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Tourism's Impacts on Local Populations

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Abstract: *This writing serves to discuss the various impacts of tourism on local populations. Despite the growth of the tourism industry, only a handful of anthropological studies about the impact of tourism on local populations exist. Therefore, this writing is focused on the study of tourism by anthropologists as there is much about tourism that lends itself well to being studied from an anthropological perspective. Issues relevant to anthropology such as political economy, social change, and cultural identity are directly affected by tourism. A brief overview of the work done by anthropologists on tourism and local populations is discussed. Many anthropological studies on tourism focus exclusively on how non-Western societies are affected when exposed to Western tourists, but little is done to look at the growing impact of non-Western tourism on a global scale. Some common themes when discussing tourism's effects on the local population are the commodification of culture and displacement or dispossession of land. The growing issue of overtourism and how it affects the destination and the local residents are outlined as well. This paper argues that overtourism decreases the quality of life of the residents by increasing housing costs, limiting the diversity of economic opportunities, and exposing residents to the misuse of public spaces. Many of the effects outlined in the paper are negative, however, tourism also can have positive effects such as being beneficial for the economy.*

Introduction

The United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) defines tourism as "a social, cultural and economic phenomenon which entails the movement of people to countries or places outside their usual environment for personal or business/professional purposes" (Westcott 2019). People worldwide experience tourism in various ways as tourists themselves or as inhabitants of a high-tourism location, but the experience of local populations is the highlight of this work. Tourism's effects on local populations will be discussed by examining anthropological studies of tourism and more recent studies on the phenomenon of overtourism. Anthropological studies of tourism have typically focused on how non-Western or indigenous populations have been impacted by the development of tourism in their region. The studies done on overtourism, however, are largely focused on Western cities, primarily in Europe, that have become major tourist destinations.

Tourism and tourism development can result in the commodification of culture, displacement or dispossession of land, and changes in the values and lifestyle of local residents. These effects are often seen in indigenous populations when the tourism industry moves in. Overtourism can also decrease quality of life for residents, leading to an increase in housing costs, limited economic opportunities, and/or exposure to the misuse of public spaces.

Anthropology and Tourism

There are many commonalities between anthropologists and tourists. Peter Burns, in his *An Introduction to Tourism and Anthropology*, states that anthropology and tourism have "obvious synergy" as both "seek to identify and make sense of culture and human dynamics" (1999:71). Stronza echoes this sentiment stating "both spend time exploring the cultural productions and rituals of society, and both carry the status of outsider as they make forays into the lives of others" (2001:261). Peter Burns, Stronza and others agree that there is much about tourism that lends itself well to being studied from an anthropological perspective. Tourism, much like anthropological research, results in face-to-face encounters between people of different cultures. The issues of political economy, natural resource management, social change, and cultural identity are all affected by tourism. Today there are only a handful of countries and cultures that have not been exposed to tourism or felt its impacts. As a result, the more remote places that typically most interest anthropologists are being increasingly exposed to tourism (Stronza 2001:264).

Burns (2004) outlines why anthropologists should be concerned with the study of tourism and be involved in the tourism industry. The tourism industry is constantly changing and new forms of tourism continually emerge. Burns argues that to understand tourism different methodological and theoretical approaches are needed. For example, she explains the potential role of anthropologists and anthropological theory in the emerging trend of ecotourism. Ecotourism is concerned with preserving both the cultural and physical environment. Burns states that there is less literature on the socio-cultural values of ecotourism and goes on to say that because ecotourism offers greater opportunities for indigenous peoples' involvement, it requires anthropological analysis (2004:13). For these reasons (and others), anthropologists should engage themselves with the study of tourism and the tourism industry.

History of Tourism

Tourism has a long history, even if the word itself was not used until the 18th century. Evidence of leisure travel goes back to ancient Egypt (Gyr 2010). Writings of the privileged classes in Egypt under the pharaohs tell of journeys taken for pleasure to sites such as the pyramids at Giza and the Sphynx. Evidence of traveling for pleasure is also available from the Classical Greek and Roman periods. In Classical Rome, the development of infrastructure, mainly the roads, led to the wealthy taking holidays for relaxation outside of the city (Gyr 2010). Beginning in the 12th century, a greater emphasis was placed on travelling for educational purposes. Starting with the 12th century, scholars journeyed to famous educational institutions such as Oxford in London and Paris or Montpellier, France. There were also the journeymen from the 14th to the 18th centuries. These journeymen were craftsman, required to travel as part of their training. Oftentimes, guilds would require craftsmen to travel for three to four years with the desired outcome being that, through travel and experience, the craftsmen would learn, mature, improve their craft, and return as accomplished men (Gyr 2010). From the 16th century to the 18th century, there was the trend of the grand tour of Europe for the young adults of Europe's elite society. The goal of traveling was to provide education and to learn and practice etiquette. From the Enlightenment of the early 18th century to the 19th century, educational journeys were taken by the upper-middle class (Gyr 2010; Westcott 2019). Pleasure soon

