

IMPACT OF OVERTOURISM ON URBAN LIFE

Maja Hristov¹, Institute of Architecture and Urban & Spatial Planning of Serbia, Belgrade, Serbia
Nataša Danilović Hristić¹, Institute of Architecture and Urban & Spatial Planning of Serbia, Belgrade, Serbia
Nebojša Stefanović¹, Institute of Architecture and Urban & Spatial Planning of Serbia, Belgrade, Serbia

The unrestrained and constant inflow of tourists to some cities can provoke the discomfort of residents. The term 'overtourism' describes a condition in which the limits are exceeded to the point that regular everyday urban life suffers. The quantity of visitors and resulting crowds create burdens on the functioning of some city services, and they simultaneously result in a deterioration in the quality of sightseeing. This paper gives a review of the academic literature concerning this issue, especially studies concentrating on cruising and alternative short-term renting. Major complaints raised by locals on the negative impact of tourism are not only about overcrowding, but also include the serious social and economic questions of the endangerment of rights. In order to regulate and mitigate conflicts, preserve identity and allow decent urban life in all its aspects, city governments are forced to introduce some limitations and rules in the sphere of tourism, and also with regard to the real-estate market and urban planning. The level of measures and policies required depend on the type of problem, size of the city and dispersion of the attractions.

Key words: overtourism, urban impact, citizens, regulations, limitation.

INTRODUCTION

Competitiveness between urban centers in order to attract visitors and gain economic benefit has become a usual occurrence. Tourism has become tense over the past two decades; the need to visit and record own's presence in a tourist destination on social networks has become more important than to really explore and blend in with the surroundings. Beside global metropolises, which are the most popular tourist destinations and 'must see list' recommendations, many other cities have joined the club, trying to promote their unique image and identity, cultural potential and heritage, or their capacity for fun and leisure. In Europe, traditionally Paris, London, Barcelona, Rome and Prague are overcrowded by bustling tourist groups. Sea (or river) port cities, or those within reach of them, have been confronted with the massive cruising industry and the resulting rise in crowds. In pearls of architecture like Venice, Florence, Bruges, etc., the invasion of visitors is an everyday occurrence that has become intolerable, particularly in the peak of the tourist season (Figure 1).

Sightseeing in an overcrowded ambience is not pleasant, and wandering around and being crushed in queues has no charm, making the general quality of visits very low. It seems that the content of historical city cores, with souvenir shops and restaurants, is sometimes more adjusted to the needs of visitors than to local citizens, including the prices. In the main streets, squares and various points of interest it is more common to hear different world languages than the local dialect. Local residents are leaving to live elsewhere, and whole areas are becoming only empty scenes of historical architecture. Outside of regular hotel capacities it is now possible to rent a private apartment during a visit, probably owned by residents who have left because of the crowds, prices and lack of city functions. 'Airbnb', as the most popular internet site and application, for some travelers is a much more convenient and cheaper way to plan their visit. All of the above-mentioned factors are the reason why the new term *overtourism* has appeared, which describes the loss of realistic boundaries, pushing capacity over the limits and finally degrading city districts in the sense of traditional urban life, in order to fulfill tourist demand. In 2019, some European cities were forced to announce the limitation of daily (or monthly/annual) numbers of tourists, with the goal of relieving the pressure on the urban tissue. In the COVID-19 pandemic, all city tourist destinations were

¹ Bulevar kralja Aleksandra 73/II, Belgrade, Serbia
majah@iaus.ac.rs

deserted and the tourism industry, including accompanying sectors, underwent an enormous fall, but it is expected that everything will return to normal, and perhaps people will be eager to travel even more frequently after lockdown. This is the right moment to try to find new sustainable models for urban tourism. The paper is based on a review of academic literature concerning this issue, especially with regard to cruising and alternative short-term renting. It is structured in five sections, starting from a review of academic papers and various case studies, followed by the methodology used, an analysis of the negative effects of and major objections to tourism in popular city areas, including remarks made by residents, then a discussion on establishing limits according to urban capacity, with final conclusions. The scientific contribution of the paper is in its review of examples, with suggestions for resolving overtourism in the spheres of urban planning and management. There are research limitations regarding the present situation with the pandemic and limitations of travel all over the world, and also in comparisons between cities of different sizes, points of interest, and old and new attractions. The global problem of overtourism may have a completely different impact on different locations and citizens.

development of tourism (Pham *et al.*, 2019).

