

Tourism commodification and privatization of nature: private protected areas in the Serra de Tramuntana (Mallorca)

Mercantilización y privatización turísticas de la natura:
áreas protegidas privadas en la Serra de Tramuntana (Mallorca)

Nora Müller 

nora.muller@uib.eu

*Departament of Geography
Universitat de les Illes Balears (Spain)*

Robert Fletcher 

robert.fletcher@wur.nl

*Department of Social Sciences
Wageningen University and Research (Netherlands)*

Macià Blázquez Salom 

mblazquez@uib.cat

*Departament of Geography
Universitat de les Illes Balears (Spain)*

Abstract

The creation of private protected areas (PPA) is commonly considered an instrument of neoliberal conservation, characterized by private management and commodification of nature for (eco)tourism and other market-based instruments (MBIs). PPAs are accused of reproducing social inequalities

when entailing enclosure, exclusivity, land grabbing or dispossession. Yet PPAs exist in many different forms that enact these various processes in different ways. Our research explores this variegation in PPAs by offering a more nuanced understanding of the often complex and contradictory interconnections between processes of commodification and privatization different PPAs enact, as well as how PPAs are often operationalized differently in global south and north contexts. To develop this analysis, we draw on the conceptual framework of commodification proposed by Castree (2003) to investigate a number of PPAs located in the Serra de Tramuntana mountain range on the island of Mallorca in Spain. Our results show that commodification and privatization combine in different ways and to different degrees in the various PPAs in this area. Overall, we conclude, privatization appears more pervasive than commodification in this global north context, as compared to research concerning PPAs in the global south suggesting the presence of far more commodification in such lower-income contexts.

Keywords: neoliberal conservation; green grabbing; ecotourism; market-based instruments.

Resumen

La creación de áreas protegidas privadas (APP) es un instrumento de la conservación neoliberal, la cual se caracteriza por su gestión privada y la mercantilización de la naturaleza para el (eco)turismo u otros negocios basados en la conservación. Las APP se cuestionan por reproducir desigualdades sociales cuando implican cerramiento, exclusividad, acaparamiento verde o desposesión. Nuestro objetivo es analizar su heterogeneidad, profundizando en su relación con la mercantilización y la privatización, diferenciando su uso en el Sur y en el Norte globales, y comprobando su apoyo en políticas públicas de conservación. Nuestra metodología se basa en el análisis crítico de la conservación neoliberal en el ámbito geográfico del Norte global. Relacionamos las APP con el marco conceptual de la mercantilización propuesto por Castree (2003) y vinculamos este marco teórico con los resultados de entrevistas en profundidad a representantes de la administración pública y gestores de APP de la Serra de Tramuntana, Mallorca. Nuestros resultados muestran que la mercantilización y la privatización sirven y se combinan de forma y en grados diferentes en los casos estudiados. Sugerimos que la privatización prevalece sobre la mercantilización turística de la naturaleza en los contextos del Norte global, reproduciendo desigualdades que favorecen a la clase propietaria en APP del Norte global igual que lo hacen a la clase turista en las APP del Sur global.

Palabras clave: conservación neoliberal; acaparamiento verde; ecoturismo; instrumentos basados en el mercado.

1 Introduction

In the context of chronic emergencies –climate change, biodiversity loss, increasing social inequalities, pandemics, energy crisis, war, etc.– conservation policies attempt to respond to the ecological problems at the heart of the converging crises. A classic approach is the creation of protected areas (PAs) to ‘save’ nature from human interference, while at the same time providing a space for the latter’s enjoyment of the former. Yet this instrument is critiqued as it creates cordoned spaces of nature that often enforce social exclusion while failing to do justice to the interdependencies of humanity and ecosystems (Adams & Hutton, 2007; Büscher & Fletcher, 2020). Additionally, PAs may reinforce the alienation of humanity from nature in creating idealized spaces of ‘real’ nature as wholly separated from everyday life (Brockington et al., 2010; Büscher & Fletcher, 2014; Igoe, 2010). This idealized image can then be appropriated by capital and commodified as a tourist attraction. The commodification of nature for tourism purposes –as occurs in ecotourism– is one instrument of the so-called neoliberal conservation strategy, which has been studied primarily in global south contexts (Apostolopoulou et al., 2021; Müller et al., 2023). This, together with PAs, has become the dominant approach to conservation utilized by most mainstream organizations. Its central characteristics are, one, the commodification of nature, and two, the increased importance of private investment and actors in conservation policies and spaces.

One key instrument in this neoliberal approach is the creation of private protected areas (PPAs), wherein (eco)tourism among other activities is commonly promoted as an income-generation mechanism in support of conservation. From this perspective, privatizing access to and use of nature is presented as a solution to the pervasive problem of how to adequately finance conservation (Capdepón-Frías, 2021; García-Álvarez, 2016; Holmes, 2013; Palfrey et al., 2021; Serenari et al., 2016). Yet this enclosure of space within PPAs and other forms of neoliberal conservation has been critiqued for precipitating processes of gentrification and green grabbing (Holmes & Cavanagh 2016). Consequently, critics question whether environmental and social well-being and justice can be achieved by subsuming nature to capital through such commodification and privatization (Apostolopoulou & Adams, 2019; Benjaminsen & Bryceson, 2012; Büscher & Fletcher, 2014). Existing research concerning PPAs and (eco)tourism, conducted primarily via case studies in the global south (Apostolopoulou et al., 2021; Müller et al., 2023), has largely assumed that processes of commodification and privatization occur hand-in-hand in all PPAs. Yet

our investigations demonstrate that not all PPAs are created equal; rather, these processes often occur and combine in different ways in various PPAs, particularly in the global north contexts in which our own research takes place. In this paper, therefore, we explore how processes of tourism commodification and privatization of conservation are differentially enacted in a variety of PPAs. To develop this analysis, we apply the concept proposed by Castree (2003) to describe commodification in terms of interrelated processes of privatization, individuation, alienability, abstraction, valuation, and displacement that combine differently according to the context in question. Utilizing this framework, we unravel how exactly conserved nature is both commodified and privatized for tourism within different PPAs.

The empirical focus of our discussion is a case study of the Serra de Tramuntana, a protected mountain range in Mallorca, one of the Balearic Islands in Spain. This case appears to be a paradigmatic example of neoliberal conservation because the mountain range is dominated by private land, with a recent increase in PPAs. The mountain range is promoted as a prime tourist destination with the aim of creating an alternative model with sustainable and green characteristics, in contrast to the conventional mass tourism model dominating the whole island. The official protection of the Serra de Tramuntana and the sustainable tourism promotion therein has led to skyrocketing real estate prices, which in turn becomes an argument for enclosing land and restricting public access, which together fuel green land grabbing interests. Yet our empirical analysis shows that notwithstanding this overarching picture, processes of commodification and privatization actually combine in different ways and to different degrees in the various PPAs within the area. Overall, we conclude, privatization appears more pervasive than commodification in this global north context, as compared to research concerning PPAs in the global south suggesting the presence of far more commodification in such lower-income contexts.

