

TOURISTS GO HOME! EXAMINING ANTITOURISM IN BARCELONA FROM AN EMOTIONS PERSPECTIVE

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In many instances, tourism has begun to be perceived by touristic cities' residents as an important problem. We examine the phenomenon of antitourism and, in particular, the discourses of rejection and resistance against tourism in the city of Barcelona. Previous research has examined residents' attitudes and behaviors towards tourism development from both a cognitive and emotional aspect, but we still lack a more qualitative, in-depth understanding of residents' emotion discourses. Furthermore, for this research, a novel type of dataset has been analyzed—that is, discourses constructed in online media. In particular, the study was based on the analysis of the comment threads of news articles about the touristic impact on Barcelona. In total, 6,916 comments posted in online news articles were examined. This analysis also permitted to observe the interaction between two different actors, the media and the residents, and to see how residents respond to the media's framings about tourism in Barcelona.

Key words: Antitourism; Emotions; Residents attitudes; Online discourses; Barcelona; Media; Emotion discourse

Introduction

Tourism yes but without forgetting the residents of the city. Without residents, the city is just a fictional and charmless film set. (Newspaper *Ultima hora online*, 1/12/2018)

Tourism can have a notable economic and cultural impact on tourist destinations (Young & Markham, 2019). Nevertheless, even being a socio-economic support, tourism does not come without problems (Singh, 2018). The new practices adopted

by the industry have generated more visitors who have occupied and overcrowded several host destinations, leading to saturation in many cases (Alvarez-Sousa, 2018; Butler, 1980; Dioko & Teare, 2017; Martín Martín et al., 2018; Singh, 2018). Tourism has been transforming cities into a “place for consumption” (Chen & Ting, 2019; Young & Markham, 2019), but excessive commercialization of tourist destinations has affected multiple actors, especially residents, and influenced the well-being of the local population.

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Many researchers in this literature use the term of “over-tourism” to describe this situation (for an overview see Capocchi et al., 2019). This term is linked to the excess of tourism that a destination place receives and to the negative consequences arising for the inhabitants. It occurs when tourism “invades” the local community in an unsustainable way and causes discomfort for residents (Beal et al., 2019; Papathanassis, 2017; Seraphin et al., 2019; Singh, 2018). It has been found that when rejection feelings appear within a local community, the benefits of tourism, such as the income it generates, are supplanted by its negative social, environmental, or economic consequences (Dioko & Teare, 2017; Olya et al., 2017; Seraphin et al., 2019). Such perspective that tourism brings along negative implications has produced a critical field of study on tourism impact called antitourism literature, which deals with both the reasons and the behaviors of the antitourism groups (Hughes, 2018; Olya et al., 2017; Papathanassis, 2017; Ramos & Mundet, 2021; Seraphin et al., 2019).

Antitourism movements turn cities into places of protest and conflict (Chen & Ting, 2019; Olya et al., 2017; Owens, 2008; Seraphin et al., 2019; Young & Markham, 2019). Residents’ opposition to tourism has been observed around the world, although the examples of Venice (Seraphin et al., 2019) and Barcelona (Alvarez-Sousa, 2018; Hughes, 2018; Karyotakis et al., 2019; Martín Martín et al., 2018; Zerva et al., 2019) are renowned. Residents justify their resistance to tourism because it can negatively modify the physical, social, and cultural landscape (Dioko, 2017; Dioko & Teare, 2017; Olya et al., 2017), and in consequence their quality of life gets worse (Cummins, 1997; Krupinski, 1980; Wang et al., 2020). Nevertheless, as Papathanassis (2017) emphasized, residents’ perceptions towards tourism are related to what various actors do; for instance, how local administrations manage tourism or how the media represent it. So, on one hand increasing antitourism sentiments and protests against tourism in the cities are attributable to a lack of “adequate understanding of recipient populations” (Ramos & Mundet, 2021, p. 115). On the other hand, the interplay of different actors (residents, tourism industry, local administrations, media, etc.) needs to be considered in order to better understand residents’ stance towards tourism and its consequences.

This study places its emphasis on emotions, since as Zheng et al. (2019) affirmed they “offer another lens of understanding residents’ responses and behaviors” (p. 239). Emotions provide valuable information to understand behaviors, since emotions influence the judgments and decisions of individuals (Ouyang et al., 2017). In fact, since the 1960s there has been a substantial amount of research on residents’ attitudes and perceptions of tourism development, but the role of emotions has received less attention in comparison (Wang et al., 2020; Zheng et al., 2019). In this particular case, we focus on residents’ emotion discourses. Emotion discourse refers to the way people show their emotionality through language, although it may be used for rhetoric purposes—for example, to convey certain emotions to the audience, to convince, to build, or undermine the legitimacy of certain institutions, etc. (Edwards, 1999; Katriel, 2015; Valor et al., 2021). As Ramos and Mundet (2021) explained, “discourse as a production of meaning is not the result of chance” (p. 116). Given the predominantly quantitative approaches when studying residents’ perceptions and emotions towards tourism, by qualitatively exploring these discourses we can achieve a more detailed and in-depth understanding of their causes and the expressed emotions, who they target, and what triggers them, all being elements of residents’ emotional discourse. Furthermore, unlike other studies, our focus is explicitly on the negative emotional discourse of residents and their rejection of tourism.

Furthermore, our methodological approach can provide novel insights. More specifically, we have focused on the comments’ sections of online newspapers. Since online newspapers enable user participation in their commentary and debate spaces, the active audience emerges as a new actor to define public opinion (Iivari, 2015; Tremayne, 2007). Although previous research has examined how media frame tourism and the implications this may have (see, e.g., Hansen, 2020; Phi, 2020; Ramos & Mundet, 2021), what is novel in this study is the focus on the dynamic interaction between media framings and local residents’ framings of tourism in the city. By focusing on the comments thread of online news, we are able to observe not only how tourism is framed in news articles, but also the audience’s reaction to such framings and their

constructor of emotional discourse against tourism in the city.

Barcelona was chosen as the selected context of this study, because it has become the center of acts against massive consumption of tourism. In turn, these incidents have generated media attention and coverage especially in numerous national and also in international newspapers.

The structure of the article is as follows. The next section presents a brief overview of the broad literature on residents' attitudes and behaviors towards tourism with an explicit emphasis on the role of emotions. Then the methodology and main findings are presented. Last, discussion and conclusions are drawn.

Previous Literature on Residents' Attitudes and Behaviors Towards Tourism: The Role of Emotions

There is a vast amount of research on residents' attitudes towards tourism. Different models and theories can be found with an implicit or explicit focus on emotions. First, Doxey (1975) presented the Irritation Index, also known as "Irridex," which examines residents' attitudes in relation to the number of tourists that a community receives. This theory proposes a four-phase model. The first phase, named euphoria, refers to the first contact between residents and the tourists, when the latter are welcome by the former. In the second stage, called apathy, tourists are not a novelty anymore and the relationship between them and residents becomes more formal. In the third stage, the annoyance, the number of tourists grows, and the residents begin to worry about tourist saturation in their cities. Finally, in the last phase, called antagonism, residents openly reject tourists and tourism emerges as a cause for social and personal unrest. Although not explicit, the model assumes that residents experience an array of emotions during the four phases: from happiness and gratitude in the first stage of euphoria to fear, worry, and irritation in later stages.