When the impact of tourism on urban life is mentioned, even in academic papers, it is usually about positive economic gain for cities or as initiator of regeneration and reconstruction processes; and the impact of mass tourism on local citizens and social issues is limited to rare locations. Capocchi *et al.* give a comprehensive literature review about overtourism with an emphasis on its implications and future perspectives (Capocchi *et al.*, 2019). They explain that “the growth of tourism has been accompanied by the concentration of tourist flows to specific areas, causing crowding and problems with carrying capacity, so in this context, the term ‘overtourism’ has begun to be used in the recent literature with particular regard to models of tourism development, some city destinations, and issues of sustainability”. Dodds and Butler also researched the phenomenon of overtourism as “a new term for an old problem, namely, excessive numbers of tourists at a specific destination that can result in negative impacts of all types on the community involved” (Dodds and Butler, 2019). The attitude and feeling about overtourism is well observed and described by Minihane: “We first hear about these places



Figure 1. Face of overtourism – Toledo, Venice and Rome
(Source: authors of the text, private photos)

LITERATURE REVIEW

The term overtourism is new in the literature, describing an existing and well-known phenomenon. The problems caused in some destinations by the increasing growth of tourism have resulted in these issues being discussed in the literature since the early '70s (Capocchi *et al.*, 2020; Milano *et al.*, 2019). Even before massive tourist packages, in the late 19th century, some destinations on the Mediterranean (located on the coast and historical cities around France, Italy or Greece) were “overloaded” by wealthy people (aristocrats and bourgeoisie). There was a great interest in travelling to Egypt too, and visiting famous archeological sites. The increasing demand for mobility, leisure and unique experiences has been examined as a key factor in the growth of tourism, causing pressure on locations and dependence on tourism. “Tourismphobia” is another term describing the antagonistic relationship emerging between local residents and tourists. Pham *et al.* (2019) examine the perspective of local residents, focusing on their perceptions about the

when we’re kids. Famous destinations full of wondrous architecture, spectacular scenery or ancient mysteries that fire our imaginations and fill us with yearning. We dream, we grow, we save up all our money and one day we finally get to visit - only to discover that everyone else is visiting at the same time.” (Minihane, 2019). The economic impacts, significance, and benefits of cruising tourism have been researched by a number of authors, including Dwyer and Forsyth (Dwyer and Forsyth, 1998), and the topic of urban reconstruction and regeneration, especially in large projects for waterfronts, has been researched, among others, by McCarthy in the case study of Valletta (McCarthy, 2003). Very little has been written in academic literature concerning the impact of Airbnb in cities, but there are exceptions. Prior studies have noted the potential impact of Airbnb in neighborhoods, on the housing market and on the tourism sector. Sheppard and Udell consider the effect of Airbnb properties on house prices (Sheppard and Udell, 2016). Garcia-Ayllon gives insight into issues related to urban transformations as an indicator of unsustainability in the

mass tourism phenomenon, using three Airbnb case studies in Spain: Madrid, Barcelona and Palma de Mallorca (García-Ayllon, 2018). Another study, which considers the situation in Malaga, describes the consequences of “touristification” in historic cities (Barrera-Fernández *et al.*, 2019). Arias Sans and Quagliari Domínguez (2016) in their analysis of Barcelona state about the Airbnb company:

“Founded in 2008 in San Francisco, it has become a global phenomenon the growing popularity of which has been reported and boosted by the global media. The business press and economic columnists in particular celebrated it as ‘the most prominent example of a huge new sharing economy’. Airbnb has been widely acknowledged for its contribution to this rising new economic paradigm and, more concretely, its capacity for quietly turning millions of people into part-time entrepreneurs. As its relevance and impacts at the local level grow, the debate also starts embracing the legal and social issues related to the application of the Airbnb model in the tourist field. Despite its popularity in the media and its significance in many destinations around the world, Airbnb is still a phenomenon barely considered in the tourism studies debate” (Arias Sans and Quagliari Domínguez, 2016: 209).

Balampanidis *et al.* (2019) give an overview about informal urban regeneration in Athens and its effects on space and society:

“The effects of the Airbnb phenomenon are found to be both positive and negative, including – on the one hand – the partial upgrading and reuse of the existing building stock or the reactivation of the local economy and – on the other hand – processes of residential segregation, gentrification and ‘touristification’” (Balampanidis *et al.*, 2019:1).

Koutsoumpos gives a historical overview of 25 blocks in Exarcheia in Athens that are well-known for their culture of resistance. Because of the influx of tourists considering this area to be a ‘cool neighborhood’ it has faced demand from foreign investors interested in short-term renting, resulting in higher rental prices and traditional bohemian residents and students leaving the area (Koutsoumpos, 2019). Ferreri and Sanyal investigate the case of Airbnb in London, where flats are run by third-party management companies and agents who let out hundreds of properties, instead of individuals. They examine the need for the city government to change existing regulations, in this case by deregulating short-term letting, which has implications for urban planning policy (Ferreri and Sanyal, 2018). Lima attempts to understand the regional impact of Airbnb in Ireland (Lima, 2019), and Mermet examines the same ‘syndrome’ in Reykjavik (Mermet, 2017). Gurran and her co-authors, in two studies, raise questions about the necessity for an urban planning response to tourists ‘moving in’ with different spatial regulations and property rights, and they ask whether Airbnb rentals reduce the supply of permanent rental accommodations, focusing on Sydney (Gurran and Pibbs, 2017; Gurran *et al.*, 2018). Wegmann and Jiao (2017) offer guiding principles for the local regulation of urban vacation rentals, based on empirical results from five US cities: Austin, Boston, Chicago, San Francisco, and Washington, DC. Lee makes a similar conclusion to Wegmann and Jiao about how Airbnb short-term rentals exacerbate Los