In the next section, we clarify the meaning of commodification and privatization in relation to neoliberal conservation in the context of research concerning PPAs. Next, we explain the methods used in our investigation. Subsequently, we analyze the commodification of the Serra de Tramuntana and the role of privatization in this process. We then examine the role of PPAs and private property specifically within these processes. We hone in on the relationship between commodification and privatization in different PPAs by applying Castree's (2003) typology of commodification, offering a conceptual map to better understanding the variegated ways that different commodification processes play out. Finally, we identify gaps for future research, particularly in terms of understanding how to manage nature and tourism for social justice and mutual respect among humans and non-humans.

2 Theoretical framework

2.1 Neoliberal conservation

The beginnings of modern conservationism can be related to the development of protected areas (PAs). Private hunting reserves can be considered the first PAs in a context of “elitist conservationism” (Santamarina-Campos, 2019). This idea becomes the widespread model of Western conservation established with the creation of Yellowstone National Park 1872 in the USA (and hence often termed the “Yellowstone model”). It is based on the idea of creating a designated area to protect nature from humans while at the same time providing a space for the latter’s contemplation of the former as a form of leisure, via a process commonly labelled “fortress conservation” (Brockington et al., 2010; Büscher & Fletcher, 2020). The conservation objectives central to this approach –biodiversity protection and nature contemplation– are nowadays broadly accepted and realized in PAs throughout the world.

In the contemporary neoliberal context, conservation policies also now increasingly incorporate aspects of neoliberalization entailing expansion of markets, introduction of competitive logic and reduction of state intervention, as a result of which nature and its preservation are evermore integrated into the market with growing involvement of private actors (Fletcher, 2022). In short, neoliberal conservation embodies the “belief that in order to “save” nature it is necessary to bring conservation to the market and attract private investment to it” (Apostolopoulou et al., 2021, p. 237).

The core characteristics of neoliberal conservation can be understood as the subsumption of non-human natures to market logics in a way that state control or communal ownership is diminishing (i.e., decentralization, de-regulation and/or re-regulation from states to non-state actors), exemplified among other dynamics by the increasing importance of transnational NGOs (Holmes, 2013; Palfrey et al., 2021). The introduction of market-based instruments to value nature economically frames nature as a provider of “ecosystem services” and “natural capital” (McAfee, 2012b; Ovando et al., 2016). This entails commodification, that is, the transformation of natural resources into marketable commodities guided by a profit imperative, for example, via introduction of (eco)tourism (or outdoor recreation more generally), which is considered to provision a “cultural” ecosystem service (Apostolopoulou & Adams, 2019; Igoe et al., 2010; Ojeda, 2019).

Thus far, neoliberal conservation has been studied overwhelmingly by global north researchers operating in the global south (Krüger, 2005; Müller et al., 2023), with the literature most grounded

in case studies in Africa (especially in Tanzania), South America and South-East Asia (Apostolopoulou et al., 2021). Consequently, Cortés-Vázquez and Apostolopoulou (2019) call for more critical investigations of neoliberal conservation in global north contexts, a call to which our own investigation responds.

2.2 Private conservation and private protected areas

One key element of neoliberal conservation commonly highlighted in the literature entails the creation of PPAs as a way to complement state PAs, often serving as buffer zones surrounding or ecological corridors connecting such PAs. PPAs often operate according to the argument that private lands can be managed more effectively and efficiently than state PAs as the former harness individual self-interest (Adams & Hutton, 2007; Brockington & Duffy, 2010; Capdepón-Frías, 2016; Holmes, 2013).

Langholz and Lassoie (2001, p. 1080) define PPA as “any lands of more than 20 hectares that are intentionally maintained in a mostly natural state and are privately owned”. Stolton et al. (2014, p. 12), however, recommend restricting the definition to designate “a privately conserved area [...] only a PPA if it is a protected area as defined by IUCN”, that is, where the main objective is in fact conservation of biodiversity. In this paper, we follow the definition from Langholz and Lassoie (2001) while broadening it to include conservation goals focusing not only on natural but also cultural heritage, as in our case, the Serra de Tramuntana, protected status is given for cultural as well as natural heritage. The main characteristic of a PPA, we emphasize, is thus the centrality of non-state governance, while of course PPAs, like any instance of neoliberal governance, are always still affected by public policies and regulations concerning environment, territory, and so forth. In our case study, in fact, all PPA are located inside an overarching public PA that decisively influences their management, in ways described below. In terms of this definition, PPAs can be owned by individuals, NGOs, private sector firms, or other non-state entities conferred with the authority to determine conservation goals and management objectives either for-profit or not-for-profit and to develop plans accordingly (Dudley, 2008).

Numerous studies have investigated the social and ecological outcomes of PPAs. In their review, Palfrey et al. (2021) show that PPAs achieve positive ecological outcomes as they complement public PAs, increase connectivity, contribute to restore degraded lands, and prevent potentially damaging activities to occur. By contrast, studies concerning the social outcomes of PPA focus predominantly on financial aspects and their positive contribution to training and employment opportunities in tourism (Holmes, 2013; Ovando et al., 2016; Palfrey et al., 2021). Also, research

concerning social aspects of PPAs find that landowners benefit from PPA establishment through increased land value and the maintenance of property (Palfrey et al., 2021; Rissman & Merenlender, 2008), while non-landowners or marginalized community members are disadvantaged by PPA establishment due to land grabbing, dispossession and increased inequalities based on the concentration of capital (Brockington & Duffy, 2010; Holmes & Cavanagh, 2016; West & Carrier, 2004). PPAs including tourism activities are also found to contribute to local elitism, the marginalization of local groups, or the prioritization of nature over local people's interests and the disruption of employment conditions (Serenari et al., 2016; Wieckardt et al., 2020).

Müller et al. (2023) demonstrate that private conservation linked to tourism tends to manifest differently in contexts of the global north and south, respectively. While in the global south tourism is often the argument to incentivize conservation on private land, in the global north PPA establishment and the possibility of tourism activity therein are commonly presented as compensation and reinforcement for private engagement in conservation that is in most cases already undertaken. Conservation easements in the USA and land stewardship in Europe, especially in the UK, are the predominant PPA instruments in these global north contexts (Broch et al., 2013; Farmer et al., 2011; Morton et al., 2010). This implies a different relationship between commodification and privatization than that prevailing within many global south contexts. Yet few studies have investigated how PPAs contribute concretely to (tourist) commodification of conserved nature within spaces of the global north. In Spain, specifically, the Plan of Nature Tourism and Biodiversity 2014-2020 recognizes nature as important tourism resource and highlights positive synergies between PPAs and tourism (RD 416/2014, III). However, only a few examples of this link actually exist (Capdepón-Frías, 2021) underscoring the importance of empirically exploring the nexus between commodification and privatization in this particular geography.

