UNESCO asked the city to limit the number of visitors to 8000 per day. UNESCO elaborated on overtourism only in the second semester of 2018. For the 2018 World Tourism Day dedicated to the protection of World Heritage, a recommendation explained that "when mismanaged, overwhelming numbers of visitors can damage ancient monuments and put intangible

[3] https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1560

[4] https://whc.unesco.org/

heritage at risk". Soon after, the European Parliament through its Committee on Transport and Tourism published a study (European Parliament 2018) which "addresses the complex phenomenon of overtourism in the EU… Avoiding overtourism requires custom-made policies in cooperation between destinations' stakeholders and policymakers". The 260-page report of the European Parliament stresses the concept of overtourism as a "holistic social problem" (European Parliament 2018).

Every two years OECD publishes its "OECD Tourism Trends and Policies". In the last one (2018), nothing is said on overcrowding. It seems like it will be analysed in the 2020 edition. Nevertheless, OECD was considering the impact of saturation in natural areas—protected or not (Sutherland and Stacey 2017) for Iceland which has been experiencing a "tourism boom" with a quadruplication of the number of tourists (2010–2016). Another OECD department in December 2018 organized a Conference on Culture and Local Development in Venice (Italy) where overtourism was under discussion.[5]

The Word Travel & Tourism Council (WTTC) represents the private sector at the level of its CEO.[6] In 2017, WTTC published a press release on overcrowding, followed by a publication on overtourism sponsoring a Jones Lang La Salle Inc. research on global cities for tourism growth (2019).

Concerning the nonprofit organisations, statements from environmentalist groups such as ECO-UNION (Gonzalez et al. 2018), the Assembly of Neighbourhoods of Sustainable Tourism in Barcelona[7] or the Network of Southern European Cities (SET Network[8]) against tourism show an alternative perspective. Their priority is to mitigate the impact of tourism in the city centers and the most attractive natural sites. Unfortunately, their communication is generally local. They invite the media to their events, and published scarcely press releases or printed media. Nonetheless they are increasingly stronger on social networks.

Looking at four international organisations since 2017, "UNWTO, UNESCO OECD and WTTC", it is possible to understand how the

[5] http://www.oecd.org/cfe/leed/venice-2018-conference-culture/

[6] https://www.wttc.org

[7] http://unevenearth.org/category/front/barcelona/

[8] https://www.thelocal.es/20180427/south-european-cities-and-stakeholders-join-forces-against-mass-tourism

conscientization of overtourism has been rising and what steps should be taken to address it in the future. The master word used is governance. These international organisations are forums inspiring also local and regional tourism policies. This explains the multiplication of local and regional DMOs (Destination Marketing Organisations) asking to become a UNWTO Affiliate Member.

Methodology

Content analysis is used to study the influence of international organisations, intergovernmental or nongovernmental, for countering to an uncontrolled influx of tourists which generates nuisance. This technique allows replicable and valid interpretations and presents the content of documents with objectivity (Krippendorff 1980).

Frequencies of keywords are found through the computational search engine. Weber (1990) justified it: "To make valid inferences from the text, it is important that the classification procedure ("of these key words") be reliable in the sense of being consistent". The leading keyword is overtourism. Its first usage was unknown according to the Collins English Dictionary. It was trademarked in 2016 by Skift, Inc. a media company starting in 2012 as a web platform to provide marketing services on the transformation of the travel industry. Recently overtourism is becoming a buzzword, defined by UNWTO "as the impact of tourism on a destination or a part of a city, which has an undue effect on the perceived quality of life of citizens and/or the quality of visitor experience in a negative way" (UNWTO 2018).

A semantic approach implicitly defines the meaning of represented knowledge using background knowledge according to the IGI Dictionary.[9] Overtourism is mostly applicable to urban tourism. Previously, the World Tourism Organisation (WTO, now UNWTO) developed the concept of carrying capacity to fight the negative impacts of saturation. In 1983, a report called "Risks of saturation of tourist carrying capacity overload in

[9] https://www.igi-global.com/dictionary/semantic-approach-knowledge-representation-processing/26305

tourism destinations" was published in 1983 (WTO 1983). As the author of this WTO report, Lanquar identified examples where area development has not sufficiently considered the carrying capacity issue, and more generally, where saturation and capacity overload problems occurred.

To understand how communication on overtourism has an impact on the stakeholders of international organisations, it is possible to find theoretical foundations at Jürgen Habermas' theory of communicative action (Habermas 1984): "Human action and understanding can be fruitfully analysed as having a linguistic structure… to make possible a conceptualization of the social-life context that is tailored to the paradoxes of modernity". Communication is largely at the core of actions of international organisations where the main role is debating and boosting cooperation on social, economic and environmental norms or human values (Judge 1970).

The focal international institution for tourism is the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO). It is the culmination of an effort starting in 1925 (Lanquar 1983). From 1980 onwards, it has celebrated the "World Tourism Day" whose key themes in recent years have been the sustainable development of tourism. This is often organised with other organisations such as UNESCO, PATA, European Union, ASEAN, CTO Caribbean Tourism Organisation, Organisation of American States, African Union, UNDP, UN Environment...

According to its Web Site, mid-2019, UNWTO membership includes 158 countries, 6 Associate Members and over 500 Affiliate Members representing the private sector, educational institutions, tourism associations and local tourism authorities. These Affiliate Members play a very determined role of lobbyists. UNWTO organigram contains a Communication Team of four international civil servants, including in recent years a social media specialist. This team published 287 press releases between 1st January 2017 and 30 June 2019. These are the main UNWTO communication tool. They are primarily issued for the media. With the emergence of social networks, other communication tools are used such as, for UNWTO, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, LinkedIn, YouTube and Flickr.[10]

[10] https://www2.unwto.org/content/who-we-are-0

The United Nations General Assembly on 4 December 2015 declared "2017 as the Year of Sustainable Tourism for Development related to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)"[11] with UNWTO as its central agency for tourism (List 1).

List 1: UNWTO Press Releases Connected Directly or Indirectly with Overtourism

1. UNWTO (2017). A roadmap towards 2030: the legacy of the International Year of Sustainable Tourism for Development 2017, PR 17137, 19 Dec 17
2. UNWTO (2018). Credible Sustainable Tourism Measurement for Improved Decision-Making, PR 18018, 02 Mar 18
3. UNWTO (2018). Good Tourism Practices to Advance Sustainable Development in the Americas, PR 18025, 22 Mar 18
4. UNWTO (2018). Fostering Smart Destination Development, PR 18048, 27 Jun 18
5. UNWTO (2018). UNWTO: Laying out a Sustainable Future for Urban Tourism, PR 18056, 01 Aug 18
6. UNWTO (2018). New UNWTO Report Helps Cities Manage Impact of Tourism, PR18066, 18 Sep 18
7. UNWTO (2018). UNWTO Conference in Valladolid to Discuss Innovative Tourism Experiences in Urban Destinations, PR18067, 19 Sep 18
8. UNWTO (2018). Creating Smart Cities for Innovative Tourism Experiences, PR18076, 16 Oct 18
9. UNWTO (2018). New UNWTO Global Report on Inclusive Tourism Destinations launched on the occasion of UN Day 2018, PR18081, 24 Oct 18
10. UNWTO (2018). The 12th UNWTO/PATA Forum Looks into the Future of Tourism, PR 18082, 29 Oct 18
11. UNWTO (2018), Sustainability Set to Shape New Standard of Tourism Statistics, PR18083, 30 Oct 18

[11] http://media.unwto.org/press-release/2017-01-03/2017-international-year-sustainable-tourism-development

12. UNWTO (2018). UNWTO/UNESCO Conference: Cultural Tourism Sustains Communities and Living Heritage, PR18095, 05 Dec 18
13. UNWTO (2019). First ever UNWTO/IPSOS Survey—Citizens recognize the positive impact of tourism, PR 19007, 25 Jan 19
14. UNWTO (2019). New UNWTO Report on Walking Tourism, PR19012, 13 Feb 19
15. UNWTO (2019). Overtourism? New UNWTO Report Offers Case Studies to Tackle Challenges, PR 19016, 06 Mar 19
16. UNWTO (2019). Nur-Sultan, Kazakhstan, to Host the 8th UNWTO Global Summit on Urban Tourism, PR 19024, 05 Apr 19
17. UNWTO (2019). UNWTO Convenes Cities in Lisbon to Cooperate on a Sustainable and Inclusive Urban Tourism Agenda, PR 19023, 08 Apr 19
18. UNWTO (2019). Balearic Islands Poised to Become First Tourism Destination Developed Under 2030 Agenda, PR 19026, 11 Apr 19
19. UNWTO (2019). World Tourism Organisation and Fundación ONCE Seek Best Accessible Destinations, PR 19035, 22 May 19
20. UNWTO (2019). UNWTO/IPSOS Global Survey—Local Residents Remain Largely Positive to Urban Tourism, PR 19040, 03 Jun 19
21. UNWTO (2019). Sustainability a Key Part of Tourism Policies, But More Still to Be Done, UNWTO/UN Environment Report Notes, PR 19041, 05 Jun 19

Other press releases were found concerning directly or indirectly overtourism in other international organisations (List 2).

List 2: Non-UNWTO Press Releases Connected Directly or Indirectly with Overtourism

1. UNESCO (2018). World Tourism Day 2018: Protecting World Heritage, Thursday, 27 September 2018, Paris in Relation with the European Parliament—European Union
2. OECD (2018). Rethinking Urban Sprawl- Moving Towards Sustainable Cities, June 14, 2018, Paris

3. WTTC (2017). WTTC & McKinsey Report. Overcrowding in Tourist Destinations, 13/12/2017, London, https://www.wttc.org/about/media-centre/press-releases/press-releases/2017/tourism-overcrowding/
4. WTTC (2019). Major New Research from WTTC and JLL Reveals Global Cities' Readiness for Tourism Growth, 11/6/2019, London, https://www.wttc.org/publications/2019/destination-2030

Results of the Content Analysis

The following Tables 1 and 2 show the importance given to sustainability, the main objective of destinations and professionals. For UNWTO, 105 citations are made on sustainability against 43 for the other keywords (overtourism 16, inclusive 25, saturation 0, overcrowding 2 and gentrification 0). In the press releases of the other organisations analysed, the concept of sustainability is raised 11 times, overtourism 3 times, overcrowding 7 times and the others 0 (inclusive, saturation, gentrification). Each press release (PR) was analysed around these keywords (nouns or adjectives).

These results are perplexing. Does an element of denial prevail among the tourism sector concerning overtourism and similar matters? Do these international organisations really face the issue of overtourism? Does a weak governance predominate without coordinating the city and the civil society as underlined by *ECO-UNION* (2018)? What is the role of lobbying by the tourism industry? Does UNESCO really take a different approach? However, changes are evident since the beginning of 2019. International organisations are now conscious of the threat of overtourism.

As for climate change, it seems that tourism marketers have received more media attention on the resilient growth of tourism until 2019 than scientists and local advocacy groups, creating a confusion among the general public as well as between the policy makers and indicating slowdown in efforts to promote responsible tourism (Petersen et al. 2019). In addition, various scientific studies have just shown that tourism has a carbon footprint at least three times greater than what has been the assessment

Table 1 Keywords used in UNWTO press releases from January 2017 to June 2019

Keywords Press release	Over-tourism	Sustainable[a]	Inclusive	Saturation	Over-crowding	Gentrification
19 Dec17	0	10	1	0	0	0
02 Mar 18	0	11	0	0	0	0
22 Mar 18	0	14	0	0	0	0
27 Jun 18	0	4	0	0	0	0
01 Aug 18	0	2	3	0	0	0
18 Sep 18	5	5	0	0	1	0
19 Sep 18	0	1	0	0	0	0
16 Oct 18	1	4	0	0	0	0
24 Oct 18	0	5	8	0	0	0
29 Oct 18	0	5	1	0	0	0
30 Oct 18	0	7	0	0	0	0
05 Dec 18	0	7	0	0	0	0
25 Jan 19	1	0	0	0	1	0
13 Feb 19	0	1	2	0	0	0
06 Mar 19	7	1	2	0	0	0
05 Apr 19	0	5	1	0	0	0
08 Apr 19	1+1	13	4	0	0	0
11 Apr 19	0	3	0	0	0	0
22 May 19	0	0	3[b]	0	0	0
03 Jun 19	0	1	0	0	0	0
05 Jun 19	0	16	0	0	0	0
Total	**16**	**105**	**25**	**0**	**2**	**0**

[a]Sustainable Tourism or Sustainable Development or Sustainability
[b]Accessible Was the Nearest Word to Inclusiveness Used in this Press Release
Source: UNWTO, 2017–2019

Table 2 Keywords used by the other organisations from January 2017 to June 2019

Keywords Press release	Over-tourism	Sustainable[a]	Inclusive	Saturation	Over-crowding	Gentrification
UNESCO 2018	2	6	0	0	0	0
OECD 2018	0	3	0	0	0	0
WTTC2017	1[b]	2	0	0	7	0
WTTC 2019	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**3**	**11**	**0**	**0**	**7**	**0**

[a]Sustainable Tourism or Sustainable Development or Sustainability
[b]WTTC also Uses the Word of Tourismophobia
Source: UNESCO, OECD, WTTC 2017–2019

by tourism authorities and the commercial sector. One of the most recent report was prepared by Manfred Lenzen et al. (2018) who found that "between 2009 and 2013, tourism's global carbon footprint has increased from 3.9 to 4.5 GtCO2e, four times more than previously estimated, accounting for about 8% of global greenhouse gas emissions. Transport, shopping and food are significant contributors. Much of the tourism footprint is exerted by and in high-income countries". WTTC accredited this research but did not accept that the sector's efforts to cut carbon have been a failure. What is going on with overtourism?

The Content of Press Releases

The World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC and McKinsey 2017) was the first organisation to denounce the negative effects of overcrowding on 13 December 2017, announcing the sponsored McKinsey report on "Overcrowding in tourist destinations". WTTC was using seven times the term "overcrowding", once only "overtourism" as well as "tourismophobia".

UNWTO PR17137 (19 December 2017) in "A roadmap towards 2030: the legacy of the International Year of Sustainable Tourism for Development 2017" reviewed the year's achievements and discussed the roadmap for advancing the contribution of tourism towards the 2030 Agenda. UNWTO PR18018 (2 March 2018) on Credible Measurement for Improved Decision-Making shows the increasing relevance for expanding tourism statistics, beyond the current economic focus, to include social and environmental aspects in order to measure sustainability. Later, on 30 October 2018, PR18083 informed that the initiative for Measuring the Sustainability of Tourism (MST) makes a serious boost from various pilot studies to "produce credible and comparative data" in order to adopt the MST framework as the 3rd international standard on tourism statistics. These were two steps for a more accurate approach to study the impact of tourism on natural and cultural environment.

PR18048 (27 June 2018) on 'Fostering Smart Destination Development' was published at the closure of the 2nd World Conference on Smart Destinations in Oviedo—Spain (25–27 June 2018) organized

with a strong support of the tourist professionals and educational institutions. But the UNWTO Secretary-General only emphasized on new technologies. However, numerous comments were done on overtourism and gentrification during the debates.

On 14 June 2018, OECD published a communiqué on "Rethinking Urban Sprawl: Moving Towards Sustainable Cities" where the concept of "sustainability" was mentioned three times, while "overtourism" was not mentioned at all. Its objective was "to build better policies for better lives", However, OECD used the term "overtourism" in different national reports (Sutherland and Stacey 2017).

The 7th UNWTO Global Summit on Urban Tourism was held on September 2018, in Seoul. At this point of time, urban tourist leaders were largely discussing the effects of overcrowding. Previously, on 1st August 2018, PR18056 was issued as "UNWTO: Laying out a Sustainable Future for Urban Tourism" aimed to set out a vision looking to 2030 for this rapidly-growing urban tourism segment without using the words "sustainable" and "inclusive". Six weeks later, on 18 September 2018, the UNWTO Communication Team diffused PR18066 on "New UNWTO Report Helps Cities Manage Impact of Tourism". The report was planned under the title "Overtourism'? Understanding and managing urban tourism growth beyond perceptions" (2018). It underlines the need for governance.

UNWTO PR18067 (19 September 2018) was on the "UNWTO Conference in Valladolid to Discuss Innovative Tourism Experiences in Urban Destinations". One reference was given to "sustainability". The PR 18076 published at the end of the Conference (16 October 2018) titled "Creating Smart Cities for Innovative Tourism Experiences", quoted "overtourism" only one time, "sustainable"" was mentioned four times. Here the role of Spanish authorities was significant, putting a strong emphasis on smart solutions, innovative new products and services and marketing as well as governance.

On 24 October 2018, PR18081 reported on the "New UNWTO Global Report on Inclusive Tourism Destinations launched on the occasion of UN Day 2018". This report was produced in collaboration with the consultancy company *Globaldit*, an UNWTO Affiliate Member based in Valencia (Spain). It depicts a model for inclusive destinations.

So, it justifies that inclusive tourism "contributes directly to the Sustainable Development Goals 8 "Decent work and economic growth" and SDG 10 "Reduction of inequalities", as well as SDG 5 "Gender equality" and SDG 17 "Global partnership for sustainable development"".

Previously, for the 2018 World Tourism Day, UNESCO published a report on "Protecting World Heritage". UNESCO explained that it was working with the European Union and its World Heritage Centre, through its Sustainable Tourism Programme, to develop "online tools that enable World Heritage sites to better manage and monitor tourism".

Later, on 5 December 2018, the UNWTO Communication Team published PR18095, on the "UNWTO/UNESCO Conference: Cultural Tourism Sustains Communities and Living Heritage" conducted in Istanbul (Turkey). The idea was to support "cultural tourism as a driver for safeguarding living heritage, catalysing creativity in cities, and spreading tourism's socioeconomic benefits to all". The terms around sustainability are stated seven times. The concept of responsible tourism begins to take place in the semantics of international organisations mainly to face the challenges of climate change.

The real interest in overtourism starts in 2019 with some interrogations. On 25 January 2019, during FITUR, the International Tourism Fair of Madrid, was distributed the "First ever UNWTO/IPSOS Survey – Citizens recognize the positive impact of tourism" (UNWTO 2019a). PR19007 informed that according to this global survey, "47% of respondents think they live in cities with a high number of tourists. Over 50% considers tourism has a positive impact in generating wealth and promoting cultural exchanges, and 49% feel there should be measures to improve tourism management. Only 12% of respondents favour limitations to the number of visitors".

On 6 March 2019, UNWTO issued the report "'Overtourism'? Understanding and Managing Urban Tourism Growth Beyond Perceptions: Volume 2 – Case Studies", choosing ITB Berlin to address the whole industry. ITB Berlin is considered among the tourist professionals as the "World's Leading Travel Trade Show". PR19016 was titled "Overtourism? New UNWTO Report Offers Case Studies to Tackle Challenges". The word "overtourism" was quoted seven times, the

sustainability concept was quoted once, and the inclusiveness concepts were mentioned twice. This press release underlines that "the most common measures currently being implemented by destinations relate to the dispersal of visitors within the city and beyond, showing the pressing need to manage tourism congestion in certain areas and attractions", i.e. the challenges are not only "linked to the growing number of visitors but also to the pressure placed by residents, commuters and tourists on the city's resources and services".

On the sidelines of the UNWTO Mayors Forum for Sustainable Urban Tourism, PR19024 (5 April 2019) was published in Lisbon (Portugal) to announce the 8th UNWTO Global Summit on Urban Tourism to be held in Nur-Sultan (Kazakhstan) on October 2019, under the theme "Smart Cities, Smart Destinations". In Lisbon, according to its next press release PR19023 (8 April 2019), UNWTO seeks cities 'cooperation on a "Sustainable and Inclusive Urban Tourism Agenda under the theme: Cities for all: building cities for citizens and visitors".

"Balearic Islands Poised to Become First Tourism Destination Developed Under 2030 Agenda" was the matter of PR19026 (11 April 2019). The Spanish Balearic Islands (Mallorca, Menorca and Formentera[12]) are overcrowded and the media reported multiple incidents occurring between residents and tourists and the increase of criminality. UNWTO signed an agreement with IMPULSA BALEARS, regional foundation described as a platform for strategic knowledge and regional interaction. The initiative was to "jumpstart the process of the strategic reformulation of tourism in order to make an effective contribution to sustainable development". The keyword "sustainable" was used three times; nothing was said on overtourism.

On 3 June 2019, the UNWTO Communication Team came back to the "UNWTO/IPSOS Global Survey – Local Residents Remain Largely Positive to Urban Tourism" (PR19040). Using practices made in 15 countries and the responses of 12,000 residents, this survey is focused on "the best ways of managing rising numbers of tourists, highlighting differing attitudes to urban tourism among different socio-demographic groups" to benefit residents. Then, on 5 June 2019, PR19041 cites the

[12] Ibiza, the fourth Balearic Island, was not included.

UNWTO/UN Environment Report Notes "Sustainability a Key Part of Tourism Policies, But More Still to Be Done". With the support from the Government of France, these notes are the first global assessment of sustainable consumption and production (SCP) factors within national tourism policies of 101 UNWTO Member States. France is not only requesting UNWTO to deal with overtourism, it is willing to describe best practices and make recommendations for a better governance of destinations.

At the same time, WTTC published a communication on 11 June 2019 presenting a shared research with JLL—Jones Lang LaSalle Incorporated, a commercial real estate services firm, to reveal "global cities' readiness for tourism growth" through a "new global index report". The newly created index based on fifty cities for 'Future Travel & Tourism' growth "brings together a broad spectrum of destination practices and community attributes to determine a level and type of readiness".

These previous press releases are linked to a sustainable, inclusive and responsible tourism. For this very reason, UNWTO was communicating with PR19012 on a "New UNWTO Report on Walking Tourism" and with PR19035 on Accessible Destinations.

Conclusions

Twenty-five press releases reflect the position of UNWTO, UNESCO, OEDC and WTTC on overtourism. Since 2018, these organisations realised the importance of overcrowded destinations. But they are frequently advised by tourist professionals often reticent to deal with this problem. As UNWTO was deeply involved in the International Year of Sustainable Tourism for Development 2017, its Secretariat General was convinced that sustainability will solve the problem of saturation and overcrowding. At the same time, the focus was made on the statistical tools for measuring this sustainability and the elaboration of consistent indicators.

WTTC sounded already the alarm in 2017 while OECD was centering its analysis on shared economy (OECD 2018). UNESCO followed its policy to extend the lists of both tangible and intangible heritage,

especially in less developed countries. Since 2016, UNWTO was looking carefully at smart destinations with the support of SEGITTUR, the Spanish State Enterprise for Tourism Innovations, an Affiliate Member, which was organizing two UNWTO conferences on smart destinations: Murcia (Spain) in 2017, Oviedo (Spain) in 2018.[13]

Incidents and complaints increased in 2018 and the UNWTO Affiliate Members (destinations, tourist professionals and academics) asked for setting overtourism on the agenda of UNWTO events and studies.

The report "Overtourism? – Understanding Tourism Growth beyond perceptions" may be seen ambiguous. UNWTO witnessed "a rise in negative attitudes among local populations towards visitors due to issues of perceived overcrowding, noise and other nuisances attributed to tourists…" (UNWTO 2018). At the same time, UNWTO was trying to rebuff several "myths": "tourism congestion is not only about the number of visitors but about the capacity to manage them". The governance was at the core of the solutions against noise disturbance, traffic jam, queueing, crowding.

In 2018, UNWTO's answer was an inventory of recommendations on 11 strategies and 68 measures to help understand and manage visitor growth in urban destinations (UNWTO 2018). Later, in March 2019, UNWTO published the volume 2 of this report presenting 18 case studies (UNWTO 2019b). UNWTO proposes the implementation of policies and strategies around the sustainability of tourism with reference to the United Nations New Urban Agenda and the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The objective is to "consider tourists as temporary residents, ensure tourism policy promote the engagement of visitors and residents and build a city for all" (UNWTO 2018). So UNWTO asks to "Determine the acceptable levels of impact of tourism on the city through a participatory process involving all relevant stakeholders" (UNWTO 2018). It invites to inclusiveness: "Enhance the integration of local communities in the tourism value chain promoting their engagement in the sector and ensuring that tourism translates into wealth creation and decent jobs. Integrating local communities from the start

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[13] https://www.segittur.es/es/buscador.html?searchaction=search&searchPage=1&query=convenio+con+OMT

will ensure they benefit from tourism from the start and will help bring together local stakeholders" (UNWTO 2018).

Does that mean a reliable change towards an international awareness for policies reducing tourism flows, or at least to spread them out in time and space in order to diminish disparities between destinations? The answer appears to be yes.

UNESCO can delete a site from the World Heritage List, OECD can advise its countries' members to apply restrictive tourist policies, WTTC may strongly recommend its business partners to have an accountable and responsible attitude. What instruments UNWTO must develop additionally to the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism? The Global Code of Ethics must be adjusted and adapted to climate change as well as asking for reducing inequalities between destinations where is seeing an increase of gentrification of the most attractive sites and a rejection of the residents to outskirts. This move may be done throughout the UNWTO Global Summits on Urban Tourism, also in international settings in the framework of SDGs. Coordination between international organisations is essential. UNWTO must play the central role as the United Nations designed it its main agency for tourism.

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Overtourism at Heritage and Cultural Sites

Nichole C. Hugo

Background

As the population around the world grows and more people choose to travel, heritage and cultural sites have struggled with best practices for maintaining their fragile and priceless locations. With the rise of sustainable and responsible forms of tourism, a focus on the issues associated with traditional tourism management practices has started to become more critically analysed. These practices have aimed at bringing in as many tourists as possible, as well as their money, to a destination with the primary purpose of becoming profitable. Consumers and tourists becoming more mindful of their wastefulness and damage cause by overconsumption and overpopulation has led to research focusing on the impact of overtourism. Twitter recorded the first #overtourism in August 2012 and the term has become more commonly used since that time (Goodwin 2017). The idea of overtourism has been discussed as visitor 'overkill'

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(Rosenow and Pulsipher 1979) and researched long before its branding on social media, but the concept has grown increasingly popular with this new terminology. Destinations bombarded with unprecedented levels of tourist growth have led managers to explore options to reroute tourists away from crowded hotspots as popular attractions realize the quantitative limits of their carrying capacity (Benner 2019).

Illustrating the extreme numbers of visitors that are associated with overtourism, many countries in Europe experience dramatic numbers of tourists compared to residents. Barcelona Spain estimates there were 30 million overnight visitors in 2017, which is 28.4 million more people than its local residents (Milano et al. 2018). Venice, Italy, with only 60,000 residents, had nearly 5 million tourists visit this small city in 2017 (Traveller 2019). The overabundance of tourists can be seen as a substantial asset to the economy, with international tourism exports generating USD 1.7 trillion in 2018 (UNWTO 2019). However, these tourists can cause substantial damage that contribute to unquantifiable loses for communities.

Negative Impacts of Overtourism at Sites

Any site that experiences overtourism should be concerned with the problems linked to it, but heritage and cultural sites should be particularly mindful of incorporating appropriate management practices. This is because these sites have historic, religious or spiritual importance related to vital traditional customs that cannot be replaced once they have been damaged. So how do we protect these magnificent structures from damage and manage the wear caused not just by time, but also by the mass numbers of tourists wanting to visit these places? The first step is to determine what type of damage may be inflicted upon the sites (Helmy and Cooper 2002).

The negative impacts of overtourism at the site can be broken down into two basic categories: structural and cultural. Structural impacts are associated with damage inflicted on the physical attributes of the site, such as the building, grounds and artefacts. Structural elements should be analysed to withstand the wear and tear from the stress caused by mass

use (Pigram 1980). Cultural impacts can be more difficult to notice because they are the effects on society which may take place gradually (Joo et al. 2009). They also do not always leave a visible mark, so it can be challenging to document these changes.

Structural Impacts

Vandalism: one of the most obvious signs of destruction to a site is vandalism. While the first image that may come to mind with vandalism might involve someone taking a spray can to tag a wall with words or drawings, vandalism can come in various forms. A popular form of vandalism is writing or carving one's name into a feature of the site. Not only does this detract from the aesthetic appearance but the desecration of rare artefacts can also happen. Vandalism can also be due to tourists acting carelessly at the site and causing destruction willingly or inadvertently. Vandalism can even occur from tourists as a reaction to locals rejecting tourism and trying to keep tourists numbers from growing (Martín Martín et al. 2018).

Litter: trash left behind at sites not only makes an area look unattractive, but it can also contaminate the soil, making it difficult for native plants to thrive. It can also attract bugs and disease-spreading vermin. This can lead to an increase in the economic burden paid by locals through taxes to remove the trash and maintain the area (Goodwin 2017).

Theft: theft does not include taking valuable artefacts only, but also items from nature. For example, if a site has shells surrounding the site that tourists (or vendors who hope to sell them to tourists) pick up, the landscape of the area can drastically change once they are wiped out. Crowds can also make security and the enforcement of laws difficult, which can result in an increase in pickpocketing (Biagi and Detotto 2014).

Degradation and erosion: degradation and erosion to a site are two of the most challenging issues to prevent since it is inevitable that this will happen naturally even if there were no tourists visiting. The added impact of people walking, touching and even just breathing at the site, though, accelerates this process. Stone walkways or stairs may start to crumble due to overuse and too much stress being placed on their structures. This

may be particularly difficult for coastal areas due to increases in destruction from shifts in global climate change and the weakening of structures overtime (Thinh et al. 2019).

Cultural Impacts

Commercialisation and commodification of cultural goods and services: this is done by exploiting cultural symbols or traditions of an area through simplistic or even incorrect ideas of what the locals and culture of the destination represent. Examples include the mass production of ritual dances for entertainment or the selling of cheap replications of cultural representations as souvenirs (Kaosa-ard 1994; Coronado 2014).

Cultural appropriation: related to commercialisation on commodification of culture is the copying of aspects of a culture and modifying them for financial gain. Examples include reproductions of Native American tribal headdresses being used outside of the sacred occasions of the items, such as for Halloween. These acts demonstrate a lack of respect for the culture by making a costume item from a sacred artefact that takes years of hard work to obtain through sacrifice and exemplary leadership. The appropriation and selling of cultural art is technically illegal due to the selling of intellectual property of another but it can be difficult to prove the origin of a cultural symbol or who it belongs to (Bunten 2010; Coronado 2014).

Loss of traditions: in an attempt to provide an experience that the tourist has come to expect, locals may adjust their traditions. This is seen commonly through dances, festivals or other celebrations that have been altered to meet the tastes of the tourists. Traditions may also be altered to accommodate the large number of people visiting the area, so that the event can accommodate as many tourists as possible. Loss of traditional livelihoods may also occur as the development of tourism shifts jobs into that sector, leaving residents without the stable occupations they previously relied on (Su et al. 2016).

Adjustment of societal norms: as more visitors from around the world arrive, locals may take on and adapt behaviours of the tourists. This can lead to a loss of their own values and traits. This may include providing

food that is more familiar to what the tourist is accustomed to having in their home country, resulting in local fare losing its authenticity as it becomes more mainstream. Another adjustment would be acquiring a rushed way of life, as tourists try to pack as much in during their stay, requiring a fast-paced overview of the destination (Iverson 2010).

Additional challenges can result from the lack of satisfaction by the tourists. Many destinations rely on tourism dollars to assist with their community development. Tourism satisfaction can be particularly important in developing countries where there are more natural lands and pristine environments but fewer large-scale, man-made structures as attractions. After all, it is important to maintain their valuable natural resources to ensure tourists keep coming back for years to come, continuing the flow of money. If an area becomes in such disrepair that it is not possible to restore it back to an area worth visiting, tourists will venture off to other places to explore (Kuščer and Mihalič 2019). The loss of tourists, as well as their money, could cause an economic recession in areas dependent on tourism as their main course of income. In addition, the loss of tourists to the region means that the spreading of ideas and understanding of the area may constrict as well.

Best Practices

Some cities are actively pursuing policy changes that will restrict or limit the amount of tourism growth. For example, Barcelona is limiting the number of cruise ships at its ports, blocking construction of hotels in the historic district (Kakissis 2018). There is a fine of $280–$480 for sitting on the Spanish Steps in Rome due to the excessive number of tourists that visit and have cost the city $1.68 million to clean and restore the steps (Diamond and Olito 2019).

For areas that do not have the ability to change governing policies or impose fines, there are other tactics businesses can use to help protect against damage to structures and culture. Management strategies should focus on ways to protect their physical structures, and incorporate education of the values associated with the site, encourage respect of local customs and boundaries (Nuryanti 1996). Tactics may include adjusting

Table 1 Summary of best practices for structural issues at cultural and Heritage Sites

Issue	Management practice
Vandalism	Posted information regarding fines Video or guard surveillance Tour guides or other staff monitoring the area
Litter	Posted information regarding fines Providing trash and recycling containers throughout the site
Theft	Posted information regarding fines or jail time Video or guard surveillance Tour guides or other staff monitoring the area
Degradation and erosion	Limit number of occupants through higher prices Limit number of occupants through a lottery drawing to enter Redirect tourists to other sites Maintenance and reconstruction—create a schedule to provide preventative maintenance, seal or repair infrastructure, create wooden walkways that can be easily replaced in sections, and include professional artists to restore paintings

Note: Summarized information from Martín Martín et al. (2018); Goodwin (2017); Pedersen (2002); Biagi and Detotto (2014); Thinh et al. (2019)

seasonal pricing, redirecting tourists to less populated areas, creating lotteries or capping the maximum occupancy at the site (Pedersen 2002). The policies of the establishment, as well as the consequences for violating such policies, should be clearly communicated to the tourists visiting the area (Table 1).

Providing solutions for cultural issues can be much more challenging as it involves educating the tourists visiting the area. This can be done by posting signs informing tourists that they should refrain from purchasing certain products, such as items of religious significance. Information should also be provided to educate tourists about the traditional significance of areas or events, identify social norms of the local people, or give a brief overview of the dos and don'ts for the region (Iverson 2010). However, getting people to read this information while they are on vacation can be difficult as many tourists are interested in enjoying their vacation—not educating themselves on the people and customs of the area.

Partnerships with tourism businesses and promotors is also important to the aspect of managing the number of people at a site. This can allow

for the relocation of tourists to different areas to mitigate the effect of a large number of people crowding one place. For example, an area that has multiple cruise ships docking at nearby ports to take excursions and let visitors off at the same time, coordinating times for them to arrive can help alleviate crowding (Dilg-Saßmannshausen 2018). Having an understanding of the destination and promoting less popular attractions can also help the destination as a whole, as customer service tends to increase when businesses are not overloaded.

Educating employees within the tourism sector can also assist with this problem. Tourists are more likely to learn about an area and be motivated to incorporate responsible travel behaviours by talking with locals instead of just reading about it. However, the tourism industry is incredibly large with a substantial number of people being employed in a variety of professions. Reaching this many people requires organisation of a communication network used to facilitate the discussion of frequent issues caused by overtourism and the solutions local businesses have found to assist with minimising its negative impacts (Iverson 2010).

Organisations Protecting Heritage and Cultural Sites

While a site may strive towards incorporating policies and procedures to help protect structures from overtourism, it may struggle with having the resources necessary to implement these practices. Fortunately, there are multiple organisations focused on protecting cultural sites from natural or human destruction. Unfortunately, many of these companies work in isolation from everyday visitors, as they are able to block off sites for excavation and preservation. They also may only operate in only a few regions around the world. For example, the American Schools of Oriental Research (ASOR) Cultural Heritage Initiatives documents damage, promotes global awareness and plans emergency or post-war responses in Syria, northern Iraq and Libya (ASOR 2019). One organisation that actively protects cultural sites open to the public is the United Nations

Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) World Heritage Centre. This organisation allows tourists to learn more about these sites by monitoring visitors at the attractions, which promotes education and learning of other cultures while still protecting them.

UNESCO World Heritage Centre

1. This programme was developed to designate a natural area or cultural structure as a World Heritage Site in order to provide assistance in protecting these sensitive attractions. The site can be designated as a World Heritage Site by demonstrating outstanding universal value and meet one of the following criteria: to represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;
2. to exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;
3. to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilisation which is living or which has disappeared;
4. to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;
5. to be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;
6. to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria);
7. to contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance;

8. to be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant on-going geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features;
9. to be outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals;
10. to contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation. (UNESCO 2019)

Once a place has been designated as a World Heritage site, resources, guidelines, support and even funding can be provided to assist with the protection of the location. In 2019 UNESCO has designated 1121 World Heritage Sites, with 53 of these being "In Danger". A site is considered to be in danger if major operations are needed at the site or threats such as accelerated deterioration, rapid urban or tourism development projects, abandonment, armed conflict or natural disasters occur (UNESCO 2019). Cultural sites account for 869 of the World Heritage Sites with 36 of them being designated as in danger, which account for more than half of all sites and the in danger grouping.

The designation of being a World Heritage Site includes specialized planning and protection measures to be put in place but it also brings more attention to attract visitors. With many sites being located near cruise ports and the ability for people to travel more easily with an increase in low-cost airlines, many of these sites are experiencing overtourism (Dilg-Saßmannshausen 2018). Examples of issues being combated and support provided to World Heritage Sites are included for the Taj Mahal, Machu Picchu and the Old City of Jerusalem and its Walls. All three of these sites were designated as world Heritage Sites in the early 1980s but these attractions represent different types of cultural sites experiencing overtourism and illustrates the diverse challenges of maintaining these areas.

Taj Mahal, India

The Taj Mahal was designated as a World Heritage site by meeting criteria (1) to represent a masterpiece of human creative genius. Considered to be the "finest architectural and artistic achievement through perfect harmony and excellent craftsmanship in a whole range of Indo-Islamic sepulchral architecture," the Taj Mahal received its World Heritage designation in 1983 (UNESCO 2019).

The Taj Mahal was built in Agra India between 1632 and 1653 in memory of Mumtaz Mahal, the third and favourite wife of Emperor Shah Jahan (Sparavigna 2013). This mausoleum is considered to be a unique and exceptional architectural achievement for its design, use of marble precious states, choice or colour and the placement of the tomb (UNESCO 2019). It has been praised for its symmetry, attention to detail and incorporation of geometric planning in alignment with the eight principles of Shahjahani architecture (Ahuja and Rajani 2016).

Overtourism has caused the Taj Mahal to experience structural damage to the site as well as environmental damage as a result of pollution from the influx of visitors. Roughly 7–8 million tourists visit each year, with the most popular times to visit being in October, November and February (Department of Tourism 2018).

To combat this issue, the price for entering the site was raised from 50 rupees to 250 rupees for Indian citizens, with foreigners paying 1100 rupees in 2018 (Marcus 2019). Foreigners must also pay extra to enter the mausoleum. To assist with the issue of pollution, tourists must park and walk to the complex or catch the electric bus. In 1996, the Supreme Court of India banned the use of coal in the Taj Trapezium Zone (UNESCO 2019). An air monitoring station were also installed to control for pollutants in the atmosphere. The site has federal funds designated for the conservation and maintenance of the complex to help sustain it.

Machu Picchu, Peru

UNESCO declared Machu Picchu a World Heritage Site in 1983, which was soon after the Peruvian government designated it a Historical

Sanctuary in 1981. It meets the criteria for four categories (1, 3, 7 and 9) to receive the designation as a World Heritage Site (UNESCO 2019). The ruins of this fifteenth century Inca city, first discovered in 1911 by modern civilisation, has seen a 700% increase in tourists from 1980 to 2013 (Whitman 2014). The site involves approximately 200 structures and provides outstanding value due to its religious and ceremonial significance.

For a country that depends on tourism as a major contributor to its economy, this increase has been met with mix views and priorities regarding how to address this drastic change. Being listed as one of the new Seven Wonders of the World in 2007 has increased the popularity of this already heavily populated attraction.

Limits have been placed to cap the number of tourists to the site to 2500 by the Peruvian Government, as recommended by UNESCO, but nearly 1.6 million tourists still visited the site in 2018 (Peru Telegraph 2019). This is because these limits are also not always enforced and an average of 5000 tourists will visit the site during the peak season in the summer (Collyns 2019). Rules regarding how long a tourist can stay at the citadel have also been enacted. Tourists must choose to either enter at 6 a.m. to noon or noon to 5:30 p.m. with the option to purchase tickets for an additional cost if they would like to stay the whole day (Sachs 2018). This allows for 5000 tourists to still be able to visit the site a day, but they will not be there all at the same time.

UNESCO and the Peruvian government are in conflict about the development of a new airport near the site because UNESCO is concerned over the impact this will have to the already stressed attraction. This airport is scheduled to be constructed by 2023 in Cusco and the Peruvian government is hoping this will double the number of tourists (Collyns 2019). In addition to overtourism, the threats to the structure include poaching, poor waste management practices, the clearing of nearby land for agriculture and logging, invasive species, poaching, and water pollution (UNESCO 2019). These threats are being combatted through working with the Peruivan government to develop a formal management framework that recognized the substantial economic benefit of this site while working to sustain it.

Old City of Jerusalem and Its Walls, Israel

This holy city for Judaism, Christianity and Islam is a cultural site categorized in 1982 to be "In Danger" by the World Heritage Centre (UNESCO 2019). Of all of the World Heritage Sites in this category, 40% of them are located in the Middle East (Levin et al. 2019). This site is unique because it was the first one to be added through an extraordinary session of the World Heritage Committee. Jordan nominated the site, Israel was not a member at the time, by arguing it meets the first and third criteria of a World Heritage Site. However, Israel did not endorse the nomination as it contested the entitlement of Jordan as an external state to claim power over the site (Larkin and Dumper 2009).

