



Tourism Geographies

An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment

ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: www.tandfonline.com/journals/rtxg20

Tourism and degrowth

Ivan Murray, Robert Fletcher, Macià Blázquez-Salom, Asunción Blanco-Romero, Ernest Cañada & Filka Sekulova

To cite this article: Ivan Murray, Robert Fletcher, Macià Blázquez-Salom, Asunción Blanco-Romero, Ernest Cañada & Filka Sekulova (18 Dec 2023): Tourism and degrowth, Tourism Geographies, DOI: [10.1080/14616688.2023.2293956](https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2023.2293956)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2023.2293956>



© 2023 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group



Published online: 18 Dec 2023.



[Submit your article to this journal](#)



Article views: 1669



[View related articles](#)



[View Crossmark data](#)

Tourism and degrowth

Ivan Murray^a , Robert Fletcher^b , Macià Blázquez-Salom^a ,
Asunción Blanco-Romero^c , Ernest Cañada^a  and Filka Sekulova^d 

^aGeography, Universitat de les Illes Balears, Palma de Mallorca, Spain; ^bSociology of Development and Change, Wageningen University and Research, Wageningen, The Netherlands; ^cUniversitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Barcelona, Spain; ^dInternet Interdisciplinary Institute, Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, Barcelona, Spain

ABSTRACT

The necessity and consequences of the exponential growth in tourism activity experienced throughout the world over the past half-century have been increasingly questioned by an expanding body of activists and critical researchers. One of the emerging responses within this debate concerns calls for reversing the trend in pursuit of touristic 'degrowth'. This discussion has been inspired by a longstanding body of research problematizing the imperative and consequences of economic growth more generally, initiated by natural and social scientists. This article offers a state-of-the-art overview of the application of degrowth perspectives to discussions of (sustainable) tourism development and outlines a future agenda for research and praxis continuing this important line of inquiry.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 7 July 2023
Accepted 27 October 2023

KEYWORDS

Degrowth; capitalism; postgrowth; ecosocialism; metabolic rift; postcapitalism

Introduction

The necessity and consequences of the exponential growth in tourism activity experienced throughout the world over the past half-century have been increasingly questioned by an expanding body of activists and critical researchers. One of the emerging responses within this debate concerns calls for reversing the trend in pursuit of touristic 'degrowth'. This discussion has been inspired by a longstanding body of research problematizing the imperative and consequences of economic growth more generally, initiated by natural and social scientists such as Georgescu-Roegen (1971), Illich (1973), Gorz (1972), Mies (2007), Waring (2003), Latouche (2009), Kallis et al. (2018) and Hickel (2021), among many others. This article offers a state-of-the-art overview of the application of degrowth perspectives to discussions of (sustainable) tourism development and outlines a future agenda for research and praxis continuing this important line of inquiry.

CONTACT Robert Fletcher  robert.fletcher@wur.nl  Sociology of Development and Change, Wageningen University and Research, Wageningen, The Netherlands

This article has been corrected with minor changes. These changes do not impact the academic content of the article.
© 2023 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group
This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>), which permits non-commercial re-use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited, and is not altered, transformed, or built upon in any way. The terms on which this article has been published allow the posting of the Accepted Manuscript in a repository by the author(s) or with their consent.

Foundations of degrowth

The term degrowth was originally coined by Andre Gorz, in 1972, the same year in which *The Limits of Growth* (Meadows et al., 1972) was published projecting the potential biophysical and social limits of capitalist economic development. Over time, the booming degrowth literature has advocated for a redistributive and democratically organized reduction of the throughput of energy and resources in order to bring economies in the Global North in balance within the biophysical environment as a path to enhancing social justice, equity and human flourishing (Chertkovskaya et al., 2019; Kallis et al., 2018; Schmelzer et al., 2022).

Since 2008, discussion of degrowth has experienced a leap in scale, through the introduction of the discussion into Anglophone literature (e.g. Schneider et al., 2010). Since these first English-language texts on degrowth appeared, the rate of publications has been dizzying, making degrowth one of the most prominent topics of current debate within both academia and social movements (e.g. D'Alisa et al., 2015; Hickel, 2020; Kallis et al., 2020; Schmelzer et al., 2022).

