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Abstract

This research note addresses Overtourism from locals' perspective. The main contribution of this research note is that locals, as volatile groups have also proven to be resilient in some cases. This resilience has been developed through an ambidextrous approach, which is the balance between exploitation (using a negative situation) and exploration (turning it into something positive). The paper identified four archetypes of locals in regard to their attitudes towards tourists in an overtourism context: victims, peaceful activists, vandals, and resilient locals.

Keywords	Resilience; Locals; Visitors; Overtourism; Archetype; Ambidextrous management approach
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Monday, 2 December 2019

Dear Editor,

Please find attached the resubmission for the Research Note:

Archetypes of Locals in Destinations Victim of Overtourism

For consideration of publication in your journal.

I feel the corrections (and the updated version of this Research Note) are now addressing all the comments from reviewers. All corrections are in **RED**.

Please do not hesitate to contact me should you wish to discuss any aspect of this paper.

Warm regards,

Authors

Changes have been operated in **RED** in the text

<p>The revised version is much better than the first submission.</p>	<p>Thank you!</p>
<p>However, there are still weaknesses.</p>	<p>We have addressed all your comments</p>
<p>The statement "in those destinations, the number of visitors is higher than the number of locals" (cf. page 2, section 2) is taken from its context in the original and does not make sense in the way it is used here. In particular, the temporal and spatial perspective are completely ignored by this general statement.</p>	<p>The statement has been removed, and a better definition taking the temporal and spatial perspective have been taken into account cf. page 2-3, section 2).</p>
<p>Table 1 (see page 2, section 1) is helpful, but incomplete. For example, the special issue on overtourism from 2019 by the International Journal of Tourism Cities is missing here.</p>	<p>Table 1 was only listing papers on overtourism in ABS listed journals. <i>International Journal of Tourism Cities</i> is not in the ABS list. That said, the table includes now papers on overtourism published in <i>International Journal of Tourism Cities</i>. Additionally, a few articles from the special issue on overtourism in <i>Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes</i> have also been included.</p>
<p>It is still not clear whether the four types are independent of each other or represent different stages of a development process (see page 4, section 3: "different stages of the evolution...").</p>	<p>The four different archetypes represent different stages of a development process. This has now been explained in page 5 section 3.</p>
<p>Finally, the limitations of the approach presented are still not addressed.</p>	<p>The limitations of the study is now covered in the conclusion.</p>

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Abstract

This research note addresses Overtourism from locals' perspective. The main contribution of this research note is that locals, as volatile groups have also proven to be resilient in some cases. This resilience has been developed through an ambidextrous approach, which is the balance between exploitation (using a negative situation) and exploration (turning it into something positive). The paper identified four archetypes of locals in regard to their attitudes towards tourists in an overtourism context: victims, peaceful activists, vandals, and **resilient locals**.

Keywords

Resilience; Locals; Visitors; Overtourism; Archetype; Ambidextrous management approach

Archetypes of Locals in Destinations Victim of Overtourism

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Archetypes of Locals in Destinations Victim of Overtourism

1. Introduction

This research note focuses on the relationship between locals and visitors in over visited destinations. It aims to define the archetypes of local residents in overtourism destinations by answering the following research question: *How to distinguish the various archetypes of local residents with regards to their attitudes towards and relationships with visitors in destinations suffering from overtourism?* To address this research question, the research note is structured around two main parts. Section 2 is placing locals within an overtourism context. Sections 3 and 4 analyse and discuss the influences of the context on the evolution of the attitudes of locals towards tourists.