This initial conflict leads to scepticism as to whether Israel would submit to international guidelines and regulations. Tensions between UNESCO and Israel have meant the implementation of an action plan has experienced more difficulties than the previous two sites. Recently there have been disputes over the construction of a new ascent to the Mughrabi Gate, as the renovations was near one of the main access points of an archaeological exploration site (Larkin and Dumper 2009).

The Old City of Jerusalem and its Walls is recognized as a sacred place to the three monotheistic religions not only means many people want to visit to tour the sites (32%) but they also visit for pilgrimage (23%). Of the 2.8 million tourists to Israel, 77% visited Jerusalem in 2016 (Shtudiner et al. 2018). The issue of political and religious violence threatens the area in addition to the problem of overtourism. As the Israelis and the Palestinians contest the area in relation to historical narratives, legal authority and territorial rights political confrontations tend to escalate (Larkin and Dumper 2009).

Similar to Machu Picchu, this site involves 220 historic monuments spread throughout the area. With the monuments being scattered it can be difficult to regulate and maintain the area compared to having one main area where tourists can be localized and monitored more easily. Additional concerns are the overcrowding of the city's inhabitants, inadequate water supplies and poor sewage networks (Larkin and Dumper 2009). This illustrates the broader issues of collaboration and between multiple organisations who have mixed priorities for a destination.

Theoretical Application

Even with the best intentions of a tourist organisation to implement strong protection practices at cultural sites, negative consequences can still occur. Despite the resources and knowledge UNESCO is able to produce to help destinations, unintended effects have also occurred. An example would be the issues with gentrification at World Heritage Sites. The Casco Viejo neighbourhood in Panama City became a World Heritage Site in 1997 and the poorest locals were forced to relocate to its city limits. Other issues include the increased commercialisation in the area as tourism grows and idealized traditions are staged to draw in more visitors (Maurel 2017).

An explanation for this occurrence can be linked to place branding theory, which can be defined as 'associations in the consumers' mind based on the visual, verbal, and behavioural expression of a place, which is embodied through the aims, communication, values, and the general culture of the place's stakeholders and the overall place design' (Zenker and Braun 2010: 5). An issue with the branding is that it can be difficult on who is involved with the creation of the brand, let alone multiple associations that an individual may have with conflicting images of their own making (Kavaratzis and Hatch 2013). Even if UNESCO gave locals an equal voice in the development of the policies and marketing strategies of the site, it can be difficult to escape the image already associated with World Heritage Sites. The image potential visitors have of this organisation could mean that the individual branding of a destination can be difficult to differentiate, as all World Heritage Sites may have already become solidified in the individuals mind.

Issues with the commercialisation and gentrification at or near World Heritage Sites may be associated with the brand that is being represented and tourists' expectations due to their association with the name. Future studies should focus more on this relationship and associated impacts as there is currently a gap in the research on this subject.

Conclusion

Managing overtourism at cultural and heritage sites has unique challenges but identifying the potential issues and incorporating policies and produces to protect against substantial damage will help sustain the structural integrity and cultural uniqueness of these sites. As illustrated through the examples of the three World Heritage Sites mentioned, it is important to work with local governments and organisations to develop practices to limit the number of people at the site at one time. Increasing the price of admission to see the attraction helps with regulating the number of people and providing more funds for the maintenance of the area. Providing clearly marked signs for rules at the site with staff available to educate and monitor tourists may also prevent damage. Fining tourists that do not follow the rules at the site can also enforce compliance.

While UNESCO has resources to assist World Heritage Sites and protect them from overtourism, conflicts can occur for many reasons. Local organisations and governments may have different priorities regarding the operation of businesses and may not want to limit the number of tourists due to the loss of revenue. Broader issues, such as violence or political conflict, can also be issues that are too large to be dealt with effectively through a change in tourism management policies. Being labelled as a World Heritage Site does not guarantee the success of maintaining the area but establishments not part of this organisation can still learn effective measures to assist sustaining the site and dealing with the stress of overtourism. Each destination will have its own unique set of challenges but the trend of recognizing the drastic growth of tourists as an issue and working to combat it means that more information and research is constantly being collected to assist with determining solutions for areas.

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Overtourism: Creative Solutions by Creative Residents

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Introduction

Residents and those running businesses directly and indirectly related to tourism experience positive as well as negative impacts of tourism. Numerous studies and reports have examined the impacts of tourism on the local community, with one stream of literature specifically focusing on resident attitudes to tourism (Andereck et al. 2005; Faulkner and Tideswell 1997; Harrill 2004; Postma 2013; Vargas-Sánchez et al. 2010; Zhang and Ma 2006). This stream of literature discusses community and

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resident characteristics that influence reaction to tourism development, changes in community structure, or conflict between residents and visitors as a result of tourism growth. A recent report by UNWTO emphasises negative impacts of overtourism such as gentrification, declining population, and resident liveability, particularly in urban areas (UNWTO 2019a).

However, much of this literature discusses the impact as tourism is developing—prior to reaching its limits (Hadinejad et al. 2019). Instead, this chapter focuses on how to tackle issues emerging from locations already affected by significant flows of tourists. This study considers that residents and local communities should be involved in the planning, management and monitoring of tourism development (UNWTO 2019a), therefore becoming agents of change. Accordingly, the study approaches overtourism by analysing how residents are affected by it. The problems of overtourism are equally a policy and a day-to-day management concern, and at both these dimensions residents and local communities are considered key stakeholders and participants.

This chapter instead discusses creative tourism as a solution for local communities and residents to explore, and to reduce negative effects from overtourism, while at the same time creating new social and business dynamics. Creative tourism is linked to a vision of responsible tourism that, by encompassing the creative potential of communities and making better use of endogenous resources, may reduce overtourism in urban areas. This approach follows discussion of overtourism led by WTO at *UNWTO Mayors Forum for Sustainable Urban Tourism 'Cities for all: building cities for citizens and visitors',* held in Lisbon in April 2019. At this event, key concerns addressed issues such as community engagement and empowerment in tourism sustainable projects, safeguarding of residents' quality of life, in addition to big data and innovative solutions, new business models, creative cities and events, infrastructure, resources and planning.

The following three sections of this chapter present the concept of overtourism, review residents' perceptions and reactions towards tourism, and address creative tourism as a sustainable type of tourism. The subsequent section describes the case of Lisbon, the capital city of Portugal, examining the positive and negative tourism impacts for residents, policy

constraints and problems identified. Creative tourism initiatives that may reduce overtourism impacts are described. The way residents are integrated in the development and management process of creative tourism initiatives are presented to inspire further reflection and action by other communities. The chapter ends with discussion and main conclusions of the study.

The Concept of Overtourism

Overtourism refers to "destinations where hosts or guests, locals or visitors, feel that there are too many visitors and that the quality of life in the area or the quality of the experience has deteriorated unacceptably" (Goodwin 2017: 1). Recently, it has been defined as "the situation in which the impact of tourism, at certain times and in certain locations, exceeds physical, ecological, social, economic, psychological, and/or political capacity thresholds" (Peeters et al. 2018: 15). Overtourism today is a concern of public bodies, businesses, residents and tourists alike, and transcends the limited perspectives of planers and marketers in charge of the management and promotion of destinations (UNWTO 2019b). Many cases around the world are reported to experience overtourism, ranging from Hong Kong, Rio de Janeiro, Barcelona, Dubrovnik, Malta, to Venice (Boissevain 1996; Novy and Colomb 2016; Milano and Mansilla 2018).

From an academic perspective, overtourism is a complex phenomenon that encompasses previous research on tourist flows, numbers and destination's carrying capacity, but which is more complex and broader in scope by integrating social-psychological effects on communities in addition to those observed in the physical environment (Russo 2002). Research findings, reports and discussions in the media are currently accessible to readers of a vast audience (e.g. Cheer et al. 2019; Coalu 2014; Koens et al. 2018; Milano et al. 2018). Different perspectives can be chosen for analysis of overtourism as there are different groups of stakeholders affected by it—tourists, business owners and residents. Often overtourism studies focus on residents' perceptions, feelings and behaviours regarding pressures and constraints on their social system,

tangible and intangible culture, and natural environment (Peeters et al. 2018).

Impacts on Residents and Touristification

The effects of touristic activity on tourism destinations and tourism growth and development are well-documented topics in tourism studies (Butler 2015). Tourist activities affect residents of the destination (Cocola-Gant 2018) and can lead to *touristification,* where an area transforms into a commodity as a result of unplanned development (Renau 2018). *Touristification* leads to enclavic spaces dominated by tourism businesses, activities, venues, and attractions, devoid of authentic meaning in the lives of residents. *Tourism gentrification* within urban touristic enclaves leads to displacement of residents and traditional family-owned businesses, and change in land-use for touristic purposes (Gotham 2018). *Touristification* and *gentrification* are related to the increase in number of tourists visiting an area, and exacerbate risks of overcrowding.

A number of studies have addressed the social and human dimensions of perverse transformations brought by tourism by focusing on the urban changes effected by tourism business growth (Butler 2015; McKercher 1993). Studies of tourism impacts on residents have demonstrated negative effects on a community's quality of life and recommend planning and controlling tourism growth (Andereck et al. 2005). These impacts occur at both community and individual levels. For example, labour market reshaping or community restructuring generates individual and family disruption (Postma 2013).

Tourism can lead to conflict between residents and tourists, motivated by perception of too many visitors or of improper behaviour (Postma and Schmuecker 2017). Conflicts may also arise within the community itself, when residents and businesses support different interests regarding tourism. Hostility of residents towards business owners may arise as quality of life means different things for residents seeking a peaceful environment and businesses that need tourists to make a profit (Pearce 2018). The "Irridex" model examines social antagonism towards tourism, and is a tool to measure the level of community tolerance to it (Doxey 1975).

According this model, host community reactions to tourism vary with the stage of tourism growth in the destination. The model describes four stages of reactions from euphoria to antagonism, considering apathy and annoyance as intermediate stages. Each stage may be associated with different responses from entities in charge of the destination planning: from little or no planning whatsoever to development of touristic infrastructures and promotion. The model is simplistic in its approach to communities as homogeneous entities (Canavan 2014) but it acknowledges that tourism growth may be examined by analysing resident's perceptions and attitudes to it. Resident attitudes are reflected in social movements, associations and campaigns throughout the world that are voicing anti-tourism feelings. Europe is being particularly affected by it, as the continent is the world's top international tourism area (Peeters et al. 2018).

Various theoretical frameworks are used to study resident attitudes (Postma and Schmuecker 2017) and residents' characteristics influence the type of response to tourism (Andereck et al. 2005; Faulkner and Tideswell 1997; Harrill 2004; Vargas-Sánchez et al. 2010; Zhang and Ma 2006). Demographic characteristics, lifestyle, economic dynamics and dependence on tourism determine the degree of receptivity to visitors and their inclusion in local activities and experiences. Resident knowledge of the positive effects from tourism such as employment, destination identity and image, and social cohesion increase the community's support of tourism. Residents' attitudes concerning tourism are demographically, culturally and economically shaped, thus community responses to overtourism may vary accordingly.

Overtourism and Creative Tourism

Creativity has become a top priority in the policy agenda of many countries around the world as a means to boost economies and industries through innovation, social capital and cohesion (Richards and Marques 2012). The ideas of a creative class that delivers economic wealth through new ideas, technology or content (Tung et al. 2009) is appealing to cities wanting to redesign themselves around profitable businesses, affluent consumers and lifestyle activities. Cities viewed as trendy see potential to

invest in tourism, and in particular the tourism industry in gradually embracing this 'creative turn'. However, they face a challenge in gathering the people and social actors required to meet the needs of more engaged and responsible societies (Richards 2011).

Creative tourism is a new type of tourism, based on urban appeal and highly committed to interaction between actors (Tung et al. 2009). It is a type of tourism in which visitors have an educational, emotional, social, and participative interaction with the place, its living culture, and the people who live there (UNESCO 2006). Richards and Raymond's seminal definition (2000: 19) considers it as "tourism which offers visitors the opportunity to develop their creative potential through active participation in courses and learning experiences, which are characteristic of the holiday destination where they are undertaken". Creative tourism is a sustainable type of tourism, as it uses the creative potential of local businesses and residents, their traditions and cultural knowledge to cater to tourists interested in learning about the destination by adopting a hands-on approach to tourism.

Creative tourism is not based on iconic, high profile tourist attractions that mobilize a great amount of people, through this creating flow constraints in the territory. It is not about Eiffel Tower or the Louvre (Paris), The Houses of Parliament (London), The Brandenburg Gate (Berlin), The Great Canyon (USA) or Torre de Belém (Lisbon), that tangible man-made or natural heritage which can be seen in worldwide known monuments, buildings and sceneries. Creative tourism is about the living, vibrant culture that lived through time in the lives of thousands of inhabitants of territories and that together have built social cultures made of traditions, practices, expertise based on experimentation and passed through generations, a testimony of human ingenuity and victory over the adversity of the natural environment.

Creative tourism is not cultural tourism because it is not about colossal or awe-inspiring material productions or natural assets that survived through the passing of time, but instead about the current producers that carry with them the knowledge created by former generations and creatively still use it in contemporary life. It dynamizes social capital, supporting the assumption that thriving social systems are able to stimulate people resourcefulness, by creating the adequate environments for them

to develop capabilities (e.g. knowledge, expertise, technological skills, and so on) and build their sense of personal identity (Morgan and Pritchard 2005) through a dialogue with their ancestors and past history.

Creative tourism is meant to respect the natural and cultural environment and making the visitor part of this complex web of actors and elements of human societies. At the same time, it allows residents and communities to interact with tourists at a deeper level (i.e. as citizens) by combining entertainment with learning and people interaction (Richards 2010). For some, these new creativity-based forms of relating with people and social cultures lead to emergent meanings of tourism experience authenticity, which emphasize direct and contextualized negotiation between host and visitor (Richards 2011). Moreover, the inclusiveness focus requires joint participation and involvement of all parties in all stages of production to consumption.

According to Tung et al. (2009: 92), in creative tourism, "residents need to be involved to invest in and communicate what is happening in the place and what are the things done to develop it in line with an agreed, shared, vision". As it does not exploit the environment or overuse natural resources and misrepresent local cultures, the sustainable focus of creative tourism can be proposed as a solution to reduce overtourism at urban destinations with strong, diverse historical and cultural heritage and in need of boosting their local dynamics in a sustainable way. The proposition argued here understands creative tourism as the type of tourism that needs to be developed when territories need to reshape their attractions not around artefacts but socially and culturally embedded practices, not around monuments or architectures but living humans that are the bearers of past traditions, skills and techniques. This change allows businesses, communities and public bodies to reshape the territory's areas according to spots of attractive "authenticities" of places. Creative tourism emphasizes mobility and reshaping of social cultures through dialogue, and *scapes* become as dynamic as their people. From the above, the remaining of the chapter develops with the following question in mind: can creative tourism help to minimize overtourism in Lisbon and why?

A Creative Mind-Set to Manage Overtourism at Destinations: The Case of Lisbon

Lisbon in the Spotlight

For the third year in a row, the World Travel Awards (2019) rated Portugal "Europe's Leading Destination" and Lisbon "Europe's Leading City Break Destination". Lisbon is Portugal's capital city with 2.8 million inhabitants. It is characterized by its luminosity, weather, vibrancy, hospitality and gastronomy. This combination of factors makes it one of the most sought-after cities for new technology companies and creatives. It is described as a "big little city" (Moore 2017) currently experiencing a creative turn (Connelly 2017; Santos 2018). Lisbon ranks 37th in the list of the top 50 cities in the world with the best quality of life, ahead of Madrid and London. It is considered the 31st safest city in the world (The Economist Intelligence Unit 2018). The Global Talent Competitiveness Report of the Institut Européen d'Administration des Affaires, INSEAD (2019) highlights the growing importance of cities as talent attractors due to their greater flexibility and adaptability to new trends and patterns.

Lisbon ranks 45th (4 positions above Barcelona) as a city that attracts and retains skilled workers. Lisbon's quality of life is related to the effort shown in planning and safeguarding affordable housing. Investment and business is stimulating the creation and redesigning of urban spaces based on compelling experiential and sensory content (Santos 2018). Lisbon is perceived as hip, cheap and innovative, a cosmopolitan city (Moore 2017). Tourism is a growing economic activity in Portugal, which receives 4.5 million tourists a year and 10 million visitor nights in Lisbon in 2016 (Turismo de Portugal 2017). In the first two months of 2017, bookings have increased by 14.3% relative to previous year.

The Residents' Perspective

Lisbon received nine tourists per resident, while London received four visitors per resident and Barcelona five (IPDT 2019). This leads to

pressures on residents, as the numbers of temporary residents and the creative class made of international students, tech professionals and artists shape new tastes and demands (Barata-Salgueiro et al. 2017; Mendes 2016; Moore 2017). The new inhabitants stimulate modernized facilities, new business concepts, and new urban designs. There is price speculation in the housing market leading to displacement of aged locals and small family-owned businesses, and consequently loss of character (Moore 2017). The Portuguese resident population of Lisbon has declined by 240,000 inhabitants (Mendes 2013), leading to gentrification (Ascensão 2015).

A number of media reports have indicated residents' complaints about overcrowding, improper behaviour and noise from bars and discos. Public authorities expressed concern about the negative perceptions of residents towards tourism but have been criticised for not doing enough to meet residents' expectations. One problem is the use of public areas, as customers of bars and discos gather outside establishments for socializing and drinking. Uncontrolled use of public spaces for nightlife and entertainment leads to degradation of these areas and accumulation of street litter that is highly visible to residents. These issues reflect an underlying concern for wellbeing, safety and security, and care for public assets and heritage.

Public authorities' response, at various levels, has been criticised for being against communities' interests and serving the stakes of tourism-based businesses. Residents resent the elimination of green areas and streets closed to create more accessible tourism areas. These streets then became spots of high tourist concentration and congestion. Residents' associations are also concerned about short-term accommodation rental. The increase in the cost of housing has led to the desertification of the city centre as residents are being forced to move to the suburbs. This affects local economic activity and also represents a problem for tourists who go downtown looking for the destination's authenticity through observing and interacting with natives and their habits, rituals or gastronomy. Instead they find a touristic, artificially transformed landscape devoid of local authenticity. Cruise ships stopping in the

Port of Lisbon also cause overcrowding without residents receiving adequate revenue. Cruise ships already have their business operations negotiated and supported by commissions, which aren't shared with residents. The air and noise pollution from cruise ships also annoy residents. The use of gasoline-powered Tuk-tuks by tourists visiting Lisbon is popular but generate high levels of air and noise pollution. Tourism-based shops are replacing typical grocery stores and increasing the price of goods.

A boom of bars that sell alcohol at low prices until four in the morning (Jornal SOL 2014) led the *Cais do Sodré* Association to appeal to silence and tranquillity: "Have fun but no noise. People live here" (Justo and Amado 2015). The need to integrate and accommodate the competing interests of stakeholders presents challenges to all involved. Different social movements, such as "Live in Lisbon" (*Morar em Lisboa*) or community groups like "People live here" (*Aqui Mora Gente*) are protesting against the urban tourism trend in the city and the growing 'party tourism' phenomenon (Novy and Colomb 2016). These movements are advocating a new type of urban governance. The platform *lisboa-does-not-love.com* was created by Lisbon residents to tell tourists and local authorities what residents do not like, hoping that suggested and recommended alternatives will be regulated, approved and implemented.

Local Commerce Perspective

Destination stakeholders include various groups of people, often with contrary interests (Komppula 2016; Scott et al. 2000). These stakeholder groups include local businesses, the majority of which are inherited from past generations, but now operate under new business conditions. More recent business entrepreneurs hope to attract a high-income clientele and their aesthetic tastes. Thus, small owners with traditional businesses feel the need to adapt and convert their orientation. Regardless this, there is evidence of concern about the competitiveness of businesses in face of tourist misbehaviour (Jornal SOL 2012).

The Government Perspective

Lisbon's tourism boom has been accompanied by a structural transformation of the city with emergence of new business models, new actors and changes in the patterns and modes of consumption. These transformations have led to changes in the speed of decision making in the sector and the knowledge required to ensure successful public policy making and business strategies, as well as the correct balance between the performance of tourism and the quality of life of residents. However, the *Strategic Tourism Plan for the Lisbon Region* 2015–2019 is concerned with developing key products and rehabilitating major attractions rather than solving urban and tourism related issues of direct interest to residents.

In 2017, Lisbon City Council developed projects and programs in order to help residents and small business owners jointly work on their problems. The *Affordable Income Plan* (*Plano de Renda Acessível*), the *National Building Rehabilitation Fund* (*Fundo Nacional de Reabilitação do Edificado*), and the programme *Historical Shops* (*Lojas com História*) address local community needs and concerns and attempt at giving them an answer.

Creative Tourism in Lisbon

As the number of visitors increase, previously unexplored areas are becoming highly appealing to tourists interested in Portuguese heritage as well as living history and culture. These tourists go beyond most known attraction sites linked to Lisbon's history of the Discovery Age, during the Renaissance period, to experience residential neighbourhoods such as Alfama, Chiado, Mouraria, and Bairro Alto located in Lisbon's city centre which are inhabited by locals, living the traditional Portuguese way of life and character.

The creative turn has seized the spirit of Lisbon. Many creative initiatives emphasise the local culture and enhance its identity to the eyes of visitors and intensify the interaction between locals and visitors (Richards and Raymond 2000). Creative tourism is socially and culturally based on performative exploration of intangible heritage, so this type of tourism

emphasizes hands-on experiences, learning-by-doing, as well as learning-through-interaction. These experiential propositions present characteristics that potentially help minimize overtourism constraints to residents and the destination, as they are not based on passive visits to heritage iconic places and landmarks. Moreover, residents wanting to support their life based on tourism are finding new ways to facilitate visitors' access to low profile facets of the destination.

Examples of creative tourism propositions based on Richards and Wilson (2006) and Duxbury et al. (2019) currently found in Lisbon include *crafts, street art, photography, video and digital arts, gastronomy and wine workshops, language courses*, and *creative and interpretative activities*. Textile and ceramic craft workshops are usually linked to Portuguese traditional materials and productions where tourists learn about and create their own artefacts, thus temporarily becoming craft producers. S*treet art workshops* connect visitors to the history of Lisbon through involvement with varied styles and techniques of painting. Tours around the city also offer interpretations of socially contextualized history and are opportunities to have fun while learning about embodied local culture.

Photography, video and digital arts workshops are based on shared learning experiences with locals who are skilled in these techniques and are willing to share them with visitors. They involve not only the learning experience but also the practice of some type of technique; the practice of photography, for example, is undertaken through a personalized journey around the city and is meant to immerse the visitor in the life of the city according to particular interests. *Gastronomy and wine workshops* are rooted in Portuguese tradition as they offer learning experiences of local cuisine with a focus on visitor active participation; visitors are invited to join local experts on production of distinctive products. *Language courses* provide access to a key cultural asset and particular to social or regional cultures. *Creative and interpretative activities* involve asking visitors to become acquainted with the atmospheres of the city through the hands of individual locals interested in interacting with visitors in a personalized way: these interactions are focused on meeting the specific interests of visitors and tours are adapted to this purpose. This allows visitors to experience the destination first-hand, to immerse listeners and participants through direct communication and storytelling.

Analysis of Creative Tourism Developments in Lisbon

The above analysis of current tourism products and activities shows a growing awareness of urban areas potential to develop tourism around intangible heritage deeply rooted in communities' distinctive strengths and appeals. Such tourism is not so much focused on national symbols and commoditized identities promoted to international audiences, instead it is developing according to the perceptions of producers' views about cultural values that extend beyond iconic buildings, historic personalities and big historical facts. It instead highlights the living culture of residents and communities. Lisbon has been designing and developing tourist activities, many of them under residents' initiative and management within an authenticity mind-set, in this way dispersing tourists in the territory and concurrently alleviating areas perceived as most affect by overcrowding.

These emergent initiatives have a number of advantages:

(i) Most tourism development attracts particular tourist segments to urban areas and concentrates them in specific neighbourhoods (Peeters et al. 2018). Creative experiences, on the contrary, are being designed and marketed with a focus on different target markets. Figure 1 shows the location of some businesses currently operating which offer visitors a vision of Lisbon and its social and cultural substance.

(ii) Creative tourism is small-scale and based on individual entrepreneurs. It requires a new profile of visitor who seeks immersive experiences and personal interaction. Creative tourism producers are looking for creative tourists who want a memorable destination experience lived through a personal interaction. As visitors become temporary residents by the hand of committed inhabitants, tourism becomes increasingly the driver of emergent segments focused on alternative points of attraction, diverging from mainstream tourism attractors (Richards and Marques 2018; Peeters et al. 2018).

(iii) Many creative tourism businesses do not require large venues or lots of infrastructure (Duxbury et al. 2019; Ramos et al. 2019). Storytelling-based walks, for instance, or photography shootings

Fig. 1 Location of creative tourism initiatives in Lisbon. (Source: The authors)

stimulate dispersion dependent on tourist highly personalized interests. Residents with qualification and expertise, but mostly with the experience of being a local, facilitate the visitor access to areas and create meanings otherwise unapproachable to outsiders. This means creative tourism has the potential to become an agent of visitor dispersal (Goodwin 2017; Peeters et al. 2018). New digital technologies can provide a communication channel that allows direct interaction between parties.

(iv) A new generation of entrepreneurs can create new bridges between visitors and residents, thereby increasing the sharing of benefits that may be brought by tourism. This will ease potential conflicts between parties and promote better understanding. Tourism destinations are composed of multiple generations of people, and younger professionals, that share new visitors' lifestyles, values and expectations (Iunius et al. 2015) play an important role in intermediating dialogue with older residents and traditional business owners, which may still look at tourists as undesirable on their territory. Intolerance to visitors is due to their excessive numbers but is also dependent on their quality as individuals. Thus, targeting at new segments which value social and cultural values and the contribution of tourism to a

positive appraisal of cultures, is more easily promoted by new tourism professionals that have a deeper understanding of both groups of stakeholders, residents and tourists (Musikyan 2016).

Discussion and Conclusion

Some cities including Lisbon are experiencing excessive carrying capacity and claim to have reached high pressure levels, a phenomenon termed overtourism. This is leading to growing interest by the national and international media, as overtourism describes the social unrest and turbulence observed in many destinations around the world. While not an exclusively urban phenomenon, overtourism is mostly identified in many cities popular with tourists (Milano et al. 2019), especially in European countries. Overtourism is linked to broader than earlier concepts such as carrying capacity (Milano et al. 2019), and related to certain types of visitors, their numbers and concentration in specific destination areas, and the perceptions of residents about them. Residents and local communities may benefit from tourism growth but also suffer from it. From a policy and agenda setting point of view, Peeters et al. (2018) model is a tool that facilitates integration of dimensions to be examined and managed. Residents are a key party of the tourism system, and local community empowerment is vital. A policy response to overtourism is to involve residents (Peeters et al. 2018: 23). So how can public bodies and other stakeholders in charge of policy and decision making include them and let them know about the contributions they can make to a more sustainable destination? Are public authorities making the most of communities' creativity and proactiveness? What are residents doing to become more involved in the building of a more sustainable destination for them and visitors alike?

In this chapter, the case of Lisbon is discussed. Lisbon is one among many European cities identified as being affected by overtourism. One problem faced by Lisbon's residents is gentrification due to conversion of traditional housing into tourist accommodation (Peeters et al. 2018). Based on Doxey's Irridex model, Lisbon residents are responding to tourism growth varying between annoyance and antagonism, with local groups and associations voicing protests and counter measures being

taken by public authorities. Conflict between parties is due to negotiation power and different interests at stake. According to residents and community-based groups, public action is insufficient or inadequate, and although tourism is a cherished activity, the type of visitors and the activities undertaken are under severe criticism. Nightlife, hooliganism, noise and urban pollution are problems which public authorities are not addressing sufficiently, compromising Lisbon's quality of life. However, creative tourism initiatives, as found in Lisbon, carry potential to mitigate negative effects of visitor concentration and behaviour.

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Case Study 2: Broadly Engaging with Interaction Between Visitors and Locals—Towards Understanding Tourismphobia and Anti-tourism Movements

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Introduction

Overtourism defined as a disproportionally large influx of tourists to a destination at the same time, can be triggered by some of the manifestations of globalisation, such as the cruise industry which delivers huge

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number of passengers daily to destinations, low cost airlines, social media, cheap and convenient services facilitated by mobile travel applications and inexpensive accommodation (Milano et al. 2018; Oklevik et al. 2019). Over the summer 2017, anti-tourism movements and tourismphobia have strongly emerged across Europe as a consequence of overtourism (Séraphin et al. 2018c). According to Ozer et al. (2017), nowadays due to globalisation people are exposed to other cultures without having to leave their own country. On the other hand, vacations are now an important part of people's life (Caliskan 2018), and the overcoming of distance has turned the world into a 'global village'. Thus, tourism has become a global expansion phenomenon (Munoz de Escalona 2018) and it could be assimilated to a globalisation-related acculturation process.

However, Ozer et al. (2017) explained that this continuous exposure to other cultures could be at the origin of conflicts due to incompatible or differring cultural positions. It has been observed that the conflicts are crystallised when locals adopt an anti-globalisation discourse by refusing to negotiate their cultural identity (Ozer et al. 2017). Community response to change happens either through collective action at the community level or through independent responses of households, individuals and groups (Hassan et al. 2017). This is the case of anti-tourism movements. As travel is "a metaphor for capturing the relationship between cultures" (Hermans 2001: 269), anti-tourism movement could be perceived as an allegory of the world geopolitics.

Opposing the claims of overtourism, Koens et al. (2018) argue that "overtourism" is overused and is surrounded myths that inhibit its clear understanding. The authors claim that overtourism that came to prominence in 2017, is not clearly understood and is merely drawing attention to old problems of managing the negative impacts of tourism.

This chapter, therefore, aims at understanding the interactions between visitors and locals in the context of overtourism in order to explore the growth of anti-tourism movements and tourismphobia. The discussion is firstly shaped by our consideration of globalisation and the relationship between visitors and locals. It then proceeds with the discussion of the issue supported by the constructs of multicultural identity formation and cultural identity negotiation. The dialogical self-theory (DST) is used to further develop our consideration of tourismphobia as a phenomenon,

which can be addressed through organising mutually shared experiences, such as festivals.

Our exploration of tourismphobia is important because tourism, as a major source of income for many destinations (Cooper and Hall 2008; Séraphin et al. 2018a), can only be sustainable if locals are involved with and supportive of the industry (Mshenga and Owuor 2009). It is therefore crucial to develop our deeper understanding of the phenomenon in order to tackle it effectively. It appears that the research published in the area has largely addressed the issue from a tourism point of view. In this chapter we draw on a variety of fields of study to discuss it, mainly considering tourismphobia in the context of globalisation and through the lens of socio-psychological constructs.

Globalisation as a Context of Tourismphobia and Anti-tourism Movement

Fast constant change is a prominent characteristic of the contemporary world living in the phase of uncertainty (Robertson 1990) and liquidity (Bauman 2005). "Liquid modern is a society in which the conditions under which its members act change faster than it takes the way of acting to consolidate into habits and routines" (Bauman 2005: 1). Travel and tourism are often short-lived experiences of dipping into another culture and a new place without time to engage with the area and the locals in a meaningful way and connect with the local society through a common purpose.

Considering tourism in the context of globalisation as an intensifying force, it is worth noting that globalisation is a process with a long history (Baylis and Smith 2006). Robertson's (1990) several phases on the path to globalisation start with the germinal phase which originated as early as the fifteenth century and was marked by exploration of concepts of humanity and the beginnings of modern geography.

Globalisation has enhanced people's interactions across different geographical areas all over the world by opening the channels of international movement for the purposes of education, trade, media and tourism.

One of the key impacts of globalisation is the alteration of traditional cultural practices and beliefs that particularly impact on young people as they develop a hybrid or multicultural sense of self that occurs when they integrate both local and global cultural streams (Ozer et al. 2017). However, "globalisation-based acculturation has been related to an experience of increasing uncertainty caused by the increased number of distinct cultures to which people are exposed, with the associated difficulties in possible cultural conflicts within acculturating individual" (Ozer et al. 2017: 296).

Furthermore, Lalonde et al. (2004) highlight that the main difference between Eastern and Western cultures is collectivism, which focuses on the rights and well-being of the groups that individuals belong to and individualism, which stresses the rights of an individual and the importance of individual goals. The authors also state that "the end result is that individuals from different cultures develop a very different sense of self, especially with respect to how the self is related to important others" (Lalonde et al. 2004: 504).

Relationship Between Visitors and Locals

Tourismphobia is a phenomenon which has emerged from the negative perception of tourism between visitors and locals (Milano et al. 2018; Séraphin et al. 2019a). Thus, it may appear that the relationship "visitors-locals" is doomed. However, following Andrews and Leopold's (2013) research on events, sense of belonging and place identity, both groups (visitors and locals) are not destined to be opponents. On the contrary, international tourism can facilitate a deeper understanding of one's national identity through one's exposure to other cultures.

Linda Colley (1992: 311) states that "we usually decide who we are by the reference to who and what we are not". Working from the outside in, we can better understand ourselves by contrasting ourselves against the other (Kumar 2003). For Clampin (1999), any identity formation begins with the awareness of an "other" which is a fundamental element in the construction of any national identity. Thus, tourism which involves

crossing national borders is an active agent which impacts identity awareness and reinforces national peculiarities of both tourists and locals. Thus, both visitors and locals are involved in identity construction, a complex intangible process which is not necessarily a diverging force.

According to Colls (2002), this process is natural as identities are never imposed; they require consent or accommodation. While nation-states seek to build up a collective identity as a counterweight to individualism, international tourism can also strive to create a collective identity based on sharing knowledge, exchange and accommodation of diverse cultural practices and linguistic nuances, sensitivity towards nature and heritage, and creation of common collective experiences.

Three main reasons to support this argument can be brought forward:

1. "Our feeling of belonging is not restricted to one place or one group of people but rather belonging is a dynamic process which can change with our life experiences and changes in values" (Andrews and Leopold 2013: 96);
2. A strong desire to belong to a group facilitates integration and interaction (Séraphin et al. 2019a);
3. Our sense of belonging and place identity can be facilitated by events. Indeed, "festivals help sustain narratives of belonging through bringing people together to share participating in various activities, but are also an exercise in remembering the past" (Andrews and Leopold 2013: 99).

Anti-tourism movement and tourismphobia could be understood as a resistance of locals to negotiate and transform their identity and, more importantly, to share their culture with 'the other', thus giving the priority to their own well-being and personal goals and needs. This is without taking into consideration the implication on others whether they are inbound or domestic tourists, or even individuals from their own community who are making a living out of the tourism industry.

The problem could also come from the visitors who are unwilling to share their culture with the local population. For Castellanos and Timothy (2015), visitors' adaptation to the visited country could include

distancing themselves from their homeland and their language and immersing themselves more in the local life by speaking the local language and adopting local attitudes and behaviour. In contrast to that, by positioning themselves as *the Other*, tourists or visitors become 'strangers' with whom locals have no connection or engagement.

Support of local residents is important for the sustainability of the tourism industry of a destination as locals are part of the overall tourism experience. On that basis, their perception of the industry and subsequently, their perception of tourists is an indicator of performance for a destination (Gomzalez et al. 2018).

It is important to take into account the branding strategies adopted by some destinations which can exacerbate the already existing potential of these places to attract visitors (Séraphin et al. 2019b), thus affecting their carrying capacity. Indeed, the carrying capacity of a destination, in other words the maximum number of people that the destination can accommodate at the same time without causing destruction and decrease in tourist satisfaction (Gomzalez et al. 2018), impacts the locals' perception of tourists and tourism as an industry (Gomzalez et al. 2018). As a result, when the carrying capacity of a destination is exceeded, locals do not perceive the presence of visitors as positive.

The large influx of tourists does have its negative effects. For example, it puts the UNESCO World Heritage status of some destinations at risk, impacting negatively on the quality of life of locals; pricing pushes residents out of the property market; the environmental sustainability of destinations is being jeopardised, resulting in locals not willing to enter into an exchange with visitors (Gomzalez et al. 2018; Milano et al. 2018; Séraphin et al. 2019a, b). Additionally, Séraphin et al. (2018a, b) state that anti-tourism movement emerged as a result of the fact that locals are now more interested in their quality of life than the income generated by the tourism industry. This situation has led to the emergence of movements of residents expressing anti-tourist attitude and opposition to tourism (Panayiotopoulos and Pisano 2019), such as the Assembly of Neighbourhoods for Sustainable Tourism and the Network of Southern European Cities (Milano et al. 2018).

Conceptualising Tourismphobia

Impacts of Tourism on Local Sense of Belonging, Culture and Place Identity

"Sustainability is possibly the most important issue facing the tourism industry in the twenty-first century" (Edgell 2017: 45). If we believe that part of the sustainability aspect of tourism is to limit negative impacts of the industry on local economies, environment, and social life of the locals and to contribute to the enjoyable experience of locals and visitors by connecting them (Edgell 2017), it is rather obvious that it is something that we still have not achieved (Séraphin et al. 2018a). Apart from tourismphobia and anti-tourism movements, many other examples could be provided. In the following section we are focusing on the impacts on sense of belonging, culture and place identity.

Using the example of Voodoo, a traditional religious ceremony taking place mainly in Haiti and other post-colonial destinations, provide an example of how a strong element of the Haitian culture called Voodoo has been turned into a tourism tool to entertain tourists. The authors claim that as a result the ritual has lost its authenticity. Equally important is the recognition that this practice does not offer significant economic benefits to the local population. However, Séraphin and Nolan (2014) also hold that commodification for tourism purposes sometimes helps to perpetuate some cultures that otherwise would have disappeared. For example, a survey carried out in Southern Thailand in 2007 revealed that tourism was seen by the locals as a way to preserve, support local traditions and culture (McDowall and Choi 2010).

A study of the impact of extensive business travel on identity formation has also observed opposing influences. It has found that exposure to other cultures, practices and experiences does affects people's sense of belonging and identity in two contrasting ways: by growing more global and associating themselves with the wider human society rather than their own nation, they also become more strongly aware of their own identity, their sense of belonging becomes more strongly rooted in their

national culture, shaped and expressed through willingness to support and sustain their own national and cultural heritage.

Tourism can also impact on social capital, defined as "collective action, cooperation, networks, relationships, shared norms and values, social interaction and trust" (Moscardo et al. 2017: 2). Conflicts can deplete social capital by eroding trust and cooperation (Moscardo et al. 2017). However, the authors also claim that conflicts generated by tourism also contribute to development of social capital at the local level and between members of the same community through establishing associations and organisations, and the consolidation of shared values and community identity to oppose the development of tourism (Moscardo et al. 2017).

Adopting Peters' (2002) analytical conceptualisation of collective and national identity with its "ethnocultural" and "civic" conceptions, we can relate the "ethnocultural" approach to identity conceptualisation as a more suitable one to tourism rather than a "civic" one. Ethnocultural conception presupposes common history, cultural traditions and customs as a foundation of a nation or a collective unit of people; civic conception considers nation as a political entity. In the context of tourism this conceptualisation of national identity can be very helpful in identifying the common/uniting elements for all the participants.

Tourism as a collective process of interaction between locals and visitors offers an opportunity for negotiating and adopting a new identity, common to all parties involved. Based on the ideas and values of the interactants, the ethnocultural foundation acts as an underlying fabric of the exchange, which, if consciously reinforced and accentuated, can assist in forming a collective identity with shared values of appreciation, engagement and interest in tourist destinations equally pursued by both visitors and the locals.

The above shows that tourism simultaneously has positive and negative impacts on local sense of belonging, culture and place identity, highlighting the Janus-faced character of the phenomenon (Sanchez and Adams 2008). Therefore, tourism can't be seen in a negative light only when we consider its impact on local communities and on relationships between tourists and locals.

Theoretical Models Used to Assess the Impacts of Tourism on Local Communities

The Model of Creative Destruction developed by Mitchell (1998) explains the process by which the destruction of the community and its heritage occurs due to commodification under the influence of tourism (Hano 2012; Mitchell and De Waal 2009; Mitchell 1998). Following investigations in Barbados and Niagara Lake zone in 1975, Doxey (1975) found that residents hold a positive attitude to tourism development until the number of visitors reach a point that threaten their original lifestyle (Haifeng et al. 2012). The Doxey Irritation Index Model (1975) "suggests that residents' responses to tourism may pass through a series of four stages including euphoria, apathy, irritation and antagonism" (Dholah et al. 2015: 19). According to the above model, tourism itself does not represent a problem. The issue is the *volume* of people visiting the destination, their purpose of the visit and the objective of the visitor.

The Social Exchange Theory (SET) is based on the fact that all human behaviours, and therefore social relationships between groups as well as individuals, are dominated by some exchange activity. The exchange could be tangible or intangible, as it can be rewarding or costly (Cook and Rice 2003). The interaction between groups and/or individuals is usually seen as interdependent with the potential to generate high quality relationships (Cropanzano and Mitchell 2005). In the tourism context, residents and tourists are involved in this process and will hold a positive attitude, only if the profit is more than the cost. Their attitude changes when the cost is higher than the profit (Haifeng et al. 2012).