Despite the increasing popularity of degrowth in academic circles, there are some objections to it as well as proposals that fundamentally question use of the term altogether. For example, other proposals prefer to mobilize concepts such as post-growth, post-development, post-capitalism, prosperity without growth, eco-socialism, environmental justice, and good living, among others (Gibson-Graham, 2006; Jackson, 2009; Kothari et al., 2019). The utility of the degrowth concept as well as its applicability in lower-income Global South contexts has also been questioned (e.g. Escobar, 2015; Gerber & Raina, 2018; Lacerda-Nobre et al., 2023; Rodríguez-Labajos et al., 2019). In response, however, Hickel asserts that given uneven global geographic development, 'degrowth in the North is meant to facilitate a process of decolonization in the South, to the extent that it releases communities in the South from the pressures of atmospheric colonization and material extractivism' (2021, p. 1109). Escobar (2015) suggests, similarly, that by deconstructing the very notion and praxis of development, degrowth in the Global North (Büscher, 2019) could and shall facilitate redistribution and decolonization policies and practices in the context of planetary boundaries. This entails contracting consumption of resources by the elite social classes and expanding prosperity for the disadvantaged and disenfranchised classes.

One of the key proposals in degrowth scholarship entails pursuit of equitable, democratic, voluntary, and planned reduction of the current material throughput in high-income societies. Hickel (2020) clarifies that this decrease is not focused on GDP reductions, but rather on the amount of material and energy metabolized within a given society. Within capitalist societies, the absence of growth is frequently associated with a recession or a crisis, and those who tend to suffer most the consequences of capitalist crises are the subaltern classes, since vulnerability is largely a function of unequal resource access (Malm, 2020). Furthermore, the capitalist class, through adopting the shock doctrine, has benefited from past crises and catastrophes, and will presumably do the same in future events (Klein, 2007). Acknowledging these issues, degrowth is increasingly posed as an explicitly anti-capitalist political project (Schmelzer et al., 2022). For some, indeed, degrowth is considered an 'impossible

theorem' within capitalism given the imperative of continuous economic accumulation to ensure the system's survival (Foster, 2011).

Degrowth is furthermore a call to abandon the centrality of economic growth as an overarching societal objective, and instead to centralize an ethos of *care* (Perez Orozco, 2014). In this sense, a main foci of degrowth discussions is the fundamental, though insufficiently acknowledged, role of reproductive work (Mies, 2007; Waring, 2003). Reproductive activities provide the conditions for the continuous regeneration of society, although their timing tends to be slower than the pace of capitalist working times (Salleh, 2012). Degrowth thinking recognizes that both women and the environment are frequently marginalized vis-a-vis their (usually undervalued) positions within the formal economy, while they in fact provide the fundamental basis for the economy's reproduction and growth.

The political agenda outlined in degrowth scholarship is built upon multiple pillars (Hickel, 2020; Schmelzer et al., 2022), some of which can be summarized as: (1) planned reduction of environmental impact; (2) restriction of least necessary economic activities, to instead expand the most important sectors, such as health, education, public transport, housing, and access to information and care; (3) improvement of working conditions, including proposals for working-time reduction, and establishment of a universal basic income (UBI), thereby ensuring autonomy and collective self-organization; (4) reduction of inequality through massive income and wealth redistribution within and across national boundaries; (5) expansion of public goods and services; and (6) an ecological transition to reverse the environmental crisis.

Despite the fact that most of the academic literature on degrowth remains largely abstract and theoretical, there is a growing body of research focused on its practical applications too. Without pretending to be exhaustive, some of the topics analysed from a degrowth approach are, among others: degrowth-based alternatives in cities like Stuttgart (Schmid, 2021); food-systems (Nelson & Edwards, 2021); housing (Nelson & Schneider, 2018); urban planning (Krähmer, 2022; Xue, 2021); energy transitions (Keyßer & Lenzen, 2022; Kunze & Becker, 2015); blue degrowth (Ertör & Hadjimichael, 2020); technology (Kerschner et al., 2018); labor relations (Barca, 2019); degrowth and feminism (Hanaček et al., 2020); and degrowth and the pluriverse (Kaul et al., 2022; Rodríguez-Labajos et al., 2019). Yet some still contend that degrowth remains too focused on small-scale and grassroots movements rather than confronting the state and global politics (Schwartzman, 2012). Nonetheless, the question of the state and institutional transformation have long been a focus for degrowth scholars too (Kallis, 2013; D'Alisa & Kallis, 2020), in terms of the need for redistribution of wealth *via* setting maximum income thresholds (D'Alisa et al., 2015), public regulation of activity licenses, or establishment of progressive pricing for consumption and disposal (Lehtinen, 2018).