Angeles’ affordable housing crisis:

“Airbnb likely reduces the affordable housing supply by distorting the housing market in two interconnected mechanisms. The first such mechanism is one of simple conversion: any housing unit that was previously occupied by a city resident, but is now listed on Airbnb year-round, is a unit that has been removed from the rental market and has essentially been added to Los Angeles’ supply of hotel rooms. The second mechanism is ‘hotelization’. So long as a property owner or leaseholder can rent out a room on Airbnb for cheaper than the price of a hotel room, while earning a substantial premium over the residential market or rent-controlled rent, there is an overpowering incentive to list each unit in a building on Airbnb rather than rent to Los Angeles residents, thereby creating ‘cottage hotels’. This decreases the supply of housing and spurs displacement, gentrification, and segregation.” (Lee, 2016:229).

The topic of gentrification is also processed in research by Yrigoy in the case-study of Palma old quarter in Mallorca, Spain (Yrigoy, 2016), then Jover and Díaz-Parra (Jover and Díaz-Parra, 2019, 2020) give an overview of Seville, even asking “Who is the City for?”. Finally, Gotham, in a case study of New Orleans’ Vieux Carre, argues about holiday rentals causing gentrification in the urban quarter (Gotham, 2005). The main question to ask is whether it is possible to overturn the situation to the sustainability level (Benner, 2019; Kuščer and Mihalič, 2019) and find a balance between the right to travel and residents’ rights (Perkumienė and Pranskūnienė, 2019).

METHODOLOGY

This paper investigates overtourism and its impact on urban life. It gives a significant and extensive review of the international literature, looking at issues that are part of the phenomenon, their main causes, and possible solutions. A discussion of the implications is provided in this review, mostly in two directions: what creates the negative effects? And what major complaints are raised by local residents? The findings are in the sphere of their practical implications, which contribute to an acknowledgement of the problem and help local governments and urban planning practitioners to identify prevalent and critical issues, as well as possible responses and appropriate actions.

HOW IS IT POSSIBLE TO CREATE A NEGATIVE EFFECT BY MEANS OF A POSITIVE ATTITUDE?

While many cities, according to their strategy goals to present tourist potential and secure income, are making effort to promote themselves and trying to attract tourists, others are in the position of considering how to limit number of visitors and avoid overcrowding. City budgets and the tourism industry with their accompanying sectors are not complaining very much about the number of visitors, but citizens that inhabit the quarters of interest and do not participate directly in the share of revenue have serious complaints. There is no doubt that cities depend on tourism because it creates significant income, but balance should be achieved, keeping the traditional lifestyle in place. In the case of Airbnb and similar companies, those leasing to visitors and retailers have a benefit, and complaints originate from other

residents in the neighborhood (Wegmann and Jiao, 2017).

In 2018, the Oxford English Dictionary added a new word 'overtourism' defined as 'an excessive number of visitors heading to famous locations, damaging the environment and having a detrimental impact on resident's lives'. Although the term is relatively recent, many of the problems involved have a long history, particularly in well-visited urban centers. In the literature review of academic papers, it was explained that this introduces a new term for an old problem (Capocchi *et al.*, 2020). This appellation gives an opportunity to describe and analyze the causes of the process and list all possible disorders in the spatial, social or economic sector. In modern times it is not only a question of overcrowding, because overtourism also leads to the deep disturbance of ordinary, everyday life in particular city areas, and the dissatisfaction and protest of locals against visitors (Pham *et al.*, 2019).

Complaints relating to the presence and impacts of tourists in Venice and the transformative effect of heavy visitation on certain destinations was noted in the mid-nineteenth century. Later, in the mid-20th century, negative resident reactions to excessive numbers of visitors to Niagara Falls were noted, because of the undesired physical changes and damage to natural and cultural resources, as well as general overcrowding. The conclusion was that the excessive growth of visitors led to overcrowding in areas where residents suffer the consequences of temporary and seasonal tourism peaks, which have enforced permanent changes to their lifestyles, access to amenities and general well-being (Dodds and Butler, 2019).