replaced education. Guidebooks were first introduced in the 1800s and short-stay or day trips also became more popular around this time with the advances in transportation such as steam ships and railways. Yet, travel was still a mostly upper-class activity. The 19th century saw a boom in tourism. Organized all-inclusive group holidays became popular. The opening of the Alps to tourists introduced a new side to tourism: nature and sport/recreation. For the first time in history, people from lower socio-economic backgrounds could take part in leisure activities and travel. The summer retreat to the countryside to escape the city gained popularity as it was also affordable for the lower socio-economic classes. Since the end of World War II, with the improvements of technology and affordability of transportation, leisure became the main reason for travel (Gyr 2010).

Tourism is now a major and substantial part of the global economy. Data indicates that travel and tourism contributed 8.81 trillion US dollars to the global economy in 2018 (WTTC 2019). Travel is no longer an activity for just the upper classes as advances in transportation have made it easier and faster to travel, allowing more people to do so. The cruise ship industry has boomed and Airbnb and other short-term rental platforms have made accommodations less expensive making travel more accessible. Rising middle-classes in countries such as India, China, and other countries have made it possible for more of those populations to travel. Governments have also contributed to the rise in tourism by marketing their countries and cities as tourist destinations (Abend 2018). Tourist arrivals around the globe have been increasing since World War II, with about 25 million arrivals in 1950 (Roser 2017). In 2018 the number of international tourist arrivals reached 1.4 billion (UNWTO 2019). This shows a large number of people are traveling and that the tourism industry is a significant contributor to the global economy.

In addition to the changed rate of travel itself, how tourists go about visiting destinations has also changed dramatically. Travel has been made easier by international banking systems, one-stop shopping for travel bookings, and handheld devices. Travelers no longer have to carry a map, compass, camera, etc., today all of these items can be accessed through a smartphone. In addition, smartphones have made it easier to select a place to eat, navigate big cities, and translate foreign languages.

Literature Review: Anthropology of Tourism

The anthropological study of tourism has a much shorter timeline than that of tourism in general. It was not until around the 1960's and the 1970's that anthropologists started to take an interest in tourism. Multiple scholars have attributed this in part to a reluctance to study tourism, citing Nash's (1981) attempts to theorize why the study of tourism was dominated by economic, geographic, and marketing domains. Reasons given for this reluctance include the view that tourism was seen as frivolous and not for serious scholars, a lack of awareness of the socio-cultural significance of tourism, and anthropologists not wanting to be identified with "sandal-footed, camera-toting" tourists (Burns 1999; Stronza 2011; Burns 2004).

Jafar Jafari and Valene Smith are considered pioneers in the anthropological study of tourism. Burns credits them for making tourism a legitimate subject for academic study (1999:80-81). Jafari founded the *Annals of Tourism Research* in 1973, which became the official

journal of the Society for the Advancement of the Tourism Industry. Only a year later, the first article was published in this journal, focusing on the social sciences and tourism. The work of anthropologists had appeared in the journal, but the first article published with 'anthropology' in the title, making the direct connection between anthropology and tourism, was Aspelin's 1977 work. In the 1980's, articles on tourism began to appear in anthropology journals (Burns 2004:8). Valene Smith organized the American Anthropological Association's first symposium on tourism in 1974 and the papers from the symposium became *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism.* This compilation of articles covers subjects such as tourism and leisure, tourism in non-Western societies, tourism in complex societies, and theories of tourism (Smith 1989).

