



DEPARTMENT OF JOURNALISM,  
MEDIA AND COMMUNICATION  
(JMG)

# FRAMING OVERTOURISM

A qualitative media analysis of the case of  
Barcelona between 2016 and 2020

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Supervisor:	Monika Djerf-Pierre
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# Abstract

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**Purpose:** The goal of this dissertation is to contribute to the framing studies by looking at the discussion about overtourism in Barcelona over a period of intense media attention (2016-2020). It also aims to complement the few previous studies on overtourism discourses by providing the first situated account of the debate. As a still recent and under-researched issue, it presents good opportunity to look at the processes of strategic framing involved in configuring the issue.

**Theory:** Framing theory, social constructionism, strategic framing, overtourism literature

**Method:** A qualitative content analysis over a sample of regional news articles was combined with the methodological implications of the constructionist approach to reconstruct the main frames in an inductive way.

**Result:** Three main frames were found —stranger in one's own home, Devil's bargain and Law and Order—, each of them endorsed by one of the principal actors in the debate. Framing coalitions and contests were found, providing some evidence of strategic framing. The results challenged several insights presented in studies of the overtourism debate in international forums, suggesting that a situated perspective was indispensable to grasp the issue.

**Keywords:** Overtourism, Barcelona, media analysis, framing theory, social constructionism, strategic framing, culture, social movements

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# Foreword

I want to use this foreword to express my gratitude to a list of people that, whether I met them or not, were often in my mind while doing this thesis.

First and foremost, to Monika Djerf-Pierre, who supervised this thesis and kept me on track while writing it. Her attentive and precise guidance helped me seeing this dissertation as a possible endeavour which, at some points, meant a lot.

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To Bàrbara.

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# 1. Introduction

## 1.1. Point of departure

When in 2014 three Italian youngsters dared each other to stroll naked around la Barceloneta they did not expect to play a role in a movement that would transform the city. Following the publication of the pictures in social media, hundreds of residents took the streets to protest about the *uncontrolled tourism* that was *conquering* the city. The pictures became a symbol of the negative effects that the tourism industry was having in Barcelona and gathered people from many strays of activism to question the tourism model of the city. Some months after that, tourism occupied a central space in the municipal elections and an activist critical with tourism was elected as Mayor. One of her first measures was to freeze the concession of any new hotel licenses.

The tourism industry, formerly seen as a sure and sustainable path to economic development, had become vigorously contested (Aymerich, 2021, p. 99f.). The phenomenon does not appear to be confined to Barcelona. Recent developments such as low-cost air carriers, new hosting platforms and a growing middle class in emerging economies have speeded up the *touristification* dynamics at play in many cities (Capocchi, Vallone, Pierotti, & Amaduzzi, 2019, p. 10) and movements critical with tourism have become more common in many cities around the world (Milano, 2018, p. 552). At the same time, the terms *overtourism* and *tourism-phobia* have gained popularity, and a steady stream of research has picked interest in the negative effects of tourism on the destination sites (Capocchi et al., 2019, p. 8; Koens, Postma, & Papp, 2018, p. 3). Because the negative effects of tourism had been widely researched during the past decades and the term *overtourism* has been labelled as “old wine in new bottles” (Dredge, 2017 in Pasquinelli & Trunfio, 2020, p. 1807), however, it seems clear that this new wave of interest has placed its focus on some of the new challenges that tourism presents nowadays.

Overtourism is linked to the belief —by residents or tourists— that there is an excess of visitors that affects negatively to the quality of life in the region and risks the quality of the visitors’ experience (Perkumienė & Pranskūnienė, 2019, p. 6). It revolves around the idea of tourism becoming excessive to the point that it risks the touristic viability of the destination (Capocchi et al., 2019, p. 12). While it is concerned with the actual limits on destinations —such as the stress produced by resource consumption (McKercher, 1993, p. 8)— overtourism has also a component of public opinion. When do a lot of tourists become too many tourists? How does an economic asset become a problem? The former consensus of tourism as a positive phenomenon seems to be challenged in many destinations, and it is important to explore the changes that tourism, but also tourism discourses have undergone. Framing theory stands that the presentation of an issue gives clues on how it should be interpreted (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 65).

When a specific frame is used, certain ideas about what is exactly the problem on display, what caused it and how serious it is are prioritized, “constrain(ing) the range of possible “reasonable” solutions and strategies advocated” (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 616). The fact that tourism activity has moved in many places from a legitimate economic strategy to an issue worth discussing implies a discourse change by which tourism is starting to be perceived as a problem. As such, it is worth to pay attention to the discussion and see how the issue has been re-framed. Especially while the issue is still recent in the public arena and the resulting frames can have important implications on the policies to tame the problem.

The aim of the present dissertation is to explore how overtourism in Barcelona is framed in the local and regional media. The study comprises the articles published between 2016 and 2020, corresponding to a period of increased media attention to the topic due to the arrival of a tourism-critical government to the City Council of Barcelona and the frequent anti-tourism protests happening at that time. Looking at how the debate was shaped, by whom, and which were the underlying narratives is crucial because the framing of the matter can condition the political action to tackle it (Pasquinelli & Trunfio, 2020, p. 1809). At the same time, exploring the framing of overtourism in a paradigmatic destination such as Barcelona might provide useful insights to look at similar debates happening in other destinations.

Over the last few years, many studies on the downsides of tourism have been published, but there are still few examples that focus on it from a media and communication perspective. Such stance is relevant because there is a close link between how a problem is debated and how it is tackled. Considering that the few studies that looked at how overtourism was framed focused on international forums (see Pasquinelli & Trunfio, 2020; Phi, 2020) it seems important to look at the issue in a situated manner. While looking at overtourism coverage in international press can be a useful exploratory approach, it leaves aside an important part of its context. As a phenomenon highly contingent on the circumstances of each destination (Milano, 2018, p. 553) it is important to take the local and regional media into account to get a complete understanding of the discourses surrounding it. The present study, thus, aims to fill that gap by presenting a framing analysis about the overtourism question in a specific destination. Additionally, the case under study presented an opportunity to look at a strategic framing process as it unfolded. Overtourism as an issue to discuss is a recent phenomenon as it presents as problematic something that was not considered so before. As an issue that became relevant during a concrete space of time the present case seemed an interesting example to pay attention to the roles that framing coalitions, framing contests and framing expertise played out in the framing process (see Dan, Ihlen, & Raknes, 2020).

Lastly, this study takes a constructionist perspective to approach framing. This approach entails looking at frames as bound to culture, acknowledging them as belonging to a cultural stock of frames

independent from the debated issue (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 62) and stressing the importance of cultural resonance to determine frame success (Dan et al., 2020, p. 150f.). Using this perspective, this study aims to contribute to the debate about the boundaries of frames by situating them beyond issue-specific narratives and journalistic scripts (Vliegenthart & van Zoonen, 2011, p. 106). Moreover, the present dissertation is set on testing the approach outlined by Van Gorp (2007) in which frames could be reached by reconstructing them from a series of identified framing devices, reasoning mechanisms and cultural phenomena. To such purpose, the study will combine a qualitative content analysis to engage in the systematic analysis of the material from which the main actors, problem definitions, proposed solutions will be extracted and explained. Using those results as building blocks, the reconstruction of the dominant frames according to Van Gorp's (2007) framework will follow. This approach has been chosen because it suits the purpose to analyse a debate for which there are still few insights available, as it focuses on what is on the sample, rather to on what is expected to be found.

## 1.2. Background

### 1.2.1. The case of Barcelona

Barcelona is, perhaps, the most paradigmatic example of tourism contestation in Europe. In 2016 and 2017, the anti-tourism demonstrations in the city attracted international media attention and acknowledged it as a landmark of tourism contestation (Hughes, 2018, p. 473). Moreover, it appears repeatedly as the most mentioned destination in content analyses about overtourism (Pasquinelli & Trunfio, 2020; Phi, 2020). Such an opposition movement did not grow in a vacuum; it was the result of the convergence of a clear commitment to promote tourism as an economic growth strategy combined with an important activist tradition. As Hughes puts it, *"The anti-tourism industry mobilisations represent the latest manifestation in a long line of contestation against the social and cultural dislocation wrought by a process of neoliberal urban redevelopment that began in the Catalan capital in the early 1990s"* (2018, p. 472). As the hosting city of the 1992 Olympics, Barcelona reinvented itself and developed the infrastructures to become a global economic hub (Aymerich, 2021, p. 78f.). The event was used to promote the city—to *"put Barcelona on the map"* as the local saying goes—and set the grounds for what would become a major international tourism destination. From then on, Barcelona would steadily become more specialized in the tourism industry and the number of visitors would increase to the point that by 2019 it was consistently on the top 10 most visited European cities (Yasmeen, 2019, p. 16).

The small size of the city is also likely to play a role in its overtourism problems. Barcelona is a medium-sized city that hosts around 1,6 millions inhabitants but received, on its peak before COVID, nearly 30

millions of visitors (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2017b, p. 16). Such magnitude of visitors left few sectors untouched by its influence and local commerce, housing and the cultural activities grown adapted to tourism. Economically, tourism was believed to be responsible for the 12% of its GDP and employ around the 14% of its population in 2013 (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2017b, p. 29). Barcelona is also small in extension: it lays between a mountain system on the west, neighbouring cities north and south, and the Mediterranean Sea to the east, so it is enclosed on every direction. As a result, the city has no margin to grow and almost every empty spot has already been used. Such geography makes it more sensitive to the impacts of tourism industry as with less space to be dispersed in, the presence of tourists is more pervasive, and with little space to build, the housing market is more susceptible to stress coming from the tourism industry investments. Barcelona is, thus, a city conditioned by a very high population density —16.149 inhabitants/km<sup>2</sup> (Idescat, 2022)— paired with a huge influx of visitors.

Politically, Barcelona has been governed by a new left party —*Barcelona en Comú*— led by a former housing activist —Ada Colau— since 2015. The municipal elections were won in a campaign that banked on residents' annoyance towards tourism and was critical with the industry. Breaking with decades of continued tourism promotion, the new government slowed down tourism development and worked on a strict urban plan to regulate its activity (Aymerich, 2021, p. 103). At the same time, different resident associations became increasingly active in the debate about tourism, organizing frequent protests and reclaiming more regulation to the new government. The role of activism is significant since traditionally it has played an important role in the local politics: Barcelona saw the most significant demonstrations for the Catalan independence referendum in 2017 and the *indignados* movement in 2011, where the mayor-to-be was a very visible activist. The negative impacts that tourism was portrayed to have in the city were diverse in kind and severity, and the tourism industry replied to the criticism by labelling it as tourism-phobic and contrary to economic progress (Hughes, 2018, p. 476). Even if the interpretations of the problem were many, it seems clear that the debate during the studied years was vivid both in the media and in the streets as by 2017 it had become the most pressing problem for the residents (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2017a, p. 9).

### **1.2.2. Previous Research**

Tourism as a problematic issue has been studied profusely since the 1960s (Capocchi et al., 2019, p. 8). However, there is still little research looking at how the negative externalities of tourism are discussed in the media, and the few examples there are date from the 2018 onwards. In a quantitative content analysis Phi (2020) used the software Leximancer over a sample international articles treating overtourism to identify the main clusters of themes present in the media. Her results showed four thematic groups, each of them organized around a main actor: *tourists* and their role in overtourism,

*locals* and how they react to overtourism, *cities* and the problems they must manage and *tourism industry* and its growth agenda. Her analysis suggested that articles dealing with overtourism tend to overlook the root causes of it and, instead, give the issue an episodic treatment focused on numeric figures —i.e., how much tourists there are—. Pasquinelli and Trunfio (2020) put forward *media narrative analysis* over a small sample of international articles written in English that reflected some insights from framing theory. For instance, they looked at news as a storied format that presented cause and effect relations, and acknowledged that the narratives presented by the media contributed to the audiences' opinion (Pasquinelli & Trunfio, 2020, p. 1810). Akin to Phi (2020, p. 2095), they noted that the treatment overtourism received in the international media was greatly focused on the numbers (Pasquinelli & Trunfio, 2020, p. 1814). Among their findings, they pointed that the clear protagonists of the story were *visitors* and *hosts* —tourists and residents— which occupied the centre of the debate. The *government* was portrayed as the responsible for the issue —as both cause and solution— acknowledging overtourism as a governance problem, and the *tourism industry* as portrayed as a complementary cause of it. Lastly, they identified 4 recurrent *stories* on the media that equated with common stances found in the media: (1) *overtourism being a subjective* phenomenon not only based on numbers, (2) *the presence of passive* —victimized residents— and *active actors* —tourism industry—, (3) *the central role of the government* in the management or mismanagement of tourism, and (4) *possible ways* to deal with overtourism, portraying it as something manageable (p. 1817f.). Whether the *stories* they presented were hardly analogous to complete frames, they represented an interesting preliminary approach on how was overtourism discussed in the media.

There are also examples of studies looking at specific scenarios. Hansen (2020) looked at how tourism in Copenhagen was framed before and after Lonely Planet appointed the city as the top urban destination in 2019. Although his focus was not exclusively on overtourism, the concern of his article was that the newfound tourism attractive could develop into a situation of overtourism and touched a bit onto it. He made a comprehensive tourism literature review to identify different *frame contents* —how the issue was presented— and *frame attributions* —suggested courses of action— which then were used to code his sample deductively (p. 3). The focus of his research was to find relations between problem definitions and their prescribed solutions, with a marked concern about how *frame contents* may affect public opinion and policy action. After a comprehensive quantitative analysis he found several significant relationships between the use of some frames and the courses of action suggested —i.e., the relation between the use of *human interest* and *conflict* news scripts with the suggestion of *restricting tourist numbers* (p. 7)— and noted some moderators of them. However, the reasoning mechanisms behind such relations remained largely unexplored. Approaching it from a different perspective, Pasquinelli and Trunfio (2021) laid down an extensive framework to measure the overtourism debate in Italy at the interplay with the COVID crisis. Even if their analysis was largely contingent on the moment it is made,

they identified several important themes and pointed to the government as the main responsible to manage both overtourism and economic recovery.

Lastly, some studies reflecting about overtourism conflicts and the conditions they need to develop that were useful to inform the present dissertation. Perkumienė and Pranskūnienė (2019) argued that overtourism concerns lay at the interplay between resident's *right to the city* and tourists *right to travel*, and emerge from an imbalance of them. Novy (2019) suggested some explanations for the growing opposition to tourism in urban areas and situated it within broader phenomena. Among his hypotheses are that: (1) tourism opposition is fuelled by rapid tourism growth, (2) that opposition is often directed to some *kinds of tourisms* and not tourism as a whole, (3) the social history of a city plays a role in determining its opposition to tourism and (4) that overtourism happens along other restructuring processes going on in the cities (p. 64f.). Finally, Milano (2018, p. 556) argued that the debate about overtourism responded to the *politization of tourism*. This politization has followed an agenda put forward by activists and political parties and has been pushed further by the use of the term *tourism-phobia* by the tourism industry. As such, it can be argued that the debate about overtourism is not only concerned with tourism but also with other urban issues such as gentrification, and it is used, at times, as a strategy to call attention onto them.

### 1.3. Aim and Research Questions

While many studies from tourism scholarship have reflected upon the negative impacts of tourism and its effects on host communities the goal here is to look at how such impacts are portrayed in the regional news media. The discourses present in the news media help shape the perception of the residents about an issue. They present reasoning mechanisms that define the problem, its causes and suggest possible solutions to it, thus limiting the policy options to treat it (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 64). As such, paying attention to the debate about overtourism becomes a relevant endeavour as it has the potential to influence the actual measures aimed to tackle it. The aim of the following research is to provide an account of how overtourism is framed in the news media in the case of Barcelona. The object of study that this dissertation is concerned with is, thus, the discussion about the negative effects of tourism, and the main research problem it aims to tackle is how is overtourism in Barcelona framed in the media. To do so, the study will focus, first, on identifying the main *actors*, *problem definitions* and *proposed solutions* in the debate to provide an explanatory account of the issue. And second, it will treat the identified categories as necessary *building blocks* to reconstruct the main frames used.

The first research question is directed at identifying the relevant *actors* in the debate and the way how each of them is constructed in the media. Departing from the idea that “(p)olitical actors use frames

strategically to articulate their views on contentious issues” (Dan et al., 2020, p. 146), identifying the most important actors is a logical first step to describe the frames they use. Moreover, since these frames are likely to play out in a contested arena, paying attention to how are they portrayed seems relevant to assess their role within the various frames. The question is thus concerned with who are presented as the most important stakeholders and how. Additionally, the possible imbalances between the actors that are given voice and those who are not will be considered. It is expressed as follows:

*RQ<sub>1</sub>. Who are presented as the main actors in the debate about overtourism in Barcelona and how are they portrayed?*

The second research question is aimed at identifying and exploring the main problem definitions and proposed solutions in the debate and the reasonings that sustain them. The causal relationship between problem definitions and solutions occupies an essential position in framing. Identifying and understanding how the problems and solutions are constructed presents a path to reconstruct the main frames in the debate. With that intention in mind the question is divided in two: the first one, looking at the main *problem definitions* and the second one, looking at the *proposed solutions*:

*RQ<sub>2.1</sub>. What are the main problem definitions advanced in the debate about overtourism in Barcelona and how are they constructed?*

*RQ<sub>2.2</sub>. What are the main proposed solutions in the debate about overtourism in Barcelona and how are they constructed?*

Once the main actors, problem definitions, and solutions are identified, there will be an attempt to join the pieces and interpret their meanings and implications together. The explanatory part of the study corresponds with the central research problem; how is overtourism framed. The main concern of this last part will be to trace the links between the most important themes and actors used and reconstruct the main frames used in the debate. This leads the study towards the third and most important research question:

*RQ<sub>3</sub>. What are the main frames used to discuss overtourism in Barcelona?*

The aim of the third research question is to pin down the main frames used in the debate and track down the reasoning devices that hold them together.



## 1.4. Disposition

The dissertation is divided in 4 parts following the introduction. First the theoretical framework is laid down considering the relevant insights from framing theory and overtourism studies and laying a conceptual framework. Second, the methodology is thoroughly explained with the aim of giving context on the results. Third, the results are presented and analysed in three sections matching the three research questions: (1) the identification the main actors and their portrayals, (2) the identification of main problems and solutions and their construction and (3) the reconstruction of the frames based on the previous results. In the last part, the results are matched with the previous theory and the main conclusions of the study are drawn.

## 2. Theoretical Background

### 2.1. Framing Theory

Framing theory is based on the premise that any issue can be presented in different ways by selecting and emphasizing certain elements which, in turn, will give rise to different implications. Quite loosely, a news frame can be defined as “a central organizing idea that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events, weaving a connection among them (and) suggests what the controversy is about” (William A Gamson & Modigliani, 1994, p. 376). They can be seen as “template(s) to understand an issue or event” (Lecheler & Vreese, 2019, p. 9) that provide simple explanations for complex issues by giving clues on how it should be interpreted (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 65). Breaking it down, Entman (1993) argues that frames define *problems*, diagnose *causes*, make moral *judgements*, and suggest *remedies*. By pointing at these different elements news frames contribute to guide the receivers’ thoughts and conclusions (p. 52). By selecting some elements over others the media makes some considerations more salient while leaving others out of the picture, thus making it more difficult to take them into consideration (Lecheler & Vreese, 2019, p. 3). Frames can therefore be seen as tools to make sense of the reality, allowing the citizens to “reduce the complexity of our everyday world” (Goffman 1973 as cited in Lecheler & Vreese, 2019, p. 7) in interpreting current issues. When a given frame is presented in a news piece, it “set(s) the context for debate, defin(es) issues under consideration, summon(s) a variety of mental representations, and provid(es) the basic tools to discuss the issues at hand” (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 70). How the events and issues are framed then, becomes a central concern for political communication.

From a cognitive point of view, frames are not only present in the communicating text, but also serve as organizing structures behind each individual’s thought (Lakoff, 2010, pp. 71-72). Each communicating text has *framing devices* embedded —descriptions, metaphors or visuals— that point to a same organizing idea —frame— (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 64). Such framing devices trigger common schemas of thought that the receiver uses to fill in the absent elements of the story such as reasoning gaps or actor’s attributes. By filling these gaps, the receiver gets to make sense of what’s happening in the way suggested by the author (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 65).

The present dissertation takes a constructionist stance on framing. That stance regards reality as being created in social interaction, and sees the interpretation of the events as a shared endeavour between an active audience and journalists embedded in a social environment (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 62). This implies that frames can only be found in the shared culture and are bound by it, as they function by appealing to common cultural phenomena. Frames are seen as independent from the text in which they are embedded in and part of “an organized set of beliefs, codes, myths, stereotypes, values, norms, frames, and so forth

that are shared in the collective memory of a group or society” (p. 62). The frames used by journalists when reporting about an event are, thus, not created ad hoc for each issue, but belong to a *cultural stock of frames* from which they craft their interpretation (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 62f.). This appeal to a common culture is what makes them recognizable and applicable to a range of different topics, but also suggests that any issue can be interpreted through more frames than those currently applied. Frames, thus, are regarded here as not tied to a single theme but belonging to a shared cultural reality. This perspective also rejects to treat what is called *generic frames* such as *human interest* or *conflict* as frames as they do not provide a reasoned account on the issue and suggests, instead, calling them media scripts or genres (Vliegenthart & van Zoonen, 2011, p. 106).

Thinking of frames as part of the culture prevents us from picturing journalists as the ultimate *frame-deciders*, interpreting the events and framing them in a way or another —or else, seeing the reality as an objective entity that presents itself *as-it-is*. In the *negotiation* of a news frame, many factors such as “organizational processes, ideological leanings of the news organization, market constraints, differential power of social and political actors, or national and international cultures and structures” play an important role (Vliegenthart & van Zoonen, 2011, p. 107). Additionally, the news frames that make it to the media are just one aspect of the framing process and its effects. It would be naïve to draw a straight line from the frames in the news to the frames used by those on the receiving end. Like the negotiation of news frames, the audience frames are also contingent on several moderators such as personality, ideology, political knowledge or the interpersonal communication on the issue (Lecheler & Vreese, 2019, pp. 46-51). As such, taking this stance means acknowledging journalists as members of the society in which the frames emerge, and recognizing other actors and the audience as relevant in the framing process.