Michel (2000) highlights that the relation between locals and visitors is not a genuine one as the locals are staging their enthusiasm to receive visitors and the latter pretend they have been invited. The encounters between the two parties are mainly commercial and based on an unbalanced relationship, specifically when the encounter between both parties happen in a poor country, where locals will never be able to visit tourists in their home country.

Exploring the **Dialogical Self-Concept (DST)**, Hermans (2003) and Salgado and Hermans (2005) propose that the perception of self-changes

according to the audience and context, and therefore needs to be understood and analysed as a social and linguistic negotiation. Additionally, Salgado and Hermans (2005: 3) state that "the self is considered nowadays as multiple, varied, changeable, sometimes as chameleon that changes along with the context, sometimes as a double-faced Janus with opposite sides".

The DST was also studied by Bakhtin (1981) who claimed that "human meanings are created within and by relationships. Nobody exists alone. In fact, every human being is, from the very beginning, involved in a relational and communicational process" (Salgado and Hermans 2005: 8). Finally, Salgado and Hermans (2005) also added that the other may function as another I, in that case it becomes an alter ego, who is exactly like me (ego) but also someone else (alter). Creating our own identity is all about uniting our diversity, what is considered as a challenge as not an easy task (Salgado and Hermans 2005).

Based on the above, visitors could be said to be an integral part of the place and identity of the local people. Indeed, the heritage, identity and culture of the locals are valued because the visitors have great interest in them. If visitors (*the Other*) had no interest in the locals' heritage, identity, culture and area, the place would not be a destination with the potential to attract visitors and local residents would not probably show such a pride of their culture and identity. The same way, tourists would not be tourists if local residents did not have the uniqueness of that makes them attractive and what encourages people to travel to see them (Edgell 2017; Séraphin et al. 2018b).

Tourists and locals can therefore be considered as alter ego. They are alternatively *the Self* and *the Other*. Owing to the enhanced travel and tourism, identities are now constructed in the spaces of where nations, peoples and locales come together (Hermans 2001) and where a continuous negotiation between *the I* and *the Other* is taking place (Hermans 2003; Salgado and Hermans 2005). In this context, the conflict 'locals/visitors' works as a duality of the dialogical self, namely "as a society with oppositions, conflicts, negotiations, cooperation and coalitions between positions" (Hermans 2002: 147).

In psychology, the absence of reconciliation is called schizophrenia, in other words a 'collapse of the dialogical self' (Hermans 2003: 110). This

is to be related to the issue of subjectivity in the tourism industry between the way tourists perceive a destination and how the destination perceives itself (Séraphin et al. 2016). Séraphin, Ambaye and Gowreesunkar (2016) identified this discrepancy as the “blind spot” which could be to some extent reduced by educating visitors (Séraphin et al. 2016). Another approach to address the issue could be the innovation of *the Self*, that is to say accepting the variety of positions and developing some form of cooperation, that becomes a new system in *the Self*.

The creation of a dialogical space is based on good conversations, where the two parties meet and find common direction (Hermans 2003). It is though very important to meet the needs of both *the I* and *the Other*, especially as they are constantly changing (Salgado and Hermans 2005); it is also very important as *the Self* is highly sensitive to context and company and can lead to misfortune and negative context if not dealt with appropriately (Chaudary 2008). The question remains: How can the blind spot between the locals and the visitors be identified and reduced?

Modelling Tourismphobia

The encounter between local residents and tourists is unavoidable in the context of contemporary tourism. We live in a global system of hybridization where existing forms and practices transcend into new forms and practices (Hermans 2001). On that basis, the fact that overtourism and tourismphobia emerged recently is not surprising and could be explained by the complexity of identity formation in the age of globalisation, absence of dialogical self and space, the cost of social exchanges exceeding financial profits and finally, by the existence of “blind spots” in our perceptions of a destination.

Taking into account the Janus-character of the dialogical self and the fluid nature of the tourism industry, we believe that an ambidextrous management approach would be necessary and appropriate to deal with the issue of overtourism and tourismphobia. According to Smith (2016), in the context of business, organisational ambidexterity embraces two opposites: *exploitation* (focusing on existing customers and/or markets) and *exploration* (creative and innovative aspects). Mihalache and

Mihalache (2016) argue that innovation can be enhanced by applying organisational ambidexterity, as this enables firms to make the most of their current capabilities and at the same time develop new ones to attract new customers.

Ambidexterity is applied to a large number of areas, such as higher education, media, information technology, human resources management, professional services, leadership, management control system, entrepreneurship, customer service, finance, agriculture, pharmacy and in tourism (Séraphin and Butcher 2018; Séraphin 2018; Séraphin et al. 2018a, b).

In the following section, we shall demonstrate that festivals and cultural events (and new destination plans), both ambidextrous by their nature, offer a solution to tackle tourismphobia. As a 'relationship between the *I* and the *Other-in-the-self* is always mediated by a third party or potential audiences' (Salgado and Hermans 2005: 11), we suggest that festivals and cultural events can be identified as the third party in the context of tourismphobia.

Understanding the Potential Positive Role of Festivals and Cultural Events to Tackle Tourismphobia and Anti-Tourism Movement

Robinson, Wale and Dickson mention that events are a curious hybrid of both old and new activities. Events can be traced back to early history, when communities would gather for religious worship and celebration. There is a clear evolution of events alongside the evolution of society. As nation states developed, new events, rituals and traditions were created (Laing and Frost 2014). At each stage of the evolution of society (pre-modern, modern and post-modern era) events take on different forms (Andrews and Leopold 2013). Events remain very important for a society as they have the capacity to develop feelings of belonging and national identity associated with particular places. Booth (2016) explains that cultural events contribute to maintaining a link between the members of the diaspora and also enables this diaspora to show case their culture to the host country.

Shone and Parry identified that over the past decade event management has emerged as a vibrant sector of the tourism and leisure industries. Robinson, Wale and Dickson also mentioned that the scale and scope of the event industry have grown significantly in recent years, with increased professionalism, innovations in event education, and a wider recognition of the event industry's political, social, cultural, economic and environmental impacts. It is used as a tool by many destinations to attract visitors, encourage expenditure, to improve the image of the destination and, overall, to improve the performance of the destination.

The impact of events on the performance of destinations has been examined by a number of studies. Events have the potential to develop social capital that is the inclusion of an individual in a range of networks, structures or groups that allow them to develop and gain this capital (Miller and McTavish 2013; Bladen et al. 2012; Foley et al. 2012). Community festivals and events such as sporting events, service club fundraiser, car club meets, local arts and craft shows can be a way for a group to demonstrate their values and celebrate their culture (O'Toole 2011). Community-based festivals (CBF) can also be viewed as a way to create and support community identities, preserve and renew cultural identities and practices.

Many CBFs are characterised by the involvement of community members who also act as advocates to potential participants' level. Despite the fact that a CBF is directed at the local community and has a local audience (O'Toole 2011), some CBFs attract large audiences at national and international levels. One of the key purposes of these festivals and cultural events is to enrich local community enjoyment of life (O'Toole 2011). Additionally, they can contribute to improvement of the quality of life in the city, bringing recreational and educational opportunities (Richard and Palmer 2010).

Taking the example of a food event, Privitera and Nesci (2015) demonstrated that food tells the narrative (social and economic) of a country and its people. According to Pilato et al. (2017), events and, more specifically, food events are good tools for promoting the image of destinations.

These types of events are even more important for destinations with a negative image. They can also be used as 'tryvertising' and an educational tool at visit and pre-visit stage (Séraphin and Butcher 2018).

Others have also recognised the potential of food events. Cavicchi and Ciampi Stancova (2016), for instance, have recognised the importance of food and gastronomy as artistic and cultural expression and fundamental pillars of family and social relationships. Equally, these events are seen as authentic and trendy (Henderson 2000), which is very important as authenticity is considered the most important criterion for the development of heritage tourism (Park 2014).

Thus, events could be seen as good mediators in the context of tourismphobia and anti-tourism movement, as visitors have an opportunity to mingle with locals and to learn about the culture, which contributes to their experience of the destination. As for the locals, they are offered an opportunity to display and promote their culture to others. Last but not least, as local and community events are mainly attended by local residents, the presence of visitors (most of time rather limited) is not seen as an invasion. This is supported by Mason and Beaumont-Kerridge (2009: 326), who taking the example of the 2001 Sidmouth International Festival argued that "The presence of a significant proportion of locals at the Festival appears beneficial in relation to sociocultural and environmental effects, in that it probably helps to reduce the potential for visitor/host conflict". Table 1 (below), based on evidence presented in our discussion, and provides evidence that festivals and cultural events meet the criteria to be a mediator which can help to address the issue of tourismphobia (and anti-tourism movement).

As an illustration, an empirical study carried out by Séraphin et al. (2018c), in Winchester (UK), provides evidence of festival and cultural events as a means to reduce tourismphobia and anti-tourism movements. For this study, a questionnaire was sent to locals in Winchester via social media (Facebook groups; LinkedIn, Twitter, WinchesterBID newsletter) asking them a range of questions about their happiness with regards to events and tourism development in the city. The results show that events happening in Winchester are rather eagerly appreciated by the locals and visitors. Locals do not consider visitors as invadors. Additionally, the survey also revealed that overall, the locals consider themselves being happy people.

Table 1 Events and tourismphobia (anti-tourism movement)

Reasons for tourismphobia/ anti-tourism movement	Evidence that events can address the issues
Absence of dialogical self	CBFs give locals an opportunity to express themselves and contribute to their own happiness. In that case the 'I' is put forward (ego). But the other 'I' namely other fellow locals and visitors (alter) benefit from it and leave with a good experience of the experience. The 'alter' and the 'ego' are united
Absence of dialogical space	Events contribute to the development of social capital (CBFs provide an opportunity and space for locals and visitors to meet up, discuss and learn from each other).
Absence of innovation of the self	A CBF can contribute not the well-being of local residents but also well-being of visitors (because of the equality of the experience). What can be good for 'I' (local resident) can also be good for the 'other' (visitor). The 'I' and the 'other' have common ground
Social exchange (cost higher than profit)	CBFs provide an opportunity for locals, visitors to exchange, and more importantly to learn from each other. Events have benefits (political, social, and economic) for local residents and provide an authentic experience to visitors. CBFs are based on win-win relationship local residents/visitors
Blind spot	CBFs mainly attract member of the local community but also visitors who are interested in authentic experience. On that basis, we can conclude that locals and visitors have the same view on the event

Source: The authors

Despite being "renowned for having a deep and expansive history and a treasure trove of English heritage" and also despite being surrounded by some of the most visited destinations of the country namely London, Oxford and Cambridge, and finally, despite the constant increase of visitors (4.3 million visitors received in 2010 to 5.4 million visitors received in 2015) to the city (DMP 2015–2020), tourismphobia has never been a problem in Winchester. It could be argued that the strong existing social capital existing within the community (evidence by their level of happiness) make the community and individuals strong enough to cope with the flux of visitors. Using a sociological approach, we could argue that the

dialogical self, dialogical space and innovation of the self are all present within the Winctonian community, who also consider the profit of events to be higher than the cost.

Conclusion

Our discussion leads us to conclude that overtourism which describes the situation in which the impact of tourism, at certain times and in certain locations, exceeds physical, ecological, social, economic, psychological, and/or political capacity thresholds (Peeters et al. 2018), has led to tourismphobia. Tourismphobia and antitourism movements are a consequence of an absence of or limited interaction between locals and visitors. Such interaction would have contributed to the development of social capital which would have led to dialogical negotiation and innovation of self and space.

Instead, the 'ego' of locals takes over, subsequently rejecting their 'alter'. That said, communities with high level of happiness prove to be more resilient to external disturbing phenomenon. Among the solutions suggested to tackle overtourism is the reimagination of destination planning, for instance creation of spaces for the use by locals only (Panayiotopoulos and Pisano 2019) and demarketing destinations (Milano et al. 2018). As for solutions to tackle tourismphobia and therefore anti-tourism movements, Séraphin et al. (2019b) have suggested the engagement of tourists in community based festivals as such events have the potential to develop social capital and therefore can play the role of mediators between locals and visitors, thus facilitating real encounters between them. Gastronomy festivals have been identified as particularly effective in that sense (Séraphin et al. 2019b).

Attempts to achieve collective identification of *the I* with *the Other* (and vice versa) based on shared values of appreciating culture, valuing and preserving the environment and exchanging knowledge could act a connecting mechanism in tourist interactions. The other advantage of events is that they could be organised anywhere, which could be a strategy to encourage visitors to go to other parts of the destinations that are less visited and/or not visited at all.

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Case Study 3: "Overtourism" on Scotland's North Coast 500? Issues and Potential Solutions

Andy Ruck

Introduction: The Scottish Highlands and Overtourism

The Scottish Highlands are the mountainous, sparsely populated region making up the North-Western part of Scotland, and the very North-Western corner of the United Kingdom mainland. The Highlands are characterised by open, often tree-less landscapes comprising mountains of up to 1300 m in height, wide valleys (known as *glens*), large inland lakes (*lochs*), and a rugged coastline featuring large and often fjord-like inlets (*sea lochs*). A much celebrated and romanticised region, the Highlands are a long-established destination for tourists with a variety of interests, from outdoor pursuits such as hillwalking and climbing (Glass 2010), to visiting castles and whisky distilleries (VisitScotland 2018a). Tourism, then, has long been a cornerstone of the Highland economy,

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sustaining thousands of jobs and small businesses in an area with otherwise limited employment opportunities.

Recently, however, certain parts of the Highlands have begun to experience issues that resonate with the wider phenomenon of "overtourism": "the impact of tourism on a destination, or parts thereof, that excessively influences perceived quality of life of citizens and/or visitors in a negative way" (UNWTO 2018: 4). Given well-established conceptual frameworks such as "tourist carrying capacity" and "tourism saturation", concerns around excessive visitor numbers are not a new phenomenon (Milano et al. 2019). Recent years, however, have seen increased reporting of perceived overtourism in the media, as well as increased use of the term (along with "tourismphobia") in academic literature as part of a renewed interest in the adverse impacts of tourism (Koens et al. 2018).

Overtourism is most commonly characterised by a rapid rise in visitors to a particular location, owing to factors such as marketing campaigns, the falling costs of travel—for example, the rise in low-cost airlines—and the overall growth in tourism globally (Goodwin 2017). This, in turn, can be attributed to a relentless focus by governments and tourism authorities on increasing visitor numbers and revenue derived from tourism (Higgins-Desbiolles et al. 2019). The issue appears to be exacerbated by associated problems such as increased congestion and overcrowding in public spaces, and the displacement of other commercial activities, as well as affordable accommodation, by businesses aimed solely at tourists (Séraphin et al. 2018; Koens et al. 2018).

Up to now, studies relating to overtourism have tended to focus on urban areas attracting many millions of visitors, with articles focusing specifically on cities such as Venice (Séraphin et al. 2018), Amsterdam, Barcelona, Prague, and Dubrovnik (Koens et al. 2018). In highlighting related issues in the Scottish Highlands, this chapter widens the scope of studies on overtourism through a focus on a predominantly rural area whose overall visitor numbers remain small compared to those in major cities (VisitScotland 2018b). While examples from the Highlands clearly resonate with the phenomenon of overtourism, the key issue explored in this chapter is not with visitor numbers *per se,* but with increasing concentrations of visitors, at certain times of the year, in particular locations that lack suitable infrastructure. With reference in particular to the North

Coast 500—a popular "road trip" route around the North Coast of Scotland—this chapter seeks to highlight these issues, before exploring the strengths and limitations of potential solutions, and highlighting the need for further related research.

Tourism in the Scottish Highlands

While "tourism" is difficult to precisely define, leisure visits to the Highlands date back to at least the mid-nineteenth century (Durie 2017). Government-backed promotion of tourism in Scotland began around 1930, with UK government provided funding for a new Scottish Tourist Development Association. This preceded the Scottish Tourist Board, which became a statutory body in 1969, and was re-branded as VisitScotland in 2007 (Frew and Hay 2011).

A key trend in Scottish tourism is its development from an experience enjoyed by a wealthy elite, to one involving a far wider demographic. Prominent among early recreational visitors to the Highlands were wealthy individuals engaged in hunting deer or grouse on privately-owned "sporting estates", an activity that continues in the present day (McKee et al. 2013). Processes such as the development of railways in the second half of the nineteenth century, however, were central to the expansion of Scottish tourism (Grenier 2017), and it is now an experience "shared – with varying degrees of participation – by all levels of society" (Durie 2017: 2). Indeed, a wide, overlapping range of activities, interests, and modes of travel draws people to the contemporary Highlands. Popular activities include hillwalking (Glass 2010) and skiing (Holden 1999). Specific interests include whisky (VisitScotland 2018a), with various distilleries across the Highlands offering tours of their premises. More recently, VisitScotland (2019) has highlighted how the use of Highland landscapes in films and TV series—including *Outlander*, *Game of Thrones,* and four of the *Harry Potter* films—have attracted visitors to the region. For Durie (2017: 2), this ongoing emergence of new attractions demonstrates Scotland's ability to "constantly add to its portfolio" as a tourist destination.

High Concentrations

Despite ambitious targets set by the Scottish Government (2006) for a 50% increase in tourism spend by 2015, a Scottish Government (2018) report points to an overall 9% *decline* in the total number of overnight visitors to Scotland as a whole between 2011 and 2016. This overall trend, however, conceals a number of counter trends with important implications for this chapter.

Firstly, reports in the media indicate that, while overall visitor numbers may have fallen, numbers of visitors to particular attractions across Scotland—from Edinburgh Castle to various sites along Loch Ness—have *increased* in recent years (BBC News 2018)—suggesting issues with high(er) concentrations of visitors at particular sites, rather than overall visitor numbers. Secondly, the decline in visitor numbers to Scotland as a whole between 2011 and 2016 stems mainly from a 14% decline in visitors from within the UK, whilst the number of *international* visitors actually increased by 7% over the same period (Scottish Government 2018). Thirdly, trends in visitor numbers to the Highlands do not reflect those of Scotland as a whole, with statistics again showing an *increase* in visitors to this region. While it should be noted that official figures cover the "Highlands *and Islands*" (an area including the popular Isle of Skye), available data show that overnight visitors to this area steadily rose between 2011 and 2017, with domestic visitors rising from 1,863,000 to 2,164,000 in this period, and international visitors to rising from 444,000 to 623,000 (VisitScotland 2018b).

Overtourism in the Highlands: The example of the North Coast 500

A number of destinations within the Highlands—both long-established and newly emerging—are now experiencing issues with high and rapidly increasing numbers of visitors. The railway viaduct used in the *Harry Potter* films, for example, has gained immense popularity as a tourist attraction, causing major traffic congestion issues in the adjacent village

of Glenfinnan (The Oban Times 2019). Ben Nevis, the UK's highest mountain, has seen significant increases in the numbers of people setting out to climb it in recent years, largely owing to the popularity of charity challenges (Bill Taylor Associates 2015), and resulting in increasing problems with discarded litter (McNeish 2019).

The most striking example, however, is perhaps the NC500—the name given to a scenic route around the North Coast of Scotland. Starting and finishing in the city of Inverness, the NC500 is 516 miles (825 km) in length and typically undertaken by car or campervan. Billed as "one of the world's most iconic coastal touring routes" (North Coast 500 n.d.), it passes through some of the country's most celebrated mountain and coastal scenery, often via narrow, twisting single-track roads. The route was officially "launched" in 2015, although it is effectively a re-branding of an existing road network linking numerous villages and small towns, many of which were already fairly popular tourist destinations. While the brand was developed by the North Highland Initiative—a Private Limited Company focused on the development of the region—North Coast 500 has since become a private company. The re-branding of the route that is now the NC500 has been a "phenomenal success" (North Highland Initiative n.d.), resulting in an almost immediate upsurge in visitor numbers.

The continuing success of the NC500 and the apparent speed with which its popularity has increased means that data on visitor numbers quickly become outdated. The most recent reliable numbers are those listed in an "Economic Baseline Study" of the route carried out by Highlands and Islands Enterprise (HIE) (2017)—the Scottish Government agency for economic and community development in the Highlands and Islands—over the first year following its launch (2015–16). The figures are based on numbers of visitors to the four VisitScotland Tourist Information centres on the route, and demonstrate a 26% increase across these centres in 2015–16. The route, according to HIE's report, brought 29,000 more visitors to the Highlands and added £9 million to the region's economy during this first year. While more up-to-date figures are not yet available, there is a wealth of anecdotal evidence pointing to further increases in the route's popularity since HIE's initial assessment.

While HIE (2017: 1) recognise the "potentially significant economic benefits" to the region brought by the NC500, a steady stream of newspaper reports has also highlighted the negative impacts of the route on local infrastructure and on the lives of local residents. It should be noted that these issues are highly seasonal, with the majority of tourists travelling the route in summer. Issues are predominantly with traffic. The HIE (2017) report suggests that the volume of traffic around the route rose by 10% during 2015–16. Newspaper reports, however, suggest that the issue is not simply with the volume of traffic, but the nature of the roads, and the types of vehicles in which people typically drive the NC500. As previously mentioned, many stretches of the NC500 are narrow, twisting and single-track, with regular signposted passing places, and a recent interviewee in a *Guardian* newspaper report describes the issue as follows:

> *There's an extraordinary number of campervans on the roads. They're mostly rented in Inverness, so people have no idea how to drive them, and particularly no idea how to reverse, and are understandably nervous doing so. Then you have four or five of them driving in convoy, and if they meet something coming the other way the whole road comes to a halt. It's the one road out of the village, so local access is effectively blocked.* (Brooks 2019)

As well as everyday disruptions to local residents, reports suggest that the popularity of the route has also placed considerable strain on infrastructure. *STV News*, for example, reports considerable wear and tear on road surfaces and roadside barriers (Ramage 2019). A report in the *Press and Journal,* meanwhile, cites calls from local residents for improved roads, toilets, waste disposal and parking along the route (Press and Journal 2019). The large and sparsely populated nature of the Highlands, however, makes funding road maintenance particularly challenging. The Highland Council (2019) explains that it is responsible for four times as many miles of roads as the City of Edinburgh Council, but has less than half the population from whom to raise council tax.

Additionally, the NC500 includes a number of sites where it is common for people to park their cars and go for a short or longer walk, including beaches, waterfalls, gorges, and ancient stone circles. While current newspaper reports focus on issues concerning traffic on

roads, it follows that erosion of footpaths and other infrastructure is also accelerated on sites such as these. Maintenance of footpaths and other visitor facilities, as Glass (2010) points out, also incurs significant costs.

A further issue with "road trip"-style tourism is what one newspaper article describes as a "hit-and-run tourist habit", whereby "the vast majority of visitors are whizzing past and ticking (places) off the list, rather than spending time and money in the local community" (Brooks 2019). By contrast, the longer-established holiday format in the Highlands, of staying in one place for a week or more, ensures that money is spent in local shops, pubs and restaurants, as well as a more predictable income source for the owner of the property. Although the HIE (2017) report cites increased occupancy, these are now much more often "single-night stays (which) can be crippling for B&B owners". This refers to the extra work and running costs associated with such a high turnover of guests in bed and breakfast accommodation, including the need to change beds and clean rooms every day, as well as to the unpredictability of rooms being booked on a night-by-night basis. Given the already seasonal nature of income derived from tourism in the Highlands, these factors can contribute to a somewhat unstable environment for the owners of small accommodation businesses.

Solutions

While the NC500 has provided a significant economic boost to the Northern Highlands, there have also been significant negative impacts on residents and an increased strain placed on infrastructure. This section explores potential means of (at least partly) offsetting these issues, and generating additional revenue in the process. These are primarily solutions that have already been proposed or partly implemented in the Scottish Highlands. With reference to wider related literature, the strengths and limitations of these solutions are also explored, and the potential for more radical solutions acknowledged. This section first points to the availability of government funding for the purpose of offsetting the impacts of tourism, but notes that this has significant

limitations, and therefore explores three additional or alternative solutions: car parking charges, a “transient visitor levy”, and the promotion of alternative destinations and exploration of alternative solutions.

When exploring these solutions, two important context-specific challenges must be considered. Firstly, Scotland and especially the Highlands have a uniquely high concentration of land in private ownership, with land divided into large “estates” (McKee et al. 2013). Consequently, land along the NC500 route is mostly in private ownership. The NC500 therefore impacts on both infrastructure that is funded by local authorities (such as roads), and that is on privately-owned land alongside the route (such as footpaths). The solutions presented here, then, differentiate between the generation and expenditure of revenue by the local authority, and by private landowners. This division presents a challenge in itself—that is, in determining *who* should set up the means for, and benefit from, revenue derived from tourism. This stands in contrast to studies in the United States, for example, which look at raising revenue from state-owned recreation areas (Bowker et al. 1999).

Secondly, the Scottish Outdoor Access Code, a key aspect of the Land Reform (Scotland) Act 2005, guarantees free access on foot, bicycle or horse to all land in Scotland (with some exceptions, such as cultivated fields and land immediately surrounding private dwellings) (Scottish Outdoor Access code n.d.). While research in other contexts has looked at the pros and cons of charging for access to recreation areas (e.g. Chung et al. 2011), the Access Code means that owners of such sites in Scotland, including those along the NC500 route, cannot charge access fees.

The Rural Tourism Infrastructure Fund

The main government support available for alleviating tourism-related impacts is the Rural Tourism Infrastructure Fund (RTIF). Administered by VisitScotland, £6 million was allocated to this fund in October 2017, accompanied by an admission that “marketing successes such as the North Coast 500… (have) resulted in some areas, at certain times of the year, experiencing pressure on infrastructure and negative impacts on some local communities” (VisitScotland 2018c: 1). The RTIF has now

been extended to 2021, with an added £2.9 million (Scottish Government 2019).

VisitScotland's guidance to RTIF applicants suggests that the "types of project that could be supported include parking, camping facilities, disposal points (especially for camper vans) and toilet provision" (2018c: 1–2). It also states that "only Local Authorities and National Park Authorities can apply for funding", although "Community Groups and other agencies can apply to their Local Authority or National Park if they have an eligible project" (2018c: 1). In practice, there have been examples of successful applications to the fund by both local authorities and by landowning organisations applying through them—for example, funding for a community-run car park near the "Harry Potter" viaduct at Glenfinnan (The Oban Times 2019).

There are, however, two significant limitations to the RTIF. Firstly, VisitScotland's guidance states that the fund can provide applicants with "up to a maximum of 70% of approved project activity" (2018c: 2), meaning that they must raise the remaining 30% themselves (although this can include in-kind contributions). Providing this additional funding or support can be challenging for landowners and local authorities, especially since they are unable to charge for access. Secondly, the guidance states that "major road improvement works" are not supported (2018c: 2). Since many of the key issues with the NC500 are with the nature of the roads themselves, and the damage caused to them by increased volumes of traffic, this constitutes a further significant limitation. Parking charges, however, are introduced below as a potential solution, particularly where used in combination with the RTIF.

Parking Charges

While the Land Reform (Scotland) Act 2005 prevents landowners from charging for *access* to their land, income *can* be raised through charges for facilities such as parking. This is because such facilities constitute the provision of a service, and because the access rights guaranteed by the Act do not apply to motorised vehicles.

Parking charges have long been regarded as one of the fairest ways of generating income for the maintenance of land and infrastructure. Well before the 2005 Act was passed, McCallum and Adams (1980: 364) cited parking charges as preferable to charging for access since this "put the burden on the users" of the land who could afford to travel there by car. Subsequently, a study in the Cairngorms by Phillip and MacMillan (2006) indicated a willingness among visitors to pay a small fee for car parking, as long as this was clearly being re-invested into visitor facilities and the maintenance of the site.

Parking charges are now increasingly being implemented in various parts of the Highlands. At the large car park at the CairnGorm Mountain ski area, for example, a £2 per day car parking charge was introduced in summer 2018 after a voluntary donation scheme reportedly failed to raise enough revenue to cover maintenance costs (Bailey 2018). Visitors' willingness to pay, however, is of course also influenced by *how much* they are charged, as demonstrated by a recent example in Arrochar in the Southern Highlands. There, Argyll and Bute Council increased the parking charge from £1 to £8 per day in summer 2018, prompting strong opposition from Mountaineering Scotland, the membership organisation representing climbers and hillwalkers in Scotland (Mountaineering Scotland 2018). These examples all refer to the sort of sites where people park in order to engage in some form of outdoor recreation. As previously mentioned, there are numerous such sites around the NC500. At these sites, a small fee for car parking would appear to present an opportunity for generating revenue that could be put into the maintenance of infrastructure, at least at these specific sites.

There are also, however, limitations to the solution of car parking charges. Firstly, it is not always a case of simply introducing a charge at existing car parks, as has been the case at CairnGorm and Arrochar. Instead, at many sites around the NC500, car parking facilities are currently insufficient, necessitating the construction or extension of such facilities before subsequent revenue can be raised. If funding for such construction could be obtained through the RTIF, then parking charges may provide a means of recouping the costs of the required match funding, and once these have been covered, to provide income in order to

maintain the site. This does, however, demonstrate that introducing parking charges cannot always provide an immediate solution.

Secondly, previous studies indicate that parking charges may be more suitable as a means of paying for the car park itself, or perhaps site-specific maintenance on the estate where it is built, rather than for roads and other publicly funded infrastructure. It is possible that a local authority could, having gained funding from RTIF to build a car park, charge for car parking in order to raise money specifically for road improvements. Phillip and MacMillan's (2006) study, however, suggests that visitors' willingness to pay increases when they can easily imagine how revenue will be spent on a particular site. "Road maintenance" may not be specific enough as a stated use of funds and, as the responsibility of the local authority, may also be perceived as something that should be raised through taxation.

Thirdly, the large distances and sparsely populated area covered by the NC500 mean that payment of parking charges will be challenging to "police". This adds further weight to the importance of ensuring visitors' willingness to pay, through specifying how revenue is spent, and by ensuring the price is not set too high. Without this willingness to pay, there is a danger that visitors will be tempted either to avoid paying altogether, or to park in unsuitable places alongside roads, thus exacerbating some of the issues already discussed and raising concerns regarding safety on the roads.

Transient Visitor Levy

"Tourist taxes" have been proposed, and implemented, in various contexts as a response to tourism-related pressures (Biagi et al. 2017). Transient Visitor Levies (TVL) are a locally specific form of tourist tax, through which visitors pay an additional charge in tourism businesses in a particular region. This has recently been proposed by the Highland Council (2019), who estimate that a TVL would generate between £5 and £10 million per year, with a view to offsetting the impacts of high concentrations of tourists in the region.

Similarly, to discussions around car parking charges, pre-consultation meetings with local stakeholders (Highland Council 2019) found that they wanted clarity around what the extra revenue would be used for, and were clear that this should be for "tourism purposes" rather than as part of the general council budget. There was also general agreement that the TVL should not be limited to accommodation providers, as this would not capture other visitors, such as those driving campervans. In fact, there has also been an alternative proposal for a tax specifically targeting campervan drivers—namely, a toll for "non-local large vehicles" (Munro 2019) around the NC500 route.

An argument often put forward against tourist taxes is their potential to discourage visitors, especially when they are already paying significant taxes through—for example—fuel and VAT. Indeed, a study in Italy by Biagi et al. (2017) found potential for a visitor tax to impact negatively upon *domestic* tourism demand (but not on international demand). This suggests a need for caution in the Highlands, where the majority of visitors still come from elsewhere in the UK (VisitScotland 2018b). In a consultation on the introduction of a £2 per night tax on overnight stays in Edinburgh, however, seventy-five percent of visitors (domestic *and* international) said the charge would not discourage them at all (STR 2018). This tax has now won council support (Adams 2019). These responses suggest that, as with parking, a *small* charge is acceptable to most visitors, and ought not to discourage domestic or international visitors. A wider study exploring visitors' willingness to pay (WTP) for accessing areas of natural beauty such as National Parks, nature reserves, forests and waterfalls could be helpful in estimating the economic value attached by the visitors to such attractions (Tisdell 2006).

A further caveat, however, is what exactly constitutes the "tourism purposes" cited above. Does this include roads, or is it restricted to additional tourist-specific facilities such as parking, signage, and toilets? A related study in Istanbul (Cetin et al. 2017: 21) found that, similarly to studies focused on parking charges, tourists were more willing to pay an additional tax where this was "earmarked for improvements in their experiences". This suggests that further discussions would be required around how the Highland Council would allocate revenue from the TVL. However, even if it was used exclusively for tourism-specific

facilities, TVL revenue would potentially free up other funding raised through council tax to spend on road improvements.

Alternatives

While the solutions explored above represent ways of at least partially offsetting the issues associated with excessive traffic on the NC500, more radical and overarching solutions must also be acknowledged. Milano et al. (2019: 355) remind us that solutions to the negative impacts of tourism employed by policymakers tend to take place "within a neoliberalism framework and an abiding tourism growth paradigm", and as such, do not counter the root *causes* of the issues they are designed to combat. That is, approaches like these simply attempt to improve conditions in order that authorities can continue to focus on attracting ever-increasing numbers of visitors, rather than exploring alternatives to this "growth" imperative.

This point can be illustrated as follows, with reference to the case explored here: One overall limitation with both the solutions discussed above concerns the unchangeable nature of the terrain that characterises much of the NC500. Small additional charges are unlikely to alter the volume of traffic on the roads and, even if they provided sufficient levels of additional income to fund major road improvements, the topography around much of the route still makes the *widening* of some of these roads extremely challenging. In other words, campervans on single-track roads will likely remain an issue as long as the NC500 remains popular. Another potential solution, then, is the promotion of alternative destinations in order to spread traffic and visitors over a wider area, and ensure equal economic benefits across Scotland. VisitScotland (2018d) is already acknowledging the potential need for such measures, and alternatives to the NC500 are already emerging, with a "South West Coastal 300" being promoted in the Dumfries and Galloway region (Visit South West Scotland n.d.), as well as a "Heart 200" route recently launched in the Southern Highlands (VisitScotland 2019). This solution, however, still does not challenge the "growth" imperative, and the same potential issues abound. Indeed, a local councillor in the Heart 200 area (Brooks 2019)

suggests that care needs to be taken to ensure the avoidance of similar negative impacts to the NC500.

It may therefore not be enough to simply attempt to alter visitor distribution, and measures could instead be taken to promote different *types* of tourism—for example, those that are more easily served by public transport, and that promote the Highlands as a "long stay destination" rather than one attracting more transient visitors (Tourism and Leisure Solutions 2018: 15). Further and more overarching solutions to be kept in mind, meanwhile, include the questioning of the "growth" imperative of the tourism sector by Higgins-Desbiolles et al. (2019). These authors suggest de-centring the processes by which destinations are marketed to allow local residents to decide upon the type and scale of tourism that would benefit their area.

Summary and Future Research

This chapter has explored emerging issues in the Scottish Highlands, with particular reference to the NC500, that appear in keeping with the wider phenomenon of overtourism. While previous studies have focused on perceived overtourism in urban areas, the chapter has shifted the focus to a sparsely populated region, highlighting issues with high concentrations of visitors rather than visitor numbers *per se,* as well as with the specific impacts brought by "road trip"-style tourism. The chapter then explored several available solutions: the Scottish Government's Rural Tourism Infrastructure Fund (RTIF), parking charges, a Transient Visitor Levy (TVL), and the promotion of alternative areas. These are solutions already available, or that have already been suggested, in the context of the Scottish Highlands. This chapter has also, however, explored the potential limitations of these solutions, and acknowledged the possibility of more radical solutions, such as restoring local control over the type and scale of tourism in particular regions.

A further limitation of this chapter is that evidence of the issues discussed has been largely anecdotal and based on newspaper reports, while the solutions have all been only recently proposed or implemented. Consequently, there is ample potential for further related research. Three

potential directions for such research are outlined here. Firstly, there should be a new study of the economic impact of the NC500, complemented by interviews exploring its positive and negative impacts with a wider range of local residents and business owners than those appearing in the newspaper articles. Secondly, this research could be extended to include further consultation with local stakeholders to explore further potential solutions to the impacts of tourism on the NC500. This follows complaints of a lack of consultation from residents in one previously-cited newspaper report (Press and Journal 2019). Finally, across a wider area than just the NC500, it would be insightful to carry out interviews with owners and managers of popular recreation sites where parking charges have been implemented, in order to determine *how* the resultant revenue is being spent, and whether this has been successful in achieving its desired effects. Similar evaluative research could be carried out in relation to visitors' willingness to pay for accessing popular tourist destinations and a TVL, if and when this is introduced in the Highlands.

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Case Study 4: Overtourism—The Case of the Palace of Versailles

Nicolas Charlet and Frédéric Dosquet

Abbreviation

Versailles Activity Report VAR (plus year of the report)

> *The need to open the Palace of Versailles ever more frequently appeared to be an imperative to us, and continued to dominate our 2016 agenda. The [terrorist] attacks that marred that year have reinforced our refusal to back down (…).* (Catherine Pégard, President of the Public Establishment of Versailles, Annual Report 2016)

Introduction

Tourism and heritage are social phenomena, born concurrently in the nineteenth century, the age of the first industrial revolution and the construction of nation states in Western Europe (Choay 1992; Lazzarotti

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2000). The concept of heritage whose origins date back to the Renaissance (Pomian 1990; Babelon and Chastel 1994; Le Hégarat 2015), developed in response to a massive wave of destruction during the French Revolution. One notes the historical relationship that links the appropriation of heritage to the population whose attachment to monuments demands their conservation (Le Hégarat 2015).

The phenomenon of *patrimonialisation*, the acceptance of which continues to grow (Choay 1992; Morisset 2009), has seen its sphere of influence develop considerably due to a strong sense of ownership by various communities and populations (Benhamou 2010; Prigent 2011). Admittedly, becoming a heritage site transforms a use value into a patrimonial value (Choay 1992) but this transformation is only valid if the heritage site or project is recognised as original. Its authenticity is paramount and its recognition implies an expert notarization (Le Hégarat 2015) as well as the public seal of approval: “A heritage site, in order to be legitimate, needs the approving gaze of the other, that is to say, of tourism” (Lazzarotti 2003).

Through the expected economic benefits Prigent (2011) clearly establishes a link between tourism and world heritage. In recent years, tourist visitor numbers have become a key to success and a major criterion of the UNESCO World Heritage Label (Prigent 2011; Marcotte et al. 2017). Previously, conservation was a heritage site’s main priority; in recent years this has leaned to greater interest in visitor numbers (Lazzarotti 2000; Prigent 2011). Heritage work is no longer just an expense but, thanks to tourism, also a source of income (Réau and Poupeau 2007).

Lipovestsky and Serroy (2013) observe a parallel phenomenon of a boom in heritage site development and tourism expansion. On the one hand, the notion what counts as a heritage site has expanded considerably to the point of becoming somewhat fuzzy (Le Hégarat 2015); on the other hand, tourism is growing steadily (Patin 1997). For Lipovestsky and Serroy (2013), the pan-heritage (*tout patrimoine*) and pan-tourism (*tout tourisme*) are signs of a major evolution of capitalism. Therein they see the affirmation of an “artistic capitalism” founded on cultural hyper consumption. While opportunities for heritage site development are becoming widespread, tourism is becoming an ever-preferred means of consuming culture and history (Prigent 2011). This is a fundamental

turn, because tourism has become one of the world's leading economic sectors (WTO 2018). Caught in this commercial sphere, heritage and tourism are inextricably linked. The demand for cultural consumption is high and no less so are the expectations in terms of financial profit (Lipovetsky and Serroy 2013).

Overtourism

This raises the question of the patrimonial consequences of the uninterrupted growth of tourism. Many voices have risen up against the scourge of tourist overcrowding in city museums such as Venice, Barcelone, Prague, Rome or Bruges. Tourists are singled out as agents of destruction of heritage and cultural traditions (Lansing and De Vries 2007; Marcotte and Bourdeau 2010), contributing to pollution, global warming, the degradation of areas of natural beauty and even water depletion (Béji-Bécheur and Bensebaa 2009). The case of Venice has long fascinated the media and researchers who have concluded the need to define an acceptable limit to the number of tourists which Van der Borg (1996) coins as the “daily carrying capacity”. The concept of overtourism, defined by Richardson (2017) has become a subject of research (Seraphin et al. 2018, 2019). We talk about overtourism when a destination suffers from the pressure of tourism, since it has reached a maximum threshold of tourists. Overtourism is manifested by reactions of rejection from users.

In general, the perception of tourism in Europe has changed. Anti-tourism first developed in Italy and Spain, and more recently in England (Coldwell 2017). On the one hand, locals are now more sensitive to their quality of life than to the economic benefits of tourism (Croes et al. 2017). On the other hand, ecological awareness has risen sharply in public opinion, demonstrated by the many reactions to the progressive destruction of Venice as a result of climate change but also overtourism (Seraphin et al. 2018). Finally, recent studies show that the positive impact of the tourism industry on local economies is limited (Buckley 2017; Leadbeater 2017). In the same vein, Coldwell (2017) highlights the damage that tourism can cause when it is poorly managed and Richardson (2017) calls into question the logic of its industrial

exploitation. He considers that "a long-term success will require a more holistic approach."

The Manichaean opposition between tourism as the "source of all evils" and heritage as the "root of the purest identity" (Lazzarotti 2000) appears irrelevant today as the two phenomena are closely tied. As early as 2003, Lazzarotti wrote: "Tourism and heritage are two inseparable phenomena today, as the National Heritage Days [*Journées nationales du patrimoine*] in France have revealed spectacularly. (…) It turns out that tourism and heritage can sustain each other (…). Tourism and heritage are activated together and are directed towards a common goal" (Lazzarotti 2003: 97).