On the other hand, tourism has officially been declared as an 'industry', because revenue on a global level in 2019 reached \$ 1.478 billion USD (Figure 2). As a comparison, there is an estimation that this sector could lose at least \$ 1.2 trillion USD due to the coronavirus pandemic and lockdowns, with a warning that in the most pessimistic scenario, for a 12-month break in international tourism, the expected decline could be about \$ 3.3 trillion USD (data projected by the UN World Tourism Organization – UNWTO). This numbers shows that the scale and importance of the associated income is behind the idea to travel, visit, enjoy and expand one's experience.

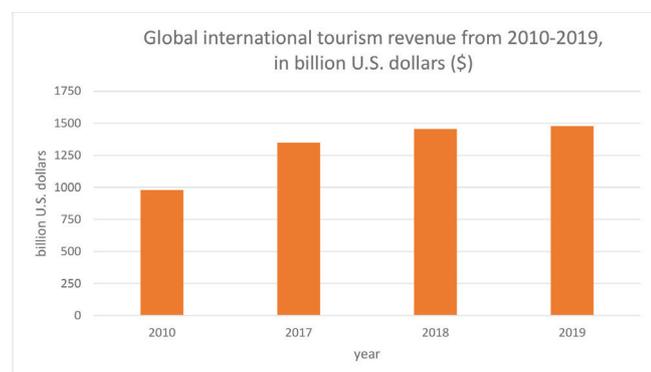


Figure 2. Global international tourism revenue from 2010 to 2019, in billion US \$

(Source: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/273123/total-international-tourism-receipts/>)

For those who travel it may be a joy, but for those who have to live with crowds of tourists it has become a nightmare.

What creates and increases overtourism today? An analysis of the modern factors that in combination lead to this phenomenon shows several key points:

- the growing world population has increased tourist numbers to the current levels of over a billion travelers a year; and of the 1.4 billion overseas trips, 45% (630 million) were city breaks (UNWTO, 2018);
- it is easier for more people to become tourists than ever before;
- some destinations have always been seen as attractive; others have grown in visibility over time; and
- the tourism industry has responded and expanded globally by making it feasible for tourists to travel to attractive places.

There are several important factors explaining the previously indicated key points, including rising incomes and more leisure time, then numerous tourist agencies and a wide offer of destinations, low-cost flights, cruising lines, the dissemination of online information with recommendations (Tripadvisor.com), social networks (Facebook, Instagram and similar with billions of followers), the influence of media and massive publicity, easy online booking (companies such as Booking.com, Expedia.com, Trivago.com, Agoda.com, Kayak.com, Otel.com, etc.), and short-term renting possibilities (Airbnb.com). In fact, it has become easy and affordable to choose a destination and make a reservation, because people have become aware of and informed about attractions and how to reach them.

Staying in a hotel is not the only option anymore. Urban social movements have for years been denouncing the negative impacts of short-term holiday rentals in the central areas of cities, calling for stronger regulation.

"According to Airbnb's poll, 96% of their guests want to live 'like a local' during their stay. The question arising at this point is: 'Which locals?'. Since short-term letting of private homes has become widespread, the nuisance caused by leisure uses of residential buildings, the loss of permanent population, the undermining of everyday life and the impact on the rental housing market have been the main claims against this practice" (Arias Sans and Quaglieri Domínguez, 2016:222).

For example, there were riots during the summer of 2014 in the Barceloneta district, the old beachfront neighborhood of Barcelona. The slogans were: "This isn't tourism, it's an invasion!", "Tourist flats displace families" and similar (Figure 3). A similar protest supporting the restriction of short-term renting and overcrowding was organized in 2015 in San Francisco, followed by locals in Dublin in 2018 asking to 'take back the city'. In 2019 in Athens, because of rising house prices in the Greek capital, protestors accused Airbnb of being a major contributor to the housing crisis.

MAJOR OBJECTIONS AND REMARKS BY RESIDENTS

Have you ever experienced Venice by night? It looks like a ghost city. After tourist groups finish their 'attack', as early evening comes, visitors leave towards other scheduled