Within this perspective, the frames are seen as pointing to cultural phenomena that provide meaning to them and give the audience clues for interpretation as “(b)y implicitly suggesting a cultural theme, the frames can determine which meaning the receiver attaches to an issue” (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 63). According to Van Gorp (2007, p. 63) frames are composed of several elements that act as *building blocks* of frame packages. Among those devices, are the *explicit framing devices* —concepts, metaphors, images... all the elements that are explicitly pointing to the same idea in the text—, *reasoning devices* —the implicit and explicit causal chains behind frame implications— and the *cultural phenomena* —a myth, a value, a narrative...— to which they refer (Van Gorp, 2007, pp. 64-65). Altogether, such devices form a frame package suggesting a perspective on the issue. Such shared frames emerge from the interaction between the actors, the media and their context (Goffman, 1973 as cited in Vliegenthart & van Zoonen, 2011, p. 103), and is because of this interactional nature that many frames can coexist at the same time in contradictory or even oppositional ways (Vliegenthart & van Zoonen, 2011, p. 104).

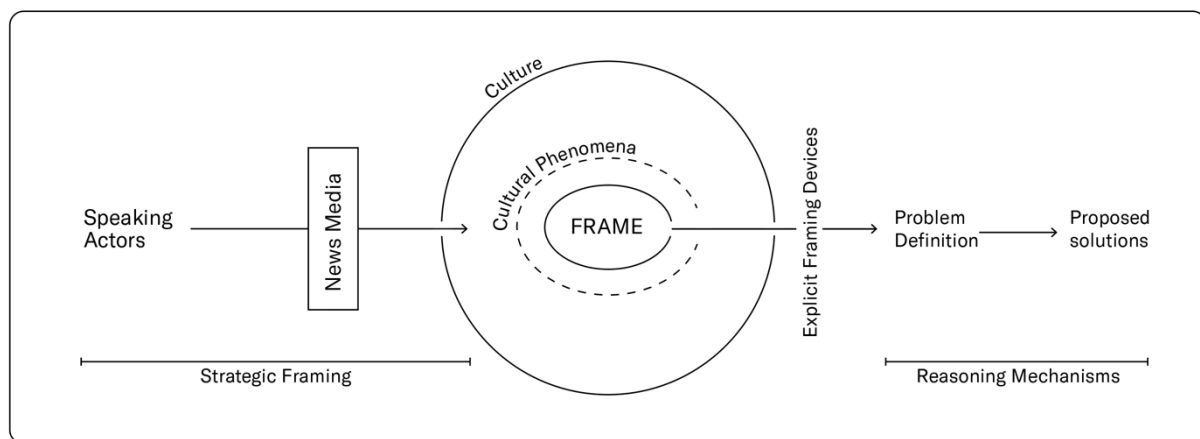
However, since the frames belong to a shared culture, the use of them often appears to be completely natural for those involved, as the interpretation process is also ultimately guided by the same culture (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 63). It is precisely because of this apparent obviousness that “(f)rames may (...) be regarded as a power mechanism in their own right” (p. 63).

Which frames become dominant have important implications for people’s understanding of the issue and their desired courses of action. Benford and Snow (2000) stressed that framing can become a political instrument for achieving social movements goals. They regarded framing as a part of the meaning construction struggle in which organizations “mobiliz(e) and countermobiliz(e) ideas and meanings” (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 611). From their perspective, different organizations engage in a contentious process in which they generate interpretive frames challenging the existing ones (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 614). They do so by “select(ing) some aspects of the issue they are addressing, and build(ing) their reasoning surrounding their selection” (Dan et al., 2020, p. 146). The effectiveness of such framing, however, would be moderated by several factors. Greater expertise in crafting the frames—for instance, sustaining them in prevalent ideas and values of the underlying culture—is believed to explain why some frames get more media attention than others to some extent (Dan et al., 2020, p. 150). The extent to which the media content is subsidized through these strategies is large, and it must be kept in mind that “(w)ithout the subsidies routinely provided by public relations professionals (...) the media agenda would be considerably different” (McCombs, 2014, p. 117). The status of each actor also factors in on their presence in the media. Those stakeholders that are not seen particularly relevant in the issue are likely to be ignored, while those who are given a voice to expose their frames to the public receive it because they are deemed significant in the debate (Dan et al., 2020, p. 152).

Other strategies, such as opposition—*framing contests*—or collaboration—*framing coalitions*—with other actors to establish a desired frame as the dominant may also help explain how certain actors become relevant in a debate while others remain practically unheard (Dan et al., 2020, p. 150f.). Considering *strategic framing* as a political and communication technique implies accepting the different actors as frame sponsors engaging into activities to advance their preferred frames. *Framing contests* are, then, a common political activity in which two or more different actors confront different problem definitions, reasonings and proposed solutions. Also common are the cases in which different actors form *framing coalitions*. In these cases, different actors align some parts of their framing to advance problem definitions and solutions. The fact that several actors endorse a common frame increases the political weight of their perspective, thus, the likeness of it becoming a relevant frame in the media (Dan et al., 2020, p. 152f.).

Summing up, this dissertation is built on four premises about framing theory. First, framing is a socially constructed phenomenon and, as such, frames need to refer to a shared culture to get their meaning. Second, frames are configured in frame packages consisting in various elements. The elements are the *explicit framing devices* that hint the presence of the frame, the *implicit reasoning mechanisms* that suggest a causal interpretation and the *cultural phenomenon* to which they refer to achieve their meaning. Third, a frame suggests some problem definitions that entail a certain group of solutions. And fourth, the different actors engage in strategic framing to advance their preferred problem interpretations and get support for their proposed solutions. Figure 1 sketches the expected relations between the elements mentioned before.

Fig.1. Analytical framework



The analytical framework poses that the actors involved in the debate frame the issue strategically according to their agenda and attempt to present their frame through the media. They do so by crafting a narrative that is rooted in the common culture to provide the frame with meaning and cultural resonance. The media may choose to accept the subsidized frames or to nuance them when presenting them to their audience. The frames in the media are suggested by a series of explicit framing devices that aim to trigger a specific reasoning mechanism favouring a problem definition and a set of proposed solutions. The task of the researchers is, thus, to look at the elements that can be identified —speaking actors, problem definitions, proposed solutions and explicit framing devices on the framework— and work their way towards the frames.

## 2.2. Overtourism

The negative effects that tourism has in a destination have been subject of scholarly study for many decades. Starting in the 1960s, several scholars discussed the ecological impacts of tourism and coined

concepts such as *carrying capacity* to refer to the “the number of tourists who could visit without serious negative consequences” (Capocchi et al., 2019, p. 8). The idea that there was a limit on how much tourism there could be, acknowledged tourism as a resource-based industry —like mining, for instance— that relied on high quality *natural*, *cultural*, and *infrastructural* resources for its profitability (McKercher, 1993, p. 8f.). The concern with tourism effects was fuelled by the fear that new developments and tourists’ resource consumption would alter fragile ecosystems (McKercher, 1993, p. 8) and increase the negative sentiments towards tourism in host communities (Capocchi et al., 2019, p. 2). The risk, however, is not only a matter of resource exhaustion or damage, but also about the disruption of the conditions for satisfactory tourism (Milano, 2018, p. 8). Looming in all destinations there is the “paradox of tourism risking to destroy the very thing that tourists come to see” (Benner, 2019 in Capocchi et al., 2019, p. 12). Whether it is through damages in the physical space and attractions, excessive adaptation of the space to tourism weakening its cultural “authenticity” or just overcrowded tourism spots delivering a poor tourist experience, such paradox points at excessive tourism as a threat at several levels. As such, too much tourism can be seen as harmful for the destination’s residents, but also for the industry’s results and tourists themselves.

Capocchi et al. (2019) argue that the overtourism phenomenon lies somewhere in between the areas of *growth*, *concentration*, and *governance* of tourism. Steady tourism growth over the last decades has intensified tourist flows as tourists from emergent economies have joined the ones from more established ones. Despite the distributed increase in visitors’ numbers, many new tourists chose already popular destinations, stressing them further. New technologic developments such as social media or rental platforms join the increased pressure that main destinations suffer, turning the tourism into a multifaceted governance problem (Capocchi et al., 2019, p. 7). Uncontrolled growth in main destinations has been accelerated by an increased travel accessibility due to low-cost carriers, new technologies such as social media that homogenized travelers’ preferences, and holiday rental platforms made tourism accommodation more pervasive (p. 10). The new possibilities that these new technologies brought up, added to the quest for the “authentic” in the destinations have translated in more tourists, but also in a bigger intertwining of them with the destination’s everyday life. Such embeddedness of tourism in the daily life increased the contact of tourists —who formerly stayed in secluded spaces like hotels and tourist attractions— with residents, and stressed the public services meant for residents’ use (Koens et al., 2018, p. 1).

While the interest of tourism scholars in the sustainability of tourism spans through decades the recent apparition of the term *overtourism* increased the attention to the issue (Capocchi et al., 2019, p. 8; Pasquinelli & Trunfio, 2021, p. 2). The term gained popularity in tourism media during the 2010s and took off when discussed vis a vis the Spanish term *Turismofobia* —tourism-phobia— to refer to the

wave of tourism criticism and demonstrations in many European cities (Koens et al., 2018, p. 4; Milano, 2018, p. 556). Perhaps, because the term gained momentum in the media before being discussed thoroughly in the academia it was regarded as pretty much self-explanatory and nowadays still lacks some basic conceptual clarity (Capocchi et al., 2019, p. 8). Literature reviews tracing down the concept coincide in saying that the term “can be considered ‘fuzzy’ in that it is ill-defined, lacks clarity, and is highly difficult to operationalize” (Koens et al., 2018, p. 2) and warn about its use to legitimize pre-existing ideas (Capocchi et al., 2019, p. 8; Koens et al., 2018, p. 2). Koens et al. (2018) conclude that although the term overtourism discusses many issues described in precedent studies, it has become “the ‘de facto’ descriptor for excessive negative tourism impacts” (p. 9). Probably, this vagueness has contributed to make it the go-to concept to refer to a complex phenomenon.

Instead of seeing tourism as problematic only when it is *mass tourism*, the term overtourism focuses into the idea of *excessive tourism*, that can be caused by many factors such as seasonality or the impact per visitor (Koens et al., 2018, p. 2). Overtourism, brings to the table a hard-to-measure dimension in that it seems to be characterized by the conflict with residents (Capocchi et al., 2019, p. 9). Putting attention into the conflictive dimension of the phenomena opens the door to the several ways in which tourism can negatively affect the destination and what is meant by negative effects becomes somewhat of a subjective variable. Milano (2018, p. 553) argues that “the perception of (tourism) saturation will always be different and dependent on the subjective and collective impressions of the implied actors”. Thus, how much tourists are too many tourists —when is overtourism reached— stops being a technical matter, but a situated question that can only be answered by looking at each destination’s case (Koens et al., 2018, p. 10).

Overtourism debates can be located “at the interplay of tourism and urban change” (Capocchi et al., 2019, p. 3). In a series of interviews to stakeholders’ of European cities, Koens et al. (2018) develop an integrative view on what are the attributes of overtourism. They point at overtourism as “an accumulation of different impacts and perceptions” in which both visitors and local stakeholders play a role (Koens et al., 2018, p. 5). In the interviews, 5 recurrent issues are identified as definitory of overtourism: overcrowding in public spaces, pervasive visitor impacts because of inappropriate behaviors, physical touristification of visited areas, resident displacement due to rental platforms and increase pressure on local environment (p. 5). They call attention into the nuanced and multidimensional aspect of the problem and point that it is not a problem exclusively caused by tourism —nor tourism numbers—. Some of the problems attributed to overtourism coincide with the organic growth of cities and other the social and economic changes that happened during the last decade (Koens et al., 2018, pp. 9-10). As such, attempts to control overtourism effects cannot be aimed only at the tourism industry, but must involve a wider arrange of actors and fields of action suited to the situation of each destination.

Hence, overtourism might be thought of as wide umbrella term that includes many different concerns with the impacts of excessive tourism impact on local communities. Even if ambiguous, such conceptualization might be enough for exploratory research purposes. For instance, Perkumienė and Pranskūnienė (2019) use the term to describe destinations where “people (visitors or locals, guests, or hosts) believe there are too many visitors, and (...) feel the quality of the experience, at the same time as the quality of life in the region, have become quite poor” (p. 6). They use this loose definition to debate the concerns of “too-many-visitors” vis a vis the tourists’ right to travel. The purpose of this dissertation is similar in its exploratory goals in that it aims to describe how the negative effects of tourism —whatever they are— are debated in the media. As such, the term overtourism and its nuances can be accepted to guide the analysis while always being aware of its conceptual ambiguity.



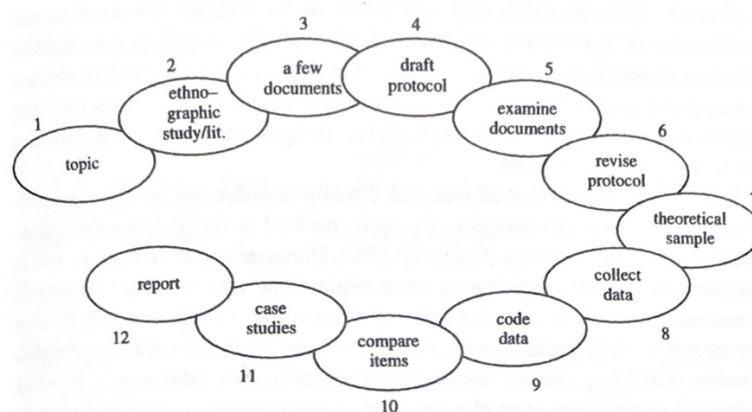
### 3. Methodology

#### 3.1. Choice of methodology

The methodology chosen to address the research questions was, primarily, a qualitative media analysis as described by Altheide (1996), which was then followed by a reconstruction of frames as proposed by Van Gorp (2007, p. 71f.). The qualitative approach was chosen because it had a focus on emergent data analysis and concept development (Altheide, 1996, p. 17), which was appropriate for both descriptive and explanatory research goals. The posterior frame identification departed from the idea that although “frames in culture are difficult to get a grip on (,) it is possible to reconstruct them” by identifying the elements pointing to them (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 64). The combination of both approaches allowed, first, for the systematic analysis of the sample in order to identify and characterize the most salient themes and actors. And second, for the reconstruction of frames by taking the previous analysis as a basis.

Altheide broke down the qualitative media analysis methodology in a 12-step process that departed from an ethnographic study of the documents and their context and moved on to the construction of the analysis protocol and its systematic analysis (Altheide, 1996, p. 12f.; see Figure 2). During the coding phase, a great effort was put to the systematic refinement of the coding protocol through category comparisons which was treated as a research goal on itself (Altheide, 1996, p. 27). The same systematic approach was taken in the analysis phase, which was conducted by looking for extreme cases of each theme and comparing their key differences. Those themes were later explained with an example-based, case-study approach (Altheide, 1996, p. 41f.).

Fig. 2. The process of qualitative document analysis (Altheide, 1996, p. 13)



Even while the goal was to arrive at “meaning and process” and not “coding and counting” (Altheide, 1996, p. 42), quantitative data was also used to identify the relevant themes and guide the analysis. With the aim of mixing the qualitative analysis with quantitative insights, the software NVivo was used. The

use of NVivo supplied a platform for systematic document coding that speeded the process and simplified a great deal the codebook iterations, as it offered a convenient tool to group and compare the categories by displaying all the instances of each code together. Furthermore, NVivo provided some basic quantitative data such as category frequencies and matrix queries that suggested important themes and patterns that were further explored through qualitative enquiry. The analysis of the results was presented with a case-study approach that sometimes relied on sources from outside the sample to provide an explanatory account of specific themes. As such, the study might have traits of a case study in that its explanatory goals opted for a deep understanding of the issue and its context, rather than treating the sample as an isolated debate. In that regard, my personal proximity with the research problem —the framing of overtourism in Barcelona— should be also acknowledged as a source informing the analysis as well as a limitation that might bias the results.

After the qualitative media analysis was performed, the insights were applied to the reconstruction of three frame packages used in the debate about overtourism. The frame packages were reached to by identifying the frame elements proposed by Van Gorp (2007, p. 71f.). To that purpose, the identified framing devices, reasoning mechanisms and cultural phenomena were laid down in a table in the search for differential narratives that could constitute frames —see section 3.4.2 for a discussion on how this was approached. The use of the constructionist perspective in the frame identification allowed the study to reach to the frames in an inductive way.

## 3.2. Sampling Procedure

The documents studied were news stories published in the printed editions of Spanish newspapers. According to Hallin and Mancini (2004), the Spanish media environment has the traits of a polarized pluralist system. This means, according to their description, that Spanish newspapers have a small, elite-oriented circulation with a high political parallelism (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p. 73), so attention was paid into including a wide range editorial perspectives. The news articles were gathered from *MyNews*, a database of Spanish media that was accessed from an Autonomous University of Barcelona unit in the Communication Sciences Library. The search was restricted to the period between 2016 and 2020, comprising the peak of attention to the topic —2016 to 2018— and two additional years after that. Limiting the query to printed newspapers left potentially relevant media such as online outlets and the Catalan public television out of the study but kept the sample mostly text-based and at a manageable size for qualitative research. The media sample was also limited to Catalan newspapers and the regional editions of national dailies. This was done both to enhance the precision of the query and in response to the small attention paid to the issue in national editions of newspapers. The final sample included

documents from 8 different outlets edited both in Catalonia and Madrid with different ideological leanings and scopes, so it could be argued that the diversity of media was wide enough to provide a wide picture of the issue. Table 1 displays the sampled media as well as their main traits.

*Table 1.* Sampled newspapers' attributes (percentage)

<b>Outlet</b>	<b>Site of edition</b>	<b>Scope</b>	<b>Ideological leaning</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<i>El Periódico</i>	Catalonia	Spain	Liberal	26
<i>La Vanguardia</i>	Catalonia	Spain	Conservative	23
<i>Ara</i>	Catalonia	Catalonia	Liberal	20
<i>Punt Avui</i>	Catalonia	Catalonia	Liberal	10
<i>El País</i>	Madrid	Spain	Liberal	8
<i>El Mundo</i>	Madrid	Spain	Conservative	3
<i>20 minutos</i>	Madrid/Barcelona	Spain	—	3
<i>ABC</i>	Madrid	Spain	Conservative	2

Note: The percentages are calculated over n=263 articles on the sample. The ideological leanings are assigned by me and tentative: only the clear cases have been assigned a category based on the historical political alignments these outlets have displayed.

Matching the term overtourism with the debate about the negative effects of tourism in Barcelona was not an automatic translation. As commented above, overtourism is a recently minted English term with some presence in the academia and in international media, but it lacks a direct translation to many languages. It is somewhat paradoxical that the term became a buzzword after it was picked by US-based media and international institutions (Koens et al., 2018, p. 3) while it can be argued that most tourism conflicts take place in countries where English is not used as a first language. To find words suggesting similar meanings for the current case, a first batch of articles on the topic was gathered by looking for “negative effects” and “tourism”. In the case of Barcelona the problem under the scope had to be redefined in terms more adjusted to the city reality and the media discussion. After some queries the terms “massification”, “saturation”, “overexploitation”, and “pressure” appeared as partial synonyms of overtourism when combined with the term “tourism”. Among them, “massification” and “overexploitation” —in Catalan: *sobreexplotació* and *massificació*— were chosen as the most suited to reflect overtourism concerns, while the other two terms were discarded because of their high concurrence with “massification”. The terms referred to two important realities of overtourism in Barcelona. The first channelled the idea of an excess of tourists overcrowding Barcelona and was the most common term for discussing all kinds of tourism-related problems. The latter conveyed the idea of an excess of tourism business in the city and brought articles focusing on system-level problems to the sample. The articles were retrieved with the following query:

*(sobreexplotació OR sobreexplotación OR massificació OR masificación) AND turis\*  
AND Barcelona*

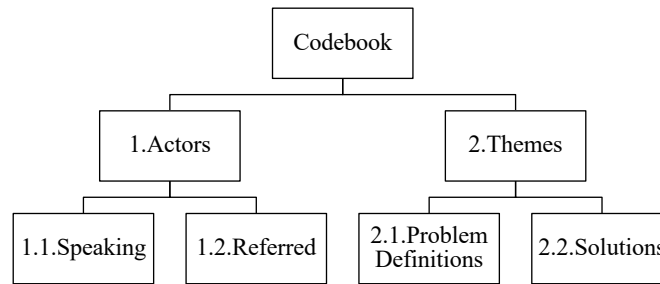
The first brackets of the query looked for the terms *overexploitation* and *massification*. They were written both in Spanish and Catalan to bring together relevant results from outlets in both languages. It was not possible to perform the search in a single language since some newspapers were written only in Spanish or Catalan. When the same article was found in both languages the Catalan version was chosen to improve word frequency queries and because a bigger size of the results was written exclusively in Catalan. The second part of the string limited the search to articles related with tourism in Barcelona by searching for the word root: “*turis\**” and “*Barcelona*”.

The query provided 1973 results that were manually filtered over a three-step process. First, all the entries with less than 3.000 characters were discarded to ensure a minimum of writing about the topic. Second, certain articles were left out from the sample for different reasons. Articles from sports, gossip, and television sections were discarded because they only touched upon the issue when discussing other issues. The few instances of sponsored content included within the newspapers such as paid reports were counted in when they discussed explicitly the topic of overtourism. Lastly, the remaining 653 articles were filtered out with a checklist that made sure that, first, they were primarily concerned with Barcelona and, second, they discussed the negative effects of tourism in some way or another. This checklist ruled out many articles were concerned about overtourism in other places and put Barcelona as an example and made sure that all the surveyed articles —regardless of their framing— acknowledged some level of discomfort emerging from tourism activity. The final sample (n=263) was almost exclusively focused on the issue and even if there were a few instances that touched upon it laterally they did so with enough attention to be analysed by the same coding protocol.

### 3.3. Design of codebook and coding procedure

The development of the codebook was approached “as a part of the research project” while letting it “emerge over several drafts” (Altheide, 1996, p. 27). The initial aim was to provide a descriptive account of the overtourism debate in Barcelona’s context from which the most important actors, problem definitions and solutions could be extracted. To such goal, a structure that reflected the research questions was created to accommodate the codes (see Figure 3). Four groups were laid down —*speaking actors, referred actors, problem definitions* and *proposed solutions*— and grouped in two pairs to keep them aligned with the two first research questions. The resulting codes within each group would then be used as the building blocks to identify the framing devices that conformed the frames in the discussion.