In order to characterize the interrelationship between tourism and heritage, Lazzarotti (2003) refers to Morin's concept of dialogism: "a complex unity between two complementary, competing and antagonistic logics, entities or authorities that feed on each other, complement each other, but also oppose and fight each other" (Morin 2001: 281). Today, this point of view is widely shared. Recent works by Gérardot (2011), Durif (2017), Seraphin et al. (2018, 2019) are anchored in a complex and constructive vision of the problem. It is no longer a question of giving up tourism but of defining a virtuous circle connecting tourism and heritage, exploitation and exploration.

Ambidextrous Management Approach

The tourism industry is becoming ambivalent: under the pressure of ecological movements, it is promoting sustainability but still is incapable to change. Its Janus-faced character (Sanchez and Adams 2008) enforces an ambidextrous management based on innovation and sustainability (Mihalache and Mihalache 2016; Smith 2017). This management approach takes into account the two opposing poles of exploitation and exploration. The goal is to manage both the exploitation resources (existing products or services) and the exploratory way of thinking (creativity) (Seraphin et al. 2018). While anti-tourism aims to combat the tourism industry, this way of managing overtourism appears to be more efficient. By applying ambidextrous management, innovation and sustainability

are the way to achieve long-term growth. That is to say not give up on tourism industry exploitation but also set up exploratory strategies. Innovation can be enhanced by an ambidexterity organisation as this "enables firms to make the most of their current capabilities while at the same time developing new ones to attract new customers" (Mihalache and Mihalache 2016).

On this theoretical basis, the case of the Palace of Versailles, in France, is an interesting example of an ambidextrous management approach. Confronted with worrying signs of overtourism, Versailles had to innovate without forsaking tourism. No radical solution was possible, but innovation was essential. In a dozen years, the Palace of Versailles has set up a whole range of innovative solutions to reduce the risk of overtourism without foregoing increasing its attendance. The paradox is important but it is extremely stimulating.

Overtourism at Versailles

With eight million visitors a year, the Palace of Versailles is threatened by overtourism. The Palace of Versailles was not built to accommodate such a flood of tourists. Originally a royal residence, it was the seat of the court of the Kingdom of France. The court had about 10,000 courtiers during the reign of Louis XIV. The numbers are impressive: the castle has 2300 rooms, 1944 windows and 352 fireplaces. It is an immense heritage site not only in terms of its layout and size but also and especially due to its historical importance during the reigns of Louis XIV to Louis XVI principally. Today, this jewel in the crown of French national heritage is also a hub for tourism, which is a strong paradox (Choay 1992). The Palace of Versailles has to manage this tourist influx even though heritage conservation requires the utmost care.

The attendance at the Palace of Versailles is constantly increasing, and should reach about 8.5 million visitors in 2019. The revenue from ticketing rose from 39.1 million euros in 2011 to 62.2 million in 2018, 40% of its total revenue. It is therefore financially very dependent on tourist attendance. But many voices rise to denounce the overtourism that would undermine the preservation of the heritage of Versailles. In 2006, a

curator of the castle museum had already warned about the risk of irreparable destruction: "The castle is deteriorating at high speed. (…) The flow of visitors is exposing the site to accelerated degradation and therefore jeopardizing its survival" (quoted by Rykner 2007). This kind of alert is rare within the institution, but the following year the art historian and French journalist Didier Rykner sounded a warning cry in his review *La Tribune de l'art*. Under the title "Domaine de Versailles or Versailles-Land", on March 25th, 2007, he published a polemical paper against the heritage conservation policy of the Domaine de Versailles. Rykner directly questioned the tourist influx, calling for a decrease in the number of visitors to Versailles. Rykner (2007) argued "the need to quickly shelter garden sculptures". These alerts were followed by numerous controversies in the press. In July 2009, the site Louvrepourtous.fr published an explosive report entitled "Palace of Versailles, a commercial drift… to illegality?" Afterwards, dozens of Internet users published negative comments from their visit to the Château de Versailles between 2009 and 2011: long queues, unsatisfactory reception, excessive entrance fees, over-attendance, poor visiting conditions, inadequate reception facilities, flow management problems, etc. In 2011, the consumer advocacy association UFC Que Choisir! published a survey on tourism management in museums in France in its summer issue (no. 494). The diagnosis was again severe: "endless queues, jostling inside the castle, unclear and excessive entry tariffs (between 18 and 25 euros in the high season). (…) Visitors believe that the Palace of Versailles management should make an effort to regulate the flow, better manage the crowd" (Humbert 2011). The following year, Marie-Anne Kleber signed an article entitled "Versailles victim of its success" in *Le Journal du Dimanche*.

These reactions of rejection are subjective and not necessarily well founded. However, they have a sociological quality. They are an indicator of overtourism. They designate a limit beyond which the risks of dissatisfaction, disorder and destruction are huge. Since 2010, the Public Establishment of Versailles has been conscious of such dangers. It has put in place a number of innovative actions to fight against overtourism, without refusing to accommodate more tourists. The challenge lives up to the paradox.

Methodology

This case study is based on the longitudinal analysis of Versailles Public Establishment Museum and National Estate Activity Reports (now abbreviated VAR) over a period of ten years (2008–2018). Undoubtedly, the year 2008 marked a turning point in the management of Versailles as a tourist destination, when an annual exhibition of contemporary art was introduced. These general public exhibitions were aimed to increase the number of tourists, especially international visitors. The question of overtourism at the Palace of Versailles then became urgent. With regard to our sources, the very well-documented Versailles Activity Reports (VAR) provide a large amount of both quantitative and qualitative data, which in turn provide a comprehensive overview of the heritage and tourism policies of Versailles, an emblem of French culture.

In this case, we have hypothesised that heritage and tourism maintain a dialogic relationship where one feeds the other in a sometimes conflicting but fruitful interdependence. This dialogue could be described as incessant and tense, a complex series of contradictions. Ambidextrous management (Mihalache and Mihalache 2016), based on both exploitation (resources, existing customers) and exploration (creative solutions), would be a complex response to the dialogic relationship between heritage and tourism. The paradoxical unity of heritage and tourism offers a dynamic point of view when facing the crisis of overtourism (Seraphin et al. 2018). Such a pragmatic and complex approach makes it possible to break, or even reject the aforementioned stalemate.

Exploitation Strategy: Policies for Increasing Visitor Numbers

Despite the threat of overtourism, the basic data shows that visits to the Palace of Versailles have continued to increase steadily (5.6 million visitors in 2008 and 8.1 million ten years later) that nothing has appeared to dissuade tourism over the mid-term, not even the recent terrorist threats (except a significant decrease in visitor levels over the years 2015 and

2016). Various Versailles Activity Reports that we consulted show that this increase is desired (VAR 2018: 174). For example, in 2011, the museum Management wrote: "Mastering the widest possible openness is a fundamental objective of the Public Establishment of Versailles. It implies a constant mobilisation of the workforce management teams so that the objectives set by the institution in its performance contract for 2011–2013 are upheld and respected" (VAR 2011: 30). Welcoming the public effectively is a major concern of the Public Establishment of Versailles, which encourages the influx of tourists. The Palace of Versailles invariably pursues its strategy of increasing visitor numbers.

In the French cultural context, marked by strong state intervention and involvement, quantitative strategies for cultural consumption are closely linked to social concerns, that is, making culture accessible to all (Bourdieu 1979; Benhamou 1996). At Versailles, as in all French cultural institutions, cultural democratization is not an option but a widely shared political choice (Benhamou 1996). Consequently, the Palace has set up an ambitious cultural policy aimed at attracting schoolchildren and the sectors of the public who cannot easily access museums, especially people with disabilities (VAR 2018). The range of cultural and educational activities is broad, reflecting the power of this public institution.

A more imaginative strategy is that of integrating contemporary art intended to attract other visitor profiles: "since 2008, the Palace of Versailles has invited artists of international renown, combining contemporary creation and historical heritage. Jeff Koons in 2008, Xavier Veilhan in 2009, Takashi Murakami in 2010, Bernar Venet in 2011, Joana Vasconcelos in 2012, Giuseppe Penone in 2013, Lee Ufan in 2014, Anish Kapoor in 2015 and Olafur Eliasson in 2016. All these artists have established an original dialogue between their works and the Versailles estate" (VAR 2016: 67). One can legitimately question the link between the Palace of Versailles and the world of contemporary art. More interesting for us, however, are the deeper roots of this anachronistic and dissonant relationship.

In pursuing and deploying such open and unconventional cultural policies, Versailles has knowingly increased tourism although the situation has become dangerous in terms of overtourism. The Jeff Koons and Murakami exhibitions, held in 2008 and 2010 respectively, were

particularly controversial and had a communication effect deemed viral. With 1.1 million visitors arriving specifically for the Jeff Koons exhibition, attendance levels at the Palace escalated dangerously to 960,000 visitors across a four-month period. The 2008 Versailles Activity Report mentions a veritable media storm due to a controversy on the opportunism of contemporary art at Versailles. This pattern was repeated in 2010 with the Murakami exhibition. The choice of Koons and Murakami, some of the most mediatized and controversial personalities of the contemporary art world (Lipovestsky and Serroy 2013), is indicative of a mass tourism strategy that has worried not only the public, who are particularly attached to the conservation of the Palace, but also some of the museum curators. This strategy could lead to overtourism, and so its threat has become urgent.

Such controversial exhibitions have raised two problems: firstly, the harmony and coherence between the Palace works of art and those of the contemporary exhibitors, and secondly, the pressure from the tourist sector on heritage conservation. Potential risk appears to have worried the museum management, which realigned its policy of the exhibition of contemporary art exhibition in a less controversial direction, forgoing stardom for constructive dialogue (VAR 2011). In parallel, the Public Establishment of Versailles has introduced a loyalty scheme for the public. Versailles has created premium clientele membership whose base is growing year by year. The loyalty of a segment of clientele who are very attached to heritage values serves as a counterweight to the site being made accessible to increasing numbers of visitors.

Retention Strategy for a Premium Client Base

From 2010 onwards, client loyalty has become an answer to overtourism at Versailles. Thus, the 2016 Activity Report stated: "The terrorist attacks in France have placed all major heritage sites in a very unfavourable position. In the light of declining attendance by foreign visitors (but, nevertheless, an increase in visits by the French public) the Establishment has renewed its efforts to better identify its visitors and offer them more opportunities for discovery" (VAR 2016: 84). Membership cardholders

for the Palace de Versailles, whose number continues to grow (8715 in 2011, 18,200 in 2018), enjoy VIP benefits. For example, 552 exclusive visits were organised in 2018 (VAR 2018: 111).

In 2016, 79% of the clientele were first-time visitors. The segment of connoisseurs and returning visitors remained marginal, but it grew rapidly in the same period. According to data from the Permanent Public Observatory, the Palace of Versailles had, in 2018, a very high rate of satisfaction among its visitors: 75% of visitors say they are "very satisfied with their visit" (VAR 2018: 101). The annual membership card (*Un an à Versailles*) offers free and unlimited entry to permanent collections, the grounds and a whole range of exclusive cultural events. This membership card has also become: "a laboratory of cultural experimentation from which new cultural products are born. Reactive, identifiable and loyal clients that have also become members means that immediate and permanent evaluation of the events organised can be implemented" (VAR 2011: 29).

This innovative approach by the Palace of Versailles in terms of client relations is marking a turning point. Outward looking (in the sense of cultural democratization) is certainly the backbone descriptor of the public policy of the Palace but the trend is that of reclassification by means of segmentation, with an offer tailored to each segment. This is an innovative strategy against overtourism and a good example of ambidextrous management. The institution explores a new policy by means of which it also creates change. It is too early to draw conclusions, but obviously, the Palace of Versailles assessed the risks of overtourism on its heritage and conservation projects. More than ever, Versailles is seeking a balance between openness and preservation.

Heritage Conservation as a Tool for Regulating Visitor Flows

Given the inestimable heritage value of the Palace of Versailles, its conservation, enhancement and restoration are the priorities of the Public Establishment of Versailles, which is carrying out its restoration of

currently closed spaces in order to increase the areas open to visitors. Its president affirms the "willingness to open ever more doors in Versailles, thanks to the efforts of all those involved: some eighty rooms since 2012" (VAR 2018: 3). In 10 years, the results of this reopening policy have been remarkable. Between 2008, the date of the reopening of the Petit Trianon, and 2018, marked by the reopening of the Queen's House, renovation worksites have been set up and wound down. Denis Verdier-Magneau, director of Cultural Development has also written on this point: "The Establishment is also continuing its efforts to try to improve visiting conditions by opening more and more spaces to the visit on a daily basis. (…) The access to all these spaces enables an increasingly improved visitor experience at Versailles, while ensuring the optimum conservation of the castle and its collections" (Verdier-Magneau 2019).

It is clear that the policy of enlarging the Palace of Versailles's offer to visitors has been successful, while making it possible to avoid the undesired effects of increased attendance. Over the years, visitor flow is more evenly distributed across the entire estate. The Palace, which remains fragile in terms of conservation, is no longer the only focal point and centre of attention of tourists. 22% of them visit the Petit Trianon only, and 11% limit themselves to the parks and gardens. In short, a third of visitors do not enter the Palace (according to 2018 figures). Paradoxically, the broadening of the offer makes it possible to release some of the pressure that increased footfall would generate. This paradoxical innovation shows the efficiency of ambidextrous management against overtourism.

The extension *intra muros* has been completed by an *extra muros* version. Confronted with a situation of overtourism, Versailles has pushed its walls even further outwards, far beyond the estate: as far as Australia, to Tokyo, but also in the North of France (VAR 2016: 58). Versailles's "extra muros" (*Versailles Hors les murs*) has opened the way for a proactive, geographical extension in the context of overtourism.

To conclude, the major conservation work at the Versailles estate has partly absorbed certain harmful effects of overtourism. The risk of degradation has been limited due to the extension of the zones open to the public in the estate of Versailles but also outside. Nevertheless, the Palace of Versailles has to complement its spatial expansion strategy with a tourist flow management strategy.

Innovative Management of Visitor Flow: The Leverage of Space

While it is not always possible to create more space, it may be possible to act on the distribution of visitors within existing spaces. With this in mind, the Public Establishment of Versailles has implemented a range of actions to improve the spatial distribution of tourists throughout all accessible zones and buildings. The first step taken to control tourist flow is by means of segmenting the visitor experience. Since 2016, visitors can purchase a ticket for the Palace only, the grounds only, the Trianon zone or the entire estate. The challenge is, therefore, to manage the flow of visits between these zones (VAR 2016). Tickets are sold in a reception area recently designed by architect Dominique Perrault, an expert in the field of museography.

Naturally, this layout of the reception is complemented by a signage system designed to facilitate visitor movement and make spaces more secure (VAR 2016: 79). The digital media options at Versailles are also developing rapidly: up 18% compared to 2017 (VAR 2018: 115). Yet Versailles, like all major museums, offers an audio-guide service, which again, allows the user to choose his or her own path, thus further segmenting the zones to visit and achieving a more even distribution of visitors across the estate.

The Smartphone applications performs similarly as it simplifies the visitor's orientation around the estate and thus makes the human "traffic" more fluid. Finally, Versailles is developing virtual tours that could become an appropriate solution in the future to reduce the effects of overtourism. With advances in technology, virtual tours should not replace but complement the current tours on offer. Virtual reality offers a full package of services: a visit in optimal conditions, presentations and role plays by guides in period costume, and greater potential for the more detailed transmission of knowledge and historical information. Versailles has developed this service in a thoughtful and mindful manner. One can wonder if we have arrived at a new era of virtual tourism, in which the virtual reality solution is a credible and viable alternative for the medium term. Already today, virtual reality exploration is an innovative way to fight overtourism:

we do not yield to the temptation of anti-tourism but we create a new customer segment. This ambidextrous management (Seraphin et al. 2018) is an efficient strategy against the damage of overtourism.

Innovative Management of Visitor Flow: The Leverage of Time

The influx of tourists is contained by the emergence of new spaces (physical or virtual, within the Versailles estate or beyond its perimeter) but also by the control of time, across the three parameters: management of visitor numbers across high and low seasons, across the time of day tourists are attracted to visit (choice of peak and off-peak times in the morning, at midday, in the evening) and visit duration (shorter or longer stays on site).

Considering the risk associated with overtourism in the summer, the seasonal issue is key to resolve. In recent years, the management of Versailles has devoted much time and energy in its communication strategy to encourage the public to come during the low season, especially in winter: "Mainly targeting Parisians, it aims to encourage the return to and rediscovery of Versailles in winter, a period favourable to the visit" (VAR 2018: 125). In a similar fashion, the Public Establishment of Versailles launched, in 2014, an application that delivers real-time information on museum attendance. In case of congestion, the application offers other slots, to ease traffic inside the castle. This kind of innovation appears very efficient nowadays.

An extension of the opening hours may also be a solution against overtourism. Events and shows take place in the evening when other visitors to the museum have departed. However, the increase in the overall visitor numbers to Versailles is mainly due to the increasing success of the events it hosts. "Visitor numbers have doubled between 2009 and 2019" (VAR 2018: 100). The events are mainly concerts held in various zones of the estate, scheduled around the closing time of the museum: "Since September 2009, the restored Royal Opera House, has reopened to the public. In ten years, there have been more than six hundred performances that the organisation *Château de Versailles Spectacles* has given in the

various music venues of the estate" (VAR 2018: 112). Time is used as an adjustment variable. In the same way that one is encouraged to reduce visiting time in the Palace in order to spend more time in the grounds, the public is also drawn to attend the site at night, thus the flow of visits is spread out over a longer period. This creative solution, appreciated by the public, is an efficient way to avoid the effects of overtourism without limiting the welcome to new visitors.

Conclusion

The Palace of Versailles has been threatened by overtourism for about ten years. Yet the Public Establishment invariably pursues its policy of increasing attendance. This ambidextrous organisation reduces the harmful effects of overtourism thanks to an innovative strategy. Obviously, the balance is fragile. For now, the panel of innovations is effective enough to limit the damage of overtourism. But when a maximum threshold of tourists will be reached, the organisation will have to put a strategy of decreasing attendance in place. This goal of decline does actually not seem to belong to the corporate culture of the Palace. Then, the paradigm shift will impose a major transformation effort. To conclude, this study made it possible to better understand the concepts of overtourism and ambidextrous management. These recent concepts are relevant in the current context of uncontrolled tourism development. The ambidextrous management of overtourism is efficiency, while anti-tourism leads to a dead end. The renunciation of tourism would be economically and socially unsustainable. With the case study of the Château de Versailles, we were able to verify the relevance of paradoxical management, exploitation and exploration of tourism. At the Château de Versailles, the innovative management of tourism has proved its performance. In the future, innovation should have a central and strategic place.

Going beyond this initial study, we would formalize the strategic management of a clearly identifiable policy against overtourism. In this light, our study, which has been limited to the longitudinal analysis of the Versailles Activity Reports, could be supplemented by an organisational study using qualitative interviews held with the key stakeholders.

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Case Study 5: A Paradox of the UNESCO "World Heritage" Label? The Case of the Way of St James of Compostela in France

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Introduction

Since 1972, when the World Heritage List was created and the World Heritage Convention was adopted at its 17th Conference, UNESCO has continued to abide by the stated purpose of the list, namely to "maintain,

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increase and diffuse knowledge, by assuring the conservation and protection of the world's heritage".

The first list, published in 1978, consisted of 12 entries. As of 2019, the list includes 1121 natural, cultural and mixed sites, from 167 countries worldwide, recognised as "world heritage" (Table 1).

The aim of "diffusing knowledge" has been comprehensively fulfilled. Indeed, in recent years, such has been the eagerness to obtain this label that in 2012, the World Heritage Committee decided to slow down the rate of inscriptions to 45 cases assessed per year with a maximum of two nominations per country (Leduc et al. 2017). The evaluation of the nominations and the subsequent follow-up after obtaining the label is conducted by two NGOs to whom UNESCO has delegated its prerogatives. The first, ICOMOS, deals with cultural heritage and evaluates the inscription of monuments and patrimonies, while IUCN is responsible for natural heritage and evaluates the inscription of geographical (Leduc et al. 2017).

According to experts it is quite difficult to measure the real influence of this label on the number of visits to sites benefitting from it (Leduc et al. 2017). Some, such as even question "the difficulty of establishing the added-value of World Heritage inscription". For some authors, labelling represents a significant marketing element, "the driving force behind the promotion of a destination" (Gérardot 2011) by notably accentuating its media coverage. For Prigent (2011), "it is impossible to ascertain whether the higher number of visits can be explained by the reputation

Table 1 Number of heritage sites on the UNESCO list (Evolution from 1978 to 2019)

Date	Number of sites on the UNESCO lis
1978	12
1999	890
2019	1121

Source: UNESCO (2019)

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afforded by the UNESCO label or by the specific characteristics of the sites". However, the exponential number of applications for this label is not only the result of wanting to safeguard cultural or natural heritage. Motives may include the creation of tourism marketing (Courvoisier and Aguillaume 2011) or the development of an area, even if research on this point is contradictory. Moreover, for several years the motivation behind this quest for a UNESCO label has been to increase the number of visits and to generate tourism traffic: "the preparation of a nomination for inscription on the list is no longer just about protection" (Prigent 2011).

This is confirmed by Marcotte et al. (2017): "While the UNESCO label was initially created to ensure the protection and public awareness of exceptional sites, international recognition seems today increasingly used for purposes of marketing and promotion of labelled destinations". For example, in 2009 an agreement was signed between UNESCO and the TripAdvisor rating site to increase awareness of and visits to classified sites. The attraction for the UNESCO label is, for Florent (2011), that "the UNESCO label has become over time a tourist label, a guarantee of quality for tourists. To visit a UNESCO site is to visit a unique site. UNESCO's leitmotif is to protect sites "of outstanding universal value". This "Outstanding Universal Value" (OUV) refers to exceptionalness, that is to say, unique testament and exemplary character, based on 10 criteria that refer to cultural traditions, human creative genius, and beauty (Leduc et al. 2017). It is a unique aspect that seems to motivate tourists (Lazzarotti 2003), in a relationship that can be liked to the law of supply/demand. Knowing that the property in question is unique, tourists somehow want their "piece of the cake" and in a sort of macabre relationship, want to see with their own eyes the heritage site in danger of disappearing. From there, a seemingly non-virtuous circle starts: the more fragile the property, the greater the number of tourists that visit it, thereby possibly putting it in further danger.

It is in this context of the massification of visits to labelled sites that we need to question UNESCO's capacity to respect its second goal: "by assuring the conservation and protection of the world's heritage". It is along the line of this vicious circle, which combines two seemingly contradictory interests, that our chapter lies. Is it not paradoxical to want to

protect and at the same time encourage visits that could harm the same preservation? Parga Dans and Alonso-Gonzales (2017) describe, for example, the emblematic case of the Cave of Altarima (Cantabria, Spain), the site of unique Palaeolithic cave paintings that has become endangered by too many visitors, so much so that the Spanish authorities have been obliged to divert visitors to a replica.

UNESCO has asked itself the same question regarding this paradox and has changed its rules by applying recommendations for sustainable development that we examine below. This attention demonstrates that our question is relevant and is still topical (Tucker and Carnegie 2014; Santa-Cruz and Lopez-Guzman 2017; Timothy 2017) because, according to experts, it seems that not all the answers have to date been forthcoming despite UNESCO's efforts (Parga Dans and Alonso-Gonzales 2017).

Our paper is as follows. Firstly, the aim is to study, through a literature review, whether according to experts and researchers, tourism ("diffusion of knowledge") and preservation ("conservation and protection of the world's heritage") are compatible. Secondly, we present the reflections of UNESCO with respect to this paradox, reflections that have contributed to the recommendation of the development of sustainable tourism. We then illustrate this problem with the case of the Way of Saint James of Compostela. This example of a cultural, patrimonial, religious and spiritual route, which came into being in the tenth century and whose current success is undeniable, provides a triple peculiarity. Firstly, it represents both a cultural and natural heritage site. Secondly, its World Heritage listing is discontinuous in France (unlike in Spain). In other words, its classification concerns only a few sites and sections of the routes rather than all of them. Finally, they are visited by people (pilgrims) who are strongly engaged in the activity because they need to make an intense moral and physical investment (Cova and Cova 2019).

Heritage or Tourism: A Difficult Choice?

The supposed opposition between these two concepts forms the framework of our chapter. Tourism can simultaneously represent salvation for and a danger to heritage. Insufficient tourism kills heritage, as the lack of

visits means it vanishes from human memory. However, the opposite is also true: too much touristic activity at a site can put it in danger, both physically through multiple disturbances, and symbolically through the effects of fashion or *bad buzz*. Overtourism (Seraphin et al. 2018, 2019) is a concrete example of the endangerment of sites overfrequented by mass tourism. The debate on this issue is ongoing among researchers (Parga Dans and Alonso-Gonzales 2017) and tourism professionals on all continents, enabled through the democratization of knowledge, access and accommodation.

Presenting tourism as the only risk of antagonising or even destroying heritage is not shared by all authors. Ironically, some researchers have also warned against the goal of patrimonialization itself. Indeed, four major disadvantages have been identified in the literature (Prigent 2011), highlighting the problems associated with the temptation to label a site as "World Heritage": the redirection of public funding (labelling has a cost that can lead to funds being diverted towards the protection of unlabelled sites); the destabilization of local populations who do not share the same values as tourists; the museumization of the labelled site (this freezes the site in time and prevents it from renewing itself and therefore from no longer being in the market trend); the creation of an non-sustainable tourist fashion effect; the seasonal and non-annual attraction of visitors can destabilize other economic sectors of the ecosystem in which the labelled heritage site is located.

However, to return to the opposition between tourism and patrimonialization, some authors, such as Lazzarotti (2003), François et al. (2006), and Gallet (2010) consider that it is not necessary. Thus, for Lazzarotti (2003), there are synergies between the two: "to be valid, heritage needs to be seen by the other and needs, therefore, tourism, which forms a large part of this (...). Tourism and tourists are, in the end, placed at the heart of the process of conferring heritage on a site (...). Far from opposing each other, as is often said, tourism and heritage value and reinforce each other (...) tourism and heritage are jointly activated towards a common goal. They serve, as it were, as an instrument for the development and the promotion of the site." For others, such as Marcotte and Bourdeau (2010), the risk to heritage of deterioration or even destruction through tourism is real: "How can sustainable tourism growth be achieved?" In

contrast, for others, such as Lansing and De Vries (2007) or Durif et al. (2017), the opposition is very tangible: "Tourism is often singled out as being responsible for global warming and other environmental problems such as the erosion and degradation of natural sites, pollution, the extinction of native species, overexploitation, the alteration and destruction of natural resources, deforestation, the disruption of biodiversity (...) the harmful effects of tourism on the preservation of cultural traditions and heritage are also known".

The study by Florent (2011) confirms that of Lazzarotti (2000) and may represent an interesting compromise vis-à-vis putting into perspective the head-on opposition between heritage and tourism. Indeed, Florent shows that for well-known sites that also benefit from the UNESCO label, the label does not create an additional intake of breath for tourist visits. Tourists would still come even without the label. However, this is not the case for secondary sites. The example of the Pont d'Arc Cavern is a perfect illustration. More than 200,000 extra visitors were recorded over the year following labelling. The UNESCO effect worked well in this case. According to Intermedia (2016), inclusion on the list makes it easier to publicise the labelled site, in particular through press relations. It would also help raise awareness among intermediate targets such as tour operators to integrate these secondary sites into their programmes. For these, it seems that the UNESCO label generates additional traffic, which could cause nuisance but also an economic boost, thereby somehow safeguarding the cultural and/or natural heritage that is at risk. This point of view is confirmed by Lazzarotti (2000) for whom tourism-related revenues represent a blessing for heritage preservation, especially for territories and countries lacking resources: "As neither UNESCO nor the poorest countries really have the means to implement the restoration and conservation policy they advocate, tourism revenues are expected to save what can be saved". This point of view is shared by Gravari-Barbas and Ripoll (2010), who believe that, far from opposing heritage and tourism, it should, on the contrary, be seen as a salutary complementarity, tourism being a "co-producer of heritage value". Similarly, Gérardot (2011) confirms that "tourism can be used as a means to safeguard endangered heritage (...) often seen as harmful and detrimental to heritage sites, tourism can (...) act as a driving force of the

patrimonialization of a city". This situation is linked with the ambidextrous management approach (Mihalache and Mihalache 2016; Seraphin et al. 2018). This management approach considers the two opposing poles of exploitation and exploration. The goal is to manage both the exploitation resources (existing products or services) and the exploratory way of thinking (creativity) (Seraphin et al. 2018). By applying ambidextrous management, innovation and sustainability are the way to achieve an old european and world heritage of the tenth century. In te case of Saint James pilgrimage, the ambidextrous finding comes from the UNESCO's ambiguous situation. On one side, the "World Heritage of UNESCO" label is to offer a holistic protection (monuments, areas, spirit) of this continuum route through Europe since the tenth century; on the other side, the label promotes this touristic destination inviting more and more pilgrims and especially "new ones" (Dosquet et al. 2018). This situation could generate damages from the behaviors of "new pilgrims" supposed less sensible than the "old ones" towards the protection of this heritage.

UNESCO Concerned About This Issue of Development of Tourism at Labelled Sites

In 1972, when UNESCO established World Heritage listing, tourism was barely addressed (Marcotte and Bourdeau 2010; Prigent 2011). The main concern was to make the heritage known and protect it. The question of tourism as a possible threat to this heritage—protected but highlighted by its inclusion on the list—through the effect of too many visitors, has only been formally addressed by UNESCO from 2002 onwards (UNESCO 2012) and by WTO in 2005 (OMT 2004). However, it was not until 2008 that UNESCO would explicitly link World Heritage to sustainability and sustainable tourism (UNESCO 2012). It was undoubtedly through observing the risk of degradation posed by too many tourists visiting the city of Venice (World Heritage since 1987, with 30 million tourists a year), Ha Long Bay (World Heritage since 1994, approximately 2.5 million tourists a year) and

Memphis and its necropolis (the areas of the Pyramids of Giza to Dahshur) in Egypt (World Heritage since 1979, approximately 10 million tourists a year) that the institution has posed the question and tried to provide answers. The concept put forward in an attempt to counteract the damage associated with the massive number of visitors is sustainable tourism. In 2017, the United Nation (UN) proclaimed 2017 as the "International Year of Sustainable Tourism" (UN 2017). Tourism, as a human activity, is therefore explicitly mentioned, which was not exactly the case when the Brundtland Report was drafted in 1987 (Brundtland 1987). It should be remembered that sustainable tourism is not only based on ecological considerations. Social, governance and political elements are included, forming thereby a type of socio-ecological system that is as concerned with the well-being of natural and heritage resources as with human ones, and particularly with the populations directly linked to or acting as stakeholders in a particular heritage site (Freeman et al., 2004). Sustainable tourism is based on the three principles of sustainable development (OMT 2004), namely the optimal use of environmental resources, respect for the socio-cultural authenticity of host communities, and the need to ensure the equitable distribution of socio-economic benefits for all stakeholders.

The concept of sustainable tourism would therefore be the solution that would no longer place in opposition but in fact unite the two elements: tourism and patrimonialization. That's especially why the case of the Way of Saint James proposes an example of paradoxal management of a touristic destination (Dosquet and Lorey 2017). This alliance could therefore perfectly fulfil UNESCO's two-fold objective set in 1972 and would make it possible to limit UNESCO's decisions to place the heritage site in question on the List of World Heritage in Danger. This list was designed to inform the international community of conditions threatening the very characteristics that allowed a heritage site to be included on the World Heritage List and to encourage corrective measures. According to UNESCO (2019), "armed conflict and war, earthquakes and other natural disasters, pollution, poaching, uncontrolled urbanization and the uncontrolled development of tourism pose major challenges for World Heritage sites. They may endanger the characteristics for which a site was inscribed on the World Heritage list. These

endangered sites may be in "proven danger" when it comes to specific and established imminent threats, or in a situation of "jeopardy" when faced with threats that could have adverse effects on their World Heritage values". This step, foreseen by UNESCO, may lead the organization to either renominate the site for inclusion on the list, or to withdraw it, something that has happened only twice since 1972.

Let us now examine the case of the Way of St. James of Compostela in France, which is enjoying a rise in visits and benefit from the UNESCO label.

The Case of the Way of Saint James in France

The solution proposed by UNESCO for the implementation of sustainable tourism lends itself well to the case of the Way of Saint James. Indeed, based on the existing literature (Férérol 2019), the three dimensions generally considered as components of sustainable tourism are observed. It concerns, firstly, the search for environmental sustainability, namely the conservation and management of resources and biodiversity. In this particular case, the Way, as its name suggests, crosses rural landscapes; secondly, the search for economic sustainability, namely the viability of the populations crossed by the Way. In this case, the Way criss-crosses territories abandoned by industries and associated cities; and lastly, social sustainability, namely the recognition and respect of the different cultures associated with the territory concerned. Here again, the Way makes it possible to promote and revitalise the cultural aspects of many regions. These three dimensions are officially taken into account in the case of the Way of Saint James, as shown by UNESCO (1998) in its reasoned decision to designate it as World Heritage:

- *Criterion (ii): The Way of Saint James of Compostela has played a fundamental role in the development of mutual cultural exchanges between the Iberian Peninsula and the rest of Europe, especially in the Middle Ages, but also in the following centuries. This Camino (Way) is associated with the creation of a rich cultural heritage, marking the birth of Romanesque*

art and presenting extraordinary examples of Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque art. Moreover, unlike the decline of urban life in the rest of the Iberian Peninsula in the Middle Ages, the hospitality and commercial activities sparked by the Camino de Santiago contributed to the prosperity of cities in the north of the peninsula and fostered the foundation of new cities;

- *Criterion (iv): The Way of Saint James of Compostela has preserved the most complete material evidence of all Christian pilgrimage routes, in the form of civil and religious buildings, large and small enclaves, and engineering structures;*
- *Criterion (vi): The Way of Saint James is an exceptional testimony of the power and influence of faith on people of all social classes and of all origins in medieval Europe and thereafter.*

Finally, it should not be forgotten remove that the pilgrimage is done in ways that present a low or non-existent carbon footprint.

Indeed, statistics kept by the Santiago Pilgrimage Office (Oficina del peregrino) reveal that the means of transport are compatible with sustainable tourism. Table 2 shows the percentage distribution of these transport modes in 2018; these figures are stable throughout all the data available since 2004:

In the Middle Ages, the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela was one of the three great pilgrimages of Christianity, together with Rome and Jerusalem. The pilgrimage came about after the discovery of a tomb in Galicia around the year 800, which was discovered by the hermit Pelayo, who was allegedly guided by a star in the sky, hence one of the advanced etymologies for the name Compostela: Campus Stellae or star

Table 2 Means of locomotion used by pilgrims

Means	%
On foot	93.49%
By bike	6.35%
On horseback	0.10%
By wheelchair	0.05%
Sailing	0.01%

Source: Oficina del peregrino (2018)

field. It would therefore be the tomb of the Apostle James. He would have left the Middle East in the first century with the mission to preach the word of Christ in the West as far as the Iberian Peninsula. On his return to Palestine, he was beheaded, and his remains were carried in a boat that drifted to the Galician coast. The local Church authorities recognised this tomb as that of St. James in 835 but it was not until 1884 that Pope Leo XIII also recognised it.

It is during the ten and eleven centuries that the cult of Saint James was closely related in Spain to the *Reconquista* in the face of the Moorish invasion. The kings of Navarre and Leon therefore improved the routes by building bridges and the hospitality by constructing buildings. The result at that time was an increase in trade between Europe and the Iberian Peninsula and, in fact, a repopulation of northern Spain after the Saracens had been driven out. For centuries, the Way of St. James would represent a cultural, religious and commercial European continuum. It is for one of these reasons that, in a Europe under construction and after Spain's accession to the common market in 1986, it would be designated in the twentieth century (in 1987) the first "European Cultural Route" by the Council of Europe. This allowed the still nascent European organisation to anchor it, to give it a historic and symbolic body by providing ancestral legitimacy to the same space from east to west, north or south, without borders.

The Council of Europe is not the only institution that wishes to preserve and enhance this cultural, natural and patrimonial heritage. UNESCO, in turn, recognizes the outstanding universal value of this Way. However, for various reasons that will not be analysed here, although this Way is transnational, UNESCO does not recognize and therefore does not protect the Way on the Spanish and French sides equally. In 1993, all the routes (that of *Camino Frances*, the extension to the North Route in 2015) were included on the list on the Spanish side, while on the French side, only 71 monuments and 7 sections of the Puy-en-Velay route were registered. In other words, the Way of St James as such could not be protected in its entirety by the UNESCO label.

Therefore, the question posed in our chapter, through this case of the Way of St James of Compostela, is the following: Has the UNESCO

Table 3 Evolution of visits to the Way of St James way (Some Dates from 1970 to 2018)

Year	Visits (Number of pilgrims arriving in Santiago de Compostela)
1970	68
1982	1868
1992 (4 years after obtaining the UNESCO label on the French side)	9764
1993 (UNESCO label on the Spanish side)	99,436
2004	179,944
2013	215,879
2015 (extension of the UNESCO label on the Spanish side)	262,447
2016	277,854
2018	327,378

Source: Oficina del peregrino (2018)

label resulted in paradoxical consequences in relation to its heritage objectives by increasing the number of visitors?

Under the impetus in particular, though exclusively so, of this double international recognition (Council of Europe and UNESCO), the number of visitors using the Way of St James of Compostela rose sharply, becoming exponential in the twenty and twenty-one centuries (Table 3).

These figures reveal a frenzy vis-à-vis the number of visitors using the Way. The causes lay in several institutional (labelling), religious, media or more generally, sociological factors.

- Institutionally, double labelling has increased visits (Table 3);
- Sociologically, from a post-modernist perspective (Maffesoli 1988), walking the Way of St James has become very popular, combining community spirit and the experience of nature;
- In terms of media, the publication and distribution of films and best-selling books, such as the American film "The Way", released in late 2010, boosted visits;
- From a religious point of view, Jacobean years (a year is Jacobean when July 25, the date of Saint James, falls on a Sunday) and papal visits to Santiago generate a surge in the number of visits.

All of these factors have led to an unprecedented increase in the number of pilgrims from all walks of life. This level of visitors allows the Way to continue to exist physically and culturally, but simultaneously causes damage in terms of sustainable tourism.

The increasing number of pilgrims on the various French routes represents a risk of damage in terms of the sustainability of the heritage. This involves nuisances both in terms of waste management and image. With regard to the first, it is clear that without raising awareness in pilgrims, the latter would quickly cause the deterioration of the heritage as a whole. However, our expertise from our own experience of the pilgrimage carried out from 2012 to 2018 leads us to observe that very few actions concerning the management of the waste have been undertaken, their fate being thus in the hands of the pilgrims alone by virtue of their education and care. A number of associations dedicated to the Way individually carry out waste management actions or plant varieties of local fruit trees (association of the friends of St James of the Atlantic Pyrenees) without any real consultation over the entirety of the Way. In essence, the Way is open to all and no control is imposed except self-control and that exercised by the pilgrim community itself.

With regard to the second point, the risk of seeing the pilgrimage evolve from its authentic phase to a pilgrimage that loses its meaning as a result of too many visitors. Dosquet et al. (2015) highlighted the fact that the pilgrimage should be "demarketed" (Bergadaà and Lorey 2015) in order to preserve it as an extraordinary and unique heritage. ACIR (2019) recognises this type of threat: "Unfortunately, it happens that a communication based on approximations, a promotion based on a marketing plan without roots or ownership, the inflation of routes driven by the greed or the windfall effect of subsidies, the marketing of all kinds of unrelated or low-end products, media noise, a lack of coordination of the actors, the proliferation of low-quality initiatives, amateurism or the spirit of chapel… contribute to the misuse of a cultural symbol whose loss would be detrimental to all." Certainly, in theory, everything converges towards a protection of the Way, but the reality is somewhat different, especially when comparing practices on the Spanish versus French sides (Lorey et al. 2019). It would be interesting for stakeholders on the French side to learn from the Spanish experience in the management of the "Way

of Saint James" heritage. Indeed, Spain has classified this heritage as Heritage of Cultural Interest (BIC) in order to protect it and has delegated its governance to a single actor, the Jacobean Council (*Consejo Jacobeo*) in order to harmonize its heritage and tourism policy. It should be remembered that France has been late in managing the UNESCO label at the risk of endangering The Way (Periodic Report of the World Heritage Center, December 2014). The French authorities had to decide to implement a new governance system led by a central actor. The ACIR association has been designated for this purpose in order to coordinate and bring together relevant stakeholders, both civil and religious. These efforts are paying off. Both intra-French and international cooperation with Spain is growing and attempting to streamline the relations between all actors involved to varying degrees along the Way.

