"Streaking tourists and drunken travelers"

A discourse analysis on the used media frames regarding the misbehavior of tourists at popular destinations.

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Abstract

This thesis examines the current discourses that are used to describe the misbehavior of tourists in contemporary English-speaking newspapers. Currently, the role of media and media frames is significant in shaping the public opinion on certain matters. Because of the significant role of media frames, this research looked into how English-speaking media framed the misbehavior of tourists at destinations that oftentimes deal with overtourism and how this affects the perception of that particular destination. By means of a qualitative content analysis, 81 news articles from three British newspapers, four American newspapers, and two news broadcasters BBC and CNN were researched. After this, the articles were analyzed through a framing analysis. This eventually led to emergence of four current discourses that are used for the portrayal of misbehavior of tourists in the media. The discourses are single characteristics of tourists, explaining the misbehavior of tourists as a consequence of overtourism, types of observed misbehavior, which is subdivided into four types of misbehavior, and lastly, the approaches to limit the observed misbehavior. The four mentioned discourses were determined based on how these discourse fits into the existing media frames coined by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000). The frames observed were the human-interest frame, conflict frame, absence of moral constraints frame, (economic) consequences frame and responsibility frame. The discourses affect how a destination is framed by the media, and how this results in the type of tourist that is attracted to the destination. It was observed that the reporting of misbehavior of tourists is often framed as a conflict between locals and tourists. This resulted in a one-sided narrative in the reporting of the results of overtourism where the locals express their opinion on the misbehavior of tourists, it adds to the continuation of how the destination is framed by the media. This research argues that the importance of framing, of the misbehavior as well as the framing of destinations that struggle with overtourism have a significant effect on the perception and public opinion one has about a destination, and therefore could affect the success of a tourism destination.

KEYWORDS: tourism misbehavior, media frames, framing, discourse analysis, overtourism.

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Acknowledgements

When the time came to come up with a research subject for the master thesis, I was discussing possible topics with a group of friends. One acquaintance mentioned that he was traveling around in Australia, and when he visited Uluru in the outback of the country, he thought that it would be nice to climb it. However, little did he realize that this is no longer desirable to climb because of the significance it has to the Aboriginals. This did not stop him, and he decided to climb it anyway because he had traveled all the way from the Netherlands to seen and climb it. This story made me question why people misbehave when they are traveling as I heard other stories about misbehaving on vacation more often. Because of this, I decided to see if the misbehavior of tourists is something that occurs more often, and also what role the media plays in this.

Conducting the research and writing the thesis have been nothing but an interesting journey and conclude two years of studying at Erasmus University Rotterdam. Firstly, I would like to thank my supervisor Siri Driessen for the constructive feedback and the enjoyable meetings where she would encourage me to get the most out of the feedback and thesis, and for her words of reassurance during the last few weeks of writing and revising. Secondly, I would like to thank my family, and my parents for their unconditional love, support, and kind words during the two years I studied in Rotterdam but particularly during the thesis. The Facetime calls, and the weekends at home helped me to get my mind from it, get new perspectives and stay motivated. Lastly, I would like to thank my fellow TCS study buddy and friend Rosa who I have spent hours of working in the library with, where we would bounce ideas off each other, get countless coffees and keep each other motivated. Without the help and support of those mentioned, the process would not have been as enjoyable as it now was!

I hope you enjoy reading the thesis.

Keisa Meyjes

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1. Introduction

Not too long ago, Vatican City had to deal with a tourist who had been smashing ancient sculptures because his demand to see the pope was not granted (CNN, 2022). Similarly, in the winter of 2020 six tourists were arrested and deported because they caused irreversible damage to the ancient Mayan temple Machu Picchu in Peru (New York Times, 2020). Moreover, in 2019, Kyoto tourists were fined because they were harassing Geishas (The Independent, 2019). Similar instances where tourists were involved have been getting more attention from various news outlets. Nowadays, people are more aware of the fact that tourism does not only bring positive developments, but also could bring along negative implications that are related to tourism. The debate on the benefits and burdens of tourism has been both present in contemporary media as well as in academic studies. Numerous studies have focused on the negative side of tourism, such as overtourism and the effects of it on locals and their neighborhoods (Szromek et al., 2019, Cheung & Li, 2019, Amrhein et al., 2022). The growing interest in the negative consequences of tourism on locals also seeps through contemporary media who have started to increase covering topics such as overtourism. This was especially the case in Venice and Barcelona where locals would protest against the significant number of tourists that would visit their cities (The Guardian, 2018; BBC, 2017).

The media is one of the main actors in shaping the perception in issues that involve the public life (Hanssen, 2020), and the shaping of perceptions is oftentimes the result of news frames (Winter, 1999). News frames are defined as an influence on an individual by "stressing certain aspects of reality and pushing others into the background" (Lecheler & de Vreese, 2019 p. 3) and making news frames as a selective function. When considering tourism and the relation to media, the media can offer important insights into emerging problems, but they can also be seen as a powerful actor that affects the influence of the public opinion and actions (Schweinsberg et al., 2017). Because of this, the importance of how certain issues such as misbehavior of tourism are framed and portrayed in contemporary media, can also affect the public opinion on tourism. Similarly, news frames could also amplify social effects that could come from tourism, such as the mentioned examples.

The social effects of tourism have been widely researched and a frequently seen social effect of tourism is the differences between the host culture and the culture of the tourists (Archer et al., 2005). More specifically, the differences in cultural behavior between visitors

and residents are so vast that mutual understanding is replaced by apathy (Archer et al., 2005). These differences in behavior can sometimes lead to consequent problems such as vandalism (Archer et al., 2005). The social impact of the behavior of tourists becomes evident when the misbehavior of visitors is directed towards locals. The misbehavior of tourists could range from less significant misbehavior such as stealing hotel amenities to more worrying misbehavior such as damaging cultural heritage in the host country (Wan et al., 2021).

This research aims to focus on the media frames used by contemporary news outlets about tourist socialization and cultural faux pas, like the misbehavior of tourists. Moreover, the research will also aim to assess if this only occurs with mass tourism and how this is portrayed by news outlets, and if they are to some extent gatekeeping tourism experiences that they consider as misbehavior because of the way they label the behavior. Two sub-questions were created in order to answer main research question. The two sub questions are as follows: "*In what ways does the portrayal of misbehavior differ per destination?*" And: "to what extent are the media frames and the type of tourists that visit the destination related?" The main research question that this thesis aims to answer is as follows: "What are the current discourses on tourism misbehavior in contemporary English-speaking news outlets?"

There has been research done on the misbehavior of tourists and its impacts (Wan et al., 2021, Tsaur et al., 2019, Sun et al., 2022), yet how this is framed by contemporary news outlets and if they blame the misbehavior on cultural faux pas or just as ignorance has received little attention by scholars. Moreover, oftentimes research on news articles in relation to tourism uses a quantitative research method (Stepchenkova & Eales, 2011; Pizam & Smith, 2000), however, by using a qualitative approach it does not only show which discourses are used but also gives a better insight into the reasoning behind the used media frames. By doing this, this research aims to limit the knowledge gap between the quantitative approach of the effects and how the current discourses add to the framing of tourists, and destination. Moreover, by adapting a qualitative research method, it can also be determined if the misbehavior is caused by cultural faux pas or that it can be blamed on ignorance from tourists, adding to the academic relevance of this thesis. In addition to this, it could be argued that contemporary news outlets have a considerable impact on how such misbehavior is perceived, as it is argued by Hanssen (2020) that the media shapes the perception of social issues and affects the public opinion. Because of the significant role of newspapers in our day to day lives in which they are able to shape the opinion of society, it adds to the social

relevance of this research. Moreover, the role of newspapers in framing tourism, tourism misbehavior and also the destinations can be considered significant as it could affect the perception locals, and tourists, adding to the social relevance of this research. Therefore, a qualitative discourse analysis of news articles will be done in order to determine if there is a difference in the portrayal of misbehavior and which media frames are used to see the change in the portrayal in the media and addresses the current knowledge gap on the portrayal of the behavior of tourists.

This thesis will start with a theoretical basis where theoretical concepts of consumer misbehavior, and how this seeps through to the travel behavior are explained. Moreover, the reasons for misbehavior will be touched upon. After this, the role of media in regard to tourism, will be explained. Moreover, in the academic debate on overtourism will also be described. After the theoretical concepts have been explained, the research methods chapter will justify the chosen research design, and elaborate the data sample. Moreover, the process of the data collection will be elaborated on. The operationalization of the research draws on the theoretical concepts that have earlier been established in the framework. After this, the process of the data analysis and is explained. The results chapter describes the results that stem from the conducted discourse analysis of news articles. This chapter is divided based on the four observed discourses that add to the portrayal of misbehavior of tourists in the media. Moreover, the results will be elaborated on, and will be compared to the existing literature coming from the theoretical framework. Lastly, to wrap up the research, a conclusion is drawn from the results and aims to answer the posed research question. Additionally, limitations of the research will be described, and further research recommendations will be made based on the outcome of the conducted research.

2. Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, the theoretical concepts will be explained. These theoretical concepts will serve as the start for the research and the theoretical discussion. The chapter consists of the concepts: Consumer misbehavior in tourism, reasons for tourism misbehavior, tourism in the media, and the debate on overtourism. With discussing these concepts, the theoretical framework aims to highlight the relation between consumer misbehavior, if and how this relates to overtourism and how this is framed in contemporary English-speaking media. By explaining these theoretical concepts, the aim is to highlight the motives for misbehavior, how this seeps through in travel context where the need to misbehave comes from.

2.1 Consumer misbehavior in tourism

In order to understand tourism misbehavior and the motives for people to engage in tourism misbehavior, it is important to understand consumer misbehavior in general and the ascribed reasons for this. Consumer misbehavior has been widely researched by scholars in the past years. Fullerton and Punj (2004) define consumer misbehavior as "consumer acts that violate generally accepted norms of conduct in consumption situations" (p. 1239). This in turn can be blamed on the mass consumption culture as consumption culture is characterized by the notion of constantly expanding the range of consumer goods and services (Matsuyama, 2002). When looking at the previously mentioned research of Fullerton and Punj (2004), they posed seven motives for consumer misbehavior.

The first motive is *unfilled aspirations*, which hints on the idea that when consumers are unable to satisfy their consumption goals and the availability of legitimate resources to accomplish them (Jacobsen & Barnes, 2020). In line with this, the second motive is *the thrill-seeking motive* meaning that misbehavior can be motivated by thrill and the risk of being caught, which amplifies the potential rush stemming from the misbehavior (Moore, 1984). The third motive is the *absence of moral constraints*. With posing this motive, Fullerton and Punj (2004) argue that if a consumer is not self-conscious about misbehaving in a consumption setting, "the norms and expectations do not perceive to have an impact that will deter one from misbehaving" (Fullerton & Punj, 2004, p. 1244). In other words, if consumers' morals align with the morals from the place or setting, they misbehave, it can be seen as misbehavior. Similarly, if the morals are not aligned, it can be said that either one of the parties does not perceive or regard the conducted behavior as misbehavior. In the same line of thought, the fourth motive is *differential association* and is described by Cohen (1966

as cited in Jacobsen & Barnes, 2020) as the deviance of norms between a group in society and society as a whole. Moreover, the misbehavior of the smaller group in society is often promoted, and even "guides individuals to rationalize negative opinion towards the morality of their misbehavior" (Jacobsen & Barnes, 2020, p. 52). The fifth motive pathological socialization, hints on the idea that the size and ownership of organizations could evoke negative feelings that eventually lead to misbehavior among consumers (Fullerton & Punj, 2004). The sixth motive is the provocative situational factor and argues that some situations can trigger powerful impulses to misbehave. An example given by Jacobsen and Barnes (2020) is that in some situations, harmony may be reduced and can lead to misbehavior. The reduction of harmony can be excessive noise, heat, and overcrowding. Lastly, the seventh motive is *calculating opportunism* where rational weighing of the benefits and risks can result in some consumers misbehaving. However, even though the misbehavior of consumers is a direct result of the consumption culture, continuous consumer misbehavior is unusual (Jacobsen & Barnes, 2020). Even though Jacobsen and Barnes (2020) argue that continuous consumer misbehavior is unusual, there is a chance that the misbehavior can pass on to the behavior of consumers in travel context. Because there is a possibility of the behavior seeping through to the behavior of consumers in travel context, it could raise the question if these motives or potentially other motives can also be observed when consumers are placed in the travel context. Additionally, as described, misbehavior is defined by violation of the generally accepted norms. Because of this, it can also cast a doubt on what are generally accepted norms and if these differ when traveling abroad.

There have been numerous cases in which tourists' behavior has made the news. The behavior of tourists is something that is widely researched over the last years. Li and Cao (2022) argue that the consumer behavior of tourists is a complex phenomenon as it involves the whole process of traveling out of their environment. In the same vein, Wan et al. (2021) saw that tourists are "more vulnerable to the temptation of engaging in misbehavior when away from home" (p.1). Furthermore, Harris and Magrizos (2021) state that when there is a temporary loss of social- as well as personal control, people are more likely to be less inhibited than usual. Because of this it can be argued that when people are in a setting outside of their own environment, they are more likely to misbehave. Common examples of this type of misbehavior are cutting queues, excessive drinking, and vandalism (Wan et al, 2021). Bhati and Pearce (2016) add that vandalizing popular historic sites or monuments is also a high-risk deviant tourism practice, which also comes from the loss of personal and social control. Moreover, in the same research of Wan et al. (2021) it is mentioned that there are

different kinds of misbehavior among tourists such as uncivilized behavior towards service providers, vandalism to the company's physical property, and fraudulent return of goods and shoplifting. Yu et al. (2022) argue that the misbehavior of tourists comes from the fact that tourists are separated from their social constraints and norms that govern their daily lives, meaning that they have less of a social control from their environment. Similarly, Jones (1991 as cited in Wan et al., 2021) argues that proximity is an important factor if they should or should not engage with misbehavior. "The closer the decisionmaker feels to a potential victim, the less likely it is that the decisionmaker will behave unethically" (p. 1). However, it can be said that the misbehavior of tourists is often a gray area between unethical and illegal actions, making the behavior of tourists highly subjective (Harris & Magrizos, 2021). The research on hand aims to go further on the motives for consumer misbehavior and if and how this affects their behavior when they travel as they are not in their regular social setting.