Fig. 3. Codebook structure



Several categories were deductively pre-coded onto each group based on previous research (Anton Clavé, 2019, pp. 196-197; Hansen, 2020, p. 3; Pasquinelli & Trunfio, 2020, pp. 1815-1816; Seraphin, Sheeran, & Pilato, 2018, p. 375). Once the barebones of the codebook were laid, a first batch of 30 articles was coded while letting new themes emerge inductively. The new codes were added to the existing ones and the codebook reorganized to accommodate them in a clear way. This batch revealed procedural weaknesses on the coding process such as ambiguous or too wide categories that were corrected. The codebook was adjusted several times over the coding process to simplify the categories and the analysis. The aim was to keep the number of categories at a minimum by grouping the emerging categories thematically along the process. Care was taken that every item on the codebook was related at least to another one in an immediately superior level, so no item stood alone in front of the analysis (Altheide, 1996, p. 27). The complete codebook can be consulted in appendix 1.

The coding procedure consisted in locating the *actors*, *problem definitions* and *proposed solutions* present in every article in the sample. This was done to guide the data collection and identify the main categories from which the frames would then be reconstructed. Since the unit of analysis should follow the research problem (Altheide, 1996, p. 24) and in this case the goal was to describe and understand how the effects of overtourism in Barcelona were discussed in the media, the chosen unit of analysis was one that allowed for more width of enquiry. The units of analysis used for the operationalization of themes and actors were the strings of text or images that suggested a specific idea. In practice, this meant that a single article could contain several units coded into different categories. The use of these units allowed for clear thematic groupings and favoured the inductive construction of the codebook and the later frame reconstruction. The coded bits ranged from single words and images to sets of various sentences pointing to the same idea. Especial attention was paid to the coding of images as they play a fundamental role in completing the narratives in the text (William A. Gamson, 1989, p. 159f.). As such, images were also coded under the categories spoken in the text besides them in the cases there was a clear connection.

### 3.3.1. Coding Actors

The first group of codes was focused on identifying the most relevant actors and exploring their representation. The codes were divided in two big groups according to if the actors were *speaking* or if they were *referred* to. The division between *speaking* and *referred* actors made possible for the analysis to point at the dominant actors defining the issue as well as to notice the missing voices. Additionally, the *referred* category allowed the study to analyse in which ways the relevant actors were portrayed and the implications of the portrayal for the discourse. Both groups were pre-coded with the relevant stakeholders identified by Pasquinelli and Trunfio (2020, p. 1814) and were later updated as can be seen in Table 2. Definitions for each of them were developed to keep them exclusive as lines could get blurry between pairs.

Table 2. Main actors and the definitions used

<i>Category</i>	<i>Definition</i>	<i>Source</i>
Residents	Groups or individuals making use of the city as their main residence.	<i>Pasquinelli and Trunfio (2020)</i>
Tourists	Those making use of the city for leisure or business events for a short period of time.	<i>Pasquinelli and Trunfio (2020)</i>
Political actors	Organizations and individuals elected democratically at least partially.	<i>Pasquinelli and Trunfio (2020)</i>
Tourism Industry	Groups or individuals owning a business that profits directly or indirectly from tourism.	<i>Pasquinelli and Trunfio (2020)</i>
Experts	Individuals presented as experts about some aspects of overtourism for any given reason.	<i>Own</i>

The actors were operationalized by assigning them a category according to the description the media made—for instance, if a person was presented as a restaurant owner residing in the area, it was coded as both a *resident* and a *tourism industry actor*. Only the instances where the actors were explicitly identified were coded so it was clear during the analysis who was saying what or spoken about. In all cases, the actors were coded to the smallest category possible according to the media—i.e., the *City Mayor*, the *urbanism councillor*...— which were then grouped into bigger, meaningful categories— i.e., the *City Mayor* and the *urbanism councillor* were collapsed under the *City Council government* code—. The most relevant subcategories can be seen further below in Table 3. The *speaking actors* group included the interventions in which an explicit actor expressed a view about overtourism or performed an action aimed to solve it. Such interventions were spotted mostly by markers such as verbs or quotation marks associated to the actors. The *referred actors* group included the instances in which actors were spoken about. Most of these interventions were portrayals of actors spoken as facts. For instance, in this excerpt: “The Council defended the need of intervening into the hospitality sector, which

was in *Tourism Bubble mode*” (ABC, 2016.11.06), the *City Council* was coded as a speaking actor, while the *hospitality sector* was coded as a referred actor.

### 3.3.2. Coding *problems and solutions*

The second group of categories echoed Entman's (1993, p. 52) proposed frame functions and aimed to clarify the main *problem definitions* and *proposed solutions*. For both, problem definitions and solutions several categories were pre-coded based on previous literature and new themes were added to the codebook whenever they emerged as relevant. Each unit of meaning pointing clearly at problems arising from overtourism or proposing solutions to it was coded under a theme<sup>1</sup>. Again, the units of meaning were coded at the most concrete category possible and were then regrouped under bigger groups. For instance, the problem definition *Alcohol and drugs consumption* —defined as substance abuse by part of tourists as an overtourism problems— was grouped into the bigger theme *Difficult coexistence* —defined as coexistence conflicts with tourists—. This was done so most themes could be accommodated into meaningful categories while keeping a certain simplicity in the coding. Even if a unit of meaning could be coded at two or more themes at once, especial attention was taken to distinguish the themes over fundamental differences. The main categories of themes can be seen in Tables 4 and 5 in the results section.

An *other* subcategory was added to each group of categories to accommodate instances related to it but unfitted for its description. The content of such categories was later grouped into new codes or merged under bigger ones over the course of the coding. Each time a new category was added and defined the similar codes were looked again to avoid misplacements.

Additionally, the articles were tagged with basic data on its content to inform the analysis. The data collected were: *outlet*, *date of publication*, *type of article* —*news article*, *feature*, *opinion*, *sponsored content* or *other*— and *place of writing*. These variables provided information on the nature and context of the sample, such as the seasonality of the issue and whether the issue was interesting at a national level or just regional. The coding process was realized in parallel with note taking to document possible insights about emerging frames. The notes were taken both in a research notebook and the NVivo document and were often re-read to inform each codebook iteration as well as the data analysis.

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<sup>1</sup> The term *theme* is used to refer to any recurrent idea present in the text, whether it is a problem definition or a solution proposal. Since an important part of the codebook was developed in a way that each code —or category— represented a theme the term is often used as a synonym of *code* or *category*.

## 3.4. Data processing and analysis

### 3.4.1. Thematic analysis

Once the most important themes were identified, they were reviewed in NVivo to note their distinctive features and the inter-relations they may have. Looking for thematic links allowed the study to connect *actors*, *problems*, and *solutions* among each other, which was useful to inform the analysis. The process was done qualitatively by reading all the instances and noticing inter-theme references, but also quantitatively by performing cross-tabular comparisons of codes to see which co-occurred more often. Although the design of the study was not meant for drawing statistical insights, the theme coincidences provided useful cues to look deeper into some connections. For instance, the cross-tabular comparisons provided connections between the speaking actors and the problems and solutions they referred to more. Only when the most important categories and their clusters of related themes were sorted out, the qualitative description of them begun. For that, the most significant examples were selected through repeated comparisons (Altheide, 1996, p. 41) to portray the theme's most distinctive features. The thematic analysis was laid out in two sections. The first section presented the most important actors and discussed their portrayals in the debate. The second section pointed to the most relevant themes while discussing their meaning in relation to other codes.

### 3.4.2. Reconstructing the frames

The thematic analysis provided a basis for the frame analysis in identifying the most relevant themes and actors in the issue in a systematic way. It is important to note that, while themes might be complex and suggest some interpretations, they don't equate with frames in the sense they are issue-specific and do not point to an underlying cultural phenomenon. Differently, the frame analysis on this dissertation was informed by Van Gorp's (2007) constructionist perspective and attempted to notice patterns of interpretation that crossed through several themes to reconstruct the frames. This perspective sees frames as independent from the studied texts and the individuals interpreting them, as located in the shared culture (p. 62). Tapping into cultural phenomena unties the frames from the debated issue and makes them more likely to resound with the public (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 624; Dan et al., 2020, p. 150f.) and applicable to other debates.

The frames were assembled through a process of reconstruction of their *frame packages* which consisted in identifying their *framing devices*, their *reasoning devices*, and the *cultural phenomena* they referred to (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 71f.). According to the analytical framework presented by Van Gorp (2007, p. 64f.), the manifest *framing devices* are explicit elements present in the text that point to a central organizing idea—for instance, metaphors, word choice or image selection. The *reasoning devices* are



“explicit and implicit statements that deal with justifications, causes, and consequences in a temporal order” (p. 64). They complete the frame by providing the connections between elements and themes. Lastly, the *cultural phenomena* refer to the archetype or figure—i.e., David vs. Goliath—, value —i.e., family— or narrative —i.e., a Faustian deal with the Devil— that gives meaning to the reasoning devices (p. 64). These elements were identified with the help of the thematic analysis, that brought up the most important themes and suggested some framing devices —for instance, the theme *tourism-phobia* may be seen as a theme, but also as a framing device suggesting a certain interpretation over resident’s opposition to tourism—.

The elements of the package were then placed on a matrix “in which the row entries represent the frames and the column entries describe the framing and reasoning devices” (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 71f.). The framing devices were grouped according to the implicit reasoning devices they suggested. This groups were expanded and differentiated with the help of the notes taken all along the process, which were useful to notice motifs that were only visible when reading many articles one after another during the coding. Lastly, looking again at examples within the coded material provided additional clues to complete the frame packages. Approaching the frames in this way allowed for their reconstruction from the hints in many different texts, ensuring that the resulting frames represented narratives that were consistent across the sample. After that, the three most univocal frames —*Stranger in one’s own house*, *Faustian Devil’s bargain* and *Public safety* —were selected and refined to explain them thoroughly.

### 3.5. Quality of the methodology

While the proposed methodology was considered adequate to the research goals there were some methodological weaknesses that should be acknowledged. First, since the frames presented by the media interact with the cultural background of each receiver (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 63) and I have already a strong opinion on the issue it is possible that some part of the analysis was conditioned by preconceived ideas on the issue. After having lived in touristified areas of Barcelona for years and experiencing of many of the dynamics explored in the study, my observations might be biased towards being critical with the tourism industry. Such personal contact with the topic provided the study with a solid background to approach the data analysis and get relevant insights, but opinionated views may show up. As such, especial attention should be paid to the warning that studying the yet unclear concept of overtourism might often lead to the confirmation bias on the researcher’s side (Capocchi et al., 2019, p. 8; Koens et al., 2018, p. 2). This is an especially important since “(T)he production of *knowledge*, through research, is understood to be a form of political practice. (R)esearch *makes*, rather than *reflects*, worlds” (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016, p. 15). It can be argued that this perspective over academic

knowledge becomes more critical for issues in which there is a certain lack of knowledge such as the one dealt with here. To minimize these concerns the coding process was based on data that could be pointed at and later used to back the analysis. The frame reconstruction was also approached in a systematic way and listed as many framing devices pointing to the same idea as possible (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 72). This way, even if nuances could be discussed, it could be confidently argued that those narratives were present in the debate.

This study was set on to complement previous studies that focused on the framing of overtourism in the international arena (Pasquinelli & Trunfio, 2020; Phi, 2020). As stated before, such studies were considered to have a low generalizability to specific cases due to their take on the phenomena as an international debate without considering the contexts in which touristification happens. However, the fact that this study has been set in a local context does not mean that it is generalizable to every destination suffering of overtourism. As stated above, overtourism is a phenomenon largely contingent on the context in which it happens (Milano, 2018, p. 553), so it seems reasonable to think that the findings may only be generalizable to a limited extent.

The dynamics of tourism growth and urban change seem to have a lot to do with changes in the international circulation of people due to low-cost air-carriers, new holiday-rental platforms and social media use (Capocchi et al., 2019, p. 10). As such, it seems reasonable to argue that the actors, the problem definitions, and the solutions proposal may be mirrored to some degree in other urban destinations —especially in other European cities with a similar profile to Barcelona in terms of size, economic weight of tourism and legislation. The relative importance of each actor and theme, however, should be not generalized, as the specific balance of the residents' concerns will be conditioned by factors inherent to each destination. In other words, while the themes on debate and their implications may be similar in other cities, there are reasons to expect that the mix and the importance attached to them varies from site to site.

It can be argued similarly about the reconstructed frames. Since the stance of this dissertation is that frames are present in the common culture, it makes sense to expect the frames found in this study to be present in other similar destinations. However, this study does not attempt to list each possible take on the issue as alternative relevant frames might be present elsewhere. Nevertheless, while the findings of this study cannot be generalized to every destination with overtourism, they may provide a useful guide on what to expect in other similar urban destinations.

## 4. Results and Analysis

The results are presented in three parts. The first and second sections analyse the main actors and themes that resulted from the coding. The third part sums up the main insights from the previous ones and points to the three main frames used in the debate.

### 4.1. Actors

To analyse the debate about overtourism it was fundamental to identify first the main actors present in it. Which were the most relevant voices in the debate was important to characterize the way the issue was framed—who framed it—and how were those actors portrayed—their role they played in the frame narrative—. Table 3 sums up the most relevant actors and shows how much they got to speak and how much they were referred to in relative terms considering that most articles included several actors. The groups of actors were laid down based on the categories advanced by Pasquinelli and Trunfio (2020, p. 1814) and adapted to the present case.

Five distinct groups of *speaking actors* were found relevant in the analysis. *Political actors* (37%) and *Residents* (36%) are the ones that most frequently got their voice through the media. The category *political actors* included individuals and organizations that were elected, at least partially, through democratic means. The *City Council* dominated this category (28% over the whole sample), while the *opposition* (7%) and other *organizations* (5%) remained in the background. *Organizations* group included a range of public organisms that were partially participated by the City Council or the Catalan Government—for instance, *Barcelona Turisme*, a consortium governed by the city council in partnership with business organizations. The *residents* category was divided between *diffuse* and *organized residents*. *Organized residents'* category included all the resident associations of the city, which were given as much voice as the City Council (28%). *Diffuse residents'* (18%) included the instances of residents speaking their individual views, mostly through interviews and short declarations. At a distance, *Industry actors* (22%) and *Experts* (13%) appeared also as relevant voices, while *Tourists* were rarely represented in the media (3%). The fact that the City Council got the most representation was expected given that previous research had already pointed to their role as responsible of overtourism (Pasquinelli & Trunfio, 2020, p. 1814). However, it was surprising that citizen organizations got as much space to express themselves as the council. Such dynamic could have been motivated by the fact that the Council's stance resounded a lot with activists' positions.

At the same time, looking at how the actors were spoken about was useful to contrast it with the way and frequency they got to speak, but also to see how they were portrayed —what role they played— in the narratives about overtourism. When looking at who was spoken about in the press the balance changed. The *tourism industry*, the *tourists*, and the *city government* came to the forefront (23%, 22% and 19% respectively). It was notable that tourists appeared as one of the main groups spoken about, while the same group was rarely given voice. Something different happened with the *residents* (12%); while they were given plenty of voice, they appear to be a less attractive a topic talk about. Lastly, *experts* were never referred to as a relevant group in the debate, further reinforcing their role as outsider commentators.

*Table 3. Most frequent actors speaking and spoken about (percentage)*

	<i>Speaking</i>	<i>Referred</i>
Political Actors	37	19
Council Government	28	16
Council Opposition	7	1
Organizations	5	2
Residents	36	12
Residents Diffuse	18	11
Residents Organized	28	2
Industry	22	23
Industry Diffuse	3	10
Hospitality	6	1
Apartments	4	7
Small Business	7	3
Owners		
Experts	13	—
Tourists	3	22

Note: percentages are calculated over the total of articles in the sample (n=263). Each article may have several actors coded into it.

#### **4.1.1. Political Actors: the City Council**

The main political actor was, by far, the government of the city of Barcelona, who spoke in almost a third of all instances. Their views were mostly presented to the press through the voices of different government members. The issue was not owned by any individual on the Council team, but a handful of councillors and the city Mayor received a similar attention in the press. While still relevant, opposition views were far more uncommon in the press (7%) and almost exclusively defended by the main opposition party. Last on the group, organizations formed an heterogenous group of public-private organizations holding an independent voice largely supportive of tourism industry views. All in all, the

distribution suggested that the discourses competing with government's framing of tourism would come largely from sources outside the Council such as the tourism industry or the residents.

The *City Council* was frequently referred to in the press (16%). The fact the present government got into office with a critical stance on the former tourism management was likely to drive this attention. Their portrayal was far from unified but there were some attributes that remained constant over their mentions. The figure of the mayor —Ada Colau— stood out within the category. As a former housing activist, she and her government were frequently portrayed as a sort of civil David in front business Goliaths. There was little doubt that this characterization resounded with the way the government pictured itself, as they campaigned on similar populist grounds on their way to the council.



*“Here we are common people that don’t accept a Council that offers the city to the lobbies”*  
(Barcelona en Comú, 2015).

However, such characterization entailed the risk of being portrayed as brave but powerless in front of too big a problem, even among government supporters and activists. As an activist admitted in an article about their latest action:

*“We (activists) are aware that we must bring proposals to the table, because whatever the industry proposes will be, probably, counterproductive for the residents of the city, and the city council (...), they do it the best they can, but they don’t catch up”* (El Punt Avui, 2016.06.13:22)

Campaigning on radical change might be a risky business if that change cannot be brought about. Over the timespan of the study, the council was frequently accused of being ineffective in taming the problems caused by tourism, either because it did not respond to expectations or because it lacked the knowledge to do better. This opinion piece by the co-director of the newspaper *la Vanguardia* traces a relationship between overtourism and the housing crisis, and exposes his view about the Council and their tourism policies:

(the governing party) *prioritized making a statement by restricting the opening of new hotels over establishing an effective control of tourist apartments, which are the real cause of the housing problem.* (La Vanguardia, 2017.05.14:64)

This example pointed to the idea that the Council Government was not focusing on the correct issue — the housing crisis—, but rather taking cosmetic actions against tourism. Such stance was commonly held by representatives of the tourism industry, who often referred to the City Council as governing *against them* and economic logic. The complaints of unresponsiveness to industry needs were common, as was the opposition to every attempt to regulate tourism activity. The accusations went as far as accusing the government as the main factor behind the popular opposition to tourism. For instance, in a joint statement after some activists vandalised a hotel entrance:

*The Hoteliers Guild (...) accuses the council of “demonizing” tourism. (...) “This crisis is consequence of the municipal discourse”, that, according to his views, instead of promoting the economic activity, criminalizes it.* (El Periódico, 2017.05.7)

It can be said the city government’s portrayal was consistent with previous findings that showed governments as responsible over the issue (Pasquinelli & Trunfio, 2020, p. 1817). It was seen both as cause and solution of most tourism problems. Although different actors portrayed it differently, most times it was belittled, as it was frequently portrayed as powerless, inefficient, or ignorant in front of the issue.

#### **4.1.2. Residents: The neighbours of Barcelona**

Residents’ appearances were divided in two groups: *diffuse* and *organized*. In the *diffuse* category the residents appeared speaking as themselves or were referred to as a homogeneous group. When residents’ views were expressed through associations or spokespeople, they were coded under the *organized residents* category. Most residents’ appearances happened through organized groups (29%) and a wide array of associations appeared—as much as 29—, of which most were local organizations concerned with tourism-related problems in a specific area.

The media presence of resident organizations was unequal. While most of them appeared only once or twice in the sample, some organizations consistently held media’s attention over the years. For instance, the organizations based in la Barceloneta and Poblenou, appeared far more often than the organizations based in equally iconic areas such as Sagrada Família or la Rambla. An explanation for such differences might reside in the different narratives surrounding each area. There seemed to be a big difference whether an area was still being contested or already *lost*. As an example, both la Barceloneta and

Poblenou were often portrayed as traditional working-class neighbourhoods undergoing —and resisting— a huge transformation that threatened their very essence. In the examples below, activists from both areas describe both neighbourhoods and the threat they are facing. Both excerpts belong to short articles about demonstrations against tourism, the first in la Barceloneta:

*Sebas Huguet has spent all his life in la Barceloneta. He is a dockworker as his father. “Nowadays, whenever I go out it is difficult to stumble upon someone I know. And it hurts” (...). The value of la Barceloneta, says, “is its people. Its social cohesion”. A reality that gives authenticity to a neighbourhood that resists being swallowed by the Barcelona pictured on the postcards. (El Punt Avui, 2017.08.11:20)*

And the second one in Poblenou:

*“We don’t want to exile. We love Poblenou for its plurality, because it is not massified, (...) Because people still walk around without rushing, because there are still grandmas that have seen the birth and growth of the neighbourhood... But above all, because the memory of Poblenou is still alive, and belongs to us.” (Ara, 2016.09.03:12)*

In opposition, la Rambla was often portrayed as an area already lost to tourists. What used to be a commercial avenue turned into completely repudiated space by the citizens of Barcelona. The fact that the area was *surrendered* to tourists seemed to make its problems significantly less newsworthy, even if they coincided greatly with those in other areas. The excerpt below belongs to a feature article describing the many challenges that la Rambla faced. On it, both the journalist writing, and the quoted activist defined la Rambla as a *lost* space:

*Many Barcelonians don’t even want to hear about having a stroll on la Rambla because they know that tourism massification on the avenue can become suffocating. A situation of which the residents are well aware (...) “La Rambla has become an amusement park, and we must reclaim it” (El Punt Avui, 2016.01.03:23)*

The debate, however, was not only focused in stressed areas. At the city level, two organizations emerged as relevant speaking actors: the Neighbourhoods Association for Tourism Degrowth (ABDT, 6%) and Barcelona’s Federation of Neighbours Associations (FAVB, 4%). While the latter was a historically relevant civic actor, the former was a single-issue organization created in 2015 to move the debate about overtourism beyond the neighbourhoods’ concerns and question tourism city-wide (ABDT, 2015). As a result of the interplay of these two different scales of organizing, resident’s voice became scattered through many neighbourhood associations, but their point of view remained somewhat consistent through the frequent joint actions organized by the city-level associations.