Conclusion

The case of the French side of the Way of Saint James is interesting in view of the issues proposed in our chapter. Especially about ambidestrous concept. Indeed, this pilgrimage need to be promoted to stay alive. We won't forget that at the beginning of the Twentieth century less than 200 pilgrims walked on its routes. This means that the risk for this spiritual destination was clearly to disappear. So, we can confirm that the UNESCO label participate to strength back it. Indeed, the UNESCO labelling has led to an increase in its use. In this way we recommend to the all stakeholders of this pilgrimage, through all the countries to invest more in the promotion of this touristic destination. But, as this is a special touristic destination, based on deep human and spiritual values, we also advice all the actors to take care about the protection of this delicate heritage. Almost with regard to the "new pilgrims". All must be done to educate them in the spirit respecting these values seen above. For example, we could imagine that in each contact point (hostel, church...) information about sustainability, respect of each other... could be reminded to all the pilgrims. It could be possible also to create like a charter (added to the *credential*) signed by each pilgrim engaging themselves to respect in a holistic way the Saint James routes and their environment.

To conclude, we could say that the consequences of the UNESCO label are mixed. The labelling made it possible to establish its use, which, for many reasons addressed in our chapter, had greatly increased independently of its inclusion on the UNESCO list and in this way made it possible to safeguard it. This increase in the number of visitors has led to both tangible and symbolic damage (Morisset and Dormaels 2011). Efforts on the French side made it possible to catch up, particularly with Spain, which has provided the human and financial resources to protect this heritage. It should be remembered that in the minds of Spanish stakeholders, the Way does not arrive in Santiago, but leaves from there. This means that the Spaniards do everything to ensure that the pilgrims arrive at the end of their journeys without interrupting their efforts in order to reach their destination. This vision is not the same on the French side (Lorey et al. 2019). Indeed, for a French person, walking the Way of St James does not necessarily mean that s/he has to go all the way to Santiago de Compostela.

This case is also interesting because of the context of the practice of pilgrimage. Indeed, pilgrims' highly involved personal approach (Cova and Cova 2019), which is associated with the experience of spirituality in the broad sense of the term and which can be thought of in accordance with nature and benevolence, is reinforced by a label as meaningful as that of "World Heritage": the pilgrim as a whole feels that s/he is the custodian of a heritage, a spirit and a mission of passing on to future generations. One can thus be tempted to conclude by saying that within the framework of the Way of Saint James, labelling and tourism are not opposing. Better, the two elements are in line with UNESCO's desire to develop sustainable tourism, bringing together these elements that could intuitively appear to be widely polarised.

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Part III

Overtourism and Tourism Education

ABC of Overtourism Education

Monyq G. K. San Tropez

Introduction

The human drive to 'conquer' places and 'consume' cultural experiences is prevalent in contemporary times (Ramkissoon et al. 2011). Apart from work-related travel or visiting friends and relatives, many individuals view tourism as a means to accumulate experiences (Chartier 2017 cited in Seraphin et al. 2019) and achieve self-actualisation (Cohen 2011), which is the highest human motivation according to Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Heylighen 1992). The number of travellers globally is estimated at 1.4 billion in 2018, a 6% rise (UNWTO 2019) from 1.32 billion international arrivals in 2017 (UNWTO 2018), and a 56% increase from 25 million in 1950 (Roser 2019).

The exponential increase in the number of travellers worldwide may be attributed to a variety of factors, which include, but are not limited to,

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the following: greater availability and affordability of travel (Seraphin et al. 2019); sharing economy disruptors such as *Uber* and *AirBnB* decreasing accommodation and land transportation costs during travels (Koens et al. 2018); exponential rise in the global population due to a growing birth rate (Walker 2018) and increasing life expectancy (Metz 2012); a rapidly growing middle class with discretionary income to spend on travelling (Bourliataux-Lajoinie et al. 2019); social media influencers contributing to the increase in tourist numbers in destinations (Koens et al. 2018), all of which have contributed to making tourism one of the leading industries worldwide. The tourism industry generated 8.8 trillion dollars for the global market and accounted for one in ten jobs internationally in 2018 (World Travel and Tourism Council 2019).

The disadvantages brought by the unprecedented rise in the number of travellers has been gaining momentum in mainstream media since 2014 when the first news article was published online about residents in La Barceloneta complaining about the disrespectful behaviour of visitors in the Spanish neighbourhood (Kassam 2014). As of late October 2019, the number of media entries written in different languages worldwide on the topic of overtourism has increased to 1678.

Overtourism is the collective term for tourism-related issues such as overcrowding, inappropriate visitor behaviour, physical touristification, pervasiveness of visitor impact, displacement of locals from residential areas, and pressure on the local environment of popular destinations (Koens et al. 2018).

As it is an emerging concept, there has not been a global consensus on a single definition for overtourism in mainstream media nor in academia. The United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) defines it as 'the impact of tourism on a destination, or parts thereof, that excessively influences perceived quality of life of citizens and/or quality of visitors' experiences in a negative way' (Koens et al. 2018). Tourism researchers such as Milano et al. define it as the 'excessive growth of visitors leading to overcrowding in areas where residents suffer the consequences of temporary and seasonal tourism peaks, which have enforced permanent changes to their lifestyles, access to amenities and general well-being'; while Goodwin describes it as 'destinations where hosts or guests, locals or visitors, feel that there are too many visitors and

that the quality of life in the area or the quality of the experience has deteriorated unacceptably'; and the definition of Richardson (2017) is cited in Seraphin et al. (2017) as 'any destination suffering the strain of tourism'.

Since 2014, there have been 915 academic articles and books published on overtourism internationally. Despite the diversity of solutions offered to tackle the complex and multifaceted issue of overtourism, there has not been a major focus in any of these publications on educating tourists about their crucial role in addressing the issue.

This chapter proposes that tourists are key players in the emerging dilemma of overtourism because tourist numbers and behaviours contribute towards altering the sociocultural, economic and environmental characteristics of a destination. Since places have fluid and dynamic relationships with individuals who interact with them (Mazzo 2003), it is crucial that tourists are educated by local tourism players at destinations such as policymakers, government officials, civil servants, destination managers and/or residents about how they could help reduce the negative consequences of overtourism. The involvement of stakeholders in addition to local government is important as officials in some destinations have complained about the difficulty in implementing tourism-related policies on their own (Koens et al. 2018). This chapter suggests that a multi-stakeholder approach could be an effective solution in educating tourists when attempting to solve overtourism.

The Case for Overtourism Education

This chapter proposes the concept of overtourism education (OE) as a possible solution to overtourism. OE could be defined as the process of inciting positive change in tourists with regards to their behaviour/s towards the different aspects of the destination that they visit (people, culture, natural resources, amenities, built environments, economy) and being more proactive in minimising any negative impacts that their choices and/or actions could potentially bring to the aforementioned aspects at each stage of travel. OE could encourage more conscious behaviour by increasing public awareness of the carrying capacity of a

tourist destination, promoting respectful interactions between tourists and residents, and emphasising greater appreciation of the culture, amenities, economy and environment of a place.

Methodology

This study proposes a definition for overtourism education (OE) and develops a conceptual model of OE by analysing 35 randomly-selected media reports online on the different ways that governments, destination marketing organisations, companies, and residents address overtourism. The Grounded Theory Approach (GTA) was selected because it was appropriate for 'analysing unstructured or semi-structured qualitative data' and was 'general methodology for discovering theory that is grounded in data systematically gathered and analysed' (Lawrence and Tar 2013).

Each media report was 'reviewed, compared, and contrasted' with other reports. Similarities and differences among the data were recorded and a concept that explains these observations, overtourism education, was created inductively, in accordance with the Grounded Theory method proposed by DePoy and Gitlin (2016).

OE was divided into two main strategies: real world and digital approaches. These categories reflect the type of environment in which individuals learn about overtourism, whether in the real world (e.g. interactions between tourists and civil servants, signage in popular attractions prohibiting certain behaviours) or in the digital space (e.g. mobile phone applications, social media platforms, websites). This categorisation based on the type of environment where a person initially receives information about overtourism is in line with the description of learning proposed by Margetts and Hoy (2019), which states that learning results from the interaction between individuals and their environment.

Results and Discussion

Analyses of solutions to overtourism reported in the media highlight the presence of common themes in these approaches such as learning theories in the field of educational psychology (constructivist, behavioural, cognitive and social cognitive), and marketing strategies (demarketing). Overtourism solutions are then categorised according to these theories and strategies.

Multiple theories of learning and marketing strategies are utilised in the proposed conceptual model of OE to provide a comprehensive educative approach to addressing a complex and multifaceted issue such as overtourism. The strengths of each educational psychology theory could compensate for the limitations of the other theories.

Marketing strategies, which were historically utilised to address widespread societal issues, have the potential to be effective tools in addressing the global phenomenon of overtourism by encouraging collective awareness and understanding of overtourism across different segments of travellers. The goal of OE is to encourage active participation of tourists in reducing the impacts of their personal choices and behaviours towards the exacerbation of overtourism in the destinations that they visit.

Learning Theories in Educational Psychology

Learning is the 'process through which experience causes a relatively permanent change in an individual's knowledge or behaviour'. It results from the interaction between an individual and the environment (Margetts and Hoy 2019). The concept of learning holds a significant place in the tourism industry (Seraphin et al. 2017). As the acquisition of information by individuals is not directly observable, many theories have been proposed on the learning process. These include the constructivist, behavioural, cognitive and social cognitive theories of educational psychology (Margetts and Hoy 2019).

The constructivist theory acknowledges that people construct their own belief system about the world in which they inhabit. It explains that

learning occurs when people either assimilate or accommodate new information into their existing belief system. They assimilate information when new data is consistent (consonant) with their currently-held beliefs whereas they may accommodate information when the data challenges (is dissonant to) what they believe to be true. When presented with new data that is dissonant to their original belief/s, individuals may or may not choose to accept this information. It is possible for individuals to attempt to reduce the dissonance between their beliefs and the new data through accommodation (Orams 1994).

The behavioural theory suggests that 'behaviour itself can be learned'. It depicts learners and their behaviours as 'products of incoming internal stimuli'. Individuals are regarded as blank slates. One type of behavioural learning is operant conditioning, wherein 'voluntary behaviour is strengthened or weakened by consequences or antecedents' (Margetts and Hoy 2019).

The cognitive theory suggests that learners are 'active processors of information'. In comparison with the behavioural theory, this approach emphasises that individuals are not 'passively influenced by environmental events' because they 'actively choose, practice, pay attention, ignore, reflect, and make many other decisions as they pursue goals' (Margetts and Hoy 2019).

The social cognitive theory proposes that learning occurs when people interact with one another through observation, dialogue, modelling and/or knowledge transferred through cultural activities. It also acknowledges the importance of cognitive functions during the learning process. It distinguishes between acquiring information (learning) and 'observable performance based on that knowledge (behaviour)' and recognises that behaviour 'may not be demonstrated until the situation is appropriate or there are incentives to perform' (Margetts and Hoy 2019).

Figure 1 below shows a proposed model of OE based on current approaches by governments, destination management organisations (DMOs), companies and residents to address overtourism-related issues. Similar approaches were identified and grouped together with the help of GTA. Theories in educational psychology and marketing strategies were used to justify these groupings and describe how they could potentially be effective in educating tourists about overtourism.

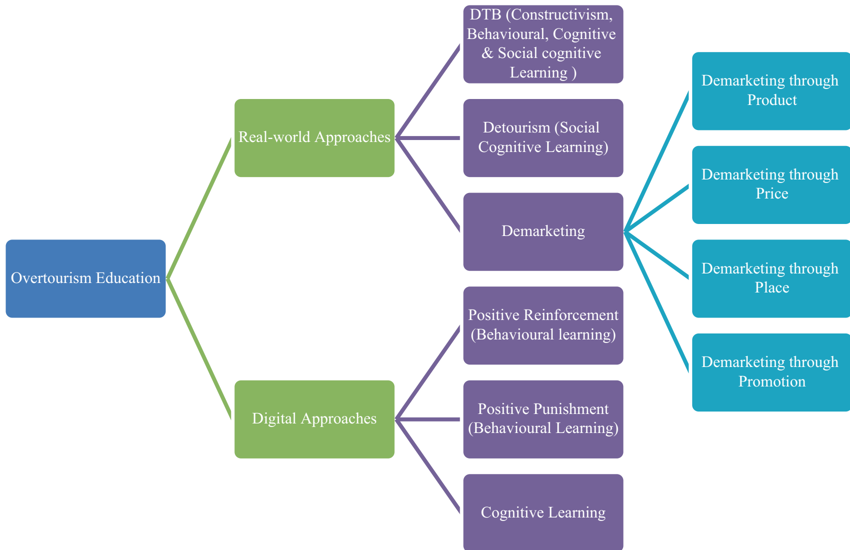

Fig. 1 Current approaches in overtourism education. (Source: The author)

A Is for Alternative Education Through Real-World Approaches

This chapter divides real world approaches into three 'De's: deconstructing tourist behaviour (DTB), detourism, and demarketing. These solutions aim to educate tourists by promoting concrete actions that they could perform and presenting them with options that they could choose during their trip, which would contribute to addressing issues related to overtourism. The common strategy among the three approaches is the championing of alternative and conscious behaviours to reduce the negative impacts of tourists in the sociocultural landscape of a destination. Some examples may include encouraging visitors to consider alternative destinations to overcrowded sites (Oliveira 2019), offering more activity options within popular destinations to teach tourists about lesser-known cultural characteristics of a place (Città di Venezia n.d.), and explaining to tourists the benefits of choosing to travel during shoulder season (e.g. winter) (Visit Victoria 2019).

Deconstructing Tourist Behaviour (DTB)

Deconstructing tourist behaviour (DTB) is a term proposed by this chapter to describe the collective approach of governments and DMOs in addressing the disrespectful conduct of some tourists who visit their localities. The latter is an issue which is commonly associated with overtourism (Koens et al. 2018). DTB involves identifying behaviours commonly observed in tourists, separating them into desirable and undesirable categories according to local etiquette and everyday customs, teaching tourists to refrain from behaving disrespectfully, and recommending the adoption of socially-acceptable behaviours during their visit. DTB employs behavioural, cognitive and social cognitive learning strategies.

Behavioural learning strategies are evident in the DTB approach. Imposing fines on tourists who behave disrespectfully is an example of positive punishment, a type of operant conditioning which falls under the behavioural theory of learning. Positive punishment is a type of behaviour modification technique wherein a certain behaviour (disrespectful conduct) is suppressed (punishment) through the addition of a stimulus (fine) (Margetts and Hoy 2019).

Cognitive strategies are applied in DTB by presenting visitors with a set of recommended behaviours in the form of posters, signage, and advertisements, which educate them about socially-acceptable behaviours in a certain destination. The aim of this approach is to encourage tourists to use this knowledge to make informed decisions about how to conduct themselves appropriately during their stay (Margetts and Hoy 2019).

Social cognitive strategies are employed when visitors learn from their interactions with civil servants (e.g. police officers), tourism personnel (e.g. tour guides) or even residents (e.g. volunteers) who they meet at tourist attractions and teach them about how to respect local laws, customs and culture, and about the proper use of amenities (Koens et al. 2018).

Constructivist strategies are also evident when tourism advertising encourages visitors to reconsider their behaviour while on holiday. Since all constructivist theories agree that 'learners construct their own

knowledge' (Margetts and Hoy 2019) tourists reflect on the information that they receive from DTB campaigns and are encouraged to either assimilate or accommodate the data into their existing belief system.

A common issue associated with overtourism is the disrespectful behaviour of tourists. Some locals complain that those who visit their cities fail to observe local etiquette and are unconscious of how their actions impact the residents. In recent years, there have been numerous media reports on disrespectful actions of tourists. These include diving into the canals in Venice, excessive booze and banter behaviour in the streets of Amsterdam (Van der Zee 2017), late night noise disturbances in residential areas of Barcelona (Strange 2018), littering along the slopes of Mt. Everest (Starr 2018), destroying the structure and aesthetics of bridges with lovelocks in Paris (King 2018), trespassing residential homes in Hallstatt, Austria (Noack 2019), uprooting flowers as props for selfies in the fields of Big Sur, California (Conrad 2019), trampling on tulip fields for photos in the Netherlands (Boffey 2019a), swimming in the Trevi Fountain in Rome (Yedroudj 2018), bottling sand from the golden beaches of Sardinia (Street 2019), among others.

In addition to preventing disrespectful attitudes of tourists towards residents, many local governments and residential groups have turned to DTB to solve other overtourism-related issues. These include addressing excessive noise levels, overcrowding (Lagrave 2017), littering, traffic congestion (Schauffler 2019), proliferation of illegal souvenir vendors (Brennan 2018), low spending by cruise travellers onshore (Larsen et al. 2013) and zero-dollar tourism (Massola and Rosa 2018).

The governments of Barcelona (Bremner 2018), Venice (Marcus 2016) and Amsterdam (Ledem 2019), destinations which have suffered overtourism, have launched campaigns deconstructing tourist behaviour, with their *Enjoy and Respect, Respect Venezia* and *Enjoy—Respect* promotions, respectively. The common theme among these campaigns is the promotion of respect for the tangible and intangible heritage, culture and wellbeing of residents, fellow travellers, and the built and natural environments of the destination.

DTB in Venice, Italy Via *Respect Venezia*

The *Respect Venezia* campaign publishes 'Twelve Good Rules for the Responsible Visitor' on its website. These include recommendations for visiting Venice 'when it is less crowded', supported by a Tourist Report which helps visitors avoid peak periods when planning their trips. It also prohibits undesirable behaviour such as littering, vandalising with graffiti or padlocks, swimming, camping, diving or even wearing swimwear around the city. It prevents congestion around iconic areas such as St Mark's Square by forbidding visitors from standing in the area to consume food or drink, standing on bridges, and by prohibiting picnicking along pathways such as the 'steps of churches, bridges, wells, monuments, and banks of streams, canals'. It then provides a map of public gardens around the city as alternative picnic locations for the visitors ('Good rules for the responsible visitor' n.d.).

DTB in Amsterdam, Netherlands Via *Enjoy and Respect*

Amsterdam's *Enjoy and Respect* campaign deconstructs tourist behaviour by 'representing good behaviour as a freedom of choice' (Amsterdam Marketing 2018). This is evident in the juxtaposition of undesirable versus desirable behaviour in advertisements describing specific scenarios (see Table 1 below). Creators of the campaign have identified the tourist

Table 1 Juxtaposition of tourist behaviours in the *Enjoy and Respect* campaign in Amsterdam

Situation	Desired behaviour (free)	Fine for disrespectful behaviour
'Bursting for the loo?'	Free in designated toilets	140 euros elsewhere
'Singing out loud?'	Free inside local pubs and other entertainment establishments	140 euros on the streets
'Dumping rubbish?'	Free in waste bins	140 euros when caught littering
'Booze and banter'	Free indoors	95 euros on public streets

Source: Adapted from Amsterdam Marketing (2018)

demographic which most frequently causes public nuisance in the city and specifically targets these visitors: male tourists aged eighteen to thirty-four from the United Kingdom and the Netherlands.

The tourists are presented with two options for each scenario, highlighting the core characteristic of Amsterdam as a city of choice. By highlighting the presence of fines for certain undesirable behaviour, local stakeholders such as the government, tourism board, businesses and residents collectively remind the visitors that behavioural freedom also has its limits. It could only continue to exist by respecting the rights of those who call Amsterdam home, and by being mindful of the wellbeing of fellow travellers. The campaign attempts to deconstruct tourist behaviour during the early stages of the trip through advertisements when booking accommodation in Amsterdam online, in short videos played on public transportation and on LCD screens in key tourist areas in the city (Amsterdam Marketing 2018). The campaign even employs geofencing techniques to target the problematic tourist demographic whenever they enter the Amsterdam city centre and the red-light district by receiving campaign content on social media (Henley 2019).

DTB in Barcelona, Spain via *Enjoy-Respect*

Barcelona's *Enjoy-Respect* campaign for tourists is part of a much wider public promotion of all temporary (tourists) and permanent residents (locals) living communally in harmony with one another. On the local government website, the 'Living in Barcelona' banner states: 'We cherish Barcelona, its streets and squares, its lifestyle, its vibrant night and day. We have the right to enjoy it and experience it, respectfully. We're all winners that way!' (Barcelona City Council n.d.). In contrast to the tourist-focused campaigns of Venice and Amsterdam, Barcelona attempts to deconstruct tourist behaviour as part of a wider strategy to promote the harmonious coexistence of all residents in the city (Table 2). It addresses common issues such as:

Moreover, tourism destinations which have not yet experienced tourism overcrowding at the same level as Amsterdam, Barcelona and Venice are already taking a proactive approach to educate tourists about

Table 2 Solutions for community issues recommended by the Barcelona City Council

Issue	Recommendation
Noise	Recommending that people transition from 'shouting to chatting'
Animal welfare	Reminding dog owners to clean up after their pets ('dog poo to rubbish bins')
Maintaining the cleanliness of green spaces	Prohibiting littering and 'looking after (parks and gardens) as if they were our own backyard'
Public order during festivals	Reminding individuals to 'respect the streets they're held in and the locals who share them with us' ('disturbing to celebrating'),
Sexist aggressions	Emphasising that 'no is no' and frowning upon sexual violence and discrimination
Unauthorised street vending	Urging everyone to only patronise local shops and authorised street vendors
Disrespectful behaviour in the community	Emphasising its ***'Enjoy-Respect'*** motto: 'The city belongs to people who enjoy it all year round, as well as people visiting. Let's live and share Barcelona together with respect!'

Source: Adapted from Barcelona City Council (n.d.)

appropriate behaviour in their respective localities. Visit Vietnam, the eponymous tourism board in Vietnam, recently launched a code of conduct for travellers to Ho Chi Minh City. This code includes local customs, regulations and laws which advocate for respectful behaviour towards residents, the natural environment and culture. These are distributed in the form of pocket-sized illustrated cards and made available in hotels, travel agencies, the airport and are written in five languages ('HCM City issues code of conduct for tourists' 2017).

DTB is not limited to the jurisdiction of the governments and DMOs. Residents of tourism destinations also see the value in taking the initiative to educate the visitors about appropriate behaviour since the conduct of tourists directly impact their way of life.

In the Netherlands, volunteer residents teach the history of flower farms to visitors to encourage respectful behaviour and to address the issue of some tourists trampling over tulip fields when taking a selfie (Brady 2019). In another area of the country, Kinderdijk, a small town of only sixty residents, hosts up to 600,000 guests each year (Mak and Ball

2018). With a large ratio of guests in relation to residents, the latter's way of living could be greatly influenced by tourist behaviour, a likelihood which prompted them to distribute postcards which serve as educational materials teaching the tourists to be mindful of how their visit could impact the town (Wood 2018).

Detourism

'Detourism' is a concept proposed by this chapter to define the promotion of alternative destinations to places which have already exceeded or are close to reaching their carrying capacity. It is derived from the term '*detourist*', which is an amalgamation of the words: detour and tourist, and has been used in marketing campaigns by local governments (Città di Venezia n.d.) and companies servicing the tourism industry such as airlines (Oliveira 2019). Carrying capacity in tourism is defined as 'the maximum number of people that may visit a tourist destination at the same time, without causing destruction of the physical, economic, socio-cultural environment and an unacceptable decrease in the quality of visitors' satisfaction' (UNWTO 1981).

One of the most recognisable issues associated with overtourism is overcrowding (Koens et al. 2018). Relevant stakeholders such as governments and tourism-related businesses have launched their respective campaigns to address overcrowding through detourism as demonstrated in the succeeding subsections.

Detourism utilises social cognitive learning strategies in educating tourists about alternative destinations which are either located within reasonable travelling distance to popular destinations or offer similar activities to those available in overcrowded attractions.

Social cognitive learning strategies such as observational learning with vicarious reinforcement, is adopted in both the detourism campaigns of Emirates Airlines and the City of Venice. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, social cognitive learning suggests that individuals may acquire knowledge either through interpersonal interaction/s or by observing others. This learned behaviour will only be evident once there is enough motivation or incentive for the individual to exhibit the knowledge.

Observational learning occurs when individuals perceive from others how to perform an activity and the potential outcome if the activity is emulated. Vicarious reinforcement is an indirect form of reinforcement, which is an element of observational learning and is crucial in helping individuals remember the knowledge and utilise it for future use (Margetts and Hoy 2019).

Using educational psychology concepts in the context of both campaigns, it may be inferred that tourists either read or watch the advertisements (observational learning) and learn about the alternative locations to already popular attractions (detourism); tourists observe that the models in the advertisements seem to enjoy visiting alternative locations (vicarious consequences) and may be motivated to experience scenarios similar to what they observed by considering to travel to less popular destinations in the future (vicarious reinforcement).

Detourism Campaign of Emirates Airlines

Emirates Airlines ran a series of out-of-home and online advertisements as part of the *'Be a detourist'* campaign in Australia in 2019. The series showcased tourists in different popular destinations such as London, Budapest, and Lisbon, exploring alternative sites and enjoying novel experiences in places off the beaten track.

The core message of the Emirates campaign was to encourage travellers to explore less popular places instead of crowded destinations and be rewarded with novel and unforgettable experiences. The Table 3 below breaks down the language used in the advertisements (Oliveira 2019; Pillai 2019).

Detourism Campaign in Venice

A recurrent theme in *Respect Venezia* is the promotion of less visited places such as Mainland Venice. This is driven by *#Detourism*, an 'awareness and information campaign to promote sustainable tourism presenting a different Venice'. The City of Venice website recommends 'sustainable

Table 3 *'Be a Detourist'* campaign of Emirates Airlines in Australia

Common tourist activity	Detourist activity	Alternative destination promoted
'Instead of shopping Oxford Street…'	'…I detour to bask on London's rooftops.'	Holburn
'From London's markets…'	'…I detour to forage wild mushrooms in Canterbury.'	Canterbury
'From the busy streets of London…'	'…I detour into the open spaces of Richmond Park, amongst beautiful forests I encounter new friends as they roam royal grounds. This place feels like a world away.'	Richmond Park, London
'From the grand views over Budapest…'	'…I detour into the hidden cellar of Buda castle.'	Buda Castle cellar
'From the heart of Budapest…'	'…I detour into vibrant ruin bars.'	District VII
'From the heart of Lisbon…'	'…I detour down a spiralling staircase in a mysterious inverted tower, the further I delve, the more curious I become. This place has me in its grasp.'	Initiation well, Sintra
'From grand palaces…'	'…I detour to stumble upon Budapest's Broadway.'	Nagymezo Utca
'From Dubai's skyscrapers…'	'…I detour to an emerald mirage in the desert.'	Hatta Valley
'From famed galleries…'	'…I detour to explore South London's emerging art scene.'	Peckham
'From Budapest's museums…'	'…I detour to learn the art of Hungarian ceramics.'	Erzsebetvaros

Source: Adapted from Oliveira (2019) and Pillai (2019)

itineraries', a collection of less popular routes promising an experience of the 'true Venice'—'the 'live' city as seen and lived daily by the local people' (Venezia Unica n.d.). Recommended routes are divided into categories to cater to a wide variety of travel agendas: Walking Art and Culture Tours, Historic Gardens and Public Parks Tours, Food and Wine Tours, The Other Venice: Lagoon Island Tours, and a Slow Tour of Venice North Lagoon (Venezia Unica n.d.).

Demarketing

Demarketing is defined as an 'aspect of marketing that deals with discouraging customers in general or a certain class of customers on either a temporary or permanent basis'. It suggests that marketing is a tool which could be used to adjust the level of consumer demand to the capacity that a supplier is able to provide. It addresses the issue of excess demand for a service or product, as in the case of overtourism, where there is excess demand to visit a destination. It reduces demand for a product that has a limited supply, without sacrificing the quality of the product and the goodwill among its consumers. Demarketing can employ the 4Ps of the marketing mix: Product, Price, Place and Promotion to decrease demand (Lefebvre and Kotler 2011).

In the tourism industry, demarketing strategies are increasingly utilised by governments and tourism boards to address overcrowding associated with overtourism in popular destinations.

Demarketing is an important aspect of overtourism education because it directly addresses one of the issues commonly associated with overtourism: overcrowding (Koens et al. 2018).

Demarketing Through Product

In recent years, national governments of popular areas have become increasingly concerned about the consequences of overtourism. By making the destination (product) inaccessible, stakeholders such as governments and tourism boards, directly address the issues of overcrowding, overdevelopment, and damage to the destination's ecosystems by reconsidering their policies in tourism management, rejuvenating built and natural aspects of the location, and allowing the natural resources of the area to recover from the consequences of exceeding its carrying capacity. In Southeast Asia, the beaches of Maya Bay (Thailand) and Boracay (Philippines) have been closed temporarily to all visitors to protect these destinations from the waste pollution caused by the tourism industry.

In April 2018, Boracay was completely inaccessible to visitors for six months. Its president claimed that the white-sand paradise had turned

into a 'cesspool' due to the mismanagement of the island (CNN Philippines Staff 2018). Reports indicated that a significant number of businesses and residences were draining sewage water onto the ocean despite not possessing any discharge permits from the government. This led to the closure of approximately 400 businesses which violated environmental laws. The Philippine tourism board cited overdevelopment as a key concern and demolished businesses located close to the water's edge, enforcing a buffer zone thirty metres from the shore. The government limited the number of accommodation available to tourists, capping the number of visitors to 19,200 at any given time. The visitors were encouraged to comply with new rules aimed at prioritising a 'culture of sustainable tourism' on the island (Ellis-Petersen 2018): prohibiting single use plastics, dining, smoking, drinking alcohol and partying on the beachfront (Timbrook 2019). The island's most popular event, the annual La Boracay beach party, was also banned (Fagan 2018). The temporary closure and the subsequent changes to the local laws aim to promote greater respect for the natural resources of the destination and facilitated its transformation from an infamous party hub to a more tranquil and environmentally sustainable island.

On the other hand, Maya Bay has become temporarily inaccessible to visitors for a longer period than Boracay Island. Since June 2018, the Thai government completely closed off Maya Bay of Phi Phi Leh Island to tourists, a destination popularised in the coming-of-age movie, *The Beach*. Its initial closure of one year was extended to two more years, pushing its opening from 2019 to 2021 (Wipatayotin 2019). The closure was mainly driven by a rejuvenation of the natural resources around the bay, with over 10,000 corals reportedly replanted in its waters since 2018. As rising water temperatures cause coral bleaching in some parts, more time is necessary for corals to establish and grow, thus, the need for the extension of the closure. Similar to the case of Boracay, the local tourism board is addressing two issues related to overtourism: overcrowding and damage to natural resources. The National Parks Department of Thailand aims to cap the tourist numbers at 1200 each day and introduce an electronic ticketing system to enforce this (Cripps and Olam 2019).

Demarketing Through Price

Increasing tourist taxes and introducing entry fees in attractions are some demarketing strategies using price as a tool to stem the flow of tourists into popular destinations (demarketing through price). From the 1st May 2019, Venetian tourist tax has increased to three Euros and will rise further to eight Euros during high visitor season and ten Euros during critical periods such as summer weekends from 1st January 2020 onward (Squires 2019).

Elsewhere in Italy, the town of Civita di Bagnoregio charges five Euros for visitor entry (Wood 2018). Another touristic town, Polignano a Mare, also charges an entry fee but this is only applicable during the Christmas period, when the local light displays attract a significant number of visitors (Rawes 2018).

Demarketing Through Place

The installation of both tangible (physical) and intangible (political) barriers to popular destinations directly address overcrowding issues by reducing the number of visitors at any given time. These demarketing strategies may come in the form of turnstiles (physical) or the enforcement of local regulations which limit the tourist numbers (political).

From 2022, visitors to Venice will be required to 'reserve access' to the city (Squires 2019). Its government is considering the closure of its main canal to large cruise ships to prevent structural and environmental damages to the fragile foundations of the old city caused by the water displacement upon entry of cruise ships into the narrow port (Featherstone 2019).

The local tourism association in Dubrovnik, Croatia has limited the number of visitors from cruise ships entering its old town to a maximum of four thousand as part of its '*Respect the City*' campaign since 2017. This initiative was in response to UNESCO's warning that significant numbers of visitors to the city and the management of cruise ships could risk its Heritage status. The town experienced an exponential rise in visitors

after being featured in the popular television series, Game of Thrones (Bronic and Vasovic 2018).

Demarketing Through Promotion

In order to address overtourism issues such as overcrowding, the marketing team of popular cities demarket their own destinations by reducing the frequency and number of advertisements promoting their respective areas to potential tourists. This complements the detourism strategy discussed previously, where the marketing of alternative destinations is increased to stem the flow of visitors from overcrowded tourism hotspots to nearby locations which are less popular.

The Netherlands Board of Tourism and Conventions has refrained from promoting popular destinations like Amsterdam because of overtourism. It has started to shift its focus on promoting alternative destinations within close proximity to popular attractions, such as beaches close to Amsterdam to lure the tourists away from the overcrowded city centre and explore less congested areas (Ledem 2019).

The local city council of Bruges no longer advertises its own city to potential tourists as it already attracts about nine million tourists each year, which is significant, considering that the resident population is only 120,000 (Boffey 2019b).

B Is for Bridging the Limitations of Time and Distance Through Digital Approaches in OE

Digital approaches are OE strategies which are limited to the confines of the digital space. Technology allows local tourism actors such as DMOs and residents to transcend geographical distance and when engaging tourists about their crucial role in addressing overtourism. Information becomes more readily accessible to tourists when offered in a digital format.

There are three different ways in which digital approaches can educate travellers about overtourism: positive reinforcement, positive

punishment and cognitive learning. Both positive reinforcement and positive punishment are types of operant conditioning and are considered examples of behavioural learning strategies in educational psychology. Operant conditioning facilitates learning 'through rewards and punishments for behaviour' (McLeod 2018). It is a learning principle which states that behaviour is likely to be repeated if it is reinforced and that the likelihood of behaviour being repeated is decreased if it is followed by a punishment (Huitt and Hummel 1997). Cognitive learning allows tourists to make informed decisions about how to conduct themselves appropriately during their stay (Margetts and Hoy 2019).

Positive Reinforcement

Positive reinforcement is the addition of a stimulus to increase the likelihood of a desired behaviour (Huitt and Hummel 1997). Examples of technologies which utilise positive reinforcement strategies in OE are mobile phone applications that reward users with discount vouchers which they can exchange for products and/or services in the real world (stimuli). The creators of these applications aim to encourage visitors to explore tourist attractions and precincts which are outside of overcrowded areas (desired behaviour). These are designed after the Token Economy System in Operant Conditioning wherein a desired behaviour is 'reinforced with tokens (secondary reinforcers) and later exchanged for rewards (primary reinforcers)' (McLeod 2018). An example of this technological approach to overtourism is the *Play London Application* which is a collaborative project from the City of London, Endemol Shine Group and Pointvoucher.

The *Play London Application* features Mr. Bean, a world-famous British icon, and invites visitors to discover London, from 'famous sites including Big Ben, Royal Albert Hall, (and) Tower Bridge' to other areas around the city ('Case study: a branded city game for London starring Mr Bean' 2018). It aims to disperse users to less visited locations by incentivising their trips with discount vouchers for goods and services which may be redeemed at participating businesses (primary reinforcers) after they visit

recommended areas on the app and unlock them by playing puzzles digitally and earning points (secondary reinforcers).

The application is updated regularly to coincide with upcoming key local events and festivals such as the Chelsea Flower Show, Wimbledon Championships and Notting Hill Carnival. Developers continuously add new locations for users to visit up-and-coming areas ('Case study: A branded city game for London starring Mr Bean' 2018).

Positive Punishment

Positive punishment is the addition of a stimulus to reduce the likelihood of an undesirable behaviour (Huitt and Hummel 1997). A common issue associated with overtourism is disrespectful tourist conduct. Some examples of technological approaches which employ positive punishment are social media accounts created by concerned locals to reprimand disrespectful travellers. These technological tools utilise positive punishment through the publication of posts (stimuli) that criticise disrespectful tourist actions such as littering, trampling over flowers, lack of etiquette, purchasing of illegal goods, and disregard for local laws at a destination (undesirable behaviour).

One example of a digital approach which utilises positive punishment is the Instagram account '*Passenger Shaming*'. It has amassed a following of close to a million globally because it features crowdsourced, real-life examples of socially unacceptable tourist behaviour on flights and in airports. It utilises a mixture of shock, humour, schadenfreude, and criticism, to shed light on recommended travel etiquette. It was created by a former flight attendant who harnessed social media as a tool to discourage inconsiderate behaviour within the international travelling community.

It is important to note that in addition to positive punishment, followers of '*Passenger Shaming*' also learn about proper travelling etiquette through observational learning (as discussed in the Detourism section) because they perceive the potential social consequences of behaving disrespectfully by viewing the social media content (vicarious learning).

Cognitive Learning

It is important to note that some technologies addressing overtourism employ cognitive learning strategies by notifying tourists about the crowd levels in public locations to allow visitors to make informed decisions about whether to exacerbate the overcrowding issue or visit alternative areas.

Welcome Palma is a digital resource that functions as a virtual assistant and informative guide both on the social media platform Facebook and on its eponymous website for visitors to Palma de Mallorca in Spain. It addresses overcrowding issues by providing users with a real-time map of crowd levels in the city. It provides notifications about public transportation and directions to destinations in relation to the user's current geographical location. It also publishes short descriptions, contact information and opening hours of these destinations which tourists may visit when searching for alternative attractions to already crowded areas.

Conclusion

As an emerging phenomenon worldwide, there are multiple definitions of overtourism, and numerous solutions have been proposed by different actors in the tourism industry to reduce the impacts of overtourism on destinations; most of these solutions are remedial in nature and focus more on the consequences of overtourism instead of directly addressing its causes. Preventive approaches may be more effective than remedial solutions in tackling overtourism. A preventive approach which has not received significant focus in academic literature is educating visitors about how their choices and behaviours could contribute to overtourism. This chapter defined this concept as overtourism education (OE).

Tourists are key actors in the tourism industry. It is important to solicit their active participation in addressing the multifaceted and complex issue of overtourism. The chapter proposed a conceptual model of OE which was comprised of marketing strategies and learning theories from educational psychology, underlying themes commonly observed in a

wide range of solutions used by governments, DMOs, companies and residents that were reported in the media. The proposed model of OE may serve as a template for destination managers to address overtourism by inciting positive behavioural changes and greater awareness of tourist impact towards destinations.

Recommendation

C Is for Coming up with Novel Ideas: Combining Social Marketing, Detourism and Overtourism Education to Address Overtourism

Social marketing has historically been used as an instrument by social scientists to solve societal issues. It involves the application of marketing principles which were traditionally utilised in selling products to influence people to voluntarily change their behaviours, attitudes and ideas. 'Social marketing seeks to influence social behaviours not to benefit the marketer, but to benefit the target audience and the general society' (Kotler and Andreasen 1996). It has been used in public health campaigns such as promoting physical activity (Evans and McCormack 2008), contraceptive use (Andreasen 2003), breastfeeding (Perez-Escamilla 2012), healthy eating behaviours (Carrete and Arroyo 2014) and so on.

Considering its long-term success in local and international campaigns in public health and nutrition, social marketing may also be used as a tool to tackle overtourism, which is a widespread societal issue. It is comprehensive because it takes into consideration all the elements necessary to bring a public-focused campaign to fruition. Social marketing may be combined with demarketing by using the 4Ps of the marketing mix discussed in the demarketing section: Product, Price, Place and Promotion, plus four other Ps: Publics, Partnership, Policy (Weinreich 2010) and Possible Funding Sources, not only to decrease demand for an overcrowded destination, but to also influence tourists to consider how their trip-related choices and behaviour could be contributing to overtourism.

It is important to develop a comprehensive social marketing plan (SMP) with all components of the marketing mix present because it cannot be assumed that 'individual demarketing measures will be effective in changing the attitudes and behaviour of the priority audience' (Lefebvre and Kotler 2011).

The following definitions of the marketing mix components are created in the context of addressing the overtourism issue:

Product is the ideal behaviour promoted to tourists as an alternative to an observed, existing behaviour which contributes to overtourism.

Price is the cost that the tourist must pay (economically) and/or sacrifice (effort, time, or convenience) as a result of performing the ideal behaviour (**Product**) which addresses overtourism.

Policy is the approved legislation that forms the basis behind the campaign to promote a certain behaviour (**Product**).

Promotion is the method of marketing the ideal behaviour (**Product**) to tourists.

Places are the specific locations, whether in the digital space or in the real-world, where the ideal behaviour (**Product**) could be marketed (**Promotion**) to tourists.

Partnerships are the stakeholder groups that could be instrumental in bringing the SMP to fruition.

People are the individuals within the stakeholder groups (**Partnerships**) that could support or execute specific aspects of the plan such as influencing tourists to change their behaviour.

Together, the five components of Policy, Promotion, Places, Partnerships and People may be combined to develop a comprehensive plan of action that focuses on one policy, explores strategies to promote this policy to tourists, identifies all possible stakeholders and channels to reach out to the target audience, and encourages their participation in solving overtourism.

Possible funding are potential sources of financial support in executing the SMP.

The Figs. 2 and 3 below provide templates which tourism management planners could use as tools to develop a comprehensive plan for OE.