2.2 Reasons for tourism misbehavior

The reasons behind misbehavior in tourism have had the interest of scholars over the last years. Uriely et al. (2011) believes that the tourism phenomenon is an opportunity to enable both deviant and normative behavior among travelers. Moreover, they state that the deviant behavior of tourists comes from the fact that people have the unconscious drive for aggression, and that this becomes evident when they are not confronted with their social environment, or their day-to day lives. In line with this, Wang (2000) mentions that tourism is some form where "individuals are allowed to engage in non-rational and irrational behaviors", hinting on the idea that tourism is a form where social norms are suspended and oftentimes even encouraged. Yet, Wan et al. (2021) believes that the misbehavior of tourists is not caused by their intrinsic motivators but is blamed on the cultural differences and tourists not being aware of the local norms. Moreover, they explain that values and misbehavior are suppressed when consumers stay in their environment, but reveal themselves when they go on holiday, adding to the idea that when people are on vacation, they believe the social control of their norms and values are not as important as when they are in their environment at home. Tourism related time and space is in this way deviant from their everyday life. Harris and Magrizos (2021) found that the misbehavior can also be blamed on the pursuit of pleasure that comes from emotional, social, and cognitive factors of tourists. They argue that the misbehavior is because of the will to break free, and that rational thought are placed in the background while elicit powerful emotions prevail. Because of this, it can be said that the social control, or more specifically the lack thereof, plays a significant part in the behavior of tourists. Social norms play an important role in the guidance of people's behavior and "maintaining the stable functioning of society by defining which behaviors are appropriate and desirable" (Wan et al., 2021 p. 2). However, this does raise the question as to what can be considered appropriate and desirable behavior. It could be assumed that desired behavior can differ per destination as these have often different norms and values and therefore other ideas of desirable behavior. Considering the presented arguments, it can be said that people naturally have the urge for aggression, and that this becomes evident when they are not confronted in their own social environment, which gives them in their perception a valid reason for misbehaving while on vacation. However, it can also be said that there still is social control at the destinations, but because of the possible difference in culture and social norms, they feel that the repercussions of their behavior do not affect them as much. This in turn could be blamed on the fact that they are essentially anonymous when on vacation and therefore if they are looked down upon because of their behavior, it does not affect them as they are only there temporarily. Additionally, it can also be assumed that some forms of their behavior are considered to be normal and that tourists would not classify this as misbehavior, whereas the host community, so the locals could perceive this as misbehavior. This could be blamed on the different cultures. Because of the fact that misbehavior can be interpreted differently in terms of desirability, this research investigates what the framing of misbehavior in English speaking news outlets is and how this affects the portrayal of the specific tourists that visit that particular destination. Because of this aim, it is important to high the connection between tourism and media, and what role media plays in the framing of tourism and tourists.

2.3 Tourism in the media

Media and tourism are closely connected. Media can be used to help with building a destination image, which could affect the number of people arriving (Muhoho-Minni & Lubbe, 2017), making it an important aspect for the marketing of the destination. In the case of tourism, media dependency is ought to be of importance as people are not engaging with tourism on a day-to-day basis (Dirikx & Gelders, 2010). In the same vein, media gives potential visitors a clear image of the destination as the product itself is intangible and therefore are highly dependent on information content and helps visualize the destination

(Stepchenkova & Morrison, 2008). Because of this, it can be argued that the way tourism is framed in the media, can have some effect on how a destination is perceived.

In 1992, Neuman et al. defined frames as "conceptual tools which media and individuals rely on to convey, interpret, and evaluate information" (p. 60 as cited in Hansen, 2020). Moreover, Entman (1993) argues that news frames typically start with a definition of a problem, then diagnose causes, make moral judgements, and lastly, suggest remedies. Yet not all frames include the four functions. Nevertheless, the tools argued by Neuman et al. (1992) also cause different perspectives and implications on the same news stories. In addition to the traditional media such as newspapers, social media has also risen, and nowadays people use a mix of traditional media and social media in order to form an opinion about matters (Hansen, 2020). Therefore this mix of traditional media and social media can also be used in forming an opinion about destinations where tourism is significant. Hansen (2020) argues that the line between traditional media and social media has become blurred as traditional media now also have online environments for people to connect and engage in. Therefore, it can be argued that a mix between traditional media such as newspapers and social media could help with forming opinions about certain destinations where tourism occurs.

In addition to this, Blevins & Ragozzino (2018) mention that traditional media is strengthened by the rise of social media as people can be overwhelmed by social media and therefore find the traditional news calmer and having a clearer portrayal. Goffman (1974) provided an account on how expectations are used to make sense of daily situations (as cited in Almeida Santos, 2005). Moreover, he conceptualized framing "as rendering what would otherwise be a meaningless aspect of the scene into something that is meaningful" (p. 150). Yet, because of the interpretive nature of framing, it is used to "understand how a variety of issues are constructed, structured and developed by the mass media" (p. 150). In other words, Goffman (1974) argued that the expectations one has about a topic, can be altered by mass media via framing in order to fit it to the desired audience. In addition to this, Tuchman (1989) argues that the frames serve as parameters in which citizens discuss public events.

There are several different frames that are used by the traditional media. According to Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) there are five main media frames used in the news; the conflict frame, responsibility frame, (economic) consequences frame, human interest frame, and morality frames. The *conflict frame* "emphasizes the conflict between groups, individuals, or institutions as a means of capturing audience interest" (p. 95). *The responsibility frame* is defined by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) as the frame that "presents an issue or problem in such a way as to attribute to responsibility for its cause or solution to

either the government or an individual or group" (p. 95). The *human-interest frame* "brings a human face or emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue or problem" (p. 95). The *(economic) consequences frame* "reports an event, problem, or issue in terms of the consequences it will have economically on an individual, group, institution, region or country" (p. 95). Lastly, the *morality frame* is defined as "the frame that reports an event, problem, or issue in terms of the consequences it will have economically on an individual, group, institution, region, or country" (p. 95).

Looking at the *conflict frame*, oftentimes tourism is framed as a reason for conflict, mostly between locals and the tourists. The *human-interest* frame could be seen as an extension of this as it gives the opportunity for news outlets to give a face to the groups or individuals in the conflict frame, making these two frames the most applicable for the portrayal of tourism in the media. The *(economic) consequences* frame can be seen in the media as an effect of tourism on locals, the environment, and the local economy. It can be argued that these consequences could be both positive and negative. When looking at the *responsibility frame* and how this relates to the portrayal of tourism in the media, an example of this could be the opinion of officials and them presenting measurements against overtourism, as they are taking responsibility for the issues caused by tourism. The *morality frame* can be seen in the media as the consequences of the behavior of tourists on the locals as well as on the country as a whole. It could be said that this frame is used for the difference in culture between the locals and the tourists, causing in a clash of morals.

Yet, when considering how tourism is framed by media, Phi (2019) argues that oftentimes, the downsides of tourism, such as overtourism are amplified in the mainstream media. The concept of overtourism and how it is framed in the media has been widely researched (Phi, 2019, Pasquinelli & Trunfio, 2020, Clark & Nyaupane, 2020). Phi (2019) states that most of the mainstream media blame the tourists for overtourism as they travel to the same destinations during the same time periods. Moreover, the researched media simplified issues such as overtourism, and gave little attention to the nature of overtourism such as the supply-chain of global tourism (Phi, 2019). The role of media in tourism has a significant influence on public opinion as well as public actions (Pasquinelli & Trunfio, 2020). This in turn can be seen where the depiction of mass tourism causes a reaction with locals who are fed up with tourism in their city and protest against it. This is in line with the "issue-attention" cycle, where high involvement in certain matters is followed by public interest decline (Hall, 2003). Furthermore, Phi (2019), also found that the interest in overtourism and the reporting thereof remains simplistic and continues to be focused on the

tourist numbers, as well as measurements to limit this one 'wicked' problem of tourism, and therefore simplifying the problem itself. Because of this, it can be said that the downsides of tourism are amplified in the mainstream media, but in a simplified way, even though there are more aspects that could contribute to overtourism. Because of this simplified way of how overtourism is framed, there is little understanding among locals, which results in the issue-attention cycle, and ultimately leads to the decline of public interest in tourism. Additionally, it can be argued that when the public interest declines, it could affect destinations that are depending on tourism in the long term, as it could result in a decrease of tourists that visit. Because of the increase in tourism and its effects, the one-sided narrative of tourism in contemporary media has become more evident. This research aims to understand the current discourse of the misbehavior of tourism and how this is portrayed by contemporary English-speaking newspapers.

2.4 Academic debate on overtourism

Since this research focuses on the misbehavior of tourists at popular vacation sites, these destinations often deal with a level of overtourism. In order to highlight the importance of the effects of overtourism and how this relates to the behavior of tourists, the ongoing debate on overtourism and its effects is emphasized in this research. The concept of overtourism has seen an increase in popularity in recent years, especially in academia. One of the first scholars to research the term overtourism was Doxey (1975) who saw a negative reaction among residents when tourist numbers were rising (Dodds & Butler, 2019). The majority of the places where overtourism occurs are urban centers such as Barcelona, New York, and Paris. Even though overtourism brings along some negative aspects, such as overcrowding and increases of prices of rent (Bouchon & Rauscher, 2019), Dodds and Butler (2019) argue that there always will be complaining from locals about there being too many tourists in their community, while destination marketing organizations promote the destination to attract more visitors. Overtourism contributes in that sense to the economic benefit as well as to the social and environmental costs, making it a double-edged sword. However, Dodds and Butler (2019) discuss that it is a matter of perspective, as people who are not employed or engaged in tourism mostly are in favor of a significant decrease of the number of tourists in their area and see this as the only solution to the nuisance caused by overtourism. Yet, they oftentimes fail to see the improved services and facilities such as public transport, infrastructure, and commercial ventures, which could outweigh the social costs. The reason as to why

overtourism as a phenomenon has been increasing can be blamed on the development of new service technologies, as well as the rise of low-cost airline carriers that make it more accessible to travel (Capocchi et al., 2019). In addition to this, the rise of new technologies such as social media, could also be argued to contribute to overtourism (Gretzel, 2019).

An effect of overtourism that is often early on noticed by locals is the increase for tourism accommodations. With the rise of Airbnb, the effects on the livability are significant. Benner (2019) argues that the effects are higher costs for housing for the locals, deterioration of the local's identification with their place, the loss of authenticity of a destination, and the privatization of public spaces, which eventually leads to exclusion and segregation of locals. Yet, some authors mention the positive effects of these sharing platforms as they contribute to creating a more authentic experience, as tourists are oftentimes in the less touristic areas of a destination (Heo, 2016). It could also be argued that this helps in spreading tourists more evenly at a destination, rather than them being concentrated in a particular part of the city. Nevertheless, Such-Devesa et al. (2021) argue that whenever a destination is increasing in popularity, the demand for home-sharing platforms goes up, and the mentioned positive effects can turn negative rather quickly. Converting the residential houses to tourist accommodations also adds to the gentrification of the tourism destination (Such-Devesa et al., 2021). Cocola-Gant (2018) defines tourism gentrification as "the process in which the growth of visitors threatens the existing population's right to stay put" (p. 287). Because of the rise of housing prices, it makes it more challenging for locals to find affordable housing in the area. These developments could eventually lead to rejection towards tourism from the locals, (Such-Devesa et al., 2021), as it can be said that their area is being commodified to the wishes and needs of the tourists. Additionally, it can be assumed that when tourists are accommodated in residential areas, the deviant behavior could be more noticeable since they are not locals.

An extension of this effect is the attitude of locals towards tourists and the behavior of tourists. In 2022, García-Buades et al. found that the behavior of tourists is deemed important in situations and destinations where overtourism occurs and where tourism-phobic sentiments emerge. In other words, the behavior of tourists becomes more important to consider at destinations where overtourism appears and where the relation between locals and tourists is already affected in a negative way. It could be argued that when the desired behavior of tourists is limited, tourism-phobic sentiments emerge more frequently. In the same vein, Nilsson (2020) found that not only crowding and the misbehavior of tourists is a frequently occurring effect, but also conflicts between residents and tourist seems to become more

evident. The tourism-phobic sentiment caused by the misbehavior of the tourists and visitors, could eventually lead to an antagonizing attitude of locals towards tourists (Garcia-Buades et al., 2022).

Considering the presented literature on the current debate on overtourism, it can be said that most of the time overtourism is portrayed from the perspective of the locals, where the economic benefit that comes from tourism is considered more important than the social and environmental aspects. Yet, the opinion of locals is imperative as they have a significant role in the success of the destinations, as their behavior could turn antagonizing towards tourists.

Based on the presented theoretical framework, it can be said that consumer misbehavior occurs regularly, as Fullteron and Punj (2004) argue that it can be blamed on the consumption culture. Not only can the consumption culture be blamed for the misbehavior, Wan et al. (2021) study's also blame intrinsic motivators, such as lack of moral constraints, are cause for misbehavior. This consumer misbehavior can seep through to the travel behavior of consumers. Wang (2000) mentions the reasons for misbehavior among tourists, and that it can be blamed on the fact that tourists find themselves in a different social setting where social control is less compared to their own environment, as social norms are suspended. However, it can be argued that tourists will travel from one social environment to the other, and even though they are out of their own social environment, where social rules apply, the new social environment also has social rules that need to be followed. Another factor that Wan et al. (2021) coin for the misbehavior of tourists is the cultural differences and not being aware of the local norms. This could imply that misbehavior of tourists comes from ignorance, and not getting familiar with the local norms and local culture. The role of the media has played a significant role in tourism as it is often used as a tool to create a certain image of a destination. However, the framing of destinations can have an effect on how the destination is perceived and what type of tourists come to that destination. Additionally, Stepchenkova and Morrison (2008) state that media plays a significant role in the number of tourists that come to visit. This could eventually result in overcrowding, which can eventually lead in overtourism. Phi (2019) argues that the effects of overtourism have been often portrayed in the media, from the perspective of the locals where tourism causes conflicts between locals who are annoyed by the number of tourists and their behavior, and the tourists who have different motives for visiting a certain destination.