Approaches to touristic degrowth

Global tourism has become one key factor in the process of environmental degradation at a planetary scale (Hall et al., 2015) and a paramount expression of a 'fossil capitalism' that has been revealed as highly vulnerable to chronic emergencies (Malm, 2016, 2020). Critical tourism scholars have long analysed the socio-environmental

costs and conflicts associated with touristification. The questions of limits and carrying capacity were introduced early in tourism studies (Mathieson & Wall, 1982) and critical analysis of the tourist industry as a capitalist mode of accumulation has grown since Britton's (1991) initial analysis. Some of these critical approaches emerged within discussion of potential for Sustainable Tourism (ST) to redress negative impacts as a component of the global sustainable development agenda. In 1998, Mowforth and Munt (2016) published a vibrant critique of the potential to pursue sustainable tourism under capitalism. Yet the hegemonic vision of ST was very much Brundtland-as-Usual inspired, and erected on fragile theoretical foundations (Sharpley, 2020). As an example, while the UNWTO theoretically promotes ST, at the same time its unwavering promotion of global tourism growth seems to be blind to copious scientific evidence concerning the climate change impacts of such growth (Gössling & Peeters, 2015; Keyßer & Lenzen, 2021; Sun et al., 2022). Tourism-driven economic growth cannot be simply 'made sustainable' for a number of reasons, including the inherent impossibility of sufficiently 'decoupling' growth from environmental impacts (Hickel & Kallis, 2020). In this regard, Chakraborty (2021) argues that for tourism to contribute to sustainability it must be reconceptualized from the perspective of biophysical limits.

Critiques of the hegemonic ST vision have made important contributions to re-politicizing the sustainability question. However, there is a growing divide between critical academic discourse and tourism practice, which has predominantly adhered to this conventional vision (Sharpley, 2020). Consequently, some scholars have advanced alternative theoretical proposals that more radically problematize the relationship between tourism and environment. In 2009, coinciding with the global financial meltdown, two initial works advocated a paradigm shift towards degrowth tourism (Hall, 2009) and post-development tourism (Sharpley, 2009). Eventually, a number of critical tourism scholars joined the debate to problematize touristification from a degrowth perspective. It is in this context that a succession of works have been published since 2018, most significantly the following books: *Degrowth in Tourism* (Andriotis, 2018); *Tourism and Degrowth* (Fletcher et al., 2020); *Degrowth and Tourism* (Hall et al., 2021); and *Issues and Cases of Degrowth in Tourism* (Andriotis, 2021).

When analysing the current state of research on tourism degrowth, Lundmark et al. (2021: 8) point out that there is 'a strong focus on Europe and especially the Mediterranean region, concentrating on Barcelona, Costa del Sol, Malaga and Marbella, as well as coastal tourism'. This emphasis is not random, but has resulted from a convergence of two key factors: first, the presence of a dynamic research collective on degrowth around the Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB); second, the fact that intensification of touristification combined with austerity policies and increasing inequality has been particularly significant in that region. Social movements and activist scholars located in these spaces have denounced this process of profound touristic commodification – commonly labelled 'overtourism' – and in response have introduced discussion of *decreixement turistic* (or touristic degrowth) alongside claims to the right to the city (Blanco-Romero et al., 2019; Milano et al., 2019).

Thus far, the body of research on tourism degrowth has focused *inter alia* on the following topics. First, development of the theoretical basis and research agenda on tourism degrowth (e.g. Fletcher et al., 2019; Higgins-Desbiolles et al., 2019). Second,

critical analysis of tourism capital accumulation, its contradictions and social contestation (e.g. Navarro-Jurado et al., 2019). Third, from a demand-side perspective, a focus on degrowth-inspired travelling (e.g. Andriotis, 2018; Díaz-Soria, 2017). Fourth, tourism degrowth policies and planning and their own contradictions (e.g. Blázquez-Salom et al., 2019). Fifth, the relationship among energy, climate change and tourism degrowth (e.g. Adedoyin & Bekun, 2020; Balsalobre-Lorente, 2020; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2023; Torres & Moranta, 2020). Sixth, reconceptualization of tourism in light of climate change, emphasizing the role of domestic or proximity tourism as a potential degrowth strategy (e.g. Ballantine, 2021; Cañada & Izcarra, 2021; Romagosa, 2020). Seventh, discourse analysis of tourism degrowth and appropriation of the term by the ruling class for greenwashing (e.g. Gascón, 2019; Valdivielso & Moranta, 2019). Eighth, putting degrowth tourism to work, particularly in relation to community-based tourism (e.g. Cañada, 2021; Ruíz-Ballesteros, 2021).