In sum, the existing literature concerning PPA establishment largely assumes that privatization and commodification always happen together. According to Serenari et al. (2016), however, more detailed examination of these processes and actors involved in the establishment of PPA in particular contexts is therefore needed. The results of our case study confirm this, demonstrating that privatization and commodification can interrelate to different degrees and combinations in various PPA. Our investigation also shows the diverse ways the complex process of commodification can take place in different contexts. To understand how this works, we next introduce and elaborate the nuanced framework for understanding dimensions of commodification introduced by Castree (2003).

2.3 The commodification of nature

According to Harvey (2005), central to neoliberalization are

the *commodification* and *privatisation* of land and the forceful expulsion of peasant populations [...]; conversion of various forms of property rights [...] into exclusive *private property* rights [...]; suppression of rights to the commons; commodification of labour power and the suppression of alternative (indigenous) forms of production and consumption; colonial, neocolonial, and imperial processes of *appropriation* of assets (including natural resources); *monetization* of exchange and taxation, particularly of land; the slave trade [...]; and usury, the national debt and, most devastating of all, the use of the credit system as a radical means of *accumulation by dispossession*. (Harvey, 2005, p. 159, *emphasis added*)

As Harvey (2005, p. 165) explains, commodification “presumes the existence of property rights over processes, things, and social relations, that a price can be put on them, and that they can be traded subject to legal contract”. Likewise, commodification can be described as the incorporation of previously non-marketed processes, things or social relations into capitalist markets, the prioritization of their quantitative exchange value over their qualitative use value and the assignation to them of private property rights (Benjaminsen & Kaarhus, 2018; Büscher & Whande, 2007). Commodification is essential for capitalist appropriation and involves, according to Camping and Colás (2021, p. 166), “enclosure of commons, dispossession of direct producers and the accompanying legal bureaucratic infrastructure that guarantees property rights, within a particular territory through government, court, law enforcement, agencies and so forth”.

In terms of neoliberalization specifically, Bakker (2005, p. 544, *emphasis added*) argues, “[c]ommodification entails the creation of an *economic good* through the application of mechanisms intended to appropriate and *standardize* a class of goods or services, enabling these goods or services to be sold at a *price* determined through *market exchange*”. From the perspective of political economy, however, commodification refers to a process whereby any object is incorporated into the market entailing multidimensional processes: pricing and allocation mechanisms; alienation from biophysical context, valuation, and displacement; or the standardization of goods and services (Bakker, 2005).

This echoes Castree’s (2003) six dimensions of capitalist commodification, which we draw on for our own analysis: 1) privatization; 2) individuation; 3) alienability; 4) abstraction; 5) valuation; and 6) displacement. Privatization refers to the change of ownership from state or common property to

private property. It entails the transfer of legal rights to control, access and use a certain good or service, for instance cultural ecosystem services like tourism. Privatization is, according to Marx and Castree, a precondition for commodification, because market exchange depends on property rights. Privatization serves to broaden the accumulation frontier by incorporating public or commons domains previously regarded as off-limits to the profit imperative of capital (Harvey, 2005). In conservation debates, privatization is related to the shift from public to private management of conserved nature, for instance through the establishment of PPAs or (eco)tourism reserves, as previously noted. PPAs represent this shift by replacing state governance within other institutions (i.e. landowners and non-profit organizations). “Privatizing wildlife conservation in this way clearly intersected with viewing wildlife as a commercial resource, or commodity, to be exploited like any other [...]. The private parks are clearly part of the global growth of ‘super luxury’ ecotourism” (Brockington et al., 2010, pp. 183–185). It is important to bear in mind, however, that privatization in conservation activities is not only about privatizing ownership of land, but also about privatizing benefits derived therefrom (Benjaminsen & Bryceson, 2012); material benefits like land or real estate, or immaterial benefits like nature recreation related to cultural ecosystem services. Related to this, the enclosure of land to benefit from privatized nature enjoyment requires “spatial forms and legal frameworks that facilitate market forces appropriating nature for exchange” (Campling & Colás, 2021, p. 168).

Related to privatization is individuation, which Castree (2003, p. 280) refers to as “the representational and physical act of separating a specific thing or entity from its supporting context”. The legal definition of private property rights is related to this, as it puts a legal boundary on a thing or entity. In conservation this involves the establishment of protected areas or the zoning of land use by legal norms, for instance, where zones for carbon sequestration and storage are bounded and separated from the rest of forest functions (Benjaminsen & Kaarhus, 2018). This can be critiqued as it encourages separation between human and non-human natures thereby encouraging the externalization and domination of nature by humanity (Büscher & Fletcher, 2020; Harvey, 1993; Smith, 2008).

Alienability is the capacity of a commodity to be separated from its producer and seller, in both physical as well as moral matters (Castree, 2003). Being rendered alienable is fundamental for a commodity to enter the market and be exchanged for money. As a result of this capacity, conserved nature is alienated, best expressed in its “spectacular production” (Igoe et al., 2010; Igoe, 2010). Spectacular production proposes the consumption of conserved nature to solve environmental problems, like in the case of ecotourism. In this way, the tourist service is separated from the socio-

ecological processes that produced the nature to be consumed and sold in a travel bureau far away from the site to be visited, often reproducing colonial relations in the movement of tourists from global north to south (Duffy, 2006).

The fourth element of commodification is abstraction, which involves the homogenization of an entity within a broader type or process (Castree, 2003). This abstraction from the materiality and particularities of a commodity is fundamental to assigning it an exchange value and thus making it tradable on the market. In this sense, abstraction is similar to alienability and relates to the capacity to assign an exchange value. Likewise, abstraction and individuation share common grounds of decontextualizing the thing or relation to be commodified. All kind of compensation or mitigation mechanisms in conservation policies refer to abstraction, whereby a specific phenomenon, like a degraded forest, can be offset through investment in forest protection elsewhere as if the specific and singular conditions of the degraded forest are irrelevant (Robertson, 2000). In tourism activities, emission compensation payments for air travel can also be interpreted in this way. Airplane emissions are homogenized as CO₂-emissions to be offset by carbon sequestration within forests, ignoring both other emissions from airplanes and the stark difference between the CO₂ airplanes produce and those captured by trees during growth. Subsequently, carbon emissions can be traded at carbon markets. This abstraction of a commodity from its context ignores ecological interdependencies and specificities (McAfee, 2012b).

