

# The right to the city versus the right to tourism in teleological perspective: an ethical conflict between goods

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## Abstract

This article proposes a teleological ethical approach for the analysis of the conflict between the right to the city and the right to tourism. Unlike the understanding of this conflict through a deontological lens, which is based on universal and unconditioned moral duties, a teleological perspective allows us to observe much more underlying and intricate problems that can arise in any cultural and socio-historical context of each tourist city. By taking the teleological model of the philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre as a starting point, the article suggests the basis of a framework for an ethical understanding of the complexity of teleological conflicts that can appear in the pursuit of situated internal goods —sought cooperatively— and external goods— sought competitively— within and between social practices related to both rights.

## KEYWORDS

Right to the city; right to tourism; ethics; internal good; external good; MacIntyre

## 1. Introduction

The balanced relationship between the expansion of tourism and the legitimate expectations of those inhabiting tourist cities appears elusive. Following the phase of undertourism triggered by the Covid-19 crisis, the problematic trend of tourism seems unalterable (Milano & Koens, 2022). Negative consequences resulting from tourism pressure on local populations—which define overtourism (Gössling et al., 2020, p. 1)—identified years ago (Blanco-Romero et al., 2019; Butler, 2020; Koens et al., 2018; Milano et al., 2019; Seraphin et al., 2018), recur once again.

For instance, in Barcelona the surge of tourists has led to rising rents and the displacement of locals, sparking anti-tourism protests (Cocola-Gant, 2023). Similarly, Venice struggles with environmental degradation and a declining quality of life due to overtourism (Schemmer, 2022). In Amsterdam, the city has implemented measures to curb overtourism by restricting short-term rentals and promoting sustainable tourism practices to balance the needs of tourists and residents (Colomb & de Souza, 2021, p. 68, 69).

These examples illustrate the practical implications of overtourism and underscore that the imperative to further to better understand overtourism processes remains relevant (Blázquez-Salom et al., 2023; Cairns & Clemente, 2023; Fontanari & Traskevich, 2023; Yuval, 2022). This task, which is essential as a starting point for identifying potential solutions, is not confined to a single discipline. One of the reasons is the inherent nature of tourism, which has traditionally led its study to encompass a range of disciplines (Tribe, 1997), even when considering tourism as a discipline itself (Jafari, 2001). However, within this complexity, it is possible to identify a common trend in the study of overtourism: the utilisation of what, according to Habermas' critical theory (1987, p. 7), could be termed a sociological third-person perspective.

This focus has been, and continues to be, instrumental in comprehending urban overtourism not as 'a tourism problem or an urban problem, but rather as a social problem within a city context' (Koens et al., 2018, p. 9). Many of the less favourable aspects of tourism are a consequence of the logic of capital accumulation, which refers to the dynamic through which the owners of the means of production constantly seek to increase their profits (Harvey, 2006). Since the 1970s, when there was a shift from the apologetic phase of tourism to a precautionary one (Butler, 1980; Jafari, 2001; Turner & Ash, 1975), tourism development has been heavily conditioned by the logic of capital accumulation. It has undergone an extreme mobilisation of resources, technological acceleration, and constant innovation driven by the 'coercive laws of market competition' (Harvey, 1990, p. 105). This tendency is crucial for a tourism focus based on political economy (Bianchi, 2017), and key in understanding tourism's implications on the environment (Fletcher, 2019), gentrification (Cocola-Gant et al., 2020), housing (Yrigoy, 2021), or employment (Hof & Blázquez-Salom, 2015; Mowforth & Munt, 2016).

Over the past few years, however, there has also been an emerging shift in the focus of tourism conflicts, in which it becomes evident that overtourism also requires understanding not only from an observer's third-person perspective. The activism of social movements (Colomb & Novy, 2016; Hughes, 2018) or the involvement of local institutions (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2017), explicitly highlighted in the report published by the Barcelona Ombudsman's Office (Bondia Garcia, 2023), shed light on an underlying conflict within overtourism around the tension between the right to the city and the right to tourism that needs to be understood from a first-person perspective.