However, it is important to recognize that while the 'tourism degrowth' term is relatively recent, many of the ideas and topics explored under that rubric have been investigated for some time from different theoretical perspectives. In this sense, discussion of tourism degrowth shares common threads with proposals and case studies from the political ecology of tourism (Mostafanezhad et al., 2016), tourism and feminism (Devine & Ojeda, 2017), political economy of tourism (Bianchi, 2018; Bianchi & de Man, 2021), post-capitalist tourism (Fletcher et al., 2021), and convivial tourism (Büscher & Fletcher, 2020), among others. More important than the term of analysis itself, therefore, is the critical problematization of touristification and building a political agenda for transforming tourism for reproduction of life rather than reproduction of capital.

Finally, based on existing research and proposals from grassroots degrowth movements, touristic degrowth can be understood as a multi-layer strategy based on the following principles:

1. resistance against the *structural* (as opposed to direct, physical) violence (Büscher & Fletcher, 2020) of tourism development, touristification and dispossession;
2. planned reduction of the resources used and waste produced by tourism activities;
3. de-touristification as a downsizing of tourism, particularly within very touristified spaces, combined with a process of degrowth-inspired economic diversification;
4. post-capitalist economic and social re-organization of the tourism industry, which implies its collective appropriation and socialisation;
5. rethinking tourism, leisure and recreation in times of chronic emergencies for the reproduction of life and conviviality; and
6. de-commodification of tourism, leisure and recreation.

A future research agenda

Looking to the future, we propose that the potential for tourism degrowth can be enhanced by pursuing the various lines of research outlined by Fletcher et al. (2019):

1. *Tourism and sustainability as a political question.* This strand of analysis would use the banner of tourism degrowth as a strategy to re-politicize tourism development generally and sustainable tourism in particular.
2. *Distribution of costs and benefits within tourism development and management.* This line of research would undertake critical analysis of the political economy and political ecology of tourism's function as a form of capital accumulation, particularly in terms of who gains and who loses in the process of tourism development.
3. *The biophysical limits to tourism growth.* This research would investigate the social and biophysical costs of tourism development under capitalism, providing an assessment of the ecological costs and forms of metabolism entailed in this process.
4. *Post-capitalist tourism in practice.* This agenda would study practices of tourism degrowth (explicit or implicit) and their contradictions currently in operation or gestation throughout the world.
5. *Commoning tourism and redistributing value.* Following from the preceding, this line of investigation would explore the potential for tourism degrowth to transform the political and economic organization of the industry, particularly in pursuit of collectivization or redistribution of surplus value.
6. *Tourism degrowth as de-touristification.* This research would contribute to exploring the potential of tourism degrowth to function as de-branding, de-touristification or 'detourism' – that is, in reducing the intensity and impacts of tourism particularly in saturated destinations, and in this way facilitating a radical rethinking of the tourism 'industry'.
7. *The right to metabolism.* This agenda would seek to more clearly define and conceptualize tourism degrowth as a reduction of the material and energy flows required by tourism capital, on the one hand, as well as a transformation of the political organization of material and energy flows within a triple movement scenario, on the other, in this way promoting the 'right to metabolism' as a radical political project.

Conclusions

The biophysical, cultural and political stakes surrounding tourism's socio-ecological transformation are extremely high, and adequately addressing these requires multiple lenses, critical perspectives, methodological frameworks and participatory approaches. The future research programme we propose is thus based on harnessing the potential for tourism degrowth as a strategy to repoliticize questions of tourism development in general and sustainable tourism particularly. This point of departure frees the study of tourism from any preconceived bias favouring the industry *a priori*. From this vantage point, a critical analysis of the role of tourism as a form of uneven capitalist development can be undertaken. This analysis should include diagnosis of the social and biophysical costs of tourism development under capitalism, to assess potential for transforming the industry's political and economic organization. The culmination of this inquiry will entail contributing constructively to policy and practice, through

the study of existing examples of touristic degrowth (explicit or implicit). For practical purposes, the most saturated tourist destinations are the best and most urgent 'laboratories', or points of departure, within which to investigate the potential of degrowth to reduce tourism's intensity and impacts. Finally, we highlight again the need to recognize and elaborate the 'right to metabolism', defined as a radical political project that explores the potential for proportional reduction of the flows of materials and energy required by tourism, as well as political reorganization of these flows, to facilitate socio-ecological transformation.