Since then, there have been a number of published works concerning the anthropological study of tourism. Burns (2004) begins her discussion of the history of the anthropological study of tourism with a 1963 work by Nunez, where he looked at acculturation when different cultures come into contact, such as with tourism. Burns (1999) lays out a table of key authors in the anthropology of tourism. The first author listed is Nelson Graburn and his 1977 article discussing tourism as a form of escapism. Nash's 1981 work is also frequently cited. In it, Nash discusses that tourism involves interactions between the traveler and the host that affect the people and cultures involved. Burns comments that Urry's 1990 work allows for a study of tourist motivations from a social science perspective (Burns 1999:82-83). He also lists Dann's 1997 work that proposed that theory and academic study should be used in the tourism industry to contribute to sustainability (Burns 1999:82-83). Anthropologists have sought to answer questions such as how culture is represented in tourist settings and how it is perceived, as well as how cultural traditions are changed or reinvented to meet tourist expectations, and many others (Stronza 2001:262). The history and approaches of the anthropological study of tourism can be can be traced back through the works of those who studied tourism through the lens of anthropology.

Impacts of Tourism on Local Population – Focus on Indigenous Societies

When looking at literature on the anthropological studies of tourism, the focus is almost entirely on how non-Western societies are affected when exposed to Western tourists. Some common themes when discussing tourism's effects on the local population are the commodification of culture, displacement or dispossession of land, and changes in the values and lifestyle of local residents.

Commodification of Culture

Commodification is the act of taking something's original form and commercializing it in order to be consumed (Burns 1999:60). The commodification of culture refers to when aspects of a culture are turned into a commodity to be consumed, in the scope of this paper, by a tourist. Root (1996:68, 70) uses the example of Native cultures of British Columbia being explicitly marketed by the tourism industry to draw in visitors. She writes specifically about images such as totem poles on display, souvenirs with traditional raven and thunderbird styles printed on them, and being able to pay to witness spiritual ceremonies.

This example is tied into the larger issue of the "politically or economically dominant societies" taking cultural symbols and using them to draw in tourists and, turning them into commodities (Root 1996:68). She states "culture is neatly packaged for the consumer's convenience" (Root 1996:70). Root (1996) continues to explain that the people from whom the material or images are taken are often not compensated equally or at all. At the time of her writing, she describes a scene she witnessed in British Columbia of an indigenous artist trying to sell his designs to shopkeepers. She points out that the shopkeepers selling such souvenirs are white, while the artist is of an indigenous group and much of the souvenirs being sold include imagery of that group. Root (1996) explains that while indigenous artists may be paid reasonably well for commissioned work such as a carved pole, the indigenous community is not usually consulted or compensated when their designs are used for tourist or other objects, nor do they see a profit from the "great deal of money" (Root 1996:68) tourist shops make.

When cultural traditions are commodified to draw in tourists, staged authenticity can become a problem. The pride and dignity of the local residents can also come at the expense of tourism when cultural traditions are exploited (Theobald 1998:71). Aspects of the traditional culture such as dance and art can become commercialized, resulting in cheap imitations, with the goal of satisfying visitors and obtaining money for less effort (Theobald 1998:71).

Mowforth and Munt (2003) use Gunson's (1996) example of the Maya in Mexico and Central America to illustrate this point. Gunson (1996) discusses how Mayan civilization and its descendants are used as a marketing concept, whether it be a "Mayan sauce" on the prawn cocktails or the archaeological sites. He states that Mayan organizations and other critics of the tourism industry's marketing are concerned that archaeological sites will be turned into "giant theme parks" while the local population has no say in the decisions being made. This has the potential to limit local populations' access to their own cultural heritage, such as when entrance fees are charged for sites that are beyond the means of the local people. One example is of the "once-unspoilt" Mayan ruins of Xcaret near Cancun with an entrance fee of thirteen pounds (around $18 today) at the time (Gunson 1996). Local people feel they are viewed as "obstacles to development" as local initiatives such as guesthouses are ignored in favor of large hotels that will not benefit them (Gunson 1996).

The lack of inclusion and participation of the local people concerning certain aspects of tourism is another component to this issue. Root (1996) discusses this issue more generally; however, Mowforth and Munt (2003) relate it specifically to tourism. They state "it is the local people who have so often been left out of the planning, decision-making and operation of tourist schemes" (Mowforth and Munt 2003:238). This exclusion can result in locals not seeing equal benefits from tourism and being pushed off of their land.