Contrasting with the way they got to speak in the press —mainly through organizations—, residents were mostly talked about as a diffuse collective (11%). Although the term resident was chosen to be consistent with previous research (Capocchi et al., 2019; Hansen, 2020; Pasquinelli & Trunfio, 2020), the most frequent term to speak about them in the sample is *neighbours* (in Catalan: *vei/veïna*). Such consideration is relevant since the word neighbour, in Catalan implies something else than the word resident. The nuance is significant, in Catalan, *resident* is defined as “someone who resides” whether *neighbour* is defined as “person who lives in the same area, neighbourhood or house as someone else”. When the news articles speak of neighbours, they do so assuming an embeddedness of the individuals in the neighbourhood and their connections with other residents. This nuance underscored the idea that what was at stake was not only the ability of the people to keep living in an area but also complex network of people that made the neighbourhood the way it is. In addition, the term *neighbours* brought the problem closer to the reader since the problem does not only affect some residents, but also *the neighbourhood*.

Whether the problems were caused by the tourism industry or the tourists themselves “(r)esidents are represented as the (passive) victims of overtourism since (...) they suffer the majority of the many narrated impacts” (Pasquinelli & Trunfio, 2020, p. 1817). The victimization of residents was commonplace when discussing overtourism, and their expulsion from the neighbourhood the ultimate threat they faced. Such expulsion would have a double impact: first on the ones that are expelled and then on the ones that remain. The expelled residents’ stories were normally narrated with an emphasis on the human side of the story. They spoke about people living on touristic areas that must abandon because they could not afford an ever-increasing rent or apartment owners ousting out tenants because they aim to rent them to tourists at a higher price. Just as in the excerpt below, testimonials of victims of real estate mobbing sometimes complement the articles discussing the connection of tourism with rent rises:

*“One day, two women came and told me they had bought the building to turn it into luxury apartments and that they would prefer I wasn’t there. They told me they would do construction work and that it would be noisy, they even joked about me having to wear a helmet to be at home. Their tone was clearly threatening”, she says. At the same time, the building was slowly emptied, until she was the last one remaining. (Ara, 2017.06.24:17)*

Overtourism concerns coincided to a big degree with gentrification processes. While gentrification is not exclusively caused by tourism, a strong link between the increase of visitors and the replacement of poorer residents by wealthier ones was taken for granted in most articles. This replacement was often exemplified through the young residents, whom are the most vulnerable to gentrification. They were



portrayed as the legitimate residents of the area in which they had grown. They were portrayed as having their families and social ties there, but ultimately unable to afford the cost of staying in, especially if they belonged to working classes. The impossibility for the *legitimate heirs* of an area to live there was often mentioned in the media as an example of the difficult future for the native residents. In an article about mass tourism in Poblenou the anti-tourism platform *Ens Plantem* linked tourism with young residents' displacement:

*According to Ens plantem, there are almost 20.000 tourists' beds in a neighbourhood with 70.000 residents. The direct consequence is that the housing prices are becoming impossible for many people. "Each time, it's more difficult for grandsons to keep living in the same neighbourhood as their grandparents." (La Vanguardia, 2016.09.29)*

As a result of the expulsion process, the remaining neighbours are portrayed as being left in front of the loss of quality of life that mass tourism brings about. In addition to overcrowding, noise, and uncivil behaviour, those remaining would see their life socially impoverished due to the loss of residents' networks, and the *essence* of the neighbourhood would be damaged. Everyday life would become more difficult as traditional stores close as a result of the loss of residents, and activities such as taking a stroll become dangerous or uncomfortable. The council's opposition leader, in an op-ed supports this narrative:

*Barcelona is emptying itself of neighbours. In many neighbourhoods, it is becoming a showcase city, full of beautiful facades and lifeless buildings. (...) The neighbours are being replaced by tourists or temporary residents at an increasing rate. Neighbours' networks are being broken, traditional commerce is closing, and the urban landscape is booming with snacks' stores, restaurants, and cosmopolitan "boutiques". (El Periódico, March 21<sup>st</sup>, 2017:8)*

If younger residents were used to symbolize overtourism's expulsion threat, older residents represented the vulnerability of the ones staying. Such vulnerability was frequently illustrated through the use of images of elder people confronting crowds of tourists. Older residents were showcased as the innocent victims of a process that had run over them. They were showed as fighting to keep on with their usual life, as their routines were disrupted by the changes triggered by tourism.



"The torment of crossing la Boqueria Market in a wheelchair" (El Periódico, 19.09.01)

On the flip side, residents were also portrayed as a resilient and combative collective that make their opinion heard through frequent mobilizations. Organized residents fight to *reclaim the city back* from tourism constituted a constant voice in touristic areas. Their resolve was illustrated by the fact that organized residents constituted one of the most important actors in the debate, at par with the city government (29% over the whole sample, both). Such resilience, however, was also referred as anger or even hate. According to many articles talking about resident's attitudes, mobilizations against overtourism were displays of *tourism-phobia*. Such feeling of aversion to tourists would be short-sighted and mistaken, as it made tourists responsible from many problems unrelated to them. In an article about tourism performance, the director of a national tourism organization suggested that problems with tourism have a lot to do with public opinion:

*"Over the next decade we will receive a flood of tourists, and we must manage it well so they are perceived as a generator of wealth". In other words, the directive is afraid that massification angers the residents and they blame tourists of their loss of quality of life.*  
(20 Minutos, 18.01.12)

Additionally, surveys and studies were frequently brought up to exemplify how divided the citizens were over the tourism question. The emphasis on the division of views underscored the idea that those questioning tourism were only a part of the residents —the tourism-phobic part—, and that the average sentiment was that tourism, so far, had been good for the city. Moreover, references to the *touristification of residents* defending the idea that residents were also to blame for the problems they complained about were common. Grounded in the idea that "everyone behaves a bit like a tourist", it was argued that the residents themselves preferred new fancy places over the traditional stores and that some residents also rented their apartments to tourists to get some extra money. Some excerpts from an opinion piece titled "Nobody is a tourist" written by the co-director of La Vanguardia are a good example of blame attribution to residents:

*Thinking of tourists as invading aliens that aim to worsen residents' life is a mistake that makes the problem worse. Either everyone is a tourist, or nobody is. (...) The residents who complain about the closure of a traditional store recognize that they prefer the functionality of modern stores. When they go to another city, turned into tourists, they want to see those traditional stores with an authentic feeling but, at the same time, they need to rely on global franchises to feel like home. (...) All in all, Airbnb does not exist, it is our own neighbour who invites the foreigners to our living room. (La Vanguardia, 2019.08.11:36)*

#### **4.1.3. The Tourism Industry**

Industry voices were scattered among many branches and interests. The industry actors receiving more coverage were the owners of small business related with tourism (7%) such as restaurants, kiosks, or stores. These actors received a distinct treatment, as they are frequently presented as “residents who happen to have a business”. Their voices were often presented as legitimate counterinterviews to the more belligerent calls for tourism control and regulation, while emphasizing the benefits of tourism. For instance, in a news piece about anti-tourism vandalism, the owner of an antique store in the centre expressed his opinion:

*(He) defends the guests of hotels like Neri (a luxury hotel), “people with money and the will to spend it”, he adds. “We, the merchants of the area, live thanks to them because the locals are not buying from us. 80% of my sales come from tourism”, he says. (El Periódico, 2016.02.09:36)*

Hospitality actors were the second group in importance (6%). Their voice was notably more organized since the group was smaller and revolved around few organizations such as *Gremi d'Hotelers* — Hoteliers' guild— and *Exceltur*. One of their main concerns seemed to be the impact of tourist apartments' platforms like Airbnb and HomeAway, whom they blamed for many of the problems attributed to overtourism like uncivil behaviour or overcrowding. Coincidentally, such accusations freed them of responsibility over those problems. For instance, in a report of tourism results presented to the press, a hospitality organization acknowledged the increase of tourism pressure as problematic but blamed rental platforms for it:

*Exceltur did not miss the chance of pointing at home tourist rental platforms as responsible of the social contestation and being “the main factor behind the increase of tourism pressure”. (20 Minutos, 2018.01.12:4)*

Tourism actors were the most referred ones in the press (23%). Such references, however, differed notably from the way they presented themselves when they got to speak. In contrast with the scattered display they presented to the media, when talked about they were referred to as a loosely defined group: *the* tourism industry. The label was used as a vague concept that included all those benefitting most from tourism. Such group was suggested to include many different actors; hotel chains, international tour operators, investment and vulture funds, real estate developers and a series of lobbies defending their interests, but also to a lesser degree restaurant owners, souvenir stores and many smaller businesses related with tourism. Such heterogeneous group was usually pointed out as the main cause behind overtourism problems in the city by activists and the city council. Tourist apartments platforms got their own share of attention (7%) because of their recent irruption in the city and their big impact on the housing market. There seemed to be a consensus in identifying them as one of the main causes behind overtourism problems.

Industry actors were portrayed as having enjoyed for long the favour of the governing local and regional elites. Such perception was rooted in the fact they had been closely connected during many years. Many hotels and investment funds are owned by Catalan elite families had a say in the development plans of the city through public-private organizations. Their views crystalized in decades of lack of regulation and publicly-funded tourism promotion policies (Aymerich, 2021, p. 83f.). In the years studied things began to change in at least two instances; first, while *traditional* actors still played a prominent role they had to increasingly coexist with disruptive global companies and investment funds. And second, a Council cabinet critical with tourism took office for the first time ever. Tourism industry actors were commonly assumed to pursue economic gains at any cost, to the point that such behaviour was not criticized but taken for granted. In an interview about the implemented tourism restrictions, Mayor Colau put it this way:

*“The private sector, legitimately, searches the maximum benefit in the short term, but the administration has to think about the common good. And that’s what we’ve done”* (Ara, 2016.09.04)

Tourism industry gains were usually expressed as directly opposite to resident’s interests, as the industry was always willing to predate on any *business opportunities* the city has to offer. In their pursuit they were portrayed as unscrupulous, especially when speaking about new developments and investments. Sudden rent rises or real estate *mobbing* appeared as frequent themes to describe the lack of ethical constraints of the investors looking to increase the value of their properties. A review of a documentary about tourism’s effects in Barcelona told the story of its protagonist, a woman that was being intimidated by the owners of her apartment:

*(The investment fund who bought the building) are, allegedly, trying to kick her and her family out by any means possible: a lawsuit accusing them of non-compliance of rental rules, especially annoying construction works and fumigation tasks that make her, an asthmatic, fear for her life. “I won’t give them the satisfaction of dying”, she says. (La Vanguardia, 2019.03.20)*

Home-sharing and tourist apartments platforms were also frequently accused of dishonest practices. This was the most frequent claim about industry misbehaviour since it was one in which companies such as Airbnb engaged openly in illegal practices. By showcasing unlicensed apartments, holiday rental platforms were getting benefits from the direct collaboration with those renting their apartments illegally. Mayor Colau, in the same interview as before, framed their activity this way:

*“Such platforms (Airbnb and similar) shouldn’t make millions of benefits in the stock market while promoting illegal apartments in our city, it is unacceptable.” (Ara, 2016.09.04)*

Questionable behaviours, however, did not seem to be exclusive from investment funds and new players. To a lesser extent, traditional tourism businesses were also portrayed in some sorts of law-bending and lack of consideration for residents. As paradigmatic example, the historic lack of construction licenses for la Sagrada Família was often brought up. Such reminders situated the tourism industry slightly above the law and emphasized their position of power in the issue.

#### **4.1.4. Experts and Media**

Experts emerged as important speaking actors in the debate (13%), proving the relevance of the issue in the media. The category was formed by pundits in many fields, ranging from sociologists to economists and urbanists who, in most cases, spoke through interviews or opinion pieces. Regardless their field of expertise, the code included those individuals whose opinions had been called in because they were considered knowledgeable about overtourism by the media that featured them. There was a wide diversity of opinions among them and that rendered them impossible to analyse as a coherent group, however, their texts tended to be more nuanced and reasoned than those of activists or industry players. This made this category irrelevant to be studied as a group, but interesting to track the reasoning devices behind the frames. Well-known journalists and editors from the newspapers studied were also commonly featured as knowledgeable individuals. Whether they might not be experts in the topic, their views could be regarded as especially relevant because, to some degree, they set the editorial line of the media.

#### 4.1.5. Tourists

Since tourists were not organized collectively in any way, their voices were hugely ignored in the discussion about overtourism and are barely represented as speaking actors (3%). Moreover, in the rare cases they got to speak, they usually appear contextualized within the impacts of overtourism on residents. For instance, this report about an opinion survey made to Barcelona visitors used tourists' opinion to reinforce the residents' views:

*58% of visitors consider there is too many people to make tourism in the city. Residents' of the most touristic areas have been protesting for years, but for the first time, visitors are complaining too. (La Vanguardia, 2016.08.22)*

However, while their voice was negligible, they were referred to in almost a quarter of all articles (22%). The media's fixation with them was meaningful. Their frequent appearance as a topic portrayed them as a collective actor without agency, as if they were an uncontrollable circumstance, like the weather. In being deprived of their voice, tourists were implicitly deemed incapable of playing a role in solving any tourism problems and were treated as just another factor—not actors—on the issue. Tourists were portrayed as an ignorant mass of people consuming a pre-designed experience of the city. The treatment they received was often belittling: they were portrayed as curious but careless of the problems they were blamed for, and it was out of question whether they were capable of understanding the reality of the city. For instance, in a news piece about an anti-tourism protest, tourists' ignorance about the protest was extended to their gastronomic taste:

*Some tourists sitting on the terraces of la Rambla looked puzzled at the (anti-tourism) protest while savouring their pre-cooked paellas and sangria (Ara, 2017.05.06)*

The conflict between tourists and residents was a common narrative often emphasized through pictures of tourists engaging in some sort of inappropriate behaviour next to annoyed residents. Such images complete the picture of the vulnerable resident, by portraying the tourist as a careless and jolly aggressor.

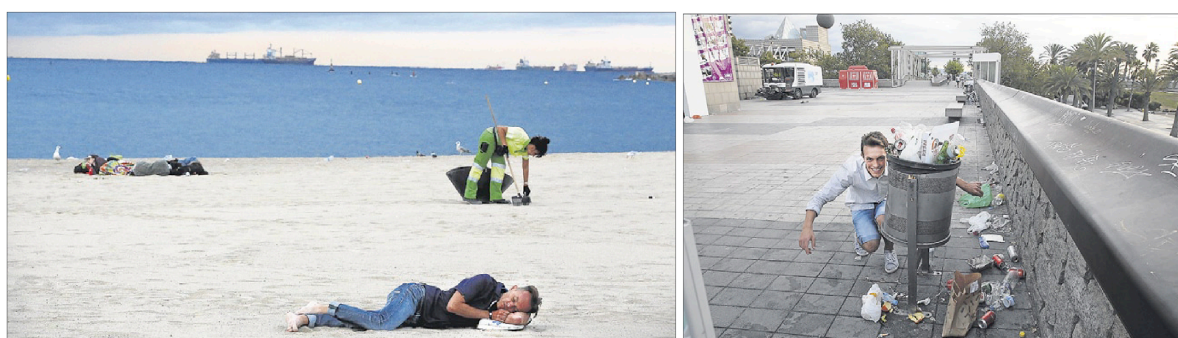


*A man with a dog dodges the selfie stick of a couple of tourists (El Periódico 2019.09.01)*

However, tourists were not portrayed always as a homogenous group. Implicit in many texts was the idea that not all of them were equally harmful and that there were two kinds of tourists: *bad tourists* and *good tourists*. In an explicit display of this idea, a merchant defends a group of tourists in front of the other, more damaging kind:

*“Nobody likes the tourists that come into stores barefooted or eating, and pee on the street. But one cannot generalize. There are tourists, and tourists.”* (El Periódico 2016.02.09)

The *bad tourists* were the ones that made an irresponsible use of the city. They were normally portrayed as young and careless scooter-drivers fun-seekers. They came from nearby European countries — France, Germany, UK... — and concentrated in touristic hot spots around the warm months. Importantly, they were also implicitly poorer: they were told to have appeared after the emergence of low-cost airlines and were criticised for sleeping in hostels or packed apartments and purchasing drinks from ambulant sellers —all activities that did not require a big budget. Discursively, *bad tourists* provided grounds for the claims of overtourism as a localized problem: they were just a part of all the tourism in the city, moved in large groups and concentrated in leisure areas. *Bad tourists* were often blamed for triggering the opposition reaction of the residents through their disruptive practices. The following set of pictures in an article about the degradation of la Barceloneta due to tourism showed the bad tourists early morning, while public workers —residents— cleaned the mess:



(El Periódico 2017.08.12)

On the other side, *good tourists* —*quality tourists*, using the tourism industry term— were presented as an improvement to the bad ones and a possible solution to overtourism problems. According to those who saw the *low quality* of tourists as a central part of overtourism problems, by attracting better tourists, the same economic benefits could be made without the need to attract so much disruptive people. In an interview, the director of the Turisme de Catalunya —a public organization aimed at promoting tourism in Catalonia— summed up the idea of good tourists while giving the example of enological tourism:



*“The tourist that comes to taste wines spends good money. It is high quality tourism.”*  
(El Punt Avui, 2016.03.24)

The *good tourists* were depicted as the ones that come to the city attracted by high quality activities and experiences. They were presented as older, respectful, familiar, and more sophisticated than their younger counterparts. They were also implicitly wealthier as their travelling habits are certainly more expensive: they travel longer distances —they come from places like the US, Israel, Japan or the Middle East— and make longer stays. *Good tourists* stay at good hotels and spend their time in the city going to good restaurants, visiting the main attractions of the city and, above all, shopping. They were also frequently labelled as *shopping tourism*, putting the emphasis in the economic interest in them. It was not uncommon to find articles profiling those *good tourists* in the press accompanied by pictures of exoticized women from Asia or the Middle East shopping on luxury stores:



Portrayals of rich tourists in La Vanguardia (2018.07.02) and El Periódico (2015.05.15)

Although rarely, this group of tourists was the only one that got quoted in the press, and when they did, they expressed themselves as thankful and positively surprised by the city.

Additionally, tourists were sometimes portrayed as a direct threat for the residents, as a driving force of gentrification. Not only because of the change of uses of residential apartments to touristic hosting, but also because of the inclination of some of them to become full-time residents. Tourists were invariably portrayed as richer than the residents, and their ability to purchase or rent an apartment at a higher price was seen as real threat for a city with a housing shortage. In a speech during the festivities of Gràcia neighbourhood quoted in an article, the spokespeople addressed to the tourists in the crowd and joked about the idea of being replaced by them:

*“Hi tourist, our home is your home, if someone can still afford a home with the prices they have since you started buying them”* (Ara, 2017.08.16)

Lastly, even if belittled in most cases, there was a widespread *presumption of innocence* for tourists as they were seen as a mostly beneficial group that gave the city some of its cosmopolitan character and



helped balancing the books. Industry actors, who often accused bad behaving tourists of being problematic argued that tourists were being used as a scapegoat for other city problems. On their side, anti-tourism activists coincided at pointing the industry, and not the tourists, as the source of the problem. As in the excerpt below, it was fairly common to find anti-tourism activists arguing that they are not against tourists, but against certain aspects of tourism:

*“We are not against tourists, (...) but the increasing massification that we have been experiencing since some years ago is transforming the neighbourhood”* (La Vanguardia 2016.06.17)

## 4.2. Problems and solutions

The most instrumental parts of the framing of an issue are the problem definitions and the prescribed solutions embedded in the frame. Problem definitions and solutions hold a visible relationship since some problem definitions directly suggest a course of action. However, there is also a less apparent mechanism that ties them in the opposite direction. Each solution advocated for assumes a certain problematization, a specific identification of the problematic matters and the subjects upon which the action is called (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016, p. 14). With such relationships in mind, it makes sense to address the analysis of the problem definitions and solutions altogether.

Over the following section, the most significant problem definitions and proposed solutions will be discussed in order of frequency. Table 4 shows the most frequent problem definitions divided in several categories and Table 5 does the same for the solutions. These categories grouped problem and solutions by similarity according to some premises specified in the tables. These divisions simplified the coding process and underscored some essential differences between them.

Among the *problem definitions*, there were two categories that stood out among the rest —each one including several problem definitions. The first one, labelled as *structural problems* (71%), was focused on structural changes in the city’s social and economic structure that tourism brought about. The second one, labelled *immediate effects* (71%), was concerned with the nuisances directly stemming from the presence of tourists in an area. Regarding the *proposed solutions*, the scenario was more balanced. *Tourism regulation* solutions were the most advocated for (46%), but the strategies for *tourism improvement* (40%) and the *policies to improve residents’ life* (37%) were also widely prescribed. Problem definitions focused on the *environmental problems* stemming from overtourism were conspicuous by their absence (6%). While the environmental impacts of tourism resource consumption

Table 4. Most frequent problem categories and definitions (percent):

Structural Problems	Problems arising from tourism activity in the city. Generally, with mid- to long-term effects.	71
Resident Displacement	Residents being displaced out of the area they used to live. Includes gentrification processes.	51
Touristification	Areas becoming increasingly adapted for tourism uses. i.e., proliferation of tourism-related businesses such as hotels or restaurants...	42
Lost Spaces	Areas becoming unappealing for residents or completely given up to tourism activity.	32
Store replacement	Businesses formerly aimed at residents being replaced by others targeted to tourists.	22
Illegitimate Industry Practices	Tourism businesses engaging in illegitimate or illegal practices such as unlicensed operations.	9
Immediate Effects of Tourism	Problems arising from the direct contact with tourists. Generally short-lived.	71
Massification of the city	Concerns about “too many tourists” and the overcrowding of the city. Alluded as the cause of many other problems and a problem on itself.	48
Difficult Coexistence	Inappropriate behaviour complicating the coexistence of tourists and residents. i.e., alcohol consumption or reckless driving.	31
Loss of Quality of Life	Direct effects on resident’s quality of life such as noise, crowded public transportation or traffic congestion.	25
Mounting Pressure	References to an area reaching its limit or becoming more used for tourism activity.	15
Crime Rise	Crime activity where the victims, the delinquents or costumers are tourists. i.e., robberies, drug dealing, fights...	13
Political Issues	Problems arising from the political and public opinion dimensions of tourism.	57
Poor Govt. Performance	Problems being caused by current or former tourism mismanagement. i.e., lack of regulation, insufficient police, representation issues...	32
Tourism-phobia	Residents’ sentiment of opposition to tourism. i.e., accusations of criminalization of industry, vandalism against tourism...	25
Tourism concern	Residents’ increasing preoccupation with tourism effects on the city.	14
Bone of contention	Residents’ being divided over the tourism issue.	10
Instrumentalization of issue	Politicians making use of the tourism issue to achieve electoral goals.	4
Tourism Model Problems	Problems arising from the specific traits of the tourism industry in the city.	51
Property Speculation	Tourism activity rendering the city especially attractive for real estate speculation.	16
Low Quality of Tourists	Problems being caused by the attraction of tourists of low quality.	13
Problematic model	Problems being the result of a problematic tourism model per se.	12
Poor Tourist Experience	Tourists getting a bad experience of their visit to the city.	12
Unfair costs and benefits	Costs and benefits of tourism being unfairly distributed between the residents and the industry.	11
Poor Quality Jobs	Tourism industry as creating low quality occupation.	10
Ineludible Problems	Unavoidable problems related to tourism activity.	24
Conjunctural Factors	Problems being caused by temporary factors that cannot be controlled.	11
Price of Progress	Problems being the logical and unescapable result of globalization and progress.	9
Situated problem	Problems being exclusive of some specific areas and/or moments, not affecting the whole city.	7
Ineludible Externalities	Problems being the obvious price to pay for having a buoyant tourism industry.	5
Environmental Problems	Problems related with pollution and environmental damage.	6

Note: Percentage calculated over all the articles of the sample (n=263). Each article may contain several codes.

