Not tourism-phobia but urban-philia: understanding stakeholders' perceptions of urban touristification

No es turismofobia sino urbanofilia:

percepciones de la turisficación urbana de los grupos de interés

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Abstract

Tourism development affects prominent city centres worldwide, causing social unrest that has been labelled "tourism-phobia." This article problematizes the recent appearance of this term by unravelling the links between the materiality of contemporary urban tourism and the response it receives from social movements opposing its expansion. We endeavour to understand the meaning that different actors involved in the city's touristification attach to this term, and in particular the perceptions of citizens' movements that claim to espouse not tourism-phobia but urban-philia. To analyze these dynamics, we draw on Lefebvre's discussion of the "right to the city" to highlight the extractive productive relations characterizing the tourism industry and the contestations such relations trigger. Taking the example of two Spanish cities (Barcelona and Palma), our findings indicate that the social malaise found in tourist oversaturation is due to the disruption it causes to everyday life, including price increases and rising rents. Consequently, the discomfort popular mobilisations have generated among the ruling class has led the latter to disqualify and even criminalise the former's legitimate claims under the label of tourism-phobia. To conclude, we call for a future research agenda in pursuit of social justice and equity around re-touristification, de-touristification or even tourist degrowth.

Key words: tourism, right to the city, tourism-phobia, urban struggle, urban-philia.

Resumen

El desarrollo turístico afecta a centros urbanos prominentes en todo el mundo, causando un malestar social que ha sido etiquetado como "turismo-fobia." El objetivo de nuestra contribución es explicar la reciente aparición de este término al desentrañar los vínculos entre la materialidad del turismo urbano contemporáneo y la respuesta que recibe de los movimientos sociales que se oponen a su expansión, intentando así comprender las acepciones que los actores implicados en la turistificación de la ciudad dan al término. Para analizar estas dinámicas, recurrimos a la discusión de Lefebvre sobre el "derecho a la ciudad". Tomando el ejemplo de dos ciudades españolas (Barcelona y Palma), usamos metodologías basadas en teoría fundamentada, entrevistas en profundidad, observación participante, análisis de estrategias políticas discursivas e investigación activista. Nuestros hallazgos indican que el malestar social que se encuentra en la sobresaturación turística se debe a la interrupción que causa en la vida cotidiana. En consecuencia, la clase dominante, molesta por las movilizaciones por el derecho a la ciudad, ha descalificado e incluso criminalizado reivindicaciones legítimas, etiquetándolas de turismofóbicas. Para concluir, proponemos una futura agenda de investigación de estrategias por una mayor

justicia y equidad social, a partir de returistificación, desturistificación o incluso decrecimiento turístico.

Palabras clave: turismo; derecho a la ciudad; turismofobia; conflicto urbano; urbanofilia.

1 Introduction

The global economic crisis precipitated by the collapse of the housing boom in 2008 has been addressed, among other measures, by reliance on tourism development, thus expanding its reach to new areas, such as housing, traditional trade or the commercial use of public space in urban historic centres. This intensification of tourist activities has several repercussions that emerge in the form of conflicts with residents in affected areas, who increasingly complain about saturation, congestion, rising costs of living, spatial dispossession and even evictions they experience as a result of this activity. Residential and political organisations in Amsterdam, Venice, Barcelona, Madrid, Malaga and Palma (Majorca), among many other locations, have therefore claimed their "right to the city," either in terms of a simple claim to occupy space or an explicit urban-philia.

A democratic response, especially noticeable in the Spanish municipal elections of 2015, rose to favour the formation of local governments that eventually approved regulations limiting tourism growth (Blanco-Romero, Blázquez-Salom & Cànoves, 2018). It is within this context that the term "tourism-phobia" was coined as an argument seeking to delegitimise political opposition to the growing touristification. This epithet seeks to "disqualify by comparison" (Bar-Tal, 2000), categorising as "whiny" those groups expressing dissatisfaction with tourism growth. In this way a parallel is expressly made between those who oppose tourism and other groups that society at large tends to value negatively: xenophobic, homophobic, misogynistic or intolerant people in general. In this way, not only does the label seek to neutralise any divergent opinion and action (Borja, 2004), but antagonistic praxis is ultimately stigmatised as well.

By qualifying political mobilisation in response to touristification as violent and by labelling it as an adversary element, especially when it goes against the structures of the state and entrenched power, criminalisation is facilitated and repressive measures more easily deployed against it (Sabucedo et al., 2004). To account for the emergence and use of the tourism-phobia concept, we intend to contribute to its contestation by first probing its origin. Towards this end we have conducted a study of the term's appearance in the case of Spanish cities affected by increasing touristification. This consists of analysing the discourses and practices of those actors involved in its

use, while seeking to contrast this with the assumptions already established in other academic commentary on the topic.

Our main thesis is that the term tourism-phobia arises to repress complaints and to defend the tourism industry's economic interests; that its effect is amplified by mass media; and, finally, that its employment as a weapon (Blanco-Romero, Blazquez-Salom & Morell, 2018) has paradoxically rebounded back against those who first launched it, to the extent that these actors now aim to eradicate its very usage. The term's recent decline in use in the mass media, we assert, is a consequence of its failure to influence the dissenting groups. Rather than making dissenters more sympathetic with the industry —or, as certain authors suggest, even become "tourism-philic" (Zerva, et al., 2019)— instead it backfired against those who first introduced the term. In other words, this weapon, primarily designed to stifle the criticism of tourism, turned out to be a boomerang (Liotta, 2002) that returned the blow to the originators.

Our work focuses on analysing and explaining, on the one hand, the meanings and uses that the different actors involved in the touristification of the city give to the concept; and on the other, how the reactions of social and citizens' movements can be alternately explained as "urban-philia," or assertion of a right to the city. Through the lens of the term tourism-phobia, we aim to contribute to the theoretical debate on oversaturation of historical city centres by, first, building on the 5D model of conventional tourism management outlined by Milano (2018) to integrate a sixth D designating the tactic of _discrediting_ contestation through tourism-phobia accusations. Second, we go beyond these Ds focused on sustaining tourism growth in the face of mounting obstacles to propose an alternative set of double D-Ds advocating _degrowth_ to counter the economic expansion precipitating oversaturation itself (see Fletcher et al., 2019).