Complaints about the adverse effects of tourism can also be interpreted as a manifestation of an unfulfilled expectation, such as the right to the city. This reflects unfulfilled social justice aspirations, due not only to the objective increase in rents and the displacement of locals, but also to factors such as the loss of quality of life and local irritation, or the sense of alienation that prevents the development of a sense of belonging to one's current community (Diaz-Parra & Jover, 2021). And part of the reason for this unmet expectation can not only be attributed to economic coercive forces that boost tourism. This activity is also driven by a deeply ingrained aspiration in modern culture that, implicitly, acts as a catalyst for tourist travel and intersects with the aspirations of the right to the city, regardless of its potential instrumentalization by economic forces: the right to tourism (Gascón, 2019).

As demonstrated by the significant attention given to the universal aspirations associated with both the right to tourism (Bianchi & Stephenson, 2014, 2014; Mantecón & Huete Nieves, 2021) and the right to the city, whether in relation to tourism (Judd & Fainstein, 1999; Sheller, 2021) or in a general sense (Marcuse, 2009b), the approach to both rights reflects the strong influence of deontological understandings when it comes to comprehending and critiquing tourism. In general terms, deontology asserts that the morality of an action is not determined by its ability to maximise the greatest good for the greatest number in each situation, but rather it remains uncontextualized: it is universal. Derived from the Greek term ‘deon’ (δέον), meaning ‘that which is necessary’, ‘duty’, or ‘obligation’, deontology places emphasis on the fundamental importance of moral principles themselves or a set of moral rules, as well as one’s duty to uphold them (Fennell, 2006, p. 74).

However, an ethical approach based on universal foundations also falls short, by itself, in fully harnessing the potential of ethics to analyse overtourism. This is because it tends to emphasise that it’s solely a conflict between two aspirations that refer to homogeneous practices —the practices of tourism and the city— or a conflict arising as a consequence of economic forces’ capacity to hinder progress in fulfilling the inherent aspirations of each right (Cole & Eriksson, 2010; Higgins-Desbiolles & Whyte, 2015; Gascón, 2019). While these approaches capture problematic general trends, they may prove insufficient for achieving a comprehensive understanding of the conflicting nature of tourism within urban contexts. This is especially true when considering the incommensurability and heterogeneity of expectations and practices in tourism, as well as the conflicts that arise within both tourism practices and those of the city itself (Blokland et al., 2015; Larsen, 2019; Rojek & Urry, 1997).

## **2. Research objective**

As part of the call to contribute new avenues of research and frameworks aimed at comprehending and addressing overtourism (Milano & Koens, 2022), the objective of this work is to specifically use a teleological perspective to shed light on the conflicts that arise from the situated ends pursued within the sphere of social practices that align with both the right to the city and the right to tourism. Rooted in the Greek term ‘telos’ (τέλος), meaning ‘end’, ‘purpose’, or ‘goal’, teleology argues a crucial point in identifying significant aspirational drivers of tourism activity beyond the universal —and then unconditional moral obligations— ones that can explain its development: the moral status of an action is determined by its consequences. This understanding is key to realising how tourism has become an ideal field for achieving specific desired ends: ‘it allows individuals to take a path to the future, with the opportunity of releasing themselves from past traditions and/ or dogmatic views’ (Fennell, 2006, p. 67).

Following recent works that build bridges between universal and situated ethical grounds, such as the posthumanist articulation of Kant and Deleuze presented by Guia and Jamal (2023), this study proposes a redefinition of the conflict between the universal right to the city and the right to tourism underlying overtourism through the teleological paradigm put forth by MacIntyre (2007), which has not yet explicitly been applied in the field of tourism ethics (Fennell, 2006; Lovelock & Lovelock, 2013; Smith & Duffy, 2003).

## **3. MacIntyre’s teleological framework: internal and external goods in social practices**

One of the fundamental ways MacIntyre’s teleological model contributes to understanding overtourism is evident when compared to deontological ethical models, such as Habermas’ (1993) discourse ethics, which focus on uncovering universal normative principles to govern actions. Unlike these deontological approaches, MacIntyre’s model does not aim to provide an ethical framework to direct actions or establish universal goods (MacIntyre, 2007, p. 126,127). Instead, it posits that ethical understanding is shaped within practices themselves (Välitalo, 2017, p. 275). MacIntyre’s model aids in comprehending why certain actions are performed over others, highlighting the contextual formation of ethics within practices (MacIntyre, 2007, p. 199).