Table 5. Most frequent solutions presented (percent):

Tourism Regulation	Solutions involving limits and restrictions to tourism activity.	46
Control Tourism Development	Plan and limit tourism development on certain areas of the city.	18
More regulation	Regulate over uncontrolled or loosely regulated tourism practices.	18
Control tourist apartments	Increase the control and regulation over tourist apartments, both legal and illegal.	17
More police activity	Increase the police activity controlling tourists' behaviour and tourism industry practices.	9
Increase tourism taxes	Increase or put in place different kinds of tourism taxes.	7
Tourist Quotas	Establish a maximum number of tourists to either an area or the city.	4
Defund Tourism Promotion	Stop funding any promotional activity to attract more visitors.	4
Tourism Improvement strategies	Strategies to solve some of the problems without establishing limits to tourism.	40
Improve quality of tourists	Prioritize attracting tourists with higher purchase power and longer stays.	19
Infrastructure Optimization	Improve infrastructures or use technical solutions so stressed areas can handle crowds better.	15
Dispersal Strategies	Strategies to attract visitors to other, less crowded areas and times.	10
Promote Sustainable Tourism	Calls to pursuit tourism growth in a sustainable manner.	7
Education campaigns	Calls to educate the tourists so they are less problematic.	6
Resident-oriented strategies	Solutions aimed at improving residents' quality of life in front of tourism.	37
Neighbourhood improvement	Invest in the residents of tourism-stressed areas. i.e., build public housing, new civic facilities, resident attraction policies...	18
Reclaim Touristified Areas	Calls to introduce changes in touristified areas to make them attractive for residents' uses again.	10
Protect current residents	Policies of protection aimed at keeping current residents on place. i.e., regulate rent prices, protection of small businesses...	8
Halts and closures	Close or halt the development of a specific hotel or tourism-oriented business.	7
Improve costs and benefits	Redistribute the costs and benefits of tourism industry so residents get more benefitted from it.	4
Improve Job Conditions	Improve the job conditions of the tourism-workers.	4
System-wide solutions	Solutions involving deep tourism model changes.	35
Citizen involvement	Engage in different forms of activities and protests against tourism overtourism.	13
Diffuse model change	Calls for a change in the way the tourism industry works in Barcelona	12
Reduce Tourism Dependence	Strategies to reduce the economic dependence on tourism. i.e., promoting other industries.	6
Tourism Degrowth	Degrowth of tourists numbers and tourism industry economic weight as a political and economic goal.	6
Extend city powers	Calls to give the council more legal and political powers to better solve some problems.	4

n=263

Note: Percentage calculated over all the articles of the sample (n=263). Each article may contain several codes.

have been a traditional concern in the research about the negative effects of tourism (McKercher, 1993, p. 8) in the sample studied they barely appeared, and only related to cruises and airport emissions.

Cutting across the tables it could be said that there were two big ways of looking at the issue: as *a situated problem* caused by some tourists under some circumstances, or as *a system problem* involving many actors and variables. The first vision would encompass a limited set of problem definitions mostly concerned with the *immediate effects of tourism*, and some solutions included in the *tourism regulation* and *tourism improvement* groups. Differently, the second perspective would include most of the themes appearing in both tables, as it acknowledged overtourism as a complex problem involving several causal-relations and stakeholders. Both visions coexisted often in the same texts, however, which vision was given prevalence was meaningful given their differences of scale. Taking overtourism as a *system problem* —as the research on overtourism suggests (Koens et al., 2018, p. 5)— implied looking for complex solutions affecting many actors and urban dynamics in the mid and long term. On the other hand, looking at it as *a situated problem* called for simpler solutions, often aimed at controlling the problematic groups of people. In practice, this meant that small differences in the focus of the problematization could represent big differences on the policy implications they had.

#### **4.2.1. Resident displacement**

*Resident displacement* was the single most concerning theme in half of the articles coded as it was portrayed as the consequence of many processes converging on touristic areas —somewhat like the final blow of the touristification process. The underlying story behind resident displacement due to tourism was presented as triggered by tourist presence, but it also implied dynamics of international immigration and real estate investments. According to this narrative, as an area became adapted to tourists —more leisure offer, more English-speaking services, more international citizens around— it also became attractive for other international residents. Whether for middle- or long-term stances, affluent citizens from all over the world would grow interested into the city, where they would start looking for a residence. This appeal to international citizens would be seen as a business opportunity for investment funds that would buy properties and buildings to turn them into high-end properties aimed at the international market. Resident displacement would be driven, thus, by a process of gentrification in which popular classes would be steadily replaced by wealthier citizens from abroad, initially attracted by tourism. As a result, the already high housing demand of Barcelona would be met by an each time lower supply of apartments, that would be increasingly focused into wealthy customers. As the housing prices kept surging, many residents would abandon their apartments, and the stores of the area would struggle to keep in business if they did not adapt to the new, wealthier clients. Thus, the expulsion of residents from touristic areas was portrayed as a consequence of tourism, but also as a result of the

transformation of the neighbourhoods into global investment opportunities. In an interview reviewing the main problems of the city, Janet Sanz, the councillor of urbanism, traced a link between gentrification and tourism:

*“Investment funds, which until now bet on Venice or other cities, now invest in the desire of tourists to visit Barcelona, they want to invest in tourist housing or luxury housing.”*  
(El Periódico, 2017.08.23)

It is commonly acknowledged that gentrification is not exclusively linked to touristification and essentially different in many aspects (Jover & Díaz-Parra, 2020, p. 3057). However, most instances on the sample underscored the crucial role that tourism played in this case. For instance, area renovations and improvement policies aimed at improving the residents’ life were frequently portrayed as a threat to residents, as they had the potential to attract a new share of international interest. A paradigmatic example of this was the treatment that the pedestrianization and renovation of the surroundings of the Sant Antoni market received in the media. In an excerpt from the same interview as before, the journalist expressed his concerns about the results of the improvement:

*What will happen to Sant Antoni, one of the epicentres of gentrification and price rises, once the council inaugurates the superblock surrounding the market? It is not crazy to anticipate that a well-meaning urbanism ends up worsening the situation.* (El Periódico, 2017.08.23)

Seeing any *urban improvement as a threat* appeared as a common stance but, paradoxically, neighbourhood improvements and urban planning were among the most advocated remedies for gentrification. Resident-oriented policies to protect residents such as the construction of new public housing or the regulation of rental prices were popular solutions as long as they were paired with a stricter planification that limited the practices of tourism businesses. Such strategies would have to limit the growth in tourist accommodation and regulate the leisure activities —establishing schedules, areas, and other limits— to avoid a tourism monoculture that ultimately deterred local families from staying in the area.

#### **4.2.2. Massification**

Massification was the second most mentioned problem definition, and the term appeared in almost half of the sampled articles, however, its exact meaning was difficult to grasp. The term *massification* is a direct translation from the word used in Catalan —*massificació*— and suggests the idea of a mass of people swarming around a space. It was used mostly as a generic concept alluding to a set of problems

that tourism caused in the city. Similar to *overtourism*, the lack of concretion of the term turned it into a sort of a go-to diagnostic. Almost all actors treated it as one of the main troubles related with tourism, although they meant different things. On one hand, residents and politicians treated it as an excess of tourism activity that represented a threat for residents' quality of life and triggered their expulsion. In the other, tourism industry seemed to be concerned about the excessive amount of tourists as the trigger of residents' opposition. And lastly, tourists themselves complained about tourism massification as impoverishing their visiting experience.

Although the lack of consensus over the meaning of the word there seemed to be a consensus in treating the Residents of touristic neighbourhoods as the main victims of massification. Those who coexisted with tourism saw their quality of life decreased, as they had to deal with crowds, noise, and a poorer provision of public services due to the overwhelming presence of visitors. In addition, in the tourism hot spots, the big number of tourists was presented as a fertile ground for thieves and drug dealers that had tourists as their principal victims and clients. As residents would flee these areas, their spots would be filled in by tourist apartments and businesses furthering the massification. In front of this problem, the last resort for residents seemed to be to protest against tourism. Most times, activists called for public mobilization to pressure the Council government to regulate further the tourism industry, while in other instances, institutions and activists spoke about bringing the residents back to touristified to reclaim them. At the same time, such mobilizations were portrayed by the tourism industry actors, that equated them with tourism-phobic behaviours that scared the tourists.

#### **4.2.3. Touristification**

*Touristification* surfaced as the third most frequent theme (appearing in 42% of the articles) and a crucial topic to understand the nature of overtourism in Barcelona. Touristification alluded to the increase of tourism activity in certain areas and their following adaptation to it. Such growth of tourism was portrayed to be kickstarted by an increment of its tourism attractive —becoming *trendy*— and made evident through the bigger presence of tourists and businesses devoted to them. Additionally, touristification seemed to entail an identity transformation, as it “contribute(d) to a loss of authenticity in these spaces by the socio-spatial transformation of neighbourhoods in line with the needs of consumers with high purchasing power” (Jover & Díaz-Parra, 2020, p. 3048). Such essential transformation was commonly exemplified by comparing touristified areas with theme parks. In an opinion piece, the scholar Manuel Castells criticised the transformation that la Rambla had undergone:

*The well-known Rambla de Barcelona has been transformed into a theme park barely frequented by Barcelonians, where everything is turned into a circus show for the visitors*  
(La Vanguardia, 2017.07.22)

The progressive conquest of urban space by tourism uses appeared as a widespread concern at different levels. On the streets, the loss of public space was made evident in the frequent complaints about the proliferation of bars and restaurants and the expansion of their terraces. The spread of leisure and tourism-oriented businesses was portrayed to come at the expense of traditional resident-oriented stores which were often less-profitable or ended up adapting to the visitors' needs. The effect seemed to be that residents got a feeling of estrangement in their own neighbourhoods. In an article about the protests against the proliferation of terrasses in the formerly "undiscovered" Rambla del Poblenou a neighbour put it straightforward:

*"Over a couple of years this has changed a lot. Bars and restaurants are opening constantly, it looks like the only thing we do is to eat and to drink"* (El Periódico, 2016.05.31:28).

Another sign of touristification seemed to be the steady increase of tourist beds in the area. Hotel openings were frequently referred as turning points for neighbourhoods, as the hundreds of new visitors they will host will leak into their surroundings and contribute to the business substitution and tourism's direct nuisances. But the most concerning instance of residents' space conquest seemed to be the proliferation of tourist apartments. Since the arrival of Airbnb and similar platforms during the 2010s, the numbers of holiday rentals by days boomed in Barcelona. Such rapid expansion disrupted the city's housing market, which was already volatile due to the high demand in a small, densely populated city such as Barcelona. Renting an apartment for a few months every season became more rentable than having a regular tenant, and small and big owners licensed nearly 10.000 apartments for holiday rental (Aymerich, 2021, p. 99f.). In addition to that, many residents decided to sublet rooms and apartments illegally to complement their incomes. Through this process a red line was seemingly crossed. Tourists were not anymore confined in tourist places consuming a version of the city adapted to them, but they arrived to residents' next door. Residents' feeling of estrangement in their own streets seemed to be extended to their very homes, where they did not know anything about their ever-changing neighbours. In an article about an anti-tourism demonstration in la Barceloneta the protestors chants exemplified their sentiment of estrangement and dispossession:

*"First they took the port, then they took the beaches, and now they want to take our homes"* (El Periódico, 2016.07.10).

Touristification, thus, was presented as an exclusively negative process. It meant increased prices, tourism nuisances and difficulties to keep on with basic tasks such as going to the grocery store. But, additionally, the loss of essence of touristified areas was often in display. As neighbourhoods became more ready to consume —more like a theme-park— they were portrayed as turning, implicitly, into less of real neighbourhoods. The discourse of loss was important in the debate about tourism in Barcelona. Changes in the neighbourhood's personality were framed as threats to their survival with the ultimate risk of the substitution of the neighbours by temporary residents. An article covering the new-found tourism appeal of la Rambla del Poblenou puts it this way:

*Suddenly, many neighbours feel that their Rambla is not theirs anymore. It now belongs to others, added to the Barcelonians' list of lost spots. And suddenly, the youth find it much more difficult to get a house (in the area), which makes it far more convenient to open a juice bar than a book store. (La Vanguardia, 2016.07.17:1)*

The looming threat of losing the neighbourhood explained the opposition with which dispersal strategies to alleviate the tourism hot-spots were met in *undiscovered* neighbourhoods. Peripheries and poor neighbourhoods, thus, seemed to constitute the last remains of Barcelona not colonized by tourism. The same conditions poorness and distance from the economic poles of the city that used to be negative, when faced with tourism, were turned into positive, as they were the reasons those lucky areas remained untouched, *authentic*.

#### **4.2.4. Tourism-phobia**

On the other side of the narrative, some actors looked at overtourism from a political perspective and portrayed tourism-phobia as the most problematic issue related to tourism in Barcelona. The term tourism-phobia refers to the feeling of aversion that residents hold against tourism. Industry actors were the main proponents of this problem definition as, according to them, residents' opposition to tourism stressed an otherwise cordial coexistence with tourists and damaged the city's reputation. Additionally, opposition displays and vandalic acts against tourism —such as spray-painted messages or demonstrations— would deter, especially, the *good tourists* from coming to visit Barcelona. As a result, the quality of the tourists would be degraded, and there would be a proportional increase of *bad tourists* —the ones that actually provoked residents' rage. In a feature article about the degradation of the Barri Gòtic, a representative of a merchants association in the city centre explained how the loss of tourism quality is driven by tourism-phobia and why *bad tourists* are bad:

*“Since the summer we are seeing with concern that each time more people is coming to binge drink and share a menu between three” the merchants association of the area says.*



*The change, they argue, is due to tourism-phobia, that makes many tourists think it twice before visiting Barcelona, and to the public unrest of last summer. (La Vanguardia, 2019.02.18)*

The articles concerned with tourism-phobia were frequently illustrated with pictures of tourists in front of aggressive messages painted on the streets. In doing so, they made visible the displays of tourism-phobia, but also reinforced the portrayal of tourists as ignorant from the city life:



(El País, 2017.05.28:56; El Mundo, 2017.08.14:24)

Discursively, tourism-phobia seemed to behave as a narrative device to display overtourism as a situated management problem instead of focusing on the negative effects of the tourism in the city. According to the proponents of tourism-phobia as a problem, the source of behind residents' irritation were coexistence nuisances such as the overcrowding of some areas and tourists' inappropriate behaviour. At the same time, unwelcoming locals enraged by these conflicts scared the more civilized visitors, leaving an empty space for new, more disruptive tourists. At the root of the problem thus, there was a problem of tourism mismanagement that could be corrected if strategies to alleviate the coexistence nuisances are put in place and better tourists are attracted. To better understand this, take, it is compelling to look at a blog post by the former Secretary General of the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), Taleb Rifai. In his communicate, he sums this view in response to the wave of anti-tourism protests in 2017:

*'(T)ourism-phobia' on the part of citizens is largely a result of the failure to manage the growth in a sustainable manner. The wrongdoing of illegal companies, damage to marine and terrestrial ecosystems or misbehaviour of a small number of travellers do not represent a dearth of tourism ethics by the sector as a whole. It's the failure of management not of the sector as such. (Rifai, 2017)*

The claims of tourism-phobia seemed to be the tourism industry answer to the growing concerns about the negative effects of tourism. Coincidentally, Milano noted that the peak of media attention to tourism-phobia coincides not only with tourism contestation by residents, but also with a moment of contention

around job conditions in the tourism industry in Spain. As he put it “the misuse of the term tourism-phobia has obscured the work, criticisms and proposals of social movements” (2018, p. 556). In an interview, activists from ABDT called attention into the coincidence about the apparition of the term and the actors that endorsed it:

*The election of the term tourism-phobia is not naïve. It is a term consciously chosen by the industry because it rhymes with xenophobia and other phobias that sound really bad. They are speaking about violence in a city where their residents are being expelled every day, a situation to which, the tourism industry, is not detached.* (El Punt Avui, 2017.08.06:18)

The term tourism-phobia was, thus, not only used to describe the problem, but also to limit the reasons of residents’ discontent to only the most visible excesses of tourism. As such, tourism-phobia linked residents’ reaction to tourists’ inappropriate behaviour, instead of linking the protests to deeper, system causes.

#### **4.2.5. Tourism Regulation vs. Tourism Management**

Following from the division of views between overtourism as a *situated problem* or as a *system problem*, there was an evident divide between the discourses defending the improvement of tourism management and those asking for a stronger regulation of the activity. The first point of view focused on the problematic character of a few groups of people and practices; thus, management solutions seemed the obvious choice. They defended the need to *improve the quality of tourists* —attracting *good tourists* through marketing— and to *optimize the city infrastructures* in overcrowded areas. Additionally, they prescribed the use of *dispersal strategies* to attract tourists out of season and to less-known areas. All these solutions largely ignored the residents’ rights and concerns and tackled the problem by focusing exclusively on tourism activity. In doing so, they deliberately omitted the many problems that emerged from the exploitation of the city and its public space as a commodity (Milano, 2018, p. 557). In addition, most of these solutions could be seen as an attempt to diversify the tourism market —ultimately, they were all aimed at attracting more tourists or increasing the capacity of the city— rather than a serious attempt at controlling overtourism problems.

The second stance depicted the issue as a structural problem stemming from the tourism industry with cascading effects on many aspects of the city life. From this perspective, tourism was seen as a beneficial activity with important downsides if left uncontrolled. As such, the solutions that were brought up involved deep changes aimed at re-balancing the tourism activity with residents’ rights: there was a call for a change of the tourism model. Most of the changes involved some sort of *tourism regulation* such

as a *stricter urban planning*, the *severe control of tourism activities* and the *regulation of disruptive tourism activities*—such as holiday rentals or tourism vehicles. At the same time, strategies to *improve the life of the residents* were also advocated for. Such solutions tapped into feelings of justice and reclaimed a better living for those affected by tourism but not getting benefits from it. Among them, the calls for *neighbourhood improvements*—by building new civic facilities or public housing— and to *stop current developments* were frequent.

### 4.3. Emerging Frames

In addition to the identified relevant themes, three frames tracing complex relations between the identified problem definitions, proposed solutions and actors emerged from the analysis. Following the constructionist approach, frames are differentiated from themes in that they are not issue-specific, but rather they point to a cultural phenomenon that exists independently from the issue (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 62). The frames identified thus, represent complex narratives that may help individuals make sense of the overtourism in Barcelona but are also applicable to other issues as well. The identified frames still encompass the traditional categories presented by Entman (1993, p. 52)—problem definition, cause, moral judgement and proposed solution—, weaving relations among them and completing the understandings about the themes presented above. In a way, the attempt to extract a few distinctive frames serves as a summary of the thematic analysis, distilling it to a handful of more-or-less complete narratives.

The three emerging frames were named *stranger in one's own house*, *devil's bargain*, and *public safety*. The frame names have been assigned in an effort to capture the main treats of each narrative, while keeping the awareness that giving a name to a frame is an act of framing on itself (Van Gorp, 2005, p. 484). All of them alluded to complex storylines in which overtourism and its effects were placed in a central position. Table 6 presents a summary of the frames as reconstructed according to the approach outlined by Van Gorp (2007, p. 71f.).

Table 6. Frames present in the debate about overtourism in Barcelona

Frame	Cultural phenomena	Reasoning devices	Framing devices
<i>Stranger in one's own home</i>	Narrative: estrangement in front of change. Fear of substitution. Asks for protection.	Tourism industry attracts tourists, who provoke a change in the neighbourhood. The changes make the residents feel out of place for many reasons, until they leave.	Touristification concept, city as a theme park, war language, othering of tourists, images of residents as victims/fighters
<i>Devil's Bargain</i>	Narrative: <i>Deal with the devil</i> . A bad deal that brings a gain at a high cost. Asks for a renegotiation.	Tourism industry has significant benefits for the city, but when allowed to grow unrestrained it produces more problems than the benefits it reports.	Tourism bubble concept, break apart with former management, tourism industry as lobbyists, costs and benefits discourse.
<i>Law and Order</i>	Value: Law and order. Some rotten apples disrupt the public order. Asks for control.	Some tourists are annoying to the residents. When residents protest the city brand is damaged. The order must be kept and bad tourists replaced with good ones.	Tourism-phobia concept, Images of vandalism against tourism, victimization of industry, identification of the industry with the city

Over the following lines, the frames will be presented by paying attention to the elements of the frame package, but also to the relations between actors, problems and solutions suggested. As will appear evident, each frame was clearly endorsed by a group of actors. This fact supports the idea of overtourism as the politization of tourism (Milano, 2018, p. 556) as several actors seemed to be aligned with a few frames and engaged in strategic communication strategies to promote them. Moreover, framing coalitions and framing contests seemed to be present, with the two first frames —*stranger in one's own home* and *Devil's bargain*— coordinated in many senses and the last one —*Law and Order*— clearly opposed to the others.