We begin by describing our methodology with respect to the sampling of sources and selecting informants aiming to maximise differences by choosing divergent discourses while pursuing saturation of information. We then offer a theoretical reflection on the term tourism-phobia, particularly concerning its relationship with the ideological hegemony of neoliberal capitalism. Following this we introduce some examples of social movements that have been labelled as "tourism-phobic" in order to examine the roots of the reported conflicts. In contrast to their derisive labelling as tourism-phobic, we understand these demands for the "right to the city" both as a rejection of the logic of the capitalist expansion and resistance to its institutional co-optation by the state. It is precisely with Henri Lefebvre's "right to the city" in mind, as we are now celebrating this publication's 50th anniversary, that we seek to highlight the productive relations that form the base

of the extractive character of the tourism industry and the contestations such relations trigger. We conclude by outlining a future research agenda to explore the potential for territorial rebalancing through the search for strategies for post-capitalist retouristification and detouristification or even touristic degrowth.

2 Methodology

Our study is based on qualitative research aiming to develop a holistic understanding of the concept tourism-phobia by reviewing the literature that has dealt with the topic and situating this within relevant research from other domains in order to construct a theoretical model via which to understand it. This model thus combines theoretical and empirical insights. Several qualitative methodological options have been employed in the research, the most central being Grounded Theory (GT, Charmaz & Belgrave, 2015). Within qualitative social scientific research, GT is one of the most frequently used approaches (Corbin & Strauss, 1990), and the one considered most suitable method for theoretical development (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). It is a systematic and standardised method based on empirical data that offers a rigorous analytic process. It overcomes the problem of traceability and even achieves replicable testing to a considerable degree, thus attaining high reliability. Rather than reviewing previous literature, developing a hypothesis and then testing it, the GT process starts with data collection, gradually building up categories and forming a theory based on this before linking that theory to previous literature. GT therefore does not set out to test an existing pre-defined hypothesis, but instead has the aim of developing new theory (Hook, 2015).

Besides the use of GT, a detailed analysis of the secondary sources was carried out with a focus on existing studies conducted by different stakeholders: public administrations, institutions promoting tourism studies and social movements. This literature review draws on the still scarce academic commentary on the topic as well as general press materials and grey literature. It provides the foundation for development and testing of the study's main hypothesis and for construction of the theoretical model.

With the aim of discovering perceptions and qualified opinions, we have also conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews with different stakeholders and qualified informants (social

movements, hoteliers and local administration representatives)[1], to gather and code data to build an initial theoretical model. Individual residents of the most affected neighbourhoods were also interviewed. Finally, we have engaged in active participant observation and participatory action research with some of the different organisations involved in the discussions. Among these different organisations there are those responsible for managing different tourism policies, business representatives and activists in oppositional movements. Relevant stakeholders engaged via these methods are detailed in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Research Informants
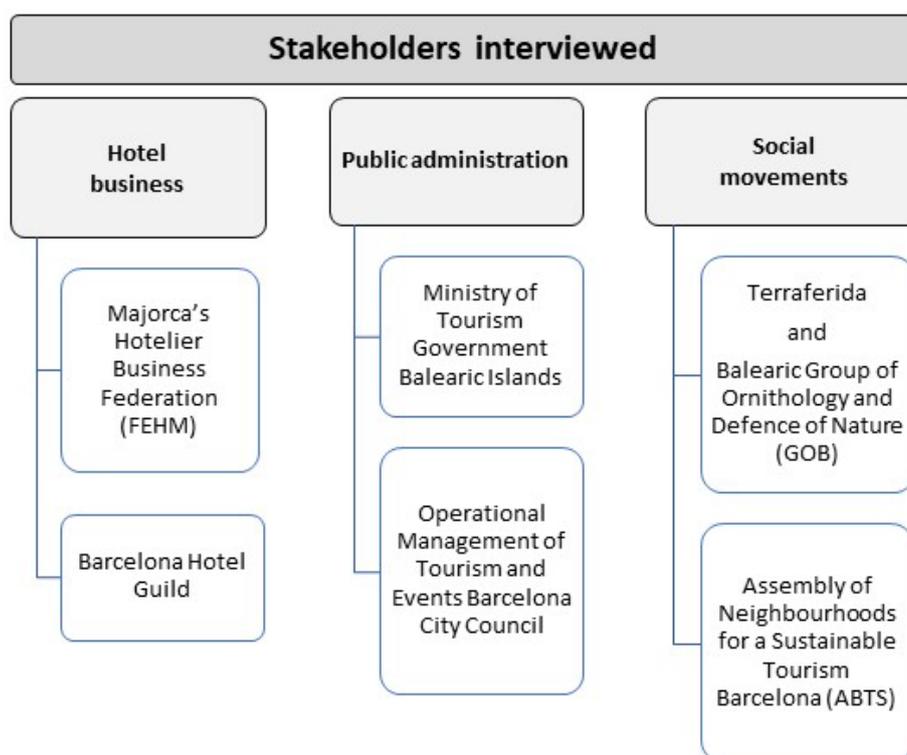
Source: authors' elaboration

As we have already pointed out, our sample of sources and informants aimed to maximise the differences among them in terms of their allegiance to available divergent discourses. Among these different perspectives, we will focus in particular on examples of social mobilisations that have been branded tourism-phobic as a lens through which to examining the root of the conflicts in which they are embroiled. By triangulating across the various methods and sources we achieve a more comprehensive analysis of the phenomenon that any one method in isolation could provide. To

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1   The questionnaires and in-depth interviews were made in June and July 2019 in Barcelona and Palma and are on file at the TUDISTAR research group headquarters, at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. They can be consulted by contacting us (tudistar@uab.cat).

develop our analysis of political strategies, we draw on Liotta's (2002) discussion of the different ways that promotion of discursive labels as political strategy can play out in practice. One of these is what Van Buuren and Warner, drawing on Liotta, call a "backfiring label," in which "the label unintentionally comes right back at the initiator like an inexpertly thrown boomerang" (2014, p. 1001). More on this in the following.