Displacement

Displacement is defined by Merriam-Webster dictionary "to remove from the usual or proper place" and "to expel or force to flee from home or homeland," when referring to people specifically (Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary). The case of the Maasai in Kenya and Tanzania is just one case of locals being displaced. With the creation of national parks and wildlife reserves, the Maasai have been increasingly restricted in where they are allowed to be and what they are allowed to do on the land. While the displacement was carried out by Kenyan

and Tanzanian authorities, their actions were guided by "First World conservationists" that operated in their own interests and those of tourism industry developers (Mowforth and Munt 2003:262-264). They do state that today it is better recognized that the Maasai and the wildlife of the region have coexisted for many centuries and that the old argument of the conservationists that the Maasai's pastoral activities were damaging to the environment holds less weight. Mowforth and Munt (2003) quote Monbiot saying there was a "fantastic abundance of wild game" that existed along the Maasai "up to and beyond the arrival of the British" (p.264), this stressed the inaccuracy of those claiming the native people are a threat to the wildlife and the land. Monbiot continues on to say it was because the Maasai had not decimated the wildlife that people pushed for the conservation of the land. The Maasai have practiced grazing and coexisted with the local wildlife for centuries. The landscape being conserved is a product of their grazing and burning practices, at least until recently (Mowforth and Munt 2003:264).

Pushing the Massai out of certain areas opened up these spaces to tourists and other visitors that are not native to the land. There are campsites for tourists in the Ngorongoro Conservation Area on the crater floor and tourists can enter the Olduvai Gorge, an archaeological site; both are areas that have been restricted for the Maasai (Mowforth and Munt 2003:264). Steps have been taken to address tourism's impact on conservation issues such as banning new tourism accommodation and road construction. However, the land and grazing rights of the Maasai, the native inhabitants, have not been mentioned. It has also not been acknowledged that tourism and conservation have been largely responsible for the Maasai's displacement. The authors do go on to state that measures are being taken to better include the Maasai. One example is in 1996, a deal was made between a group of the Maasai and a British tour operator. A luxury lodge was constructed and a portion of the money generated from tourist stays would go to the Maasai group. The authors acknowledge that this alone cannot make up for their displacement, allow them to retrieve their former lifestyles, or compensate them for their losses (Mowforth and Munt 2003:265-266), but that it does offer a hope of improvement.

The development of tourism in Mexico is another good example of how local populations can be displaced when the government or other powerful agencies decide to bring tourism into the area. Multiple experts have written about how locals have been dispossessed of their land. In areas such as Jalisco and the Maya Riviera, locals have been dispossessed of their land when the government decided to build the tourism infrastructure, mainly large-scale resorts and hotels. In one example, the tenants of El Rebalsito were initially compensated by the Mexican government for the loss of parts of their land. It was state authorities and other allied groups that threatened those who resisted giving up their land (Santillán 2017:726). Another example given is a small fishing community being displaced for the development of the Four Seasons Punta Mita resort. As a result of this displacement, the fishermen have had to work in nautical tourism to supplement their living, as the new location lacked access to productive lands (Santillán 2017:726). With the lack of resources necessary for fishing and subsistence agriculture, the community was no longer able to support themselves as they had before. Without the availability of productive lands, the people of the community had to adjust to what was available and work in the tourism sector. This account is also an example of how locals can lose aspects of their traditional ways of life due to displacement and other results of tourism.

The case study by Pi-Sunyer et al. (2001) looks at how tourism has changed the social organization, demography, wage employment, diet, and health of the villagers in Quintana Roo. Before mass tourism came to this region of Mexico, it was inhabited by Mayan forest dwellers. The Spanish had failed to colonize the region and it had remained largely unchanged for centuries (Pi-Sunyer et al. p.125). When the region began being developed for tourism, most notably Cancún, in the 1970's the villagers of Quintana Roo had to adapt to the changes and modernization. Pi-Sunyer et al. (2001) state that when regions such as Quintana Roo undergo modernization the dominant society still generally has a negative perception of local populations are assign them subordinate roles development of their area (Pi-Sunyer et al. p.126). They go on to argue that local populations are marginalized and displaced in their own land, in part because of the influx of job seekers from other areas with the result that the local population becomes a minority in its own land.