#### 4.3.1. Stranger in one's own home

Built upon residents' feelings of estrangement, this frame is mainly endorsed by residents organizations and tells a story of city transformation and residents' alienation. It underscores the big change that Barcelona has undergone during the last decades, resulting on the neighbourhoods *turning their back* to their neighbours. The city is portrayed as corrupted by touristification, while the kind of life that residents used to lead would be threatend and the essence of the neighbourhoods, endangered. In a book about the degradation of Venice due to tourism exploitation, Salvatore Settis (2020, p. 11) presented a similar reasoning when saying that losing the city essence equates to the death of the city:

*Cities tend to die in three ways: when a ruthless enemy destroys them; when foreign invaders violently colonize them, driving out the indigenous inhabitants and their gods; or, finally, when their citizens forget who they are and become strangers to themselves and thereby their own worst enemies without even realizing it.*

As touristification advances common spaces and traditional stores would become devoted to leisure, and neighbours' networks would dwindle as a steady stream of neighbours opts for fleeing the neighbourhood. Such storyline finds an accurate mirror in a Catalan saying: *Guests will come, who will kick us out from home* —in Catalan, “hostes vindran, que de casa ens treuran”. Rooted in the wariness in front of changes, the saying refers to the fact that nobody's status is guaranteed and that, at any moment, a stranger can take advantage of well-meant people and take their place. It is precisely this replacement what would be seen as the ultimate threat. The fact that the neighbourhood changed and feels increasingly strange would represent a threat to the essence of the area, but that threat would be concreted in the replacement of residents by tourists, the replacement of the *real* city, by the *fake* one. Echoing the saying, the *reasoning mechanisms* behind the frame pose that the sustained efforts to attract tourists over the years have resulted in an ever increasing number of visitors in to the city —*guests will come*. Tourists' presence would trigger a transformation of the neighbourhoods' primary uses from residence to leisure in which traditional stores were replaced and housing prices would see a steep increase. Finally, the essential changes in neighbourhood's character added to the price rises would motivate the neighbours' exodus, since they are not able to stay in the area —*that will kick us out from home*. It is not difficult to imagine the frame used in other debates about a city becoming unwelcoming for their current residents such as discussions about gentrification or immigration, as both may encompass a more-or-less fast change of uses of an area.

The frame is suggested through several explicit *framing devices* revolving around the idea of a tension between the *real* city and the looming *fake* one. The central concept behind the frame is the idea of the city undergoing a “touristification” process, in the sense that the city is growing increasingly adapted to tourism instead of being focused on its residents. Several metaphors follow from it. One of the most frequent is the portrayal of the *city as a theme park*: as the city becomes more touristified, what remains is a theme park devoted to imitating the idea of Barcelona for tourists' enjoyment. The metaphor is further condensed in concepts such as *postcard Barcelona* to refer to the ready-to-consume version of the city that is offered to tourists, or *showcase city* to refer to parts of the city that have become tourism hot spots but are practically emptied from residents. Such struggle between *real* and *fake* is completed by the portrayal of residents and tourists as two opposing factions and the pervasive use of war language. For instance, this article titled “Tourist's attack on el Carmel” narrates the increase of tourists' presence in a periphery area previously “undiscovered”. The journalist treats it as the chronicle of an ongoing battle between residents and tourists:

*The combat advances and the local ranks are feeling down. It has been long since the foreign army took the shoreline and the city centre, but few were expecting that their attack would get to territories considered indisputable indigenous land (...) Víctor*

*Fàbregas, a resident of Horta has witnessed this progressive invasion “at a dizzying rhythm over the last 5 years”. He admits that the visitors are normally well-behaved (...) but he cannot hide his concern about the local people being left aside. “We must open up, but if we get too much tourism we will end up wondering who owns the city”. (El Periódico, 2017.04.30)*

Along the metaphor, tourists are portrayed as crowds of uncritical and voracious consumers of places while residents are portrayed as the legitimate population of the place. If we kept up with the war metaphor, the tourism industry would occupy the higher ranks as they are portrayed as the ones benefitting with dispute. The conflict between locals and tourists is frequently represented using images of tourists behaving poorly and residents or public servants being distressed by tourists. Residents are treated as victims as they are the ones that have more to lose, but also as the resilient fighters —the *resistance*— who represent the resilience of the real city against uncontrolled tourism. The following two images are extracted from an interview to a photo-journalist that documented overtourism in Barcelona. The first one illustrates a *tourists attack* and a *victimized resident*. In the second one, the photographer who took the first picture to denounce it is portrayed as a *fighter* standing up against tourism. In the article, they are presented next to each other and such narratives are reinforced:



(El Periódico, 2019.09.01)

This frame is commonly defended by resident associations, and it is supposed to portray residents' experience of tourism —*resisting* tourism. It weaves together the *touristification of neighbourhoods*, their *loss of essence*, and the *resident and business replacement* on such areas. Since the problem is represented to be triggered by the unconstrained growth of tourists' numbers and the touristification of neighbourhoods, the solutions proposed normally advocate for some undoing of them. Among the most paradigmatic solutions proposed to stop touristification are the demands for *halting specific hotel developments* and to *close tourist apartments*. However, perhaps the logical outcome of this frame is the recurrent call made by the biggest neighbours associations —ABDT— for tourism degrowth as the only

solution; if the *real* city has been corrupted through touristification, the only possible answer is to reduce the size of the tourism industry.

#### 4.3.2. Devil's Bargain

This frame is built upon the idea that devoting the city to tourism is a poor deal that, despite bringing economic prosperity, had too many inconveniences. Mainly proposed by the City Council, it echoes the Faustian myth of the *deal with the devil*, in which someone accepts selling the soul to the devil in exchange of some kind of benefit and ends up paying a high price for it. In this case, the one represented to be selling its soul would be the city —the successive city managers—, that sold it to tourism —the Devil— over the last decades. Such deal brought benefits to the city and its residents for some time, but at the expense of a set of structural problems derived from tourism. The city, then, would be seen as sold to tourism and condemned to devote its economy to the perpetual engine of tourism activity. It can be seen as a derivation of the previous frame in which the *real* city is being replaced by a *fake* version of it since what is at stake is, again, the city's *soul*. However, this frame seems to have a more pragmatic stance: to the concerns about residents' displacement and loss of essence, considerations about the costs and benefits of the deal are added, thus acknowledging the positive potential of tourism. Tourism activity is portrayed as a mean by which a few achieve easy gains at a high cost for the residents, and as such, it becomes a moral duty to address it.

The *reasoning devices* behind the frame tie together the growth of tourism industry and many of the city problems. They situate the signature of the *deal* with the devil in 1992 when the Barcelona Olympics put Barcelona on the global economic map. In that moment, the infrastructure for tourism and economic growth was built, and the tourism industry was kickstarted as the city was projected into the world. Since that moment, tourism companies invested in the city at an ever-increasing rate, and the Council and the Catalan government pushed forward the promotion of tourism as a way to attract modernity and economic prosperity (Aymerich, 2021, p. 72f.). That close collaboration brought up a situation in which tourism industry grew unrestrained, triggering many problems such as the massification of tourist areas, the degradation of some areas and the displacement of residents out of some areas such as la Rambla. At the root of this reasoning is the idea that the process was unfair and unbalanced, that a few got a lot of benefit at the expense of selling out the city of the many. As such, if the problem was caused by the uncontrolled expansion of tourism industry, the tourism industry must be regulated so the benefits it brings to the city match its inconveniences. The frame speaks about communities being tied to and reliant on a single economic activity —the tourism monoculture—, and the fragility of such strategy is frequently stated —especially after the COVID crisis. It can be applied easily in many tourist

destinations, but also in places where big companies or sectors exert a big influence over the residents —i.e., towns built around the activity big factories or energy plants—.

The use of this frame is tied closely to the arrival of Ada Colau to the mayorship of the city in 2015, as it represented a clear rupture from the way tourism had been managed until then. The idea of a radical change in the way tourism was managed was one of the most common framing devices used by the Council government. Since it implied that the way tourism had been formerly managed was part of the problem, a new way of dealing with it needed to be put in place. The other common metaphor to refer to this frame was that of the *tourism bubble*. Through it, the prosperity derived from tourism was defined as ephemeral and fragile, because eventually, all bubbles would burst. Moreover, it tied the tourism industry with the bad memories of the 2008 great recession, that in Spain was largely portrayed as the burst of the real estate and financial bubbles. The identification of tourism as a bubble put some of the blame into the former tourism management, but most importantly, it brought new light to the economic prosperity stemming from it. It underscored the dangers derived from becoming too reliant on tourism and called attention to the need of diversifying the economy of the city.

Another device suggesting this frame was the portrayal of the tourism industry as actively opposing to any kind of control by part of the Council, that is, portraying the industry as going *against* the city. In that portrayal, the tourism industry is often referred by the term “tourism lobbies”, labelling the influence mechanisms that they enjoyed so far as questionable. Speaking of tourism lobbies portrayed the tourism industry as a powerful force acting in the shadows, as well as pointing more precisely to the problem with them: it is not that they were doing business with the city, but that they made it in an unfair way. To further make that clear, this frame made frequent references to justice and balance between the industry and the residents. While breaking apart from the former model of tourism promotion, this frame did not question the benefits tourism could bring to the city, but it underscored the need to rebalance the tourism activity in a way that is fair to the residents. A good instance of this perspective is given in an interview to the responsible of Barcelona’s strategic tourism plan while speaking about its goals:

*“first, the negative impact of tourism has to be reduced, that is, promoting a responsible tourism. Then, we need to promote the use of the tourism activity as a lever to develop other economic sectors, so the wealth generated by tourism is redistributed”* (20 Minutos, 2017.06.30:15)

This frame sees overtourism as a problem of inequality between the tourism industry and residents and proposes strategies to readjust. Following the cultural phenomena stated at the beginning, it can be said that the central claim of this frame is to renegotiate the terms of its deal with the devil in a way that is fairer for the residents. This readjustment is frequently advocated by the City Council and aims, mostly



at regulating the tourism industry to redistribute its gains and reduce its inconveniences. According to this frame, the management of overtourism starts with the management of the city, and tourism is just another factor that must be dealt with to ensure the wellness of most residents. However, even if the solutions proposed aim for the conciliation between industry profit and residents' quality of life, its narrative approach is, in the present case, strongly confrontational and includes heavy criticism of tourism actors and former tourism policies. This may be due to the fact that a turning point from previous tourism management had to be staged, and that turning point was received as an attack by the tourism industry.

#### **4.3.3. Law and order**

The last identified frame banks on the idea that tourism is a clearly beneficial phenomenon and that the problems it creates arise only in specific circumstances that can be alleviated. It represents the natural extension of the perspective advanced earlier by which overtourism could be seen as a *situated problem*. This frame was mostly endorsed by tourism industry representatives, both big and small, especially coming from the hospitality and other traditional activities such as restauration. The most notable feature of this frame is that it discharged the responsibility of tourism effects on the administration: from this point of view the problematic aspects of tourism are a result of mismanagement, and the way to solve them is by getting the public servants to manage tourism better. In that regard, it made sense that such a frame was pushed forward mostly by private interests since it cleared them of fault and brought them closer to the solution: they could help with managing tourism in a sustainable way. The name assigned to the frame has been *Law and Order* since it seemed to appeal to a conservative moral evaluation of the state of the city in what could be seen as an adaptation of *law-and-order* discourses to the current case. At its root, it seems concerned with the decay of the city created by a few actors that should be called into order. Such decay is portrayed as triggered by the increase of *bad tourists* that annoy the residents and consume significantly less in combination with new companies that stress residents housing rights. But also by the residents' spirited reaction of protest in front of them, that damaged the good image of the city. Although with different actors, it is not difficult to trace a parallelism with similar frames used in conservative spaces concerning the decay of certain areas or countries due to *immoral* practices such as immigrant not learning the host country language.

The frame is rooted in the idea of conflict, and according to it there is a fight between tourists and residents going on in the city. First, poorly mannered tourists and troublesome companies such as Airbnb disrupted the coexistence in previously "pacifc" neighbourhoods with their inappropriate behaviour and their questionable practices. Subjected to stress, the residents turned their rage at tourists and engaged in *dangerous* tourism-phobic displays that risked the city's reputation. Such fight was portrayed as

something new, inexistent prior the arrival of *bad tourists* and holiday rental platforms, thus unrelated with traditional tourism actors and their kind of clients. Coincidentally, almost three decades ago, McKercher (1993, p. 8) already noted the reluctance of the tourism industry to assume the responsibility of what happened outside from their property.

The most evident framing device used is the concept *tourism-phobia*. As explained earlier, it labeled a wide range of residents' concerns with tourism as an irrational aversion—or *hate*—to tourists. Tourism-phobic displays were quite visible and pictures of tourists in front of spray-painted claims against tourism were common in the media. Similarly, pictures of tourists' inappropriate behaviour and stories about their *wild nights* were frequently used to narrate the other part of the story. Both groups of images constituted a powerful binomial that helped constructing the problems of tourism as a conflict with some sporadic expressions instead of seeing it as a problem of the tourism model that would also involve those making gains from it. Instead of that, the *victimization of industry* was frequent in articles with this perspective. Since, according to this frame, tourism would almost always be beneficial, it follows that what is good for tourism—the traditional tourism industry— must be good for the city. On several occasions, representatives of the tourism industry appeared explaining that the protesters' claims and Council policies' pointing to them as problematic were utterly mistaken. They argued that their activity was positive for everyone and that, instead of picking on them, the government should be solving the *real* problems. An eloquent example of this is a feature article titled “The rebellion of the business sector” (la Vanguardia, 2017.06.29) that gives voice to a business association with close ties with tourism that claims feeling “unattended by the City Council and criminalized by residents' organizations”. In the article, the representatives of the tourism industry insist in the idea that the policies to combat overtourism are aimed at the wrong targets:

*They (the tourism industry representatives) regret that the Council ignores the positive aspects of tourism and, ultimately, perceive "a feeling of criminalization and guilt towards the economic and business sector of the city". There is no need to recall some recent events: the attack on hotel establishments, the proliferation of graffiti and posters against touristic and commercial activity, the expansion of illegal street sellers, the "permanent persecution of the restaurant sector with the issue of terraces" and the approval of the restrictive special urban planning plan for tourist accommodation, which has caused an avalanche of complaints against the City Council. (la Vanguardia, 2017.06.29)*

All the problems presented in this excerpt are related either with illegal activities—vandalism, graffiti, street selling—or with the supposed persecution of the industry. Along the way, this perspective implies

that the City Council is not doing its job properly as it allows illegal activities to happen while running after honest businesspeople.

As hinted before, the solutions proposed on this frame relied strongly on management solutions and calls to *order* on several levels. As tourists' misbehaviour was one of the central concerns, the calls to increase the vigilance on them are frequent. Additionally, they were paired with suggestions to improve the *tourism quality*, since attracting better tourists would help reduce behavioural problems. In that line, some of the solutions proposed were to raise prices —namely, by investing in luxury hotels and activities— or market the city to tourists from richer countries. Efficient strategies to control and reduce the number of *bad tourists* would then leave the tourism-phobic residents without arguments to protest. Lastly, since the proponents of this frame were largely aligned with traditional tourism industry stakeholders there was a frequent call to order for new companies that disrupted a formerly unproblematic industry. It was often argued that new, stricter regulation and effective controls should be put in place to tame the holiday rental companies. Summing up, this frame sees the problem with tourism as the degradation of the city due to bad tourists and radical residents and, as a solution, it proposes to enforce more restrictive measures onto problematic tourists, companies, and residents.

#### 4.4. *Framing contests and framing coalitions*

Both framing contests and framing coalitions were found in the debate, and each of the three identified frames was found to be largely endorsed by a distinct group actors. Such findings suggest that there were important strategic framing efforts involved in the discussion, by which each actor tried to advance their view through the use of different tactics (Dan et al., 2020, p. 152f.). Further, the fact that each organized group engaged actively in practices to advance their views provides support that for the thesis that the debate about overtourism responds to the politization of tourism (Milano, 2018, p. 556).

The most significant framing coalition was formed by the organized residents and the City Council. Whether their reasoning mechanisms were distinct, the two frames they used to endorse —*stranger in one's own house* and *Devil's Bargain*, respectively— were largely coincidental on their diagnosis and could be seen as complementary in some senses. This coincidence in problem definitions and goals may be explained by the fact that the candidacy in charge of the City Council was formed largely by activists coming from such resident organizations. Arguably, this alliance helped both groups to make their portrayal of tourism industry as the source of several overtourism problems more salient, thus achieving support to the efforts to regulate it. This kind of coalition could be rarer than it could seem, since normally, the social movements tend to disagree with whom to blame in articulating their frames (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 616).

On the other side, there was an evident framing contest between the tourism industry and the coalition formed by the residents and City Council. The frame endorsed by the tourism industry —*law and order*— represented an opposite view in almost every dimension. Moreover, it seemed to be aimed at defending itself from the accusations presented by the other two frames and shift the blame onto the residents and the Council. Since the opposition in the council was largely absent from the debate, and the organized residents' and the Council were largely aligned, it could be said that there were no other significant framing contests in the debate.

In practice, this meant that the frames endorsed by the organized residents and the City Council got consistently more presence in the media than the one endorsed by the industry actors. However, is hard to say which one received more support as that does not depend only on its coverage. Whether it is difficult to assign a victory to either side, it is important to acknowledge the context in which the competition took place: after decades of decided public support to the tourism industry as a driver of economic growth, the bare consideration of frames portraying it as problematic can be seen as a significant achievement.

## 5. Conclusion and Discussion

The aim of this dissertation was to identify the main themes in the discussion about overtourism in Barcelona and reconstruct the dominant frames according to the constructionist framing perspective advanced by Van Gorp (2007). This has been approached by means of a qualitative content analysis which allowed for many emergent insights. It was done so because the communication around the negative effects of tourism is still under-researched. Over the following section the conclusions from the analysis will be presented and the research questions will be revisited at the light of the results. Lastly, the limitations of the study will be considered, and new questions will be opened up to further research.

### 5.1. Answers to the Research Questions

The research problem that this dissertation was set on tackling was to describe how overtourism was framed in the case of Barcelona. Keeping this central concern in mind, three research questions were posed for which some answers were found. The answers are the result of a comprehensive account of the debate developed in the print media along a 5-years period in a situated context.

The first research question —RQ<sub>1</sub>: *Who are presented as the main actors in the debate about overtourism in Barcelona and how are they portrayed?*— aimed at identifying the main actors in the debate and depict the roles they played. An answer for that question was found by looking for the actors that got to speak through the media and the instances in which they were referred to. Consistent with the expectations, the most relevant groups of actors were the *Council*, the *organized residents*, the *tourism industry*, and the *tourists*. By looking at the depictions of those actors it became clear that each group played a specific role in the debate completing the narratives suggested in the frames. There was a consensus in signifying the residents as the main victims of overtourism and the tourists as the source of dissention. However, even if tourists were portrayed as the problematic element, they were rarely blamed for overtourism. The most blamed actor for overtourism was the tourism industry as they were portrayed as causing and benefitting from uncontrolled tourism growth. Lastly, the City Council was seen as the responsible of solving overtourism, which also implied a part of blame, since it had a role in reaching to the current situation.

The second research question was divided in two, one focusing on the problem definitions — RQ<sub>2.1</sub>. *What are the main problem definitions advanced in the debate about overtourism in Barcelona and how are they constructed?*— and the other looking at the proposed solutions — RQ<sub>2.2</sub>. *What are the main*

*proposed solutions in the debate about overtourism in Barcelona and how are they constructed?*—. The most salient problem definitions were the *displacement* of the residents, the *massification* of tourism, the *touristification* of the city and *tourism-phobia*. The first three problem definitions seemed to fit into a larger narrative that tied them together through complex causal chains and regarded overtourism as a *system problem*. On the other side, tourism-phobia seemed linked to problem definitions related with the immediate nuisances produced by poorly behaved tourists. Following this division, the solutions were found to be organized around two groups. The first group was formed by the solutions advocating for *tourism regulation* and control, which were linked to an important degree with the group of problem definitions that saw overtourism as a system problem. The second group was formed by the solutions proposing strategies to improve tourism management. This group was linked with the use of tourism-phobia and tourism immediate nuisances as problem definitions. In all cases, there seemed to be complex reasoning mechanisms that weaved many problematizations and remedies together. Those reasoning mechanisms brought meaning and relevance to the proposed problem definitions and solutions and served as the thread that conducted to the main frames in the debate.

The last research question intended to concentrate the insights from the previous questions to reconstruct the main frames used in the debate —*RQ<sub>3</sub>. What are the main frames used to discuss overtourism in Barcelona?*—. Three frames were found to be significant in the discussion, each of them championed by a group of actors and encompassing a distinct set of themes. The frames were labelled *Stranger in one's own house*, *Devil's Bargain* and *Law and Order* and responded to the constructionist perspective on framing in that they referred to a cultural phenomenon broader than the issue at stake. It was argued that the first two frames stood in a framing coalition against the last one, since they blamed the tourism industry for overtourism. The last frame opposed the first two in that it defended the tourism industry and shifted the attention from them onto the tourists, the organized residents and the Council.

## 5.2. Discussion

### 5.2.1. Contributions to media research

The present dissertation has contributed to the media literature in two ways. First, it has worked towards an understanding of frames as part of a constructionist process in which reality is created by interaction (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 62). Taking this stance meant rooting the frame analysis to the culture in which the debate takes part instead of the journalistic practices. Moreover, this thesis aims to contribute to the debate about the boundaries of frames (Van Gorp, 2005; Vliegthart & van Zoonen, 2011) To such purpose, an example of how culturally bound frames could be delimited inductively is provided.

Second, the conceptual framework on the functioning of frames proposed by Van Gorp (2007, p. 65) has been tested. According to this framework, frames are constituted in frame packages including framing devices and reasoning devices pointing to a cultural phenomenon. To test this conceptualization the methodology suggestions by the same author (p. 71f.) have been used in combination with a qualitative content analysis. Such combination allowed to look systematically to an issue barely researched from a media and communication perspective while keeping an inductive perspective.