Valuation entails assigning an exchange value to a good or service expressed in monetary terms (Castree, 2003). Igoe et al. (2010, p. 494) relate valuation with the ability of a commodity “to provide returns on investment or to generate additional capital value”. In neoliberal conservation, economic valuation is characterized by nature becoming a means to accumulation or profit (Apostolopoulou et al., 2021; Büscher & Fletcher, 2014). The ecosystem service approach argues for monetary valuation as a metric for decision making in conservation policies claiming that people save what they get value from, that is, economic value (Igoe et al., 2010; Raymond et al., 2013). The problem of the valuation of nature through pricing is related to the prioritization of exchange value over use value as it “disregards the multiple use values of ecosystems to people living in close interdependence with those landscapes, reducing their worth to the purposes of distant buyers” (McAfee, 2012a, p. 115). As Sayer (2003) explains, the elevation of exchange value over use value induces a cultural shift towards producing what can be sold at a profit. That implies that conserved nature is produced when it brings a profit, as through ecotourism or private hunting reserves, or more broadly, through PPAs. Additionally, monetary valuation constructs nature as an

“externality”, ignoring interdependencies between natures within ecosystems (Castree, 2005; Harvey, 1993; Smith, 2008).

Finally, displacement is referred to as “the spatio-temporal separation of commodity producers and commodity consumers” (Castree, 2003, p. 282). In other words, the consumer does not know or see what inputs –labor and environment– are entailed in producing the commodity. Consequently, these inputs can be exploited without accountability (Moore, 2020). In conservation, the creation of (private) protected areas often entails displacement of local populations, which is especially problematic in relation to indigenous or marginalized people who in fact co-produced the landscape with other (nonhuman) natures (Adams & Hutton, 2007; Neves & Igoe, 2012; Palfrey et al., 2021). Similarly, promotion of ecotourism often accompanies displacement of former dwellers or users (Romero-Torres, 2020; Serenari et al., 2016; West & Carrier, 2004; Wieckardt et al., 2020). Displacement is also related to green grabbing and environmental gentrification, which often result from the economic valuation of nature and provoking increase in land and living costs (Artigues-Bonet & Blázquez-Salom, 2016; Blanco-Romero et al., 2019; Checker, 2011; Hall, 2013).

In the following discussion, we use these six elements of commodification to examine the process of PPA creation within the Serra de Tramuntana. Based on this discussion, we propose a conceptual map of how the six elements interrelate in different spaces and contexts.

3 Materials and methods

To develop our analysis, we conducted ethnographic field research in the Serra de Tramuntana between July 2021 and July 2023. We also reviewed academic literature concerning the area as well as current legislation and planning instruments, including the management plan of the Cultural Landscape Serra de Tramuntana 2010, the indicator system of the Serra de Tramuntana (Fornés-Horrach et al., 2021), the declarations of the Serra de Tramuntana as a Natural Site and the management plan of the natural site, called PORN for its abbreviation in Catalan. Moreover, we assessed management documents for different PPAs in the mountain range. For example, we received access to visitor surveys from two PPA and examined public documents of the different environmental NGOs involved in their development.

On the course of this research, we conducted twelve in-depth interviews with relevant stakeholders in conservation and tourism management within the Serra de Tramuntana. These included managers of PPA, farmers, volunteers and representatives of local NGOs engaged in land stewardship (which

is the basic instrument to formalize PPA in our case). Additionally, we interviewed public authorities from the environmental ministry, responsible for the natural park, from the Council of Mallorca, responsible for territorial planning, and from the Consortium of the Serra de Tramuntana, responsible for the UNESCO world heritage designation. To maintain anonymity of our interviewees, we will refer to interviews using the following code: NGO1, NGO2, NGO3, NGO4; PPA-manager1 and PPA-manager2; Volunteer1 and Volunteer2; Farmer1; PublicAdmin1; PublicAdmin2; PublicAdmin3. The numbers represent the temporal order in which we interviewed the stakeholders. We transcribed all interviews and analyzed them with the software MAXQDA following a coding process as proposed by Strübing (2014): open coding, axial coding, and selective coding, going into more detail with each step of interpretation.

Additionally, we held informal meetings with other stakeholders, including volunteers, farmers, and outdoor recreationists. Finally, we engaged in participatory observation through long-term participation in and assistance of different events: The V National Meeting of Nature-based Tourism organized by Nature Watch in October 2021; different volunteering activities undertaken on PPAs; a participation process concerning public use in the Serra de Tramuntana, organized by the association Tramuntana XXI; and guided tours organized by environmental NGOs.