Figure 3. Riots in Barcelona and Dublin against short-term renting of residential buildings for touristic purposes
(Source: left: <https://barcelona-home.com/events-and-guide/event/airbnb-pulls-1000-listings-barcelona/>, right: <https://www.aol.co.uk/news/2018/10/13/housing-protesters-occupy-airbnb-offices-in-dublin-protest/>)

destinations or simply go to rest in one of the hotels outside the city, in nearby Mestre or Lido di Jesolo. Finally, Venice with its canals, squares, monuments, restaurants and Murano's glass shops becomes quiet once again. By the number of illuminated windows, it is possible to see how few people inhabit the dwellings. The beautiful daily facades turn into empty scenography. The locals have moved to other places that are much more comfortable for organizing their lives, far away from the frequent floods and the restrictions because of the specific form of the city and its heritage protection, to places that are less expensive and dense, not so crowded by tourists. Many other places, too, like Florence, Toledo, Oia on Santorini, etc., by day have their narrow streets filled with long queues of visitors who are following guides and taking photos. In the evening or early morning hours, there is time for locals or perhaps some rare lucky overnight tourists to enjoy tranquility. Several academic papers mentioned in the literature review have analyzed the less extreme impact of tourism on historical places, as major points of interest. Regardless of whether tourism makes some locations more livable and self-sustaining in terms of their economic and heritage preservation as well as simultaneously provoking regeneration, there should still be some limits in order to retain a certain level of quality and impression of the visit in order not to reach extremes (Barrera-Fernández *et al.*, 2019).

“Those residents not involved in tourism, that is, not employed in or engaged commercially in tourism, often see or receive little direct benefit from tourism and the presence of tourists. They do often experience the congestion, inconvenience, disturbance and changes brought about by increasing numbers of tourists and greater tourism-related developments. To them, a reduction in tourist numbers, if not a total absence of tourists, would appear to be the only way to restore the quality and way of life before large-scale tourism was developed” (Dodds and Butler, 2019:524).

Complaints from local residents are varied, depending upon the kind of tourism, whether it is a few hours a day by tourists on a cruising field trip, a constant flow of tourists in a central zone, or as already mentioned, the rotation of strangers in short-term rental units inside popular residential areas. The scale goes from lifestyle disruption to serious social and economic questions:

- Crowds (Figure 4), constant daily flow of strangers in groups, stopping on the pavements to take selfies;
- Inappropriate behavior, not respecting heritage or

local customs, disturbing peaceful districts (Dodds and Butler, 2019);

- A change in the type of services offered in a neighborhood, and the unavailability of basic ones (Gurran *et al.*, 2018), for example, in central Bruges there are more than 70 chocolate shops, and who really needs them except tourists?; and
- Rising prices, especially rent, and related social changes, like gentrification (Cócola-Gant, 2016; Gotham, 2005; Yrigoy, 2016; Jover and Díaz-Parra, 2019, 2020).



Figure 4. Crowds of tourists in Paris and Lisbon
(Source: authors of the text, private photos)

While hotels and standard travel packages were the only option, the level and ratio of visitors was tolerable. But with the introduction of cruising and alternative accommodation, the issue has become more significant and stressful. For example, the average cruise ship may have around 3,000 passengers on sea and ocean liners, and about 150 guests on river cruise ships. The largest cruise ships can embark around 5,500-6,000 passengers. Assuming that the majority of them plan to visit the ports that are on the itinerary, just for a scheduled one cruiser per day, it is quite a crush even for bigger urban centers, not to mention small historical places. Nevertheless, theoretically it is possible to predict routes, organize timetables, divide groups, establish quotas and limit dockings in order to avoid too much disturbance to ordinary life. Although they arrive in great numbers, these visitors are only present for a day, spending the night on the boat, and they are concentrated on particular points of interest. Easy access to rental units, staying all over city residential zones, and especially concentrating in popular areas is completely different, because it influences the urban habits of the locals, mixing with them and changing their everyday routine. It is not pleasant when residents do not know who is in their building and neighborhood, when owners or long-term tenants are leaving, or when strangers without any responsibility and decency, with the excuse that they are enjoying their holiday, harass locals with their noise or other inappropriate behavior. Some riots and protests by citizens have started after particular incidents, revealing much deeper problems. The greatest challenge comes when the level of interest for renting provokes modifications and transitions in the real estate market, affecting local businesses and public services, and thus emptying local neighborhoods by triggering evictions through social segregation and gentrification. Recognizing the problem of overtourism directs us to the logical question of whether

it is possible to reduce the impact on urban life by urban management and planning, by introducing sustainable and overall agreeable measures and rules that will benefit citizens and secure and maintain regular urban life, but simultaneously permit cultural dissemination and share global heritage with interested visitors.

DISCUSSION ON ESTABLISHING LIMITS ACCORDING TO THE URBAN CAPACITY

“Tourism is like any other industry: it needs to be regulated and managed locally to prevent negative impacts,” says Justin Francis (UK-based tour operator Responsible Travel, which has produced its own guide to the issue of overtourism) (Minihane, 2019).