Another theoretical model of the attitudes of residents is Butler's model (1980) of the life cycle of tourist destinations. Similar to Doxey (1975), Butler (1980) suggested that tourist destinations and the attitude of residents towards tourism go

through different stages, from the initial stages of exploration and involvement to the later stages of stagnation and possible decline. Also, like in Doxey (1975), during Butler's cycle, locals can pass from positive emotions such as euphoria or even indifference to irritation and annoyance towards the last phases of the cycle. Beyond attitudes, there are also other models (Ap & Crompton, 1993; Dogan, 1989) and typologies (Andriotis & Vaughan, 2003; Davis et al., 1988; Fredline & Faulkner, 2000; Ribeiro et al., 2013; Williams & Lawson, 2001) that focus on how residents behave towards tourists. Residents' responses can range from more neutral and passive or tolerant to more intense and aggressive. Table 1 provides an overview of previous research that has classified residents into groups according to the attitudes they adopt towards tourism in their community, while it offers further insights into why residents reject tourism. The most polemic residents have been named Haters (Davis et al., 1988; Fredline & Faulkner, 2000), Innocents (Williams & Lawson, 2001), Economic skeptics (Andriotis & Vaughan, 2003), and Cultural and safety carers (Pavlić et al., 2019). Residents that reject tourism may adopt a withdrawal strategy (Ap & Crompton, 1993) or they are openly hostile and antagonistic towards visitors and tourism (Dogan, 1989).

More recently, the expansion of the informal accommodation sector through platforms such as Airbnb has intensified residents' resistance and hostility against tourists, bringing about a more explicit social contestation through marches, banners, and writings in the street, the formation of neighborhood associations, etc. (Guttentag, 2015; Morales-Pérez et al., 2020). Furthermore, protests have taken place in many countries—for example, in China under the slogan "unwelcome shopping tourism" (Chen & Ting, 2019) or social movements about residents "Right to the City," particularly with regards their right to housing and quality of life (Morales-Pérez et al., 2020, p.45). Situations like this have appeared in different tourism destinations and have given rise to a growing literature on antitourism (Papathanassis, 2017).

The reasons and causes of antitourism depend on the context of the study. Papathanassis (2017) argued that antitourist sentiments emerge in the final phases of the models by Doxey (1975) and Butler (1980) when tourist destinations are already

Table 1
Negative Attitudes of Residents Towards Tourism in Previous Literature

Authors	Previous Empirical Studies
Davis et al. (1988)	16% of sampling in Florida are against tourism because they consider visitors have caused a tax increase. They claim to live better without visitors. The knowledge about the industry it is the principal reason against tourism.
Fredline and Faulkner (2000)	16% of residents are against certain touristic events, highlighting negative consequences to the community, such as environmental damage, noise, the area has negatively changed, traffic jam, etc.
Weaver and Lawton (2001)	One out of three residents' groups (22%) is against visitors; only positive appreciation is employment creation. Most of them are long-term residents with limited contact with tourists. They found socioeconomic characteristic, such as the economic dependence of tourism, as a reason of antitourism.
Williams and Lawson (2001)	One group of residents with little contact or benefit (economic, job opportunities, services progress) from the tourism industry are indifferent towards tourism development.
Andriotis and Vaughan, (2003)	Residents against tourism represent 18% of total; they emphasize negative economic impact caused by tourism in their town.
Brida et al. (2010)	One group of residents (14%) disagrees that tourists have a positive impact with the environment, nor do they benefit residents in a sociocultural way. This group does not have a job in the tourist sector, and they have lived for a long period of time in the area, same as the group shown by Weaver and Lawton (2001).
Ribeiro et al. (2013)	In their study, they do not find out a group of residents as critical as previous research. If we compare it to Andriotis and Vaughan (2003), for example, they would be called "worried socially and environmentally"; or compared to Davis et al. (1988) the so-called "intermediates." This is due, partially, to the fact that the studied destination is in an early tourism development (Butler, 1980; Doxey, 1975); however, they identify a segment (17.6%) the so-called rational residents who recognize the economic benefits of tourism, but are worried about social and environmental problems caused in their community. This group contains more residents involved in the tourism sector professionally; unlike the groups presented by Weaver and Lawton (2001), Williams and Lawson (2001), and Brida et al. (2010).
Monterrubio and Andriotis (2014)	32.5% of residents recognize the negative impact of tourism because of price increases, alcohol drinking, disrespectful tourists, garbage and noise. Economic benefits are identified but are claimed to be wrongly distributed.
Pavlić et al. (2019)	Group called "cultural and safety assistants" (30.3%) is the most critical residents' group as to tourism; they underline sociocultural problems of the massive and out of control tourism instead of benefits they can give. They have always lived in their birth place, same as the group presented by Weaver and Lawton (2001) and Brida et al. (2010).

saturated by tourist flux. Other authors have also pointed that tourists' density and tourists' uncivic behaviors can negatively affect residents' perceptions towards tourism (Lankford & Howard, 1994; Teye et al., 2002; Vargas-Sánchez et al., 2011). Sociodemographic characteristics may also have an impact, such as residents' age (Fredline & Faulkner, 2000; Harrill, 2004; Martín Martín et al., 2018; McGehee & Andereck, 2004; Weaver & Lawton, 2001), whether or not they live in touristic areas of the city (Martín Martín et al., 2018), or their level of education (Andriotis & Vaughan, 2003; Teye et al., 2002; Weaver & Lawton, 2001). Furthermore, other authors suggested that antitourism sentiments tend to emerge for those residents that neither they nor their community obtain clear benefits from tourism (e.g., economic benefits)

(Andereck et al., 2005; Harrill, 2004; McGehee & Andereck, 2004; Vargas-Sánchez et al., 2011; Zheng et al., 2019). However, Papathanassis (2017) emphasized that the reasons behind antitourism sentiments vary from destination to destination and, in some cases, tourism density and tourists' misbehavior may have to effect, while in others they are not the source of the problem. Instead, Papathanassis (2017) placed more focus on the inefficient management of tourist destinations, media's sensationalism about bad behaving tourists, and political opportunism given that tourism can become an ideal scapegoat for different socioeconomic problems. Olya et al.'s study (2017) is especially useful in that regard as it examined tourism perceptions and antitourism sentiments in relation to tourism's economic (e.g., local economy,

employment opportunities), environmental (e.g., traffic congestion, air and noise pollution, water shortage, reduction of green space), cultural (e.g., cultural exchange, cultural activities and opportunities), and social impacts (e.g., links of tourism with crime, prostitution, smuggling).