3. Methods

In this chapter, the research design will be explained, and the chosen research methods will be justified. After this, the sampling procedure will be elaborated on. Followed by this, the operationalization of the analysis of the news articles will be described. Lastly, the data analysis will be explained.

In order to answer the posed research question "What is the current discourse of tourism misbehavior in contemporary English-speaking news articles?" and its sub questions: "In what ways does the portrayal of misbehavior differ per destination?" and "to what extent are the media frames and the type of tourists that visit the destination related?" qualitative research was conducted. The aim of qualitative research is to create an understanding "of meaning and experience dimensions of human lives and social words" (Fossey et al., 2002 p. 717). Moreover, qualitative research describes an individual's behavior, experiences, interactions, and social context without the use of statistical procedures or quantification (Fossey et al., 2002). Another characteristic of qualitative research, is the inductive approach that is used, meaning that the aim is to generate theory rather than testing theory (Bryman, 2016).

The ontological consideration of the research is the constructionism ontology. Ontology is concerned with the nature of social entities (Bryman, 2016). The constructionism ontology "asserts that social phenomena and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors" (Bryman, 2016, p. 29). Moreover, he implies that social phenomena are not only produced through social interaction but are in a constant state of revision (Bryman, 2016). In case of this research, it can be argued that tourism as a social phenomenon is constantly in change because of the social actors, which in this case the contemporary news outlets.

As this research is focused on how the misbehavior of tourists is portrayed in English speaking newspapers, it can be said that the research is located in the interpretive paradigm. Paradigms can be seen as a set of assumptions, research strategies and criteria for rigor that are shared, even taken for granted by that community (Fossey et al., 2002). The interpretive paradigm is focused on recognizing and narrating the meaning of human experiences and actions (Fossey et al., 2002). Moreover, Fossey et al. (2002) also argue that the interpretivism paradigm "aims to understand social life and describing how people construct social meaning" (p. 719). Considering the interpretive paradigm, which focuses on the recognition

and narratives of human experiences and actions, it can be said that when considering the current discourse of misbehavior of tourism can be regarded as a human experience and action. By recognizing the human action, which in this case could be the types of misbehavior of tourists, a distinction can be made between different kinds of misbehavior that occur, and how this relates to the framed destination. Additionally, the epistemology for this research is interpretivism epistemology. Bryman (2016) defines the epistemology as "the position that requires the social scientist to grasp the subjective meaning of social action" (p. 692). Moreover, he argues that it is about the *understanding* of human behavior rather than the *explanation*. Translating this back to the current research, the social action in this case can be the reporting of the misbehavior of tourists. In order to understand this social action, a distinction between different types of misbehavior will be made.

3.1 Research method

Since the aim of the research was to see what the current discourse on tourism misbehavior, an inductive research approach was applied. Based on the previously mentioned considerations in terms of the paradigm, epistemological and ontological considerations, the most suitable research method to apply is a discourse analysis (DA). Discourse analysis is an approach to study language that can be applied to forms of communication, other than talk (Bryman, 2016), and is used to refer to "all forms of talk and text, whether it be naturally occurring conversations, interview material, or written text of any kind" (Gill, 2000, p. 174). Moreover, DA does not necessarily focus on what really happened but is more concerned with the content and the organization of text (Gill, 2000), hinting on the idea that language is constructive, meaning that it is a way of "constituting a particular view of social reality" (Bryman, 2016, p. 534). Similarly, Potter (1997 as cited in Bryman, 2016) argues that DA "emphasizes the way versions of the world, of society, events and inner psychological world are produced in discourse" (p. 532). Considering the argument of Potter, it can be said that DA is more about how the discourse is interpreted and the underlying meaning rather than the literal sense of talk and text. Because of this it can create meaning to the talk and text (Johnstone, 2018). When looking at DA more closely, Gill (2000) argues that discourse is *rhetorically organized* meaning that the influence of a chosen discourse can contribute to persuading readers when presenting a version of events. For this research, news articles from various English-speaking news outlets were used in order to do a DA. Because the aim of a DA is to determine which current discourse is used in the reporting of misbehavior in

tourism, it can be said that this method is suitable to determine the discourses used as the focus is not so much on what really happened, but more how it is portrayed in the chosen news outlets. Moreover, because discourse analysis is characterized by it being rhetorically organized, it can be said that newspapers serve as a suitable source of data as they oftentimes present version of events and have a possibility to persuade readers about their stance on the misbehavior of tourists. When looking at the difference between a discourse and a frame, it can be said that a frame, which is defined by Neuman (1992) as a tool that individuals can rely on to interpret and evaluate information, is adapted by a writer in order to influence how a certain matter is presented to the reader. Because of the effect of frames it can be said that it has the power to change the perception on matters that are framed in the news. When looking at a discourse, Bryman (2016) argues that it is not as much what is written, but how this can be interpreted by the reader. This could mean that a frame can be seen as a starting point in the creation of a discourse on matters that are highlighted by newspapers.

3.2 Data collection

In order to determine the used discourses by contemporary English-speaking media on the misbehavior of tourists, the newspaper articles were assessed based the type of vandalism that occurs. Moreover, in order to determine the current discourses and frames used to describe the current misbehavior of tourists, the search will be based on locations that struggle with overtourism, and where misbehavior of tourists might be a reoccurring theme. By doing this, a clearer distinction can be made between the current discourse. Therefore, the sampling will be done on newspaper articles by means of a nonprobability sample, or more specifically purposive sampling. Purposive sampling is characterized by the fact that "the researcher does not seek to participants on a random basis" (Bryman, 2016, p. 408), and that the researcher determines what needs to be known, which often is helpful in information-rich cases (Etikan et al., 2016). Per location, a minimum of twelve articles needed to be collected to have a representative amount of data. In order to get a clear image on the discourses, sampling of the articles was done based on keywords about misbehavior, and overtourism at the destinations. The used keywords can be found as Appendix A. Additionally, only articles that have been written in English by the chosen news outlets and are over 300 words were used for the research. Moreover, articles from before 2013 were not taken into the research sample as these were deemed not recent enough, since the research focuses on the current discourse of

the reporting of tourism misbehavior. This was done to have a feasible representative sample, that is demarcated from the larger pool of data.

3.3 Data sample

For this research a total of twelve news outlets were considered to be in the data sample. This was divided into three British, and three American newspapers. The British newspapers were the Daily Mail, the Times, and the Guardian. After conducting a Google search on the biggest newspapers in the UK based on circulation were The Daily Mail, and the Times. The Guardian was chosen because of the accessibility of the articles online. The three American newspapers that were chosen for the research were the New York Times, the Washington Post, and the Wallstreet Journal. Moreover, articles from Fox news were also analyzed because they are regarded as a news channel that is more on the right side of the political spectrum (Mitchell et al., 2014). The three U.S. newspapers were also chosen after a Google search into the biggest newspapers in the U.S. Additionally, news articles of three news broadcasters were analyzed, which were Al Jazeera, CNN, and BBC. These broadcasters were chosen because of their significant reach and because of the nationality of the broadcasters. To have a broad and representative image, BBC was chosen as the biggest British and global broadcaster. CNN was also chosen because they are regarded as one of the biggest broadcasters in the United States. In order to have a different view rather than only Western media, Al Jazeera, as an Arabic news broadcaster was also included in the research.

Furthermore, it was determined that six popular tourist destinations and reporting thereof were analyzed. The chosen destinations are Amsterdam, Bali, Barcelona, the Pyramids of Giza, Machu Picchu, and Venice. When deciding on the destinations, the geographical locations of these destinations was considered. This was done in order to have a representative image on misbehavior on continents where overtourism occurs. Moreover, this was also done to see if there would be a difference in how misbehavior is perceived by different cultures. Another reason for choosing these six locations is because, to some extent they are all dealing with overtourism or high number of visitors. By having this popularity, it was assumed that the reporting of misbehavior by newspapers was significant. Because these locations are considered popular holiday destinations, it can be argued that these destinations are oftentimes mentioned when talking about overtourism and the negative aspects that come with it. One of the negative aspects is the over crowdedness, and the plethora of different kinds of tourists that a destination attracts. Because of this wide range of different kinds of

tourists that visit the chosen destinations, a clear difference between the discourses can be observed.

Since some of these newspapers are behind a so-called paywall, they were accessed via NexisLexis, Factiva, and Gale Onefile: News. These databases were available through the university library and gave free access to all the paid articles. The articles of *The Times*, and *The New York Times* were accessed through NexisLexis, the articles of *The Washington Post* were accessed through Gale Onefile: News. *The Wallstreet Journal, CNN,* and *The Daily Mail* were accessed through Factiva. Lastly, the articles from *The Guardian, BBC* and *Al Jazeera* were accessed via their own website as they did not have a paywall.

Generally speaking, the first page of articles would have the highest match based on the used search terms. After reading the title and the abstract of the article, it was then determined if they were suitable to be in the research. The title and the abstract needed to describe a form of misbehavior and needed to take place at the destination. While reading the articles, suggested articles about the misbehavior of tourists were oftentimes mentioned in the initial articles. This led to articles being sampled through snowball sampling, where not only articles were gathered but also synonyms that describe the misbehavior. These synonyms were then used as search terms for the news databases to gather more news articles. In total, 136 different combinations of search terms were used at three different news databases. If the articles included a type of misbehavior and the location, had more than 300 words and were published by one of the ten news broadcasters, they were copied in Atlas.ti version 23.1.1.

Since the desired number of articles per destinations was set at twelve, the expected point of data saturation was also twelve per location. However, for some locations, the data saturation point was reached sooner. The pyramids of Giza for example, the data saturation point was five articles. Nevertheless, some destinations such as Amsterdam and Venice had a set data saturation point of twelve but turned out to have a saturation point of nineteen and seventeen, respectively.

3.4 Operationalization

In order to filter the most usable articles from the thousands of newspaper articles online, search terms were used. The terms that were used came from theoretical concepts in the presented theoretical framework. These terms were among others related to the concepts of overtourism, misbehavior and nuisance caused by tourists. Additionally, when the used search terms did not provide the desired articles, synonyms or other similar terms were used.

For example, if the term *misbehavior tourists Amsterdam* did not provide enough articles, the terms were changed to *antisocial behavior tourists Amsterdam* or *nuisance caused by tourists*.

Appendix A shows the search terms that were used per data base, and the filters that were applied. In total, 81 articles for the six destinations were gathered. The distribution of the number of articles per destination can be found as appendix B. The articles were chosen based on the title, and if there was one available, the abstract. The title and abstract had to include some form of misbehavior and had to be set at the destination. Data gathering took place between March 9th and April 24th, 2023.

Moreover, if the desired number of twelve articles divided over the ten news outlets was not reached, additional news outlets were added through Google search. This eventually led to having 86 articles for the discourse analysis. Additionally, search words and concepts coming from the framework, such as the described reason for the occurred misbehavior, and the reaction of locals added to how the parts of the articles were framed and eventually helped in determining in which discourse the article fell.

3.5 Data analysis & ethical considerations

The data was analyzed by using a framing analysis. A framing analysis can be used to "examine the production of media coverage: how journalists and their sources operate, and how this affects the way a story is told" (Kitzinger, 2007, p. 137). When conducting a framing analysis, Kitzinger (2007) argues that the consequences of the presented events in a frame can affect the impact on public understanding of that particular event. In order to determine the used frame in a news article, Kitzinger (2007) argues that the usage of significant cues can help determine this. Some of the aspects that can be identified as key cues are "images used, type of language used, who is invited to speak, who is assigned responsibility for this issue and what solutions are presented, and how different characters, groups, social movement or entities are described" (p. 141-142). During the analysis, five articles were deemed unsuitable as they were used twice or did not meet the 300-word minimum. Eventually, 81 articles were analyzed in Atlas.ti. The analysis resulted in 41 axial codes, which were divided into four overarching themes that aim to answer the posed research question. The code tree and the codebook can be found as appendix C and D respectively. Additionally, in order to keep the results chapter organized, the referencing to

the news articles is done by numbering and abbreviating the titles and news articles. The full list with the names of the articles and the numbering can be found as appendix E.

The rise of the internet makes it a great tool and also a field site for conducting research (Markham & Buchanan, 2012). However, even though it is considered a great tool, it can also be considered that it can be challenging for researchers to determine the ethics that come into play when gathering data from online sources. In their research, Markham and Buchanan (2012) set up a list of questions one can ask to determine the ethical considerations when conducting online research. One of those questions is "what are the potential harms or risks associated with this study?" It can be said that the potential risks for this research are limited. The newspapers have been published online and are accessible for everyone. Moreover, the people that are interviewed in the articles are aware of the fact that they are going to be mentioned in the newspapers. However, when conducting the research, some of the interviewed people were not mentioned by name. This was mostly the case when they were the ones who misbehaved. However, it can be said that because it involves published news articles that are accessible for anyone, no ethical considerations needed to be taken. When looking at biases that might occur during the research, it can be said that a selection sampling bias could have occurred, and more specifically a sampling bias as this is oftentimes the case when the research has a nonprobability sampling strategy. In this research, the sample included six of the most popular English-speaking newspapers. This popularity was based on the circulation of the newspapers. However, when conducting the research it became evident that some of the instances of the occurred misbehavior were covered multiple times by different newspapers, making it unnecessary to have a more diverse sample.

4. Results

This chapter will describe the results of the conducted discourse analysis on the narratives used in English-speaking news articles to portray misbehavior of tourists. After the coding process, four discourse emerged from the data. Firstly, the discourse portraying *destinations and its visitors*. After this discourse of *overtourism in relation to the behavior of the tourists* was observed. The third one was the *types of misbehavior* which is divided into *misbehavior related to alcohol and drug usage, the violation of cultural norms, damaging heritage,* and *lack of appropriate clothing*. The last observed discourse was the *approach to limit misbehavior of tourists*. This chapter is divided into the four discourses that eventually aim to answer the research question "*What are the current discourses of tourism misbehavior in contemporary English-speaking news outlets?*" and the two sub questions: "*In what ways does the portrayal of misbehavior differ per destination?*" and "to what extent are the media frames and the type of tourists that visit the destination related?"