3 Origin, definition and uses of the "tourism-phobia" concept

As Yanes (2017) explains, we can find the origin of the tourism-phobia concept in the expression "tourism-phobic offensive" used in 2007 by José Antonio Donaire, a geography lecturer at the University of Girona. Donaire was referring to the "phase of antagonism" (see the "Irridex," or Irritation Index, of tourist destinations according to Doxey, 1975) that he began to detect in the life cycle of tourist destinations (Butler, 1980) he had experienced. The interesting part of the case, Milano (2017a & 2017b) adds, is that it is collective social movements that end up formalising this discomfort.

Shortly after Donaire's introduction, the anthropologist Manuel Delgado used the term "tourist-phobia" in his column in the journal *El País* (Delgado, 2008). According to Mansilla (2017), with this term Delgado did not refer so much to a social exhaustion caused by the extractive model of tourism development as to the direct contempt of residents towards tourists. This distinction is important because it indicates a shift in the term's use over time from depicting an innocent "misunderstanding" to a supposed "victimisation" of the tourist, accompanied by the criminalisation of those who manifest their discomfort with the overarching political economic system and use the tourist as means merely to express this discomfort (exemplified by the campaign "Tourism kills the city", see Figure 2).

The term was subsequently propagated quite widely (see Huete & Mantecón, 2018; Mansilla, 2018) to become, together with its corollary "overtourism," "the buzzwords of 2017" (Milano et al., 2019, p. 354). Like overtourism, the subject of extensive analysis elsewhere (e.g. Milano, 2017b; Milano et al., 2019), "tourism-phobia" has consequently become the focus of a growing body of scholarly research. While some employ the term uncritically as a seemingly neutral descriptor of a critical attitude towards tourism development (e.g. Zerva et al., 2018), most seek to critically deconstruct the use of the term as an ideological instrument. Thus, Espinosa Zepeda (2017) describes it as a means to "pathologize this social unrest" to which it points while Milano and co-authors concur that it "could be viewed as a sensationalist and oversimplified media narrative criticising the impacts of tourism" (Milano et al., 2019, p. 354). Going further, the authors

assert, "Imprecisely and exploitatively adopted by Spanish mass media, the term has been used to describe the emergence of social discontent with the pressures linked to tourism growth, as well as toward discrediting and besmirching the activities of grassroots-led social movements and civil society groups involved" (ibid.). From this critical perspective, tourism-phobia can be understood as an accusatory term that seeks to legitimise, "Gag" Law in hand (Organic Law 4/2015, of March 30, on the protection of citizen security), the repressive reaction against the claims that advocate the use of the city and, by extension, of the territory in general. Exemplifying this interpretation, the Spanish parliamentary group of the Popular Party promoted a no-legislative proposition "to boost measures against tourism-phobia in Spain" (Grupo Parlamentario Popular, 20148, June 29).

Figure 2. English version of stickers containing messages that reject tourism
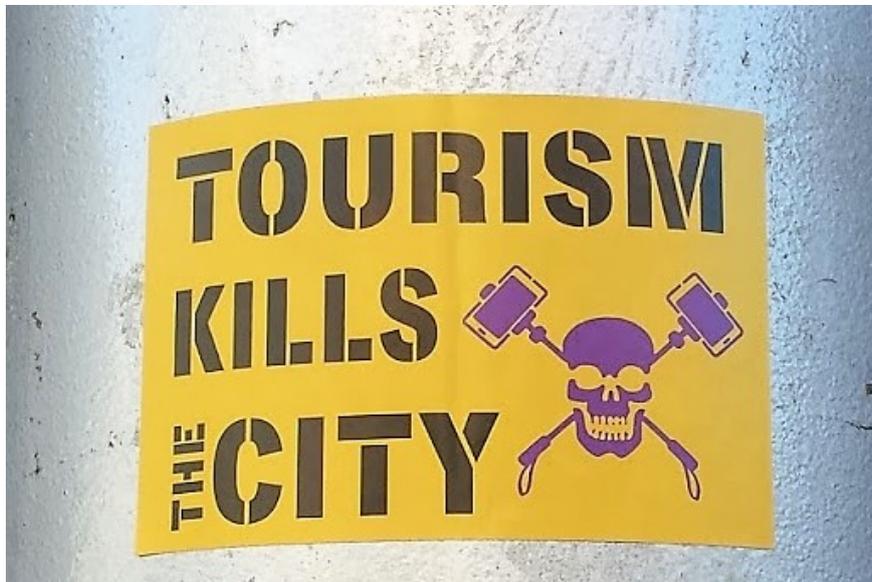
Source: Blanco-Romero (Barcelona, April 2016)

This reactionary countermovement arises as a response to the progressive mobilisations especially active since 2011 (e.g. the demands of 15M and Occupy the Streets movements) that follow the lead, even if unknowingly, of Henri Lefebvre's foundational work on the defence of the right to the city (Lefebvre, 1996[1968]) (see Figure 3). What interests the French philosopher in this work is not so much the immediate satisfaction of specific social needs as the new needs that arise in the transition from an industrial society ruled by labour to an urban society characterized by pursuit of unmediated pleasure. In relation to this transition, Lefebvre not only denounced the advance of the frontier of exchange value within the city —that is, of the city as a business, with its total conversion into a commodity at the exclusive service of the interests of the accumulation of capital— but firmly

advocated the full re-appropriation of this city rather than merely participating in its consumption (Lefebvre, 1996, especially pp. 160—174).