Changes in Values and Lifestyle

Traditional Maya communities were "intimately linked through mechanisms of reciprocity and agricultural practices that reinforced social solidarity" (Pi-Sunyer et al. p.130). This communal lifestyle, where goods were collected and redistributed among the community, is threatened by tourism development. Subsistence and communal agriculture have largely been replaced by wage labor jobs within the tourism industry. This has changed what was once a key aspect to the more traditional way of life for the Maya of Quintana Roo (Pi-Sunyer et al. p.131). The increasing restrictions on land use are also a threat to subsistence agriculture. As areas are being restricted to local populations due to the protection of archaeological ruins or the natural environment, often for the benefit of bringing in tourists, local populations are losing land necessary for agriculture and raising livestock. Pi-Sunyer et al. (2001) determined that in this region of Mexico, the minimum land necessary to maintain a single family through the slash-and-burn method of agriculture is around 50 hectares (approximately 123.6 acres) of rainforest, not including space for the raising of livestock. However, they determined that, at the time the article was written, many of the land holdings were reduced to around 20 hectares or less per household, making it difficult to continue these practices (Pi-Sunyer et al. p.131).

Tourism has also had a significant impact on the indigenous population's belief systems and religion. The belief system of the local people of Quintana Roo was a mix between Mayan cosmology and Catholicism. However, different religious groups, such as Evangelical groups, have become popular more recently. These Evangelical congregations were brought in by the influence of those in the tourism development industry, the tourists themselves, and media such as television. They challenge the emphasis on communal ties and rituals and instead emphasize the individual as a "consumer and autonomous economic agent" (Pi-Sunyer et al. p.132). Class segmentation can be another effect of tourism development. The authors of *Tourism on the Maya Periphery* found in *Hosts and Guests Revisited: Tourism Issues of the 21st Century*, discuss the new class of merchants, shopkeepers, restaurant owners, and other stakeholders in the tourism industry in the village of Coba. Before tourism came to this area, there was not this type of segmentation. These changes are evident not only through economic measurements, but are evident through cultural measurements as well, such as the wealthier being more comfortable speaking the Spanish language than peasant farmers (Pi-Sunyer et al. p.135). Theobald (1998:72) also expresses that local populations may adopt the tastes and habits of the visitors, such as

gambling, prostitution, and drug-trafficking. The authors state that in more extreme cases, habits (such as those listed above) could be adopted from the tourists, in part due to the need to cater to tourists.

With tourism comes more direct contact between people of contrasting lifestyles and levels of income. Tourism can lead to power being taken from the local and regional levels and concentrated into the hands of multinational companies (Theobald 1998:68). These companies work to negotiate at the national level and therefore, problems are dealt with on the national level, excluding the local population. Additionally, at the operational level, higher paying and more "respectable" jobs in hotels and other establishments are often held by expatriates or citizens who have moved to the area to work in the industry, while the indigenous population occupies the lower paying positions (Theobald 1998:69).

Exposure to affluent tourists may lead locals to want to emulate the lifestyle of the tourists. This is not always a negative, as it can be a source of motivation to work hard or to achieve higher levels of education. However, if the local people are unable to attain the same level of affluence it may cause frustrations and a sense of deprivation. Theobald (1998:72) does state that more research needs to be carried out looking at this issue. A culture of consumerism may also come with tourism as people desire "the long list of commodities that forms part of the new requirements and aspirations" (Pi-Sunyer et al. p.135).

Effects of Tourism on Local Population – Focus on Overtourism

Overtourism is the focus of much of the more recent literature on tourism. According to Goodwin (2017), the term overtourism was first used on the social media platform Twitter in 2012 as a hashtag and has since become a widely used term when addressing overcrowding due to tourism activity. Overtourism describes "destinations where hosts or guests, locals or visitors, feel that there are too many visitors and that the quality of life in the area or the quality of the experience has deteriorated unacceptably" (Goodwin 2017). Many places are experiencing overtourism, as travel has become a more accessible activity. As the tourism industry has continued to grow, destinations are now becoming overcrowded and are experiencing negative consequences associated with overtourism.

Overtourism is directly correlated to decreased quality of life for residents by increasing housing costs, limiting the diversity of economic opportunities, and exposing residents to the misuse of public spaces. There are many destinations that are experiencing overtourism, which has led to more antagonism towards tourists from residents and, in some cases, protests against the number of tourists in their cities. Three of the cities most referred to when discussing overtourism are Venice, Amsterdam, and Barcelona. As a result of the negative effects of overtourism, these cities, many others, and other tourist destinations such as national parks, historical sites, and UNESCO World Heritage sites are implementing new measures to try to alleviate the pressures of overtourism on the residents and the sites themselves.