The path proposed by MacIntyre to understand reality in contemporary societies is through social practices: ‘any coherent and complex form of socially established cooperative human activity through

which goods internal to that form of activity are realized' (MacIntyre, 2007, p. 187). In this context, the term 'internal good' refers to the ultimate end or *telos* [τέλος] of a social practice. *Telos* is a Greek term that signifies 'that for the sake of which a thing is done'. In contrast to its Aristotelian conception, where humans were assumed to possess a specific nature and therefore a concrete *telos*, MacIntyre retrieves this concept to apply it to the purpose of each social practice: 'every activity, every inquiry, every practice aims at some good' (MacIntyre, 2007, p. 148).

This approach is valuable for developing an understanding of the conflict between the right to the city and the right to tourism, as these rights are not solely based on theoretical perspectives. On one hand, the significance of the right to the city is truly understood when it transcends the theoretical realm and becomes integrated 'into social practice' (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 178). This is fundamentally due to the fact that the city isn't a general category, but rather a particular and context-dependent entity that undergoes continuous revitalisation and redefinition 'in practice' (Schmid, 2012, p. 52). On the other hand, similarly, tourism emerges and consistently develops through social practices (Bargeman & Richards, 2020), even involving participants who aren't always formally coordinated (Fennell, 2006, p. 6).

To comprehend what is pursued in social practices, MacIntyre proposes the differentiation and identification of two types of socio-historical aspirations. Alongside internal goods, there is also a pursuit of another type of goods: external goods. It's crucial to note that external goods are distinct from internal goods as they are obtained through competition rather than cooperation, thus MacIntyre (1998) refers to them as goods of effectiveness in his other works. While each activity has its specific set of internal goods, external goods serve as resources that can be acquired in any activity: 'there are always alternative ways for achieving such goods, and their attainment is not limited to engaging in any particular kind of practice' (MacIntyre, 2007, p. 188).

Based on the differentiation 'between doing something for its own good or doing something to get something else' (Guhin & Klett, 2022, p. 391), which also reflects Weber's (1978) distinction between value and instrumental rationality, this dual approach to analysing the aims of social practices contains the foundation for a complex and non-reductionist analysis of the tourism phenomenon and its conflicts. For instance, in light of the research on tourism motivation, which can examine push motivations — internal psychological forces that drive individuals to travel— or pull motivations — external factors that attract visitors to certain destinations and influence their choice of where to go—, the MacIntyrean model enables a perspective on tourism conflicts closer to the push-pull model (Dram, 1981), which assumes the need to consider both the internal and external forces acting on tourism motivation.

An ethical approach of this kind does not presuppose that the goods in social practices are solely pursued by the will of individuals. Focusing on social practices also takes into account the influence of social structures on them (Lamers et al., 2017). Therefore, if we assume that the objectives in tourism are not solely determined by consumer intentions, but rather that 'producers and consumers communicate and negotiate among themselves in the economic, social, political, and cultural contexts they create, constitute, and reproduce' (Ateljevic, 2000, p. 376), the MacIntyrean model applied to each social practice associated with each right allows us to understand the issues that arise when the pursuit of external goods takes precedence over internal ones in each socio-historical moment.

However, an understanding of the conflicts between internal and external goods focused on each practice would be insufficient to encompass the complexity that the conflict between the right to the city and the right to tourism represents from a teleological standpoint. This work now proceeds to justify an understanding of overtourism beyond a conflict between two homogeneous and universal aspirations associated with each right, and beyond focusing solely on conflicts within social practices, as proposed by MacIntyre's model. The following sections aim to recognise that the fundamental conflict between the right to tourism and the right to the city can arise within internal goods, between internal and external goods, and among external goods within and between social practices associated with both rights. By doing so, it will become possible to establish a renewed and comprehensive ethical model based on MacIntyre's approach, facilitating the analysis and critique of overtourism in urban areas.