With regards to emotions of antagonistic residents, Butler's (1980) and Doxey's (1975) classic approaches are mainly theoretical—that is, they do not empirically delve into the emotions supposedly experienced and narrated by residents towards tourism, nor do they identify each of these emotions. The antitourism literature largely assumes that residents experience negative emotions towards tourism, but the focus of this literature is mostly on the reasons and causes of residents' antagonism. In that sense, the literature on emotional solidarity and emotional well-being and tourism perceptions can be useful to further understand residents' rejection of tourism from an emotional perspective. Woosnam and Norman (2010) presented the emotional solidarity scale that included three aspects (emotional closeness, sympathetic understanding, and welcoming nature) to explain the potential relationship that can emerge between residents and tourists. Emotional solidarity has been found to play an important role in the formation of positive attitudes towards tourists (Hasani et al., 2016; Lai & Hitchcock, 2017; Li & Wan, 2017; Wang et al., 2020). Wang et al. (2020) went step further and included emotional well-being as a predictor of residents' positive attitudes towards tourists. Emotional well-being has been extremely studied in previous research in relation to the notion of quality of life in general (Cummins, 1997; Flanagan, 1978; Krupinski, 1980) and in tourism and travel in particular (Lai et al., 2021; McCabe & Johnson, 2013; Wang et al., 2020). According to Diener (1984), emotional well-being is how people feel about their lives, whereas Wang et al. (2020) framed it as people's satisfaction with regards to their emotional life.

In order to measure emotional well-being, Zhu and Fan (2018) discussed it in terms of six emotions (happy, tired, sad, meaningful, pain, stressed) felt by travelers. In a similar line, McCabe and Johnson (2013) measured emotional well-being of social tourists as the positive (happy, enjoying life) and negative affect (sad, depressed)

experienced because of their travel. Regarding the emotional well-being of local residents, some authors also measured specific emotions such as happiness, love, gratefulness, anger, fear, and sadness (Zheng et al., 2019). Others (Wang et al., 2020) focused on leisure and spiritual well-being without discussing specific emotions at play. A full understanding of the role of emotions in relation to residents' attitudes and behaviors towards tourism requires to explore both the wide array of emotions expressed by them (positive and negative) and the different areas of concern (e.g., leisure and spiritual). Wang et al. (2020) pointed out that future research should take more into account cases of negative impacts of residents' well-being. Munanura et al. (2021), building on Cognitive Appraisal Theory, argued that "residents' emotional feelings toward tourists result from a mental evaluation of how tourism is perceived to impact one's wellbeing" (p. 1). So, in cases of perceived negative touristic impact by residents, like in the antitourism field, there will be a close relationship between the dissatisfaction experienced by residents, the negative emotions felt (or at least claimed to be felt), and the negative impact perceived, not only on the individual itself but also on his/her community and city.

Given the predominant quantitative approach in this field, a qualitative approach can reveal a greater diversity of negative emotions beyond the ones included in previous studies (McCabe & Johnson, 2013; Zheng et al., 2019; Zhu & Fan, 2018) and a more detailed and qualitative understanding of the already identified emotions. Moreover, a qualitative approach offers a clearer idea of how different elements connect in the production of emotion discourses of tourism rejection by residents: the wide array of emotions expressed in the discourse of residents, incidents and actors involved that elicit the claimed emotions (tourists, government, local and international media, residents), areas of life affected (work, leisure, family, health, etc.), and impact on various levels (on the individual resident, on significant others, on the neighborhood, on the city, on the country, on the environment, etc.). These interrelations can become clearer as we can differentiate, for instance, between the target, trigger, and cause of residents' negative emotions (see Fig. 1).

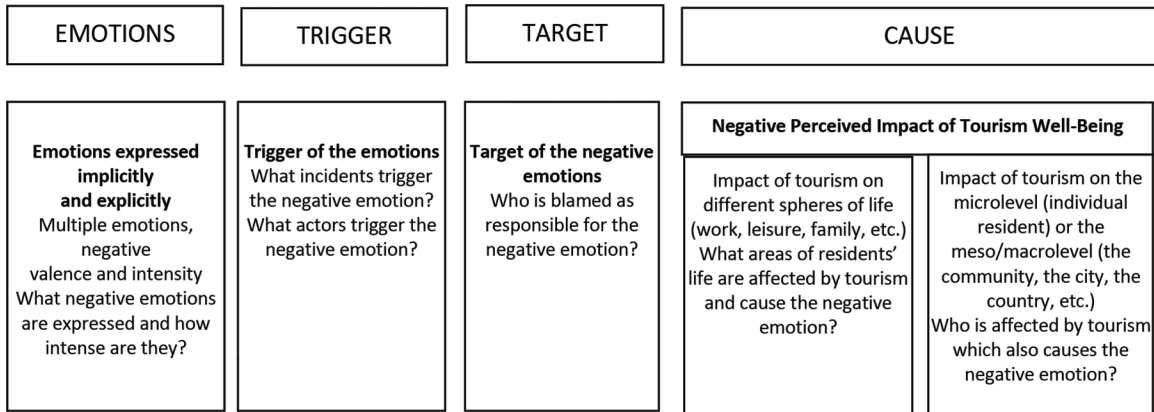


Figure 1. Emotion discourse of tourism rejection by residents.

Methodology

This study was based on the analysis of comment threads of news articles covering stories about how tourism has affected the city of Barcelona and residents' reactions against tourism. The comments sections of online newspapers and social media is a research context that has attracted much attention in recent years (Kothari et al., 2013; Schuth et al., 2007; Weber, 2014) because on one hand they offer insights into popular opinions on certain "hot" topics and, on the other hand, they allow observing the public dialogue that takes place. Furthermore, comments section can be seen as yet another example of agency and how readers engage in news content production as an active audience (Miloni et al., 2012). Although online newspapers' comments section may accumulate hundreds of comments including "full of replication, extreme views, petty arguments and spam" (Llewellyn et al., 2014, p.

599), they also can provide an overview of the conversation taking place composed of crowd-sourced information aggregation. Furthermore, feelings expressed in public forums of social networks and online media can offer insights to the public opinion (Iivari, 2015; Lee et al., 2019).

The Factiva database was used to find all news related to any protests and debates regarding tourism in Barcelona. Although Factiva is a database that is used normally for communication and journalism studies, it has been previously used in consumer and marketing research (Humphreys, 2010; Valor et al., 2021). Initially, different keyword combinations were employed, although the final set of keywords used were "Tourismophobia; Anti-tourism; Protests; Barcelona" [in Spanish] (see Table 2). The variety of combination of keywords intended to ensure that the search would include all relevant news articles. Furthermore, certain keywords such

Table 2
Search in Factiva With Keywords Combinations [Keywords Originally in Spanish]

Keywords	Results
"Anti-tourism and Barcelona"	93
"Anti-tourism and Protests and Barcelona"	14
"Anti-tourism and Tourismophobia and Barcelona"	42
"Tourismophobia and Barcelona"	2,901
"Tourismophobia and Protests and Barcelona"	337
"Tourismophobia and Anti-tourism and Protests and Barcelona"	9
Total news articles	3396
Total news articles after removing duplicates	1,439
News articles excluded (unavailable, no comments section, no comments section publicly available)	1,137
Final dataset news articles	302



Figure 2. Street writing on a city tourist map. Source: Authors' own fieldwork.

as antitourism were identified as relevant during an initial overview of articles, which led to additional rounds of search and scrutiny. Also, even though initially the search parameters were set for a much longer period, the results were not relevant so the search was finally focused on 1 year (3/1/2017–3/1/2018) because this is when residents' protests were intensified and discomfort against tourism became more evident. Most news articles were published during the summer period, which is the high season for tourists, whereas certain events (e.g., the attack of a local political group on a touristic bus, putting graffiti and banners around the city) (see

Fig. 2), took place during the same period, generating media coverage and attention. Most of the news articles are from Spanish newspapers, both national and local.

