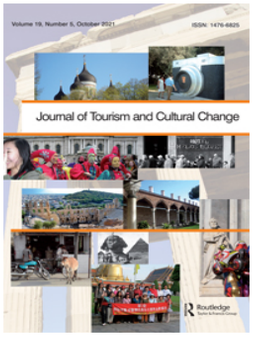

Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change

ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rtcc20

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To cite this article: Francesco Screti (2021): Populism in mediated anti-tourism discourse: a critical analysis of the documentary tourist go home!, Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change, DOI: 10.1080/14766825.2021.1966024

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/14766825.2021.1966024

Published online: 11 Aug 2021.

JOURNAL OF TOURISM AND CULTURAL CHANGE
https://doi.org/10.1080/14766825.2021.1966024

Populism in mediated anti-tourism discourse: a critical analysis of the documentary tourist go home!

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ABSTRACT

From a critical discursive perspective, this paper analyses the documentary Tourist go home! which produces a populist anti-tourism discourse, in which tourism is framed in terms of cultural and economic anxiety. Cultural anxiety is based on the construction of danger for people and places threatened by the arrival of many mobile Others and echoes anti-immigration discourse, typical of Right-wing populism; similarities can be seen also in terms of discursive strategies such as instilling fear, praising the past, opposing we-locals vs them, personalizing the Other and devices such as metaphors of danger, quantification, and exclusive deixis. Economic anxiety is based on the construction of winners and losers and resonates with a Left-wing populist discourse reclaiming wealth redistribution and popular sovereignty; similarities concern discursive strategies such as opposing we/loser/People vs them/winners/Elite; praising the People and despising the Elite; depersonalizing the Other; and devices such as metaphors, qualification, and inclusive deixis. The analysis also revealed the ideological dilemmas of this anti-tourism discourse, including the conflicting relationship with cosmopolitanism, asymmetry in the right to the city, an economic conception of tourists as resources, the horizontal (elsewhere) and vertical (above) displacement of the outgroup (Elite) to preserve the ingroup (People) homogeneity and inclusiveness.

ARTICLE HISTORY
Received 4 February 2021
Accepted 4 August 2021

KEYWORDS
Overtourism; anti-tourism; tourismphobia; populism; CDA; documentary

1. Introduction

On 29 July 2017, four hooded people attacked a tourist bus in Barcelona, slashed its tires and wrote messages against tourists (El Periodico, 2017). A few weeks earlier, on 18 April 2017, the European free-to-air TV network Arte released the documentary *Tourist go home!* (Christ, 2016) about the difficulties that Barcelona, Dubrovnik and Venice are lately experiencing with mass tourism. These two typical examples are different manifestations of what has been defined as 'tourism-phobia' or 'overtourism' and prove that a *discourse against tourism* is circulating in our contemporary globalized, late capitalistic and hypermobile society.

In the present paper, I use the term 'anti-tourism', although in the literature the term is mainly used to define the snobbish, patrician position of those who prefer travelers to

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tourists (Boorstin, 1961, ch. 3; Dunn, 2005, p. 102; Tribe, 2009, pp. 34–36). Equally, in the past, the terms 'touristophobia' or 'tourismphobia' (see, e.g. Canestrini, 2001, p. 49; Forsdick, Basu, & Shilton, 2006) indicated the snobbish rejection of tourism in favour of travel or exploration, an elitism which has been documented by Jaworski and Thurlow (2009). More recently, these latter terms have become increasingly common in media and academic discourse (Pirillo-Ramos & Mundet, 2020), in the sense, first used by Delgado-Ruiz (2008), of the 'rejection of tourists'. This shift in the words' meaning shows the emergence of a new form of anti-tourism discourse, which can be related to populism, and which coincides with the 2008 credit crunch (2008-2011), during which, according to Zerva, Palou, Blasco, and Benito Donaire (2019, p. 11), the highest levels of tourism-phobic feelings could be found in Barcelona. The present paper aims precisely at analysing this anti-tourism discourse in connection with traditional Right-wing (RW) populism and rising Left-wing (LW) populism, its main discursive and linguistic features, its ideological underpinnings and its main ideological dilemmas via an analysis of the documentary *Tourist go home!*

This anti-tourism discourse stands out as particularly remarkable when compared to the efforts made by the governments of many countries to increase tourism, which is one of the main economic drivers worldwide. By helping practitioners understand the resistance to tourism, its expressions, causes and claims, this paper can prove useful to tourism industry actors, such as managers, stakeholders, and policymakers.