## 4. The right to tourism through a teleological lens

### 4.1. Internal good perspective

The clarification of the philosophical underpinnings behind universalist assumptions, used to promote tourism as a right, is undoubtedly essential for comprehending overtourism. This becomes particularly evident when we concentrate on the connection between the right to tourism and the cosmopolitanism or universal concept of hospitality (Bianchi & Stephenson, 2014; Jamal & Guia, 2021; Molz & Gibson, 2007). In this domain, an approach to tourism from universal principles remains necessary, not to argue that hospitality is unacceptable, but rather that hospitality tends to be used strategically, thus demonstrating something that Harvey has recently recalled in an interview: that ‘there’s no such thing as a good, moral idea that capital can’t co-opt and turn into something horrendous’ (Denvir, 2018).

The features of the universal character of hospitality, upon which the right to tourism is often grounded, can be exemplified in the work of the philosopher Immanuel Kant *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch* [Zum ewigen Frieden. Ein philosophischer Entwurf]. Published in German in 1795, this work defends the relationship of hospitality with the ‘right of visitation’: ‘the right of a stranger not to be treated in a hostile manner by another upon his arrival on the other’s territory’ (Kant, 2006, p. 82). Even considering the great value of this right for the dignity of those who need to change territory to preserve their dignity as humans, there is no doubt that political and economic organisations frequently utilise this foundation to establish the right to tourism as a cornerstone for their aspirations of success. While prioritising it over the rights of those who suffer the negative consequences of tourism (Castañeda, 2012; Gascón, 2019), they often overlook a crucial ethical aspect of Kant’s notion of hospitality: ‘it is not the right of a guest that the stranger has a claim to (which would require a special, charitable contract stipulating that he be made a member of the household for a certain period of time)’ (Kant, 2006, p. 82). This idea also needs to be addressed because, quite often, tourism not only exercises the right to hospitality but, de facto, also the right to be a guest: despite the temporary nature of tourists, certain destinations continually host tourists.

This ethical approach may lead to the erroneous belief that tourism is a homogeneous activity or that disputes arise solely due to the lack of respect for universal moral duties. However, although tourism may have been more homogeneous in the past, such as in the form of package tours, it has become increasingly difficult to identify a commonality among practices that are considered tourism (Rojek & Urry, 1997). Practices such as concert tourism, gastronomic tourism, business tourism, sun and beach tourism, cruise tourism, and so on, do not have a single internal good, and may not always be seen as a ‘cooperative human activity’ in the sense of a social practice as defined by MacIntyre (2007, p. 187).

It effectively conveys the idea that understanding the internal goods within tourism is essential not only to identify those who contribute to giving meaning to these goods but also to understand what factors could hinder their achievement. For example, we can observe this focus when considering accommodation. Within this social practice, just one universal internal good cannot be identified. The goods offered by Airbnb providers and sought by tourists can differ from those provided and pursued in hotels (Mody et al., 2017). Moreover, the type of goods presented by cultural capitalism in Airbnb (O’Regan & Choe, 2017) has its particular impacts on the city (Nieuwland & van Melik, 2020), revealing that some social practices are conditioned by the pursuit of specific ends that can delegitimize tourism activity: the external goods.

### 4.2. External good perspective

The ethical pursuit of internal goods within social practices related to tourism is also generally accompanied by the pursuit of external goods. This connection becomes especially visible in relation to economic agents when examining the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism. In this document, the United Nations World Tourism Organization [UNWTO] regards tourism as a means to promote ‘sustainable economic growth’ [article 3.1] (UNWTO, 1999). Tourism is seen by economic and political institutions as a means to generate profits, and the pursuit of this type of external good is not inherently problematic.

However, this pursuit often becomes problematic because it conceals a neoliberal approach that leads to issues of delegitimization in the tourism sector (Bianchi & Stephenson, 2014), by emphasising free market principles, deregulation, and the reduction of government intervention, which can undermine ethical considerations and social responsibilities. In its code of ethics for tourism, the UNWTO may be also contributing to this dynamic by advocating for the ‘growing liberalization of the conditions governing trade in services’ [Preamble] or the promotion of ‘free access to the tourism sector with a minimum of legal or administrative restrictions’ [article 8.3] (UNWTO, 1999).