Figure 3. Poster vindicating the right to the city

Source: Blázquez-Salom (Palma, Majorca, 2018, April 27)

From this perspective, the tourism restructuring of the city (Blanco-Romero, Blázquez-Salom & Mínguez, 2017) can be understood to provoke the social response that in turn is criminalised by labelling it tourism-phobia. Thus, Arteaga and Hernández (2017) argue that, among other conflicts of coexistence, it is precisely the disconnection between the tourism strategy proposed by the administration and the vision that citizens hold their own city that causes the conflict in question. We will not deny that confusion is guaranteed in this way. Consequently, in some areas the epithet will be accepted without further debate, with some even adopting the term as self-description, while in other cases we will find a generalised repudiation of the term and an insistence on a professed philia towards the spaces of life and towards the struggle undertaken to protect them.

There are even those who, from an academic ivory tower quite disconnected from social movements, will end up vilifying everything that relates to tourism-phobia as if it were mere media noise (see Huete & Mantecón, 2018). This attitude of rejection and denunciation local populations express against the tourist industry often sympathetically extends to the consumers, the tourists, following a division that emphasises the allochthonous and invasive nature of the latter, since they seem to penetrate residents' intimate space. We here find the threatened backstage that Dean MacCannell (1999) posed as so necessary for the social reproduction of the daily life of the

"locals." Another way of dealing with this issue identifies tourism-phobia as a sensationalist simplification, while the term tourist saturation is deemed to enable a paradigm shift, highlighting the structural deficits of current economic tourism policy (Milano, Novelli & Cheer, 2019).

At first glance, it seems that the cause of this discomfort lies in the saturation of the physical environment, in the loss of comfort and, above all, in the increase in the cost of daily life. No less true is that if we delve deeper, we will also find that the quality of working conditions in tourism tends towards precariousness, flexibility and seasonality, all of which accompany the commodification of public space (via dispossession by competition within the market, public concession of physical space or even by privatisation) and the rise in the cost of housing when it is not directly converted into tourist accommodation. In general terms, what we are witnessing is an emphasis on the tourist function of the city, with the advance of the tourism frontier (Colomb & Novy, 2016), and it is precisely here where the crux of the matter of all this discomfort is to be found.

Neglected in discussion thus far is attention to the ideological work performed by the term tourism-phobia, that is, on how it has or has not succeeded in pathologizing or delegitimising the social unrest that it targets. Our analysis thus contributes to the discussion in addressing this important theme. As implied above, we will argue that use of the term "tourism-phobia" has in fact failed to delegitimate social movements in the manner intended but has in fact rebounded upon its promoters in what can be considered a "backfiring effect" (Van Buuren & Warner, 2014). This, as we demonstrate in the following analysis, is how the "tourism-phobia" label seems to have functioned in the years since its introduction.

3.1 Corollary of the term's appearance and its use in political discourses

The elements that contribute to the appearance of social mobilisations against tourist oversaturation have to do with very diverse factors that, as indicated by Espinosa (2017), in no way can we qualify as individual symptoms but as "signs of a malaise that is necessary to re-politicise." According to Gabancho (2016), the problem of tourism's excess is due to a low-quality development model, reflected in the highly unequal distribution of wealth created, the appropriation of public space, excessive pressure in the centre of cities and a change in the commercial fabric. Xavier Suñol, a representative of the municipal public administration of Barcelona responsible for tourism management in the city, interprets the term tourism-phobia as a fashionable word that gets amplified through the media, and which has its origin in the defenders of the tourism sector

seeking to de-fuse complaints concerning the effects of the systemic crisis produced by rampant promotion of tourism development in the years since the 2008 recession.

The appearance of this controversy is thus a symptom, in his view, of systemic conflicts within capitalism. He gives as an example the proliferation of large tourist cruises, which generate explosive landings in the heart of the city and that maintain a tension in their deals with the authorities due to their capability of changing destinations quickly. And, he claims, "the same happens with the platforms," in reference to the digital marketers of holiday rentals, which can "condition [deals], without being subject to regulations."

Going even further, representatives of an oppositional organisation of Barcelona (Assemblea de Barris per un Turisme Sostenibe — ABTS, Assembly of Neighbourhoods for a Sustainable Tourism) interpret the origin of the term tourism-phobia as "a propaganda campaign, to exchange the roles between victim and executioner, to put it very dramatically, between aggressor and assaulted, let's say, between oppressor and oppressed." They suggest that the term is a "corporate creation," seeking to link with xenophobia, thereby framing the phenomenon as a personal opposition against the tourists, not the industry. Similarly, these members of ABTS also denounce individualising arguments such as those that maintain "we are all tourists at some point in our lives."

Meanwhile, from the Federación Empresarial Hotelera de Mallorca (FEHM, Majorca's Hotelier Business Federation), María José Aguiló, the Federation's manager, attributes the origin of the term to the academic environment, with the amplification of its effect in mass media. She admits that in the cities the conflict between tourists and residents is exacerbated by the extension of the tourism season throughout the year. In her own words, especially because "cities [elsewhere] do not have the same sense of time we have in insular territories ...I think that this feeling is more constant, more prolonged in time."

This generalisation of the practice of tourism that these three interviewees illustrate, effaces the political dimension of what is no other than a collective conflict. Thus, any attempt to classify these factors will fall on deaf ears, since what we are facing is not the diagnosis of a pathology that must be cured, but a class relationship based on labour exploitation and income extraction, as well as a depredation of the territory, all of which have to be dealt with in order to achieve greater social and environmental justice. Now, for analytical purposes, what we are trying to do is to clarify and make visible the different frontlines that have been opened depending on whether they are: signs of discomfort, processes, organisational deficits or explicit ideological antagonisms (knowing as we

do that the signs of discomfort, processes and organisational deficits implicitly behave as ideological factors).