4.1 Single characteristic of tourists

The first discourse that became evident during the data analysis is the single characteristics of tourists. In most of the articles that discuss the misbehavior of tourists at a destination, a general depiction of the destination is given, and the assumed reason for visitors to come to the destination. Amsterdam was often portrayed as a city where people would go to for the reputation of it being a *"naughty Disneyland." The Wallstreet Journal* (WSJ Amsterdam 1, 2023) writes that "Amsterdam's liberal rules for drugs and prostitution have long attracted travelers looking to let loose." *The Daily Mail, Wallstreet Journal, Fox News*, and *CNN* portray Amsterdam as a party city, hinting on the alcohol and drug usage that is often tolerated by local law enforcement. This became evident through the way the newspapers described the general image of Amsterdam. They did this by mentioning the reasons for

tourists to visit it which were often related to the usage of alcohol and drugs. Two examples include: "many of whom travel to the city for the cannabis cafes" (DM Amsterdam 1, 2023) and "became synonymous with bachelor parties, drunken tourists, and binge-drinking as travelers took advantage of the city's freedom" (CNN Amsterdam 1, 2023). The articles emphasized the assumed visiting motivation of tourists, by blaming it on the alcohol and drug usage the city is known for. By mentioning this, it can be assumed that they actively contribute to the stereotypical portrayal of the destination. This framing could be argued to have an effect on the potential visitors. As mentioned in the existing literature, media can be used to help with building a destination image (Muhoho-Minni & Lubbe, 2017). In the case of Amsterdam, the destination image that has been created based on framing the city as a party hub by emphasizing the alcohol and drug usage among tourists, it can be argued that this contributes to the type of tourists that are attracted to the destination.

Bali is portrayed by the majority of the news broadcasters to be a place that is very tolerable towards tourists, and therefore attracts an array of different kinds of tourists. This was done through portraying Bali as a tolerable, and popular vacation destination by writing "where foreigners were welcome to dress and behave as they like" (WP Bali 1, 2023). Moreover, CNN writes "with its balmy beaches, laidback lifestyles and holiday vibe, the tropical paradise of Bali has much to offer" (CNN Bali 2, 2023). However, one type of tourist that seems to be getting more attention in the newspaper are Ukrainian- and Russian tourists. Interesting to see is that only the American news outlets mention the increase of Ukrainian- and Russian tourists, whereas the British newspapers do not. The New York Times (NYT 1 Bali, 2023) blames this increase on the recent war between both countries "thousands of Russians and Ukrainians flocked to the Indonesian island of Bali to escape the war" and CNN (CNN Bali 1, 2023) argues that the reason for the influx is "to avoid being drafted for the military." The articles emphasized the increase of Russian and Ukrainian tourists that visit Bali by mentioning the increase of this particular visitor, by using the official numbers that came from the government. By mentioning the increase of Ukrainian and Russian tourists, it can be assumed that Bali has become an important destination for Ukrainian and Russian tourists to flee the ongoing war. By mentioning the increase of these two nationalities, it can be said that this contributes to them being framed as the main offenders at the island.

According to *Fox News*, Barcelona is portrayed as the cultural aspects of the city and their Mediterranean cuisine (FN Barcelona 2, 2017). By writing "Barcelona's reputation of being a cultural hub treasured for its impressive architecture and fresh seafood dishes could become a thing of the past", newspapers such as the *Daily Mail* and *the Times* depict

Barcelona as a destination with significant cultural heritage sites. Moreover, they argue that these sites are endangered as they are framing the culture as a thing of the past. It can be assumed that this because of the increase of tourists that visit the city. Moreover, *the Times* (TT Barcelona, 2019) also argues that these people are influenced by social media to visit Barcelona.

The pyramids of Giza and Machu Picchu are framed as part of the seven wonders of the world, and Machu Picchu being one of the new world wonders. These locations are portrayed by the media as significant heritage destinations. Similarly, *the Times* frames the popularity of the site is due to the visitors being influenced by social media (TT Barcelona, 2019). Venice is framed by the *Washington Post* (WP Venice 1, 2022) and the *Daily Mail* (DM Venice 1, 2021) as a city that is characterized by their canals and basilicas. The city attracts a significant number of daytrip-tourists, and cruise ship tourists.

The motivation of people to visit locations is frequently highlighted in the articles. The majority of news articles mentioned the effect of social media on tourism. *The Times* (TT Barcelona 1, 2019) article in which they wrote that the travel choice for millennials comes oftentimes from social media, where they see pictures of "instagrammable" locations. A few of these destinations include Barcelona, the Pyramids of Giza, and Machu Picchu. However, the framing of the destinations also attracts different kinds of tourists who are appealed to a destination because of the depiction in the media.

Additionally, it was observed that this discourse is oftentimes seen as a starting point for writing the articles and highlighting the significance of the destinations and gives an indication of what type of visitors visit the destination. When considering Entman (1993) this discourse can be seen as the definition of the problem as well as diagnosing the causes, which in this case is the misbehavior of tourists. Moreover, when looking at cues that determine the used frame in a news article, the cue of the description of groups is a suitable indicator. The majority of the researched articles that talked about tourism misbehavior included the nationalities of the biggest nuisance-causers.

When looking at the kinds of tourists that are attracted to the destination because of the framing, it was observed that there were three destinations that deal with a particular kind of tourist. For Amsterdam these were considered British men between 18 and 35. For example, they were described by *the Guardian* (TG Amsterdam 1, 2021) as having one purpose when visiting Amsterdam: "partying and acting crazy" and the *Daily Mail* (DM Amsterdam 2, 2022) blaming British tourists for being the most prevalent offenders. Bali has been dealing with the misbehavior of Ukrainian and Russian tourists. Newspapers described

the sudden increase of Ukrainian and Russian tourists as them "looking for a way to escape the war and found refuge in a tropical paradise, where their behavior has not been unnoticed" (NYT Bali 1, 2023). Barcelona has been framed as a location that has been attracting a significant number of tourists, and more specifically British tourists. However, noticeable is that the British newspapers argue that the observed misbehavior comes from British tourists, whereas the American newspapers such as New York Times and CNN do not mention this, and emphasize the misbehavior of Chinese tourists, framing them to be the main offenders, and use words to describe it as "Chinese tourists littering beaches, and even defecating in public" (NYT Barcelona 1, 2015), where the key cue here is the employed label to define the nationality of the nuisance causer. Noteworthy is the fact that the pyramids of Giza have been dealing with the misbehavior of Europeans, whereas Machu Picchu has been dealing with not only European tourists but also South American. This could be blamed on the location of both of the sites. Venice has been framed as a destination with ancient wealth and an abundance of heritage. Examples used to describe the city include iconic basilicas, singing gondoliers, and gothic architecture. When looking at the nationalities that partake in tourism misbehavior in Venice, the majority of the tourists engaging in the misbehavior are from Europe, more specifically Germany and France. However, when looking at articles that depict the misbehavior of tourists in Venice, it can be said that not one group of tourists is being blamed or generalized for the misbehavior that occurs in the city. Remarkable is that during the analysis, articles that wrote about misbehavior in Amsterdam, Bali, and Barcelona, blamed one specific nationality for the misbehavior at the destinations. However, this does raise the question as to why there was no specific group blamed for the misbehavior that occurred at the other three destinations. One explanation for this could be that especially Venice is dealing with misbehavior of numerous nationalities, and therefore newspapers cannot frame one specific nationality that engages in misbehavior at the destination.

Therefore, as argued by Dirikx and Gelders (2010), media plays an important role in the decision-making process of tourists picking a destination for their next vacation, as people are not engaging with tourism on a day-to-day basis, making them dependent on what the media writes about the destination. However, because of this it can be argued that the way in which destinations are framed in the media also affects the type of tourists and the number of tourists that are attracted to the destination. Because of the framing of the destinations in the media, it can be assumed that these places will have to deal with the increasing number of tourists visiting, which is also seconded by Muhoho-Minni and Lubbe (2017), who saw that the image of a destination can affect the number of people visiting. It can be assumed that both of these notions, where the destination is framed in a particular way, it attracts a certain type of tourist, and consequently enforces the observed type of misbehavior that frequently occurs at a destination. Therefore the role of media in the ongoing tourism debate can be a significant contributor to the discussion.

Because of this, it can be said that the single characteristic of tourists discourse falls within the *responsibility frame* which is distinguished by the idea that it presents an issue of problem in such a way that they attribute to the responsibility for the cause or solution. Either by the government or an individual group (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). However, not only the *responsibility frame* is observed here, but the *human-interest frame* can also be considered here as it gives a human face or emotion to the event, issue, or problem (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000), as the majority of the newspapers mention the nationality of the tourists when misbehavior occurs. However it could be argued that this does add to generalizing tourists, and therefore oftentimes does not give an accurate representation of that particular group of tourists. It can be said that the framing of the nationality and the occurred misbehavior contributes to Phi (2019) argument, where reporting of tourism and overtourism remains rather simplistic, as the articles generalize the behavior of nationalities, and therefore does not give a representative image and remains simplistic.

4.2 Explaining the misbehavior of tourists as a consequence of overtourism

Due to the popularity of the destinations and how this affects the number of visitors, it can be said that the concept of overtourism is more evident at these chosen locations. The second way in which articles talk about the portrayal of misbehavior of tourists is about overtourism how this affects their behavior. An article of *the Times* (TT Barcelona 1, 2019) argues that it is due to the fact that people want to see the same thing, the same time, and in the same way, which is supported by Phi (2019). Moreover, *The Guardian* (TG Barcelona 2, 2017) weighed in the opinion of an economic researcher, who stated: "These shifts are really putting pressure on these locations, increasing the numbers and reducing the spread of tourists." And: "once you factor in the layout of a lot of these continental cities- old and with a network of smaller streets- people start to get the sense that they are being taken over." These presented reasons contribute to one of the main side effects caused by overtourism, which is over-crowdedness. On one hand this can be caused by the lay-out of the cities, and on the other hand it can be blamed on the fact that people want to see the same thing as every other person visiting that particular place. The *Washington Post* (WP Amsterdam 1, 2020) reported that in Amsterdam

"the streets felt permanently overcrowded" and The New York Times (NYT Venice 1, 2020) reported that Venice during the carnival becomes "impossibly crowded- particularly in its narrow calli, some just two meters, or six-and-a-half feet wide." Interesting to see was that when it comes to the portrayal of overtourism in the destinations, there language used were often superlatives, like impossibly crowded, and putting pressure on locations. It can be said that this is done to highlight the importance of the effects of overtourism on locals. When considering the key cues presented by Kitzinger (2007) The increase of tourists can lead to another effect of overtourism, namely the commodification of the destination. According to the articles, commodification and the reporting thereof is mostly evident in Amsterdam, Barcelona, and Venice. An explanation for this can be that within these tourism destinations, a significant number of locals still reside, whereas Machu Picchu and the Pyramids of Giza are considered heritage sites with little to no residents. Since commodification occurs, "where grocery stores turn into souvenir shops" (NYT Venice 1, 2022), it could be said that it makes the destinations less authentic. This in turn can add to the fact that tourists could feel less close to the destination, as it is all focused on the ease of tourists, and limiting the interaction with locals as it is all for the convenience of tourists.

Considering this, it can be argued that the effects of overtourism such as overcrowdedness, and commodification of destinations, can affect the behavior of people and could potentially spark misbehavior among them. The frame that was often used for the portrayal of overtourism and its effects is the *conflict frame*, as tourism but especially overtourism is framed as a reason for conflict between locals and tourists. This was observed through the fact that some newspapers used a narrative structure in their articles where they chose to highlight the narrative of the locals on overtourism. These newspapers include the Guardian, the Daily Mail, and the Washington Post. The latter one introduced two locals and ask them about their opinion on overtourism on Bali. By introducing locals to give their opinion on certain matters, it can be said that this can be seen as a key cue for the *conflict* frame as well as the human-interest frame. As argued by Kitzinger (2007) a narrative structure, as well as who is invited to comment can be seen as key cues for the indication of a certain frame. Which is in this case the *human-interest frame*. Another key cue that helped to determine the conflict frame was the use of language, as the problems that were described used words were often superlatives, to describe issues. These superlatives included words such as "visitor numbers are soaring (BBC, Barcelona 1, 2017)", and "the number [of tourists] peaked in 2019" (BBC Barcelona 1, 2017). However, by using these superlatives to describe overtourism, it can be argued that it implies that the downside of tourism is more

highlighted in the articles. This in turn contributes to a one-sided narrative occurring on the reporting of overtourism, as it is focused on the downsides of tourism. When considering the current theory it can be said that this is in line with Phi (2019) who argued that the downsides of tourism are often amplified by the media, and sketch this as a simplified, image of the problem, and do not consider the nature of overtourism. Yet, while conducting this research, there were numerous newspapers such as *The Times, the New York Times, The Guardian*, and *CNN*, who did mention multiple reasons for overtourism and contribute to a less simplistic, and one-sided narrative of the overtourism problem as argued by Phi (2019). Nonetheless, this does not take away the fact that overtourism does have a significant impact on the locals and the livability of a destination, as well as on the behavior of the tourists.

4.3 Types of misbehavior and repercussions

When conducting the data analysis, it became evident that there are different kinds of misbehavior of tourists. Moreover, it also became apparent that the locations each deal with a different kind of misbehavior based on how the city is framed in the media, and subsequently the type of tourists that visit.