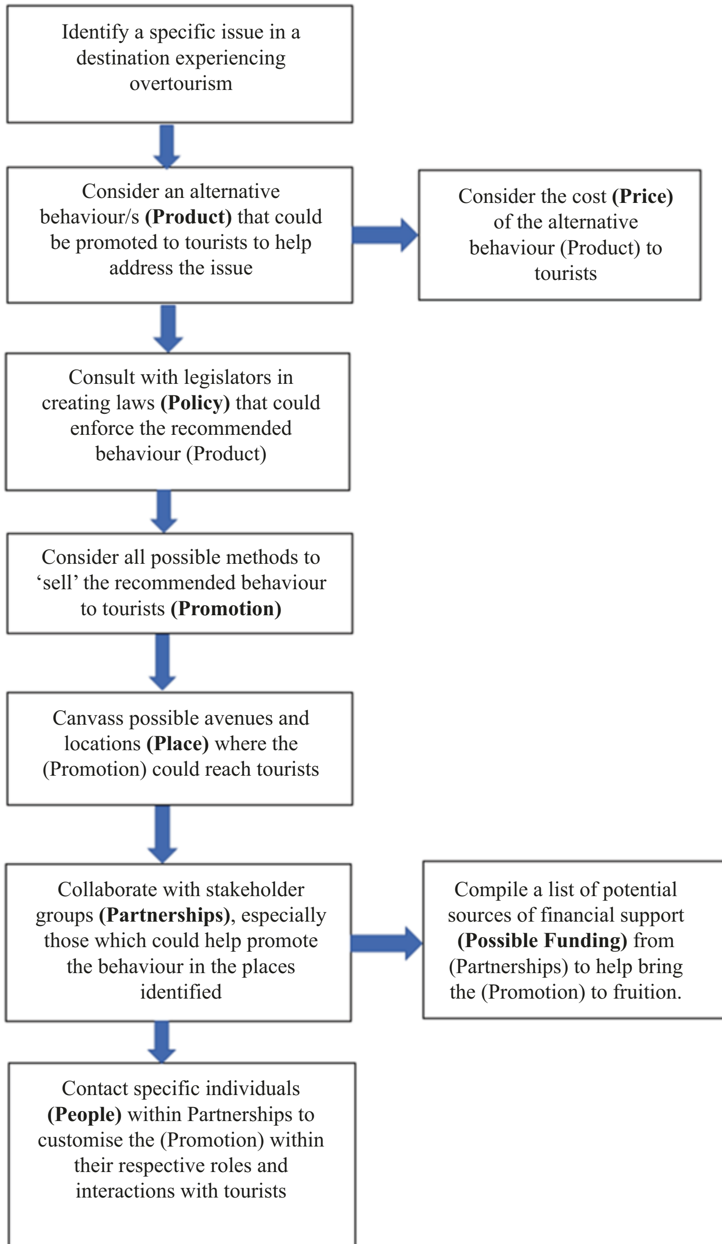

Fig. 2 Flowchart describing how components of the demarketing mix could be utilised in A SMP. (Source: The author)

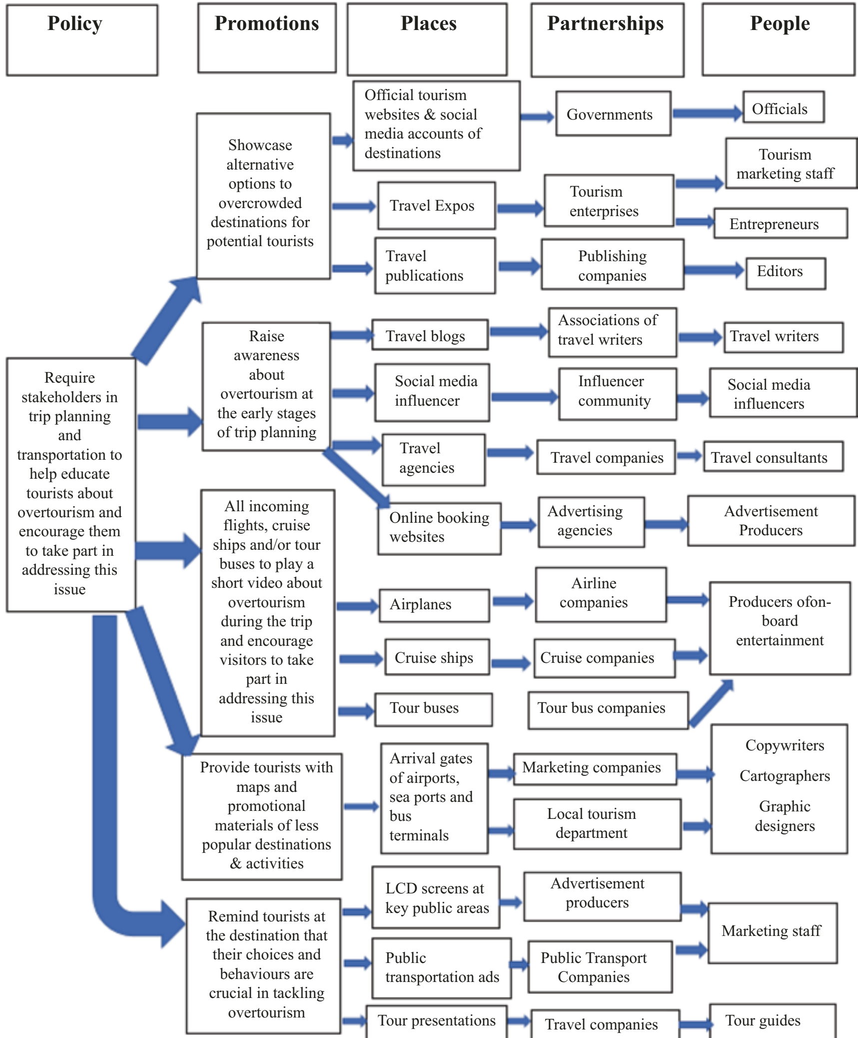

Fig. 3 Combined social marketing and detourism sample plan for overtourism. (Source: The author)

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PRME: The Way Forward to Deal with Overtourism and Related Perverse Impacts

Nimit Chowdhary, Pinaz Tiwari, and Snigdha Kainthola

Introduction

In the contemporary world of innovation and globalisation, a progressive change is witnessed in education too. The traditional trends of education such as memorisation or higher IQ levels have been replaced with critical thinking or constructivism (Hill 2012). Today the business complexities are not only technical but also social. This trend implies that there is a need for advanced social understanding and multi-disciplinary participation (Bridges 1996; Boyett and Boyett 2000). Management schools embrace the responsibility to facilitate socio-economic and ecological sustainability by imparting management education to future managers (Godemann et al. 2013). However, it is argued that business schools are

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meagre endorsers of professional standards (Ghoshal 2005). The six elements of the United Nations Principles of Responsible Management Education (PRME) are considered significant for inspiring and supporting responsible management education, research and thought leadership worldwide (Alcaraz and Thiruvattal 2010; Waddock et al. 2010).

In recent years, tourism has globally grown rapidly (UNWTO 2018). Debates and discussions on overtourism are becoming more and more frequent (Perkumienė and Pranskūnienė 2019). The World Tourism Organisation describes overtourism as "the impact of tourism on a destination, or parts thereof, that excessively influences the perceived quality of life of citizens and/or the quality of visitor experiences in a negative way" (World Tourism Organisation 2018). Popular tourist destinations such as Venice, Denmark, Barcelona, Thailand, Italy and Amsterdam have reported overtourism. The phenomenon is multi-dimensional in nature and is a complex issue (Alexis 2017; Koens et al. 2018; Milano et al. 2018; Peeters et al. 2018). Hence, the chapter discusses the phenomenon from a theoretical perspective. According to Alexis (2017), an institutionalised involvement of tourism academia in policy-making and the corresponding utilisation of knowledge in this interdisciplinary area could be an initial step in the right direction. This study aims to provide a framework to deal with overtourism by the implementation of six elements of PRME.

The chapter is organised in five sections. Following the introduction, section "Concept of PRME" discusses the concept of PRME and its evolution. Section "Implementation and Challenges Faced by PRME" deals with the significance, implementation and challenges faced by PRME. The chapter further discusses the role played by tourism education in the development of tourism professionals and the tourism industry. Section "Challenge of Overtourism and its Impacts" elucidates the negative impacts of Overtourism and discusses how PRME can be implemented in mitigating the impacts. And, lastly, section "Conclusion" draws up the conclusions of the discussion.

Concept of PRME

The Principles of Responsible Management Education (PRME) is an initiative of the United Nations Global Compact which was introduced in 2007. It serves as the guiding principle which aims to integrate management education with value-driven leadership and corporate responsibility amongst students. Management institutes which are associated with United Nations PRME initiative are required to strengthen their pedagogy, curricula, research and institutional strategies to develop future leaders and managers who can take up the impending corporate challenges of the twenty-first century. The six principles are (PRME 2007):

1. Purpose: To develop the capabilities of students to be future generators of sustainable value for business and society at large and to work for an inclusive and sustainable global economy.
2. Values: To incorporate values of global social responsibility into the academic activities, organisational practices and academic curricula.
3. Method: To create an environment, educational structure, resources and processes that enable an effective learning experience for responsible leadership.
4. Research: To involve in empirical and conceptual research that advances our understanding about the role, dynamics, and impact of corporations in the creation of sustainable social, environmental and economic value.
5. Partnership: To interact with managers of business organisations to extend our knowledge of their challenges in meeting social and environmental responsibilities, and to explore jointly effective approaches to meeting these challenges.
6. Dialogue: To facilitate and support dialogue and debate among educators, business, government, consumers, media, civil society organisations and other interested groups and stakeholders on critical issues related to global social responsibility and sustainability.

Evolution of PRME

The concept of PRME was introduced through a paper which was circulated in 2006 written by Manuel Escudero. The paper stated the importance of business education in creating responsible managers who can deal with the complications of future periods (Alcaraz and Thiruvattal 2010). The UNGC and its academic community thus recognised the need to develop future business managers to handle the sustainability-related challenges of the twenty-first century (Haertle et al. 2017). Based on his visionary observation, in July 2007 the UN Global Compact Leaders' Summit took place in Geneva to launch PRME—the Principles of Responsible Management Education. The Summit was attended by many government bodies, businesses and prominent organisations. The initiative is an outcome of the efforts undertaken by the Association of Advanced Collegiate School of Business International (AACSB), Graduate Management Admission Council, Academy of Business in Society, Aspen Institute's Business and Society Programme, European Foundation of Management Development (EFMD), Globally Responsible Leadership Initiative (GRLI), NetImpact and the United Nations. PRME aims to provide a framework that can transform the management education research as well as develop thought leadership on a global level. The initiative is inspired by the internationally accepted values such as the principles of the UNGC (Madran 2014). The UN Global Compact was introduced in 2000. It was developed cohesively by several companies which opted to voluntarily engage in creating a socially acceptable and environmentally-friendly world. The companies agreed to abide by the ten principles which are considered internationally accepted values. These principles are mainly related to anti-corruption issues, labour and human rights, environmental concerns etc. (UN Global Compact 2000). It gradually became the world's largest corporate social responsibility initiative with more than 10,000 signatories in 140 countries. Before the PRME, the UN Global Compact launched many initiatives to combat the social and environmental concerns by directly engaging corporations (Rasche et al. 2012). Ever since its commencement, the

signatories of PRME are committed to sharing the information of their work regularly. The report named as Sharing Information on Progress (SIP) is required to be submitted by the participating institutions on the PRME website. The educational organisations which fail to provide the report on a timely basis are delisted from the platform (UNPRME 2007a). These reports are regarded as the public vehicle for information on responsible management education. Some of the active groups focus on:

1. Business for Peace Work-stream
2. Anti-Corruption in Curriculum Change
3. Gender Equality
4. Poverty
5. Working Group 50120—Management Education for the World Joint Project

After its launch, the PRME community grew at an accelerated pace. In the year 2010 it reached a total of 300 business schools and educational institutes across 62 countries. With many initiatives in hand, the number reached 500 by 2013. Moreover, PRME introduced six Working Groups that are active in developing and publishing resources related to Responsible Management Education and also aim to develop and strengthen collaboration in and across organisations on specific issues relevant to corporate sustainability, responsibility and related to the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UNPRME 2007b). Additionally, as outlined in the PRME Strategic Review of 2016 (UNPRME 2016), the PRME community must increase its brand value so that it becomes the most effective in transforming the current background of business and management education. In a decade, PRME not only added 650 signatories from more than 85 countries but also became one of the largest sustainable-focused school initiative. It has also facilitated a structured relationship between the United Nations and management-related academic institutions, business schools and universities (Haertle et al. 2017).

By tracing the lineage of the PRME initiative, we can observe that it has served as a source of a network for academics and scholars to work

together towards removing the shortcomings of business systems. Now, the relevant question is not "why" management education should change, but "how" it can be changed so that the demands of the twenty-first-century business environment can be met. With PRME, sustainable practices can be embedded at the ground level since universities and schools are considered as an element to bring change in the society.

Implementation and Challenges Faced by PRME

The PRME are claimed to signify a "paradigm change" in management education by their supporters (Alcaraz and Thiruvattal 2010; Forray and Leigh 2012). Few years after the introduction of PRME, many ranking bodies started giving attention to sustainable practices adopted by institutions (Calder and Dautremont-Smith 2009); terms like education for sustainability and education for sustainable development gained global attention (Shrivastava 2010). Green-campus initiatives and integrating a company's business model with corporate social responsibility became key criterions in rankings, new program courses on business ethics and environmental sustainability were also introduced (Singhal et al. 2017). Further, Waddock et al. (2010) pointed out that "signing the PRME affects implementation and assessment, including what is taught (content), how it is taught (process), the environment in which it is taught (context) and how learning outcomes are measured (assurance of learning)". PRME recognised the need for a universal approach to responsible management education. However, it doesn't provide specific rules on how to address the issues arising out of contextual dissimilarities in education and other social standards (Waddock et al. 2010). For instance, Blasco (2012) pointed out that if responsibility issues are "covered" by addressing ethical predicaments only in students' particular profession, expansive responsibility matters such as sustainability may be ignored. Likewise, elective courses such as CSR signal the primacy and prestige of the course. Furthermore, educational institutions face challenges related to resource constraints, inertia and are sometimes resistant to change

(Young and Nagpal 2013). Forray and Leigh (2012) correctly stated that waves of change could only be sustained with the improvement of necessary infrastructure that fosters them.

A key finding is that the PRME dialogue assumes and promotes a challenging understanding of business education that includes positioning of business schools as "servants" of the corporate sector the impact of which undermines any "paradigm change" claim (Louw 2015). Though the signatories of PRME are allowed substantial freedom in the execution of the six principles, the risk of their interpretation by different business schools is reflected in the Sharing Information on Progress (SIP) Reports submitted by them (Godemann et al. 2014).

Importance of PRME in Tourism Education

Tourism education means imparting theoretical and practical knowledge to people so that they can cater to tourists effectively. According to Riley et al. (2002), tourism education must maintain equilibrium in three essential aspects: the advancement of knowledge, promotion of an individual's development, and pragmatic relevance to the industry. However, a merger of private and public sector interests discourages the co-ordination of policy execution, particularly in the absence of a single umbrella organisation, where the ministries of tourism or national tourist organisations usually fall short of accomplishing this umbrella role (Amoah and Baum 1997). It is found in various studies that students lack application of subjects taught, specifically business ethics, corporate social responsibility or sustainable management (Bennis and O'Toole 2005; Boyce 2008; Felton and Sims 2005; Sims and Brinkmann 2003). The intellectual roots of PRME are expansive and responsible management (Forray and Leigh 2012) is directly associated with subjects like business ethics, corporate business responsibility (Greenberg et al. 2017).

Tourism education plays a crucial role in providing skilled human resources and in supporting the development of tourism activities. It is suggested that courses that can initiate experiential learning should be taught. This is so because experiential learning experiences allow more engagement, improvement of ideas, and can transform learners' potential

to lead responsibly (Bloom and Pirson 2014; Christensen et al. 2007; Glunk and Smits 2014). It should also be noted that tourism is a major source of employment. The Economic Impact Research conducted by World Travel and Tourism Council reported that one in every five jobs generated are from travel and tourism industry, which resulted in a total of seven million jobs globally in the year 2017 (WTTC 2018). With the world relying on tourism for job creation, the role of tourism education turns out to be more important. It will be relevant if elements of responsibility and sustainability are included in the educational initiatives. Therefore, the role of PMRE is important in tourism education.

Challenge of Overtourism and Its Impacts

The year 2018 has proved to be significant in the history of the tourism industry as it has reached 1.4 billion international tourist arrivals in the world (UNWTO 2019). With growth, some destinations are touching the saturation point where signs of strain on natural resources and infrastructure loading are prevalent (HOTREC 2017; Kuščer and Mihalič 2019) and marginalisation of community benefits is turning them against tourism (Hughes 2018). Peeters et al. (2018) suggested that the impacts of Overtourism can be social, economic, as well as environmental, and can be perceived to be an existential risk for the destinations. The case study analysis also suggested that cities are not the only vulnerable destinations, but rather islands and rural heritage sites are also affected. Major impacts range from the depopulation of the city centre (Goehner 2018) to increase of protests by the citizens or the loss of heritage, environmental appeal and authenticity in rural, coastal and island locations. Some other major impacts of Overtourism as mentioned in various studies are the rise in tourism induced real estate speculation (Goehner 2018; UNWTO 2018), detrimental use of urban, rural and coastal spaces (Colomb and Novy 2017), dismantling of socio-cultural connectivity (Milano 2017), privatisation of public spaces; (Goehner 2018), decline in purchasing power parity of local residents (HOTREC 2017; Milano 2017) increase in the prices of taxis, restaurants, necessary products (UNWTO 2018), threat to natural environment (Dichter and Guevera

Manzo 2017; HOTREC 2017), and increased congestion (Goehner 2018; HOTREC 2017). Often considered the opposite of responsible tourism (Goodwin 2017), Overtourism requires strategic solutions which can create a balance between the economic benefits of tourism and happiness of residents (Perkumienė and Pranskūnienė 2019). The main principle of responsible tourism is to use tourism to make better places for society to live in and better places for people to visit (Cape Town Declaration 2002).

Implementation of PRME for Addressing Overtourism

A comprehensive and effective implementation of PRME by business schools will graduate leaders who can conceptualise the association amongst social, environmental and business concerns to foster an inclusive society. This view is further supported by a study conducted by Accenture which reported that approximately 90% of the CEOs surveyed believe that before a "tipping point" could be reached to lead global reform, sustainability must be rooted in core business strategies, and "it is significant that educational systems and business schools develop the required skills and mind-set for future leaders to address sustainability" (UN Global Compact-Accenture 2010). In the context of Overtourism, several studies have recommended "education" to create awareness and deal with the issue (Skift Call 2017; Milano 2017; Seraphin et al. 2018; Weber et al. 2017; Xi et al. 2019). Therefore, the role of each principle in eradicating the impacts of Overtourism is discussed below.

Purpose

Management schools must frame the overall purpose in line with the principles of responsibility and sustainability to be imparted to their students. This principle needs to be accompanied by critical thinking so that students can adapt practical skills and implement them in fighting the challenges of a dynamic business environment. Madran (2014) reported

that business schools commonly focus on imparting education on sustainability and also develop the capabilities of students in the required direction, but efforts are lacking from the schools' management for the complete transformation. To bring change in management education, the curricula in management schools should include content that is relevant to social, ethical and environmental issues and also undertake suitable learning practices which allow students to think critically about the relationship between business schools and society (Stubbs and Schapper 2011). For instance, the case study conducted by Singhal (2017) on Indian management institute found that it strengthens its standards by using only authorised software in the computer labs and licensed case studies for students for teaching purpose. To deal with the impacts of Overtourism, modules related to community engagement, sustainable development for tourism along with courses on eco-tourism and environment can be introduced by institutes (Madran 2014). If PRME signatories embrace Principle 1 and address universal inclusion and sustainability in the global economy, the perspective of the locals should also be considered (Verbos and Humphries 2015).

Values

Modern-day development, technological advancement and globalisation in the world has progressed. The contemporary social and economic systems have created discrepancies in human relationships with the environment. An innovative approach towards value-driven leadership was introduced named as Giving Voice to Values (GVV) with support from the Yale School of Management and the Aspen Institute Business & Society Program. The purpose of GVV is to transform the curriculum and pedagogy for value-driven leadership and business ethics around the globe. The initiative focuses on ethical implementation rather than on ethical analysis (Gentile 2017). Likewise, International service-learning approach within a course addresses values by providing opportunities to students to experience global social responsibility through ethical travel and associate with community organisations those are addressing the issues of health, education and poverty (Pless et al. 2011). The

management institute in the case study analysis by Singhal (2017) reported that it adds measurable learning outcome such as ethically sound problem-solving skills, competency and social-sensitivity. The course curriculum includes assignments that require students to visit NGOs and deal with cases of ethical dilemma and manifold sustainability-related issues. The school under-study also organises competitions on global leadership and considers introducing a social incubator.

Method

In today's world, wherein information flows freely, changes are required in pedagogy. It is believed that new technologies are capable enough to transform education, but certainly not without educators understanding their potential and having a commitment to use them wisely (Howell 1968). The curriculum should focus on experiential learning (Baden and Parkes 2013). It should include imparting knowledge on social practices including human rights, citizenship, and effective leadership and innovation. Community-based learning methods can also be employed (Collins and Kearins 2010) as it has been propounded that students learn faster in a culturally different environment about familiar topics which results in expanding their ability to think critically (Mather et al. 2012). Blasco (2012) suggested that class discussions should include critical reading, interpretation of theories and cultural economy. Self-reflection is another pedagogical approach which aims to incorporate value-based education (Springett 2005). Schools should allow an international experience of collaborating with community partners based in another country. As global citizens, students and faculties are interested to grow, learn and act in ethical ways which are consistent with the PRME (Singhal et al. 2017; Tyran 2017). In the context of tourism, among the learning methods established to experience real life situations are such activities as field study, field trips, education tourism (Edu-tourism) and other tourism activities that are proposed to offer better knowledge and understanding for students (Malihah and Setiyorini 2014).

Research

With the introduction of several academic journals, educational institutes have gained an opportunity to motivate teachers and students to research on themes that can add value to the society along with individuals' personal growth. In the context of PRME, research projects generally cover issues related to economic sustainability, waste management, social and environmental concerns, inclusive education and resource management. In the case study presented by Singhal (2017), the management schools work in association with companies to promote research in the areas of sustainable development and encourage the faculty members to take part in conferences, workshops and seminars related to responsibility and sustainability. However, less than 10% of business schools provide detailed information about their research approach in sustainability-related issues or intricate on their areas of expertise or the procedure of engaging with the sustainability research (Godemann et al. 2013). Additionally, publications are the evidence for their explanations of research impacts; and less evience has been observed regarding knowledge transfer to other audiences through contributions in the media. Both Godemann et al. (2013) and Madran (2014) suggested a more collaborative approach to research projects related to sustainable practices. Joppe (2019) proposed research-driven marketing to deal with the negative impacts of Overtourism. Further, the research could be conducted on visitor behaviour and negative externalities in cooperation with the academic sector to educate policymakers and thereby design policies based on scientific evidence (Ecounion 2018).

Partnership

Partnership with business and non-business organisations is essential in management education as the students get an insight into the functions that take place in different industries. The case study by Singhal (2017) highlighted that engagement of the faculty with business community generates initiatives such as the introduction of business advisory councils, fresh courses and project-based learning programs and internships.

This principle has been adopted by the management school under study. It encouraged projects which required students to visit NGOs and projects to hold programmes for old-age homes and schools for deprived children. A global challenge faced by management education and training is appropriate curricula and training programs that can meet the needs of contemporary managers. Meeting this challenge requires collaboration between management schools and partnerships with industries which can assist in the renewal of the curricula as per requirements of the resent business situations (Jamali 2012). Another challenge is known as "Connectedness" which emphases the need to engage and build partnerships with stakeholders of the industry (Young and Nagpal 2013). Therefore, along with curricula adaption and innovation, building research partnerships and fruitful collaborations with alumni, employers, recruiters and industry leaders is equally important (Jamali 2012; Singhal et al. 2017). An in-depth understanding of the stakeholders' perspective and requirements can help business schools in allocating resources and planning curricula that can cater to the challenges of the twenty-first century (Jamali 2012). In the milieu of tourism education, studies indicate that Public-Private partnerships can be beneficial in handling the Overtourism issue (Botswana Tourism 2018; Economic Intelligence Center 2018; Dichter and Guevera Manzo 2017; Peeters et al. 2018; Weber et al. 2017). Various kinds of PPPs model are been explored by the stakeholders, especially in which the government assumes the responsibility of providing access to land. The basic idea is to make higher long-term yields that can be effectively reinvested (Dichter and Guevera Manzo 2017).

Dialogue

PRME is comprehensive in nature and thus it is highly dependent on the inter-connectedness amongst the management educators (Forray and Leigh 2012). In the context of tourism, Bernstein (Echtner and Jamal 1997) said that a common platform needs to be discovered to resolve differences through debates and dialogues and what matters is not an agreement but discourse. Therefore, frequent dialogues, discussions and debates should happen not only inside but also outside the classrooms

especially between students and industry stakeholders. For instance, in the International Service Learning (ISL) program, a business school collaborated with a community-based organisation to visit Merrueshi Village and conducted dialogue sessions between the students and the local community. The study indicated that ISL benefit students (Tyran 2017). These platforms assist the students and faculty in exploring the contemporary practices embraced in other institutes and countries; to ascertain ways through which ethical issues and business responsibility can be enhanced in management education. However, Tyran (2017) also suggests that faculties need to ascertain that the collaboration should be consistent with the values and not only facilitated by dialogues. Furthermore, Madran (2014) in his study found that in the transformation process, business schools lacked media awareness. He advised that mass media should be utilised to conduct conversations between the stakeholders and the general public. As far as Overtourism is concerned, various studies recommend that dialogue is one of the remedial action to be taken (Goehner 2018; Hall 2011; HOTREC 2017; Milano et al. 2019; Peeters et al. 2018; Sarantakou and Terkenli 2019; Weber et al. 2017). Lack of public dialogue can raise undesirable misunderstanding and polarisation regarding tourism (Goehner 2018). Collaborative thinking and argumentation would reflect the experience and credible solutions for better management of destinations.

Conclusion

Business schools embrace the responsibility of developing the skills of students in such a way that they become involved in handling the complexities of the business environment. Similarly, the graduates are expected to assume the responsibility of contributing towards the sustainable and environmental-friendly world. However, a majority of educational institutes, educators and students are satisfied with what they "know" rather than being interested whether they can "apply" the knowledge (Lang and Dittrich 1982). The idea of PRME arose to reinvent and reform management education with a fresh outlook on pedagogy and learning. From then, academic administration started to assume the role

of nurturing and developing students to be responsible managers and citizens, and drive value-based leadership. Overtourism is an issue of mismanagement of tourist activities which requires pragmatic solutions rather than prolonged discussions. Tourism schools can help learners in exploring problems and finding potential solutions, ways of implementing solutions in different organisations and teach them the difference between sustainability and sheer greenwashing actions. The major concerns of PRME are weak communication, unfamiliarity amongst participants and lack of awareness amongst non-participating institutes which may act as a hindrance. Tourism as a discipline is expected to encourage students' participation in community and related cultural activities which in turn will lead to a sustainable economy and responsible citizens.

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Education as a Strategy to Tackle Over Tourism for Overtourism and Inclusive Sustainability in the Twenty-First Century

Maximiliano E. Korstanje and Babu P. George

Introduction

Overtourism, as the name implies, is "too much tourism". It has been several decades since ecologists understood the limits of physical spaces to carry impacts by human and non-human agents (George 2007). The concept of carrying capacity has been a household term within the tourism literature, ever since the 1970s or even earlier (Bagri et al. 2009; George et al. 2007). Overtourism is the next phase in the evolution of this theoretical strand.

Overtourism represents a tendency widely associated with visiting spaces where the host-guest encounter evolves in a critical situation.

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These spaces range from spaces saturated by pollution, post-conflict destinations towards overcrowding and perceived congestion. Over the years, scholars calibrated their instruments to measure the impact of tourism in the local community (Seraphin et al. 2018). From its inception, the tourism industry evolved according to the needs of protecting the local environment, which gradually led the discipline to a sustainable perspective (Britton 1996; Jamal and Getz 1995; Koens et al. 2018). In fact, though overtourism seems not to be new, what is important to discuss is the rise of radical hostility against tourism in the most visited cities as Barcelona, Venetia, Milan to name a few only. In this chapter, it is necessary to bring some reflection on the modern phenomenon of overtourism, the mobile modernity, as well as the role played by education in order for the local resistance to tourism to be diminished. What is equally important, despite the attention given to overtourism, scholars overlook education as a potential instrument to disarticulate resistance against the tourism industry. This chapter intends to fulfil the gap between academia and tourism management.

Some recent works have pointed out the necessities to re-think the concept of sustainability and over-tourism from a new fresh angle. Capocchi et al. (2019) questioned to what extent over-tourism is really a new phenomenon in tourism fields. Per their viewpoint, this problem dates back to the inception of 1970s decade. The literature divides between those studies which define over-tourism as a problem of governability to others focusing on questions of sustainability. Of course the problem seems not to be new, though the term arrived recently to the academic debates. Other interesting approaches indicate that two main factors coadjuvate to the over-crowd of tourists at destinations. At a first look, the tourist system is extremely competitive and in many occasions, destinations struggle to become a major tourist attraction. This strategy gradually leads towards a state of stagnation (if not saturation) which places the organic image of the destination in jeopardy (Mrda and Caric 2019; Govers 2019). Secondly, there is a cultural mandate which punctuates on the needs of consuming heritage or urban landscapes to contribute to the individual growth and well-being. These philosophies propose the quest of exotic contexts and cultures as an emancipator force to be emulated by others. In the threshold of time, those destinations that

historically attracted people interested by heritage and culture are torn between geospatial saturation and a hostile reaction by the side of locals against foreign visitors. The paradox lies in the fact that the current over-emphasis on sustainable tourism as a good preferable practice re-creates an excess in the marginal demand which exceeds the possibilities of the destination to receive new visitors (Petrova and Hristov 2016; Throsby 2016). Still further, one of the main problems of existing research consists in the over-emphasis in the rationality and planning –excluding education as its tug of war. While studies in over-tourism mainly emphasized on the role of planning in the organization of territory through the articulation of affordable technology (Kent 2008; Bresson and Logossah 2011; Capocchi et al. 2019), others focused –instead- as a result of a cultural incompatibility to orchestrate a sustainable option of host-guest encounters (Crouch 1994; Harrison 2014; Milano 2018). From different angles, both positions need to re-discuss over-tourism as a consequence of social maladies which cannot be appropriately planned and controlled. Viewed the problem from the lens of the agency (as cultural studies claim) or from the structure (as tourism management looks to probe), little is known today on the causes of overtourism in classic established tourist destinations. To some extent, both traditions overlook the important role of education in these types of matters. Therefore, this point will be addressed in the next sections to come.

What Is Overtourism?

To some extent, the term "overtourism" is not new, but also it is inextricably intertwined to "sustainability". Unlike other industries, tourism needs the local environment to survive. Hence, the protection of environment as well as the "good practices" is of vital importance for the well-functioning of the industry. Following Harold Goodwin (2017) "overtourism" is understood as a situation where hosts and guests feel that there is an excessive number of visitors which may harm the destination. This begs the question of whether is overtourism strictly related to the collective or individual perception?

One of the authoritative voices who dealt with this matter was, doubtless, Jafar Jafari. Although Jafari never studied over-tourism in the strict sense of the world, his theory helped experts to understand the saturation effects in the territory as well as posing some policies to understand tourism as a system. No less true is that his conceptual model, which was originally based on the four platforms, evinced the evolution of tourism and its potential effects on environment. Let's remind our readers that *the advocatory platform* signalled to the positive effects of the industry which oscillated to the multiplication of job to the revitalization of poverty. The *precautory platform,* rather, emphasized on the negative impacts of tourism in the environment. The *adaptancy platform* represented a mix-balanced version of the other two mentioned types, which means an appreciation of the advantages and disadvantages for local community. Finally, the scientific (based) platform which rested on the principle of objectivity as a more evolved form of knowledge helps policy-makers to optimize their decision-making process in the pathways towards the protection the local environment (Jafari 1987, 2005). Jafari's legacy not only illuminated the horizons of many other scholars interested in the sustainability and tourism management as the main object of study (Ryan and Huimin 2009; Pearce 2011; Filep 2012) but also should be considered as one of the first scholars concerned by forging an epistemology of tourism ecology (Tribe et al. 2015; Korstanje 2019). As Jost Krippendorf puts it, the problems of ecology are not given by the used models but can be found in the fundamental cultural values of society. In his seminal book, *Holiday Makers,* he toys with the belief that tourism serves as a ritual instrument (of passage) which is mainly oriented to revitalize the psychological frustrations happened in the working hours. Humans have inherently a natural drive aimed at discovering new landscapes. As a part of leisure, tourism revitalizes social bondage helping the society not to be disintegrated. In this respect, tourism should be framed not only as an economic activity but as a social institution. The point lies in the fact that modern tourism follows the mainstream cultural values of profits and economic plus-value which are enrooted in the modernity. As this backdrop, tourism is neither good nor bad. It echoes the founding values of capitalist societies. Supremacy, and the values of hyper-industrial culture should be radically changed (Krippendorf 2010). Although Jafari and

Krippendorf never exchanged correspondence each other, no less true is that both laid the foundations to the creation of a sustainable paradigm which prioritized the environment protection as a good practice (Korstanje 2015).

Therefore, overtourism raises the question of whether pollution is a subjective or collective perception, to what extent the problem is culturally determined. To put the same in other words, locals do not know the future but they trust tourism should become a good energizing instrument of poverty relief. Finally, its negative effects generate overcrowding and other social pathologies. Who is finally responsible? The ruthless mega-corporations which invested in the region, or the local stakeholders?

As the question is formulated, unfortunately there is no answer. In part simply because tourism is a complex system where all its parts are working –inter-related– at the same time. Another question would be: is overtourism a result of lack of education? Or, is it a lack of regulations?

In a seminal paper, Seraphin et al. (2018) suggest notably that the ecological survival of destinations is not associated to *the trexit approach,* which are based on the anti-tourist sentiment. Rather, it should be centred on the *ambidextrous management approach* alternating the needs of economic exploitation with exploration.

Bresson and Logossah (2011) alert that overtourism creates a material asymmetry (inconsistency) between the excessive demand and a low-based infrastructure. Based on an economic analysis of cruise tourism in five Caribbean destinations, they argue that stay-over tourism is a key factor of development in Caribbean nations, but paradoxically their Aquila's kneel. In view of this, overtourism exhibits a much deeper deficiency in the planning process which impedes the strategic long-run vision. Contrariwise, the Spanish anthropologist Agustin Santana Talavera overtly said that the cultural clash between host and guest is often subject to conflict and disputes. Social pathologies such racism, negative stereotypes or ethnic prejudices are triggered by the overcrowding of tourists at small destinations (Santana-Talavera 2006). Korstanje (2011) showed that historical disputes between nations remain dormant, placating the in-group conflict. This happens at least until the tourism industry places both groups in different subordinated roles. In the case of Argentina and Chile, a history fraught of geographical

disputes and conflict, tourism –far from revitalizing the social ties- activated a set of hidden prejudices which fed back a climate of xenophobia and racism. However, since tourism triggers a culture of service where hosts are subordinated to guests, the xenophobic attitudes or reactions remains in shadows, which means that they are not overly manifesed. This position was supported by other studies which focused on the intergroup conflict (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009; Stephenson 2004; Causevic and Lynch 2011). In consequences, sometimes beyond the hostility against foreign tourists lies a sentiment historically cemented by previous wars and relation of mutual dependency (Tzanelli 2015; Handayani 2018; Piechotka et al. 2017) co-created by cultural diasporas (Stephenson 2004; Coles and Timothy 2004). In his book, *Tourism and the end of hospitality in the West,* Korstanje (2017) laments the international jihadist and terrorist groups which today shocked Occident recreate the condition towards an anti-tourist and anti-immigrant culture. Terrorism reavivated a sentiment of living with the enemy within. The "non-western Other" who in other days was center of curiosity today wakes up a sentiment of panic as never before. The fear of terrorism, unless regulated, creates the sentiment of eternal protection which not only tightens the border check-up controls but also gradually develops a fear of the stranger.

Per his viewpoint, the rise of White supremacy in the US and alt-right in Europe relates to other issues as tourist-phobia and anti-immigrant expressions. As Rodanthi Tzanelli (2018) explains, locals adopt tourism to boost their local economies but are not willing to accept its negative effects. Last but not least, Claudio Milano (2018) presents a controversial insight on overtourism and tourist-phobia. He starts from the premise that overtourism—in spite of the coverage of the media as a new phenomenon- is enrooted in the history of tourism. In addition, he holds that there are some elements that generated a local discontent against tourism such as the touristification of social movement associated with the political polarization of tourism. The tourism industry situates as a mechanism to empower some ethnic groups which were historically relegated by the nation-state. While some aboriginal groups introduce tourism as the main form of commercial activity, the urban cities social movements devote their resources to regulate tourism. In this vein, the

social movements enthusiastically embrace tourism to struggle against poverty in their respective environments but at the same time, seeing the industry as a pressure actor (to be controlled). To date, the alternative strategies to mitigate the impact of tourism in the urban cities are limited to a short-run. This problem associates to the rise of radicalized discourses which portray foreign tourists as the enemies of the nation (like in East Germany and other European cities or Mexicans in the US). The fear of strangers is gradually eroding the basis of hospitality while tightening the check up controls at the borderlands. Anthropologically speaking, the Otherness is becoming an object of rejection and suspicion as never before. In this grim landscape, education occupies a central position dismantling not only the previous-established prejudices but the anti-tourist narratives (Korstanje 2017).

Overtourism and Education

What is the role of educational exposure in altering tourist behaviour?

Originally, Amoah and Baum (1997) reviewed the influence of education in drawing a bridge between policies vs. practices. In some cases, education plays a leading role dismantling the resistance to change, above all among some privileged stakeholders. Actors are often afraid when their interests or habits are suddenly forced to change. In fact, the tourism industry is left in a philosophical dilemma. The labour intensive programs should be accompanied with a robust education in order for the quality product not to decline. In some nations, tourist front desk are pressed to work in unfavourable conditions or simply excessive working hours. As a result of this, though some policies are efficiently designed by experts, policy-makers finally fail to implement them in the field. At a micro-level, sustainable tourism development needs long-term planning which is very hard to orchestrate without a coherent educational process. The policy is firstly imagined as product as well as a process. It gives priorities to what ought to be done while practices result from the daily interaction among stakeholders.

Based on a study of 415 participants, Davis et al. (1988) find two interesting assumptions. On one hand, the technique of segmentation

helps experts to understand the local attitudes as well expectations about the impacts of industry in the community. This helps to associate the different reactions to different cultural backgrounds. On another hand, the state should promote a national Strategic plan which combines an educational policy with efficient planning. Residents develop positive attitudes towards tourism when they are explained of the positive impacts of the sector in their life. On the contrary, they reject tourism when negative impacts overwhelm positive ones. These findings are in consonance with countless studies linked to education and empathy—such as Weaver and Lawton (2001), Stephan and Finlay (1999), and Jacobsen (2000) to name a few.

In a landmark paper, Inbakaran et al. (2011) concluded that tourists who visited attractions of eco-cultural importance in a destination area prior to visiting leisure attractions within the same destination area were more likely to demonstrate responsible behaviour when they actually visited leisure attractions later. Traditionally, leisure tourists are perceived as high impact and less desirable. From the sustainable development standpoint, the degree of negative impacts at the leisure attraction sites can be mitigated if leisure tourists are transited through the eco-cultural attraction sites (Inbakaran et al. 2011). Still further, some other studies proved not only that education can improve the responsible behaviour of tourists but also that visiting ecologically pristine destinations does have certain educational—behaviour-modifying value. Aside from this, the issue has been an object of controversy in the recent years (Fraj and Martinez 2007; Font and Buckley 2001). This begs a more than interesting question: starting from the premise over-tourism is culturally determined by the collective perception, what are the dominant social forces beyond the problem of over-tourism? What is a saturated destination for some visistors may be probably perfect for other consumers. What would be the role of education in a process which is collectively imposed but individually negotiated?

As Claudio Milano (2018) observes, the tourism industry is enmeshed in a culture of emulation where some lower segments mimicry the upper ones. While in normal conditions the infrastructure marks the levels of what should be desirable demand, no less true is that the quest of pleasurable moments, adjoined to a state of well-being people look for, or simply

the greed of some operators leads towards serious problems in the tourism carrying capacity which invariably affects the sustainability of the destination. Although the policies aimed at regulating over tourism are not an easy task, dealing with overtourism implies the introduction of new taxation arrangements for foreign tourists to avoid the inevitable destination decline. Another additional alternative may be the introduction of ethical rules or codes to protect the intimacy of locals –accompanied in a process of training and education to teach locals not only the importance of tourism but also how the foreign tourists should be treated. Effectively, these relationships are multidirectional and multidimensional (Korstanje and George 2012).

It is necessary to think beyond simple causes and effects and understand complexity at a level that involves dynamic relationships. Often, the value of education in addressing Overtourism is neglected because of the unreliable relationships between the two. The type of education is the key nuance here. If the education is geared towards helping tourism businesses to maximize profits, evidently, that will only support Overtourism. Even if the education is value-laden to such an extent that it extrinsically imports into the minds of learners the benefits of limited tourism that need not avert opportunism in tourists and tourism businesses. There is always perennial disconnect between one's knowledge of negative consequences and their consequent behaviour (Henthorne and George 2017). The tragedy of the Commons is an ideal depiction of this scenario. Overtourism is likely here to stay (Seraphin et al. 2018).