This research note is anchored within the domain of tourismphobia and anti-tourism movements, which relate to the negative impacts of overtourism (Seraphin, Gowreesunkar, Zaman, & Bourliataux, 2019). In terms of value added, this research is filling a gap in literature by providing a morphing of locals within the volatile context of overtourism. Indeed, research in the area of overtourism is mainly focusing on the origins and consequences of overtourism, and on strategies to tackle the phenomenon (see Table 1 for selected publications on the topic). The research on overtourism focusing on locals has mainly dealt with: *a*) the need to develop their resilience (Cheer, Milano & Novelli, 2019; Cheung & Li, 2019), *b*) reclaiming spaces that should be for locals only (Panayiotopoulos & Pisano, 2019) as overtourism is moving away the feeling of belonging and logic of appropriateness that locals tend to develop for their neighbourhood (Gursoy, 2019), and *c*) bridging the gap between locals and visitors using events (Seraphin, Gowreesunkar, Zaman & Bourliataux, 2019), as the over development of the tourism industry is impacting on the relationship locals/visitors (Gonzalez, Coromina & Gali,

2018). Equally important, Smith, Sziva & Olt (2019) are arguing that tourism is sometimes unfairly designated as being responsible for residents' discontent with developments.

[INSERT TABLE 1 HERE]

From a theoretical point of view, this research note is arguing that locals have a volatile attitude that becomes visible when their environment is challenged by external aggressive factors (Table 2).

[INSERT TABLE 2 HERE]

According to the online Oxford Dictionary, 'Volatile' means (Oxford Dictionary [Online]):

- 'Liable to change rapidly and unpredictably, especially for the worse'
- 'Liable to display rapid changes of emotion'

The following sections are gradually evidencing how the above definitions are matching the attitude of locals.

2. Overtourism: An overview

'Overtourism' is associated with destinations that are suffering from the strain of tourism (Richardson, 2017). It happens when the maximum number of people that may visit a tourist destination at the same time is exceeded (Gonzalez, Coromina & Gali, 2018). This maximum number of visitors is also referred as carrying capacity of the destination (Borg et al, 1996; Seraphin, Sheeran & Pilato, 2018). As a result, the space available for residents is reduced (Gonzalez, Coromina & Gali, 2018). In addition, residents cannot walk on the street without rubbing shoulders with crowds of tourists (Singh, 2018). Many destinations in the world, such as northern Europe with Norway (Okelvik, Gossling, Hall, Kristian Peter & McCabe, 2019),

Southern Europe with Italy, Spain (Gonzalez, Coromina & Galli, 2018; Seraphin, Sheeran & Pilato, 2018), Eastern Europe with Croatia (Panayiotopoulos & Pisano, 2019), Hungary (Smith, Sziva & Olt, 2019), and Western Europe with Germany are concerned (Namberger, Jackisch, Schmude & Karl, 2019). Other parts of the worlds are also impacted. Asia, with destinations such as Philippines and Thailand (Cruz & Legaspi, 2019; Hess, 2019). Costa Rica, in South America (Canada, 2019), and Africa (Kepher-Gona, 2019). The consequences of overtourism are the deterioration of both, the quality of life (and well-being) of locals, and the quality of the experience of visitors (Dodds & Butler, 2019; Milano et al, 2018). Subsequently, locals' dissatisfaction has led to hatred and rejection of visitors, more commonly known as 'tourismphobia' (Singh, 2018). In destinations victim of overtourism, which are also destinations with a very positive image (such as Barcelona, Prague, Venice, New York, York, etc. to name a few), exacerbated by aggressive marketing strategies (Borg et al, 1996; Dodds & Butler, 2019; Seraphin et al, 2019b), the relationship 'locals-visitors' is based on tensions as they are competing for space, amenities and services (Dodds & Butler, 2019).

In this context (destinations with a very positive image), the role of local guide in the experience of visitors does not seem to be important, or even wished. 'Tourism stakeholders have long lacked unity of purpose and shared goals' (Dodds & Butler, 2019). This trend is hugely accentuated by the development of new technologies (Dodds & Butler, 2019). Visitors no longer need supports from travel agents or tour operators to plan their holidays (Haugland et al, 2011; Sheehan et al, 2016). Once at the destination, the role of local guide is still not essential, despite their ability to decipher the codes required by visitors to understand the true nature of the destination (Cohen, 1985). Guided tour web platforms and smart phone applications such as Tourpal, Guide Me Tours, and Go Explore, among others, are gradually replacing the need for a physically present human guide (Darby, 2013).