Another feature of tourism practice that reveals the key role played by teleological behaviours beyond universalistic expectations can be observed in the figure of the tourist. As pointed out by Breakey and Breakey (2013), understanding the right of individuals to participate in tourism, based on the universal Kantian concept of hospitality from the eighteenth century to contemporary times, demands considerable interpretive effort. This is due to its primary concern with matters of war and commerce, rather than the leisurely facets such as entertainment, enjoyment, or relaxation often linked to tourism, whose mode of enjoyment cannot be universal but rather depends on each individual, community, or culture. From a teleological perspective, these characteristics make the right to tourism ultimately manifest, drawing upon Nussbaum’s capabilities theory, as a means to achieve other ends; as an ‘enabling’ condition, where ‘the capabilities for play and recreation constitute essential components for a fulfilling life’ (Breakey & Breakey, 2013, p. 742).

Just when we consider the importance of these kinds of teleological objectives, we can understand that the right to tourism is not just founded on universal claims. Maybe it is also established as a precondition that doesn’t guarantee a specific internal good but aims to ensure individuals have the ‘options’ to attain external goods that can be obtained through other activities, such as fun, relaxation, satisfaction, and more (Breakey & Breakey, 2013, p. 746), as well money. An actual approach to overtourism in cities cannot be completely understood by merely considering that the right to tourism is solely about people enjoying vacations in their free time. According to statistics from the UNWTO (2021, p. 8), in 2020, business tourism accounted for approximately 11% of global tourism. Although the WTO grounds the right to tourism in the separation between work and leisure sustained in the Human Rights Charter, the boost to tourism through cultural innovations also implies social practices such as *bleisure* or *workation* in which the pursuit of external goods—in particular, money— plays a key role (Rainoldi et al., 2022).

Along with economic and political institutions, tourists, tourism also reveals how external goods play an important role for destinations. This is easily seen for any destination, and especially when host societies lay claim to the right of tourism in order to extend the low season and provide more sustainable employment, particularly in mass coastal tourist resorts where there is a high dependence on tourism (McCabe & Diekmann, 2015). So important is this function of tourism that some countries, such as Uruguay (Ministerio de Turismo y Deporte de Uruguay, 2014), have even enshrined tourism as a right in their laws, emphasising the state’s responsibility to ensure its accessibility due to its economic contribution.

The perspective of external goods allows us to observe that the conflicts arising from promoting tourism for the improvement of well-being and quality of life can also become a source of disputes among cities. The fact that cities grappling with overtourism do not cooperate, but rather compete with each other (Yuval, 2022), demonstrates that the conflicts inherent in the impetus for tourism are not solely generated between the internal and external goods of a social practice. Instead, they stem from the competition between external goods of the same or different social practices within tourism. Even the projections for sustainable tourism are founded on a struggle for external goods between destinations if we take into account the tendency of considering that ‘a tourism destination truly competitive is its ability to increase tourism expenditure’ (Richie & Crouch, 2003, p. 2).



## 5. The right to city through a teleological lens

### 5.1. *Internal good perspective*

Especially in recent years, it has become evident that the observer's perspective, necessary for describing the dynamics of commercialisation and administrative constraints, is insufficient on its own to reconstruct the struggle against the effects of overtourism. Social movements like the European Platform SETNet —the Network of Southern European Cities against Touristification— demonstrate that addressing overtourism also requires the first-person perspective. For instance, it is needed to substantiate that the 'urban-*philia*' expressed by these movements, beyond mere 'tourism-*phobia*,' embodies an aspiration: the right to the city (Blanco-Romero et al., 2019).

This right, which becomes 'customary before being inscribed into formalized codes' (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 178), possesses a profound universalistic foundation. This is visible in the fact that defending the right to the city against economistic logics does not necessarily imply justifying the restriction of tourists. At least, this is how Marcuse and Lefebvre understand it from the perspective of critical urban theory. As 'a moral claim, founded on fundamental principles of justice which includes but far exceeds the right to individual justice' (Marcuse, 2009a, p. 192), the universal nature of the right to the city prevents it from being confined solely to urban boundaries. It must be applicable to the entirety of society (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 158).