Disclosure statement

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

Funding

This paper is part of the R+D+i PID2022-137648OB-C21 financed by MCIN/AEI/ 10.13039/501100011033 and by "ERDF A way of making Europe".

Notes on contributors

Ivan Murray holds a PhD in Geography from the University of the Balearic Islands and a MSc in Environmental Sustainability from the University of Edinburgh. He is Associate Professor in the Department of Geography at the University of the Balearic Islands. He is member of the Research Group on Sustainability and Space. His research merges political ecology, political economy and ecological economics of tourism. He has recently co-edited with Ernest Cañada *Turistificación global. Perspectivas críticas en turismo*. He is also involved in social movements.

Robert Fletcher is an Associate Professor in the Sociology of Development and Change group at Wageningen University in the Netherlands. He is the author of *Failing Forward: The Rise and Fall of Neoliberal Conservation* (U of California, 2023), *Romancing the Wild: Cultural Dimensions of Ecotourism* (Duke University, 2014), co-author of *The Conservation Revolution: Radical Ideas for Saving Nature beyond the Anthropocene* (Verso, 2020) and co-editor of *The Ecolaboratory: Environmental Governance and Economic Development in Costa Rica* (University of Arizona, 2020) and *Nature™ Inc.: Environmental Conservation in the Neoliberal Age* (University of Arizona, 2014).

Macià Blázquez-Salom is a Full Professor in the Department of Geography at the University of the Balearic Islands. His research interests include tourism territorial planning and nature conservation from a sustainability perspective. He has been visiting scholar in several European and Central American universities. His most recent publications deal with urban and regional planning regulation and the expansion of the Balearic Islands' hotel chains in Central America and the Caribbean.

Asunción Blanco-Romero is Associate Professor in the Department of Geography at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (Spain), and also participates with UNED (National University of Distance Education), UOC (Universitat Oberta de Catalunya) and OSTELEA School of Tourism and Hospitality. She is member of TUDISTAR-UAB research group (Tourism and new social and territorial dynamics), with which she has participated in several research projects. Her research focuses on tourisms and local development, tourism and degrowth, and geography and gender issues in regional development.

Ernest Cañada is the founder and coordinator of Alba Sud, an independent research center specialized in tourism from critical perspectives. He also collaborates as an associate professor

at the University of Barcelona, in Spain, and at the University of Angers, in France. Recently he has published, together with Ivan Murray, the book *Turistificación global: perspectivas críticas en turismo* (Editorial Icaria, 2019). Among his lines of research, the following stand out: (a) studies on work in tourism, (b) socio-ecological conflicts linked to tourism, (c) community tourism, and (d) post-capitalist alternatives in the organization of tourism.

Filka Sekulova is a postdoctoral researcher in the Internet Interdisciplinary Institute at the Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, with a background in ecological economics, psychology, and urban environmental justice.

ORCID

Ivan Murray  <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-6594-8423>
 Robert Fletcher  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-5365-1697>
 Macià Blázquez-Salom  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-5522-6539>
 Asunción Blanco-Romero  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-5869-8603>
 Ernest Cañada  <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-6086-1644>
 Filka Sekulova  <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-6827-5359>

References

- Adedoyin, F. F., & Bekun, F. V. (2020). Modelling the interaction between tourism, energy consumption, pollutant emissions and urbanization: Renewed evidence from panel VAR. *Environmental Science and Pollution Research International*, 27(31), 38881–38900. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11356-020-09869-9>
- Andriotis, K. (2018). *Degrowth in tourism: Conceptual, theoretical and philosophical issues*. CABI.
- Andriotis, K. (2021). *Issues and cases of degrowth in tourism*. CABI.
- Ballantine, P. W. (2021). Don't leave town till you've seen the country: Domestic tourism as a degrowth strategy. In M. C. Hall, L. Lundmark, & J. J. Zhang (Eds.), *Degrowth and tourism. New perspectives on tourism entrepreneurship, destinations and policy* (pp.187–201). Routledge.
- Barca, S. (2019). The labor(s) of degrowth. *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 30(2), 207–216. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10455752.2017.1373300>
- Balsalobre-Lorente, D., Driha, O. M., Shahbaz, M., & Sinha, A. (2020). The effects of tourism and globalization over environmental degradation in developed countries. *Environmental Science and Pollution Research International*, 27(7), 7130–7144. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11356-019-07372-4>
- Bianchi, R. (2018). The political economy of tourism development: A critical review. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 70, 88–102. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2017.08.005>
- Bianchi, R., & de Man, F. (2021). Tourism, inclusive growth and decent work: A political economy critique. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 29(2–3), 353–371. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2020.1730862>
- Blanco-Romero, A., Blázquez-Salom, M., Morell, M., & Fletcher, R. (2019). Not tourism-phobia but urban-philia: Understanding stakeholders' perceptions of urban touristification. *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles*, 83(83), 1–30. <https://doi.org/10.21138/bage.2834>
- Blázquez-Salom, M., Blanco-Romero, A., Vera-Rebollo, F., & Ivars-Baidal, J. (2019). Territorial tourism planning in Spain: From boosterism to tourism degrowth? *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 27(12), 1764–1785. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2019.1675073>
- Britton, S. G. (1991). Tourism, capital and place: Towards a critical geography of tourism. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 9(4), 451–478. <https://doi.org/10.1068/d090451>
- Büscher, B. (2019). From 'global' to 'revolutionary' development. *Development and Change*, 50(2), 484–494. <https://doi.org/10.1111/dech.12491>