In the past few years, the number of destinations raising the alarm because of overly high tourist crowds has steadily increased. Some cities have even been forced to establish limits and new rules in order to preserve heritage and avoid overcrowding. For example, the city of Rome has banned sitting on the Spanish stairs, and people can be fined € 250 for doing so. The city council has set up glass fence in front of the *Fontana di Trevi*, as an anti-tourist barrier to stop people sitting on the monument’s wall and prevent them from stealing coins from the fountain (an estimated € 3,000 are thrown into the fountain each day, annually about €1.4 million; the money has been used to subsidize the city budget). Amsterdam has recently announced that the ‘demotion’ of tourism is to become part of city policy; the intent is not to make Amsterdam unattractive to tourists, but rather it will not be promoted to attract greater numbers of tourists (Dodds and Butler, 2019). In Bruges, each year about 8 million tourists visit its small historic center, with a resident population of just under 20,000. The vast majority of visitors are day-trippers, and many of them stay for less than three hours. Their numbers have swelled recently with the increasing popularity of cruises, landing at nearby Antwerp, Ostend and Zeebrugge. Bruges has managed with remarkable success, and has developed a blueprint for other distressed tourist cities. The city authorities, worried by the growing tourist invasion, introduced a “hotelstop” in 1996, which has limited the number of hotels in the historic center to just over 100. In 2002, they limited the number of second or holiday homes, in order to preserve the population of permanent residents. The city authorities also followed a strategy of concentrating tourists in the southwest of the city, with parking for buses and a railway station. Buses are only permitted into the city center if they are bringing visitors and their luggage to hotels. Cars are likewise discouraged by limiting parking and locating cheaper, long-stay car parks on the outskirts (Mason, 2018). The World Tourism Organization has proposed 11 strategies and measures to address the increase in visitor growth in cities, and 12 key policy recommendation for implementation, given in Table 1 (World Tourism Organization, 2018).

In the opinion of the authors of this paper, resolving the problem is possible only by applying a set of different measures as a part of one thoughtful strategy, combining legal and economic limitations, such as taxation, changes in the tourist sector promotion and spatial organization where possible (urban zoning and land use, better transport

facilities). It is not desirable or possible to avoid tourism, but for those suffering from exaggerated levels of visitor flow, some kind of strategy or plan for moderation should be implemented.

The sustainability of tourism is usually connected with the preservation of natural and cultural goods, but in this case its purpose is to preserve traditional urban life in destinations that are under pressure from visitors. It is up to cities to set strategic goals and decide what kind and level of tourist visits are sustainable for a particular place and whether profit from this industry is a priority, or the quality of local urban life. Limiting the negative effects, but still keeping the benefit of arrivals is a question for serious analysis and balance. Seasonal peaks or visits throughout the year should be considered too, including for attractions and events that provoke crowding. Now is the moment when city authorities that face these issues have to consider them and make decisions about introducing single rules or sets of measures in the spheres of legislation and the economy, and even to reassess urban plans and relationship between contents and functions. In reality, it is not too complicated to review and adapt some regulations, particularly those concerning renting apartments and opening hostels in residential buildings, by proposing terms for the minimal technical preconditions, consent of neighbors, special taxes, limitation in the number of visitors or renting days per year, and similar measures concerning communal order. Possible limitations for cruising ports have already been mentioned. It is very difficult to change and adapt the urban matrix or influence land uses. The spatial aspect depends on numerous factors, including the type of problem, size of the city and dispersion of attractions; however, it is still possible to plan traffic and other connections between points of interest, including spaces for parking buses and drop-off spots, better public transport, pedestrian zones and cycling lanes, or allocating hotels and accommodation in peripheral areas, thus dispersing them to the surroundings. It is important to remember that tourist interest has provoked some revitalization and reconstruction projects in cities, which is a positive influence. Analogously, it is logical to expect some planning solutions, in order to better organize city capacities and satisfy both local needs and visitor curiosity. The team of experts who consider these aspects, besides urban planners, should include specialists in tourism, with a knowledge of local features and demands.

CONCLUSIONS

Urban life is sometimes complicated in itself, because of spatial and time limitations, distances, crowds, insufficient infrastructure and organizational issues. It has become obvious that overtourism, as a product of modern times, infuses urban life and makes it more tense and stressed. Citizen associations and non-government organizations have pointed out that normal and regular life in some city areas has become impossible because of the influx of tourists. Some cities have been forced to introduce bans and penalties, others have decided to try by means of a strategic change of attitudes and conditions. After the current calm, owing to COVID-19 lockdowns, it is reasonable to expect a new boost after normalization and to be prepared to face old problems; however, it is even better to use this situation to

reconsider some measures that will improve and resolve the relationship between city dwellers and visitors.

The literature review gives evidence of the process at different locations, emphasizing some major causes of overtourism, such as massive tour operator packages, the cruising industry and the new invention of renting apartments via applications. Different case studies have in common the negative effects on city residents, causing social and economic encumbrances, and raising questions about the quality of life, safety and accessibility to city contents.