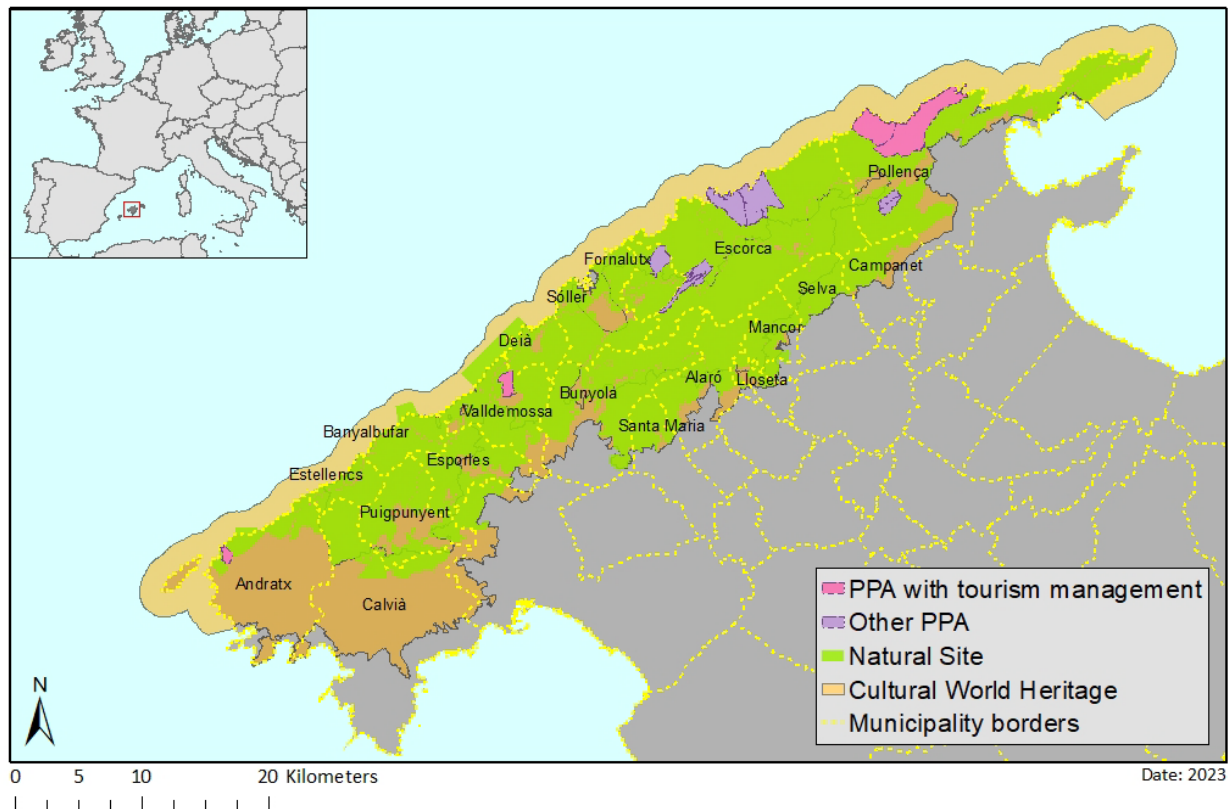
4 The case of the Serra de Tramuntana

4.1 Mainstream conservation and tourism promotion

The Serra de Tramuntana is a mountain range on the Mediterranean island of Mallorca (Spain), constituting its Western coastline, from the north cape of Formentor to the south cape with the islet Sa Dragonera (Figure 1). The Serra de Tramuntana is officially protected under two different rubrics. Since 2007 it has been designated an official Natural Site (*Paratge Natural*, in Catalan; green area in Figure 1), with the aim to protect the natural environment and to promote public use and nature contemplation (Management plan – PORN, Spanish abbreviation); and since 2011 it is also a UNESCO Cultural World Heritage site (represented by the orange area including the green area in Figure 1), encompassing a larger area than the Natural Site, with the aim to preserve the cultural landscape that has deteriorated as a consequence of the abandonment of agriculture in the region and subsequent development of the third sector, especially tourism (Mateu-i-Lladó, 2014; Murray et al., 2019). It is challenging to manage the region because of the diversity of public administrations and their responsibilities: various stakeholder bodies include the governmental Department of Natural Areas and Biodiversity for the Natural Site; Mallorcan Council and

Consortium of the Serra de Tramuntana responsible for the UNESCO Cultural World Heritage; and Town Halls representing their population.

Figure 1. Serra de Tramuntana: PPA, Natural Site and Cultural World Heritage



Source: own elaboration

As a whole, the Serra de Tramuntana is technically a public conservation, yet most of the territory within it is in private hands. According to a study published by the Consortium of the Serra de Tramuntana (Fornés-Horrach et al., 2021) approximately 89% of the land comprising the Cultural World Heritage site is private land. This can create an opposition between private property rights and public conservation goals. PPAs in the area have increased since 2007, when the conservation instrument of land stewardship was included in the Spanish legislation. At present the area contains eight PPAs, seven of which have established land stewardship agreements. These comprise 4,8 % of the total private land, or 4,5 % of the area declared a Cultural World Heritage site (the mauve and pink areas in Figure 1). Public provisioning for nature contemplation is accomplished on various properties via programs of environmental education as well as through recreation areas where one can find basic services like toilets, barbecues, tables, and benches. These are concentrated spatially in the center of the Serra de Tramuntana. Public trails traversing the Serra have also been established and promoted, especially the Grand Route 221 (GR221).

The Serra de Tramuntana is embedded within the mass tourism destination of Mallorca, where “overtourism” has become an issue in relation to which the potential for degrowing tourism has increasingly been debated (Blanco-Romero et al., 2019; Blázquez-Salom et al., 2021; Pons-Buades et al., 2020; Valdivielso & Moranta, 2019). This can be understood as a response to the rapid tourism development Mallorca has experienced since the 1960’s (Rullan, 1999), which has expanded to include all areas and spheres of social life, provoking social unrest and contestations (Pons et al., 2014; Valdivielso & Moranta, 2019). In the case of the Serra de Tramuntana, tourism development can be understood as the transformation from an agricultural space into a space of leisure and rest (Müller et al., 2021; Salvà-i-Tomàs, 1978). It is characterized by the urbanization of the countryside, with second homes, agritourism and boutique hotels arising in the villages. In minor extent, beach resorts have also been developed in Calvià, Andratx or Pollença.

Especially after the financial crisis in 2008, the Serra de Tramuntana is an important space for the general tourism strategy of the Balearic Islands, which aims to deseasonalize tourism by promoting quality, rural, nature-based, and active tourism to ensure tourist operations and employment throughout the whole year (to compensate for concentration of the majority of mass tourism during the warmest summer months). Since then, tourism has steadily increased in Serra de Tramuntana, further spurred by the mountains’ declaration as a Cultural World Heritage site by UNESCO and the upsurge in short-term holiday rentals (Müller et al., 2021). As one interviewee explains:

“If there is anything that we are good at, it’s tourism, in all its forms. And this is what happened with nature-based tourism, too. In the moment we started to promote it, there has been a boom. [...] the declaration as world heritage by the UNESCO [...], yes has contributed.” (NGO2)

Consequently, the Serra de Tramuntana now experiences an increased seasonality in spring and autumn in the form of active and nature-based tourism (Associació Muntanya del Voltor [AMV], 2016; PublicAdmin2; PPA-manager1; NGO2; Volunteer1): “During a weekend with good weather, in spring or autumn, everybody goes out to the mountains [...] so that you can’t find a place without people. What do the animals do?! Where can they hide? [...] Everywhere, there are people!” (NGO4) – including during the summer as official data demonstrate (IBESTAT [Institut d’Estadística de les Illes Balears], 2022).

Interviewees ascribe different problems to the increase of tourism and recreation throughout the mountains. Incivility or a lack of respectful behavior related to littering, destroying fences or cultural heritage is observed on PPAs as well as in public recreation areas (NGO2, PPA-manager1, PPA-

manager2, PublicAdmin2, Volunteer1, Volunteer2). Degradation of the environment related to disturbance of fauna or damaging flora is particularly highlighted by conservationists (NGO1, NGO4). A deterioration of the tourist and recreation experience as a consequence of overtourism is mentioned by conservationists and PPA-managers (PPA-manager2, NGO1, NGO2).; Finally, saturated parking places and diversified road-uses (cars, motorcycles, autocars, racing bikes, sport buggies, roadsters, etc.), causing increased risk of accidents, are also related to tourism increase (NGO1, PublicAdmin2, PPA-manager2). Likewise, the diversification of outdoor activities contributes to these various problems as they have not been considered in the declaration of the Serra de Tramuntana, simply because they did not exist before, for instance drones or MTB downhill (PublicAdmin2, NGO1). These challenges can also be found in other natural areas all over Europe, especially after the COVID-19 lockdown (McGinlay et al., 2020). Private properties struggle particularly with issues of privacy and intimacy when trails pass close to houses, the incompatibility with other land uses, like extensive livestock farming when barriers are left open and sheep get lost or dogs are not taken on leash and sheep are attacked, and the costs for maintenance and cleaning of trails and land (PPA-manager2, NGO1, NGO2, NGO4, PublicAdmin2).