2. Overtourism, anti-tourism and politics

2.1. Overtourism

The resistance to tourism is related to the dramatic growth in tourism over the last two decades as a consequence of a general intensification in human mobility, the expansion of low-cost airlines and the creation of platforms such as AirBnB, which have made lodging cheaper and spectacularly increased the number of available rooms. As a result, cities such as Barcelona, Dubrovnik, Palma and Venice – just to focus to the Mediterranean – seem to have reached saturation and are in situation of overtourism.

Scholars agree that despite the spectacular increase of research on overtourism in recent years, overtourism is not a new phenomenon and has already been widely studied (Capocchi, Vallone, Amaduzzi, & Pierotti, 2019; Gössling, McCabe, & Chen, 2020; Koens, Postma, & Papp, 2018; Novy & Colomb, 2019; Phi, 2019; Smith et al., 2019); the term itself has also been questioned for its fuzziness (Zmyślony, Kowalczyk-Anioł, & Dembińska, 2020). At any rate, overtourism is currently (being) broadly discussed with authors examining the impact of media in framing overtourism, and hence in constructing anti-tourism sentiments (Hansen, 2020), a point that is particularly relevant for the present paper. Another area of research has focused on understanding why some destinations develop more and stronger anti-tourist feelings than others (Colomb & Novy, 2017); we must acknowledge that, beside overcrowding, there may be other visible or latent social and psychological issues at stake that motivate anti-tourism feelings (Amore, Falk, & Adie, 2020). As a consequence, tourism resistance must be understood in politological terms, and conflict must be put at the centre of the conceptualization and analysis of overtourism (Zmyślony et al., 2020).

Although other scholars have analysed tourism resistance as a political topic (Colomb & Novy, 2017; Novy & Colomb, 2019), none have framed conflict in terms of *populism and populist discourse*. For example, in Żemła (2020) – one of the most recent reviews of the literature on overtourism – the term *populism* is not even mentioned, and the politicalness of tourism resistance is only partially developed (cf. the *Tragedy of the Commons*, pp. 6, 10-11). Likewise, in Garrett (2017, p. 118) and Novy and Colomb (2019, pp. 9–10), only minor allusions to populism can be found, and in particular to RW nationalist populism. On the other side, allusions to *politics from below* or to *social movements* are clearly made by Colomb and Novy (2017), Vianello (2017), Hughes (2018), Novy and Colomb (2019) and Milano, Novelli, and Cheer (2019a, 2019b), although no clear reference is made to LW populism, which is needed to critically analyse the ideological foundations of the contemporary anti-tourism discourse.

This paper posits populism – both RW and LW – as the main lens through which to observe people's response to and grievances against mass mobilities, which makes it possible to clearly understand the ideological underpinnings and the discursive strategies of those who criticize the present model of mass tourism and constitutes the paper's main contribution to the literature on overtourism, tourismphobia and tourism resistance.

2.2. Populism

Populism is 'one of the most used and abused concepts of politics' (Gandesha, 2003, p. 1), so instead of discussing a concept that is so elusive as to be in itself a 'floating signifier' with different and contested readings (Herkman, 2016; Inglehart & Norris, 2016, p. 17; Stanley, 2008), I will limit myself to providing an operational definition of populism, pinpointing the two main economic and sociopsychological factors that explain the rise of RW and LW populism, and discussing the main differences in these two types of populism. According to Mudde (2004), there are four main features of populist ideology: (1) the belief in the existence of two homogeneous groups, People and Elite; (2) the antagonistic relationship between these two groups; (3) the focus on popular sovereignty; and (4) a Manichean logic which praises the People and despises the Elite. Drawing on this conceptualization, Inglehart and Norris (2016) claim that economic uncertainty and cultural anxiety can explain the appeal of populism. Economic uncertainty is related to the perceived insecurity in neoliberal post-industrial globalized economies as a consequence of job precarity, increasing income disparity, decreasing welfare policies and austerity policies. Cultural anxiety is related to perceived insecurity in terms of identity and culture as a consequence of progressive cultural change, migrations and/or massive flows of people across borders. The cultural backlash explains the hostility to otherness, the fact that grievances are directed toward Others – mainly immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers – who, by being poorer, jeopardize locals' economic well-being, and by having languages, religions, and lifestyles different from the locals, jeopardize the basic values and customs of Western societies, so that locals feel they are becoming strangers in their own country (Inglehart & Norris, 2016, p. 5).