In 2017, TravelBird assigned overtourism scores to different cities in Europe. The scores are on a scale of 1 to 10 with 1 being the worst regarding residents' willingness to welcome

visitors into their city. Barcelona ranked first with a score of 2.05 followed by Amsterdam and Venice with scores of 2.18 and 2.19 respectively. The scores were assigned based on the amount of available accommodation relative to the number of visitors, the number of visitors in peak season relative to the number of residents, and a survey. The survey asked residents to rate how positively or negatively they felt tourism impacted them during peak season (TravelBird 2017). With scores that low, it is clear that overtourism negatively effects the quality of life of the residents of popular tourist destinations.

Higher Housing Costs

One way in which overtourism negatively affects the quality of resident life is through an increase in short-term rentals, most notably Airbnb. A study published this year used evidence gathered from Airbnb listings in Barcelona to answer the question of whether short-term rentals affect housing markets. The authors chose to focus on Airbnb and Barcelona because Barcelona is Airbnb's 6th top destination and a very popular tourist destination. Their findings show that the presence of Airbnb increases the prices and rents of long-term rentals and housing (Garcia-López et al. 2019). In 2015, the average long-term rental price was about 735 euros a month or 11 euros a night, while the average Airbnb price was 71 euros a night. According to these figures, owners would earn the same amount from renting short-term through Airbnb in 10 days as they would from renting long-term to a resident in one month (Garcia-López et al. 2019).

The study demonstrated that Airbnb reduces the number of residential housing units and has a direct effect on the quality of life for local residents, often resulting in their displacement, due to the fact that it is more financially beneficial to rent short-term to tourists. This also increases the housing costs for residents living in areas with high Airbnb activity. Costs are increased because less units are available and demand is high, but also because owners will charge residents more just to make the same amount as they would if they rented to tourists. According to the data the authors collected, they estimated that in areas with high Airbnb activity, the presence of Airbnb has increased rents by an average of 7%. Transaction prices, the amount of consideration the entity expects to be entitled to, increase by an average of 20%, and posted prices, the price at which a company has publicly announced it will buy or sell a commodity, by an average of 14% (Garcia-López et al. 2019; Killian 2019; Chen 2018). While this study focuses on Barcelona, the issue of higher housing costs for residents due to short-term rentals platforms, mostly Airbnb, is experienced in many other cities. Many sources have mentioned Airbnb as a contributing factor of overtourism that results in a decreased quality of life for residents.

Tourist Misbehavior

The rise of short-term rental platforms such as Airbnb bring more tourists into neighborhoods and residential areas and increase contact between tourists and residents. This means that residents are dealing with more noise and disturbance in their neighborhoods caused by tourists. Tourist behavior is not only a concern in neighborhoods, but throughout the city too. The Netherlands and Amsterdam are famous for their tulips, but tourists are damaging fields trying to get a social media worthy picture (Quest et al. 2019). Residents are dealing with disrespectful tourist behaviors such as public urination, vandalism, jumping into canals, littering,

and more (Abend 2018; Baskas 2019). Often times tourists are simply not aware that they are behaving in a disrespectful manner. This is due to many factors, but largely a cultural barrier. Other times, as tourists do not view the places they visit as their home or someplace they will be long-term, they may simply not care about littering or inappropriate dress. Tourists are less likely to worry about keeping a place clean, for example, if they will be leaving soon. This type of behavior is problematic not only because it potentially upsets residents, but it could encourage others to do so as well.

Misuse of Public Spaces

Overtourism also affects the use of public areas and services for locals. In Abend's (2018) article, she quotes a Barcelona resident expressing his frustration with the number of tourists in his city. He says "You can't walk there [La Rambla Boulevard], you can't shop at the Boquería market. You can't get on a bus, because it's packed with tourists" (Abend 2018). Reykjavik, Iceland's main shopping street has been taken over by shops catered to tourists and only one hardware store remains (Tourtellot 2019). Goodwin (2017) describes this problem as a tragedy of the commons situation. He explains that many of the tourist attractions are public spaces, meaning people are not required to pay an entrance fee. La Rambla in Barcelona and Piazza San Marco in Venice are used as examples. Public spaces are free to visit and non-excludable; as a result, they are susceptible to over-use and exploitation from tourists and companies. Tour companies are now charging tourists for a public good, as part of an itinerary, for which they themselves do not have to pay for. A popular example is the changing of the Guard at Buckingham Palace in London Englad. Another Example is Piazza San Marco which is the main public square in Venice, Italy. However, Piazza San Marco does have a finite carrying capacity and when it is reached it deters from the attraction: "views are spoilt, picturesque village streets become crowded with people and tour buses, peace-and-quiet becomes noise and bustle" (Goodwin 2017). Other problems include vandalism, pollution, and traffic congestion (Seraphin et al. 2018). Not only do public spaces get abused, but it is left to the residents to pay for the upkeep of the space through their taxes.