The relationship between locals and visitors is based on relational referent. Indeed, Edger and Oddy (2018), indicate that there are five bases of authority possessed by an individual or organisation during their interactions with others. The interaction can be: *a) coercive* (using threats, contract termination, etc., to ensure compliance to demands); *b) based on reward* (monetary, recognition, incentives) to compensate others for compliance; *c) based on legitimacy*, procured by a dominant positional status that gives authority; *d) on expertise*, which gives credibility and ability to influence others across the sector, and finally, *e) based on relational referent*, i.e. the level of *likability* and *worthiness* of the organisation or person.

3. Evolution of the attitude of locals

Since the outburst of overtourism as a global issue over the summer 2017 (Seraphin et al, 2018), the role of locals has evolved from victims (Croes et al, 2017), through peaceful activists (Coldwell, 2017; Tapper, 2017), to vandals (Burgen, 2017). In some destinations, locals have developed some form of resilience and turned the negative experience of overtourism into their own advantage (Weber et al, 2019). In Lucerne (Switzerland), the Kleintheater, a small independent theatre company has developed a satirical act based on tourism issues in the city (Weber et al, 2019). Table 3 provides an overview of the different stages of the evolution of locals' attitude when their environment is challenged by external aggressive factors such as (over)tourism. The four different stages depicted in table 3 are the most significant characteristics or archetypes of locals, in an overtourism context.

Table 3 was developed using research carried out by Cohen (1985), Seraphin (2013); and Doxey (1975). Indeed, Cohen (1985), identified four main functions for tour guides. Seraphin (2013) used the model developed by Cohen (1985) to provide archetypes of tour guides in

Haiti. In the model developed by Seraphin (2013), can be found information on: the functions performed by tour guides; the story gists for each function; and a brand examples. Doxey (1975)'s model is based on the understanding of local residents' attitude change (from euphoria to antagonism) toward tourists and tourism as the number of visitors increases. Basically, Doxey (1975), not only provided evidence that the attitude of locals towards tourist is volatile, but he also provided different stages for the evolution of their perception. The columns in Table 3 were developed on the basis of these three publications.(Cohen, 1985; Doxey, 1975; Seraphin, 2013) . The rows in table 3 present the changes of attitudes of locals towards visitors. They are based on the fact that Cohen (1985) and Seraphin (2013), agreed that locals are the best tour guide for visitors and that they performed four different functions (pathfinders; animators; tour leaders; and professionals); but also by the fact that the Doxey Irritation (1985) index also have four stages (euphoria; apathy; irritation; antagonism). **The four different archetypes represent different stages of a development process. The same way the Doxey Irritation Index (1975) suggests that the negative resident perspectives on tourism increases with the number of visitors (Butler, 2019; Wall, 2019), the model developed in table 3 suggests the same regarding their behaviour.** As for the title of the stages, they were informed by how locals were depicted in newspapers.

[INSERT TABLE 3 HERE]

The changes of attitudes of locals towards visitors are characterised by four archetypes:

Archetype 1 – *Locals are helpless victims*. Locals have negotiated their culture and identity through cultural contacts with visitors (Ozer et al, 2017). Because of the laissez-faire approach adopted by policymakers and entrepreneurs (Van der Borg et al, 1996), their quality of life is being now threatened (Croes et al, 2017).

Archetype 2 – *Peaceful activists*. Residents hold a positive attitude to tourism development until the number of visitors reach a point that threaten their original life style (Coldwell, 2017; Paris, 2017). Anti-tourism movements or resistant identities (Routledge, 2001), which are voicing locals' concern regarding the continuously growing number of tourists (Seraphin et al, 2018), are evidences of this change of attitude towards visitors.

Archetype 3 – *Vandals*. Locals are showing that they are neither passive nor powerless. Hutton (2016), used this phrase (neither passive or powerless), for any group that reframe their relationship with an environment via resilience pathways. At this stage, locals have chosen violence.

Archetype 4 – *Resilient locals*. Resilience is the ability to bounce back from stress and adversity or change that can emerge from the experience of trauma (Hutton, 2016). The Kleintheater theatre in Lucerne exemplifies both definitions. The same way Getz (2008) argued that the tourism industry is a resilient industry; this research note is arguing that local populations are resilient groups.