If cultural anxiety works well to explain RW populism (Gandesha, 2003, 2018, p. 64), economic insecurity works better to explain LW populism. Given the problems of inequality, with the economic growth in Western societies benefitting mainly the top 1%, and of sovereignty, with democratic governments unable to regulate multinational corporations,

LW populism frames society as divided into *winners* (Elites, multinational corporations) and *losers* (People).

In reality, this opposition between Elites and the People is a common feature of both RW and LW populism – like the assertion of sovereignty (Gandesha, 2018, p. 51) – whereas the main differences concern what defines People, what solutions to adopt to reduce economic anxiety and how to take back sovereignty. For RW populism, national, ethnic and geographic origin define People, whereas for LW populism social class does so (Gandesha, 2018; García-Agustín, 2019; Inglehart & Norris, 2016; Wodak, 2017). This of course determines a difference in the relation with the Other – that is, migrants (or tourists): in LW populism, the concept of People is inclusive in terms of class (all losers are People), whereas in RW populism it is exclusive in terms of ethnicity (everyone from here are People); as a consequence, in LW populism, controlling capital flows is more relevant than controlling migration flows, which is more important for RW populism (García-Agustín, 2019).

LW populism also differs from RW in that it propounds socialist solutions to economic anxiety (e.g. wealth redistribution), which explains the rise of LW populism in the aftermath of the global financial and economic crisis of 2008 (García-Agustín, 2016, 2019; Kriesi & Pappas, 2015; March, 2016; March & Keith, 2016; Stavrakakis, 2014; for a critical perspective on the role of crises, see Moffitt, 2015). A final difference concerns sovereignty, which in RW populism relies on the People as nation (national sovereignty), while in LW populism relies on the People as class (popular sovereignty) and assigns the State the duty to control transnational capital (García-Agustín, 2019, p. 63; Gerbaudo & Screti, 2017).

In the following pages, we will see that the anti-tourism discourse produced in the documentary *Tourist go home!* frames mass tourism in terms of *cultural anxiety* (fear of losing local national identity, as threatened by the Other) and *economic anxiety* (reclaiming popular sovereignty and wealth redistribution), thus evoking both RW and LW populism.

3. Theoretical and analytical framework

3.1. Critical analysis of tourism/discourse

As a consequence of Pritchard and Jaworski's invitation (2005), ever more attention has been paid by tourist researchers to discourse as an object and method, and by discourse analysts to tourism as a domain of analysis. Following this line, the present paper falls in the last of the four areas indicated by Jaworski and Thurlow (2015) for the study of discourse *and* tourism: (1) interactions between tourists and hosts; (2) production and consumption of (local) cultural products by hosts and tourists; (3) the role of the space; and (4) tourism in media and mediated products. The media product studied here, the documentary, has been analysed adopting a (qualitative and inductive) critical discursive approach. The epistemological and methodological affordances of this approach have been highlighted by Wilson and Hollinshead (2015, pp. 35–37), and it has been fruitfully adopted for studying tourism-related matters via, for example, the analysis of video materials as done here, exploration of promotional videos (Yan & Santos, 2009) and TV travel documentaries (White, Morgan, Pritchard, & Heimtun, 2019).

The documentary analysed here, which lasts 52 min, is a complex and multimodal text that has been carefully planned, produced, and edited, and displays visual, auditory, and verbal features. Because these latter features are the main focus of the paper, the broadcast has been transcribed entirely in a Word® document, which totals approximately 7200 words, and can be found in the Zenodo data depository (Screti, 2021).[1] It has subsequently undergone an analysis that combines a fine-grained examination of linguistic use with the study of social structures and cultural practices (Coupland & Jaworski, 2001, p. 134).

Following the three-dimensional analytical framework developed by Fairclough (1995), I have analysed the documentary (1) at the micro-level, as a text, in its main linguistic constituents; (2) at the meso-level, as genre, as an instance of a particular discursive practice in terms of the processes of its production; and (3) at a macro-level, as an instance of wider socio-cultural practice, which relates to broader social issues of domination, discrimination, power and inequality. The link between these three levels is the implementation in the text (via metaphors, deixis, verb tenses, adjectives, etc.) of the speaker's discursive strategies – that is, more or less intentional plans of practices oriented towards a particular goal (Wodak, 2001, p. 73). Because speakers belong to social groups competing with other groups to access resources, and because texts – as instances of discourse – are the result of social structures and at the same time structure society, the discursive analysis of texts allows the 'unveiling' of the speakers' ideology, which is a complex set of ideas and beliefs shared by groups that determines how individuals see the world and act in it (Van Dijk, 1998).