What is Being Done

Different measures are being taken to alleviate the negative effects on the quality of life for residents that overtourism causes. Many cities have implemented campaigns to remind tourists to behave respectfully. Venice has its #EnjoyRespectVenezia campaign and employs people to watch for misbehaving tourists and issue fines when necessary. Barcelona will also issue fines to tourists walking around the city center in bathing suits among other things. Amsterdam has its Enjoy & Respect campaign and has introduced fines and banned mobile bars called "beer bikes" (Abend 2018). Amsterdam's tourist board has posted signs outlining what is and is not acceptable behavior around tulips and some farmers have even fenced in their fields (Quest et al. 2019). Visitors to Iceland are asked to take the Icelandic Pledge which reminds them to respect the landscape (Baskas 2019). Destinations are trying to educate visitors about the effects their behavior has on the area and are reminding visitors to behave respectfully while visiting.

In response to public services, Barcelona only allows tour groups into the Boqueria market at certain times. Governments are also taking measures to combat the growing problem of short-term rentals and other tourist accommodations. Copenhagen, Denmark has limited the number of days an owner is allowed to rent their unit (Abend, 2018). Barcelona has specifically targeted Airbnb and now requires that the company shares information about owners and removes listings for unlicensed apartments. To go along with this, the city has set up a website where visitors can check to see if the apartment they are looking to rent is registered (Abend 2018). Amsterdam has banned Airbnb short-term rentals in busy city areas. Reykjavik, Venice, and other cities have restricted the construction of new hotels in the city center. Venice has also created a fast lane for residents using public transport (Baskas 2019; Tourtellot 2019).

As a means of controlling tourists, many places are considering or have already implemented timed ticketing. The Sagrada Familia and Park Guell in Barcelona already do this. Venice requires day-trippers (visitors not spending the night) to pay an entrance fee to enter the city. Those staying the night do not have to pay as they are charged a tourist tax at their accommodation (Fox 2019; Garcia-López et al. 2019). Other proposals to control the number of tourists have been brought up in Venice but the locals protested against them. It is their concern, and the concern of residents in many popular tourist cities, that their city will turn into an amusement park. In 2020, Amsterdam will no longer allow tours of the Red Light District because of the growing concern that the sex workers are being treated as a tourist attraction (Quest et al. 2019). While they want to find solutions, many residents are hesitant about measures such as timed tickets to public spaces, entrance fees for a city, turnstiles and others because they want their city to remain a city. Barcelona and Venice have also begun limiting the number of cruise ships that they allow in their ports in an effort to reduce the number of tourists arriving in the cities (Abend 2018; Fox 2019).

Another way that cities are trying to deal with overtourism is through campaigns centered on encouraging travel elsewhere. Amsterdam's famous "I amsterdam" sign has been moved from its location outside the city's main art gallery at the request of the city because it was attracting too many visitors looking for a picture to an already limited space. Now the city is moving the sign around to lesser-known areas in an effort to encourage visitors to go beyond the city center. Not only that, but the city has decided to stop promoting Amsterdam as a destination and is now focused on managing their problem with overtourism (Quest et al. 2019). Venice and Barcelona are also ceasing to promote their city and instead promote travel to lesser-known towns and sites nearby (Goodwin 2017).

Limited Diversity of Economic Opportunities for Residents

Related to the quality of life for residents, overtourism also limits the diversity of economic opportunities for locals. As mentioned above, Reykjavik's main street has been overrun with tourist shops. The reason being that retailers will cater to the tourists' demand, specializing in products favored by tourists, without taking into account the needs of the residents. Local businesses are being pushed out by the change in customers' preferences (Ka & Ling 2019). This is not only happening in Reykjavik but many other cities as well. Some popular tourist cities are faced with a declining population as young professionals leave because they do not want to work in the tourism sector. Abend (2018) speaks to an Amsterdam local, Annelies

van der Vegt, who lives in the city center. She says she is thinking of moving to Norway as she is tired of all the tourists, especially when entire groups are on her doorstep admiring her 17th century house.