The following screening process was followed to define the dataset for analysis. First, 3,396 articles were identified/download and once duplicates were removed 1,439 news articles remained. Out of 1,439 news articles, 302 composed the final set of news articles. The rest were excluded either because they were not available or because they had no comments section available or publicly available. The 302 news articles included in total 6,916 comments that were the dataset used for analysis. Table 3 presents the five news articles with most comments. It is worth mentioning that Factiva only provides access to the content of news articles but not to the comments section. Thus, once the news articles were identified, one of the authors searched for all the comments posted separately and saved them in a word file together with the news article they referred to. This served as the dataset for analysis.

Once the final dataset was identified, qualitative content analysis was first done separately by each of the authors and then jointly. Content analysis is commonly used in communication theory, particularly as a quantitative analysis approach that aims to systematize large amounts of data (Mayring, 2004). However, in line with Valor et al. (2021), the analysis of emotion discourse requires more than “quantifying the frequency of emotion words” because it “can take on a myriad of subtle and implicit forms” (p. 641). Thus, the authors opted for qualitative content analysis to ensure a more qualitative procedure of the data interpretation (Mayring, 2004). This analytical strategy involves the establishment of inductive

Table 3
Top Five News Articles [Titles Originally in Spanish]

Date	Title	Newspapers	No. of Comments
8/14/2017	How many tourists fit in Spain?	<i>El País</i>	482
8/3/2017	The abertzales unit to the anti-tourism campaign of radical Catalans	<i>El Mundo</i>	463
6/29/2017	The business sector rebels	<i>La Vanguardia</i>	263
8/8/2017	The leftist CUP abandons Colau and asks for the nationalization of hotels and Port Aventura	<i>El Mundo</i>	230
5/28/2017	Tourismophobia, the least friendly face of a million euros industry	<i>El País</i>	191

category development, its revision during the analysis in order to finally reach a higher level of abstraction (Mayring, 2004; Vaismoradi et al., 2013).

All three authors were involved in the coding process to establish patterns and relationships among the emerging themes. This allowed for triangulation since the bias from one single researcher and a single approach may be overcome (Patton, 2002). All the comments were read multiple times to focus on those that denoted rejection towards tourism, placing special emphasis on the emotions deployed by the participants in the online comment threads. Regarding emotions, comments may explicitly express an emotion such as anger or frustration (e.g., “I cannot stand tourists, just seeing them frustrates me”) or expressions that denote certain emotions in more implicit manners (e.g., “All the drunk English, German and Dutch that leave the city full of s.t”). Open codes were first identified. Initial open codes were emergent, in vivo codes (Berg, 2009). In vivo codes are literal terms that a study’s participants use, instead of theoretical constructs. Through axial coding, some patterns and broader themes were established. For instance, some broader themes would be about the emotions expressed and their diversity (anger, stress, frustration, resignation, etc.), the incidents and images that produced negative emotions to residents and were described in their discourse (drunk tourists, busy streets, noise, dirty pavements), the target of the emotion (e.g., the tourist visiting, the potential tourist that would visit, tourism as an economic activity, the government), or the areas affected (e.g., leisure, work, health, etc.). Data analysis continued until theoretical saturation was achieved. Theoretical saturation was linked to the frequency of emergence of certain themes in the data, which is a common criterion in qualitative content analysis (Vaismoradi et al., 2013).

The data analysis was carried out in the original language in which the comments were written. In order to translate the comments included in the article, a collaborative and iterative translation was used (Douglas & Craig, 2007): The three authors have an advanced level in English, so the intensity of the comments was interpreted from Spanish/Catalan into English.

Findings

This section presents the main themes of the analysis carried out and is structured in three main parts that “conceptually” saturate the discourses of tourism rejection by placing special emphasis on the emotions expressed. First, a comparison is presented of how news articles frame tourism in Barcelona and how residents react to these. The second part of the findings focuses on the emotion discourses of residents and disintegrates the different elements of these discourses (emotions expressed, target, trigger and causes).

Media Framings of Tourism in Barcelona: Tourism as a Savior and the Tourismophobic Resident

A common theme in different comments is the critique of how media represent and ideologically position in favor of tourism. Employing the term *tourismophobia* to refer to any isolated incident, organized collective action, or opinion against tourism and how it affects the city of Barcelona is in itself a dialectic strategy adopted by the media. Tourismophobia is a linguistic blend of the words tourism and phobia. The use of the term phobia is precisely caviled at because residents consider that a certain meaning structure is constructed and projected where the tourist becomes victimized and bullied, whereas at the same time residents are presented unreasonably fearful of what tourism represents. As Ramos and Mundet (2021) well placed it: “the media’s focus and narratives allowed the tourism industry to shift itself from being the cause to the victim” (p. 126). In the new term, the emotion (phobia) is emphasized against the lack of a solid rationale that would explain its emergence. In fact, this term first appeared in a Catalan newspaper, and expanded all around the world (Ramos & Mundet, 2021):

Tourismophobia: nasty neologism invented to try to demonize those who raise their hands against the overwhelming tourist massification in Spain. (Comment to news article, *El Mundo*, 8/16/2017)

As the comment shows, residents reject the use of the term and the associations it brings. Furthermore, in the case of news articles about the attack to a touristic bus in Barcelona they emphasize

in their comments that the media draw attention to violent incidents such as the aforementioned, whereas there is less coverage on peaceful marches and other activities such as the Poblenou neighborhood's initiative to create a platform against over-tourism called "*Nos plantamos*" [We stand up]. According to many comments, there is a conscious effort by the media to criminalize and discredit residents so that their protests become delegitimized: "If you complain then I call you tourismophobic which rhymes with xenophobic. Pathetic!" (Comment to news article, *El País*, 12/16/2017).

The following news article can be a good example of media's use of the term tourismophobia and how it is presented as the real problem that the city has to deal with:

Mayor Ada Colau has just responded to small and medium-sized businessmen who wrote to her a couple of sundays ago in order to demand that she commits to end once and for all with the violent drift of the growing tourismophobia. The municipal government will use all the means at its disposal to prevent events such as those that have occurred from being repeated", can be read in the letter signed by Colau herself in reference to the assault against a Tourist Bus perpetrated two weeks ago. (News article, Colau promises businessmen that she will stop tourismophobia, *La Vanguardia*, 8/9/2017)

The use of words is again strategic in order to convey the message. For example, the word "violent" is frequently used, whereas the news article does not talk in general about the tourist industry, but instead focuses on the demands of small and medium sized firms, the most vulnerable firms of the industry. In one part of the article a quote from the businessmen that signed the letter to Colau is also provided: "They have to understand that we are also part of this city, that we pay all our taxes here, that we are not anonymous investment funds."

The media present the tourist industry as the "savior: that can counteract the negative effects of the still felt economic crisis. The references to the positive economic impact of tourism are very common in many news articles: for example, "constantly growing industry," "creator of employment," "growth engine," "tourism's contribution to National GDP" are only some of them. This provokes the reactions of residents with comments such as the following:

Try to survive in this city that the tourist industry has turned into a theme park only for tourists and where the benefits of the vaunted 11% of the economic activity are not distributed and have a very negative impact on the day to day lives of 89% of the rest of the people who live in Barcelona. (Comment to news article, *La Vanguardia*, 8/9/2017)

The media render discourses that oppose tourism as tainted with negative connotations and the wrong, irrational and radical option:

The challenge for many destinations is to combat another even more damaging scourge: tourismophobia. That feeling of rejection towards visitors can kill the success of tourism. (News article, *El País*, 1/20/2018)

At the same time, they emphasize tourism's economic importance for the country. Many residents react to such framings by participating in the comments section providing their own discourses, while arguing that the media do not provide all the information they should.