The analysis we make can help to define why and who experiences and formulates these inconveniences associated with tourist oversaturation:

- The intrusion of tourism in everyday life. Tourism is no longer a source of opportunities but a nuisance (sign of discomfort).
- The increasing cost of everyday life (a sign of discomfort).
- The environmental deterioration, with the loss of quality and the increasing cost of natural resources (a sign of discomfort).
- The loss of quality in the tourist experience due to an overwhelming feeling of over-occupancy (a sign of discomfort).
- The decrease in the yields produced by the tourism business (a sign of discomfort).
- The specificity of labour exploitation in the tourist industry: precariousness, flexibility, seasonality, low wages, work overload, etc. (a sign of discomfort).
- Beautification and revitalisation policies of the city, which often involve its festivalisation and touristification, with the substitution of basic services for the population, such as local trade, and its gentrification, with the displacement of the most vulnerable social groups of the population, which are replaced and dispossessed (process).
- The inadequacy or lack of adaptation of the real estate stock to the duality of residential-tourist use (organisational deficit).
- The outsourcing of tourism costs to the local population, to maximise the benefits in the hands of those who control the tourism business. For example, supporting the development and management of infrastructure and equipment, which must often be sized to meet the peak demand of seasonality (organisational deficit).
- The lack of a city-management regulation according to the generated flows and dynamics (organisational deficit).
- The inadequacy of the tourist infrastructure (organisational deficit).
- The lack of a city model that should give priority to satisfying the material needs of the working class (organisational deficit).
- Going to the root of the problem, the anti-capitalist antagonism that, beyond wanting to bridge the failures of the system, demands the search for new scenarios of property control, as well as

collective decision-making that is inclusive and not exclusive as it has been until now (ideological antagonism).

3.2 The boomerang effect

Representatives of the tourism business sector have called for the end of tourism-phobia as a denunciation term. Aguiló claims that the term has had a negative marketing effect and has left a lasting imprint "because it helps to generate a stigmatising label, which is very difficult to get rid of". Based on this and other information we have collected about the term's origin and the opinions around it, we conclude that trying to silence complaint by calling it tourism-phobia, has been counterproductive to the interests of the industry itself.

This boomerang effect of the use of the term tourism-phobia is well illustrated by the story of a representative of ABTS, Reme Gómez, who was summoned to a municipal emergency meeting after the Barcelona attacks of 17 August 2017. According to her, representatives of the tourism sector had asked to stop using the term tourism-phobia that had become extremely fashionable in the media during the spring of 2017. In Gómez's opinion, "the hoteliers and the entire tourist industry panicked" with the attack and asked for the collaboration of ABTS in order to contribute to the economic recovery. The paradox, as interpreted by the social activist, has to do with who used the term tourism-phobia in the first place —the tourism industry— and how in that later meeting it was already viewed as a "a projectile weapon with the danger of having a boomerang effect."

Daniel Pardo, who also participates in ABTS, claims of the controversy around the term is that "it is pure story-telling, pure dialect, it is pure language" —"a hegemonic narrative dictated by the industry and accordingly issued by public institutions, in perfect harmony." After the failure of the use of the term to criminalise complaints, as interpreted by representatives of the social movements, the tourism sector flinched, "realising that it hurt them," and subsequently changed its strategy to attempting to "launder" the industry by opting for a "tourism-philia" that extols the favourable effects of tourism.

By doing so, the representative of the municipal administration responsible for the area of tourism, Xavier Suñol, favours intensifying the local competence of planning and management response to the conflict tourism-phobia has channelled: tourist accommodation, including holiday rentals, and transport infrastructures such as airports and ports. Suñol also suggests that the term "tourism-philia" is used in this sense to advocate for a "quality" tourism, one that is not necessarily measured by its high purchasing power, but by its "greater social return" in terms of "decent wages," "fair working conditions," "wealth redistribution," and improvements in the "relationship with the

environment," relating a potential enriching outcome of tourism to the 17 Sustainable Development Goals of the UN's 2030 Agenda.

Contrary to this, Joan Gaspart, the representative of the business sector in the presidency of the public-private consortium *Turisme de Barcelona*, argues that "what we cannot do is put a limit on the number of tourists the city houses" (quoted in Segura, 2019). Meanwhile, Aguiló, representing the hoteliers sector, trusts in preventing tourism-phobia by advancing measures to mitigate the problem through better management and planning. Thus, she attributes the problem to a lack of responsive capacity.

These institutions maintain a discourse favourable to tourism, defined by Zerva et al. (2019) as "tourism-philic" without any mention of its drawbacks. Such responses reflect an inadequate government of the city, more prone to its entrepreneurial business management than to providing solutions for a collective welfare based on criteria of social and environmental justice. It is evident that tourism is not an innocuous activity for the spaces where it is developed, nor is it isolated from the rest of the city's dynamics and activities, which in fact form the foundation of much touristic activity. Rather, tourism must be understood within the context of the overarching capitalist political economy of which it is part and parcel, as we explain in the next section.

4 The quest for unlimited growth and its discontents

As James O'Connor observes, "Over time, capital seeks to capitalize everything and everybody; that is, everything potentially enters into capitalist cost accounting" (1994, p. 133). The accumulation of capital has one of its main sources in the processes of growth and the expansion of the borders of a city that is understood as a tourist business. The incorporation of new areas and elements to the logic of the market, also in terms of tourism (Morell, 2018), provides the greatest gains for the least cost. This expansion of the tourism business frontier takes advantage of the crisis, with the argument of creating jobs and generating "economies of scale." In fact, this political reasoning legitimises growth as a "social binding agent," given its assumed virtuous circle of wealth creation (Logan & Molotch, 1987). The multifunctional city has been the most recent prey of this process.

The dynamics of growth and geographical expansion of the tourism business has led to the commodification of new areas, from the creation of tourist enclaves in the form of the development of monofunctional hotels and apartments (see Figure 4), to discovery of the rural environment, the "natural" spaces and, finally, most recently, to the overtake of the traditional multifunctional city. In

this latter case, urban spaces designed for residential uses are transformed into cities for tourist consumption (Milano & Mansilla, 2018).