4. Heritage-based strategy and authenticity

Tourismphobia has been identified as the lack on interaction between locals and visitors in destinations victim of overtourism (Seraphin et al, 2019a). This lack of interaction is partly due to the fact that the interests of locals and visitors are perceived by the tourism industry as being contradictory, whereas they are actually complementary and interrelated (Edgell, 2017; O'Toole, 2011; Richards & Palmer, 2010). As a matter fact, modern visitors are eager to search for authenticity (Park, 2013) in a context of 'the burgeoning of superficial activities and inauthentic experiences' (Park, 2014: 60). As for locals, they are eager to show case their culture/heritage (Park, 2014; Seraphin et al, 2019a; Seraphin, Platania, Spencer & Modica, 2018). Additionally, Beal, Seraphin, Platania and Modica (2019) argued that heritage is acting

as a mediator between and visitors. At this stage, it is important to highlight the fact that ‘the issues of authenticity are constantly discussed and evaluated in the context of heritage tourism’ (Park, 2014: 60). Subsequently, it could be argued that by developing more authentic destinations, the cultural and social gaps between locals and visitors would be reduced because visitors would need locals to help them interpret the attractions, sites and experiences (Cohen, 1985). To some extent, locals would become guides, and perform the role of animators and tour leaders, and as such they would perform a social function by interacting and socialising with tourists (Cohen, 1985). The other benefits of developing a strategy around authenticity is also based on the fact this approach is beneficial for locals and visitors. Indeed, visitors would get an original, exclusive, unique, iconic experience (Rickly, 2019), and as a result, the destination would gain competitive advantage. The economic performance of the destinations would improve as they will be yielding incomes out of the visitors by attracting the right types of visitors (Favre, 2017).

The above arguments why authenticity is a suitable strategy for destinations to adopt are also supported by Favre (2017), who actually encourages destinations to move from a mass tourism strategy to a special interest tourism strategy. Alternative forms of tourism contribute to the happiness and quality of life of locals as they have an opportunity to show case their culture/heritage (Park, 2014), but would also enable them to maintain long-term livelihoods (Seraphin et al, 2019a). Equally important, this strategy would enable the destination to retain existing visitors. ‘Destinations experiencing overtourism inspire some tourists to choose different holiday locations’ (Rickly, 2019: 54). As for locals, authenticity is associated with equity and sense of place and community well-being (Rickly, 2019).

That said, if authenticity appears as a suitable strategy for destinations, it is important that destinations adopt an ambidextrous management approach, that is to say combining exploitation (using heritage as a pull factor) and exploration (Identifying sustainable and innovative strategies to limit the negative impacts of the heritage-based strategy). In tourism, ambidextrous management approached has been associated with sustainability, innovation, and improvement of performance (Martínez-Pérez, García-Villaverde, & Elche, 2016; Tang, 2014), and yet, its use in the tourism industry and academic research is rather limited (Mihalache & Mihalache, 2016)

5. Conclusion

The tourism growth strategy of adopted by destinations based on visitor numbers appears now to have been more harmful than beneficiary for destinations. The new paradigm should be to focus more on finding a balance between tourism degrowth as a social movement (Milano, Novelli & Cheer, 2019), and still attracting visitors while providing quality experience to them, and also visitors ensuring locals are happy and involved in the industry through direct contacts with visitors (Favre, 2017). This balance is important because Trexit (tourism exit) is a too radical strategy, not sustainable for destinations (Seraphin, Gowreesunkar, Zaman & Lorey, 2019).

Overall, the main claim of this research note is that locals, as volatile groups have also proven to be resilient in some cases. This resilience could be developed through an ambidextrous management approach, which is the balance between exploitation and exploration (Smith, 2017), as proven by Kleintheater theatre which has used a negative situation (exploitation) and turned it into something positive for its own benefit (exploration).

That said, the archetypes of locals development in destinations victim of overtourism is based on a theoretical model based on a limited sample of European destinations. Future research should be based on an empirical approach using a more representative sample of European and/or worldwide destinations.