In the practice of destination marketing, education is used more as an agent in the change of perception rather for behavioural change (Budeanu 2007; Hall 2016; Bramwell and Lane 2013). One of the axioms of perception consists in making real, what in effect has no credibility. In other terms, we can convince others we are working hard (campaigning) to mitigate the climate change when at the bottom no real course of actions or at least no effective steps are being taken. Philosophically speaking, there is a great dissociation between what appears and the reality as it stands. Sometimes perception speaks of what people feel and avoids referring to the causality of the problem to resolve. So, how about changing the perception that "this is too much tourism" to "this is just adequate tourism"? This is a shrewdly creative way by which vested interest groups

misuse education. By means of this, the social carrying capacity could be altered without addressing the fundamental problems underlying Overtourism (Muler Gonzalez et al. 2018). This also shows the dangers of giving educational authority to market actors. A related issue is the role of education is (de)sensitizing us about Overtourism. Under some conditions, education can present overtourism as a direct consequence of ill-planning or the lack of planning. This position invariably leads to a process of indifference where policy-makers believe the western rationality is the only valid way of resolving over-tourism. When this happens – for example- experts propose over-taxation or other monetary measures to regulate the activity. Sometimes they have success but normally they do not. It is important not to lose the sight of the fact that education is an ideological tool and it can be used to suppress indicators of Overtourism in destinations or to chase away tourism development in destinations where there is no sign of wear and tear (Koens et al. 2018). Tipping points are arbitrarily defined, given the complex nature of tourism.

Inclusive Sustainable Tourism: Sustainability with a Built-in Educational Element

Sustainable tourism by its staple definition insists only upon the bare minimum requirement that it should sustain. What it should sustain is open to interpretation. Not every form of sustainable tourism is inclusive in the true sense of the term. In practice, sustainable tourism takes care of the need for only a very limited number of stakeholder constituencies to be included. Community-based tourism (CBT) is proposed as a solution for inclusivity of the most important stakeholder group, the tourism destination community. Even as this highlights the inclusion of the destination locals, the CBT model is criticized for its over-romanticized lopsided vision that local communities are everything. Moreover, CBT agenda often boils down to the economic developmental concerns of those members in a destination community powerful enough to have a controlling stake in the tourism business—such as owners and operators of tourism products (Wearing and McDonald 2002; Blackstock 2005).

Community-based development has now been widely recognized as a strategy used by tourism planners to mobilize communities into action to participate in broadening the scope of offerings in the industry (Ruiz-Ballesteros and Cáceres-Feria 2016). The goal is socio-economic empowerment and value-added experience for local and foreign visitors. This process opens new niches for destinations, most notably for nature, culture, and adventure travelers. This achieves is policy objective of creating a culture of inclusion in the industry, whereby communities participate and share the wealth of the industry, dispelling a long-held perception of tourism as an exploiter of wealth where only the rich can benefit. Community-based development empowers people to be more aware of the value of their community assets—their culture, heritage, cuisine, and lifestyle. It mobilizes them to convert these into income-generating projects while offering a more diverse and worthwhile experience to visitors (Ngo et al. 2018). Every citizen is a potential business partner to be trained in small business management, environmental awareness, product development, and marketing. This type of 'people-centered' tourism promotes a sense of 'ownership' which argues well for the industry's sustainability. Inclusive Sustainable Tourism (IST) takes these efforts to their next logical level.

Education and training were a key ingredient to the success of sustainability initiates. In a way, many traditionally sustainable practices held by aboriginals and native communities were questioned by educational ideas imported from the more 'developed' world and the question arose in radically critical circles as to whether education too should be inclusive, ingrown, in a bottom-up fashion from the grassroots (Korstanje 2012). The concept of IST embraces the view. Overtourism is the result of doing things over and beyond the limits and it hurts sustainable development. Inclusiveness of all stakeholders in its true spirit needs education that itself is inclusive (Jamal and Getz 1995; Milano 2018; Goodwin 2018).

By definition, inclusive sustainable development is a pro-poor approach aimed at a balanced and equitably distributed economic growth coupled with preserving natural and cultural resources (Lawson 2010). Our proposal for IST is informed by a balanced set of concerns for nature, society, and the economy. Inclusivity stresses poverty alleviation by means of transparent and accountable interventions as a goal of economic

development (Rauniyar and Kanbur 2010) whereas sustainable development theory is often blamed for downplaying economic growth for environmental concerns (Gupta et al. 2015). The proposed IST model also embraces the ideals of accessible tourism—both for tourists needing special assistance and for tourism entrepreneurs and job seekers with disabilities. Inclusivity as per IST implies harmonious coexistence of all actors and not just the locally rooted tourism business interests.

Inclusive Sustainable Tourism takes environmental, social, economic, and cultural sustainability into account. It is managed and owned by the community, without displacing fringe elements in the community, for the community, with the purpose of enabling visitors to increase their awareness and learn about the community and local ways of life. Existing terms like heritage tourism, eco-tourism, agri-tourism, cultural tourism, and so forth., can all be forms of the IST product, within the constraint that these are to be promoted with the spirit of community centeredness, inclusiveness, and sustenance.

Figure 1 given below summarizes the point presented above. The "actions" section of the diagram is all about educational interventions (Epistemic communities, social movements, situated learning, bottom-up governance, transparency, and accountability). Inclusivity invariably means the inclusiveness of education as a means of responsible management of the destination and also responsible experience of its resources by tourists. Learning for sustainable tourism should be situated in specific contexts. Global frameworks are good at seeing the big picture, but not useful for local action. Hence, a caveat is that one should not even blindly apply the framework offered in Fig. 1.

Conclusion

Overtourism is the result of a broken promise, which causes discontent in the hosting community (Milano et al. 2019). One of the goals of the industry seems to be related to attracting new visitors and enhancing the stakeholder's profits. However, this unrelenting growth has brought undesirable consequences for the local environment. The dependency of

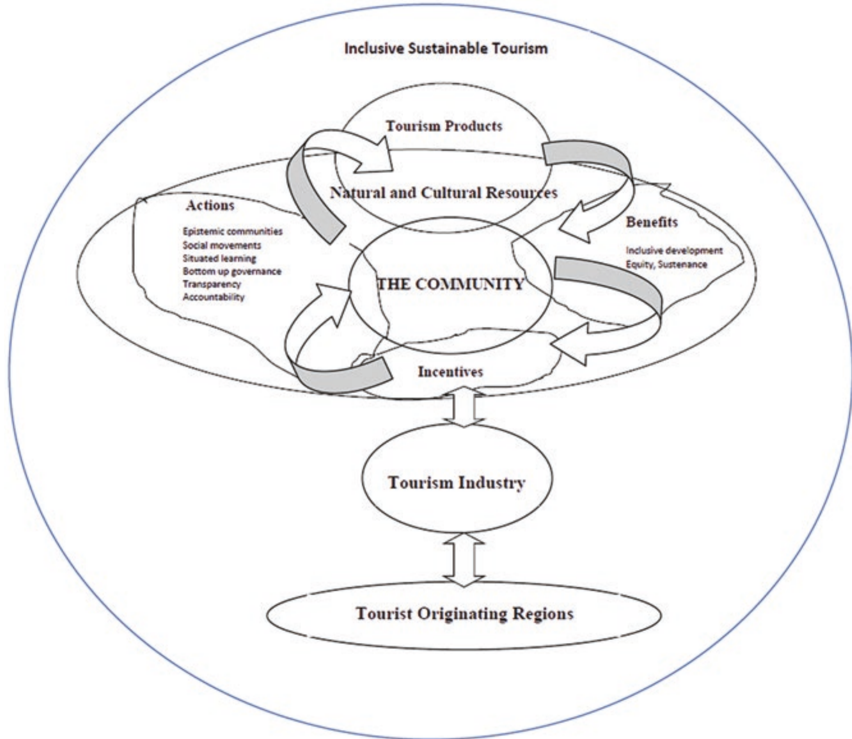

Fig. 1 Inclusive Sustainable Tourism (IST) highlighting the role of educational actions to overcome overtourism impacts. (Source: The authors)

urban cities in the third world in tourism has been widely studied in the former decades, but today this issue has been marked by a radical shift. Global European cities, which historically were open to tourism, are questioning the presence of foreign tourists. The tourist city situates –in this way- as a source of discrepancy, conflict, and hostility for hosts and guests. The causes behind overtourism are various and complex but they can be synthesized –or at least reorganized- in the following axioms: (a) the social unrest produced by gentrification and a mass touristification, (b) the rise of social movements and pressure groups oriented to critique mass tourism in the media, (c) the acceleration of the mobility paradigm which resulted in a revolution in the air transportation industry, (d) the

lack of planning and a coherent diagnosis to regulate the excess of short-term visitors. As authors cite,

> *Over tourism is also sparked by unyielding hypermobility aided by stepped improvements* in *the air transport and travel technology, which have made global sojourn more affordable and convenient: consider the influence of low-cost carriers and online travel agents have had. The resultant democratization of travel and the effects of hypermobility are unparalleled, making the pursuit of harmony between tourism growth and destination sustainability a key prescription for overcoming the symptom of overtourism.* (Milano et al. 2019: 7–8)

It is important not to lose sight of the fact that overtourism rests on an evident paradox which in this chapter was discussed. While the efforts of marketing and management suffice to locate a destination as a global branch, an internal discontent for the local community arises (Visentin and Bertocchi 2019; Gerritsma 2019; Tzanelli 2018). The idea of whether something is good needs qualifiers. Some propose tourism as a cure for economic underdevelopment. Even in its role as a medicine, there should be appropriate doses. Overdosing will not cure the illness but could create additional ailments. Also, it is worth noting that that interventions like this could create undesirable side effects. Even as the present authors take the view that tourism is inherently good, its practice should be moderated.

However, not every negative practice of tourism can be attributed to overtourism. Overtourism still remains under-conceptualized (Koens and Postma 2018). The tendency to attribute all ills to Overtourism actually hampers addressing the real root causes of the negative impacts of tourism. In certain situations, strictly limiting tourism to certain destination areas is the cause of violence and economic unrest. Under these conditions, education and tourism are key factors to move the necessary resources to improve the security in the community. The nuances are multidimensional. Again, education, which includes investing in research-based findings and leveraging them to make better planning and execution, is a key anchor in determining what is 'over' in overtourism.

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Education as a Way to Tackle Overtourism: The Application of the Principles of Responsible Management Education (PRME)

Kadir Çakar

Introduction

In the 1980s, tourism critics made an effort to draw attention to the impacts of tourism on wide ranging elements such as host environments and local people (Mihalic 2016). At the same time, the vast majority of research studies in tourism have long focused on the unstable conditions that emerge in relation to the carrying capacity of a destination and the number of visitors, since both elements are accommodated within the concept of sustainability (Sarantakou and Terkenli 2019). More recently, the issue of sustainable tourism has started to occupy a significant space on the agendas of governments and destinations. One of the main reasons for this is the rapid urbanisation of cities resulting from tourism-led development, which has accelerated mobilisation (Novy and Colomb 2019).

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While many scholars have attempted to deal with the issue of the effects of tourism, others have discussed the problems with new concepts such as overtourism and tourismphobia, as ways of explaining the excessive or uncontrolled growth of tourism (Milano et al. 2019). In addition to the advent of urbanisation many more facilities are now available to inhabitants and visitors to cities due to the growth in the tourism industry, which has been fuelled by economic development, affordable transportation, improved travel facilities, and an expanding middle class; these factors have not only made cities more liveable but have also increased the popularity of urban areas for tourists and travellers (UNWTO 2018). The majority of the emerging discussion on the basis of overtourism has, therefore, concentrated on cities that are attempting to manage rapid tourism growth, such as Barcelona and Venice (Cheer et al. 2019).

As a consequence, the term that is now most frequently used to describe the phenomenon of destinations receiving an excessive number of visitors is overtourism, rather than carrying capacity (Leung et al. 2018). It is one of the new terms that has recently gained momentum alongside overcrowding, overexploitation and tourismphobia, which evoke negative feelings towards tourism (Namberger et al. 2019).

Overcrowding has a significant negative impact on the tourism sector as it adversely affects interactions between tourists and host communities, which are key to the success of tourism. In response to the current problem, many cities have taken the initiative to develop policy responses (Higgins-Desbiolles 2019a) along with internationally recognised bodies, such as the UNWTO and WTTC. By adopting a distinctive approach, the present chapter attempts to deal with the issue of overtourism from a holistic perspective by dealing with the Principles of Responsible Management Education (PRME) as a way of tackling overtourism.

Sustainability, Responsible Tourism and the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals

Sustainable tourism encompasses a diverse range of dimensions, one of which is the need for tourists to respect local people, cultures and environments (Higgins-Desbiolles 2019b). Tourism now faces a significant

problem that requires a radical transformation. Consequently, scholars are discussing new and emerging phenomena, such as the issues of overtourism, peak tourism and tourismphobia, that have recently emerged in cities such as Barcelona, Venice and Dubrovnik, cities that are reacting to the problem of overcrowding that has developed because of the forms of tourism adopted in those cities (Higgins-Desbiolles 2019a). Such emerging issues have led to the development of the discourse on sustainability and responsibility, which refers to the ways in which a destination can engage in responsible and sustainable forms of tourism (Mihalic 2016). The United Nations General Assembly declared 2017 to be the International Year of Sustainable Tourism for Development, which was intended to provide a supporting tool towards the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), including the latter's 169 targets (Boluk et al. 2019). The SDGs (Table 1), which originally underscored the global challenges people face, are the long-term plan for the accomplishment of a better and more sustainable future for all, including future generations (UN 2019).

The 17 SDGs were developed to balance the environmental, social and economic facets of development with the aim that they would be achieved by 2030 (Bramwell et al. 2017). In essence, there are areas that demonstrate that tourism has a part to play in the achievement of the UN's SDGs (Siakwah et al. 2019).

Among the 17 SDGs introduced by the UN, Goal 11 (Sustainable Cities and Communities) clearly addresses the need for sustainable cities, while Goal 12 (Responsible Consumption and Production) refers to responsible tourism, as the targets of this goal include the prioritisation of local culture and products, and localisation and conscious consumerism (Boluk et al. 2017). Moreover, while SDG 16 highlights the importance of tourism governance for the attainment of the SDGs (Siakwah et al. 2019), the SDGs as a whole clearly address the issue of public/private partnerships in the provision of sustainable governance, key elements in governance structures (Boluk et al. 2017).

On the other hand, according to the World Travel and Tourism Council (2017), regardless of whether a destination has a problem with overcrowding, good tourism management practices and rigorous planning are crucial for the sustainable development of tourism. Thus, destinations need to adopt the following policy measures:

Table 1 The 17 SDGs and indicative themes relating to sustainable tourism

Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)	Related tourism theme (indicative examples only)
Goal 1. No poverty End poverty in all its forms everywhere	Critique of the green economy Hegemony/gender/oppression/domination/fascism Poverty alleviation through tourism and its critique
Goal 2. Zero hunger End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture	Sustainable food systems Agritourism Permaculture and food movements Food-based microenterprises Culinary epistemologies for sustainability
Goal 3. Good health and well-being Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages	Community development Social capital Tourism and quality of life Tourism as a tool for positive ageing
Goal 4. Quality education Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all	Critical pedagogy and neoliberalism Collaborative research methods for transformation The role of critical thinking in transforming tourism education International training and education The global sustainable tourism council (GSTC) Multi-lateral training programmes Educational tourism as a tool for inclusivity
Goal 5. Gender equality Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls	Social complexity, social inequities, structural labours of care and leisure, racialised, gendered, and classed perspectives Multilateral/non-governmental/industry/academic structures of power Ecofeminism and feminist ecology
Goal 6. Clear water and sanitation Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all	Considerations of the quadruple bottom line Water and resource use in tourism Water rights and hegemony in tourism

(*continued*)

Table 1 (continued)

Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)	Related tourism theme (indicative examples only)
Goal 7. Affordable and clean energy Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all	Energy use in tourism Sustainable transport Low carbon energy transitions
Goal 8. Decent work and economic growth Promote sustained, inclusive, and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment, and decent work for all	Considerations of economic growth and degrowth Eco-colonialism and eco-imperialism Indigenous owned and operated tourism business Assumptions of economic growth Leisure and the rights for rest and reflection Workers' rights Universal basic wage Social tourism
Goal 9. Industry, innovation and infrastructure Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialisation, and foster innovation	Innovations for sustainability Sustainable energies The use of virtual technologies in hospitality and tourism Social entrepreneurship
Goal 10. Reduce inequalities Reduce inequality within and among countries	Ethics and bio-cultural conservation: Ecosystems/ biodiversity/culture/heritage White/Western privilege Marginalised communities Rights of LBGTQ+ and tourism
Goal 11. Sustainable cities and communities Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable	Linking urban and rural tourism Tourism systems in the urban context Futurism Humanising cities
Goal 12. Responsible consumption and production Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns	Critiques of the green economy Considerations of economic growth and degrowth Conscious consumerism Localisation Slow tourism Participation Certification

(*continued*)

Table 1 (continued)

Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)	Related tourism theme (indicative examples only)
Goal 13. Climate action Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts	Climate actions and activism Paris COP21 agreement Climate change and structures of power Climate change and aviation Mobility rights and impacts Indigenous activism for positive futures
Goal 14. Life below water Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development	Tourism and marine protected areas (MPAs) Marine mammals and tourism Tourism and the blue economy
Goal 15. Life on land Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and biodiversity loss	Tourism and protected areas (PAs) Linking tourism and conservation The politics of conservation and environmental justice Indigenous cosmologies
Goal 16. Peace, justice and strong institutions Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all, and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels	Tourism as a conduit for peace Peace building/poverty alleviation/ livelihood development/gender equality Cultural interpretations of sustainability Indigenous approaches to interdependence Islamic perspectives on tourism
Goal 17. Partnerships for the goals Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalise the global Partnership for Sustainable Development	Tools that facilitate inclusive and participatory multi-stakeholder dialogue Global sustainable tourism council (GSTC) United Nations world tourism organization (UNWTO) Greenwashing/certifications/ accreditations ROLEs of NGOs as advocates for justice in tourism

Source: Boluk et al. (2017), pp. 1202–1203

- **Building a comprehensive fact base and updating it regularly:** Countries, regions, cities and tourism sites need to inform and refine their tourism strategies by collecting detailed data and improving their analyses. The presence and effective use of Big Data is seen as essential, and thus has received more attention, so that visitor flows can be monitored and controlled in order to mitigate the problem of overcrowding.
- **Conducting rigorous, long-term planning to encourage sustainable growth:** Destinations need to concentrate on proactive strategies that involve long-term planning and addressing management challenges rather than merely focusing on promotion. Destinations have a higher likelihood of achieving sustainable growth and bringing down or even preventing overcrowding when they have a long-term strategy based on robust and reliable ground.
- **Involving all sections of society—commercial, public, and social:** The gathering of data and the development of a strategy can only be optimised through the involvement of all stakeholders in the process. By addressing effective and good governance structures, tourism authorities, including public and private authoritative representatives, should create committees and other formal mechanisms to work with stakeholders, including local communities, to debate problems and formulate solutions.
- **Finding new sources of funding:** Destinations can develop multiple, innovative ways of generating the financial resources needed to invest in infrastructure and sustainability. For instance, destinations can raise many different types of taxes, such as bed taxes, day visitor taxes, border taxes and departure taxes from tourists in order to generate additional revenue, which can then be used to meet the needs of local communities and the tourism industry as a whole.

Because of the increasing demand for cities as tourist destinations, caused by escalating tourism mobility over the past decade, the growing adverse effects for residents, as well as tourists, have become a critical issue due to the excessive number of visitors hosted by city destinations (Milano et al. 2018a; Namberger et al. 2019; Oklevik et al. 2019). Therefore, in order to focus more attention on the negative impact on cities caused by overcrowding or, more precisely, by the overtourism

problem due to increased mobility, the UNWTO developed the 17 SDGs (UNWTO 2018). Thus, it can be claimed that the SDGs have the potential to tackle the issue of overtourism, as tourism was made a central element in achieving the universal 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (Boluk et al. 2019).

The Conceptual Framework of Overtourism

While there are serious problems facing the tourism industry that need to be addressed and discussed, including overtourism, peak tourism and tourismphobia (Higgins-Desbiolles 2019a), crowding and congestion are not new problems for tourism (Goodwin 2017). The growth of the tourism industry and its possible impacts on society and the environment have long been discussed by scholars, discussions that have led to the conceptualisation of alternative forms of tourism in response to mass tourism, as the focus has increasingly moved towards responsibility (Mihalic 2016). In recent years, anti-tourism movements have emerged in some popular destinations and have rapidly spread to many European cities because of growing concern about continuous increases in the number of tourists visiting these cities, particularly in Venice and Barcelona (Coldwell 2017; Seraphin et al. 2018).

The basic driving force behind this activism is addressed in the terms 'overtourism' and 'tourismphobia', both of which reflect the existing problems with regard to the adverse effects of tourism on cities and local residents derived from the management of increasing tourism flows to urban areas (UNWTO 2018). There is no identical, commonly held definition of overtourism (Table 2); rather, the phenomenon has been described differently by different scholars (Milano et al. 2019).

Dredge (2017) puts forward the following six main points that form the basis of the concept and its contributions:

- The prioritisation of pro-growth as an economic objective by elected representatives in terms of their political agendas,
- The need for less exploitative, locally based and socially inclusive models of tourism,

Table 2 Definitions of overtourism

Author(s)/publication(s) & years	Definitions
The Case for Responsible Travel (2018)	"Limits of acceptable change".
Milano et al. (2018a)	"[…] the excessive growth of visitors leading to overcrowding in areas where residents suffer the consequences of temporary and seasonal tourism peaks, which have enforced permanent changes to their lifestyles, access to amenities and general well-being".
Higgins-Desbiolles (2018)	"[…] a situation in which a tourism destination exceeds its carrying capacity – In physical and/or psychological terms. It results in a deterioration of the tourism experience for either visitors or locals, or both".
UNWTO (2018)	"[…] the impact of tourism on a destination, or parts thereof, that excessively influences perceived quality of life of citizens and/or quality of visitors experiences in a negative way" (p. 4).
Goodwin (2017)	"Overtourism describes destinations where hosts or guests, locals or visitors, feel that there are too many visitors and that the quality of life in the area or the quality of the experience has deteriorated unacceptably" (p. 1).

Source: The author

- Many cities have limited control over the development and/or stability of the destinations they apparently manage,
- A lack of understanding of the impacts/consequences of sub-sectors on a city,
- While public sector representatives, including local municipalities, are increasingly taking responsibility for mitigating the adverse impacts and outcomes of 'overtourism', other interest groups continue to profit,
- There are cultural and practical barriers to sharing, transferring and co-creating knowledge even as the body of research, tolls and frameworks continues to grow.

These critical assessments support the view that the devastating impacts of overtourism are wide-ranging and can affect the tourism industry as well as society as a whole, when tourism is managed unsuccessfully.

Cities, therefore, need to develop strategies and predetermined policies to respond to overtourism to mitigate the negative effects before they impact tourists (Cheer et al. 2019).

Measures for Tackling Overtourism

Managing visitor flow to tourism destinations is important due to the increasing negative impacts of overtourism (UNWTO 2018). Many cities have taken rigid measures to mitigate the adverse impacts of overtourism, ranging from the deregulation of new taxes through to adopting a demarketing strategy (Milano et al. 2018b).

According to Phi (2019), the overtourism problem can be framed around the four main dimensions of tourists, local residents, cities or destinations, and the travel industry as a whole. Overall, there are eight generic steps to tackling overtourism including measures and strategies generated to address a wide variety of elements in the tourism system; they are as follows (Overtourism Solutions 2019):

1. **Responsible tourism:** Responsible tourism is assumed to be the opposite of overtourism and is defined as ways "to make better places to live in and better places to visit" (Goodwin 2017: 1). More attention has been directed to the issue of 'more responsibility', which is given equal importance as sustainable tourism. As a result, many alternative forms of tourism and related concepts have been created (Mihalic 2016) such as overtourism, peak tourism and tourismphobia (Higgins-Desbiolles 2019a).
2. **Sustainability accounting:** Over recent decades, the negative impacts of tourism, such as urbanisation and the rapid growth of the industry, caused by the increasing number of international arrivals, have become more conspicious and have received greater attention within public discourse, including academia (UNWTO 2018). This raises the issue of sustainability, which should be given greater priority within a holistic perspective, taking into account the economic, social and environmental costs and benefits of tourism, rather than simply reporting the number of tourists hosted.

3. **Cheap flights:** The aviation industry should deal with the issue of cheap flights; they can be incentivised to do so with the offer of tax breaks to the aviation sector. Furthermore, offers of cheap or even free flights would be expected to increase the number of flights taken and boost tourism, thus accelerating increases in carbon emissions.
4. **Carrying capacity:** The overtourism problem is closely related to carrying capacity (Cheer et al. 2019), which includes the various different aspects of carrying capacity, including physical, environmental or ecological, economic, infrastructural, perceptual, and social carrying capacity (Namberger et al. 2019). Overtourism can emerge as a problematic issue when one of the types of carrying capacities described above is exceeded.
5. **Limits of Acceptable Change (LAC):** This is considered one of the most crucial approaches that should be taken into account when there is an issue of overtourism (Leung et al. 2018). Overall, LAC refers to a participatory approach that encapsulates a wide range of key local actors, ranging from non-governmental actors to public representatives, who can work together to determine local policies.
6. **De-marketing or intelligent marketing strategy:** De-marketing, which refers to the promotion of tourism outside the high tourism season, is an example of how destinations or governments can take action to overcome the overtourism problem. Another strategy that can be used to cope with overtourism is an intelligent marketing approach, which primarily redirects visitors from hotspot areas or locations to uninhabited places that are less frequently visited (Jarvis 2018). Similarly, some well-developed destinations may try to diminish the negative impacts of tourism and overcome the overtourism problem by promoting tourism outside the peak season (see New Zealand (Higgins-Desbiolles 2018)).
7. **Reducing demand during peak periods:** Temporal overtourism is common in Mediterranean seaside destinations or cities where special or mega events are organised at certain periods of time or during the peak tourism season (Cheer et al. 2019), including in urban areas where the cruise industry is very advanced (Milano et al. 2018b). This kind of tourism, and the overtourism it causes, is most apparent in Dubrovnik and Venice, where cruise tourism is in high demand and is

the engine of the tourism industry during the high tourism season. In response to this overtourism, in order to reduce demand during the high tourism season, the city of Barcelona has reduced the number of Airbnb operations, while Dubrovnik has restricted the number of cruise ships entering the city (Higgins-Desbiolles 2018).

8. **Local-hood tourism strategy:** A local-hood tourism strategy is also seen as one of the most effective measures for coping with overtourism; it prioritises the consumption of local food and promotes slow travel while generating added value to local tourism products. In other words, this new tourism paradigm entails changes that should lead to a different future for tourism, where the local community is the priority (Higgins-Desbiolles 2019a). Also, UN SDG 12 supports local-hood tourism as its targets are consistent with responsible consumption and production.

   Interestingly, strategies covering measures in response to overtourism were introduced by the UNWTO (2019:6), strategies that are known as some of the most pertinent as they promote the dispersal of visitors within the city and beyond, promote the time-based dispersal of visitors, stimulate new visitor itineraries and attractions, review and adapt regulations, enhance visitors' segmentation, ensure that local communities benefit from tourism, create city experiences that benefit both residents and visitors, improve city infrastructure and facilities, communicate and engage with visitors, and set monitoring and response measures. Similarly, several strategies were offered by the World Travel & Tourism Council and McKinsey & Company (2017), including: to even out visiting times, spread visitors across sites, adjust pricing to balance supply and demand, regulate accommodation supply, and limit access and activities. However, recently the PRME, as a United Nations-led initiative in terms of increasing awareness towards a more responsible and sustainable society, have received greater attention from a broad range of stakeholder groups. The following section deals with the six main principles developed by the PRME, which evaluate the current problem from a holistic perspective, alongside a discussion of some possible solutions to overtourism.

The Six Principles for Responsible Management Education (PRME)

In 2007, a United Nations-supported initiative established the Principles for Responsible Management Education as a platform for increasing awareness of sustainability among students through educational programmes in business schools around the world (Louw 2015). Through encouraging the adoption of its six main principles, namely purpose, values, method, research, partnership and dialogue, the PRME platform strives to provide business students with the consciousness and ability to make changes in the future (The PRME 2018). In essence, the PRME underline the responsibilities of management education institutions to raise awareness among current and future business professionals of more responsible and sustainable business practices (Godemann et al. 2014).

The PRME were launched by an international initiative comprising of 60 university deans, university presidents, and official representatives of major business schools working in close collaboration with the United Nations Global Compact (UNGC), the Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of Business (AACSB), the Aspen Institute's Business and Society Program, the European Foundation for Management Development (EFMD), the Globally Responsible Leadership Initiative (GRLI), and NetImpact, a student organisation with more than 13,000 members, all of whom continue to be partners in this initiative. In addition, the Graduate Management Admission Council (GMAC) and the European Academy of Business in Society (EABIS) are part of the management committee that assists PRME (Waddock et al. 2010).

In line with its missions and visions, the PRME focus on developing learning and drawing attention to the United Nations' SDGs (The International Association for Management Development in Dynamic Societies 2019). Each of the following principles have different aims and objectives in supporting PRME's missions and visions (Our 2030 Vision 2019):

Principle 1—Purpose: We will develop the capabilities of students to be future generators of sustainable value for business and society at large, and to work for an inclusive and sustainable global economy.

Principle 2—Values: We will incorporate into our academic activities, curricula, and organisational practices the values of global social responsibility as portrayed in international initiatives such as the United Nations Global Compact.

Principle 3—Method: We will create educational frameworks, materials, processes and environments that enable effective learning experiences for responsible leadership.

Principle 4—Research: We will engage in conceptual and empirical research that advances our understanding about the role, dynamics, and impact of corporations in the creation of sustainable social, environmental and economic value.

Principle 5—Partnership: We will interact with managers of business corporations to extend our knowledge of their challenges in meeting social and environmental responsibilities and to explore jointly effective approaches to meeting these challenges.

Principle 6—Dialogue: We will facilitate and support dialogue and debate among educators, students, business, government, consumers, media, civil society organisations and other interested groups and stakeholders on critical issues related to global social responsibility and sustainability. We understand that our own organisational practices should serve as example of the values and attitudes we convey to our students.

It is clear from the outline of the PRME given above that the antecedents of Principles 5 and 6 are aligned with the governance approach upon which the mechanism of the PRME is based, which makes it different from measures taken by other institutions. This can be seen in the PRME and Global Compact (2007: 3) report, which states that "any meaningful and lasting change in the conduct of corporations toward societal responsibility and sustainability must involve the institutions that most directly act as drivers of business behaviour, especially academia". Most importantly, one can claim that academia is seen as one of the most effective

stakeholders within this governance structure in attaining the desired objectives and defined goals of the PRME towards sustainability, and in creating a more responsible society. One of the most compelling stances that the PRME defends is that the issue of business ethics has been the focal point of the curricula of business schools, in the form of responsible management education for a more responsible and sustainable future (Rasche 2011; Rasche and Escudero 2009).

More recently, such emerging policy initiatives developed by the PRME initiative appear to have impacted a broad range of groups within academia. Although the anti-air travel movement, driven by concerns about climate change, was started by small activist groups in just a few countries, it has now spread to many northern European countries (www.airportwatch.org.uk 2018). By adopting the "flying shame" motto, the primary focus of these groups, which mostly consist of academics and students, is to draw attention to the CO2 emissions created by air travel (Piskorz 2019). The first higher education institution to respond to this was the University of Neuchâtel in Switzerland, which has been making financial contributions to sustainability initiatives to offset the carbon emmissions generated by flights taken by its accounting department since January 2019. This action is part of a global reflection on ways of lessening the effect of human activities on the environment (www.unine.ch/durable/deplacements-avion 2019).

On the other hand, a conference entitled "Degrowth of Aviation" was organised by the Stay Grounded Network in collaboration with civil society organisations and the Institute for Ecological Sciences and Technology ICTA and held in Barcelona in 2019, a city known as one of the most overcrowded cities in the world because of tourism. The aim of the conference was to draw attention to serious problems while discussing and developing measures and strategies for reducing air travel (Conference Degrowth of Aviation 2019).

Another idea that has been proposed is the "regional hub" conference model, in which academics assemble in their particular territories for personal connections and use video-conferencing to interact with other hubs (Flying Less: Reducing Academia's Carbon Footprint 2019). This measure is expected to reduce air travel and, as a consequence, CO2 emissions.

The Role of the Principles of Responsible Management Education (PRME) and the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in Overtourism

Considering its main principles, overall it can be claimed that the PRME can advance our understanding towards a sustainable tourism system and, thus, can help overcome the issue of overtourism, as their mission and vision mainly focus on a radical and transformative educational system in the creation of a responsible and environmentally conscious generation of students. Moreover, the SDGs can be regarded as a supporting tool for the successful completion of this process in terms of increasing the awareness of subsequent generations, which is seen as vital for the sustainability of the tourism system for two main reasons: first of all, SDG 4 refers to improving the quality of education and, secondly, SDGs 16 and 17 reflect the necessary preconditions for effective and good governance practices (Boluk et al. 2017, 2019) that are in alignment with the PRME in providing a responsible and sustainable tourism system while combating the issue of overtourism, as it currently exists or as it may possibly emerge in the future.

To this end, the PRME's mission and vision seem to be consistent with Goals 16 and 17 of the SDGs and, in particular, with Goal 4, which refers to an educational transformation resulting in a more responsible and sustainable type of tourism, developed by the UNWTO in fighting overtourism. While Principle 4, dealing with quality education, closely complies with SDG 4, the antecedents of Principles 5 and 6 are coherent and relevant with regards to Goals 16 and 17, which address the importance of good and effective governance.

The PRME can be considered as effective strategies in addressing the issue of overtourism, as well as in the prevention of overtourism in destinations before its adverse effects are noticed by tourists and local residents, as a result of environmental destruction. First, its principles spread environmental awareness while, at the same time, initiating the process of raising awareness in the creation of sustainable value and, thereby, can be considered as an integral part in attaining the United Nations SDGs in

the long-term and an effective method to address overtourism (Gowreesunkar and Seraphin 2019). Second, based on the curricula in business schools, the PRME can also play a key role in the development of responsible tourism through the integration of sustainability with corporate responsibility. This will enhance the capability of students to diagnose, face and overcome the challenges that the world is currently facing (Törn-Laapio 2019).

Conclusion

More recently, the concept of overtourism has been a controversial debate for both scholars and society due to its negative effects. City destinations are currently facing the problems of overcrowding associated with increased mobility, which have subsequently led to dissatisfaction, social unrest and reactions against tourism (UNWTO 2018). Overtourism is closely related to an excess of the limits or carrying capacity of destinations (Namberger et al. 2019). As this problem has created much social tension among local residents and tourists, particularly in many European cities or destinations, a number of measures have been initiated to prevent such conflicts while, at the same time, mitigating the negative impact of the uncontrolled growth of tourism engendering overtourism (Coldwell 2017; Seraphin et al. 2018).

There is no doubt that most European cities that are world heritage and culturally significant tourism destinations, and have large cruise ship terminals and good airport connections are increasingly experiencing a tourism crisis due to serious issues such as overcrowding, resource exploitation, negative community impacts and conflict (Dredge 2017).

The measures and policy responses to overtourism and sustainability included in the PRME seem to be broader and more inclusive compared to those developed and offered by other institutions, covering a wide range of actors within the context of governance. More concretely, the PRME are seen as key as they entail broad participation in the building of a more responsible and sustainable future for society as well as for generations to come, thus appearing to be more effective at combatting overtourism compared to policies and measures developed by the UNWTO

and WTTC. In doing so, the PRME contribute to the formation, through education, of individuals that are more conscious of their responsibilities whilst also having a greater understanding of how a sustainable environment can be maintained for future generations.

Moreover, since the measures and targets developed by the PRME are education-oriented, they can be used to tackle the problem of overtourism. To this end, the contributions of the PRME are crucial for generating the grounding of policy responses to overtourism as they broadly address corporate responsibility and sustainability, business ethics, Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), and environmental sustainability (Forray and Leigh 2012).

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Case Study 6: Mainstreaming Overtourism Education for Sustainable Behavioral Change in Kenya's Tourism Industry Context

Shem Wambugu Maingi

Introduction

The tourism sector is a significant economic force in Kenya (Government of Kenya 2019). It is a significant enabler and stimulant towards achievement of the Government of Kenya's socio-economic transformation agenda, (Government of Kenya 2017b). The tourism sector is strategically aligned to achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals as set out in Africa's Agenda 2063 (*8—Decent Work and Economic Growth, 14—Conservation of Life below water and 15—Conservation of Life on Land*) as well as aspirations (*1—A prosperous Africa based on inclusive growth and sustainable development and 5—An Africa with a strong cultural identity, common heritage, shared values and ethics*) (Government of Kenya

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2018; African Union 2019). Tourism numbers in Kenya have been growing with 2,025,206 international visitors recorded in 2018, up by 37.33% in 2017 with tourism receipts up from 119 Billion Kenya Shillings in 2017 up by 31.26% to 157 billion Kenya Shillings in 2018 (Government of Kenya 2019). The holiday market accounted for a significant 73.6% of the total arrivals, while the business and conference market accounted for 13.3% of total arrivals (Government of Kenya 2019). However, the effects of uncontrolled tourism growth in Kenya are quite evident (WTTC 2017; World Bank 2010).

Studies on tourism in Kenya have shown that overtourism is becoming a significant threat to Kenya's Tourism sector (Dluzewska 2009; Akama 1999; Maingi 2019). Criticisms towards the uncontrolled growth in tourism numbers were originally coined by Richards (1980) as noted by Dieke (1991) *"unplanned ribbon development"* owing to the haphazard hotel development in the Kenyan coast and inadequate housing of the local populations. Dieke (1991) further noted that there was a flagrant lack of sensitivity to the adverse social, cultural and ecological consequences of the rapid tourism infrastructural growth in the Kenyan coast.

Consequently, overtourism, then manifested itself through an oversaturation of tourism infrastructure and activities in specific places such as National parks and Coastal areas therefore resulting in devastating damage to the ecosystems and social systems within the tourism areas. Overtourism has been described to be associated with an overbearing flow of visitors to popular cities thereby causing anti-tourism sentiments experienced in some of the most popular tourist destinations in the world. Various reports have shown manifestations of over tourism in cities all over the world. For example, Taiminen (2018) examined the negative impacts of overtourism in the Mediterranean, Milano (2017) observed the anti-gentrification protests in Berlin, Florio (2018, August 28) reported on the Mallocan protests by the *Ciutat* and *Tot Inclos on* the Balearic Islands and Squires (2017, November 8) reported on the referendum against cruise ships in the Venetian Lagoon amongst other incidents.

Although overtourism is a relatively new concept in African tourism context (Capocchi et al. 2019; Maingi 2019), its effects have been existent for a long time (Butler 2015; Panayiotopoulos and Pisano 2019;

Saarinen et al. 2017). Dalton (2018) reported clashes in Cape town, South Africa, after tourists were asked to leave the Clifton 4th Beach, North Africa has also experienced tourists' fallout resulting from the Bardo Museum attack in Tunisia in March 2015. In a broader context, Overtourism has been defined as:

> *[…] The situation in which the impact of tourism, at certain times and in certain locations, exceeds physical, ecological, social, economic, psychological, and/or political capacity thresholds.* (Peeters et al. 2018)

These capacity thresholds can be determined in different context in terms of the Limits of Acceptable Change (LAC), Recreation Opportunity Spectrum (ROS), Visitor Impact Management (VIM) as well as the Visitor Experience and Resource Protection (VERP). Overtourism impacts manifest themselves from a dynamic interaction between the destination characteristics (*environmental processes, economic structures, political organizations, social structure and level of tourism development*) and the visitor characteristics (*type of visitor activities, number of visitors, lengths of stay and socio-cultural characteristics*). Plitcha (2018) notes that cities such as Barcelona, Dubrovnik, Krakow, and Venice have experienced the brunt of overtourism. In such cities, citizens have rejected tourism for various reasons which include negative visitor behavior (Nyamanga 2008), overcrowding in infrastructure and public spaces (Kwadha 2009) dominance of multinational corporations in the tourism value chain (Alexis 2017), adverse economic effects such as rising costs of living and economic inequalities (Maingi 2019).

Some of the effects resulting from overtourism and other forms of migration in African context have included conflicts and in particular, xenophobic attacks on foreigners, as has been experienced in countries such as South Africa, Zimbabwe, Ghana, and Zambia. Oni and Okunade (2018) further examines this hostility on migrants in African context attributing it to the historical injustices, colonial persecution as well as the projected increase in competition over scarce resources. Kenya's tourism industry diagnostics as indicated within the National Tourism Blueprint (Government of Kenya 2017a) shows that the wildlife safari

and beach tourism product has reached unsustainable tourism thresholds of stagnation and decline in visitation.

The potential for tourism education to be a driver for sustainable tourism development in Kenya cannot be understated. The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (Rio Summit) consolidated this discussion in Chapter 36 of Agenda 21 on the critical role of education, training and public awareness in achieving sustainability (UNESCO 2014). Tourism studies advance the critical link by examining how learning and tourism education contributes to significant controls of the negative economic, social and environmental impacts in a destination (Cho and Kang 2005; Evans 2001; Jennings et al. 2015; Paris 2016). Further, UNESCO (2014) examines sustainability as a pathway for a thriving industry in any destination. It is a value creation system in any education system with a focus on developing change agents with the requisite knowledge and skills for implementing sustainable principles and practices in their world of work.