Emotion Discourses: Negative Emotions and Their Triggers, Target, and Causes

The data analysis revealed a wide diversity of negative emotions. Our qualitative approach allows not only to identify this diversity, but also to explore how they are expressed and dialectically used and how they are contextualized and justified. Table 4 offers some examples of the analysis that took place.

To identify the main causes of negative emotions we were inspired by the Cognitive Appraisal Theory (CAT) similar to previous research (Munanura et al., 2021; Watson & Spence, 2007; Zheng et al., 2019). According to Munanura et al. (2021), "emotions are outcomes of a cognitive appraisal process wherein individuals evaluate the positive or negative impacts of a particular stimulus (e.g. an event such as tourism or people such as tourists) on well-being" (p. 4). We identified three main categories of impact on residents' well-being that would constitute the cause of their negative emotions. These impacts include the microlevel (or else, residents' personal well-being) and the macrolevel (where the impact on residents is more indirect) (see Fig. 3).

Table 4
How Negative Emotions Emerge in the Emotion Discourse

Example of Comment	Emotions: What Emotions Are Expressed?	Target: Who Is the Target of Such Emotions?	Trigger: What Incident(s) Trigger(s) the Emotion?
The massive tourism needs to be stopped. Rent prices rise and neighbors of a lifetime are sent away. (Comment to News Article, <i>Diari Ara</i> , 5/5/2017).	Sadness, Despair	Massive tourism	Gentrification
They are evicting half of the people, well all the flats on rent. The city council should do something and stop loose talking. If they do not, we will go against tourism. It is already happening (Comment to News Article, <i>El Periódico</i> , 6/3/2017).	Anger, Despair	Local government/City Hall	Evictions of locals from flats
And what if they start to fine them every time they dirty all our neighborhoods with their trash? I do not believe that absolutely nobody sees them doing it. (Comment to News Article, <i>El Periódico</i> , 7/30/2017).	Anger, Frustration	Local government/City Hall	Dirty streets
Tourism only makes noise, smells like vomit, trash, dirty and implies cost for the residents (Comment to News Article, <i>El Economista</i> , 8/5/2017).	Anger, Frustration, Disgust	Tourists	Dirty streets
Let's see if we understand each other. This is not about hating tourists. They are not the ones to blame. The owners of flats that speculate and kick us, the locals, outside Barcelona. (Comment to News Article, <i>La Vanguardia</i> , 8/9/2017).	Anger, Frustration, Fear	Speculators of tourist flats	Evictions of locals from flats

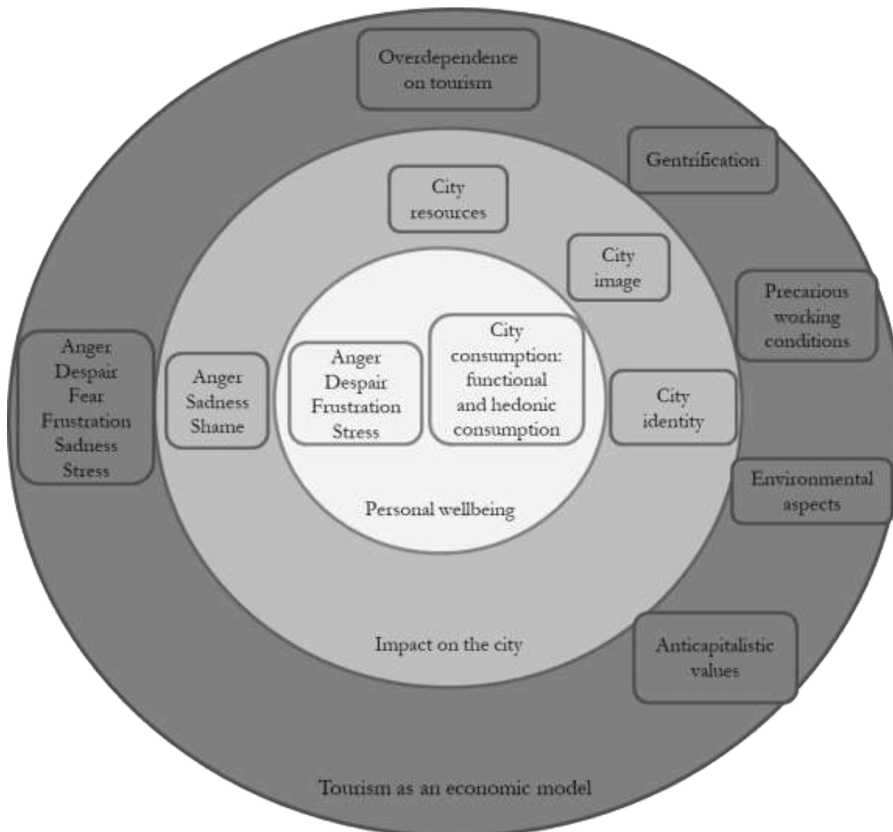


Figure 3. Negative emotions and their causes: The impact of tourism.

In the latter category, residents perceive a direct impact on their neighborhood, city, country, etc., which, in turn, also affects their own individual well-being.

Impact on Residents' Personal Well-Being. Residents' discourses are centered on how the overconsumption of the city by tourists affects them on a personal level by reducing their well-being. Well-being has a cognitive component that relates to life satisfaction and an affective component that relates to feelings such as happiness (Iyer & Muncy, 2016). On a similar note, our findings suggest that overtourism hinders residents from consuming their city, whereas it also has an emotional impact on them. Well-being not only includes objective living conditions, as basic material needs, but also includes the perception of residents about the circumstances of their life (Cummins, 1997).

Tourism appears to affect both the functional and the hedonic consumption of the city by its residents. Functional consumption encompasses everything that an individual needs to acquire and use in order to carry on with his/her everyday life (e.g., shop, work, take care of the family, etc.). For example, a resident in any city will need to use different spaces, such as urban streets, and resources, such as public transport, in order to go to work. What often emerges is that tourism makes life in the city complicated because residents cannot access and use spaces and resources that rank high in terms of necessity like transport, hospitals, or markets:

If you live in Barcelona, tourism is just unbearable. If you have to move around the city centre, you have to do it like a bulldozer, because they do not let you move forward! In La Boqueria [a central market in Barcelona that has become a tourist sightseeing] it is impossible to buy anything as it is always full of gawking tourists who cannot stop taking photographs. In many streets that surround the Rambla [central street in Barcelona] it is simply impossible to sleep, because of so many tourists that party at night. This is about neighbors fed up with not being able to have a semi-normal life. (Comment to news article, *El Huffpost*, 8/3/2017)

I am sick of not being able to get on bus 92 because it comes down from Parc Güell busted with tourists. (Comment to news article, *El Periódico*, 7/29/2017)

I suffer it myself when I go by public transport to my work in Barcelona and masses of beach tourists fill the wagons until they stop breathing. (Comment to news article, *El Mundo*, 3/9/2017)