3.2. Documentary as genre and discourse

Media products, such as documentaries, are relevant and suitable for the analysis of ideology. If it is true that media cover social phenomena only when they are already happening, the representations that media spread affect how people interpret phenomena (Fairclough, 1995). This circularity mirrors another circularity of the media system: media retake discourses produced by people, which in turn reproduce media discourse and amplify it. By covering anti-tourist feelings, the documentary thus makes anti-tourism perspectives more visible.

The documentary *Tourist go home!* features a voice-over commenting on images of Barcelona, Dubrovnik, and Venice, and on people from these cities — the general public, grass roots activists, experts, and politicians — discussing the advantages and disadvantages of mass tourism; as such, it is a discourse and a reported discourse in the sense that it says something about tourism and reports (and comments on) what people say about tourism.

This feature is quite common of documentaries as a *genre* – that is, as a communicative practice related to a particular social activity and its social context of production, which is characterized by conventions that have developed over time and become socially accepted (Fairclough, 1995, p. 14). According to Nichols (2010), documentaries are about reality and real people, but rather than being a reproduction of reality, they are a representation thereof, and as such, express a particular view of the world. Nichols also pinpoints two common features of documentary films: they usually feature a voice-over and present both sides of a question (p. 17) and shots and scenes are

organized according to the rhetoric and argumentative point made by the filmmaker or the institution that has commissioned the film (p. 23). The same applies to the documentary *Tourist go home!*, in which one can find 17 speakers: the voice-over plus 16 people interviewed (Table 1).

Out of these 17 voices, 13 (including the voice-over) express opinions unfavourable to mass tourism, whereas only four express favourable opinions: two local (female) entrepreneurs from Barcelona and Dubrovnik and the Neoliberal mayors of Venice and Dubrovnik. It is therefore safe to say that, although the documentary presents both sides of the question (pro/con), it is organized to propound a critique of mass tourism. In fact, every speaker's reported speech is slotted in together with other reported speeches and comments by the voice-over, so that the argumentative line is developed by the voice-over. Thus, although many voices are featured in the documentary, they all build one discourse, whose main topic is that there are too many tourists, which causes problems that determine cultural and economic anxiety.

4. Analysis

4.1. Environmental and cultural anxiety

4.1.1. Constructing danger for people and places

The first theme of the documentary is the existence of danger for tourism destinations and their residents. Tourists are framed as dangerous because they cause the loss of (1) authenticity and identity; (2) tranquillity (because of their misbehaviour); and (3) space. Thus, tourists are presented as a threat because they change the cities' identity and modify locals' customs:

> how many tourists can a destination accommodate without losing its authenticity, without losing its identity? (VO, 27)

Table 1. The 17 voices in the documentary *Tourist go home!* in order of appearance, with their occupation, political attitude, city they speak about/from and stance (pro/con) towards mass tourism according to what they state in the documentary.

Order	Name	abbreviation	Occupation	Political stance	City	PRO/ CON
1	Voice-over	VO	—	—	—	CON
2	Petra Reski	PR	journalist and writer	Engaged	Venice	CON
3	Ana Zuvela	AZ	researcher	Engaged	Dubrovnik	CON
4	Ada Colau	AC	mayor	LW activist	Barcelona	CON
5	Tommaso Cacciari	TC	LW activist	LW activist	Venice	CON
6	Vicenç Forner	VF	photographer	Catalan Nationalist	Barcelona	CON
7	David Bravo	DB	architect	Engaged	Barcelona	CON
8	Giovanna Gaia	GG	student and guard	—	Venice	CON
9	Andro Vlahusic	AV	mayor	RW, neoliberal	Dubrovnik	PRO
10	Luigi Brugnaro	LB	mayor	RW, neoliberal	Venice	PRO
11	Laywoman 1	L1	living in Barceloneta	—	Barcelona	CON
12	Laywoman 2	L2	working at Boqueria	—	Barcelona	CON
13	Diana Marlais	DM	businesswoman	—	Dubrovnik	PRO
14	Luca De Pieri	LDP	garbage collector	—	Venice	CON
15	Jan Van Der Borg	JVDB	professor of tourism economy	—	Venice	CON
16	Elizabeth Casañas	EC	businesswoman	—	Barcelona	PRO
17	Ljubo Nikolic	LN	municipal councillor	ecologist	Dubrovnik	CON

> when I was little, I often went to La Rambla [promenade]; now the prices are so expensive that the locals do not go there anymore, and it has become a tourist promenade. It has lost its identity and its charm (AC, 196-199)