Figure 4. Oversaturated tourist city

Source: Blázquez-Salom (Calvia, Majorca, 2009, July 7)

After the collapse of the financial-real estate boom in 2008, the built environment has remained the foremost frontier in the provision of a space-time fix for the over-accumulation of capital (Harvey, 2009). In this dynamic, sites of previous capital investment in industrial manufacturing now deteriorating in the post-Fordist period due to capital flight to cheaper places become subject to reinvestment and transformation into new housing and entertainment complexes and other post-industrial enterprises. It is because of this that capital restructures, one again, the tourist space (Murray et al., 2017).

There is a new offer of uniqueness that is interested in those urban spaces that have heretofore remained outside the tourist market. However, attitudes towards such spaces are not univocal, spanning positions that emphasise their unequal character and emphasize conflict (Delgado, 2016) to positions that maintain that their structure and social and cultural awareness is based more on a certain concept of *civitas* (Capel, 2005). Either way, the fact is that this de-industrialised city has ended up being a prey to tourist regeneration via city marketing (Eisenschitz, 2016). The "touristification of the everyday" (Bourdeau, François & Bensahel, 2013) involves the insistence on

deepening of conflicts of social segregation, inflation, congestion, privatisation and trivialisation of space (Russo & Scarnato, 2017).

In this context, the multifunctional city provides even more monopolistic rents to capital with policies that impose limitations while providing uniqueness. Paradoxically, the protest generated by this social tension, which is inherent in the process of capitalist expansion, proposes to limit this overcrowding of tourism that homogenises and at the same time contributes to creating a city brand that supposedly differentiates and distinguishes it, making it more attractive and more profitable to capital (Harvey, 2002).

Consequence to such processes, mass tourism destinations, such as the Balearic Islands, Barcelona and Malaga, are experiencing such a strong increase in the tourist influx that tourism is now filtering into the urban fabric that until recently had remained out of the touristification process (Milano & Mansilla, 2018). These are the processes that have been extensively analysed as "overtourism" by a rapidly growing body of research (e.g. Milano 2017b; Milano et al., 2019). Cities such as Barcelona and Palma experience high levels of tourist intensity per square meter and visitor pressure per inhabitant, therefore contributing to problems of crowding, mainly in neighbourhoods and places with a greater concentration of tourist attractions and services. For example, Barcelona received in 2018 more than 8 million tourists (an increase of 4,6% of visitors in 2017) (INE, 2019), and exceeded 3 million cruise passengers (13,4% more than in 2017) (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2019). In the case of Palma, cruise passengers represented 2 051 million in 2018 out of the total 11 947 million who visited the island of Majorca that same year and who mostly visit the capital city at some moment or other of their stay (Agència d'Estratègia Turística de les Illes Balears, 2019).

4.1 Examples of social mobilisations in defence of the right to the city

In this way, a direct relationship can be observed between tourist pressure and the satisfaction of the resident population with regards to tourism. A greater density of tourists per square meter and a greater number of tourists in relation to the inhabitants means a worse perception of tourism and the presence of tourists. Thus, the emergence of social and ecological conflicts has resuscitated and strengthened social and environmental movements. Historically, the demands of these different groups focused on the defence of nature, the demand for improvements in territorial planning, the management of natural resources, the denouncement of the deterioration of working conditions, the increase in social inequalities, the loss of quality in public education —which in turn has repercussions on higher school drop-out rates— and even acculturation.

In recent years, new actors have appeared that, in addition to the previous ones, have proceeded to denounce new scenarios of exploitation and extraction. In some cases, these are aspects that, although they had been happening already, have now become more acute (for example, the working conditions of room cleaners). In other cases, we witness completely new situations such as the conversion of residential accommodation into holiday rentals, the congestion of cruise passengers in the hot tourist spots of the city or the privatisation of public spaces via concessions that turn them into open-air mass-canteens.

All these processes, and more, have led to the mobilisation of a part of the population that feels threatened by the exponential expansion of tourism across the cities they inhabit. For example, in Barcelona, with the constitution of the Assemblea de Barris per un Turisme Sostenibe (ABTS, Assembly of Neighbourhoods for a Sustainable Tourism) and Stop Creuers (Stop Cruises), in the capital of Costa del Sol with Málaga No Se Vende (Malaga Not For Sale), or in Palma with the appearance of Ciutat per a qui l'habita, no per a qui la visita (Palma for those who inhabit it, not visit it), which claims the right to the city (see Figure 5), that is (as always in its most Lefebvrian sense), a city free from the commoditising and bureaucratic pressures that hover over it.

Figure 5. Festive demonstration of Ciutat per a qui l'habita
mockingly vindicating a "tourist trolley lane"

Source: Morell (Palma, Majorca, 2017, May 20)

Mobilizations of this sort may be understood as something of a Polanyian double movement, in terms of which capitalist development commonly provokes popular resistance contesting the negative impacts of this development (Polanyi, 1944). In the past, such double movements have led to much of what we consider humane about our more progressive societies, including (notwithstanding all their obvious limitations) welfare state institutions and environmental regulation. More than this, mobilization in response to tourism oversaturation can be seen as what Nancy Fraser labels a "triple movement" that goes beyond state-centered "social protection" to advocate an autonomous, emancipatory politics (Fraser, 2013) in the spirit of urban-philia or right to the city. Thus a potential resolution to this conflict would be to instead demand containment of such growth, either through social protection (a double movement) or, as we are increasingly witnessing, calls for tourism degrowth (a triple movement) altogether (Fletcher, et al., 2019; Valdivielso & Moranta, 2019). Whether this latest wave of urban unrest in response to touristification will inspire similar progressive reactions remains to be seen.

4.2 Diversity of responses to tourist oversaturation

At a descriptive level, reactions to address the tourist oversaturation can be synthesised in three different types. First, there are those who react by proposing to sustain growth by improving infrastructures, distributing visitors over time (for example, de-seasonalising the industry) and in space, by incorporating new areas that contribute to "decongest" the most visited places. It is not surprising that sustainable (and sustained) growth receives the full support of the largest institutions of the ruling class, such as those represented by the World Travel & Tourism Council (McKinsey & Company, 2017). It is equally unsurprising to find similar support from former UN World Tourism Organization Secretary General Taleb Rifai, who asserted,

> Growth is not the enemy. Growing numbers are not the enemy. Growth is the eternal story of mankind. Tourism growth can and should lead to economic prosperity, jobs and resources to fund environmental protection and cultural preservation, as well as community development and progress needs, which would otherwise not be available. (Ribai, 2017).