The universalistic foundation, as shown by the idea that the entitlement to the urban environment includes 'a right to an entirety, a complexity, in which each component is a part of a unified whole to which the right is demanded' (Marcuse, 2009a, p. 193), does not suggest that this entitlement is just a homogeneous and theoretical statement. Instead, the broad ambitions of the right to the city coexist with a reality that highlights its fragmented aspirations and practical nature. The aspiration advocated by the right to the city just gains credibility through its promotion of a multitude of rights, including 'a right to public space, or a right to information and transparency in government, or a right to access to the centre, or a right to this service or that' (Marcuse, 2009a, p. 192, 193). This demonstrates that, as a right that attains significance due to its capacity to bring about tangible changes in urban reality, the right to the city only truly makes sense when 'integrated into social practice' (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 178).

Like the right to tourism, the right to the city is not limited to being a universal and uniform entitlement. A teleological perspective shows that the right to the city is actually shaped by expectations related to different internal goods. The right to the city presents substantial diversity and encompasses 'multiple meanings' within different socio-historical contexts (Mayer, 2012, p. 69). In cities, one can observe a fragmentation of claims all-encompassing ideals of the right to the city (Blokland et al., 2015, p. 656). The extensive range of objectives encompassed by the right to the city, which is also apparent in the battle against overtourism (Milano et al., 2019), underscores the need to distinguish the internal goods of each social practice at play in every moment. This discernment is crucial for identifying the external goods that negatively impede these objectives.

### 5.2. *External good perspective*

One of the issues behind the demand for the right to the city in contrast to the right to tourism is closely related to the orientation towards the external goods of the system, namely, the realms of economics and politics as defined by Habermas (1987). The negative impacts generated by these realms have given rise to a necessary struggle to preserve natural resources, safeguard the communal nature of public spaces, or improve deteriorated working conditions (Blanco-Romero et al., 2019, p. 16,17). What a teleological understanding of the right to the city also allows is the recognition that tensions in the pursuit of external goods —encompassing money, but also recognition, social status, or power (MacIntyre, 2007, p. 189)— do not exclusively arise between the system and the communities. The system also conditions dynamics of social reproduction in which struggles for external goods manifest among communities.

As suggested by empirical research conducted in cities like Berlin and Tel Aviv (Blokland et al., 2015), competition among cities poses a short-term risk to the ultimate objectives of the right to the city, such

as promoting a high quality of life or achieving societal justice. Competition over rights and resources—among which typically lie the external goods—among cities, rather than fostering mutual support and solidarity, leads towards an ‘uninhabitable city’ (Blokland et al., 2015, p. 658). We can observe some of this even in proposals based in degrowth, which is defined as a radical approach to development that has emerged in response to the adverse effects of tourism on a global scale, particularly in destinations where carrying capacity has been exceeded (Andriotis, 2018). Although it is an aspiration that can be universalised, for instance, due to the importance of preserving the environment for the future of humanity, its implementation comes with the risk of creating a zero-sum game. Strategies involving degrowth might lead to the shifting of problems to other areas where they could produce similar effects that undermine the goals of degrowth: ‘the adoption of innovative tourist territorial plans stimulates the geographical expansion of the tourist business frontier (towards designated natural areas, rural regions, the central district of historical cities, or the outskirts)’ (Blázquez-Salom et al., 2019).

Following Marcuse (2009a), we can say that the right to the city is not just a collection of multiple rights:

not just one, not just a right to public space, or a right to information and transparency in government [...], but the right to a totality, a complexity, in which each of the parts is part of a single whole to which the right is demanded

(Marcuse, 2009a, p. 192, 193). However, to understand what lies behind that ‘claim to a totality, to something whole and something wholly different from the existing city, the existing society’ (Marcuse, 2009b, p. 194) that the right to the city represents, a teleological perspective can be helpful. It can aid in understanding specifically and situatedly within a particular context that this claim also arises because of a struggle for external goods, both stemming from competition between the system and communities, and among members of the communities. In any case, these are struggles for goods that are ‘typically objects of competition wherein there must be both winners and losers’ (MacIntyre, 2007, p. 190).