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Table 1. Publications on overtourism

	Journals	Title	Author(s)	Year	Summary
1.	Journal of Destination Marketing and Management	Overtourism and the fall of Venice as a destination	Seraphin, Sheeran & Pilato	2018	Trexit is not the solution for overtourism
2.	Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management	Destination branding and overtourism	Seraphin, Zaman, Olver, Bourliataux & Dosquet	2019	Branding strategy contributes to overtourism
3.	Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management	Community based festivals as a tool to tackle tourismphobia and antitourism movements	Seraphin, Gowreesunkar, Zaman & Bourliataux	2019	Events contribute to create a dialogical space between locals and visitors
4.	Journal of Sustainable Tourism	Overtourism, optimisation, and destination performance indicators: a case study of activities in Fjord Norway	Oklevik, Gossling, Hall, Kristina, Petter & McCabe	2019	Destinations should select their target markets more carefully
5.	Journal of Sustainable Tourism	Tourism and community resilience in the Anthropocene: accentuating temporal overtourism	Cheer et al	2019	The focus of tourism is largely growth-oriented, with much less attention given to bolstering social-ecological resilience, especially community resilience.
6.	Journal of Sustainable Tourism	Understanding visitor–resident relations in overtourism: developing resilience for sustainable tourism	Cheung & Li	2019	Developing resilience in tourism and exploring sustainable degrowth are discussed as potential strategies for long-term tourism growth.
7.	Current Issues in Tourism	Framing overtourism: a critical news media analysis	Phi	2019	Causes of overtourism are largely overlooked and the focus is on reporting tourist numbers and impacts on local.
8.	Current Issues in Tourism	Is ‘overtourism’ a new issue in tourism development or just a new term for an already known phenomenon?	Capocchi et al	2019	This paper aims to answer the question of whether overtourism is a novel issue through an initial exploratory study.
9.	Tourism Planning and Development	Overtourism dystopias and socialist utopias: Towards an urban armature for Dubrovnik	Panayiotopoulos & Pisano	2019	Some tourist spaces need to be reclaimed for locals and open spaces created in local areas
10.	Tourism Planning and Development	Overtourism and Resident Resistance in Budapest	Smith et al	2019	Tourism is often marginal rather than central to residents’ discontent and resistance to developments.

11.	Tourism Planning and Development	Overcrowding, Overtourism and Local Level Disturbance: How Much Can Munich Handle?	Namberger et al	2019	There are different forms of overtourism, and the phenomenon tends to be more complex than the term suggests
12.	Tourism Planning and Development	Non-Institutionalized Forms of Tourism Accommodation and Overtourism Impacts on the Landscape: The Case of Santorini, Greece	Sarantakou & Terkenli	2019	Proliferation of new forms of non-institutionalized tourism accommodation intensifying phenomena of overtourism
13.	Tourism Planning and Development	Beauty and the Beast: A Fairy Tale of Tourismphobia	Gursoy	2019	The logic of appropriateness affects feelings of tourismphobia as tourism growth challenges socially appropriate frames
14.	Tourism Review	Overtourism residents' perceptions of tourism impact as an indicator of resident social carrying capacity – case study of a Spanish heritage town	Gonzalez, Coromina & Gali	2018	Tourism dependence impacts on quality of exchange locals & visitors
15.	International Journal of Tourism Cities	Overtourism and the night-time economy: A case study of Budapest	Pinke-Sziva, Smith, Olt & Berezvai	2019	Overtourism despite its negative impacts contributes to the night-time economy of Budapest
16.	International Journal of Tourism Cities	The co-management and stakeholders theory as a useful approach to manage the problem of overtourism in historical cities – illustrated with an example of Krakow	Plichta	2019	Involvement of all stakeholders in tourism planning and development as a strategy to tackle overtourism in historical cities
17.	International Journal of Tourism Cities	Cruise tourism: the role of shore excursions in the overcrowding of cities	Navarro-Ruiz, Casado-Diaz & Ivars-Baidal	2019	Despite the fact cruising contribute to overtourism, a better distribution flow from a supply perspective would contribute to mitigate the negative impacts
18.	International Journal of Tourism Cities	Overtourism management competencies in Asian urban heritage areas	Jamieson	2019	In some destinations, the lack of skills and competencies of those responsible for managing urban heritage is at the origin of overtourism
19.	International Journal of Tourism Cities	Strategies and measures directed towards overtourism:	Eckert, Zacher, Pechlaner, Namberger & Schmude	2019	Overtourism can be seen as a fundamental issue for tourism development. Engaging all