> At the Boqueria [market], prices have gone up, and the products local people need are not sold anymore (DB, 224-225)

Tourists are presented as a danger, because they disrespect monuments and the most basic rules of cohabitation:

> We don't want as many tourists, it's good that there are [tourists], but they should behave properly and not spend their nights getting drunk on the beaches or making a racket in the streets (L1, 46-48)

> Tourist respect or die (featured stencil in English)

Tourists also menace locals because they reduce access to space, especially by renting private flats via platforms such as AirBnB, and locals are represented as worrying about their own permanence in the city, with tourists being actively willing to chase locals out of their neighbourhoods:

> Since 1950 the number of inhabitants has decreased from 150,000–55,000 and it continues to decrease; conversely, the flow of visitors grows ever more (VO, 100-101)

> Tell us about all these tourists that want to chase the neighbours from their neighbourhood? (VF, 45)

> [residents] are worried about the future of their neighbourhood (VO, 51)

> Most residents fear that they will soon be unable to afford to live in their neighbourhoods (VO, 81)

> Dubrovnik ceases to be our city, we are no longer at home (AZ, 9-10)

> inhabitants have the impression that their city is becoming a stranger to them, that they are not part of it anymore (AZ, 245-246)

4.1.2. Discursive strategies and devices

One discursive strategy adopted by the filmmaker is instilling fear, which is quite common in RW populist discourse (Wodak, 2015). This is implemented by metaphors such as war (*under siege*, *invasion*), containers (*carrying capacity*), and liquid (*waves of tourists*; *inhabitants are flooded by the crowd*; *the flow of visitors grows ever more*). So, for example, the voice-over defines tourists as a *storm*: when commenting on quiet images of the three cities in the early morning, before tourists arrive, this is the *calm before the storm* (VO, line 1). It negatively defines tourism as a *worsening problem* (VO, 3) and presents Barcelona, Venice, or Dubrovnik as *cities under siege* (VO, 8), whose inhabitants *suffer the inconvenience of these daily invasions* (VO, 12). Metaphors are effective rhetorical devices with high cognitive impact (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Here, the metaphors of war, liquids, and meteorological events (*storm*) induce fear of some external threat – the tourist. Moreover, floods, waves, avalanches, and storms are frightening because they are uncontrollable and massive. Size itself is used to increase fear, via quantification, so that the impossibility of quantifying – which relates to the unknown – increases the sense of danger:

> nobody is able to quantify the number of visitors (VO, 101)

Quantification and dangerous metaphors of the mobile Other are common in the discourse against the Other. In fact, metaphors of floods or natural disasters (Charteris-Black, 2006; O'Brien, 2003; Santa-Ana, 2002; Wodak, 2006); of war (O'Brien, 2003; Santa-Ana, 1997, 1999; Van der Valk, 2003); of containers (Charteris-Black, 2006); or of invasion (Hart, 2010, ch. 7, in particular pp. 144-157; O'Brien, 2003; Santa-Ana, 2002; Van Dijk, 1987, 2000a, 2000b) are very widespread in anti-immigration discourse.

Another discursive strategy is that of praising the past, implemented by adverbs and verbs at the past tense, which are employed to narrate a positive past situation that has ended or is imminently about to end:

> La Barceloneta was … lived, worked (VO, 40-41)

> Life used to be good in this neighbourhood (VF, 49)

> So many residents have always lived here, they now are worried about the future of their neighbourhood (VO, 51)

This praising of the past, together with a preoccupation with the future, expresses and constructs a cultural anxiety – that is, the fear for the social, urban, and cultural change, for the loss of a supposedly authentic local identity which is diluted, threatened, or attacked by the arrival of the Others: the tourists. In this discourse against the mobile Other, two important discursive devices are: spatial and personal deixis (Levinson, 1983) – that is, pronouns (*we*, *they*), possessive adjectives (*our city*) and adverbs (*here*, *elsewhere*); and personalization, – that is, the use of concrete (*tourists*) vs abstract names (*tourism*). In the examples below, one can see that members of the general public interviewed in the documentary create an opposition between *we locals* (from here) and *they tourists* (from elsewhere), and complain about *tourists*, pointing out their misbehaviour and disrespect:

> We don't want as many tourists, it's good that there are [tourists], but they should behave properly (L1, 46-48)

> Currently we are not able to offer separate garbage cans that would encourage tourists to separate their waste (LDP, 376-377)

This tendency to personalize criticisms against *tourists* shows locals' rejection of Others' way of life. This rejection, together with the opposition *we-here vs they-there* and the personalization of the enemy, are common traits of RW populism (Gandesha, 2003; 2018; Inglehart & Norris, 2016; see also Novy & Colomb, 2019).