Lastly, this study has considered the engagement of the actors in strategic framing as a fundamental part of the debate. It has done so by paying attention to the actors engaged in the discussion in addition to the frames, and looking at the frame coalitions and contests present in it (Dan et al., 2020). Keeping in mind this concern has proved revealing in the context of an unfolding issue that was being discussed in a local arena, as it provided cues to analyse the implications of certain frames and problem definitions endorsed by specific actors.

### **5.2.2. Take-aways about overtourism**

Additionally, by studying the debate about overtourism with a situated stance this dissertation provided some nuances over the previous research on the topic. Over the following section they will be shortly discussed structured as a list of the most important take-aways from the study.

#### **5.2.2.1. Overtourism as a situated matter**

Looking at the issue of overtourism from an international perspective is useful only to a limited degree. This dissertation contributes to the overtourism literature by providing a detailed account of the framing of overtourism in a specific destination. While there had already been studies looking at how overtourism was framed, they focused in international media and were largely exploratory (Pasquinelli & Trunfio, 2020; Phi, 2020). At the same time, studies focusing on a single city were not focused in the wider topic of *tourism framing* and as such the issue is touched upon only laterally (Hansen, 2020). This thesis represents the first instance of a study of the debate around the negative effects of tourism in a local context. The importance of this contribution is rooted in the very nature of the issue. Since the perceptions about overtourism are largely contingent on the perceptions of the local population of the destination (Milano, 2018, p. 553) it was necessary to look at the problem in a situated manner. The evidence that such a local approach was necessary is that the findings of this dissertation challenged a few former assumptions about the overtourism debate and added a new layer of nuances to the thematic analysis.

Contrary to some research, the fact that three distinct frames providing a comprehensive explanation about the problem are used, pointed out that the issue was covered in depth and in a thematic way. This challenged some findings pointing that the “media discourse on this issue remain(ed) rather simplistic, focusing mainly on reporting facts of tourist numbers, as well as reactive measures of locals and cities” (Phi, 2020, p. 2095; see also Pasquinelli & Trunfio, 2020, p. 1814). In the studied case, the coverage of the topic has been found to provide a wide vision about the issue while emphasizing different explanations about why tourism became problematic. This difference from previous research may be a consequence of the differences in the scope and target audience of the media sample studied: while the studies that found that simplistic takes were the rule were performed on international media, the present study was conducted over a sample of regional media targeting the very same subjects of overtourism. I would argue thus, that whether the expected audience and journalists have had actual contact with overtourism or not is a crucial factor conditioning the frames in use.

Consistent with the framework proposed by Pasquinelli and Trunfio (2020) four groups of actors have been found important for the debate: residents, tourists, government and tourism industry. The roles they are attributed in the case of Barcelona are coincidental to a big degree with their study, however, there are some important nuances that should be considered. According to the previous studies, overtourism was presented as being caused, mainly, by a bad management of the tourism growth by part of the government (Phi, 2020, p. 2095). Tourism industry actors were seen as a relevant stakeholder in the debate and pointed at “as the other main drivers of overtourism” (Pasquinelli & Trunfio, 2020, p. 1814), thus, a complementary cause to the problem. The studied case differed significantly. In the debate about overtourism in Barcelona, the responsibility about the negative effects of tourism was attributed to a big degree to industry actors. While there was a degree of blame into the government, it was attributed to them almost exclusively by industry actors —and those were not the loudest voice in the debate. This hints to a significant difference between the debate of overtourism in the local and the international spheres in that the blame of it is transferred from the government to the industry. While in international forums the government was seen as *cause* and *solver* of overtourism, in the case of Barcelona the government seemed to enjoy the status of *problem solver* but not that of *cause*, which was attributed to a greedy industry. This local difference may be attributed, perhaps to the fact that the Council in office during the time studied was hugely detached from any former government in the city involved in tourism promotion. At the same time, the rest of governing institutions —Catalan, Spanish— are completely absent from a debate to which they are not called at any moment, underscoring the role of the local Council in fighting overtourism. This raises the question again about how convenient is to look at the issue internationally while the issue is barely relevant even beyond the local borders.



Lastly, performing an analysis centred in a local context has pointed at many themes that perhaps were not that salient in the international context as relevant. For instance, albeit being mentioned often in scholarly literature, *touristification* was not referred as a relevant theme of discussion in previous studies. A possible explanation may be that the articles studied in the international press were concerned with covering a situation of overtourism in certain areas, ignoring how a touristification process brought them into that situation. In opposition, the transformation of an area as it grows more adapted to tourism is a frequent theme in the debate about overtourism in Barcelona, as it is the loss of its essence. Touristification emerged, thus, as a relevant topic in the public debate in that it discussed the causes and the symptoms of overtourism in depth. At the same time, another largely ignored topic that appeared to be relevant was the discussion about the quality of the tourists. The distinction between good and bad tourists was significant in that, implicitly, put a part of the responsibility about overtourism into tourists—or certain kinds of tourists. Arguably, the physical and cultural distance from the *overtouristified* destinations makes it hard for journalists touching upon the issue to capture all the nuances that may appear crucial for those coexisting with it.

#### **5.2.2.2. Overtourism as an instrumentalized issue**

The debate about overtourism was a vivid one. Questions about what caused it and what was the actual seriousness of the matter were heatedly contested and framing contests and coalitions were found. There seemed to be a certain effort to place tourism at the centre of the debate. The ample attention devoted to overtourism by resident organizations, the city government and the tourism industry denoted a perception of it as a complex problem with many effects in the city. However, it seemed unlikely that all the problems attributed to tourism stemmed exclusively from it as many of them coincided with other economic and social changes that most urban setting had undergone over the last decades (Koens et al., 2018, pp. 9-10). In that regard, the excess of tourism seemed to be an issue instrumentalized in different ways by almost all the actors in the debate. On one side, resident organizations and the Council seemed to use the topic to defend the right to the live in the city and the redistribution of wealth, both topics related to tourism but not exclusively provoked by it. On the other, the tourism industry seemed to jump on the debate not only by deflecting the blame, but also to defend their growth agenda by labelling all attempts to control tourism as contrary to common sense.

#### **5.2.2.3. Overtourism as a debate full of absences**

There were several notable absences in the discussion about overtourism. First, contrary to the expected, environmental concerns represented only a tiny fraction of the tourism concerns. This finding breaks

with a traditional concern in the research about the negative effects of tourism (McKercher, 1993; Sharpley, 2020) and is surprising in light of the salience that climate change fights had in the last years. Second, the opposition parties in the council were barely present in the debate, such opposition was embodied by organized industry representatives. I argue that this was a consequence of the discussion being a local topic discussed in newspapers with a broader scope —Spain or Catalonia. If the redactions regarded the issue as a topic strictly limited to the city of Barcelona it would make sense to give voice to its mayor and to the big protests in the city because they were newsworthy per se, but it could seem less relevant to give ample space to opposition leaders. Lastly, low-cost air carriers and cruises were theorized as the direct causes of the rapid growth of tourism in the last decades (Capocchi et al., 2019, p. 10), however, their presence in the debate, either referred or speaking, is scarce. Similarly, holiday rental platforms such as Airbnb are usually pointed at as causes of overtourism, but they are rarely given voice. While the first absences may be justified by the fact they were not portrayed as problematic with much frequency, the second one seems more difficult to explain.

Finally, there was a thought-provoking phenomenon that was consistently repeated across all the study: a certain othering of tourists. While they were treated as a fundamental part of the conflict, they were portrayed, at the same time, as little more than mindless visitors roaming around the city. This finding seems to be consistent with what previous research found about the portrayal of tourists (Pasquinelli & Trunfio, 2020; Phi, 2020) and was present in all the frames found. It seems obvious that tourists cannot be given a voice when they are not organized in any way, however, the lack of consideration they received is shocking and reminds of certain discourses that reduce people to their economic worth.

### 5.3. Reflections on the process

Taking the constructionist approach advanced by Van Gorp (2007) has been revealed as a useful take for frame identification and analysis. It has provided a convenient framework to approximate to a still under-researched issue with an emergent approach by allowing the study to set boundaries around the most relevant themes and to use them to reconstruct the frames in a systematic way. Moreover, its emphasis on frames as belonging to a cultural stock has made easy its analysis vis-à-vis the cultural phenomena they refer to. I stand that this perspective may be especially useful to perform framing studies with a qualitative emphasis since it gives space for the specific analyses while giving clear indications to what to look for.

On the weak side, the aim to explore inductively how a relatively unexplored issue was dealt with in the media might have conditioned the research to cast a too wide a net. The coding process attempted to

code every relevant matter at the smaller category possible with the intention of regrouping the problem definitions and proposed solutions in more meaningful groups constituents of frames. As a result, hundreds of subcategories emerged, and the coding process was slow and difficult to handle at many times. This was sometimes a strength as it made possible to achieve a high level of detail while looking for examples to analyse, but also made the limits between themes become blurry. The successive reorganizations of the codebook intended to solve this by grouping the codes in generic categories and providing them with unambiguous definitions. However, I am unsure that this was achieved for all codes. After having gone through the results' analysis I presume the coding protocol could have been dealt with in a simpler way, with fewer and more generic categories from the onset. Having done so would have also made the study easier to replicate.

## 5.4. Further Research

This thesis presented a framing analysis concerned with describing a yet understudied issue. However, at its conception, it was also concerned with the power of citizen movements to set the agenda and define the terms of a discussion. Even if touched upon, such questions remain largely unexplored. Given the central role that both residents and industry organizations seemed to have in this issue, I would argue that the case of overtourism in Barcelona would be a fertile ground to perform a deeper study on framing contests and coalitions dynamics. Questions of power and influence between actors and media are still to be explored, as are the actual dynamics behind the framing contests and coalitions identified.

Moreover, even if overtourism has been largely characterized as an issue mainly affecting urban destinations, it is clearly not a problem exclusive of them. Non-urban destinations that base their tourism success on their natural heritage and resources may also be subject to problems due to an excess of tourists. Arguably, in such destinations, the debate about overtourism is likely to transit other paths, have other actors and present different frames. As such, it seems relevant to perform framing studies with similar aims to non-urban destinations such as islands or national parks.

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# Appendix 1: Codebook instructions and codebook

About the coding and the sample:

- The data consists of 263 pdfs of articles published in the Spanish print press concerning the negative effects of tourism in Barcelona.
- The articles are written in Catalan and Spanish and differ widely in their extension.
- The coded bits correspond to units of meaning, that is, arrays of words or images that convey a meaning or a thought. Sometimes, some extra words are coded to provide context.
- Each article may contain several codes.
- Each unit of meaning can be coded to multiple nodes if its meaning is related with more than one node.
- The coding scheme is divided in two separate groups, *Actors* and *Themes*. Each of them is separated as well in two other groups containing several categories and subcategories.
- All instances will be coded at the smallest category possible. That means the presence of several categories only used to group similar subcategories under them.
- For each category, a *9.Other* node shall be created to fit any uncommon or too-generic instance not fitting in the previous subcategories.
- All parent categories aggregate the codes from its child nodes.

## Simplified Codebook Structure

1. Actors								
1.Speaking					2.Spoken about			
1.Residents	2.Tourists	3.Political	4.Industry	5.Experts	1.Residents	2.Tourists	3.Political	4.Industry

2. Themes							
1.Problem Definitions				2.Proposed Solutions			
1.Immediate Nuisances	2.Structural Problems	3.Tourism Model Problems	...	1.Tourism Regulation	2.Tourism-oriented Strategies	3.Resident-oriented Strategies	...

Code	Description
1. Actors	Individuals or groups appearing on news reports, speaking or being talked about.
1.1. Speaking	Actors explicitly speaking or performing an action in the given unit of meaning
1.1.1 Residents	Those making use of the city as their first residence. Without distinction of place of birth or time of residence.
1.1.1.1. Residents Diffuse	Residents as a diffuse collective
1.1.1.1.1. Residents diffuse	Residents as a diffuse collective
1.1.1.1.2. Residents Individual	Residents presented as individuals
1.1.1.2. Residents organized	Residents organised in different associations
1.1.1.2.1. Organized Diffuse	Organised residents as a diffuse collective
1.1.1.2.2. Local Organizations	Resident associations located in specific areas
1.1.1.2.2.10. AV Barceloneta	Neighbours' association of la Barceloneta
1.1.1.2.2.11. L Ostia	Neighbours' association of la Barceloneta
1.1.1.2.2.12. Barcelonetat diu Prou	Neighbours' association of la Barceloneta
1.1.1.2.2.13. Plataforma en defensa de la Barceloneta	Neighbours' association from la Barceloneta.
1.1.1.2.2.20. Ens Planem	Neighbours' association of Poblenou
1.1.1.2.2.21. Fem Rambla	Neighbours' association of Poblenou
1.1.1.2.2.22. AV Vila Olímpica	Neighbours' association of Vila Olímpica
1.1.1.2.2.30. Amics de Rambla	Neighbours' association of La Rambla
1.1.1.2.2.31. Veïns de la Rambla	Neighbours' association of la Rambla
1.1.1.2.2.32. Salvem Drassanes	Neighbours association of Drassanes, next to la Rambla
1.1.1.2.2.40. AV Sagrada Família	Neighbours' association of Sagrada Família
1.1.1.2.2.50. Ciutat Invisible	Resident's Cooperative from Sants neighbourhood.
1.1.1.2.2.60. Fem Sant Antoni	Residents association from Sant Antoni neighbourhood
1.1.1.2.2.61. Som Paral·lel	Resident's association of El Paral·lel, just next to Sant Antoni
1.1.1.2.2.70. Gràcia Cap On Vas	Resident's association of the neighbourhood of Gràcia
1.1.1.2.2.9. Organized Other	Residents organised under structures that differ from a traditional organisation or association. For instance, people joining to run a social space.
1.1.1.2.3. ABTS/ABDT	Neighbourhood Association for Sustainable Tourism, later known as Neighbourhood Association for Tourism

Code	Description
	Degrowth.
1.1.1.2.4. FAVB	Federation of Neighbours' Associations of Barcelona
1.1.1.2.5. Sindicat de Llogateres	Union of tenants
1.1.1.2.6. Laboral Sindicates	UGT and CCOO, mainly
1.1.2. Tourists	Those making use of the city for leisure for a short period of time
1.1.2.1. Tourists_diffuse	Tourists referred as a diffuse collective
1.1.2.2. Tourists_ind	Tourists referred as individuals.
1.1.3. Political	Any institution elected democratically to some degree
1.1.3.1. Government	People and institutions governing the city
1.1.3.1.1. BCN council	Actors depending from the city council.
1.1.3.1.1.10. BCN council diffuse	City council government. Diffuse.
1.1.3.1.1.11. coun_gov_Colau	Govt Member and City Mayor Ada Colau
1.1.3.1.1.12. coun_gov_Pisarello	Govt member Gerardo Pisarello
1.1.3.1.1.13. coun_gov_Pin	Govt member Gala Pin
1.1.3.1.1.14. coun_gov_Sanz	Govt member Janet Sanz
1.1.3.1.1.15. coun_gov_Recasens	Govt Member and Security commissioner Amadeu Recasens
1.1.3.1.1.16. coun_gov_Badia	Govt Member Eloi Badia
1.1.3.1.1.17. coun_gov_Colom	Govt member Colom
1.1.3.1.1.18. coun_gov_ecology commission	Commission of ecology of the council
1.1.3.1.1.19. coun_gov_Collboni	Govt. Member and head of coalition partner party Jaume Collboni
1.1.3.1.1.20. coun_gov_other	
1.1.3.1.2. Cat ECP	Catalunya en Comú Podem
1.1.3.1.3. PSC	Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya
1.1.3.2. Opposition	All the political actors in the council opposition
1.1.3.2.1. Council Opposition	Political actors in the council opposition
1.1.3.2.1.1. coun_op_diffuse	Opposition referred as a diffuse collective
1.1.3.2.1.2. coun_op_Forn	Opposition member of PDeCat Joaquim For



Code	Description
1.1.3.2.1.30. coun_op_ERC	Opposition member of ERC
1.1.3.2.1.31. coun_op_Bosch	Opposition member of ERC Alfred Bosch
1.1.3.2.2. Parties	Parties represented in the city.
1.1.3.2.2.1. Parties diffuse	Parties referred as a diffuse collective
1.1.3.2.2.2. Junts	Junts Political Party
1.1.3.2.2.3. ERC	Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya Political Party
1.1.3.2.2.4. CUP	Coordinadora d'Unitat Popular Political Party
1.1.3.2.2.5. Cs	Ciutadans Political Party
1.1.3.2.2.6. PP	Partit Popular Political Party
1.1.3.3. Organizations	Public or public-private organizations related with tourism
1.1.3.3.1. Turisme de Barcelona	Public-private consortium for the promotion of tourism in Barcelona
1.1.3.3.2. Turisme_cat	Public body for promoting tourism in Catalonia. Depending of the Catalan govt.
1.1.3.3.3. Port de BCN	Public authority governing the port of Barcelona.
1.1.3.9. Other	
1.1.3.9.1. CAT_gov_diffuse	Catalan Government
1.1.3.9.2. Ombudswoman	City's Ombudswoman
1.1.4. Industry	Those groups or individuals making profit from tourism activity
1.1.4.1. Industry Diffuse	Tourism industry referred as a diffuse collective
1.1.4.1.1. Industry diffuse	Tourism industry referred as a diffuse collective
1.1.4.1.2. Investors diffuse	Investors and funds referred as a diffuse collective
1.1.4.2. Hospitality	Actors from the hospitality sector, hotels mostly
1.1.4.2.1. Exceltur	Spanish guild of tourism groups
1.1.4.2.2. Gremi Hotels	Barcelona Hoteliers guild
1.1.4.2.3. Hotel representative	Director or high role in a tourism-related business
1.1.4.3. Apartments	Representatives of the holiday rental sector
1.1.4.3.1. Apartur	The association speaking for legal tourist apartments
1.1.4.3.2. Airbnb and similar	Digital platforms offering short-period home-sharing.

Code	Description
1.1.4.4. Merchants and restaurants owners	Owners of small businesses related with tourism
1.1.4.4.10. Merchants	Local merchants and small business-owners referred as a diffuse collective
1.1.4.4.11. Rambla Kiosks	Agrupation of la Rambla kiosk owners
1.1.4.4.2. Restaurants and bars owners	Owners of businesses related with food and drinks restoration
1.1.4.4.3. Nightlife	Nightlife business owners or representatives
1.1.4.4.40. Confecat	Catalan confederation of hospitality and restauration businesses
1.1.4.4.41. ACIB	Agrupació de Comerciants i Industrials de la Barceloneta (ACIB)
1.1.4.4.9. Other	Other kinds of merchants and sellers
1.1.4.5. Tour guides	Tour guides of Barcelona. Normally organised.
1.1.4.6. Organized interests	Lobbying and pressure groups related with the tourism industry
1.1.4.6.1. Barcelona Global	Business association and lobby Barcelona Global
1.1.4.6.2. S&QTI	Group of tourism companies: Shopping and quality tourism institute.
1.1.4.6.3. Barcelona Oberta	Business association Barcelona Oberta
1.1.4.6.9. Other	
1.1.4.9. Other	
1.1.4.9.1. Employees of industry	Other people working for the tourism industry. i.e., tourism bus drivers or cleaning personal from hotels.
1.1.4.9.2. WTO	UN World Tourism Organisation
1.1.4.9.3. Hermitage	The renowned Russian Museum, which tried to open a franchise in Barcelona
1.1.4.9.4. MUHBA	Museum of History of Barcelona
1.1.4.9.9. Other actors	
1.1.5. Experts	
1.1.5.1. Experts_Diffuse	Experts on the matter referred as a diffuse collective
1.1.5.2. Experts Individual	Individuals views of someone knowledgeable.
1.1.6. Media	
1.1.6.1. Media	Editorial pieces or other when the media positions itself explicitly

Code	Description
1.2. Referred	Actors being explicitly referred to
1.2.1. Residents	Those making use of the city as their first residence. Without distinction of place of birth or time of residence.
1.2.1.1. Residents Diffuse	Residents as a diffuse collective.
1.2.1.1.1. Residents diffuse	Residents as a diffuse collective.
1.2.1.1.2. Residents young	Young residents as a diffuse collective.
1.2.1.2. Residents organized diffuse	Organized residents as a diffuse collective.
1.2.2. Tourists	Those making use of the city for leisure for a short time. Support on Novy 19:68 for discussion on who is or not a tourist and othering dynamics.
1.2.2.1. Tourists diffuse	Tourists referred as a diffuse collective
1.2.2.2. Other City Users	Other floating residents of the city that are not strictly tourists but present tourist behaviours. Such as second homers, exchange students, digital nomads...
1.2.3. Political	Any institution assumed to have power over the issues discussed.
1.2.3.1. Government	People and institutions governing the city
1.2.3.1.1. BCN Council	Actors depending from the city Council
1.2.3.1.1.10. BCN_council_diffuse	City government as a diffuse collective
1.2.3.1.1.11. coun_gov_BComú	The governing party, Barcelona en Comú
1.2.3.1.1.12. coun_gov_Colau	Govt. Member and city Mayor Ada Colau
1.2.3.1.1.13. coun_gov_Pin	Govt. Member Gala Pin
1.2.3.1.1.2. coun_op_diffuse	Council Opposition as a diffuse collective
1.2.3.2. Opposition – Parliament	Political parties speaking through the Catalan Parliament
1.2.3.2.1. CUP	Political Party CUP. Popular Unity Candidacy
1.2.3.3. Organizations	Public or public-private organizations related with tourism
1.2.3.3.1. Port de Barcelona	Port of Barcelona
1.2.3.3.2. Turisme de Barcelona	Public private consortium for the promotion of tourism
1.2.3.9. Other	
1.2.3.9.1. CAT_Gov_diffuse	Catalan Government as a diffuse collective.
1.2.4. Industry	Those groups or individuals making profit from tourism activity
1.2.4.1. Industry Diffuse	Tourism industry referred in a vague diffuse way

Code	Description
1.2.4.1.1. Industry diffuse	Tourism industry referred in a vague diffuse way
1.2.4.1.2. Investors Diffuse	Investors and funds referred in a vague diffuse way
1.2.4.2. Hospitality	Actors from the hospitality sector, hotels mostly
1.2.4.2.1. Specific hotel	Refers to a specific hotel at a given time. Many hotels are grouped under the same header.
1.2.4.2.2. Hotels diffuse	Hotel industry referred in a diffuse way.
1.2.4.3. Apartments	Actors representing the holiday rental sector
1.2.4.3.1. Apartur	Association of tourist apartments.
1.2.4.3.2. Airbnb and similar	Digital platforms offering short-period home-sharing.
1.2.4.4. Merchants and restaurant owners	Owners of small businesses related with tourism
1.2.4.4.1. Merchants diffuse	Local merchants and small business-owners referred in a diffuse way
1.2.4.4.2. Restauration diffuse	Local restauration business-owners referred in a diffuse way
1.2.4.4.3. Nightlife	Local night life business-owners referred in a diffuse way
1.2.4.5. Tour Guides	Tour guides of Barcelona referred in a diffuse way
1.2.4.6. Organized Interests	Lobbies and pressure groups related with the tourism industry
1.2.4.6.1. Barcelona Global	Business association Barcelona Global
1.2.4.9. Other	
1.2.4.9.1. Hotel Employees	Employees of tourism industry
1.2.4.9.2. Sagrada Familia Council	Governing body of the Sagrada Familia Building and promotion
1.2.4.9.3. Cruises diffuse	Tourism cruise industry referred in a diffuse way.
1.2.9. Other	
1.2.9.1. Top_manta	Street vendors selling in tourist areas. Mostly immigrant people.