All of the aforementioned quotes indicate residents' emotional accounts from their coexistence with tourism. Expressions such as "I suffer," "I am sick of," and "fed up of not being able to have a semi normal life" offer good insights on the frustration and anger that residents claim to feel, which frames their rejection of tourism. Other emotions include fear (e.g., because gentrification would affect them directly) or even disgust (e.g., dirty streets, vomits, public urination, etc.). According to Nuvolati (2003), the populations that live and/or visit a city have to compete for the same resources, which may result in conflicts among them. Here we see how residents complain for not being able to lead a "normal life," providing various examples from not being able to go to the market, to sleep at night, or go to work. This situation is presented more dramatically for those residents that live and work in the city center, although it becomes extended to the entire city as the following quote describes. Tourism influences on all these aspects of their lives reducing different aspects of their well-being, including emotional well-being:

I am sick of the fact that after the [neighborhoods of] Gothic, Born, Poble-Sec and Sagrada Familia, now Sant Pau that has succumbed, filling up with tourists, restaurants of defrosted bread, and tourist flats that make noise every night. That is what I suffer every day . . . they are things that have happened to me, and therefore I can say it first-hand. (Comment to news article, *La Vanguardia*, 6/29/2017)

The language and figures of speech used are particularly indicative of the animosity of residents. Tourism is metaphorically parallelized to an "enemies' invasion" similar to the study of Martinotti (1999), who argued that the residents of a city could feel excluded due to the invasion of other populations. For example, the previous quote narrates how yet another neighborhood has "succumbed" to tourists, whereas in other quotes residents describe themselves as survivors of a war that takes a heavy toll on them. Some of them describe how the city became impossible to live in, not only because

of aforementioned conflicts, but also because it became far too expensive for them:

Barcelona became an awful, impossible place for normal citizens with normal salaries (us, we just had to go. . . .) (Comment to news article, *La Vanguardia*, 8/2/2017)

Besides functional consumption of the city, hedonic consumption appears to be largely affected as well. Hedonic consumption refers to the enjoyment of the city, its spaces and resources. Residents claim that overcrowding does not allow them to enjoy their city, full of tourists, and some of them had to leave the city, as the previous comment explains. Not only they cannot enjoy emblematic spaces of the city, such as the Sagrada Família or Parc Güell, which are impossible to visit, but also they cannot relax and entertain themselves in many other areas like parks, museums, pedestrian streets, beaches, etc., due to the high number of visitors. Different authors have linked emotional well-being to leisure (Cummins, 1997; Flanagan, 1978; Krupinski, 1980), so hedonic consumption of the city becomes a concept worth exploring when antitourism sentiments emerge:

You cannot form queues to enter an emblematic building let's say Gaudi's buildings, to walk around the city centre or walk anywhere. The city is always crowded with people. (Comment to news article, *El País*, 14/08/2017)

Residents' incapacity to consume their city has emotional implications and many express indignation and resentment in their comments. Dealing with overtourism on a daily basis appears to generate feelings of stress, anger, anxiety, and despair. Such emotions emerge because residents perceive a direct harm on their emotional well-being. Although some of the findings are not new (e.g., limited access to infrastructures), we employ the terms of functional and hedonic consumption of the city, because we consider residents to be consumers of the city together with tourists.

Impact on the City. Here, three main themes have been identified with regards to the negative impact of tourism on the city level. In turn, these aspects also affect residents' well-being. The first theme is

related to how city resources are managed, the second theme is about the city's degraded image, and the third theme about how the city lost identity and authenticity. Once again, their comments are emotionally framed.

The first theme is related to the previous theme—an overcrowded city by tourists makes access to city's resources problematic (e.g., residents that cannot get on buses full of tourists, traffic jams, etc.). Previous research also points to this problem when the demand for certain destinations is excessive (Armstrong & Kern, 2011; Beeton & Benfield, 2002; Medway et al., 2010; Nuvolati, 2003; Wearing & Archer, 2001). But here, residents' indignation and anger also stem from the fiscal conflict manifested (Nuvolati, 2003), since they claim that all resources are financed and maintained with the taxes paid by residents, although different populations (e.g., tourists, commuters, residents etc.) are using them:

Let's not forget that public transport is subsidized: we pay it with our taxes and now it has become unbearable to get on the metro. We are also the ones supporting the maintenance of beaches and other services that tourists use! (Comment to news article, *El Mundo*, 9/3/2017)

In addition to the problems mentioned before, residents express anger and frustration in their comments, because not only do they suffer the consequences of tourism, but also as citizens they cannot question how the resources of the city are used. The conflict emphasized here is between their obligations as residents (paying taxes) and their level of participation in the decision making regarding the city (which resources should be financed, who has access to resources, etc.). This emphasizes once again their feelings of powerlessness and expressions of discontent and indignation.

The degraded city image because of tourism has also led to much discussion. Previous research has linked the concept of city image to the associations, meanings, and images in relation to the city (Avraham, 2004). For Smith (2005), building the city image involves the deliberate configuration and representation of the city in order to raise economic and cultural capital (p. 399). A positive city image is built on sporting and cultural events, landmarks, movies, and history (Avraham, 2004; Richards &

Wilson, 2004) as well as its residents and their lifestyle practices (Jansson, 2003). Ironically, the projection of a positive city image has been studied as a way to establish tourist attraction (Paddison, 1993; Richards & Wilson, 2004; Smith, 2005). However, here it is argued that tourism has a severe negative impact, especially in the aesthetics and the cleanness of the city (Paddison, 1993). Similar to previous research (see Fredline & Faulkner, 2000; Monterrubio & Andriotis, 2014), several comments criticize the noise pollution, carelessness, and filth generated by tourists, offering a vivid image that appeals to the different human senses. Emotions of anger, pain, and shame become visible, as the residents narrate how their city is despoiled by the tourism industry:

Well to me . . . I can only see how bad the streets smell [because of tourists]. (Comment to news article, *La Vanguardia*, 6/29/2017)

Beaches flooded with sewage and pollution and garbage everywhere. But at the moment, it is a sin to criticize tourism in this country. (Comment to news article, *El Mundo*, 9/3/2017)

These comments focus not only on the quantity but also on the “quality” of the tourism received, pointing out the lack of civility observed. Uncivic behavior has been raised in previous research as one of the causes of antitourism (Papathanassis, 2017). But the problem here is also that tourism becomes part of what the city is, so tourists and their behavior also define the quality, aesthetics, and attractiveness of the city. Such observation is line with the vicious circle by Russo (2002), who explained how tourism could contribute to the decline of certain tourist attractions.