The Serra de Tramuntana is clearly an outstanding case to analyze the conservation-tourism nexus in order to better understand how neoliberal approaches to conservation play out in a global north context. In the next sections we analyze the relation between privatization and commodification on PPAs in the Serra de Tramuntana according to the typology developed by Castree (2003).

4.2 Commodifying Serra de Tramuntana?

Commodification can particularly be observed with reference to the declaration of the Serra de Tramuntana by UNESCO as Cultural World Heritage in 2011. This represents a first act of individuation by demarcating a concrete area and defining it as “Cultural Landscape of Serra de Tramuntana”. Additionally, this act of individuation can be related to a process of abstraction by homogenizing the area under one name, ignoring the diversity of the area it comprises (cf. Capellà-Miternique, 2020). Consequently, elements of individuation and abstraction overlap in the defining process of the “Cultural Landscape of Serra de Tramuntana”.

The new title and related promotion can also be related to an increase in tourism. Since 2011, the hotel sector in the Serra de Tramuntana has grown, and tourism pressure increases continuously (Fornés-Horrach et al., 2021). This is related to the increase in holiday homes which is described as a demographic problem by Public Administration interviewees. The declaration has worked as an “added value” to the Serra de Tramuntana in attracting tourism and home ownership (NGO2;

PublicAdmin1). As a consequence, overtourism has become an issue to the extent that the Consortium Serra de Tramuntana has in fact now stopped promoting the world heritage (PublicAdmin1). As one interviewee states, nowadays livelihoods in the Serra de Tramuntana depend on the mountains' scenic values, that is, the cultural heritage of agriculture terraces, water systems or forestry infrastructure like charcoal huts (PPA-manager2). This heritage is translated into value for tourism and leisure –the cultural ecosystem service of Serra de Tramuntana– providing a living in spaces where agriculture and forestry cannot anymore. Hence, the preservation of agricultural infrastructure is fundamental to maintaining the tourism attraction (PublicAdmin2, PPA-manager2).

“Nowadays, what does the Serra de Tramuntana live on? On the contemplation of its resources, not on its exploitation. And the resource is the landscape [...]. It's the mark left by the charcoal burner [...]. This theme park that we have in the Serra de Tramuntana is simply that legacy. An inheritance that clearly degrades if we do not take care of it, and finally it won't be a good resource.” (PPA-manager2)

Agricultural exploitation, however, is decreasing as a general function of socio-economic changes. In this way, agricultural and tourism exploitation come into contradictory conflict. On the one hand, agriculture is abandoned as it does not provide for a living and is displaced by tourism activities (cf. Mateu-i-Lladó, 2014). On the other hand, an active and traditional primary sector is needed to maintain the tourism attraction embedded in the agricultural terraces of dry-stone on which livelihoods depend. “The Serra de Tramuntana has to provide money, if it does not, we won't inhabit it. And this dry-stone wall won't be restored, and the olive groves, where tourists take their picture, won't be maintained” (PPA-manager2). In this dynamic, we can observe how Serra de Tramuntana's heritage becomes alienable: tourist services to contemplate the beauty and scenery of Serra de Tramuntana are completely alienated from its producers –farmers, forest managers, conservationists, and nonhuman species natures (Tello et al., 2018). An imaginary of Serra de Tramuntana is created for tourism exploitation based on this (primary) production (Murray et al., 2019; Tello et al., 2018), which in turn supports the definition of Serra de Tramuntana fostered by individuation and abstraction processes. The resulting contradiction is described like this:

The Serra de Tramuntana “is a territory that generates wealth. Now, what we want is that this wealth is not only produced by services, hotels, and bars, but also by agriculture, that agriculture also provides prosperity. At least, that the land is cultivated in a way that the landscape is maintained”. (PublicAdmin1)

A recent proposal to address this contradictory relationship is the creation of a “Serra de Tramuntana Brand”. The objective is “to put in value and support producers, shops and gastronomic establishments, emblematic buildings and managers of cultural heritage” (Consorti Serra de Tramuntana, 2013-2022). This is directed to food producers, property managers and owners, also to mountain guides and educators, to local residents, and especially, according to our interviews, to the hotel and gastronomy sector: “that’s where we really invest more, where we think is the value of the whole project” (PublicAdmin1). Hence, the branding exercise is directly related to valuation as previously discussed. It also aims to support local farmers, which is necessary to maintain the cultural landscape that provides the tourist resource the Serra de Tramuntana depends on (see PPA-manager2 above). The distinctive logo of Serra de Tramuntana can be used by enterprises and accommodations that comply with certain criteria, most importantly to offer local products like wine, olives, or oil. On this basis, private profit can be generated. The proposal thus exemplifies processes of abstraction and valuation. By putting a label on the products, their exchange value –the link between abstraction and valuation– is underscored and increased profit can be extracted through marketing local products as distinct and exclusive. This is argued to be necessary to maintain and encourage agricultural operations, which simultaneously serves to maintain Serra de Tramuntana’s tourism attraction. Consequently, (economic) benefits of the declaration of Serra de Tramuntana as a Cultural World Heritage site can be privatized through the brand.

These different dimensions of commodification –individuation, abstraction, alienation, valuation– also provoke the displacement of former uses and users because agriculture is no longer profitable, while tourism is (PPA-manager2). Additionally, the establishment of tourism accommodations like agritourism or holiday homes and the increased living costs as a consequence of the valuation of Serra de Tramuntana provoke displacement of residents and the enclosure of land for its exclusive enjoyment (PublicAdmin2; Müller et al., 2021). In this sense, the commodification of Serra de Tramuntana can be related to gentrification processes through green grabbing, where environmental discourse, recreation, tourism, and holiday homes are driving forces (Checker, 2011; Clark et al., 2007), related also to the development of residential tourism on Mallorca and the Serra de Tramuntana particularly (Mateu-i-Lladó, 2003; Müller et al., 2021; Salvà-i-Tomàs, 1978). Privatization can then be observed in privatizing benefits from the “added value” Serra de Tramuntana offers in the form of intimate nature contemplation in private homes or tourist accommodations. The increased land value contributes to the accumulation of capital in the hands of a few.

For instance, the municipalities of Estellencs, Banyalbufar and Deià have become unique villages inside Serra de Tramuntana and gentrification there can be observed. These villages are losing population while second and holiday homes are increasing and the maintenance of their scenic beauty, namely agricultural terraces –fundamental for their singularity and attractiveness– is put in danger (PublicAdmin1, see also Fornés-Horrach et al., 2021). To address this, a program of usufruct rights of land by landowners to farmers is proposed to support young farmers to establish agricultural operations. As a result of this process a farmer cooperative has been established uniting eight farmers from Banyalbufar and Estellencs (PublicAdmin1). This process can be interpreted as an instrument to maintain the traditional landscape, upon which exclusivity and uniqueness is built, thereby contributing to the commodification of Serra de Tramuntana for tourism purposes.