4.2. Economic anxiety

4.2.1. Constructing winners and losers

The second theme of the documentary is the existence of winners and losers in the game of tourism. The broadcast metaphorically frames tourism as a *game* (VO, 38, 295, 483), with the money generated by tourism and the cities' resources (public money, spaces and assets like historic buildings or infrastructures built with public funds, like cruise ships terminals) at stake:

> Where does the money spent by tourists go? (VO, 32-33)

> Tourism generates 400 billion euros per year in Europe […] at this game winners are few and losers many (VO, 37-39)

> Tourism generates billions of euros. In this game the losers are the locals and the tourists reduced to the role of extras. The winners are international investors, nebulous consortia that maintain the myth of the major tourist destinations (VO, 483-486)

Tourism is represented as contributing to social inequalities, with reference to the growthist policies that neglect the most unprivileged citizens:

> Mass tourism […] is the result of policies which in the past have sought to attract ever more visitors without investing in accessible apartments or social housing for the local inhabitants (VO, 440-443)

In the proposed Manichean division of society into losers and winners, losers are *us*, the People, the good ones, whereas the winners are *them*, the Elite, the multinational corporations, the bad ones, who privatize public assets and speculate in real estate:

> We do not know who directs the investment funds: they do not live here and do not experience the consequences of their speculations (AC, 188-190)

> We are going to cede for 40 years the management of our port, which represents an important source of income, to someone whose economic intentions and motivations we do not know (LN, 453-455)

Tourism is also framed as matter of sovereignty. Administrators are represented as making decisions for the sake of corporations that *dispossess* (VO, 13) the citizens, who in turn fight to *take back their cities* (TC, 331):

> the city is not administered by itself but by financial groups from elsewhere (AZ, 261-262)

> who has the power (to rule the cities)? Aren't cities likely to fall completely under the control of foreign groups? (VO, 306-307)

The negative representation of cruise-ship tourists deserves a special mention, where economic anxiety (criticism against multinational corporations) joins cultural anxiety (environmental and cultural danger for the destination). As the broadcast points out, cruise-ship tourists, with their all-inclusive packages, do not spend much in the cities where they dock. So, from a cost/benefit perspective, they are seen as an inconvenience, rather than a resource, because they bring locals little to no profit, while increasing social and environmental costs through massification and marine, acoustic and atmospheric pollution. In this situation, locals are the victims of powerful tax-evading corporations:

> for locals this form of tourism is ever more often perceived as an invasion (VO, 473-474)

> It is a fight between David and Goliath, between a handful of activists and powerful multinationals that have their headquarters abroad and that transfer their profits to tax havens (VO, 316-318)

4.2.2. Discursive strategies and devices

One of the main discursive strategies of the documentary is creating an opposition between winners (bad) and losers (good). Winners are speculators, foreign investors, and multinational corporations: they are rich, few and from elsewhere. Losers are poor,

many (see 479-482) and from here. This opposition mirrors that of People and Elite and, together with the praising of the People and despising of Elite, is typical of populist discourse (Mudde, 2004). To frame the Elite negatively and the People positively, devices such as adjectives and qualifications are used – multinationals are *nebulous*, *powerful*, *tax-evading* – and metaphors, like the one of David and Goliath, which creates sympathy for the weaker (i.e. the People; see also Novy & Colomb, 2019, p. 13). The opposition between winners and loser is implemented discursively using spatial and personal deixis, so that two oppositions can be seen:

(1) we locals vs they tourists
(2) we losers (locals *and* tourists) vs they winners (multinationals)

In both cases, the adverbs of place (*here-there*) reinforce the opposition us–them by spatializing it, bonding the social group to the place: *us/here* vs *them/there*, be they tourists or speculators. Yet these two oppositions deserve a deeper treatment, because they reflect a major distinction between LW and RW populism in terms of who the People, the ingroup, are (Gandesha, 2018; García-Agustín, 2020). Both LW and RW populism construct an Other from elsewhere that is different from and opposed to the ingroup: immigrants (RW) and the elite (LW). In the documentary, tourists are the Other in terms of cultural anxiety (RW), whereas multinationals are the Other in terms of economic anxiety (LW). In the first case, tourists are excluded from the ingroup: they are the enemy, the threat (opposition 1: we locals vs they tourists). This construction echoes RW populism, where the opposition 'us-them' – with a positively framed ingroup related to proximity and identity and a negatively framed outgroup related to distance and difference – shapes (ethnically) exclusive discourses (Santa-Ana, 2002, p. 94). In the second case, tourists are included in the ingroup (although they are not from here) and the enemy are speculators and multinational corporations, which are the winners/Elite (opposition 2: we losers vs they winners). This ideological difference between RW and LW populism is translated at the discursive level by the inclusion of tourists in the ingroup, so that they are presented as victims too:

> it is important to understand that the enemy is not the tourist, but all those who support a tourism system that concentrates the profits on a small number of people and makes the whole city pay for the losses (DB, 479-482)

> Tourism generates billions of euros. In this game the losers are the locals and the tourists reduced to the role of extras. The winners are international investors, nebulous consortia that maintain the myth of the major tourist destinations (VO, 483-486)

Here one can see the homogenization of all locals and tourists as losers versus corporations (winners), and this homogenization of ingroup and outgroup is distinctive of populist discourse (Mudde, 2004). The homogeneous ingroup of People, is, for LW populism, inclusive (Gandesha, 2018; García-Agustín, 2020); in fact, the addition of tourists in the ingroup of losers parallels the inclusion of migrants in the ingroup of People. This inclusiveness is implemented at the lexical level via depersonalization: because the enemy is not the tourist, but (a certain type of) tourism as a socioeconomic phenomenon, the experts, politicians and activists interviewed tend to depersonalize the Other. So, for example, Ada Colau, former grassroots activist and now mayor, prefers the abstract

noun *tourism* over the concrete noun *tourists* (8 times vs 2). By using an abstract noun that refers to a process, instead of a concrete one that refers to persons, speakers (the locals) distance themselves from the spoken (the tourists, the Others), thus avoiding potential accusations of xenophobia, which, given their LW ideology, would constitute an ideological dilemma.

5. Discussion: ideological dilemmas

As we have seen, the anti-tourism discourse produced by the documentary merges together cultural anxiety (caused by threats to local places and identity coming from tourists) and economic anxiety (caused by the negative impact of global corporations, uneven distribution of wealth and reduction of [popular] sovereignty). Because both themes relate, respectively, to RW and LW populism, it is worth addressing the ideological dilemmas – the intrinsic and not necessarily noticed contradictions of ideological systems (Billig et al., 1988) – visible in this anti-tourism discourse. One point concerns the extent to which this cultural anxiety for local identity can match internationalism and cosmopolitanism. Cultural anxiety, which entails the existence and idealization of a homogenous local identity to be protected, seems inconsistent with internationalism, cosmopolitanism and, more generally, discourses that deny local specificities or reject their idealization to facilitate the acceptance of the Other, such as migrants. Thus, one wonders why cultural relativism should not apply also to tourists, who instead are targeted with violent messages such as 'tourist respect or die' that, if used against immigrants, would immediately be labelled xenophobic.

Another problem concerns the *right to the city* (Lefebvre, 1973 [1968]), which, from a coherent progressive internationalist perspective, should belong to both locals and mobile Others, as the architect David Bravo acknowledges (DB, 475-482) and as the question of the refugees shows (VO, 439-440): the slogan 'refugees welcome / tourists go home', shows this contradiction and tries to solve it. One corollary of the previous point is the right itself *to speak about* the city and its residents, with locals being (feeling) entitled to complain about the Others from elsewhere. This constitutes in itself a form of asymmetry in the distribution of power, even if it be but the power to speak.

Another dilemma is the ambiguous conception of tourists: as with immigrants, they are framed as a resource (for they in/directly contribute to the local economy), but they must be controlled, so not to create problems for the locals. In the documentary, both the general public and experts discuss the need for a balance between the costs and benefits brought by tourism:

> Tourism is a good thing, <u>but it must be controlled</u> (AC, 200-202)

> We don't want as many tourists, it's good there are [tourists], <u>but not too many</u> (L1, 46-47)

One can see here the self-legitimating discursive move, implemented by the infamous procataleptic disclaimer *but*, that is typical of xenophobic discourse (van Dijk, 1984 as cited in Wodak & Reisigl, 1999, pp. 185–186). The problem here is the economism it presupposes: if the Others – migrants or tourists – do not yield economic benefits, they are quickly framed as a burden or invaders. If cruise-ship tourists are the main target of anti-tourism discourse, it is also because, among other things, they lack the attribute that makes tourists acceptable: spending money.