There is spectrum of different measures and policies that may gain some upgrading and balance between the needs of citizens and demands of visitors. Besides new rules in communal order or taxation, some adaptations in urban planning and zoning, traffic organization and similar topics may be introduced. Every decision should be toward the relief and avoidance of negative effects, from overcrowding to more deep problems like their influence on the housing market, gentrification and the movement of businesses and services.

There are some guidelines for further scientific research about this topic, in the field of urban planning. It is necessary to create the subdivision of locations by urban characteristics (size, specific areas, popularity, sessional or annual interest, etc.) and observe the impact of overtourism (social, economic, functioning of urban system, safety, etc., as well as to link in a matrix with suggested measures on how to improve the state and avoid the displeasure of the residents and visitors. The measures should be drawn from different bases, including urban planning and design, transport organization, urban management, marketing, public and social services, legal acts and economic interventions. Because this is a long-term, living and changing process, it is crucial to observe, collect and analyze data, especially in case studies, and to create scenarios for the implementation of suggested measures and limitations, evaluate their effects and make a recommendation list, focusing on the main problem and possible solutions, in line with the expected results. Having a right to the city should include this topic wherever possible and necessary.

Acknowledgments

This study was supported by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia (451-03-68/2020-14/200006).

ORCID

Maja Hristov,  <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0218-8679>

Nataša Danilović Hristić,  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4678-8521>

Nebojša Stefanović,  <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1884-9128>

REFERENCES

Arias Sans, A., Quaglieri Domínguez, A. (2016). Unravelling Airbnb: Urban Perspectives from Barcelona. In: Russo, A.P., Richards, G., (eds.). *Reinventing the local in tourism: producing, consuming and negotiating place*, Part 3: Built Environments and 'Glocalized' Spaces. Bristol/Buffalo, NY: Channel View

Publication, pp. 209-228.

- Balampanidis, D., Maloutas, T., Papatzani E., Pettas, D. (2019). Informal urban regeneration as a way out of the crisis? Airbnb in Athens and its effects on space and society, *Urban Research & Practice*, pp. 1-20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17535069.2019.1600009>
- Barrera-Fernández, D. García Bujalance, S., Scalici, M. (2019). Touristification in historic cities: Reflections on Malaga. *Revista de Turismo Contemporáneo – RTC, Natal*, Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 93-115.
- Benner, M. (2019). From overtourism to sustainability: A research agenda for qualitative tourism development in the Adriatic. Heidelberg University - MPRA Paper No. 92213.
- Boffey, D. (2019). It's getting like Disneyland': Bruges pulls up drawbridge on tourists, *The Guardian* [online]. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/jun/16/bruges-crackdown-tourist-numbers> [Accessed: 14 Jan 2021].
- Capocchi, A, Vallone, C., Pierotti, M., Amaduzzi, A. (2019). Overtourism: A Literature Review to Assess Implications and Future Perspectives, *Sustainability*, Vol. 11, No. 3303. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su11123303>
- Capocchi, A., Vallone, C., Amaduzzi, A., Pierotti, M. (2020). Is 'overtourism' a new issue in tourism development or just a new term for an already known phenomenon?, *Current Issues in Tourism*, Vol. 23, Issue 18.
- Cócola-Gant, A (2016). Holiday rentals: The new gentrification battlefront, *Sociological Research Online*, Vol. 21, No. 3, pp. 1–9.
- Díaz-Parra, I., Jover, J. (2020). Overtourism, Place Alienation and the Right to the City: Insights from the Historic Centre of Seville, Spain, *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2020.1717504>
- Dodds, R. and Butler, R. (2019). The phenomena of overtourism: a review, *International Journal of Tourism Cities*, Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 519-528. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJTC-06-2019-0090>
- Dwyer, L., Forsyth, P. (1998). Economic significance of cruise tourism, *Annals of Tourism Research*, No. 25, pp. 393–415.
- Ferreri, M., Sanyal, R. (2018). Platform economies and urban planning: Airbnb and regulated deregulation in London, *Urban Studies*, Vol. 55, Issue 15, pp. 3353–3368. <https://doi.dox.org/10.1177/0042098017751982>
- Garcia-Ayllon, S. (2018). Urban Transformations as an Indicator of Unsustainability in the Mass Tourism Phenomenon: The Airbnb Case in Spain through, Three Case Studies, *Sustainability*, Vol. 10, No. 2933, pp. 1-21. <https://doi.dox.org/10.3390/su10082933>
- Gotham, KF (2005). Tourism gentrification: The case of New Orleans' Vieux Carre, *Urban Studies*, Vol. 42, No. 7, pp. 1099–1121.
- Gurran, N., Phibbs, P. (2017). When Tourists Move In: How Should Urban Planners Respond to Airbnb?, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, Vol. 83, No. 1, pp. 80-92. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01944363.2016.1249011>
- Gurran, N., Searle, G., Phibbs, P. (2018). Urban Planning in the Age of Airbnb: Coase, Property Rights, and Spatial Regulation, *Urban Policy and Research*, Vol. 36, Issue 4: Disruptive Urbanism, pp. 399-416. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08111146.2018.1460268>
- Jover, J., Díaz-Parra, I. (2019). Gentrification, transnational gentrification and touristification in Seville, Spain, *Urban Studies*. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0042098019857585>
- Jover, J., Díaz-Parra, I. (2020). Who is the City for? Overtourism,