4.3.1 Misbehavior related to alcohol and drug usage

Arguably, the most reported type of misbehavior and with the highest density is misbehavior related to alcohol and drug usage, which especially occurred in Amsterdam. Almost all of the news broadcasters that report on the misbehavior of tourists in Amsterdam, link it to the alcohol and drug usage of the tourists. The Guardian (TG Amsterdam 2, 2023) reports "the majority of those causing nuisances are (most often groups of) men between 18 and 34 from the Netherlands and the UK who visit Amsterdam with only one purpose in mind: partying and acting crazy." By emphasizing the reason for their visit by mentioning partying and acting crazy, it can be considered a key cue. However, it is reported that the city wants to change its image and improve the livability for the locals. The effects of this type of misbehavior often affects the livability of the location for the locals. The Guardian (TG Amsterdam 2, 2023) wrote that the city became unlivable for locals. Moreover, the Daily *Mail* (DM Amsterdam 1, 2023) wrote that "this is at the expense of a good night's sleep for the residents." When looking at the presented literature, the type of consumer misbehavior that occurs in relation to alcohol and drug usage is the *thrill-seeking motive* hinting on the idea that misbehavior can be motivated by thrill and the risk of being caught. Alcohol and drug usage among tourists can be argued to add to thrill seeking, as it can be assumed that

they do not use these substances on a day-to-day basis. Moreover, because they do not use these substances on a day-to-day basis, they experience temporary loss of social and personal control, adding to people misbehaving. In line with this, a second motive can be ascribed to this type of misbehavior, namely *the absence of moral constraints*, meaning that when the moral among tourists is lacking, misbehavior could occur, which is often the case when tourists use alcohol and drugs excessively.

Considering this, it can be said that the most frequently mentioned type of misbehavior is related to the alcohol and drug usage of tourists. This is mainly observed in Amsterdam, which has been framed as a city where alcohol and drug usage is often one of the main reasons for visiting. By using the substances that Amsterdam is known for, the motive that can be ascribed is the absence of moral constrains as the line with moral constrains becomes blurred when tourists use these substances excessively.

4.3.2 Violation of cultural norms

The second type of misbehavior is cultural misbehavior. It is observed that this is especially evident in Bali, where tourists do not know about local culture and because of the lack thereof, their behavior is considered disrespectful. Some of the misbehavior occurred at sacred sites, such as temples and other places that bear cultural significance. One of these instances revolves around tourists climbing sacred structures to take pictures (TG Bali 3, 2018). Another instance that occurred was two influencers splashing each other with holy water at one of the temples the island has, which resulted in online backlash (DM Bali 1, 2019). Moreover, one tourist had a heated argument with locals because of a traffic detour that was in place because of a religious procession (WP Bali 1, 2023). The Daily Mail asked for the opinion of the Bali tourism board and argued that this misbehavior can be blamed on the lack of knowledge of tourists. They do not know that some of the things they are doing are considered disrespectful (DM Bali 1, 2019). This can hint on the fact that there is a difference in morals and therefore can cause a culture clash between locals and tourists. When the two influencers were asked why they did this, they explained to the Daily Mail (DM Bali 1, 2019) that they were not aware that it was holy, and they were sorry about what happened. Acts of blasphemy therefore occurred frequently in Bali. Because of this it can be argued that their misbehavior occurred because of a difference in morals and understanding. This type of misbehavior was also observed at the Pyramids of Giza and Machu Picchu, as climbing them is considered to be "showing little understanding of respecting another

religion and culture" (BBC, Egypt 1, 2018). Not only is it considered disrespectful and an act of blasphemy to climb the heritage sites, but it is also considered dangerous, as there have been numerous tourists falling to their death (WP MP 2, 2016). The effects of this type of misbehavior can have a significant effect on the locals. *The Guardian* (TG Bali 1, 2021) writes that in the case of Bali, there is a difference in how tourists are treated, and some other newspapers even report that there has been a shift in tolerance towards tourists on Bali. The New York Times mentions that they have endured the bad behavior of tourists, but now they are getting frustrated with the disrespectful behavior of them (NYT Bali 1, 2023). The majority of the news broadcasters chose to write from the perspective of the locals and local authorities. They did this through introducing locals to express their opinion on this growing frustration towards tourists. The Washington Post asked the opinion of a local tourism worker who argued that "it is the behavior of 'I am the more important here" hinting on the attitude of tourists towards locals (WP Bali 1, 2023). It can be assumed that this is one of the causes that contributes to the growing frustration and the decrease of support for tourism on the island. Moreover, another local that was asked about their opinion of tourism in the Washington Post argued that the tourists are not breaking any laws, but it is more the lack of respect for the local life. Because of this it can be assumed that even though they are obeying the law, it shows that locals consider their behavior a violation of their cultural norms and values.

When looking at the theory, García-Buades et al. (2022) saw that the misbehavior of tourists could eventually lead to tourism-phobic sentiments. It can be argued that the shift in tolerance towards tourists could eventually result in an antagonizing attitude towards tourism and tourists when the behavior is not changed. Considering this, it can be said the motive for this type of misbehavior is the *differential association*, which hints on the deviance of norms between a group in society or society as a whole (Cohen, 1996, as cited in Jacobsen & Barnes, 2020). As described by the newspapers, most of the misbehavior came from climbing sacred places, or the influencers splashing each other with holy water, which they did not know was considered sacred. When looking at the nationality of the tourists engaging in this behavior, it was observed that the man who climbed the sacred place was from Denmark, and the two influencers splashing each other were from Slovakia. It can be said that their European culture has different norms compared to the Indonesian culture. Therefore, this deviance of norms between the European and Indonesian culture, can result in misbehavior, even though this might not be considered misbehavior in their own culture. This is also in line with Wan et al. (2021) who argued that the misbehavior is not the cause of intrinsic

motivators but can be blamed on the cultural differences and tourists not being aware of the local norms. In addition to this, because the difference is significant between European and Indonesian culture, it can be said that the European tourists feel further away from the victim and are therefore more likely to engage in misbehavior or unethical behavior (Wan et al., 2021). However, as mentioned in the literature by Harris and Magrizos (2021), the temporary loss of social and personal control contributes to less inhibition among tourists, and therefore the lack of cultural understanding cannot completely be to blame. Then again, it can also be argued that tourists should be aware of the local culture and what is considered disrespectful behavior in the country and culture they are visiting. This in turn can result in a clash of morals.

4.3.3 Damaging heritage

Closely related to the violation of cultural norms, is the damage to heritage by tourists. Machu Picchu and the Pyramids of Giza are the destinations that have been struggling with this type of misbehavior. This type of misbehavior includes climbing the Pyramids, and scaling of heritage. In the case of the pyramids, three news broadcasters (BBC, CNN, Daily *Mail*), reported about tourists climbing the heritage site, and are considered to be disrespectful by locals. Moreover, by climbing them, they cause irreversible damage to the heritage site (BBC Egypt 1, 2018). Machu Picchu has also been dealing with the damage of the site because of the misbehavior of tourists. Numerous tourists have been trespassing the grounds in order to see the site up close. Yet, this has resulted in irreversible damage to the site. Moreover, one instance in particular sparked outrage, and the instance was reported by the Daily Mail (DM MP 1, 2020), the New York Times (NYT MP 1, 2020), the Guardian (TG MP 1 2020), and Fox News (FN MP 1, 2020). In 2020, a group of six tourists trespassed into a secluded area of the temple, stayed overnight and when they were found the next morning by park officials were arrested. Upon investigation from the park rangers, they found that there was irreversible damage to the most sacred part of the temple, and they found that the tourists defecated in that part. This particular occurrence can also be considered as an act of blasphemy as it took place in one of the most sacred parts and was off limits for visitors. The mentioned newspapers used the statements and opinions of officials of the site. The Daily Mail interviewed the Cusco regional national police chief, to highlight the significance of the occurred misbehavior. Moreover, the police chief further described the measurements to limit this misbehavior from happening again in the near future, and also makes it easier to prosecute tourists for these "crimes against heritage." When looking at the literature and the

existing types of misbehavior and their main motivators, it can be said that this type of misbehavior falls under the *thrill-seeking motive* as people are actively pushing the boundaries. This was observed through the explanation of the offenders who climbed the sites. The BBC reports that it was the dream of the offender to climb the pyramid, even though it has long been considered forbidden to ascend the tomb (BBC Egypt 1, 2018). Moreover, the Daily Mail reported "a teenage thrill-seeker risked his life and imprisonment on a trip to Egypt while scaling the Great Pyramid" (DM Egypt 2, 2016). Additionally, the absence of moral constraints motive can also be observed in this type of misbehavior. Moreover, as argued by Bhati and Pearce (2016), vandalizing historic sites or monuments comes from the lack of personal and social control, which is also in line with the arguments posed by Yu et al. (2022), stating that the lack of social strains and being away from their environment adds to misbehavior. Yet, when considering the case of the six tourists who knew each other and were in the same travel party, which was observed through the fact that they sneaked into the site during the night together, as they mentioned this when asked about how they snuck into the temple. Because of this, it can be argued that even though they were not in their set environment, they were still social strains and could have increased the personal control, which in turn could have limited, or even prevented the occurred misbehavior.

4.3.4 Lack of appropriate clothing

The fourth type of frequently observed misbehavior in the news articles is the lack of inappropriate clothing among tourists. This type of misbehavior was portrayed through how some of the tourists dressed or more specifically lack thereof. Machu Picchu has been struggling to deal with the nudity of tourists. *The Daily Mail* (DM MP 2, 2019), *New York Times* (NYT MP 1, 2020) and *CNN* (CNN MP 1, 2014) reported about the increase of tourists streaking at the sacred Incan site. In fact, the misbehavior of the tourists became so bad that officials had to make people aware that this type of behavior is not encouraged, nor wanted. *CNN* wrote "park rules printed at the back of the admission tickets warn visitors against being nude in public" (CNN MP 1, 2014). The reason for this behavior can be blamed on the fact that some tourists seem to be taking these inappropriate pictures at significant sites. This was observed in Bali at a Buddhist temple (FN Bali 1, 2018; WP Bali 1, 2023), Pyramids of Giza (BBC Egypt 1, 2018), and near a church in Venice (WP Venice 1, 2022). Not only does this behavior occur at heritage sites, but also at cities. A majority of the articles that portrayed this

type of misbehavior mentioned one instance in particular, in which three Italian tourists walked around naked through a residential area in Barcelona. *The Guardian* wrote "the tipping point in the attitude towards tourism was a trio of naked Italian tourists" (TG Barcelona 3, 2014). Because of the usage of the words tipping point, and attitude towards tourists, it can be considered an instance that caused a lot of backlash among locals in Barcelona. An effect of this type of misbehavior is seen in Barcelona, where this particular incident caused outrage among locals, according to *The Times* (TT Barcelona 3, 2014). This resulted in protests tourism across the city, and an antagonizing attitude towards tourists and their misbehavior.

However, not only nudity is observed, dressing inappropriately is something that has been observed at all the destinations. This ranged from dressing up in a tutu in Amsterdam, to posing in bikini at sacred sites, and walking around bare chested in Barcelona and Venice. Especially the two latter destinations seem to be dealing with this type of misbehavior among tourists. As mentioned by García-Buades et al. (2022) the behavior of tourists becomes more important to consider at destinations where the relation between locals and tourists is affected in a negative way, and therefore result in tourism-phobic attitudes. This manifests itself through the anti-tourism protests that have been heavily covered by six of the nine news broadcasters. When considering the articles, it can be said that the tourism protests in Venice are less hostile than the ones observed in Barcelona. The protests in Venice were framed as protests marches, where The Guardian reported that 2.000 locals were walking through the streets while voicing their anger (TG Venice 2, 2021). The anti-tourism protests in Barcelona have been turning more hostile, as newspapers report that some of the actions include vandalism towards property that is related to tourism. The Times reports that "four members of Arran, an anarchist group, slashed tires and daubed graffiti on the windows" (TT Barcelona 2, 2018). Noteworthy is the fact that there is a difference between news broadcasters and how they describe the group. The most radical description of Arran is given by The Times and the Daily Mail who both describe them as an anarchist group (TT Barcelona 2, 2018; DM Barcelona 2, 2017). Additionally, the Guardian describes them as a youth wing group from the radical CUP party (TG Barcelona 2, 2017). The BBC defines the group with a more neutral term, labeling them as a youth group in Catalonia and Basque Country (BBC, Barcelona 1, 2017). Because of this, it can be said that there is a difference in the framing of the group between the newspapers, adding to Goffman's (1974) notion that the expectations one has about a topic, can be altered, and therefore fit it to the desired audience. This means that readers of The Times who read about Arran can associate the group more as

an anarchist group and therefore have a negative or even a precarious connotation. Due to this, it can be said that the perception of tourists towards the Arran group is altered and determined based on the newspaper they have read before or during their visit to Barcelona. Moreover, it can be said that these protests are a direct result of tourists ignoring social and cultural rules of a destination. As seen in the case of Bali, it is not that the tourists break the law, however, because of them breaking the social rules, it can be said that there is a growing dissatisfaction among locals who have to deal with the undesired behavior. When considering the argument of Pasquinelli and Trunfio (2020), who argue that the reporting of issues related to tourists have a significant influence on the public actions, it can be said that this is something that is evident in Barcelona. In the same vein, these protests can be seen as high involvement by the locals, which in turn can result in public interest decline (Hall, 2003), and ultimately leads to an antagonizing attitude towards tourism.

When looking at the motivator for nudity among tourists, it can be assumed that the *thrill-seeking motive* is observed, as nudity can be seen as a thrill and comes with the risk of being caught. Moreover, it can be argued that this misbehavior is in line with the reason given by Harris and Magrizos (2021) who state that misbehavior is because of the will to break free, and that rationality is placed in the background while these powerful emotions prevail.