Under new Secretary General Zurab Pololikashvili, on the other hand, the UNWTO has moderated this position somewhat, in the form of a recent report entitled *'Overtourism'? understanding and managing urban tourism growth beyond perceptions* (UNWTO, 2018). Within this report, tourism growth is addressed more ambiguously than before. On the one hand, the report continues to hold to some of the previous party line in maintaining that "[t]ourism congestion is not only about the

number of visitors but about the capacity to manage them" (UNWTO, 2018, p. 5). At the same time, however, the report moves further towards addressing rather than dismissing critics' concerns in also acknowledging, "[m]easures cannot focus only on altering tourist visitor numbers and tourist behaviour — they should also focus on local stakeholders".

To ensure the positive aspects of tourism remain visible to and understood by residents, it is necessary to understand residents' concerns and grievances and include them in the tourism agenda" (UNWTO, 2018, p. 7). Yet the laundry list of actions proposed to resolve the issue — from "Promot[ing] the dispersal of visitors within the city and beyond" to "Improv[ing] city infrastructure and facilities" — do little to tackle its root causes in the capitalist political economy and its imperative for continual growth to stave off overaccumulation crisis. To cut to the chase, just as we have been asserting throughout the article, these options mean no more than the colonisation of new territories and temporalities for the tourism industry.

A second set of political proposals aims to reduce the number of tourists, increasing their "quality" in terms of their level of spending. Most operations involving urban regeneration and the restructuring of obsolete tourist destinations seek this re-qualification that replaces visitors (and inhabitants) of a lower purchasing power with higher-level customers, either tourists or residents. In this sense, this second option comes to defend the "virtues" of gentrification. Yet, as a point of fact, we do not know of any cases where there has been such a substitution of quantity for quality. Quality never substitutes, it is always added, increasing quantity even more. These first two responses to tourism saturation have been summarised by Milano (2018), in terms of 5 "Ds," always favourable to the purposeful maintenance of growth. We contend that "tourism-phobia," understood as a discursive political weapon favourable to growth that is used in _discrediting_ complaints, should be included as a sixth D (see Figure 6).

A third political proposal criticises precisely this gentrification given that it understands that it favours the most affluent social groups, as well as the financial and real estate bourgeoisie that strips all disadvantaged groups of their homes through processes of accumulation by dispossession (Harvey, 2005). Furthermore, it is precisely those wealthy social groups that show the most unsustainable, wasteful and sumptuary consumption patterns (Hof & Blázquez-Salom, 2015). This last option is precisely the one that relates the signs of discomfort with the processes, the organisational deficits and the ideological antagonism previously listed in the context of the social conflict hidden by the narrative of tourism-phobia. Thus, this is a critique that points out the class

struggle dimension of the conflict, and which, as we have already mentioned, has been denouncing labour exploitation, socio-spatial segregation and social and environmental extraction.

Figure 6. Pro-growth policies to face overtourism
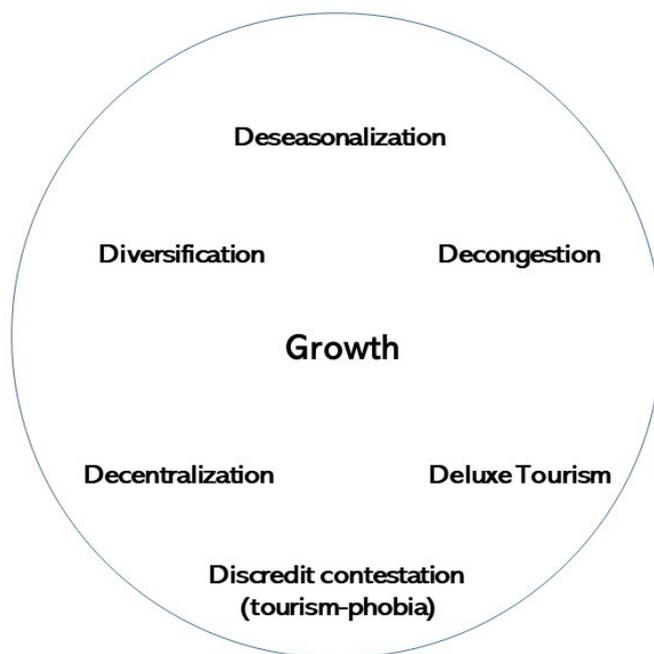
Source: author's elaboration, partly based on Milano (2018)

Just like the first two responses to tourism saturation are specified in the deployment of these 6 Ds, we can define another set of 6 double Ds, which can be referred to as "D-Ds," and are linked to the Degrowth paradigm. The D-Ds represent the post-capitalist and post-neoliberal policy alternatives maintained by social movements and several academics (e.g. Fletcher, 2016). Specifically, they call for: 1) touristic de-commodification of different aspects of everyday life; 2) after this de-touristification, a re-touristification consistent with fairer social and environmental patterns; 3) the reduction of disparities, particularly through collectivization of the means of access and accommodation; 4) the provision of penalties for excessive consumption and squandering;, 5) the dignification of working conditions; and 6) the regulation of land cover and land use, with views to constraining accommodation capacity and transport infrastructures to contain growth and, in cases where saturation is exceeded, degrowth.