## 6. A new teleological framework to understand the conflict between the right to tourism and the right to the city

The ethical concepts of internal and external goods proposed by MacIntyre (2007) themselves offer advantages for the analysis of conflicts between internal and external goods within the social practices of both rights. On the one hand, the question of what purpose gives meaning to a social practice through cooperation among its participants provides the answer to the internal good(s) pursued in a practice, which may vary depending on the socio-historical and regional context. On the other hand, the external goods perspective allows us to understand which goods are competitively pursued by institutions and individuals and can potentially generate conflicts, thus hindering the attainment of internal goods within tourism social practices. Its application can be exemplified through the case of a tourist restaurant. The pursuit of an internal good, such as providing quality service, can be impeded by an orientation towards external goods, such as maximising profits, which in turn lies behind one of the issues of overtourism: the workers’ precarious conditions (Robinson et al., 2019) (Figure 1).

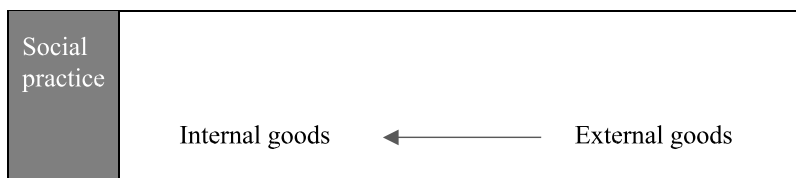


Figure 1. Conflicts between internal and external goods within social practices.



However, as highlighted in the previous point dedicated to reading the rights of the city and tourism through a teleological lens, conflicts in tourist cities extend beyond the realm of a specific social practice. In some instances, there may be competition for resources among various social practices, involving situations like clashes between urban residents advocating for the right to the city (Blokland et al., 2015) or even between distinct tourist destinations (Richie & Crouch, 2003). For this reason, building upon the preliminary investigation detailed in this article, the use of MacIntyrean concepts facilitates the development of a more intricate teleological framework to understand that conflicts that could emerge within internal goods, between internal and external goods, and amidst external goods within social practices connected to both rights, as well as between the two rights themselves (Figure 2).

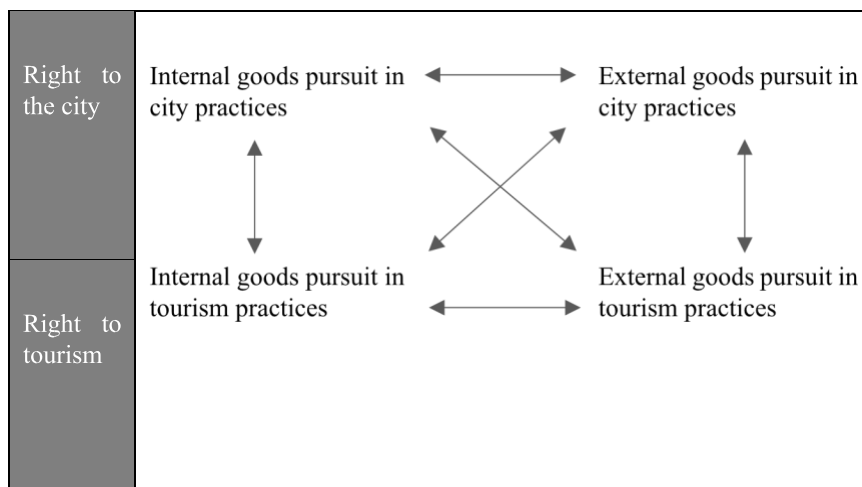


Figure 2. Conflicts between goods of practices within and among the right to tourism and to the city.

This teleological framework for understanding conflicts in the tourist city enables overcoming a reductionist and dichotomous view of the problem between the right to the city and tourism, in which both rights refer to homogeneous notions of tourism and the city. Determining whether a social practice within the city is exclusively related to tourism can be challenging, particularly when considering that ‘most members of the [tourism] ‘industry’ neither view themselves as belonging to an industry nor act as if they do’ (Smith, 1998, p. 35). However, considering tourism as a homogeneous whole could even potentially diminish critical discernment (Christin, 2018, p. 118). To address this situation, the proposed ethical framework can assist in tackling the inherent ambiguity of overtourism by offering an approach not grounded in a concept, but rather in the pursuit of goods within the social practices that have historically evolved in each specific urban context.