Venice has perhaps been the most affected by this. In 1951, the city had a population of nearly 175,000. Today it is closer to 55,000. This amounts to a net loss of around 1,000 inhabitants a year. In her article, *The Race to Stop the Death of Venice*, Fox (2019) quotes a Venice local's take on the issue. He believes that Venice needs to create conditions so that people stay. He says that jobs for graduates are limited as the jobs available are primarily those catering to tourists, such as serving in a restaurant or selling souvenirs at a kiosk" (Fox 2019). As locals are driven out of city centers, more space is opened up to be taken over by restaurant and tourist shops. Cities are prohibiting more restaurants and shops targeting tourists to be opened, as well as limiting short-term rentals and other accommodations, Amsterdam, Venice, Reykjavik and others have all implemented regulations along these lines. Not only is this an attempt to address the issues mentioned above, but also to try to preserve the authenticity of the destination.

Positives

Anthropologists have largely focused on the negative effects of tourism on local populations, and more recently scholars have focused on overtourism. However, tourism also benefits countries and communities. Perhaps the most obvious benefit of tourism is seen in the country or region's economy. Tourism development can generate employment and income opportunities in less developed regions of countries where alternative options for development may be more limited. Tourism can also create a market for local crafts, providing a monetary incentive for the continuance of traditional or local art and customs. It can also provide a market for local produce. Another way tourism can be beneficial to local populations is that infrastructure needed for tourism becomes available to the local residents, such as highways and airfields. This can also give more access to wider markets for locals (Theobald 1998:65-66). Shubert et al (2011:1) highlights many of the same benefits of tourism. They also note that tourism plays a role in the diffusion of technical knowledge and research and development.

Beyond economic benefits, tourism can foster a better understanding of different ways of life and a better appreciation of problems specific to the region. Tourism, both domestically and internationally, can encourage the preservation and maintenance of culture, traditions, and culturally significant sites (Theobald 1998:69, 72). Those who travel to a destination for its natural environments can help lead to the preservation and protection of the area from further ecological decline. These areas also have development potential, but as they generate income through tourism, the tourism can be a source of protection against development. The income of tourism may contribute or make possible the preservation and restoration of historic sites. A tourist destination may also undergo improvements such as cleaning and repairs to meet expectations of visitors (Kreag 2001:8).

As mentioned before, local populations may take on the habits and values of those visiting their region. While this can be a negative, as outlined above, it can also be a positive. Tourism has the potential to bring with it new standards in gender equality or health and safety

(Kreag 2001:9). Cultural traditions can also benefit from tourism. An example being the revival of traditional ceremonies because of their appeal to tourists. Tourism can be a means for people to expose themselves to new perspectives and cultural practices, and to learn about the world. This can open dialogue and potentially help to foster relations among countries. As Kreag (2001:10) stated," by learning more about others, their differences become less threatening and more interesting" (Kreag 2001:10).

Conclusion

This paper seeks to answer the question of how local populations are affected by tourism. This paper argues that tourism can have both positive and negative effects on local populations. Tourism can result in the commodification of the local's culture, the displacement of the local population, and changes in the lifestyle and values of local communities. Overtourism can also result in decreased quality of life for residents by increasing housing costs, limiting the diversity of economic opportunities, and exposing residents to the misuse of public spaces.

Much of the literature covering this topic argues that there is much yet to be studied about tourism, as it is a complex topic. Many authors also argue that tourism should be studied through the lens of many different disciplines in order to get a more holistic view. Literature on the study of tourism also calls for more sustainable development models for tourism. As this is not the primary topic for the literature, what makes for more sustainable tourism is often vague, but common suggestions are to better include the indigenous or local populations in the planning and development of tourism in their area. It is argued that this could help to alleviate some of the adverse effects that locals experience due to tourism. When tourism was first studied, the focus was mainly on the economics of tourism, then on the tourists and their experience. However, today there is much more work being done on how the locals are affected by and experience tourism. There is more attention being draw to how local populations are negatively impacted.

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