Considering the mentioned types of misbehavior, it can be said that for almost all of the types of misbehavior, the main motivator that was observed in the news articles is the thrillseeking motivation. The misbehavior related to drugs and alcohol, and damaging heritage can be argued to have another motivator next to the *thrill-seeking motivation*, namely the *absence* of moral constraints. The misbehavior related to the violation of cultural norms is the only type of misbehavior that has as main motivator the *differential association motivation*. However, it can be argued that the types of misbehavior all have as motivation the absence of moral constraints as the moral of the tourists engaging in misbehavior could be argued to be lacking. However, this does raise the question as to which morals are desired and which are not, as this could differ per culture. When considering the media frames posed by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) it can be said that the types of misbehavior are framed within the conflict *frame* as there is a clear conflict between the locals and the tourists who engage in misbehavior. Moreover, another frame that has been observed in the types of misbehavior is the *human-interest frame* as articles often bring a human face or emotional angle to the presentation of a problem. It can be argued that by having this emotional angle, emphasizes the conflict frame as it highlights the clash of cultures that sometimes occurs between tourists and locals. This is especially evident in the case of Barcelona and the Arran group, who were

framed differently by the media, where *The Times* dubbed them an anarchist group and *the BBC* called them a youth group from the Basque Country. It can be argued that this contributed to the conflict frame as the descriptions conflict each other. The third frame that has been observed during the analysis is the *morality frame* as reports frequently list the effects of the misbehavior on locals, and their community.

4.4 Approaches to limit misbehavior of tourists

The last narrative that came forth after the analysis of the data were the approaches to limit misbehavior of tourists. Based on the four types of misbehavior, it was observed that for each type of misbehavior different approaches were presented. For the case of Amsterdam, that is dealing with misbehavior related to the usage of alcohol and drugs, a new campaign has been integrated by the municipality and is dubbed the "stay-away" campaign. The new campaign has been covered extensively by the news outlets. Twelve out of the nineteen gathered articles about misbehavior in Amsterdam are covering the new efforts to limit nuisance caused by drunken tourists. This campaign is targeting British men aged between 18 and 35 that come to the city to misbehave. The Guardian writes "Amsterdam city council launched a campaign to tell Britons from 18 and 35 in search of a messy night to stay away" (TG Amsterdam 2, 2023). It was reported that within this campaign, new rules are also implied, such as banning the sale of alcohol after 2 a.m. and the early closing of bars and restaurants, especially in the Red-Light District. According to the Wall Street Journal, the rules are meant to ease the effects of the rowdy tourists for the people that live in the area (WSJ Amsterdam 1, 2023). However, both of The Times (2023) articles found the new campaign to be a joke and "an online crusade to discourage young tourists from visiting shows the Dutch capital has lost its way." And: "the new stay away campaign is an insult to Brits" (TT Amsterdam 1/2, 2023). With implementing the new campaign, new laws and rules are in place to fight the misbehavior of tourists. An example of the fines by the Washington Post includes "no peeing in the streets, no alcohol in public spaces [...] fine; 140 euros" (WP Amsterdam 1, 2020)

Another approach for limiting misbehavior is linked to the violation of cultural heritage. Since Bali is dealing with the misbehavior that revolves around disrespectful behavior in and around sacred places, they have implemented a rule that foreign visitors are not allowed to visit these sites unaccompanied (TG Bali 3. 2018). Moreover, in 2021 *the Times* wrote that the Balinese government is thinking of banning budget travelers, and

therefore aiming to attract a desired tourist (TT Bali 1, 2021). *The Times* asked for the reasoning behind this notion, and local officials argued that they do not want backpackers and want Bali to remain clean, and that the tourists who come here are of quality. They described the budget travelers as 'begpackers', who busk or ask for money'' (CNN, Barcelona 1, 2018).

An approach to limit damage to heritage that was observed is charging a higher entrance fee. Since Venice has been dealing with millions of visitors every year, which adds to deteriorating of the city and its lagoon, the municipality has imposed a fee for day visitors. The Washington Post writes: "the municipality has approved a day-tripper fee that will go into effect in January" (WP Venice 1, 2022). The New York Times reports that the entrance fee will be a maximum of 10 euros on days where the number of tourists is expected to be the highest (NYT Venice 2, 2021). The implementation or the rise of a tourist tax for overnight visitors is also something that was observed in Amsterdam and Barcelona. In order to limit the damage to Machu Picchu, has implemented rules too. According to CNN, "all foreign visitors to Machu Picchu will soon have to hire an official guide to enter the Inca Citadel, follow one of three predetermined routes through the complex and face time limits at specific points to keep the traffic flowing, under new rules promulgated by the ministry of Culture in Cusco" (CNN MP 1, 2014). When failing to comply to the new posed rules it can results in imprisonment or deportation, which was also something observed. In the case of the six tourists that sneaked into the sacred part of the citadel, five of them were deported with a ban on visiting the country for 13 years, and a sixth was arrested and charged with crimes against cultural heritage (NYT MP 1, 2020, TG MP 1, 2020, FN MP 1, 2020).

In order to tackle the lack of appropriate clothing of some tourists, destinations approached this type of misbehavior with fines, detaining tourists, and even deporting and banning them from visiting the country for a certain amount of time. Amsterdam, Bali, Barcelona, Machu Picchu, the Pyramids of Giza, and Venice impose fines on this type of misbehavior. In Venice, two German women were charged with a 250 euro fine for sunbathing in their bikinis near a church (TG Venice 2, 2021). A Canadian woman was also fined for inappropriate clothing while in the city (DM Venice 2, 2019). It is argued by the *Daily Mail* that these new legislations allow the police to limit the anti-social behavior and issue them with an order to stay away from the city center of Venice, which could range from two days to two years (DM Venice 2, 2019). The Peruvian government was stricter in terms of dealing with misbehavior. In 2014 four Americans were detained for getting naked and posing at Machu Picchu, and not too long after, two Australians and two Canadians were also detained for stripping at the site and could lead to four years of imprisonment. Bali takes it a

step further and deports tourists straight away after undesired behavior. The Guardian reported that some high-profile cases involving the misbehavior of tourists, eventually have been deported from the country (TG Bali 1, 2021). Deportation of tourists has been especially high during the Covid pandemic where tourists did not obey the local health guidelines. In addition to not adhering to the health guidelines, tourists have also been deported because they violated other rules. The Washington Post reported that a Russian tourist was deported after a widely circulated picture of him with his pants down his ankles went viral on social media (WP Bali 1, 2023). In the same vein, the behavior of some of the tourists is so bad, that officials in Bali are reconsidering their visa-upon-arrival procedure for some tourists. CNN reported that Balinese officials called to end the visa-upon-arrival procedure for Russian and Ukrainian tourists specifically, as they are considered a group who cause for misbehavior on the island (CNN Bali 2, 2023). Considering the cues that determine the used frame of the news article, it can be said that the cue of assigning responsibility, as well as the cue of proposing solutions. The majority of the articles that assign responsibility to the occurred misbehavior also propose solutions in order to limit the misbehavior. This was done through gathering the opinion of officials who are responsible for tourism and its growth at a particular destination and asking them about ways they can limit the misbehavior. These cues helped to determine the frame that has been used to settle this discourse which is the (economic) consequences frame as it depicts the effects of the misbehavior and how officials deal with them in order to limit and prevent the anti-social behavior of tourists. In line with this, the second frame that was observed is the responsibility frame as officials need to take responsibility for the occurring misbehavior and in some cases overtourism. They take responsibility by posing new measurements and approaches to limit misbehavior.

Considering the presented results and the types of misbehavior, it was observed that every destination is framed in certain way that attracts a type of tourist, that causes a particular kind of misbehavior. For Amsterdam, it can be said that it is framed as a party city where public alcohol and drug usage is tolerated. This attracts tourists that are looking to use those notorious amenities, which are oftentimes British tourists. The type of misbehavior that occurs here is misbehavior that is related to excessive alcohol and drug usage, which manifests itself through noise nuisance, and public intoxication.

When looking at Bali, it can be said that this is portrayed as destination that has long bene very tolerable, which can be seen in the wide range of different types of tourists they attract, from families to backpackers. Because of the tolerable attitude, tourists feel less inhibition

and seem to engage in misbehavior that revolves around violating cultural norms. This became apparent through inappropriate behavior at culturally significant sites, where the tourists sometimes did not know that their behavior is considered disrespectful towards the local culture. Most of the tourists that engage in misbehavior have a Western culture, as most of the reported nationalities included Russian, Ukrainian, and Australian tourists.

Barcelona has been portrayed as a city known for its Mediterranean cuisine and culture, that attracts millions of visitors each year. Because of the significant number of visitors, the city has been struggling with overtourism that has become apparent here. Misbehavior of tourists in Barcelona is displayed through inappropriate clothing or lack thereof, as people walk bare-chested through the streets, or streak in supermarket in residential areas.

The Pyramids of Giza, and Machu Picchu have both been framed as great heritage sites. These locations attract tourists that come because they want to experience the sites from up close and in person. The observed type of misbehavior at these heritage sites is damaging heritage, as well as lack of appropriate clothing, as numerous tourists have trespassed to get to the site to climb it. Moreover, both of the sites have been dealing with nudity from tourists.

The city of Venice has long been depicted as a city with great heritage and is famous for its canals and is a popular destination for the millions of tourists that visit the city every year. Just like Barcelona, Venice has been dealing with a staggering number of visitors every year, and therefore has been struggling with overtourism. The types of misbehavior of tourists that is observed here is damaging heritage and lack of appropriate clothing. Tourists are walking around in minimal clothing, and are also surfing in the canals, which is considered by the locals as not done.

Considering the presented results, it can be said that the first discourse that contributes to the discourse of tourism misbehavior is the general depiction of a destination and its visitors. In a majority of the articles that talk about the misbehavior of tourists, first a general depiction of the destination is given. The framing of the destination also contributes to the motivation of tourists to visit the destination, as well as on the type of misbehavior. As in the case with Amsterdam, it can be said that it is depicted as a liberal city where partying is one of the main motivators for tourists to come. Therefore, because Amsterdam is depicted in the media as a liberal party city, it can be said that it also attracts tourists who have as motivation to party in Amsterdam. The media frame used for this is the *human-interest frame* as newspapers who report about the motives for tourists to visit the cities gives an emotional angle to the report.

The second observed discourse is overtourism in relation to the behavior of tourists. Based on the analyzed news articles, it can be said that overtourism is a main contributor to the behavior of tourists, as people want to see the same things, the same way, during the same time, causing over-crowdedness. Over-crowdedness can lead to commodification of the destination, as local facilities need to make way for tourist facilities. This in turn can lead to a less authentic experience for tourists. The lack of authenticity of a destination can be a cause for the misbehavior of tourists as the proximity to a destination is limited resulting in the fact that they do not feel close to a destination, which eventually results in misbehavior. Moreover, when tourists are exposed to a reduction in harmony, which is caused by overcrowdedness, misbehavior can be sparked among tourists. This makes the phenomenon of overtourism an environment for the misbehavior of tourists.

The third observed discourse for tourism misbehavior is the types of misbehavior that they engage in. Based off the articles, a clear distinction could be made between different types of misbehavior that tourists engage in. Moreover, per destination, a different kind of misbehavior was observed. Misbehavior related to alcohol and drug usage was observed in Amsterdam, which is due to the framing and portrayal of the city in the media. Based on the analyzed articles, the main motivator for this type of misbehavior is the *thrill-seeking motive* and the absence of moral constraints. The violation of cultural norms occurred most frequently in Bali, which manifested itself through acts of blasphemy towards the local religion. Tourists reportedly dressed inappropriately, and disrespected local religion by not following rules at sacred sites. This resulted in a clash of morals and became evident because of the nationality of the tourists that engaged in misbehavior as they all were from Western cultures. Not only did this behavior occur in Bali, but also at Machu Picchu and the Pyramids of Giza. The observed motivator for this type of misbehavior is the *differential association*. Closely related to the cultural norms is the third type of misbehavior, which is damaging heritage. This type of misbehavior was observed at Machu Picchu and the pyramids of Giza. Damage to the heritage sites was done because of the trespassing of tourists, where they would sneak into parts that were not accessible to the public or climbing the heritage sites. Considering this, the *thrill-seeking motive* can be ascribed to this type of misbehavior, as there were strict rules to access the heritage sites. The last observed type of misbehavior is the lack of appropriate clothing Where the appropriate clothing, or lack thereof is considered misbehavior. Dressing inappropriate has been observed at every destination. Yet, nudity has been frequently observed at heritage sites, where tourists would take inappropriate pictures. The motive ascribed to this type of misbehavior is the *thrill-seeking motivation*. When

looking at the types of misbehavior, the media frame used to portray these instances is the *conflict frame*.

The fourth discourse that came from the analysis of the news articles is the approaches to limit misbehavior. Within this discourse, the ways to limit misbehavior were presented. The presented approaches were the introduction of a campaign to limit tourists and misbehavior in Amsterdam, implementing an entrance fee in Venice to limit overcrowdedness, fining tourists for misbehavior numerous locations, and Bali and Machu Picchu taking it further by deporting tourists after they have been misbehaving. The media frame used for this discourse is the *(economic) consequences frame* and the *responsibility frame*.

5. Conclusion

This thesis aimed to answer the research question "What is the current discourse of tourism misbehavior in contemporary English-speaking news outlets?" A discourse analysis on the news reports of ten different broadcasters was conducted. These broadcasters include three British newspapers; the Daily Mail, the Times, and the Guardian, and four American newspapers; the New York Times, Fox News, the Washington Post, and the Wallstreet Journal. Additionally, the news articles of two news broadcasters were also analyzed, which were CNN and BBC. The articles were selected based on the location of the misbehavior. Six destinations that welcome significant numbers of tourists were chosen to observe the misbehavior of tourists. These destinations are Amsterdam, Bali, Barcelona, the Pyramids of Giza, Machu Picchu, and Venice. After the 81 articles were gathered, framing analysis took place and four discourses about tourism misbehavior were observed.

When considering the first posed sub question: "*in what ways does the framing of misbehavior differ per destination*?" it can be said that this depends on how the destination as a whole is framed by English speaking news outlets. This ranges from party cities where tourists indulge in the usage of substances it offers, to cultural significant heritage sites where tourists show little to no respect to local heritage and cultural norms. Because of this framing, different types of misbehavior occur. Misbehavior related to alcohol and drug use was observed in Amsterdam and Barcelona. The violation of cultural norms was mainly observed in Bali, Machu Picchu, and the Pyramids of Giza. In the same vein, the damage of cultural heritage was also seen at these significant heritage sites. Misbehavior in regard to inappropriate clothing was observed at all of the destinations.