A last criticality is constituted by the inclusiveness of the concept of People and its homogeneity. As we have seen, the winners – those who benefit from mass tourism – are few (Elite), whereas many suffer from the problems tourism causes (People). The Elite is framed negatively because they are few, rich, exploitative and also not from here and live elsewhere (AC, 188-190; AZ, 261-262; VO, 306-307, 316-318, 483-486). The opposition 'here-elsewhere' reinforces the antagonism 'us/people-them/elite' and by locating global financial corporations elsewhere, makes it possible to locate the enemy elsewhere. Yet, in reality, no speculation can be done without the connivance of (some) locals, which would dissolve the (theoretical) homogeneity of the ingroup that is so typical of LW or RW populist discourse (respectively class or nation). The dilemma is thus resolved by locating the enemy elsewhere, in vertical (class: up–down) and horizontal terms (space: here–there). Hence, the horizontal difference translates into a class difference, which is a vertical spatialization of society. This move makes it possible to maintain the supposed homogeneity of the ingroup (us/here/people) and outgroup (them/there/elite). Yet such representation of losers –discursively constructed as homogeneous – is flawed, if one thinks that, within the locals (People), there are also some in favour of mass tourism, because they earn money from it (DM, 289-291; EC, 426-430; see Zerva et al., 2019, p. 16). At any rate, this strategic inclusion of the Other within the ingroup of the loser makes it possible to solve the ideological dilemma that would arise for blaming the Other from elsewhere, which is a typical feature of RW populism. So, by verticalizing the conflict *us-them* in terms of an opposition *People-Elite*, LW populist groups are re-centring the social conflict generated by tourism in terms of winners (up) and losers (down), rather than – or not only – in terms of locals (here) and tourists (there). The social conflict with mobile Others is thus spatialized in vertical terms (class) and not in horizontal terms (geographic origin) – or, which is essentially the same thing, in structural socioeconomic rather than in identity terms. Of course, this ideological move is complex, which can explain some of the inconsistencies mentioned above. This move of framing tourism in terms of social groups fighting for resources constitutes the major novelty in this emerging anti-tourism discourse – beyond the cultural anxiety or the traditional elitist stance, which contrasts tourism unfavourably with exploration and travel.

6. Concluding remarks

The critical discursive analysis of the documentary *Tourist go home!* has shown that the anti-tourism discourse produced takes a populist stance, where tourism is framed in terms of cultural and economic conflict. The cultural anxiety (danger for people and places: loss of identity, tranquillity, and space), with its essentialization of local identity and culture – as if they were homogeneous entities with an absolute value worth defending from the (mobile) Others – resonates with the anti-immigration discourse typical of RW populism. As we have seen, discursive strategies (instilling fear, praising the past, personalizing the Other) and devices (metaphors, quantification, exclusive deixis) assimilate this anti-tourism discourse to the anti-immigration discourse. On the other side, economic anxiety (winners and losers, inequalities, sovereignty) resonates with the LW populist discourse reclaiming wealth redistribution and popular sovereignty. Similarities with LW populist discourse are also visible in the discursive

strategies (opposing we/loser/People vs. them/winners/Elite, praising People and despising Elite, depersonalizing the Other) and devices (metaphors, qualification, inclusive deixis). The analysis has also revealed some of the ideological dilemmas of this emerging anti-tourism discourse, such as the conflicting relationship with cosmopolitanism, the asymmetry in the right to the city, the economics-centred framing of tourists as a resource or the displacement of the enemy elsewhere to maintain ingroup homogeneity, as well as the vertical spatialization of the conflict with the mobile Other to preserve the ingroup inclusiveness.

At least two limitations of the present paper must be addressed, because they also open new directions for future studies. First, although the documentary was chosen for its relevance, and the argument made here can be based soundly enough on the analysis of just one text, it would be good to collect and analyse multiple examples from the same genre, such as other TV documentaries on the same topic or multiple examples of anti-tourism discourse from several genres, which would allow analyses and comparisons between different instances of this discourse. Second, although the argument made here can be illustrated effectively enough by the analysis of just the verbal content, it would also be good to consider the many elements that define a multimodal text like a documentary – such as sound (score, music) and images (content, colours, photography, editing, shots, etc.) – and study how they work together to support the filmmaker's argument, which would allow a richer analysis and a better understanding of how these complex audiovisual texts work.

Note

1. The documentary is in French; all English translations are mine. In the excerpts, initials refer to the speaker (see Table 1), and numbers refer to the line number in the French transcription.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

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