- Lifestyle Migration and Social Sustainability, *Tourism Geographies*. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2020.1713878>
- Koutsoumpos, L. (2019). Challenging Ethics in the Urban Sphere, *Proceedings: On Architecture – Challenges in Architecture, Urban Design and Art*. Belgrade: STRAND, pp. 86-96.
- Kuščer, K., & Mihalič, T. (2019). Residents' Attitudes towards Overtourism from the Perspective of Tourism Impacts and Cooperation-The Case of Ljubljana, *Sustainability*, Vol. 11, No. 6. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su11061823>
- Lee, D. (2016). How Airbnb Short-Term Rentals Exacerbate Los Angeles's Affordable Housing Crisis: Analysis and Policy Recommendations, *Harvard Law & Policy Review*, Vol. 10, pp. 229-254.
- Lima, V. (2019). Towards an understanding of the regional impact of Airbnb in Ireland, *Regional Studies, Regional Science*, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 78-91. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21681376.2018.1562366>
- Mason, A. (2018). The Belgian city that solved the problem of a tourist invasion, *The Telegraph* [online]. <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/destinations/europe/belgium/articles/bruges-overtourism/> [Accessed: 22 Jan 2021].
- McCarthy, J. (2003). The cruise industry and port city regeneration: The case of Valletta, *European Planning Studies* Vol. 11, pp. 341-350. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09654310303634>
- Mermet, A-C. (2017). Critical insights from the exploratory analysis of the 'Airbnb syndrome' in Reykjavik. In: Gravari-Barbas, M., Guinand, S. (eds.), *Tourism and Gentrification in Contemporary Metropolises: International Perspectives*, 3. Airbnb and tourism gentrification. London: Taylor & Francis, pp. 52-74.
- Milano, C., Novelli, M., Cheer, J. M. (2019). Overtourism and Tourismphobia: A Journey Through Four Decades of Tourism Development, Planning and Local Concerns, *Tourism Planning & Development*, Vol. 16, No. 4, pp. 353-357. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21568316.2019.1599604>
- Minihane, J. (2019). Destination trouble: Can overtourism be stopped in its tracks?, *CNN Travel* [online]. <https://edition.cnn.com/travel/article/how-to-stop-overtourism/index.html> [Accessed: 14 Jan 2021].
- Perkumienė, D., & Pranskūnienė, R. (2019). Overtourism: Between the Right to Travel and Residents' Rights, *Sustainability*, Vol. 11, No. 7. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su11072138>
- Pham, K., Andereck, K., Vogt, C. (2019). Local residents' perceptions about tourism development, *Proceedings of Travel and Tourism Research Association International Conference*, 74. Melbourne, Australia: TTRA. https://scholarworks.umass.edu/ttra/2019/research_papers/74
- Sheppard, S., Udell, A. (2016). Do Airbnb properties affect house prices?, *EconPapers*, 03. Department of Economics Working Papers from Department of Economics, Williams College, pp. 1-45. <https://econpapers.repec.org/paper/wilwileco/2016-03.htm>
- Wegmann, J., Jiao, J. (2017). Taming Airbnb: Toward guiding principles for local regulation of urban vacation rentals based on empirical results from five US cities, *Land Use Policy*, No. 69, pp. 494-501. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2017.09.025>
- World Tourism Organization -UNWTO; Centre of Expertise Leisure, Tourism & Hospitality; NHTV Breda University of Applied Sciences; and NHL Stenden University of Applied Sciences (2018). 'Overtourism'? *Understanding and Managing Urban Tourism Growth beyond Perceptions, Executive Summary*. Madrid: UNWTO. <https://doi.org/10.18111/9789284420070>
- Yrigoy, I. (2016). The impact of Airbnb in the urban arena: towards a tourism-led gentrification? The case-study of Palma old quarter (Mallorca, Spain). In: Blázquez, M., Mir-Gual, M., Murray, I. y Pons, G.X. (eds.), *Turismo y crisis, turismo colaborativo y ecoturismo*. XV Coloquio de Geografía del Turismo, el Ocio y la Recreación de la AGE. Mon. Soc. Hist. Nat. Balears, No. 23. pp. 281-289.

Received February 2021; accepted in revised form April 2021.