Finally, residents “grieve” in their comments for the lost identity of their city. A cultural conflict emerges as local identity and culture is not safeguarded (Nuvolati, 2003). Most of the comments aim to show shame and frustration, how the city’s authenticity has been lost and, in accordance, they often employ the terms “cartoon” or “theme park” to describe Barcelona. Another comment argues that touristic cities like Barcelona have been transformed into theaters (Comment to news article, *ABC*, 8/29/2017). Tourists have traditionally looked for authentic experiences while they traveled (Brida

et al., 2012), so staged “authentic backstages” were offered to cover these needs (MacCannell, 2002). Sometimes this can be dangerous, since harmful practices can be used to promote some tourist places (Kifle & Tensay, 2017). This implied that there were still spatial and symbolic boundaries between the authentic and the staged. However, respondents in their comments cry out against the commodified authenticity of their city, an oxymoron that translates in complete lack of authenticity of the city. To argue that authenticity is lost, residents articulate the notion of authenticity in terms of traditions, history, and human networks. Therefore, Barcelona has stopped being authentic because its old neighborhoods have lost their charm, because local shops and restaurants have disappeared, and because the residents need to move outside the city due to increasing prices. In turn, all these translate into emotional discourses of grief, sadness, and nostalgia, and are related to the city residents’ own personal attachment to their city and their own identity construction on that basis (Hernández et al., 2007; Nuvolati, 2003):

In the Ramblas of Barcelona, for example, shops and businesses that have been there forever (with more than 100 years of history, even) have been forced to close because they do not have clients. People from Barcelona no longer go there, there are only tourists, thousands of tourists not interested in their business. How sad is this. (Comment to news article, *El Mundo*, 05/11/2017)

As a Barcelonian I do not recognise my own city. The most emblematic neighborhoods such as the Gothic, the Ribera, the Ramblas, Sant Antoni, the Barceloneta. . . There? I do not come even close by. They are unrecognizable, they have lost all their charm, they are ugly, unrecognizable. (Comment to news article, *ABC*, 8/3/2017)

Tourism as an Economic Model. The third set of reasons mainly relate to macrocriticisms of the touristic model adopted. These aspects also have an impact on the quality of life of the inhabitants of Barcelona. First of all, the environmental and social unsustainability of tourism as an economic activity is highlighted. Here comments against tourism are largely focused on the country’s natural resources and how they are wasted to satisfy tourists’ needs. Although arguments may be based on a rational

basis (e.g., economic and environmental consequences of tourism in the long term), the language employed is once again highly emotional:

Our Country has become a wasteland. (Comment to news article, *El País*, 8/14/2017)

Spain is prone to suffer periods of drought. . . . Many aquifers are in danger. There you add the great water demand by millions of tourists who want well-watered golf courses and large pools for water games. This is the great risk, the environmental impact that nobody wants to talk about. (Comment to news article, *El Mundo*, 0/3/2017)

Strongly agree, a modern country cannot be based on tourism. We have become cheap waiters, exploited and poorly paid. (Comment to news article, *EFE*, 8/9/2017)

First, emotions are used to make patriotic cultural linkages where tourists are presented as the outsiders/attackers/enemies and the tourism industry as an exploitative business that harms the country. Residents clearly employ spatial politics and argue for the defense of their country and its limited resources (Varman & Belk, 2009). Their discourse aims to stir emotions, by displaying their own love, loyalty, and pride for their country and their resentment and hostility against tourism and tourists. For instance, in many comments it is argued that the economic overdependence of the country on tourism makes it vulnerable and it not viable for the long term also; it is presented as not allowing the country to explore its fullest potential.

Second, the aforementioned comment also aims to indicate the paradox of tourism previously highlighted by Russo (2002): tourism may destroy those assets that make the destination attractive. Beyond that, a more general discussion regarding the global environmental impact of the present touristic model is also carried out—for example, its share on global emissions and climate change, which has been raised in previous research (see, e.g., Cohen et al., 2014).

Additionally, similarly to previous work (Morales-Pérez et al., 2020), tourism is criticized as an economic model because of other negative externalities, namely leading to gentrification and offering precarious jobs. Gentrification has broader social implications as it implies the exclusion and

“disenfranchisement of the local community” (Nuvolati, 2003, p. 74). The increase of the cost of living due to tourism has been frequently raised in other studies, particularly in the antitourism field (Castillo et al., 2015). Also, Krupinski (1980), explained the importance of work and housing and how they impact perceived quality of life. For Flanagan (1978), all these relate also to “material well-being,” which we claim affects the emotional well-being of residents.

Previous research findings have linked gentrification to the expansion of Airbnb claiming that it also produces a process of collective displacement where residents are being evicted or kicked out (Cócola, 2016). Therefore, as Gotham (2005) suggested, gentrification needs to be situated within larger political and economic processes. Although Airbnb is not always explicitly evoked in residents’ discourse, tourism and gentrification are intertwined and presented as a matter of social injustice and inequality in their comments. Emotional discourses are again employed (e.g., “tourism is a plague”) but here in order to show an adverse ideological positioning against the negative consequences of tourism on a broader economic, social and environmental level:

Price increase, stress all year. (Comment to news article, *El Mundo*, 8/4/2017)

Tourism is a scorched earth approach. It impoverishes and gentrifies. . . . It is a plague. (Comment to news article, *El País*, 12/16/2017)

Furthermore, many comments aim to counter argue that “tourism generates employment” by pointing out that these jobs tend to be temporary and badly paid. From a political point of view tourism is claimed to generate unfair wealth distribution where the “elites” (e.g., corporations and public administrations) financially benefit from the rise of tourism but workers do not (Ribeiro et al., 2013). Residents on other occasions have also been against tourism due to the poor distribution of benefits (Teye et al., 2002; Zheng et al., 2019):

“It is worth it,” ridiculous tourist tax, like the wages and working conditions that they generate . . . they create “their” wealth at everyone’s expense and they try to make us believe that it is ours when

the only thing that is ours is the costs and inconvenience. (Comment to news article, *La Vanguardia*, 6/29/2017)

In any case, it is important to note that these comments have taken place during a period where Spaniards still felt the effects of the economic crisis that severely hit the country. During this period, there has been much discussion regarding which should be the “right” economic growth model for Spain. In this context, Spaniards reject an economic model that is overdependent on tourism since it cannot make Spain a solid and growing economy. For example, a dramatic tone is employed in one of the comments to emphasize the magnitude of the problem since “when tourism goes down we will have another monumental crisis and this time it will be worse . . . we must stop looking the other way . . . a day will come that we will live in chaos” (Comment to news article, *The Confidential*, 8/6/2017).

Background on Barcelona

According to the 2018 Global Destination Cities Index, Barcelona is one of the top 20 visited cities in the world with a total of 8.69 million of overnight visitors per year, while the population of the city is 1.6 million (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2018). However, according to recent reports of the Ayuntamiento de Barcelona (2016), tourism is the second greatest concern for residents, right after unemployment and working conditions. This showed a growing antitourism sentiment during the last years. Although Barcelona is not the only Spanish city where this happens, it is one of the cities where more protests against mass tourism have taken place over the last few years. In recent years, many residents have publicly protested against tourism. This included various peaceful marches against tourism, as well as more radical incidents such as the attack to a tourist bus and punctures to tourist bikes or street wall writings (see Figure 2) (Franch, 2017; Levante, 2017; Ordiz, 2017; Zamorano, 2017). Also, some of the residents have created associations to organize themselves.

Hence, in the case of Barcelona, many residents are active and open about their rejection of tourism which in turn has attracted media attention so many

news articles have been written about this issue (see also Ramos & Mundet, 2021).