In order to answer the second sub question: "to what extent is the framing of destinations related to the type of tourists that visit the destinations?" it can be argued that how a destination is framed by the media, can affect the type of tourist that visit the destination. Because of how destinations and its tourists are framed by the news, it attracts a certain type of tourists, which is in line with Dirikx and Gelders (2010) who argue that media plays a significant role in the decision-making process for their next vacation. It can be argued that because of this, this maintains the type of misbehavior that is observed at the

destination. Moreover, because of the lack of social control and them being away from their social environment they are more likely to engage in misbehavior, which is also something that is argued by Uriely et al. (2011). Additionally, it can be claimed that the one-sided negative narrative where the perspective of the local is adapted for reporting issues related to overtourism, the focus is put on the misbehavior of tourists again. For that reason, the depiction of the destination by newspapers sustains the type of tourist that is attracted to visit the destination, and therefore the relation between the framing of destinations and which tourist is attracted, is significant.

Considering this, the answer to the main research question of this thesis is that it can be said that there are four discourses used by English-speaking news broadcasters when reporting about the misbehavior of tourists. The first discourse is the single characteristic of tourists. Based on how the destination is framed in the media, it can be said that this attracts the type of tourist that is looking for what the destination is depicted as, such as parties, or visiting cultural significant places. The framing of this discourse falls within the humaninterest frame as the nationality of the tourists is oftentimes mentioned. The second discourse is the framing of the effects of overtourism on the destination and how these effects have an influence on the behavior of tourists. The frame used for this discourse is the conflict frame as overtourism is oftentimes given as a reason for conflict between locals and tourists. Moreover, the newspapers frequently used to write the articles from the narrative of the locals in order to highlight the conflict between the two groups. The perspective of the locals can be seen as a key cue for the conflict frame as well as the human-interest frame. The third discourse observed are the types of misbehavior that occur at different destinations. Due to the framing and the types of tourists that are attracted to the destination, each location deals with a different type of behavior and therefore, different motivations for misbehavior of tourists can be ascribed to this. However, there is an overarching motive for misbehavior that seem to occur at all the sites, which is the *thrill-seeking* motive and the main motivator being the absence of moral constraints. The observed frame for describing misbehavior is the conflict frame, where newspapers describe the opinion of locals, as well as those of the offenders. The last observed discourse is the approaches to limit the misbehavior of tourists. News articles include preventive steps taken by the government to limit the misbehavior of tourists and discourage other tourists from engaging in misbehavior. These approaches can be ascribed to the (economic) consequences frame as the effects of the misbehavior is highlighted by the articles. Moreover, the responsibility frame was also observed here as officials take responsibility for the fact that tourism at their destination sometimes is growing

disproportionally, and therefore responsibility has to be taken by the local government in order to limit the misbehavior that comes with overtourism and in turn improves the livability of the destination, as locals play a significant role in the success of the destination.

This research aimed to address the current knowledge gap where quantitative research methods have looked into the portrayal of misbehavior of tourists and how often this was reported in newspapers (see Wan et al., 2021; Tsaur et al., 2019; Sun et al., 2022). However, by adapting a qualitative research method, the discourse on the portrayal of the misbehavior of tourists aimed to give a better insight if this could be blamed on cultural faux pas or as ignorance. Moreover, by seeing which discourses are used for the portrayal of misbehavior, the social context of the research is also addressed. The societal relevance of this research is to contribute to highlight the importance of media frames and its effects. Not only for tourism destinations but also the power framing of news articles has on society in general, as the framing of the locations has a significant effect on the type of tourists that come to the destination. Furthermore, the impact contemporary news outlets have on the perception of misbehavior as well as on the perception of the destination also became evident in this study. This research hopes to help with highlighting the importance of media frames for destinations that have been struggling with overtourism and the misbehavior of tourists. Lastly, this research can make tourists more aware of their behavior and make them conscious about the fact that their 'normal' behavior could be considered misbehavior at another destination. Considering this, as argued by Harris and Magrizos (2021), the behavior of tourists is highly subjective. This in turn raises the question, what is considered misbehavior? And maybe even more importantly, who decides that it is considered misbehavior?

It is acknowledged that some limitations are related to the research. In order to determine the discourses of tourism misbehavior in English-speaking, Western media, a selection of three British and three American newspapers was made. However, it can be said that in order to have a more representative image, and to make a clear distinction between British and American media, a larger dataset with a greater variety of newspapers can be analyzed. Another limitation of the research is a lack of non-western perspective, in terms of news broadcasters. Initially, the articles from Al Jazeera were also supposed to be in the data sample. However, because of the lack of articles on misbehavior and overtourism, it was decided that these would not be included in the data sample. This in turn added to a more western perspective on the misbehavior of tourists and overtourism. Moreover, the local's perspective could have been highlighted more, where local newspapers from the destinations were also analyzed to see if there would be a difference between a more international

perspective and the local's perspective. However, given the language capacities of the researcher, this was not possible. Additionally, other destinations that are dealing with overtourism could also be analyzed. Moreover, by having a larger sample of newspapers, other discourses could be observed as well. This could also mean analyzing news videos that deal with misbehavior of tourists and how images and other footage adds to the framing, and if this differs with written texts. Recommendations for further research are therefore related to the limitations that arose during this research. Future research could focus on different destinations and analyzing a broader range of English-speaking newspapers, as well as adding news broadcasters that are considered non-western news sources. This could be done to decide if there are differences between the different English news broadcasters and nonwestern English speaking news broadcasters. Additionally, an analysis between conservative and liberal newspapers can be conducted in order to see how the phenomenon of overtourism and the effects thereof are framed. Moreover, the perspective of the locals in terms of the misbehavior can be researched, where local newspapers are also analyzed. Moreover, by including the narrative of the locals, it adds to a more diverse representation of the problems that occur at the destination. Additionally, a longitudinal approach can be applied in order to see if misbehavior has occurred more frequently in newspapers and if the observed discourses have changed over the last few years.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Used search terms per data base

Search terms master thesis Nexislexis	Key words	Filters	Newspaper filters
Amsterdam	Vandalism + tourism		
	Nuisance tourism	NEWS/2012- 2023/Newspapers	The guardian/ Nytimes/ the times/ nytimes international/ usa today
	Nuisance tourism amsterdam		
	Amsterdam tourism nuisance the daily mail		
Bali	Bali misbehaviour tourists	The Times	
	Bali overtourism	The Times	
	Bali mass tourism	The Times	
	Vandalism Bali	The Times	
	Limiting tourism Bali	The Times	
	Bali misbehaviour tourists	The New York Times	
	overtourism Bali	The New York Times	
	Nuisance tourism Bali	The New York Times	
	Vandalism Tourism Bali	The New York Times	
Barcelona	Overtourism Barcelona	The Times	
	Barcelona misbehaviour tourists	The Times	
	Barcelona disobeying tourists	The Times	
	Barcelona behaviour tourists	The Times	
	Barcelona antisocial behaviour tourists	The Times	
	Barcelona misbehaviour tourists	The New York Times	
Egypt	tourists climbing pyramid Egypt	The New York Times/ The Daily mail/ The Times/ The Guardian	
	antisocial behavior tourists pyramids egypt	New York Times/ The Times	
	Vandalism pyramids Egypt	New York Times/ The Times	

Google search terms		Filter
	Vandalism and tourism the guardian	
	Nuisance and tourism	
Bali	Misbehavior tourists bali	The Daily Mail
	Misbehavior tourists bali	The Guardian
	Overtourism Bali	The Guardian
	Mass tourism Bali	The Guardian
	Measures against tourism Bali	The Guardian
	Misbehavior tourists	
	Overtourism bali	
Barcelona	Misbehaviour tourists Barcelona	The Daily Mail
	Overtourism Barcelona	The Daily Mail
	Behavior tourists Barcelona	The Daily Mail
	Mass tourism Barcelona	The Daily Mail
	Misbehaviour tourists Barcelona	The Guardian
	tourists antisocial behaviour Barcelona	The Guardian
	Antisocial behavior tourists Barcelona new york times	New York Time
	Misbehavior tourists CNN	CNN
	Misconduct tourists CNN	CNN
Machu Picchu	Misbehaviour tourists Machu Picchu	The Daily Mail
	Unruly tourists Machu Picchu	The Daily Mail
	Degredation machu picchu	The Daily Mail
	Misbehaviour tourists machu picchu	The Guardian
	Unruly behaviour tourists	The Guardian
	Tourists damaging Machu picchu	The Guardian
	Misbehavior machu picchu	Fox News
	incidents machu picchu	Fox News
	Misbehavior tourists macchu piccu	CNN
	Misbehavior Machu Picchu	CNN
	Antisocial behavior Machu Picchu	CNN
	accidents tourists Machu Picchu	CNN
	Machu picchu	BBC
	Machu Picchu overtourism	BBC
	Machu Picchu nuisance	BBC
	Machu Picchu Accidents	BBC
	Machu Picchu behaviour	BBC
		DBC
Egypt	Misbehavior tourists pyramids Giza	BBC
	Tourists climbing pyramids	BBC
	tourists vandalizing pyramids egypt Misbehavior tourists pyramids Giza	The Guardian

Factiva search terms	Key words	Filters	Notes	
	Key wolus	Filters	Data gathering for Amsterdam took place in week of april 10th. This was a two weeks after the Stay away campaign of the municipality of Amsterdam launched	
			Data gattering for Ausserbarn took place in week of opin 1001. This was a two weeks after the stay away campaign of the monicupanty of Ausserbarn took place in week of opin 1001.	
Amsterdam				
	Vandalism Amsterdam Overtourism Amsterdam	Washington Post Washington Post		
	Overtourism Amsterdam Nuisance	Washington Post		
	Vandalism and tourism Amsterdam	Washington Post		
	Misbehavior tourism Amsterdam	Washington Post		
	Mass tourism Amsterdam	Washington Post		
	tourism Amsterdam	Washington Post		
	Limiting tourism Amstedam Tourists Amsterdam	Washington Post Washington Post		
	Effects tourism Amsterdam	Washington Post		
	Vandalism Amsterdam	Wallstreet Journal		
	Vandalism Amsterdam Tourism	Wallstreet Journal		
	Tourism Amsterdam	Wallstreet Journal		
	Mass tourism Amsterdam	Al Jazeera	Little about tourism in general	
	Overtourism Amsterdam	Al Jazeera		
	Vandalism tourists Amsterdam	Al Jazeera		
	Nuisance tourism Amsterdam	Al Jazeera		
	Overtourism Amsterfdam	BBC		
	Mass tourism amsterdam	BBC		
	Misbehaviour Amsterdam	BBC		
Bali	Vandalism Bali	Wallstreet Journal		
	Overtourism Bali	Wallstreet Journal		
	Overcrowding Bali	Wallstreet Journal		
	Disresepct Bali	Wallstreet Journal		
	Limiting tourism Bali	Wallstreet Journal		
	Vandalism Bali	New York Times		
	Overtourism Bali	New York Times		
	Overcrowding Bali	New York Times		
	Disrespect Bali	New York Times		
	Vandalism Bali	Al Jazeera		
	Overtourism Bali Overtourism Bali Nuisance	Al Jazeera Al Jazeera		
	Vandalism and tourism Bali	Al Jazeera		
	Mass tourism Bali	Al Jazeera		
	Effects tourism Bali	Al Jazeera		
Barcelona	Barcelona misbehavior	New York Times		
	Vandalism tourists barcelona Unruly tourists barcelona	New York Times New York Times		
	antisocial behavior tourists Barcelona			
	overtourism problems Barcelona	New York Times		
	drunken tourists Barcelona	New York Times		
	Barcelona overtourism Misbehavior tourists Barcelona	Washington Post		
	Unruly tourists Barcelona	Washington Post Washington Post		
	Unethical behavior barcelona	Washington Post		
	Unruly			
	disorderly			
	Raucous			
Macchu picchu	Machu Picchu overtourism	The Times		
macena precila	Machu Picchu overtourism Machu Picchu vandalised	The Times		
	Machu Picchu misbehaviour	The Times		
	Machu Picchu limiting tourists	The Times		
	Machu Picchu problems	Washington Post		
	Machu Picchu Machu Picchu tourists	Washington Post		
	Machu Picchu nuisance	Washington Post Washington Post		
	Machu Picchu degredation	Washington Post		
	Machu picchu new rules	Washington Post		
	Machu Picchu overrun	Washington Post		
	Machu picchu incidents	Washington Post		
	Adaphic Display deteriorstica	Mallatanat Inc.		
	Machu Picchu deteriorating Machu Picchu overtourism	Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal		
	Machu Picchu overtourism	Wallstreet Journal		
	Machu Picchu overtourism Machu Picchu problems Machu Picchu misbehavior	Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal		
	Machu Picchu overtourism Machu Picchu problems Machu Picchu misbehavior Machu Picchu misbehavior tourists	Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal		
	Machu Picchu overtourism Machu Picchu problems Machu Picchu misbehavior Machu Picchu misbehavior tourists Machu Picchu nuisance	Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal		
	Machu Picchu overtourism Machu Picchu problems Machu Picchu misbehavior Machu Picchu misbehavior tourists Machu Picchu nuisance Machu Picchu degredation	Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal		
	Machu Picchu overtourism Machu Picchu problems Machu Picchu misbehavior Machu Picchu misbehavior tourists Machu Picchu nuisance	Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal		
	Machu Picchu overtourism Machu Picchu problems Machu Picchu misbehavior Machu Picchu misbehavior tourists Machu Picchu nuisance Machu Picchu degredation	Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal		
Ervat	Machu Picchu overtourism Machu Picchu problems Machu Picchu misbehavior Machu Picchu misbehavior tourists Machu Picchu nuisance Machu Picchu degredation	Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal		
Egypt	Machu Picchu overtourism Machu Picchu problems Machu Picchu misbehavior Machu Picchu misbehavior Machu Picchu misbehavior Machu Picchu degredation Machu Picchu degredation Machu Picchu incidents Overtourism Giza Misbehaviour courists pramids	Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Mallstreet Journal The Times		
Egypt	Machu Picchu overtourism Machu Picchu problems Machu Picchu misbehavior Machu Picchu misbehavior tourists Machu Picchu nuisance Machu Picchu degredation Machu Picchu incidents Overtourism Giza Overtourism Giza Misbehaviour tourists pyramids Vandalism pyramids eypyt	Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Mallstreet Journal The Times The Times The Times		
Egypt	Machu Micchu ovetourism Machu Micchu oreitoeliens Machu Micchu mistehavior Machu Micchu mistehavior Machu Picchu uisanee Machu Picchu u	Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal The Times The Times The Times		
Εgγρι	Machu Picchu overtourism Machu Picchu problems Machu Picchu misbehavior Machu Picchu misbehavior tourists Machu Picchu nuisance Machu Picchu degredation Machu Picchu incidents Overtourism Giza Overtourism Giza Misbehaviour tourists pyramids Vandalism pyramids eypyt	Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Wallstreet Journal Mallstreet Journal The Times The Times The Times		