- Büscher, B., & Fletcher, R. (2020). *The conservation revolution: Radical ideas for saving nature beyond the Anthropocene*. Verso.
- Cañada, E. (2021). Community-based tourism in a degrowth perspective. In K. Andriotis (Ed.), *Cases of degrowth in tourism* (pp. 42–63). CABI.
- Cañada, E., & Izcarra, C. (Eds.). (2021). *Turismos de proximidad, un plural en disputa*. Icaria Editorial.
- Chakraborty, A. (2021). Can tourism contribute to environmentally sustainable development? Arguments from an ecological limits perspective. *Environment, Development and Sustainability*, 23(6), 8130–8146. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10668-020-00987-5>
- Chertkovskaya, E., Paulsson, A., & Barca, S. (Eds.). (2019). *Towards a political economy of degrowth*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- D'Alisa, G., Demaria, F. & Kallis, G. (Eds.). (2015). *Degrowth: A vocabulary for a new era*. Routledge.
- Devine, J., & Ojeda, D. (2017). Violence and dispossession in tourism development: A critical geographical approach. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 25(5), 605–617. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2017.1293401>
- Díaz-Soria, I. (2017). Being a tourist as a chosen experience in a proximity destination. *Tourism Geographies*, 19(1), 96–117.
- Ertör, I., & Hadjimichael, M. (2020). Blue degrowth and the politics of the sea: rethinking the blue economy. *Sustainability Science*, 15, 1–10.
- Escobar, A. (2015). Degrowth, postdevelopment, and transitions: A preliminary conversation. *Sustainability Science*, 10(3), 451–462. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11625-015-0297-5>
- Fletcher, R., Murray, I., Blanco-Romero, A., & Blázquez-Salom, M. (2019). Tourism and degrowth: An emerging agenda for research and praxis. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 27(12), 1745–1763. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2019.1679822>
- Fletcher, R., Murray, I., Blanco-Romero, A., & Blázquez-Salom, M. (2020). *Tourism and degrowth. Towards a truly sustainable tourism*. Routledge.
- Fletcher, R., Blanco-Romero, A., Blázquez-Salom, M., Cañada, E., Murray, I., & Sekulova, F. (2021). Pathways to post-capitalist tourism. *Tourism Geographies*, 25(2–3), 707–728. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2021.1965202>
- Foster, J. B. (2011). Capitalism and degrowth: An impossibility theorem. *Monthly Review*, 62(8), 26–33. https://doi.org/10.14452/MR-062-08-2011-01_2
- Gascón, J. (2019). Tourism as a right: A “frivolous claim” against degrowth? *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 27(12), 1825–1838. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2019.1666858>
- Georgescu-Roegen, N. (1971). *The entropy law and the economic process*. Harvard University Press.
- Gerber, J. F., & Raina, R. S. (2018). Post-growth in the global south? Some reflections from India and Bhutan. *Ecological Economics*, 150, 353–358. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecolecon.2018.02.020>
- Gibson-Graham, J. K. (2006). *Postcapitalist politics*. Minnesota Press.
- Goetz, A. (1972). *Proceedings from a public debate organized by the Club du Nouvel Observateur* (p. 397). Nouvel Observateur.
- Gössling, S., & Peeters, P. (2015). Assessing tourism's global environmental impact 1900–2050. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 23(5), 639–659. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2015.1008500>
- Hall, C. M. (2009). Degrowing tourism: Décrissance, sustainable consumption and steady-state tourism. *Anatolia*, 20(1), 46–61. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13032917.2009.10518894>
- Hall, C. M., Gössling, S., & Scott, D. (Eds.). (2015). *The Routledge handbook of tourism and sustainability*. Routledge.
- Hall, C. M., Lundmark, L., & Zhang, J. J. (Eds.). (2021). *Degrowth and tourism: New perspectives on tourism entrepreneurship, destinations and policy*. Routledge.
- Hanaček, K., Roy, B., Avila, S., & Kallis, G. (2020). Ecological economics and degrowth: Proposing a future research agenda from the margins. *Ecological Economics*, 169, 106495. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecolecon.2019.106495>
- Hickel, J. (2020). *Less is more: How degrowth will save the World*. Windmill.
- Hickel, J. (2021). What does degrowth mean? A few points of clarification. *Globalizations*, 18(7), 1105–1111. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2020.1812222>