Discussion and Future Research

Exploring residents’ emotion discourse is useful in order to get more insights on why the “geographies of resistance” are created (Morales-Pérez et al., 2020). If we only base our interpretations on more classic frameworks (Butler, 1975; Dogan, 1989) we could conclude that this may be a natural consequence of Barcelona being in an advanced state of tourism development. However, Papathanassis (2017) argued that other destinations in a similar state of tourist development do not face similar issues. Similar to previous research on anti-tourism, we found that the reasons against tourism have to do with the negative impact of tourism on the city—economic, environmental, cultural, and social (Olya et al., 2017). Nevertheless, more than that, residents express through their discourse their deteriorated emotional well-being in relation to their life in the city: how they feel about their lives (Diener, 1984) and how unsatisfied they are with their emotional life (Wang et al., 2020). Their dissatisfaction is related with a more direct negative impact of tourism on themselves (microlevel), as well as its perceived negative impact on their city and country (macrolevel).

Residents expressed a wide array of negative emotions from fear and anger to disgust, sadness, and despair. Exploring residents’ emotion discourses allowed us to disintegrate it into different elements and identify not only the diverse emotions expressed, but also what triggered each emotion, who it targeted, and what was the cause. Such insights cannot be easily gained when we adopt a more quantitative approach. For example, residents may express anger and frustration because they cannot enjoy their city, sadness and nostalgia for Barcelona’s lost authenticity and identity, shame for its degraded image, or even resentment for the long-term negative impact of the touristic model, juxtaposed to the love and loyalty displayed towards the *patria*. The triggers can also vary. In their discourses, residents narrate different situations from being in a bus full of tourists or walking in the streets full of empty alcohol bottles or passing by a local store that now has a sign “It is

transferred” because the owner could not afford the increasing rent. Acknowledging these elements can be of use for future qualitative and quantitative studies that seek to increase our “understanding of recipient populations” (Ramos & Mundet, 2021, p. 115). They can also be of use for local administrations that need to address residents’ discontent and establish communication channels with them.

An important aspect to be raised here is the issue of empowerment. Residents’ emotion discourse evidences that their lack of empowerment may explain such feelings. Residents have been discussed in previous research, particularly within the sustainable tourism literature (Boley & McGehee, 2014; Joo et al., 2020). Lack of resident empowerment is clearly evidenced here. The case of Barcelona with the protests and other performances against tourism also concurs with what Joo et al. (2020) mention: lack of “resident empowerment from tourism can coalesce into political action” (p. 79). So, building from previous research, we agree that managerial and policy makers’ actions need to increase resident empowerment in order to resolve the conflict observed. An example would be the creation of platforms where different actors can participate and engage in discussions about the various issues related to tourism development (e.g., gentrification, noise, loss of authenticity, crime, etc.). The solutions proposed may vary. For example, possible measures could involve an increase in the tourist tax, a change in Barcelona’s tourist brand like in Slovenia (Nelson, 2014), or the decentralization of tourism to avoid the city’s overcrowding through the offer of other alternative experiences away from official tourist attractions (Robinson, 2015). But most importantly, residents need to become more somehow actively involved in the debate about tourism and have their voices heard along with other actors.

Also, we suggest that the notion of resident empowerment needs to be understood also from an emotional perspective. What emotions are expressed or generated when residents feel empowered and when they do not and how does this affect their own attitudes and behaviors towards tourism and the tourist industry? Future research can explore these two notions more closely.

As explained before, reasons against tourism have to do with many issues. Previous literature on

antitourism has discussed many of our findings. We suggest though, that an in-depth, qualitative examination of antitourists can reveal many subgroups with different motivations for their negative attitudes and behaviors. Simply put, the motivational underpinnings of tourism rejection may be very different from resident to resident. Reasons related to the microlevel reveal how tourism negatively impacts directly on residents’ personal well-being. Here, the conflict among residents and tourists is emphasized on a more individual, personal level that affects residents both cognitively and affectively (Iyer & Muncy, 2016). Residents argue that the overconsumption of the city by tourists affects their functional and hedonic consumption of the city, which also has an emotional impact on them. Many comments reveal that dealing with tourism on a daily basis generates feelings of stress, anxiety, and fatigue. Also, rejection of tourism because of its macroimpact can vary significantly. For example, antitourism sentiments may be rooted both in patriotic discourses and anticapitalist ideologies. In the former case, the resistance to tourism is a patriotic endeavor that relates to more abstract notions of how their confrontation against tourism indirectly aims to make Spain a great economy. In the latter case, the tourist industry is perceived as a structure of domination where the oppressed vary from the residents whose everyday quality of life is affected, the residents who cannot afford the increasing cost of living and abandon the city, or those residents who are employed under precarious conditions in the tourist industry. Understanding this heterogeneity is also important, since not the same measures will be effective for all these different subgroups of residents opposing tourism.

Undoubtedly, the literature about residents’ attitudes and behaviors towards tourists is vast and the growing field of antitourism focuses exactly on the growing hostility of residents towards tourists in different destinations (Morales-Pérez et al., 2020). Our study reaffirms that residents’ rejection of tourism is nourished by their negative sentiments towards it. Also, the triggers for negative emotions are not limited to the interaction between residents and tourists (e.g., in the busy bus or in the streets late at night), but have to do with other situations where tourists may not be present or intervene (a neighbor leaving their flat that has been turned into

an Airbnb flat). Another contribution in this field is the consideration of different actors in the discussions about tourism's impact on destinations and how these actors interact with each other. In other words, residents' attitudes and perceptions are not formed on their own independently of the context in which they live. Their attitudes may be the response to what other actors do; for instance, the "undermanagement of tourism" by the administration to which Papathanassis (2017) referred to, or how the tourist industry handles the issue. In this particular case, we can see how residents interact with the media, another important actor, and how they frame differently tourism and the tourist in their online discourses. Future research can include more actors in their analysis. For example, another line for research could also take into account the perspective of tourists visiting Barcelona and other destinations where similar tensions are observed or even institutions such as local city halls. Tourists and policy makers are important stakeholders so it would be important to further explore how they engage with the rhetoric for and against tourism and how they deploy emotions in their discourse.

Given our explicit focus on antitourism, we have solely examined negative emotion discourses to complement previous research on tourism rejection by residents (Wang et al., 2020). However, future research could expand our scope and also consider positive emotion discourses and how they are employed discursively in order to maintain or attack the legitimacy of tourism in popular city destinations.

Furthermore, the research approach and dataset analyzed constitutes a methodological contribution that invites for further similar research in these fields. This different methodological perspective allows seeing how the audience reacts to media representations and how their discourses and actions are embedded in a broader institutional context with the interplay of various actors. Nowadays, people are increasingly using online spaces of conversation to discuss their opinions and feelings with others. Research in these spaces can be naturalistic while it permits observing interactions about certain topics of public interest (Weber, 2014). We have focused on one type of public dialogue that takes place in the comments section of news articles, but further research could explore discourses and interactions

about antitourism that take place in social media, blogs, etc. In those cases, netnography could be a valid methodological choice (Ngwira et al., 2020).

Finally, increased tourism seems to generate reactions around the world among the residents of popular destinations. Future studies could further explore the institutional work of residents and other actors to limit the tourism of their city. For example, in Barcelona residents have organized protests, they have founded neighborhood associations, and have engaged in a visual type of social activism through graffiti images and street wall writings (for instance, see Fig. 2). However, we know little about this type of activism and how emotional rhetorics can be employed in order to reinforce resistance movements.

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