Code	Description
2.Themes	“Recurring typical theses that run through a lot of reports”. Organized echoing Benford & Snow diagnostic and prognostic frames
2.1. Problem definitions	Themes pointing at some problems as related with tourism activity
2.1.1. Structural Problems	Problems arising from tourism activity in the city. Generally, with mid- to long-term effects.

Code	Description
2.1.1.1. Resident Displacement	Residents being displaced out of the area they used to live. Includes gentrification processes.
2.1.1.1.1. Resident displacement	Refers to residents having to move out of their neighbourhood.
2.1.1.1.2. Rising cost of housing	Refers to rising costs of living for the residents. Mainly refers to housing and rent but includes generic claims.
2.1.1.1.21. Housing Bubble	Refers to a new housing bubble driven by tourism investments.
2.1.1.1.3. Luxuryfication	Refers to the conversion of areas and buildings into luxury properties or touristic developments
2.1.1.1.4. Rising Cost of living	Refers to rising costs of everyday things
2.1.1.2. Loss of residents networks	Refers to the weakening of informal networks of residents.
2.1.1.3. Lost Spaces	Areas becoming unappealing for residents or completely given up to tourism activity
2.1.1.3.1. Loss of identity	Refers to the city losing its character due to commercialisation.
2.1.1.3.2. Lost/Contested Spaces	Refers to lost spaces after being overtaken by tourism.
2.1.1.3.3. Regained Spaces	Refers to spaces previously lost to tourism being regained in some way for the residents. Likely COVID specific.
2.1.1.4. Store replacement	Refers to the replacement traditional stores for big chains targeted to tourists.
2.1.1.5. Touristification	Areas becoming increasingly adapted for tourism uses
2.1.1.5.1. Festivalization - Touristification	Refers to the transformation of events into “festivals” and neighbourhoods into “theme parks” devoted to tourists. Claims of the city being transformed into an item of consumption.
2.1.1.5.2. Venice-ification	Refers to calls to avoid worse-case-scenarios in which tourism completely disrupts city life and residents are largely substituted by tourists. Also used as “Barceloneta-ification”
2.1.1.5.3. Touristification of new areas	Refers to the arrival of tourists to unexploited areas as potentially harmful. Relates with the citizens lack of custom to tourists and the area change of uses. Support on Novy 2018:67
2.1.1.5.4. Improvement as Threat	Refers to an area attracting more visitors as a result of an improvement of infrastructure or conditions
2.1.1.5.5. Conquest of Urban Space	Refers to the loss of physical space by residents to industry activities
2.1.1.5.5.1. Hotel proliferation	Refers to the proliferation of hotels on an area or the city.
2.1.1.5.5.2. Tourist Apartments Proliferation	Refers to the proliferation of hotels on certain blocks, areas, or the city. Focus on the illegality of some of them
2.1.1.5.5.3. Privatization of Public Space	Refers to the use of public space by industry activities such as restauration or waiting lines.
2.1.1.5.5.4. Leisure stores proliferation	Refers to the rapid increase of businesses related with tourism
2.1.1.6. Illegitimate Industry Practices	Tourism businesses engaging in illegitimate or illegal practices such as unlicensed operations.
2.1.2. Immediate Effects of Tourism	Problems arising from the direct contact with tourists. Generally short-lived.

Code	Description
2.1.2.1. Massification of the city	Concerns about “too many tourists” and the overcrowding of the city. Alluded as the cause of many other problems and a problem on itself.
2.1.2.2. Loss of Quality of Life	Direct effects on resident's quality of life.
2.1.2.2.1. Worse Service Provisions	Refers to the worsening provision of public services due to the use of it by tourists.
2.1.2.2.2. Traffic Congestion	Refers to problems with the traffic in the city, being it walking or by vehicles.
2.1.2.2.3. Noise/Poor Rest	Refers to annoying noises derived from tourism activity. It relates with resident's rest (or lack off)
2.1.2.2.4. Loss of quality of life	Refers to the loss of quality of life of residents due to direct contact with tourists. Broad category
2.1.2.3. Difficult Coexistence	Inappropriate behaviour complicating the coexistence of tourists and residents
2.1.2.3.1. Inappropriate Behavior	Instances accusing tourists of behaving inappropriately
2.1.2.3.1.1. Alcohol and Drugs use	Refers to tourists consuming drugs or alcohol for recreation. Binge tourism.
2.1.2.3.1.2. Nightlife	Refers to noisy and annoying night leisure linked to tourism. Pubs, bars, and others.
2.1.2.3.1.3. Tourist Apartments Nuisances	Refers to nuisances derived from having a neighboring tourist apartments.
2.1.2.3.1.4. Touristic Vehicles	Refers to the proliferation of vehicles, mainly used by tourists, that use the public space in an intrusive manner
2.1.2.3.1.5. Other Inappropriate Behavior	Refers to tourists behaving disturbing the neighbours. Includes noise, littering, nudity
2.1.2.3.2. Degradation of areas	Refers to claims of an area being degraded by tourism activity. Very vague, difficult to discern from other claims. It'll be used to refer to areas where the effects of tourism and incivility are specially grave.
2.1.2.3.3. Difficult Coexistence	Refers to uncomfortable convivence of tourists and residents and diffuse nuisances. Most of times generic.
2.1.2.4. Crime Rise	Increase of crime activities where the victims, the delinquents or costumers are tourists
2.1.2.4.1. Illegal Street Selling	Presence of unlicensed street sellers in the streets.
2.1.2.4.2. Crime Rise	Claims linking tourist presence with increased crime rates
2.1.2.5. Informal Economy	Complaints about the informal economy related with tourism.
2.1.2.5.1. Illegal Apartments Offer	Refers to illegal offer as being problematic.
2.1.2.5.2. Apartment Subletting	Refers to residents in rented apartments or rooms subletting them to tourists.
2.1.2.5.3. Informal economy increase	Refers to tourism activities as promoting informal economy.
2.1.2.6. Mounting Presure	Claims that tourism pressure is building up on an already stressed areas
2.1.2.6.1. Reaching limits	Refers to the city approaching its threshold of carrying capacity. Mostly diffuse claim.
2.1.2.6.2. Mounting Pressure	Claims that tourism pressure is building up on an already stressed areas

Code	Description
2.1.3. Tourism Model Problems	Problems arising from the specific traits of the tourism industry in the city.
2.1.3.1. Problematic model	Problems being the result of a problematic tourism model per se.
2.1.3.1.1. Problematic Tourism Model	Refers to generic claims about the model being wrong, or in need of changes.
2.1.3.1.2. Unsustainability of model	Refers to the inviability of the current model, based in growth in ecological or social terms.
2.1.3.2. Low Quality of Tourists	Problems being caused by the attraction of tourists of low quality.
2.1.3.2.1. Low Quality of Tourism	Refers to tourism or tourists as being low quality. Usually it means of low expenditure and high costs.
2.1.3.2.2. Excursionist Tourism	Refers to tourists not spending a night in the city as problematic because they make use of the city but don't pay for a night or dinner there
2.1.3.2.3. Not-all-tourists	Refers to mentions to the different behaviours of different tourist groups. For instance, alcotourism or party travelers. Calls attention to the heterogeneity of the phenomenon. From Novy 2019:65f.
2.1.3.3. Poor Tourist Experience	Tourists getting a bad experience of their visit to the city.
2.1.3.3.1. Poor Tourist Experience	Refers to poor tourist experiences derived from the massification of tourism. Support on Novy 2019:64
2.1.3.3.2. Dying of success	Refers to the model becoming unattractive because of being too-successful. With an emphasis on the performance of the industry
2.1.3.3.3. Low quality of offer	Refers to the low-price, low-quality leisure options that rely on massification to be profitable.
2.1.3.4. Tourism Monoculture	Refers to the excessive economic reliance on tourism.
2.1.3.5. Property Speculation	Tourism activity rendering the city especially attractive for real estate speculation.
2.1.3.5.1. Property Speculation	Refers to tourism as a driver of real estate speculators and vulture funds.
2.1.3.5.11. Mobbing	Refers to pressures done by investment groups to remove residents from their apartments.
2.1.3.6. Poor Quality Jobs	Refers to poor job conditions of the workers in the tourism industry.
2.1.3.7. Unfair costs and benefits	Costs and benefits of tourism being unfairly distributed between the residents and the industry.
2.1.3.7.1. Unequal Distribution of benefits	Refers to the unfair distribution of costs and benefits.
2.1.3.7.2. High Public Cost - Expenditure	Refers to the price that the tourism industry has on the public finances.
2.1.3.7.3. Increasing inequalities	Refers to increasing inequalities partly because of tourism industry and practices.
2.1.3.8. Marketing Problems	Refers to problems being caused by wrong marketing efforts or lack of them thereof.
2.1.4. Political Issues	Problems arising from the political and public opinion dimensions of tourism.
2.1.4.1. Tourism-phobia	Problems related to residents' sentiment of opposition to tourism
2.1.4.1.1. Opposition to tourism	Refers to public opposition to tourism presented as something problematic per se.

Code	Description
2.1.4.1.2. Reputation Damage	Refers to reputational damages coming from public opposition to tourism.
2.1.4.1.3. Criminalization of industry	Refers to the persecution of tourism industry actors by public opinion.
2.1.4.1.4. Vandalism Against Tourism	Refers to activists' aggressions to tourism businesses.
2.1.4.1.5. Reduced Investments	Refers to the reduction of investments in tourism due to public opposition or policies restricting it.
2.1.4.1.6. Radical govt. positions	Refers to institutions or organizations as having too-radical views on tourism.
2.1.4.2. Tourism concern	Refers to claims of the residents being specially concerned with the trouble generated by tourism.
2.1.4.3. Bone of contention	Claims of tourism or measures to regulate it as being divisive.
2.1.4.4. Instrumentalization of issue	Claims about the instrumentalization of tourism discontentment for political gain
2.1.4.5. Poor Govt. Performance	Problems being caused by current or former tourism mismanagement
2.1.4.5.1. Insufficient Political Action	Claims of political action being insufficient
2.1.4.5.2. Representation Issues	Claims arguing that a part has been left out of decision making
2.1.4.5.2.1. Poor Industry rep.	Refers to industry being left out of decision making.
2.1.4.5.2.2. Poor Civic Rep.	Refers to citizens being left out of decision making.
2.1.4.5.3. Insufficient Police	Refers to police not responding fast enough when there are problems with tourists. For instance, noises or fights.
2.1.4.5.4. Wrong Measures	Claims of measures being mistaken or sparking opposition
2.1.4.5.5. Poor Tourism Management	Generic claims about massification being caused by poor management strategies.
2.1.4.5.6. Unequal rights and duties	Refers to the unequal distribution of rights and duties between residents and tourists.
2.1.4.5.7. Lack of regulation	Refers to lack of regulation as the source of many problems.
2.1.4.5.8. Tourism Bubble	Refers to over-investment in tourism in a way reminiscent to the housing bubble of 2008. Especially important for their use within government instances.
2.1.5. Environmental Problems	Problems related with pollution and environmental damage.
2.1.5.1. Environment Damage	Problems related with pollution and environmental damage.
2.1.5.1.1. Transportation Pollution	Refers to pollution derived from tourism. Most of cases air pollution derived from transport.
2.1.5.1.2. Landscape Damage	Refers to damage to the city natural landscapes by tourism. Presumably beaches.
2.1.5.2. Resource Overconsumption	Refers to consumption of natural resources above the city capacity.
2.1.5.9. Other	
2.1.6. Ineludible Problems	Unavoidable problems related to tourism activity
2.1.6.1. Conjunctural Factors	Problems being caused by temporary factors that cannot be controlled.



Code	Description
2.1.6.1.1. Geopolitical Circumstances	Refers to overcrowding as a timely condition due to crises in other countries.
2.1.6.1.2. Rapid Tourism Growth	Refers to the rapid tourism growth as a source of the problem
2.1.6.2. Ineludible Externalities	Refers to tourism activity and growth as a sort of an ineludible curse. Growth is natural and very difficult to manage.
2.1.6.3. Situated problem	Refers to the problem as being especially located in certain areas. Thus, not that relevant for the rest of the city.
2.1.6.4. Price of Progress	Problems being the logical and unescapable result of globalization and progress
2.1.6.4.1. A factor among many	Refers to tourism as being only a factor among many others generating the problems of the city.
2.1.6.4.2. Residents as part of the problem	Refers to locals acting as tourists, thus, part of the problems discussed.
2.1.9. Other	
2.1.9.1. Industry Greed	Refers to benefit-seeking companies as a driver of problems.

Code	Description
2.2. Proposed Solutions	Themes proposing solutions to some of the problems related with overtourism
2.2.1. Tourism Regulation	Solutions involving limits and restrictions to tourism activity.
2.2.1.1. Control tourist apartments	Refers to any different claims about the regulation of tourist apartments
2.2.1.1.1. Regulate Tourist Apartments	Refers to implement regulation so the activity has legal base
2.2.1.1.2. No-more-licenses policy	Refers to not giving any new licenses for tourist apartments in the city.
2.2.1.1.3. Crackdown on Illegal Accomodation	Refers to tightening control on unlicensed tourist apartments
2.2.1.1.4. Ban Tourist Apartments	Refers to the ban of tourist apartments activity, licensed or not.
2.2.1.2. Increase tourism taxes	Increase or put in place different kinds of tourism taxes.
2.2.1.2.1. Tourist Taxes	Refers to the increase of tourism taxes to deter tourism, civic policies or tourism promotion.
2.2.1.2.2. Tax Excursions	Refers to applying taxes to tourism activities that do not involve sleeping in the city.
2.2.1.3. Control Tourism Development	Plan and limit tourism development on certain areas of the city.
2.2.1.3.1. Control Tourism Development	Refers to better control for an uncontrolled industry growth
2.2.1.3.2. Limit New Openings	Refers to restrictions to new business openings
2.2.1.3.3. Degrowth on stressed areas -	Refers to calls to restrict growth on a specific area, mostly referred to PEUAT planification
2.2.1.3.4. Urban Planning	Refers to improvements in the planning as a way to solve future problems.

Code	Description
2.2.1.4. Tourist Quotas	Establish a maximum number of tourists to either an area or the city.
2.2.1.5. More regulation	Regulate over uncontrolled or loosely regulated tourism practices.
2.2.1.5.1. Regulate Uncontrolled Practices	Refers to calls to regulate problematic. It often implies they are problematic because of lack of clear regulation
2.2.1.5.2. Regulate Tourist Mobility - Vehicles	Refers to regulations, restrictions or improvements applied to the ways tourists move inside the city. It applies to rickshaws, Segways or other systems. Also can be applied to public transportation.
2.2.1.6. More police activity	Increase the police activity controlling tourists' behaviour and tourism industry practices.
2.2.1.6.1. Police Industry Practices	Refers to applying controls to certain industry activities in addition to regulation.
2.2.1.6.2. Police Tourist Behaviour	Refers to tightening the vigilance on uncivil behaviour by tourists or in tourist areas.
2.2.1.6.3. Police Street Vending	Refers to tightening the control on itinerant street vending related with tourism.
2.2.1.7. Defund Tourism Promotion	Refers to the decrease of funds for tourism promotion abroad.
2.2.2. Tourism improvement strategies	Strategies to solve some of the problems without establishing limits to tourism.
2.2.2.1. Dispersal Strategies	Strategies to attract visitors to other, less crowded areas and times.
2.2.2.2. Education campaigns	Calls to educate the tourists so they are less problematic.
2.2.2.2.1. Tourist education	Refers to educating tourists to get them to behave better or understand the problem.
2.2.2.2.2. Follow Convivence Rules	Refers to calls for making compliance of some diffuse basic convivence rules.
2.2.2.3. Infrastructure Optimization	Improve infrastructures or use technical solutions so stressed areas can handle crowds better.
2.2.2.3.1. Infrastructure Development	Refers to implementing new infrastructures to alleviate some nuisances.
2.2.2.3.2. Improve Public Services	Refers to the improvement of public services such as public transportation or cleaning services.
2.2.2.3.3. Technical optimization	Refers to technological interventions that alleviate some problems such as lines.
2.2.2.3.4. Pre-booking on certain areas	Refers to visitors having to book their entrance to specific areas or attractions.
2.2.2.4. Industry Involvement	Integrate the industry as part of the solution to some problems.
2.2.2.4.1. Improve industry practices	Refers to calls for industry practice improvement as significant steps to reduce externalities.
2.2.2.4.2. Improve Industry rep.	Refers to a better representation of industry.
2.2.2.4.3. Offer Industry Trade-offs	Refers to compensation offers for industry to behave differently
2.2.2.4.4. Integrate Industry	Refers to "integration" strategies adopted by industry players to reduce their effect on the neighbourhood.
2.2.2.5. Improve quality of tourists	Prioritize attracting tourists with higher purchase power and longer stays.
2.2.2.5.1. Attract Better Tourists	Refers to attracting fewer but better (paying) tourists.
2.2.2.5.2. Promote Cultural Tourism	Refers to promoting cultural tourism instead of other kinds of tourism.

<b>Code</b>	<b>Description</b>
2.2.2.5.3. Improve Offer Quality	Refers to efforts to make the tourism offer better. It can refer to less intrusive, or of more perceived quality by the tourist.
2.2.2.5.4. City Rebranding	Invest in marketing strategies to improve to attract good tourists
2.2.2.6. Promote Sustainable Tourism	Refers to growing tourism in a sustainable way both for neighbours and the environment. Mostly diffuse claims.
<b>2.2.3. Resident-oriented strategies</b>	<b>Solutions aimed at improving residents' quality of life in front of tourism.</b>
2.2.3.1. Reclaim Touristified Areas	Calls to introduce changes in touristified areas to make them attractive for residents' uses again
2.2.3.1.1. Reclaim Turistified spaces	Refers to making turistified spaces attractive to residents again. Both generic claims and concrete policies such as free entries to attractions.
2.2.3.2. Neighbourhood improvement	Invest in the residents of tourism-stressed areas
2.2.3.2.1. Attract Residents	Refers to attracting more residents to a certain area. Mostly generic.
2.2.3.2.20. Generic investments	Claims of bigger investments on stressed areas to improve some residents' problems.
2.2.3.2.21. New civic facilities	Refers to the construction or improvement of civic facilities.
2.2.3.2.3. Generic Compensations	Refers to generic compensations in stressed areas
2.2.3.3. Protect current residents	Policies of protection aimed at keeping current residents on place
2.2.3.3.1. Protect current residents	Refers to claims about taking care of current residents of touristic areas.
2.2.3.3.2. RFR to certain areas	Refers to the application of the Right of First Refusal to certain areas of the city targeted by investment groups.
2.2.3.3.3. Protect Small Businesses	Refers to the protection of traditional businesses not dedicated to tourism.
2.2.3.3.4. Regulate Rent	Refers to regulating the maximum costs of residence rent
2.2.3.3.42. More Public Housing	Refers to the construction of public housing projects. Normally in opposition to hotels.
2.2.3.4. Halts and closures	Close or halt the development of a specific hotel or tourism-oriented business
2.2.3.4.1. Stop particular development	Refers to the halting of a particular development. Mostly because of social opposition.
2.2.3.4.2. Hotel closures	Refers to closing hotels or hostels in a broad sense.
2.2.3.5. Improve distribution of costs and benefits	Refers to improving the distribution of costs and benefits. Mainly in the sense of giving back more to the residents.
2.2.3.6. Improve Job Conditions	Refers to the improvement of job conditions for tourism workers, mostly residents.
2.2.3.7. Better Citizen Representation	Refers to better representation of neighbours.
<b>2.2.4. System-wide solutions</b>	<b>Solutions involving deep tourism model changes.</b>
2.2.4.1. Diffuse model change	Calls for a change in the way the tourism industry works in Barcelona
2.2.4.1.1. Diffuse model change	Refers to needed model changes without specifying which.

Code	Description
2.2.4.1.2. New Tourism Agreement	Refers to a wide tourism agreement between public and private actors, to ensure the sustainability of tourism industry over time, as well as the residents rights
2.2.4.2. Reduce Tourism Dependence	Strategies to reduce the economic dependence on tourism
2.2.4.2.1. Reduce Dependence on Tourism	Refers to adopting policies to emancipate economy from tourism, or the need of them.
2.2.4.2.2. Promote other Industries	Refers to promoting alternative industries to tourism.
2.2.4.3. Tourism Degrowth	Degrowth of tourists numbers and tourism industry economic weight as a political and economic goal.
2.2.4.4. Citizen involvement	Refers to protests or actions engaged by citizens. Mostly to generate more conscience about the problem.
2.2.4.5. Extend city powers	Calls to give the council more legal and political powers to better solve some problems.
2.2.4.5.1. Extend city's legal powers	Refers to calls for more legal possibilities for cities to regulate tourism.
2.2.4.5.2. Inter-city Alliances	Refers to creating alliances on international levels to curb some tourism related problems.
2.2.4.6. Build back better	Refers to needed model changes without specifying which.
2.2.4.9. Other	