To gain a comprehensive understanding of tourist dynamics in a city, it’s essential to recognise that tourist mobility can be influenced by various motivations, in which the pursuit of internal and external goods by tourists is interconnected. As previously mentioned, opposing tourism solely based on the idea that tourists seek internal goods related to leisure or free time is not always straightforward. This becomes evident in work practices that involve mobility or in activities that explicitly combine work and tourism, such as *bleisure* (Rainoldi et al., 2022). These are practices in which not only entrepreneurs but also wage workers participate to enjoy a tourist experience — internal good— while enhancing productivity to gain more monetary benefits —external good (Choudhury et al., 2021).

## 7. Conclusion

The universal ideals supporting both the right to the city and the right to tourism suggest that the deontological perspective on what ‘ought’ or ‘should’ be done to address the issues arising from tourism remains pertinent (Przeclawski, 1996). However, understanding the conflicts caused by touristification, or overtourism, solely from a universalistic ethical standpoint of both rights can lead to a reductionist outlook. On one hand, it may give the impression that what is at stake is a struggle between two homogeneous practices. On the other hand, it fails to comprehend the tensions within practices that unfold under the umbrella of tourism or within the defence of the city practice itself.

In order to explore an alternative to overcome these limitations, I have delved into the value of the teleological ethical perspective offered by the MacIntyre model. This model provides valuable analytical insight by allowing an examination of city tourism conflicts through the tensions arising within a social practice between the pursuit of internal goods —collaboratively sought— and external goods —competitively pursued— at any specific socio-historical moment. However, this original model still exhibits limited capacity by narrowing the analytical focus to the problematic relationship between internal and external goods within a single social practice. Taking as a starting point the original teleological model proposed by MacIntyre and supported by various empirical examples, I have proposed a new teleological framework that enables the recognition of conflicts that may emerge among internal goods, between internal and external goods, and between external goods of social practices within both the right to the city and the right to tourism, as well as between these two rights.

From a practical standpoint, this approach refrains from prescribing specific goods within each practice to address conflicts in tourism, thus not contributing to the field of *ethical tourism*, which typically involves proposing specific models for tourism practices (Smith et al., 2010). Firstly, within the broader context of ethical pluralism, determining what constitutes ‘good’ poses significant challenges (Jaeggi, 2014, p. 10). Secondly, given the intricate and evolving complexity of conflicts between different ideals that may arise in tourist destinations, conflict resolution strategies must also evolve. For these two reasons, as Harvey (2009) noted years ago concerning urban issues, we cannot definitively determine who the agents of change will be in the current situation, as this varies from one region to another. Thirdly, within the context of ethical pluralism prevalent in modern societies, the teleological approach avoids inherently demonising the pursuit of external goods by those involved in tourism, particularly non-commercial entities. We must recognise that there is a tendency to prioritise resource acquisition through social practices, as this has the potential to fulfil other desired objectives necessary for life projects (Rosa, 2019).

Instead, this contribution is positioned within the realm of *tourism ethics*, which involves examining tourism from the domain of moral philosophy. From this perspective, I have proposed a teleological ethical framework that can serve as a formal operational tool for city tourism. I attribute the characteristic of formal to this framework because it does not prescribe in advance which good should prevail over another in each particular case. However, this does not imply that the tool has only an analytical function. In this work, I have justified that the framework could assist in exploring potential ethical and political solutions for city tourism by aiding in the comprehension of conflicts between goods or ends that arise in each tourism city within its socio-historical context.

Considering the potential impact this research could have on society, it would be desirable for the business stakeholders who generate the most conflicts in tourist cities to operationalise the framework, not only to resolve but also to anticipate the conflicts arising from their activities focused on generating profits —external goods. However, since this view might seem somewhat naïve today, it is likely that other tourism actors will benefit more from understanding the conflicts between the right to the city and tourism in terms of conflicts between goods related to social practices. I am referring to policymakers, academics and researchers, educators and students, and especially local communities affected by tourism and activists. The teleological approach proposed in this article can help identify and seek alternatives not only to the usual difficulties in achieving the internal goods of social practices due to the interference of external goods, but also to the fact that the less privileged do not have any or

enough access to specific external goods —essentially resources— necessary to achieve any project of life.

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