		a perspective of European DMOs			stakeholders is a promising factor, but also as a challenging task.
20.	International Journal of Tourism Cities	Overcoming “over-tourism”: the closure of Maya Bay	Koh & Fakfare	2019	Importance of stakeholders’ engagement in decision making in overtourism context
21.	International Journal of Tourism Cities	The phenomena of overtourism: a review	Dodds & Butler	2019	Greater political will and actual acknowledgement of the problem, as well as action by all levels of government are the necessary first steps to address overtourism.
22.	International Journal of Tourism Cities	Over-tourism and sustainable consumption of resources through sharing: the role of government	Agyeiwaah,	2019	Role of government plays an important role in ensuring that sustainable consumption is implemented in the context of over-tourism.
23.	International Journal of Tourism Cities	Cities and tourism, a love and hate story; towards a conceptual framework for urban overtourism management	Bouchon & Rauscher	2019	Overtourism is a notion constructed from various aspects, including recently added supply sources such as network hospitality and low-cost carriers
24.	Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes	The UNTOLD story: Event tourism’s negative impact on residents’ community life and well-being	Moisecu, Gica, Coros & Yallop	2019	Events is identified as a contributor of overtourism, and as such impacts negatively on residents’ quality of life
25.	Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes	Fighting overtourism in Lanzarote	Carballo, Leon & Carballo	2019	A sustainable tourism development guideline is identified as a potential strategy to tackle overtourism in Lanzarote
26.	Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes	Community-based ecotourism for preventing overtourism and tourismophobia: Algerian associations’ viewpoints	Ghidouche & Ghidouche	2019	Educating local community as a solution to address overtourism and tourismophobia in unpopular and vulnerable tourist areas

Source: Compiled by the authors

Table 2. Overtourism/tourismphobia/anti-tourism movements

Newspapers	Title (article)	Author(s)	Date	Summary
Guardian	The Guardian view on over-tourism: An unhealthy appetite for travel	Not mentioned	19.08.2018	The desire for the authentic is coming at the expense of the locals. Cities across Europe now regularly see locals take to the streets to protest
Guardian	First Venice and Barcelona: now anti-tourism marches spread across Europe	Will Coldwell	10.08.2017	Locals frustration and spread of tourism marches across Europe
Guardian	Barcelona anti-tourism activist vandalise bikes and bus	Stephen Burgen	01.08.2017	Locals attack tourist bicycles to force them to go
Dailymail	British holidaymakers could be attacked in a serious violent incident if anti-tourism protests continue in Spain	Tom Worden & Julian Robinson	10.08.2017	Safety issues and tourism

Source: Compiled by the authors

Table 3. Archetypes of Locals in Destinations Victim of Overtourism

Archetypes	Title	Source	Title	Author	Date	Summary	Irridex	Story gist	Brand examples
1	Victims	Telegraph	Tourists have turned Oxford into 'hell' local claim	Paris	23.09.17	Visitors disrupting the life of locals	Apathy	Charming and helpless	Calimero
2	Peaceful activists	Guardian	First Venice and Barcelona: now anti-tourism marches spread across Europe	Coldwell	10.08.17	Locals frustration and spread of tourism marches across Europe	Irritation	Raising awareness	Green peace
3	Vandals	Guardian	Barcelona anti-tourism activist vandalise bikes and bus	Burgen	01.08.17	Locals attack tourist bicycles to force them to go	Antagonism	Peaceful but when annoyed retaliate	Hulk
4	Resilient locals	De Gruyter	Lucerne and the impact of Asian group tours	Webber et al	2019	Impact of overtourism and strategy developed by locals to cope with the phenomenon	Irritation	Use external source to get stronger and retaliate	Superman and Kryptonite

Source: Developed by the authors