4.3 Private protected areas and commodification

The conservation instruments applied in the Serra de Tramuntana do not inhibit the ex-urban sprawl with construction of houses in the countryside (Hof & Blázquez-Salom, 2013; Müller et al., 2021), also because the Serra de Tramuntana has been protected officially in recent times (2007). Furthermore, the conservation legislation privileges private property rights over environmental protection and public use (Blázquez-Salom, 2007; Müller, 2020) and manifest a tension between tourism promotion with increased visitor numbers and enforcement of private property.

In past decades, PPAs gained importance as a result of its institutionalization in Spanish legislation (Law 42/2007), which formalizes long-existing relationships between private landowners and conservationists (NGO1, NGO4). PPAs are the materialization of privatization of land and of conservation and can be seen to maintain inequalities based on concentration in land ownership (Artigues-Bonet & Blázquez-Salom, 2016; Müller, 2020). In the Serra de Tramuntana PPAs appear as initiatives of land stewardship that present a wide range of management goals and measures. There are eight PPAs in the Serra de Tramuntana, seven with land stewardship agreements and one without a formal agreement, that we also consider as a PPA due to its explicit conservation goals. Our analysis focuses on four of these PPAs, those that present a proper form of tourism management (pink areas in Figure 1). They have in common that they are all individuated areas with conservation goals. Public and tourist use is restricted according to visitor numbers or days requiring registration on three of the PPA, while one of these PPAs facilitates open access without restriction in numbers or visiting days. Another PPA restricts entry to 50 visitors per day and a maximum group size of 15 people. Two PPA (the most northern ones in Figure 1) can only be visited with tourist guide, being free of charge in one and the other offering ecotourist products

against payment. In fact, limited guided visitation is proposed to solve problems related to overtourism, as described above (NGO4). The analysis of the recreation management of the four PPAs demonstrates that stronger visitor restrictions coincide with emphasizing conservation goals, based on the common argument of needing to save nature from humanity (NGO4) or preserve the quality of the tourist experience (NGO2, PPA-manager2). Thereby, PPA can present a solution to the tension of increased tourism promotion, leading to problems related to overtourism as described above, by privatizing the exclusive experience of conserved nature.

By linking PPA to commodification, we further observe processes of alienability. The labor implied in conservation efforts, like protecting certain species or preparing dissemination material (information boards, flyers, etc.), results in alienation. The nature that is contemplated, observed, and consumed through tourism services is separated from the producers of conserved natures, i.e., conservationists. Three of the considered PPA offer agricultural products from their land for visitors, against donations and to obtain an extra income for maintenance. In one case, the PPA-manager explains that “we aimed to convert visitors into co-managers and to give them the opportunity to participate actively in the management. Not with their hands, obviously, but through purchasing a product” (PPA-manager2). Consumption is here proposed as a form of participation even while it contributes to alienation. Thereby conserved nature is commodified by putting a price on it –valuation– and receiving a return of investment through the exclusiveness of these commodities. On the other hand, the two PPA with land stewardship agreements where local environmental NGOs are property holder and manager engage in environmental education on their properties and promote participation in maintenance and conservation work through volunteering, thereby disseminating knowledge and enabling connections between producers (i.e. conservationists) and consumers (i.e. volunteer) and counter alienability as part of commodification by proposing an alternative form of recreation (NGO4, Volunteer1, Volunteer2).

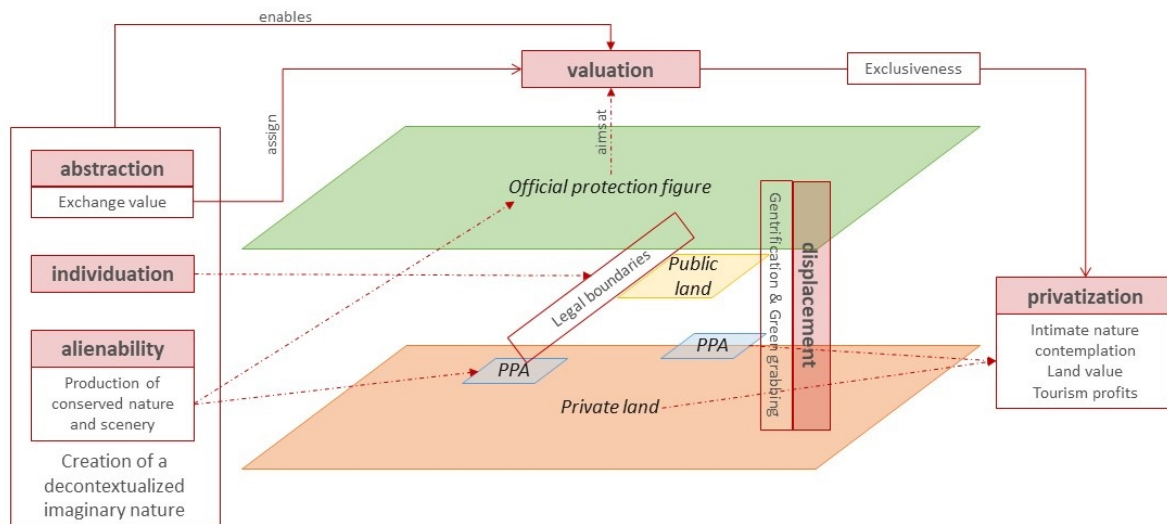
In sum, our analysis suggests that PPAs contribute to commodification by producing conserved nature that can be appropriated by the tourism industry and by enabling generation of private benefit from conserved nature through exclusiveness. In the analyzed cases, the formalization of PPAs does not aim primarily at tourism operations but at conservation and funding to maintain private property.