- Hickel, J., & Kallis, G. (2020). Is green growth possible? *New Political Economy*, 25(4), 469–486. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13563467.2019.1598964>
- Higgins-Desbiolles, F. (2023). Subsidiarity in tourism and travel circuits in the face of climate crisis. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 26(19), 3091–3101. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2022.2116306>
- Higgins-Desbiolles, F., Carnicelli, S., Krolikowski, C., Wijesinghe, G., & Boluk, K. (2019). Degrowing tourism: Rethinking tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 27(12), 1926–1944. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2019.1601732>
- Illich, I. (1973). *Tools for conviviality*. Harpe & Row.
- Jackson, T. (2009). *Prosperity without growth: Economics for finite planet*. Earthscan.
- Kallis, G. (2013). Societal metabolism, working hours and degrowth: A comment on Sorman and Giampietro. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 38, 94–98. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jclepro.2012.06.015>
- Kallis, G., Kostakis, V., Lange, S., Muraca, B., Paulson, S., & Schmelzer, M. (2018). Research on degrowth. *Annual Review of Environment and Resources*, 43(1), 291–316. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-environ-102017-025941>
- Kallis, G., Paulson, S., D'Alisa, G., & Demaria, F. (2020). *The case for degrowth*. Polity Press.
- Kaul, S., Akbulut, B., Demaria, F., & Gerber, J.-F. (2022). Alternatives to sustainable development: What can we learn from the pluriverse in practice? *Sustainability Science*, 17(4), 1149–1158. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11625-022-01210-2>
- Kerschner, C., Wächter, P., Nierling, L., & Ehlers, M. H. (2018). Degrowth and Technology: Towards feasible, viable, appropriate and convivial imaginaries. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 197, 1619–1636.
- Keyßer, L. T., & Lenzen, M. (2021). 1.5°C degrowth scenarios suggest the need for new mitigation pathways. *Nature Communications*, 12(1), 2676. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41467-021-22884-9>
- Klein, N. (2007). *The shock doctrine: The rise of disaster capitalism*. Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt.
- Kothari, A., Salleh, A., Escobar, A., Demaria, F., & Dacosta, A. (Eds.). (2019). *Pluriverse: A post-development dictionary*. Tulika Books.
- Krähmer, K. (2022). Degrowth and the city. *City*, 26(2–3), 316–345. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13604813.2022.2035969>
- Kunze, C., & Becker, S. (2015). Collective ownership in renewable energy and opportunities for sustainable degrowth. *Sustainability Science*, 10(3), 425–437. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11625-015-0301-0>
- Lacerda-Nobre, Â., Gameiro, A., Duarte, R., Jacquinet, M., & Pérez, R. (2023). Critical reflections on tourism. Phenomenological perspectives on global-south, degrowth and the role of visual aids. *CIDADES, Comunidades e Territórios* (sp23), 105-121. <https://doi.org/10.15847/cct.28019>
- Latouche, S. (2009). *Farewell to growth*. Polity.
- Lehtinen, A. A. (2018). Degrowth in city planning. *Fennia - International Journal of Geography*, 196(1), 43–57. <https://doi.org/10.11143/fennia.65443>
- Lundmark, L., Zhang, J. J., & Hall, C. M. (2021). Degrowth and tourism: Implications and challenges. In C. M. Hall, L. Lundmark, & J. J. Zhang (Eds.), *Degrowth and tourism: New perspectives on tourism entrepreneurship, destinations and policy* (pp. 1–21). Routledge.
- Malm, A. (2016). *Fossil capital: The rise of steam power and the roots of global warming*. Verso.
- Malm, A. (2020). *Corona, climate, chronic emergency*. Verso.
- Mathieson, A., & Wall, G. (1982). *Tourism: Economic, physical and social impacts*. Longman.
- Meadows, D. H., Meadows, D. L., Randers, J., & Behrens, W. W.III. (1972). *The limits to growth: A report to the club of Rome*. Universe Books.
- Mies, M. (2007). Patriarchy and accumulation on a world scale - Revisited. *International Journal of Green Economics*, 1(3/4), 268–275. <https://doi.org/10.1504/IJGE.2007.013059>
- Milano, C., Novelli, M., & Cheer, J. M. (2019). Overtourism and degrowth: A social movements perspective. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 27(12), 1857–1875. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2019.1650054>
- Mostafanezhad, M., Norum, R., Shelton, E. J., & Thompson-Carr, A. (Eds.). (2016). *Political ecology of tourism: Community, power and the environment*. Routledge.