Appendix B: Distribution of news articles per location

Newspaper	Gathered articles	News broadcaster	Gathered articles
The Daily Mail	2	Al Jazeera	1
The Times	3	CNN	2
The Guardian	3	BBC	0
NY Times	2		
WSJ	1	Other newspaper	
Fox News	2	Forbes	1
Washington Post	2	NBC	1

Amsterdam: 19 articles

Bali: 15 articles

Newspaper	Gathered articles	News broadcaster	Gathered articles
The Daily Mail	2	Al Jazeera	1
The Times	2	CNN	2
The Guardian	3	BBC	1
NY Times	1		
WSJ	0	Other newspaper	
Fox News	1	Vice	1
Washington Post	1		

Barcelona: 17 articles

Newspaper	Gathered articles	News broadcaster	Gathered articles
The Daily Mail	2	Al Jazeera	0
The Times	3	CNN	2
The Guardian	3	BBC	1
NY Times	2		
WSJ	0	Other newspaper	
Fox News	2	CN Traveler	1
Washington Post	0	Boston Globe	1

Machu Picchu: 13 articles

Newspaper	Gathered articles	News broadcaster	Gathered articles
The Daily Mail	2	Al Jazeera	0
The Times	2	CNN	1
The Guardian	2	BBC	0
New York Times	1		
WSJ	0	Other newspaper	
Fox News	2	Art Net	1
Washington Post	2		

Pyramids of Giza: 5 articles

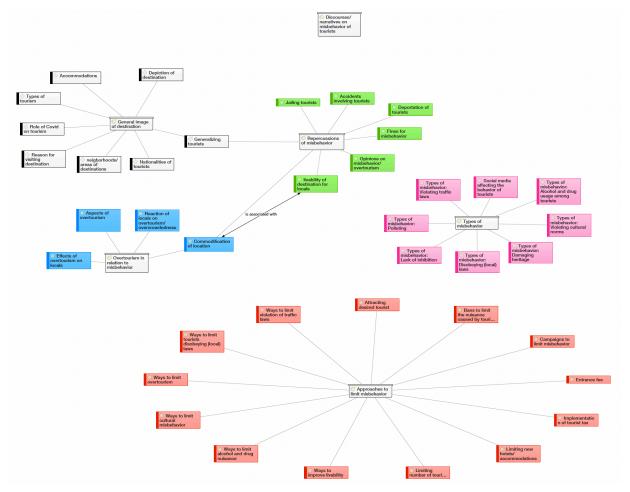
Newspaper	Gathered articles	News broadcaster	Gathered articles
The Daily Mail	2	Al Jazeera	0

The Times	0	CNN	2
The Guardian	0	BBC	2
NY Times	0		
WSJ	0	Other newspaper	
Fox News	0		
Washington Post	0		

Venice: 17 articles

Newspaper	Gathered articles	News broadcaster	Gathered articles
The Daily Mail	2	Al Jazeera	0
The Times	3	CNN	2
The Guardian	2	BBC	1
NY Times	2		
WSJ	1	Other newspaper	
Fox News	2	Mirror UK	1
Washington Post	1		





Appendix D: Code book

ATLAS.ti Report

Master thesis

Code groups

Report created by Keisa Meyjes on 23 May 2023

Approaches to limit misbehavior

Members:

Attracting desired tourist
 Bans to limit the nuisance caused by tourists
 Campaigns to limit misbehavior
 Entrance fee
 Implementation of tourist tax
 Limiting new hotels/accommodations
 Limiting number of tourists
 Ways to improve livability
 Ways to limit alcohol and drug nuisance
 Ways to limit cultural misbehavior
 Ways to limit overtourism
 Ways to limit tourists disobeying (local) laws
 Ways to limit violation of traffic laws

General image of the destination

Members:

Accommodations
 Depiction of destination
 Generalizing tourists
 Nationalities of tourists
 neigborhoods/areas of destinations
 Reason for visiting destination
 Role of Covid on tourism
 Types of tourism

Overtourism in relation to the behavior of tourists

Members:

Aspects of overtourism
 Commodification of location
 Effects of overtourism on locals: Lack of housing for locals
 Reaction of locals on overtourism/overcrowdedness

Repercussions of misbehavior

Members:

Accidents involving tourists
 Commodification of location
 Deportation of tourists
 Fines for misbehavior
 Generalizing tourists
 Jailing tourists
 Iivability of destination for locals
 Opinions on misbehavior/overtourism

Types of misbehavior

Members:

Social media affecting the behavior of tourists
 Types of misbehavior: Alcohol and drug usage among tourists
 Types of misbehavior: Damaging heritage
 Types of misbehavior: Disobeying (local) laws
 Types of misbehavior: Lack of appropriate clothing
 Types of misbehavior: Polluting
 Types of misbehavior: Violating cultural norms
 Types of misbehavior: Violating traffic laws

Appendix E: List with abbreviations used for newspaper articles

Amsterdam				
			Abbreviation	Date of publication
			NYT Amsterdam 1	10/02/2023
			NYT Amsterdam 2 TG Amsterdam 1	29/03/2023 11/06/2021
			TG Amsterdam 2 TG Amsterdam 3	31/03/2023 01/11/2017
			DM Amsterdam 1	10/02/2023
			DM Amsterdam 2	01/12/2022
			TT Amsterdam 1	01/04/2023
			TT Amsterdam 2	10/02/2023
			TT Amsterdam 3	03/12/2022
			WP Amsterdam 1	06/05/2020
			WP Amsterdam 2	19/02/2023
			WSJ Amsterdam 1	10/03/2023
			FN Amsterdam 1	10/05/2019
			FN Amsterdam 2	23/03/2019
			CNN Amsterdam 1	30/06/2023
			CNN Amsterdam 2	23/05/2019
			CNBC Amsterdam 1	04/04/2023
ali				
	The Daily Mail	BALI CRACKS DOWN ON BOGANS: Tourists to be sent home in disgrace if they disrespect sacred sites or commit drunken crimes - after outrage at a couple splashing each or		15/08/201
	The Daily Mail	Bali holidaymakers will be banned from renting scooters as frustrated cops lash out at 'misbehaving' tourists - as appalling video emerges of tourist driving INTO a car	DM Bali 2	14/03/202
	The Times	Bali sends budget tourists packing	TT Bali 1	21/09/202
	The Times	Bali targets motorbike mayhem with tourist ban	TT Bali 2	15/03/202
	The Guardian	'Have a little empathy': Bali tires of badly behaved foreign influencers	TG Bali 1	14/05/202
	The Guardian	Indonesia considers tourist tax to curb bad behaviour in Bali	TG Bali 2	14/04/202
	The Guardian	Bali to bring in new rules for visiting temples after decline in 'quality of tourists'	TG Bali 3	21/09/201
	New York Times	A Refuge for Russians and Ukrainians, Bali Rethinks Its Open-Door Policy	NYT Bali 1	24/03/202
		"It's disgusting': Bali locals are fed up with bad tourists	WP Bali 1	12/04/202
	Fox News	Bali considering banning bikini-clad tourists from taking photos at holy sites	FN Bali 1	25/09/201
	CNN	Russian tourist faces deportation from Indonesia after posting nude photo in Bali	CNN Bali 1	30/03/202
	CNN	Trouble in paradise as Bali loses patience with Russians, Ukrainians fleeing war	CNN Bali 2	18/03/202
	BBC	Ball plans tourist motorbike ban over misbehaviour	BBC Bali 1	13/03/202
	Vice News	Bali Has Had Enough of 'Naughty Tourists' Who Have Sex in Public and Break Traffic Laws	VN Bali 1	17/03/202
	1		1	1
Barcelona				
	The Daily Mail	Brits out! Fury in Barcelona at boozy tourists: Locals in revolt over revellers from UK	DM Barcelona 1	22/08/
	The Daily Mail	'Tourists go home, you are not welcome': British holidaymakers face fresh wave of anarchist attacks in backlash over tourism in Barcelona and Majorca	DM Barcelona 2	05/08/
	The Times	Tourist hotspots being destroyed by their success; Venice and other world-famous sites are taking drastic action to stem the tide of travellers before it's too late, says Ber		02/03/
	The Times	We wish you weren't here: tourists face global revolts	TT Barcelona 2	26/05/
	The Times	Barcelona fights back against the Britons behaving badly; Outraged locals have had enough and taken to the streets in protest at sex, nudity and noise, reports Graham Ke		22/08/
	The Guardian	From Barcelona to Malia: how Brits on holiday have made themselves unwelcome	TG Barcelona 1	17/01/
	The Guardian	First Venice and Barcelona: now anti-tourism marches spread across Europe	TG Barcelona 2	10/08/
	The Guardian	Naked Italians spark protests against antics of drunken tourists in Barcelona	TG Barcelona 3	21/08/
	The New York Times	The Revolt Against Tourism	NYT Barcelona 1	17/07/
	The New York Times	Barcelona takes on Airbnb	NYT Barcelona 2	22/09/
	Fox news	Barcelona's tourists are urinating in the streets, ruining city, locals say	FN Barcelona 1	15/08/
	Fox news	Barcelona residents protest unchecked growth of mass tourism	FN Barcelona 2	12/08/
	CNN	The Tourist no one wants	CNN Barcelona 1	08/11/
	BBC	'Tourists go home': Leftists resist Spain's influx	BBC Barcelona 1	05/08/2
	Boston Globe	It's time to enforce an international code of conduct for tourists	BG Barcelona 1	15/01/2
	CN Traveler	Barcelona Approves New Law to Limit Tourist Numbers	CNT Barcelona 1	27/01/2
gypt				
0/1	BBC	Egypt investigates 'pyramid nude photo shoot'	BBC Egypt 1	10/12/
	The Daily Mail	The view from the TOP of the Great Pyramid: Illicit photos taken by tourists who secretly climbed wonder of the world at night	DM Egypt 1	25/03/
	The Daily Mail	Teenager risks imprisonment for the ultimate holiday photo as he films himself CLIMBINGEgypt's Great Pyramid of Gra	DM Egypt 2	27/01/2
	The Times	Premid pose lands model behind bars	TT Egypt 1	02/12/
	CNN	r yranno pose rainos moder Denimo daria Netizen outrage after Chinese tourist defaces Egyptian temple	CNN Egypt 1	29/05/
		In the second	con capter	23/03/
Machu Diash	1			
Machu Picchu	The Daily Mail	Six tourists are arrested for trespassing and defecating at Machu Picchu in Peru	DM MP 1	14/01/2
	The Daily Mail	Two Austrian tourists are arrested in a banned from visiting Machu Picchu again after they stripped off at the world heritage site	DM MP 2	26/08/
	The New York Times	Peru Deports Sinustis and antegies and Damaging Machan Piccha again and indus again and indus and an antegies and Piccha again and indus again ag	NYT MP 1	15/01/
	The Guardian	Tero deports of nonital accusation of aninging match inclusion reinpre- Machu Pitchu streakers at rock bottom as authorities enforce cover-up	TG MP 1	07/03/
		As some visitors litter, others clean up	WP MP 1	31/10/
	The Washington Post	German tourist falls to his death while posing for photo atop Machu Picchu	WP MP 2	01/07/
	Fox News	6 tourists to Machu Picchu tourists detained for allegedly damaging stone wall, defecating at temple; 5 to be deported	FN MP 1	14/01/
	CNN	Peru to tourists: 'Stop getting naked at Machu Picchu!	CNN MP 1	20/03/
lonico				
/enice	The Washington Post	Venice is so over bad tourists	WP Venice 1	25/
	CNN	Venice is as over that counts? Deserted Venice contemplates a future without tourist hordes after Covid-19	CNN Venice 1	19/
	CNN	Deserted vence concentrates a total existing concentration of the concen	CNN Venice 2	27/0
	The Guardian	Sinking city: How Venice is managing Europe's worst tourism crisis		30/0
	The Guardian		TG Venice 1	22/0
		Venice renews crackdown on bad behaviour as tourists return Tourists Return, and Venice wonders: How many are too many?	TG Venice 2	
			WSJ Venice 1	27/
	The Daily Mail	Save Venice from becoming a Third World Disneyland': Cultural icons including Sim Mick Jagger demand Italian authorities protect the City of Bridges from cruise liners 100 benicities and isolate and behavior in Venice Ia the comparty under the City's provide and the analysis.		
	The Daily Mail	100 tourists are fined for anti-social behavior in Venice in two months under the city's new crackdown on 'rude people'	DM Venice 2	23/0
	The Times	Tourist fined (EURO) 4,200 for having a picnic in Venice	TT Venice 1	10/0
	The New York Times	Verice tourism may never be the same. It could be better	NYT Venice 1	02/0
	The New York Times	Venice, Overwhelmed by tourists, tries tracking them	NYT Venice 2	04/
	Fox News	Venice mayor threatens jail time for misbehaving tourists after drunk man jumps off bridge	FN Venice 1	15/0
	Fox News	Tourists in Venice fined more than \$3G for skinny dipping in canal	FNVenice 2	19/0
	BBC	Venice bans cruise ships from historic centre	BBC Venice 1	01/0
	Mirror	Venice will charge tourists (GBP) 9 to visit city in world first to combat overcrowding	Mirror Venice 1	02/