Figure 7. Alternative "D-D" strategies to face overtourism
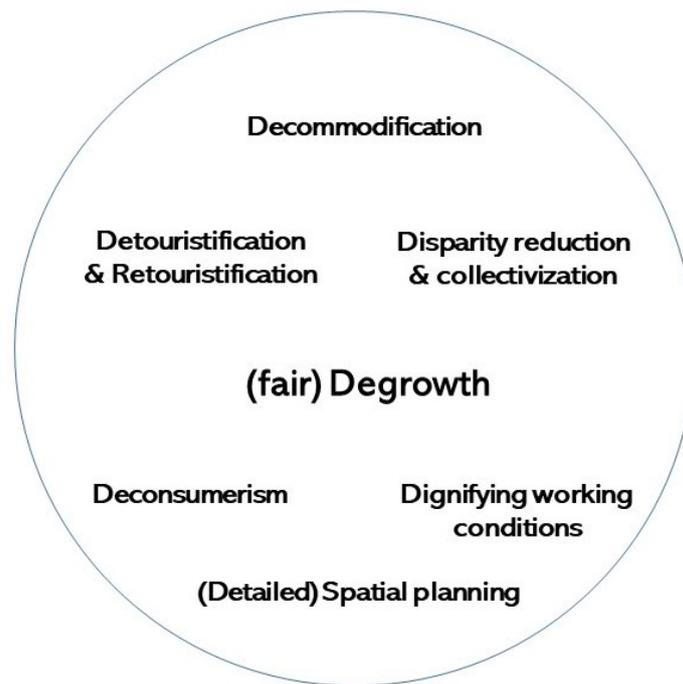
Source: authors' elaboration

In the cases of Barcelona and Palma, local governments have regulated the planning and the development of the tourist accommodation provision, initially with what we know as "moratoria," that is, measures that freeze the granting of authorisations for the opening of new establishments and the regulation of the tourist use of housing (Blanco-Romero, Blázquez-Salom & Cànoves, 2018). Moratoria, however, are usually followed by the approval of different planning schemes, such as the *Pla Especial Urbanístic d'Allotjament Turístic* (PEUAT, Special Holiday Accommodation Plan) in Barcelona, or by allowing tourists use of single-family dwellings in Palma while forbidding such use in multiple-family ones. In parallel with these strategies, authorities oversee the compliance with regulations through inspection procedures and sanctions against the proliferation of illegal tourist flats (for example, Barcelona's litigation against Airbnb). Yet these territorial planning measures intended to reduce or at least contain tourism expansion remain hampered by crippling contradictions due to their inability to directly confront the capitalist accumulation model underlying the tourism growth they address (Blázquez-Salom et al., 2019).

5   Conclusion: proposals for territorial rebalancing

This reflection, based on the analysis of academic sources and conducted interviews, has explored the origin and diffusion of the term tourism-phobia, which we show has been associated with the

business sector which has used the term to repress complaint in defence of the interests of the tourism industry. The term's effect has been amplified by its popularisation in mass media and by its simplifying and sensationalist appeal. And it has had an impact on urban environments that have recently undergone intense touristification. The analysis of the discourses of the actors that use the term is telling since the recent decline of its use is related to its boomerang effect, rebounding back on the original throwers. Such decline does not respond to an increase of those who benefit from tourism, which according to some authors (e.g. Zerva et al., 2019) would convince the dissenting groups, but rather to the fact that it backfired against those who invented it.

The orthodoxy favourable to capitalism suggests palliating, not fighting, social and territorial imbalances by promoting more tourist growth; for example, through regenerating the urban and territorial competitiveness of disadvantaged regions or incorporating still virgin social and geographical times and spaces into the tourist circuit. This formula responds to the dominant paradigm that attributes the social and environmental crisis to poverty and that, based on technological optimism, does not assume limits to growth. Such techno-optimism reaches its zenith in the form of "technolatry" (Del Moral, 2012), that is, a faith that science can provide an ever-future fix to the problems of resource scarcity and environmental deterioration.

This axiom is the backbone of the successive "Development Agendas" of the United Nations. Consider, for instance, their latest one devoted to "Sustainable Development Goals," launched in 2016 (United Nations Development Program, 2018). From a neoclassical perspective, tourism has long been considered as a remedy to poverty. Meanwhile, other critical views relate tourism - especially that which is produced industrially - to the logic of capitalism, the production of inequality, the submission of leisure to work, the increase of mobility, the multiplication of displacements, the development of the built environment (see Figure 8) or the expansion of the frontier of tourism commodification, always following the logic of capital (Bourdeau & Berthelot, 2008).

From this perspective, it is not surprising that what the business once tagged as tourism-phobia has actually become philia, that is, love, when in the hands of certain social movements that care about the urban society Henri Lefebre advocated back in 1968 (Lefebvre, 1996). Take the case of *Ciutat per a qui l'habita, no per a qui la visita*, the people's movement assembly in Palma (Majorca) that denounces the tourist commoditisation of the city and the exploitation of its inhabitants both in terms of labour and residence. At the demonstration held on 23 September 2017, this movement was explicit in turning the stigmatising effect of phobia towards tourism into a philia for urban life and

hence for the inhabitants of the city in general: "We have philia for what we know we can achieve because we know that only in movement and together we will make ourselves feel!" (Ciutat per qui l'habita, no per qui la visita, 2017). What for some was tourism-phobia for others was no other than urban-philia.

Figure 8. Graffiti mockingly unveiling the links
between tourism and the building industry (authorship: Mar Peris, AKA Soma)

Source: Blázquez-Salom (Palma, Majorca, 2018, June 19)

To be clear: tourism-phobia is yet another piece of the project favourable to even more growth in already overtouristified spaces, with the added intention of suppressing complaints while encouraging growth. Alternatively, there are projects that seek post-capitalist scenarios and that articulate degrowth proposals with the search for social justice measures, all of which are based upon collectivisation, improvement of working conditions, penalisation of consumerism, de-commoditisation, de-touritification and responsible re-touritification, such as through territorial and tourism planning. To accomplish all of this, we venture that the solution to the problems of unsustainability and oversaturation, and that are the root of the weapon that has been called tourism-phobia, requires a search for alternatives based on degrowth and on the advancement of strategies

that are socially and environmentally more equitable and just. This, then, must be the aim of a future research agenda beyond mere critique and analysis of "overtourism" and "tourism-phobia".

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