At the heart of the tourism policy formulation process is the need to develop a workforce that has the requisite attitudes, values, knowledge and skills required to sustain the sector. Perman and Mikinac (2014) note that education and professional development of tourism personnel plays a significant role in enhancing the sustainability of the sector as well as in growing the competitiveness of the sector. Further, Hayes (2019) argues that sustainable tourism development, demands a critical assessment of tourism education and knowledge systems to enhance the technical and vocational knowledge, values and skills of the workforce. From a policy perspective various studies have advanced sustainability concerns in the tourism policy and planning debates with a global recognition of the finite limits to environmental resources, social stability as well as the economic thresholds of a destination (Costanza 2009; Kolk 2008; Moscardo and Benkendorff 2015). Therefore, in light of the challenges facing the tourism sector currently, this chapter seeks to address the threats by:

1. Examining Kenyan tourism management education pedagogies for sustained behavioral change in Kenya's tourism sector;

2. Investigating how we can mainstream overtourism education and Innovative thinking in the current tourism education pedagogy in Kenya.

The Status of Tourism Education in Kenya

Kenya's tourism blueprint notes that the key fulcrum of Kenya's National Tourism Strategy is the Human Resource Strategy (Government of Kenya 2017b). Table 1 below shows that Tourism management education has been widely developed within the higher education institutions in Kenya. However, a report from World Bank (2010) shows that despite this, the current tourism education systems in Kenya are inadequate, insufficient and outdated in addressing the challenges facing the globalized sector. Challenges in Kenya's education system include inadequate skills to innovate and meet the highly dynamic industry's skills set requirements (Ndomo 2019), insufficiently trained workforce for the sector (Government of Kenya 2007) as well as outdated tourism training curricula therefore actually crippling the sector's ability to be competitive globally (Mayaka and Akama 2014). To a large extent, the growth in tourism and education systems has been inextricably linked to development indicators such as poverty alleviation, socio-economic progress, environmental and cultural protection and preservation where shared ecological and socio-economic controls cascade right through the tourism value chain as well as the supply chain. Sindiga (2000) explains that development in Kenyan context is integrated such that Kenya's tourism stakeholders should have a developmental role that is in tune with the aspirations of the people of Kenya.

Higher Education Institutions have a significant role to play in inculcating Sustainable development values. In Kenya institutions such as Strathmore University in Kenya are signatories to the UN Principles for Responsible Management Education (United Nations Principles for Responsible Management Education Secretariat 2018). The principles represent integration of sustainability values and commitment in learning,

Table 1 Universities offering hospitality and tourism management courses in Kenya

University	Department	Programme
Kenyatta University	Hospitality and Tourism Management	Bachelor of Science (Hospitality and Tourism Management)
Moi University	Tourism management	Bachelor of Tourism Management (BTM)
	Travel and Tour Operations Management	Bachelor of Travel and Tour Operations Management (BTTM)
	Hospitality Management	Bachelor of Hospitality Management (BHM)
Maseno University	Ecotourism and Institutional Management	Bachelor of Science (Ecotourism, Hotel and Institutional Management with IT)
University of Nairobi	History and Archeology	Bachelor of Arts (Travel and Tourism Management)
Chuka University	School of Agriculture and Environmental Science	Bachelor of Science (Ecotourism and Hospitality Management)
Pwani University	Hospitality and Tourism Management	Bachelor of Science (Hospitality and Tourism Management)
Technical University of Kenya	Tourism and Travel Management	B.Tech (Tourism and Travel Management)
	Hotel and Restaurant Management	B.Tech (Hotel and Restaurant Management)
	Event and Convention Management	B.Tech (Event and Convention Management)
United States International University (Africa)	School of Business	Bachelor of Science (Hotel and Restaurant Management)
		Bachelor of Science (Tourism Management)
Strathmore University (UNPRME Signatory)	Centre for Tourism and Hospitality	Bachelor of Science (Tourism Management)
		Bachelor of Science (Hospitality Management)
Kenya Methodist University	Hospitality and Tourism	Bachelor of Science (Travel and Tourism Management)
		Bachelor of Science (Hospitality Management)

Source: Adapted from Mayaka and Akama (2014)

research and scholarship. In Kenya, of all the ten (10) accredited higher education institutions offering hospitality and tourism management courses in Kenya, only one (1) university (Strathmore University) is signatory of UNPRME in Kenya. Tanzania also has one (1) university (Mzumbe University) that is a signatory to the UNPRME within the East African region. This actually shows a very low uptake of PRME in Kenya.

The Paradox Theory and Sustainable Tourism Management Education in Kenya

Sustainable tourism as noted by the UNWTO (2019) as "Tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities". Sustainability principles therefore ensure that there is a suitable balance between the three dimensions to guarantee long term impacts. Sustainable Tourism presents multiple paradoxes that defy the traditional management approaches and parameters of managing tourism services and resources. There have been striking tensions within the tourism industry between profitability in the tourism sector and sustainability of the sector, tensions between the rights to tourism and the rights of communities. These tensions have created multiple competing demands in the sector that have necessitated a differentiated management approach within the destination.

According to Perkuimiene and Pranskuniene (2019), to a large extent therefore, the contestation becomes a contest based on two differing fronts, with one relating to the rights to tourism, while the other focusing on the rights of the local communities in the context of Overtourism and sustainable tourism. The right to tourism is recognized within Article 10 of the UNWTO Framework Convention on Tourism Ethics, (UNWTO 2017) and the rights of the local communities are recognized and enshrined in the country constitutional frameworks (Government of Kenya 2010). Studies by Smith and Lewis (2011) document multiple

tensions as being either paradoxes (*contradictory yet interrelated*); dualities (*opposite positions that exists in a unified whole*); dilemmas (*competing choices*) and dialectics (*contradictory elements resolved through integration*). The tensions may be dual tensions on crucial areas such as collaboration or control; cooperation or competition; profit or social responsibility and exploration or exploitation, which continue to provide significant paradoxes for tourism policy makers.

Overtourism Education Pedagogies

Traditionally, tourism management education in Kenyan context has been based on enhancing the qualifications, skills and competence of tourism personnel in the sector. Significant focus has therefore been on enhancing the quality of skills and competencies in the industry context. The tourism industry is dynamic and changing fast. Traditional tourism education methods are quite static and assume that the knowledge is unidirectional and not engaging. It requires the student to be able to contextualize situations fast, ideate, diagnose problems, dialogue, listen keenly, identify innovative courses of action and make appropriate decisions in that context. This kind of learning environment requires collaborative socio-constructivist learning pedagogy. Isaacs (2013) examines how collaborative learning can be achieved through the social networks and the inherent social nature of contemporary knowledge. In a very competitive global tourism industry, this needs to have highly innovative personnel.

Current epistemological and pedagogical approaches have proven unsustainable in developing professionals in this sustainable tourism sector. Sze-yeng and Hussain (2010) characterize the ubiquitous forces of globalization and local action as critical social drivers of the knowledge economy. This then requires according to Blumberg (2000), a problem-based, self-directed learning pedagogy that requires the instructors to direct the student's enquiry. Seatter and Ceulemans (2017) identified the multidisciplinary approach in Higher education that developed the capacity of students in recognizing and understanding complex sustainability issues while actively participating to identify solutions to

these challenges. UNESCO (2014) examines different models or approaches to address sustainability education in the university context. These methods include interactive, innovative, learner-centered blended learning pedagogy.

Pedagogical Framework for Mainstreaming Overtourism Education: The Educational Design Ladder Pedagogy (Wrigley and Straker 2015)

Studies on Overtourism have focused more on developing tourism management policy interventions, destination management approaches and visitor management approaches rather than the diagnostic tourism management training needs for the sector (Black and Clabree 2007; Butler 2006; Joppe 2019; Maingi 2019). Mayaka and Akama (2007) and Sindiga (1994) however noted that there was a need to standardize tourism management educational outcomes. These outcomes would be achieved through adopting a system's approach or framework towards design, planning and development of the national tourism education strategy. In Kenyan context this approach has been problematic owing to the divergence in tourism curricula in various Technical Industrial Vocational and Entrepreneurship Training (TIVET) and University curricula in Kenya. There is a need to enhance the problem solving and critical thinking skills at all levels within the curricula. The Education Design Ladder presents a Design thinking pedagogy which has been extensively ideated and researched as an internationally acceptable pedagogy for mainstreaming design thinking in education curricula (Wrigley and Straker 2015). The design of Design thinking pedagogy positions the students in an environment where they are able to think critically. In order for students to develop innovation and design skills to address the problem of overtourism, they need to be systematically trained.

Design thinking pedagogy in academic discourse seeks to adapt management thinking with the changing business landscapes. Zielinski and Studzinska (2015) conducted a study on the adaptation of design

thinking models to improve the quality of services in the tourism sector. The study showed a greater preference for design thinkers in tourism service centers with a greater need for service differentiation and innovation. The problems facing the tourism sector in Kenya require tourism management graduates who are knowledgeable, innovative and able to comprehend the complex tourism situations and challenges in African context. At the basic level of the Education design ladder, Wrigley and Straker (2015) note that the student needs to be trained at the foundational level on the factual theories, methods and philosophies of design thinking. Gradually, as the student advances to the second level of design thinking (i.e. the product level), he or she is able to be set up for design thinking in the tourism product design level.

In Biggs and Tang's (2003) model, the student goes through different stages of conceptualization and Observed Learning Outcomes i.e. from pre-structural to extended abstract phase. The student is able to achieve these observed learning outcomes through testing the knowledge acquired at the previous level (i.e. knowledge level) and develop innovative products and services at this level. Within the context of overtourism education, the students are able to infuse sustainability in product/service design. Dashinsky (2016) examines product design from a sustainability perspective by focusing on efficient and effective solutions that are better for the environment, communities and the economy.

At the third phase of the Design thinking pedagogy is the project level. At this conceptual level, the student should be able to demonstrate the knowledge and competencies acquired previously into practice. At this level, design thinking is contextualized in an uncontrolled external environment within a project level. The students are expected to execute a project based on design thinking principles and tenets. The project approach as noted by Jouini, Midler, and Silberzahn (2016) has been viewed as an appropriate approach in implementing design thinking in group settings. The study interrogates the limits of standardization approaches in situations that require innovative thinking. In the context of Overtourism, the education approach needs to focus extensively on the projectization of tourism problems using problem-based learning approaches to ensure that students are capable of identifying innovative solutions to the problems in the sector.

At the next level, (i.e. the business level), the students should be able to synthesize business strategy for example to coordinate, critique and test strategies using specific procedural design thinking skills, mindset and methods. The business level demands pre-evaluation of the user-centric design strategies (*desirability*), sustainable business strategies (*ecological, social and economic viability*) as well as the feasible implementation strategies (*feasibility*). The last level of the Education Design Ladder pedagogy is the Professional level. At this meta cognitive level, the student is then taught using the design thinking pedagogy strategically to evaluate (e.g. appraise, value and select) strategies and plan. Studies by Vinnakota and Narayana (2014) examine how design thinking can be integrated in strategic thinking to solve strategic paradoxes and tensions in enterprise settings.

Conclusions and Recommendations

In conclusion, it is important to note that the sustainable future of tourism sector in Kenya needs to be based on higher levels of training. The study findings have shown a very low uptake of the PRME in HEIs in Kenya. In order to tackle the problem of Overtourism, Kenya needs to focus on sustainable approaches that integrate design thinking and PRME in tourism management curricula. Kenya, and indeed Africa, cannot achieve sustainable tourism pathways without reforming tourism management education pedagogy as a significant strategy towards addressing Overtourism in the Kenyan context. We can achieve this by mainstreaming Overtourism education and Innovative thinking in tourism education pedagogy in the current tourism education pedagogy in Kenya. Specific recommendations from this chapter indicate that the Kenya Government should:

- Review and standardize Tourism Management Training Curricula in Kenya at the Undergraduate and Postgraduate levels and integrating the design learning pedagogy and Principles for Responsible Management Education (PRME);

- Integrate Sustainable tourism principles and best practices into the National Tourism education policy and Tourism planning frameworks;
- Invest in tourism education pedagogy research to continuously improve tourism management training in Kenya;
- Develop tourism innovation and incubation centres within the Universities to promote Design thinking in the Tourism sector;
- Retrain the Kenyan University and Colleges on Overtourism Education Pedagogies;
- Further research should be conducted on Overtourism strategy and Tourism Management Education design in the Kenyan context.

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Case Study 7: Principles of Responsible Management Education as a Tool to Tackle Overtourism—Potentials and Limitations for the University of Catania

Hugues Séraphin, Marco Platania, Manuela Pilato, and Tatiana Gladkikh

Introduction

The United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) defines overtourism as 'the impact of tourism on a destination, or parts thereof, that excessively influences perceived quality of life of citizens and/or quality of visitors' experience in a negative way (UNWTO 2018). 'Overtourism' became the word of the year 2017 and entered the Collins dictionary in 2018 (Dickinson 2018). Venice is the destination that

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epitomises this phenomenon (Milano 2017; Seraphin et al. 2018). However, despite the current attention, overtourism is not a recent phenomenon (Koens et al. 2018; Singh 2018) and the fact that it has not been resolved yet suggests that sustainability in tourism is difficult to achieve (Burrai et al. 2019).

Existing research on overtourism has discussed the phenomenon only from a tourism industry point of view. Indeed, the first ever book on overtourism edited by Dodds and Butler (2019) points us to three different categories identifiable in the existing research. First, research aiming at identifying the impacts of overtourism either on the environment, authenticity, the economy, locals and visitors (Rickly 2019; Nolan and Seraphin 2019). Second, research aiming at finding responses (at local or national level) to the phenomenon, either using social media and art or policy and planning (Dodds and Butler 2019; Weber et al. 2019). Third, research aiming at understanding the phenomenon and the triggers of it (Butler 2019; Roncak 2019).

It has been claimed that tourism is an industry, but it is also a meta-discipline (Seraphin 2012), it is therefore very important and relevant to investigate overtourism from an industry angle but also from an education perspective. From a structural point of view, this chapter is organised around two main sections. The first section offers a literature review articulated around sustainable tourism, PRME and the integration of PRME into tourism courses. The second section introduces Italy as a destination. Through our discussion we make a claim that the country would benefit from the introduction of PRME in the tourist courses in the country's educational institutions. To illustrate our point, we utilise the tourism course delivered at the University of Catania as a case study.

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Literature Review

Tourism and Sustainability

A widely recognised definition, from the report of the World Commission on Environment and Development, states that "sustainable development should ensure that it meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (World Commission on Environment and Development 2019). Economic growth and the need for more resources to satisfy societal needs, are contributing to increased public awareness regarding the importance of sustainability. The concept of sustainability could be generally understood and approached from three different angles, namely economic, social, and environmental (Elkington 1997; Lozano 2008). Economic sustainability seeks resource efficiency in order to achieve long-term profitability. Social sustainability encompasses social justice, social capital, community development, and social responsibility (Dempsey et al. 2011; Niñerola et al. 2019). Finally, environmental sustainability is to be approached from the perspective that natural resources are generally non-renewable, therefore need to be protected (Goodland 1995). If one of these three dimensions is not understood, adopted and implemented, sustainable development is not possible (Slocum 2015) due to the fact that the three dimensions are interrelated (Raven et al. 2010).

Academic research on tourism and sustainability is bourgeoning due to the considerable impacts of the industry on local economies and on the environment (Seraphin and Nolan 2019). The fact that sustainable tourism is a much researched area is also due to the fact that "Sustainability is possibly the most important issue facing the tourism industry in the twenty-first century" (Edgell and Swanson 2018: 45). Research in the area is among other activities highlighting the importance and challenges of achieving sustainability in the sector. (Buckley 2012; Niñerola et al. 2019). Research has also identified sustainability in tourism as a competitive advantage tool (Goffi et al. 2019; Cucculelli and Goffi 2016). Indeed, the tourism industry is a major contributor to job creation, and therefore

improvement of standard of living, mainly in emerging destinations (Berno and Bricker 2001; Higgins-Desbiolles 2006). Having been urged to contribute to the UN's 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the tourism industry needs to develop industry leaders with "strong sustainability" mind-sets (Cotterell et al. 2019). Issues related to overtourism such as tourismphobia and anti-tourism movements have shed light on sustainability even more (Jacobsen et al. 2019; Seraphin et al. 2018) and have particularly highlighted the fact that sustainability is very difficult to achieve (Burrai et al. 2019; Connell 2005). Sustainability in tourism, therefore, remains a challenge for the industry (Connell 2005; Muler Gonzalez et al. 2018).

PRME (Principle of Responsible Management Education)

PRME (Principle of Responsible Management Education) was created and launched in 2007 at the UN Global Compact Leaders Summit in Switzerland, with the purpose to "develop the capabilities of students to be generators of sustainable value for a more inclusive global economy" (Parkes et al. 2017: 61). Business schools have been identified as the best place to implement PRME as they are training the next generation of business leaders (Annan-Diab and Molinari 2017; Parkes et al. 2017). PRME has also been identified as a tool to achieve SDGs by the 2015 Global Forum for Responsible Management Education (Parkes et al. 2017), with the long-term objective of achieving a more sustainable world (Annan-Diab and Molinari 2017). To achieve these objectives, business schools and other providers have to review their curriculum design, pedagogy, research agenda; charge their practices; and built partnerships with all stakeholders involved in sustainability (Parkes et al. 2017). Principle 3 of PRME summarises the method used: "Create educational frameworks, materials, processes and environments that enable effective learning experiences for responsible leadership" (Haertle et al. 2017). More practically, one way of convincing students to become global citizens and responsible leaders could be by encouraging them to collaborate with people from developing countries (Tyran 2017). For

illustration, the engagement of the University of Winchester (a PRME champion institution) with SDGs is articulated around principle 5 of PRME (Partnership), and principle 6 (Dialogue), which translates practically into: daily talks on green campus initiatives and green travel options for staff and students induction in September welcome week; reward for staff for being green in the workplace as well as taking part in fitness and wellbeing activities on and off campus; Go Green Week, which is a programme including activities such as fruit tree planting; clothes swap; etc. (Sharing Information Progress report on the implementation of PRME, 2018).

Adopting a holistic interdisciplinary approach of education (in other words, when disciplines work in an integrated way) for sustainable development is extremely important, not only in education environments but also in professional environments (Annan-Diab and Molinari 2017). Indeed, Agenda 2030 is not only aiming at increasing business awareness of SDGs (Muff et al. 2017), but also at giving them a significant role to private businesses as drivers of change (Storey et al. 2017) through their Corporate Social Responsibility or CSR (Rosenbloom et al. 2017). More specifically, this could be achieved by implementing the Giving Voice to Value (GVV) approach, which is all about giving all good will and ideas a chance of being implemented effectively and successfully (Gentile 2017). Another way for businesses to play a role in SDGs via their CSR could be by implementing the Sustainability Literacy Test (Sulitest), which is an open online training and assessment tool aiming at raising awareness of sustainability at the moment used in Higher Education Institutions (Decamps et al. 2017). The impact of this interdisciplinary approach in education or in private businesses could help fighting poverty potentially at local, national and even global level (Rosenbloom et al. 2017; Weybrecht 2017). As the most important challenge of SDGs, fighting poverty gives businesses an opportunity to play their social role within the society, which ultimately is positive for them as businesses flourish better in contexts where the level of poverty is low (Rosenbloom et al. 2017). Additionally, contribution toward sustainability impacts positively on service users' satisfaction (Burga et al. 2017).

PRME is a tool that could be used to achieve SDGs. PRME could also be viewed as a tool to inform the strategy of an organisation, such as aligning its values and missions to what PRME are advocating (Sharing Information Progress report on the implementation of PRME, 2018).

PRME and Sustainable Tourism

In order to address the issue of overtourism, many recommendations have been suggested, but none are related to tourism education, let alone to PRME. By using PRME as a tool, this chapter adopts an innovative approach of unlocking changes in tourism sustainability and more specifically, in addressing overtourism and related perverse impacts. Additionally, by applying PRME as a tool, this chapter is supporting Visser's (2015) view that sustainability happens through transformational leadership and integrated value. The outcomes of this strategy are long-term as opposed to current short-term strategies that are suggested by academics or practitioners (Dodds and Butler 2019; Seraphin et al. 2019).

The paradigm which this study is advocating is summarised in Fig. 1, below:

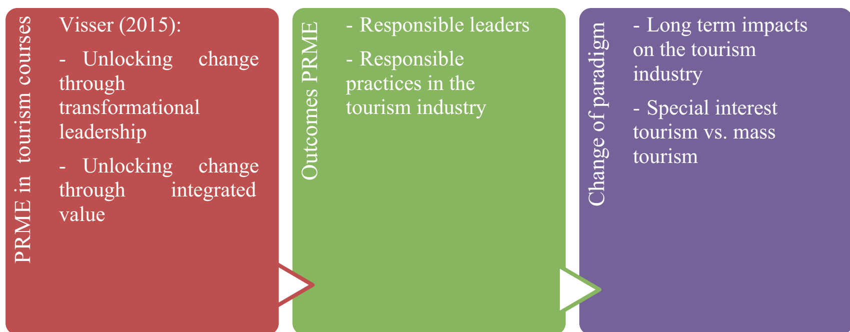

Fig. 1 PRME and the new tourism industry and education paradigm. (Source: The authors)

Methodology

Method

In order to investigate our proposed idea, we have used the following three-step approach:

Step 1: The list of PRME participants is identified from the PRME website (http://www.unprme.org)
Step 2: Italy is selected from the drop down menu
Step 3: Once the business schools / universities identified, it has been checked if they offer courses in tourism / hospitality / events / and leisure

Results from Search

Based on a Google search, there are around 90 universities and 13 business schools in Italy, totalling 103. Nine of them are part of the PRME network (Table 1). Six of the nine PRME institutions offer courses in Tourism, Hospitality, Events and/or Leisure:

Table 1 PRME and higher education institutions offering tourism (and related programmes) in Italy

University	Tourism	Hospitality	Events	Leisure
Alma Mater Studiorum-University of Bologna (Department of Management)	Yes	No	No	No
ALTIS postgraduate school Business & Society	No	No	No	No
Bologna Business School	Yes	No	Yes	No
Ca' Foscari University of Venice	Yes	No	No	No
Fondazione ISTUD	No	No	No	No
LUISS Business School & Department of Business & Management	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Politecnico di Milano School of Management	No	No	Yes	No
Scuola Superiore di Studi Universitari e di Perfezionamento Sant' Anna	No	No	No	No
SDA Bocconi School of Management	Yes	Yes	No	No

Source: The authors

- Alma Mater Studiorum-University of Bologna (Department of Management)
- Bologna Business School
- Ca' Foscari University of Venice
- LUISS Business School & Department of Business & Management
- Politecnico di Milano School of Management
- SDA Bocconi School of Management

Discussion

Italy as a Country and a Destination

Italy is the fifth most visited destinations in the world with 58.2 million visitors in 2017. Between the 1980s and 2019, the destination has more or less maintained its positions, as it was number four in 1980 (France DGE 2018 [Online]).

As for the income generated by the tourism industry, Italy is number six. Between 1980 and 2017, the destination has dropped three ranks (France DGE 2018 [Online]). The phenomena of overtourism and related perverse impacts such as anti-tourism movements and tourismphobia, could potentially explain the drop of income generated by the tourism industry in Italy. Indeed, as a destination, Italy epitomises the phenomena of overtourism (Milano 2017; Seraphin et al. 2018).

Rome remains the most visited city in Italy with 29 million visitors, followed by Venice and Milan with 12.1 million visitors each (Italian National Institute of Statistics 2018).

Italy remains overall a very competitive country as it is ranked 31st out of 140 destinations despite its issues of overtourism.

Tourism Education in Italy

The following quote summarises the situation of tourism education in Italy (OECD 2011: 141–142):

> The 'Italian system for higher education follows the EU Bologna process, with three year degrees and two-year postgraduate courses. Graduate and postgraduate courses are often integrated, the postgraduate offer being seen as a natural progression. According to the Committee for the Enhancement of Education and Training in Tourism, the structuring of a high-level Italian system of research and education in tourism and the consolidation of a coherent tertiary education offer have been made difficult due to a shortage of funding and to a continuous change in state regulations. The weak demand for undergraduate tourism courses (and changes in regulations) creates an unstable environment for postgraduate courses and a high turnover, which makes difficult the establishment of good connections between the industry and the university (…). Tourism businesses are not involved in the development or delivery of university courses; evidence suggests that these university courses are not well aligned to the needs of the tourism firms and to changes and developments in the tourism market. Italy should strengthen the multidisciplinary approach of its university courses in tourism and find a better equilibrium linking higher education with practical experience. Innovative programmes associating several universities could allow the provision of a multi-disciplinary higher education offer in tourism'.

The table below (Table 2) shows a decrease in the number of provision of courses in tourism as a result of the decrease of students (Table 4) interested in studying tourism.

The table below shows a decrease in the number of students in tourism over the years (Table 3):

Table 2 Number of university tourism courses in Italy

Year	Number of undergraduate degree courses	Number of postgraduate courses	Total courses
2001	60	..	60
2004	57	21	78
2007	53	32	85
2008	47	34	81
2009	41	30	71

..: Data not available

Source: Committee for the Enhancement of Education and Training in Tourism, 2010

Table 3 Number of university students in Italy

Academic year	Students in tourism undergraduate and postgraduate degrees	% over the previous year	Total university students in Italy	% over the previous year
2004/05	7615	n.a.	343,424	n.a.
2005/06	6829	−10%	320,273	−7%
2006/07	6599	−3%	311,421	−3%
2007/08	6125	−7%	308,143	−1%
2008/09	5754	−6%	290,193	−6
2008/09 over 2004/05	n.a.	−24%	n.a.	−16%

n.a.: not applicable
Source: Committee for the Enhancement of Education and Training in Tourism, 2010

Table 4 Number of university courses in tourism by region

Region	Number of degrees	% of total in Italy
Campania	10	12
Sicilia	9	11
Lombardia	8	10
Lazio	7	9
Toscana	6	7
Other regions	41	51
Italy	81	100

Source: Committee for the Enhancement of Education and Training in Tourism, 2010

Many university courses are located in the regions which are not leaders in tourism activities. There is a relative divide between the areas where the tourism-training offer is taking place and the areas generating the demand for such training. Five regions account for 50% of the university courses available (Table 4). This situation makes more difficult the development of close relationships with tourism entrepreneurs, the adaptation of the education content to the industry needs and a greater professionalisation of university activities (e.g. practical experiences and training) (OECD 2011: 142).

Tourism Industry, Overtourism and Tourism Courses in Italy: Hypothesis

Italy remains one of the world leading tourist destinations, despite a provision of courses that do not systematically meet the needs of the industry. To some extent, the case of Italy is challenging the quote from The National Advisory Council for Education and Training Targets (1994) stating that "In the future, the most successful nations will be those which develop high quality, skilled and motivated workforces and those which make the most of the talents of all their people".

Additionally, based on the fact that current course provisions are not meeting the needs of the industry, it could be argued that the current issues related to overtourism are partly related to the lack of sustainable management skills of current Italian tourism leaders. Hence, it could be proposed that PRME should be included in every tourism programme. This action could resolve and help avoiding the current situation of overtourism of some Italian destinations such as Venice (hypothesis). It is important to note that, according to data on tourism courses provision (2011), six out of 81 institutions are already offering tourism and related courses and implementing PRME.

Recommendations

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) has identified the following areas of improvement of studies on tourism in Italy:

- A better match between training provisions and industry is needed.
- Additional training programmes (training developed by employers; apprenticeship; etc.) are also needed.

Following this recommendation, this chapter is arguing that PRME should be included in every tourism programme. This is further supported by the following framework:

- There is also a demand for sustainable products and services in the tourism, hospitality and event industry (Dodds and Butler 2019; Mair and Popely 2019; Seraphin and Nolan 2019).
- There is an urge for a more sustainable world (Annan-Diab and Molinari 2017).
- Business schools have been identified as the best place to implement Principles of Responsible Management Education as they are training the next generation of business leaders (Annan-Diab and Molinari 2017; Parkes et al. 2017).
- Visser (2015) argues that sustainability could be achieved among other things by unlocking change through transformational leadership, and through integrated value.

Case Study: Tourism Modules at the University of Catania (Italy)

Presentation of Catania as a Destination

Catania and the University of Catania have been chosen because two of the co-authors of this chapter are from this area. Additionally, one of them is lecturing in this institution, as for the other one, she used to be a student there. Catania and the University of Catania are therefore convenient samples. Last but not least, as the University of Catania is not a PRME institution, investigating the application of PRME to modules in tourism might give senior managers at university some thoughts regarding the content of the tourism programme.

The city of Catania is located in the isle of Sicily (Italy), near the Etna volcano, which is the highest Mediterranean island mountain and the most active stratovolcano in the world (UNESCO 2019). The tourism sector (in Catania and surrounding areas) is one of the most significant socio-economic activities. Cultural tourism (as a special interest form of tourism) is the main pull factor for the city (Cellini and Cuccia 2007). Among the most popular tourist sites could be named: Mount Etna, the cities of Val di Noto (late Baroque), Syracuse and the necropolis of

Pantalica (UNESCO 2019). The 1990s have been a turning point in the tourism development of Catania. Catania's airport which is one of the biggest in Italy, has played a significant role in the tourism development of the area (Parroco et al. 2012). The construction of hotels and development of alternative form of accommodation have also played a significant role in the tourism development of the destination (Cellini and Cuccia 2007). Table 5 below provides data on the evolution of tourist arrivals in Catania (and Sicily). Overall, data are showing an increase of number of visitors.

Presentation of Tourism Courses at the University of Catania

The University of Catania is the oldest university in Sicily as it dates back 1434. Forty thousand students are enrolled at the University. From a structural point of view, the institution is organised around 17 Departments and the Faculty of Medicine. Since 1998, the University of Catania has the status of "Scuola Superiore di Catania" (university of excellence) (University of Catania 2019). From a tourism course provision, the university delivers a BSc in Tourism Management. The content of the BSc is as follows (Table 6):

Recruitment for the BSc went down from 2015–2016 due to the introduction of the admission tests[1] (Table 7).

After their degree the majority of the graduates work in the area of cultural tourism as tour guides or in management positions (Dipartimento di scienze della formazione 2019).

[1] According to the rules introduced by the Italian University reform of the 1999, the application process may be developed in three alternative ways: (i) degrees with open access upon successful completion of secondary school; (ii) degrees with access regulated at national level and therefore that can be accessed upon successful completion of secondary school and of a standardized national entry test; (iii) degrees with access regulated at local level and therefore it can be accessed upon successful completion of secondary school and with a test provided by the University (Durazzi 2014). The latter is the case of the BSc.

Table 5 Tourism statistics of Catania, its province and Sicilia Region

	2015		2016		2017		2018	
	Arrivals	Overnight stay	Arrivals	Overnight stay	Arrivals	Overnight stay	Arrivals	Overnight stay
Catania	394,962	905,834	378,384	794,925	457,085	946,029	474,025	975,888
Catania Province	818,546	1,977,854	817,880	1,824,472	934,578	2,088,371	951,513	2,112,000
Sicilia Region	4,528,859	14,510,708	4,408,499	13,698,160	4,857,542	14,704,926	4,998,055	15,135,259

Source: Dipartimento Turismo, Sport e Spettacolo—Osservatorio Turistico, Sicilia Region (2018)

Table 6 BSc Tourism Management at the University of Catania

Modules		
Year 1	Year 2	Year 3
Classical archaeology	One module of the following: Tourism law Public law	Tourism informatics
Economics	Tourism economics	Tourism geography
Greek history	Medieval history	One module of the following: Foreign languages: France Foreign languages: Spanish Foreign languages: German.
Roman history	Foreign languages: English 2	One module of the following: Market research Economics and Business Administration of tourism firms
Foreign languages: English 1	One module of the following: Museology and museography History of medieval art History of modern art	Modern and contemporary history
Tourism statistic	One module of the following: Tourism psychology Tourism sociology Sociology of cultural and communication processes	Stage
One module of the following: Heritage anthropology Prehistory of Sicily History of Ancient Sicily	One module of the following: Christian and medieval archaeology Sicily archaeology History of modern Sicily	
	Stage	

Source: Dipartimento di Scienze della Formazione (2019)

Table 7 Students enrolled in "Tourism Science" bachelor degree at University of Catania

Academic year	2015–16	2016–17	2017–18
Registrations at the first year	199	71	93
Registrations at the second year	64	116	75
Registrations at the third year	76	37	57
Graduates	26	60	53

Source: University of Catania (2019)

Sustainability at the University of Catania

The strategic plan of the University of Catania recognises the importance of sustainability, and is committed to play a role in the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals. Amongst the actions taken by the university are (University of Catania 2019):

- Sustainable mobility: Mobility management policies have focused on efforts to improve the accessibility of Faculties, Departments and other parts of the University, with public transport in line with the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals.
- Plastic-free: installation of filtered water dispensers and distribution of thermos to staff and students to reduce plastic consumption.
- Waste management: "best practices" to promote a separate collection system for urban waste applicable throughout the University.
- Energy auditing: to reduce electricity consumption.
- Responsible food supply chain: to guarantee good quality of food for the University canteen
- Training: to improve the knowledge and sensibility of University staff in line with the Sustainable Goals.

The University of Catania's commitment to sustainability is also evident through its involvement with the Network of Universities for Sustainable Development (RUS). RUS is the first ever network of Italian universities committed to play an active part in sustainability. Members of this network are not only sharing good practices but also disseminating knowledge based on their achievement. The 2019–2021 Strategic Plan of the University of Catania provides the commitment to adhere to Agenda

2030, to achieve the 17 objectives of SDGs, in different areas of research, teaching, organizational governance and external leadership (University of Catania 2019).

As for the BSc in Tourism Management, there is no module specifically dedicated to sustainability. However, sustainability is included in such modules such as Tourism Legislations, Tourism Economics and Tourism Geography. International guidelines from the World Tourism Organisations (UNEP and UNWTO 2005) and local initiatives are covered in the curriculum. Case studies (local and international) are also used to discuss sustainability. It could be argued that the University of Catania would benefit to be part of the PRME network, as at the moment, sustainability is covered sporadically across the programme with no clear structure, aims and objectives. On a wider scale, however, Sicily places sustainability very high on the local authorities' agenda and the issues of sustainability are constantly discussed through a variety a media. The University of Catania would also potentially benefit from being a PRME member as it might empower the University to make a bigger contribution to the local and regional sustainability activities. It might help to increase the number of applicants wishing to study for a tourism degree as PRME would help the current tourism programme to deliver a content that is even more relevant to the needs of the industry. It is equally important that this might increase the employability of students. In a nutshell, being part of the PRME network might help institutions to address some of the issues of tourism courses in Italy identified by the OECD.

Conclusion

As a tool PRME has a strong potential to help to achieve sustainability not only in tourism but also in other industries. As far as tourism is concerned, and more specially, tourism education, PRME is not yet a norm or a panacea. Indeed, not all institutions where tourism is taught have joined the PRME network. The same could also be said about any management disciplines. At the moment, the decisions regarding sustainability education in tourism courses are left to the discretion of each higher

education institution. Being part of the PRME network would influence a compulsory requirement to imbed sustainability in tourism courses more effectively. This could then become a normal practice in the tourism education and tourism industry.

We propose that for this to happen PRME should become a 'must have' accreditation. Indeed, Caton (2014) argued that today's tourism curriculum is more geared towards economic interest and private good rather than public good. At the moment there is no extrinsic incentives for education institutions to join the network. As for the case of the BSc in Tourism Management of the University of Catania, it is providing evidence that sustainability is high in the agenda of tourism programmes, but needs to adopt a more structured, more holistic and more inclusive strategy which would involve all stakeholders of the tourism eco-system.

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Part IV

Conclusion

Conclusion

Hugues Séraphin, Tatiana Gladkikh, and Tan Vo Thanh

Overtourism and Potential Solutions

Overtourism and under-tourism are inevitable in an era characterized by globalisation, sophistication and emancipation. Overtourism and under-tourism are the outcome of poor planning, mismanaged destinations and lack of coordination. Both have shared responsibilities in destroying a destination, as different stakeholders nurture contrasting and conflicting interests. Destination Marketing Organizations have a key role to play in the game of overtourism and under-tourism. Negative impacts associated with allowing mass numbers of people into one area occur in a variety of

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ways. Overcrowding at an attraction creates issues with vandalism, litter, theft and degradation of the site, which in turn impedes tourists from experiencing full satisfaction with the destination. In addition, destinations may become more commercialized in order to provide goods and services to tourists to generate more profits causing a loss of the traditional culture and values of the destination. As a result, some of the more popular tourist destinations have increased fees, imposed fines, staggered hours of entrance and exit times, have hired educated staff members and have partnered with organisations to alleviate the negative impacts associated with overtourism at their heritage and cultural sites.

The book finds that in the cases examined, overtourism acquires its meaning through the reporting of claims of cultural loss and the impact of tourism lets on housing, as well as through counter claims often involving concerns about tourismphobia. Hence the importance of relative rather than absolute visitor numbers in the rural context, where local residential populations are normally low and settlements are small and often relatively isolated. In such contexts anticipation of the effects of increased visitor numbers is often not accurate (if considered at all), which leaves residents disturbed and annoyed at the negative impacts they experience. That said, the findings suggest that overtourism issues should be analysed at local scale as it is not a problem of the whole destination but a problem that only affects certain locations. The literature has also failed to identify the reasons why certain locations are congested. However, recent studies have been able to analyse tourist flows and their characteristics using tracking techniques, and this could help policy makers to understand overtourism. As for international tourism organisations, the emphasis of their communication is on the economic growth of tourism. Sustainable development and inclusion of local population are debated, but the concept of gentrification of city centres is forgotten. However, step by step, since the beginning of 2019, these organisations are becoming aware of the dangers and challenges of overtourism, not only in cities but also in natural and rural destinations.

In terms of strategies to tackle overtourism, the book highlights the efficiency of ambidextrous management (exploitation and exploration) applied to tourism. The book also confirms the importance of innovation in tourism management and ultimately implies an actionable design of

overtourism. Additionally, from a destination management perspective, a proposed model of Overtourism Education (OE) could serve as a comprehensive template to prevent the occurrence of common issues related to overtourism in a wide range of destinations. OE contributes a novel concept to tourism literature by combining strategies derived from Educational Psychology and Marketing to solve overtourism. Another way education could be used as a suitable approach is by engaging with such initiatives such as Principles of Responsible Management Education (PRME), in which educational institutions have assumed the role in contributing towards a sustainable world. With effective implementation of the six principles in tourism education, it is expected that graduates would develop responsible attitude and take decisions in consideration with socio-economic and environmental sustainability. However, such challenges as awareness, resistance and resource constraints need to be acknowledged. As for tourismphobia, the facilitation of convergence between locals and tourists through organising events which facilitate the creation of intangible shared values is also viewed as a suitable approach.

Tourism Today

Tourism could be assimilated to a merry go round of roles (Fig. 1). Indeed, similar to the tourism industry which has a Janus-faced character, as individuals we also have a Janus-faced character. As a result, locals complain about the invasion into their area when they do not benefit from the tourism industry. Those benefiting directly or indirectly from the industry do not perceive any issues with the tourism and/or overtourism. Additionally, the same locals who are complaining about overtourism do not see any problem with tourism and/or overtourism when they themselves become tourists and invade the environment of others. On that basis, the relevance of the terms 'overtourism' and 'tourismphobia' could be questioned. It seems that the solution to all these 'issues could be summarised into three points: Self-awareness (we need to understand that we as individuals are 'locals' but also 'visitors', depending on our geographical location. The second point is Tolerance. This point is related to the first one. Whichever position we are in, it is important to

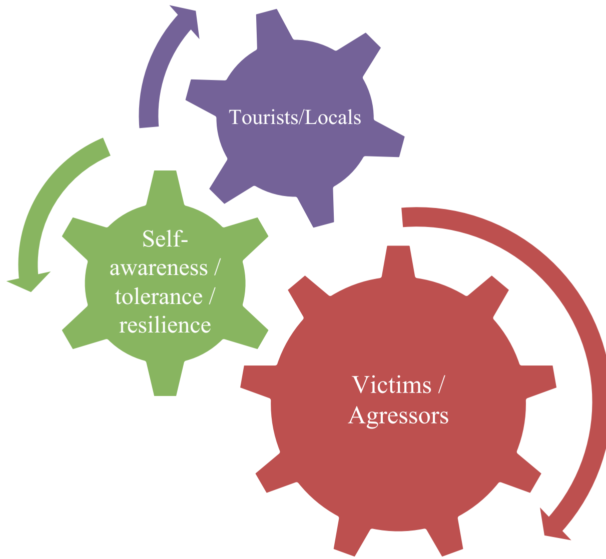

Fig. 1 Tourism: A merry go-round of roles. (Source: The authors)

understand that our impacts can be similarly positive and negative, and equally important, to be able to put ourselves in the other's shoes. Finally, yet importantly, Resilience, which is an ability of a group to recover from the pressure put on by another group. Overtourism (and related perverse impacts), as we know it, seems to be a construct engineered by the media and academia, more than anything else.

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