- Mowforth, M., & Munt, I. (2016). *Tourism and sustainability: Development, globalisation and new tourism in the Third World*. Routledge. (Original work published 1998)
- Navarro-Jurado, E., Romero-Padilla, Y., Romero-Martínez, J. M., Serrano-Muñoz, E., Habegger, S., & Mora-Esteban, R. (2019). Growth machines and social movements in mature tourist destinations Costa del Sol-Málaga. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 27(12), 1786–1803. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2019.1677676>
- Nelson, A., & Edwards, F. (Eds.). (2021). *Food for degrowth: Perspectives and practices*. Routledge.
- Nelson, A., & Schneider, F. (Eds.). (2018). *Housing for degrowth: Principles, models, challenges and opportunities*. Routledge.
- Perez Orozco, A. (2014). *Subversion de la economía: Aportes para un debate sobre el conflicto capital-vida*. Tráficantes de sueños.
- Rodríguez-Labajos, B., Yáñez, I., Bond, P., Greyl, L., Munguti, S., Ojo, G. U., & Overbeek, W. (2019). Not so natural an alliance? Degrowth and environmental justice movements in the Global South. *Ecological Economics*, 157, 175–184. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecolecon.2018.11.007>
- Romagosa, F. (2020). The COVID-19 crisis: Opportunities for sustainable and proximity tourism. *Tourism Geographies*, 22(3), 690–694. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2020.1763447>
- Ruiz-Ballesteros, E. (2021). Community-based tourism and degrowth. In C. M. Hall, L. Lundmark, & J. J. Zhang (Eds.), *Degrowth and tourism: New perspectives on tourism entrepreneurship, destinations and policy* (pp. 187–201). Routledge.
- Salleh, A. (2012). *Eco-sufficiency and global justice: Women write political ecology*. Pluto.
- Schmelzer, M., Vetter, A., & Vansintjan, A. (2022). *The future is degrowth: A guide to a world beyond capitalism*. Verso.
- Schmid, B. (2021). *Making transformative geographies: Lessons from Stuttgart's community economy*. Verlag.
- Schneider, F., Kallis, G., & Martinez-Alier, J. (2010). Crisis or opportunity? Economic degrowth for social equity and ecological sustainability. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 18(6), 511–518. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jclepro.2010.01.014>
- Schwartzman, D. (2012). A critique of degrowth and its politics. *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 23(1), 119–125. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10455752.2011.648848>
- Sharpley, R. (2009). *Tourism development and the environment: Beyond sustainability?* Earthscan.
- Sharpley, R. (2020). Tourism, sustainable development and the theoretical divide: 20 years on. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 28(11), 1932–1946. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2020.1779732>
- Sun, Y.-Y., Gosling, S., & Zhou, W. (2022). Does tourism increase or decrease carbon emissions? A systematic review. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 97, 103502. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2022.103502>
- Torres, C., & Moranta, J. (2020). Climate emergency in touristified economies: The necessary economic, ecological and social transition as the basis for an effective mitigation strategy. *Revista de Economía Crítica*, 30, 120–135. <http://revistaeconomicritica.org/node/1217>
- Valdivielso, J., & Moranta, J. (2019). The social construction of the tourism degrowth discourse in the Balearic Islands. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 27(12), 1876–1892. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2019.1660670>
- Waring, M. (2003). Counting for something! Recognising women's contribution to the global economy through alternative accounting systems. *Gender & Development*, 11(1), 35–43. <https://doi.org/10.1080/741954251>
- Xue, J. (2021). Urban planning and degrowth: A missing dialogue. *Local Environment*, 27(4), 404–422. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13549839.2020.1867840>