5 Discussion: exploring commodification and privatization.

Our case study of the Serra de Tramuntana advances neoliberal conservation debates in developing a nuanced understanding of how the commodification and privatization of conserved nature for

tourism plays out in different PPAs. Based on the typology of commodification developed by Castree (2003), we demonstrate how different spaces of the Serra de Tramuntana have been commodified for tourism purposes in different ways. Building on this, we now propose a conceptual map of the principal elements of commodification of conserved nature for tourism and the position of PPA in these processes (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Conceptual map of the commodification of nature for tourism



Source: own elaboration

Figure 2 positions PPAs in between private land and official protection figures that both aim to place an exchange value on the Serra de Tramuntana (PublicAdmin2, NGO2, PPA-manager2) and thereby link valuation with privatization through exclusiveness. This is facilitated through processes of individuation, abstraction, and the capacity to be alienated in creating a decontextualized imaginary of Serra de Tramuntana, part of the commodification of nature both for recreation and tourism. The process is initiated and supported particularly by official protection figures, e.g., UNESCO World Heritage, which aims to value Serra de Tramuntana by defining it as protected for its natural and cultural heritage. Consequently, the decontextualized landscape is valued on the market as a tourist commodity, linking abstraction and valuation via the process of assigning an exchange value to it (e.g. agriculture has to be preserved to maintain the tourist attraction, not for the use value of food production). On the two PPAs still practicing agriculture, land is maintained as a way to preserve traditional land uses (NGO4) or to experiment with local varieties (PPA-manager1) not with the aim of food production. Meanwhile these activities contribute to increasing the land's heritage value and are subsidized to maintain the traditional landscape that constitutes the tourist resource (PublicAdmin2, PPA-manager2). As a result of valuation, private profit can be

generated from tourism commodities and exclusiveness. The increase of attractiveness of properties are based on their exclusive location, linking valuation with questions of privatization, especially of benefits in form of tourism revenues –accommodations and tourism activities– and increasing land prices. Additionally, the tension between overtourism, conservation and private property is resolved particularly on PPAs through enclosure for exclusive and intimate use as a result of privatization and valuation. The relation of commodification and privatization can thus be observed in a threefold way: first, the privatization of benefits of nature contemplation in enclosed land; second, the privatization of economic benefits resulting from valuation of Serra de Tramuntana, which contribute to the accumulation and concentration of capital; and third, the created, decontextualized imaginary can consequently be appropriated by the private (tourist and real estate) sector. In this way, privatization is related to commodification as it is built upon decontextualization –individuation, alienability, and abstraction– and valuation, simultaneously multiplying commodification effects by creating exclusiveness of natural sites. Finally, spatial and temporal displacement links the other elements, by separating production and consumption as well as displacing spatially uses and users other than for tourism and conservation. Displacement is linked to individuation by defining legal boundaries. It is linked to abstraction by displacing use value. Displacement is also linked to privatization through dispossession. It is linked to the production of tourist products –alienability– which are spatially separated from their consumption. Valuation induces displacement of lower-class groups in processes of gentrification and land grabs.

6 Conclusions

Our study contributes to critical research of neoliberal conservation in a global north context. We show the variegation of PPA and how commodification and privatization of conserved nature is interrelated in different forms, combination, and degrees. We suggest that, in general, privatization prevails over tourism commodification in PPAs in the global north, as opposed to the global south where existing research indicates that commodification for tourism provision is often the central motive for private conservation efforts in contexts with limited financial resources (Müller et al. 2023). In this way, the social favoring of the rich and powerful is reproduced, comprising the property class in the global north and the tourist class in the global south.

To develop our analysis, we analyzed processes of commodification of conserved nature for tourism provision according to the six elements defined by Castree (2003). First, we demonstrated how Serra de Tramuntana has been commodified for tourism purposes and map the commodification of conserved nature and the interrelatedness of its six elements and actors involved

(Figure 2). Commodification unfolds through, first decontextualization, including individuation, abstraction, and alienability. These three dimensions are especially supported by the public sector and are fundamental for the valuation of Serra de Tramuntana in monetary terms, particularly by the real estate and tourism sector.

Commodification and privatization are related through, first, intimate nature contemplation in enclosed land; second, increased valuation of private land of an alienated and abstract imaginary; and third, appropriation of conserved nature as tourism product. Spatial and temporal displacement functions as a linkage of these processes, by separating production and consumption as well as displacing spatially other than tourism and conservation uses and users.

Our analysis contributes to conservation debates by demonstrating that privatization of conservation in PPAs, can be combined with commodification in different forms and degrees, while official protection measures can create the basis for valuation by creating a decontextualized imaginary nature, given that neoliberalism requires a state to enforce private property and establish markets. Thereby, benefits can be privatized in three ways: increase of land value contributing to the accumulation of capital; intimate and exclusive nature contemplation; and tourism operations. Our conceptual map demonstrates that official protection figures have a central role in the commodification of conserved nature for tourism by 'preparing' for valuation and exchange at the tourism market through decontextualization. PPAs, in our global north case, however, are not aiming primarily at a return of investment through tourism. Rather, they are positioned between official protection figures and private land and solve tensions between conservation aims and tourism promotion through the privatization of conserved nature adding exclusiveness.

Our results thus demonstrate a need for more nuance in terms of how PPA as a form of neoliberal conservation are investigated in specific case studies. For future investigations concerning how PPAs develop, it is important to parse the specific interconnections between processes of commodification and privatization in the establishment of PPA and the way the latter happens.

As a final caveat, our analysis is not intended to undermine the positive effect of public and private conservation efforts for the environment or for providing public recreation areas. Rather, we aim to show how public conservation politics combined with private initiatives can contribute decisively to the commodification of conserved nature. This is not to say that conservation aims and measures or certain limits are not necessary, but to assert that its organization needs to be rethought in a socially just way. Placing value on nature and culture does not have to be equivalent to putting an exchange value on it.

Acknowledgements: This paper contributes to the research projects “Overtourism in Spanish Coastal Destinations. Tourism Degrowth Strategies” (RTI2018-094844-B-C31) and “Chronic Emergencies and Ecosocial Transformations in Touristified Coastal Spaces” (PID2022-137648OB-C21). Funded by MCIN/AEI/ 10.13039/501100011033 and by ERDF A way of making Europe.

Authorship statement: The authors declare no conflict of interest. The authors’ participation in the article is as follows. Nora Müller: data collection and analysis, literature review, elaboration of the article. Robert Fletcher: Literature review, elaboration of the article. Macià Blázquez-Salom: Literature review, elaboration of the article.

References

- Adams, W.M., & Hutton, J. (2007). People, parks and poverty: Political ecology and biodiversity conservation. *Conservation and Society*, 5(2), 147-183. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26392879>
- Apostolopoulou, E., & Adams, W.M. (2019). El capitalismo neoliberal y la conservación en la era postcrisis: La dialéctica del acaparamiento "verde" y "antiverde" en Grecia y Reino Unido. In J. A. Cortés-Vázquez & O. Beltran (Eds.), *Estudis d'antropologia social i cultural: Vol. 21. Repensar la conservació: Naturaleza, mercado y sociedad civil* (pp. 27-56). Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona.
- Apostolopoulou, E., Chatzimentor, A., Maestre-Andrés, S., Requena-i-Mora, M., Pizarro, A., & Bormpoudakis, D. (2021). Reviewing 15 years of research on neoliberal conservation: Towards a decolonial, interdisciplinary, intersectional and community-engaged research agenda. *Geoforum*, 124, 236-256. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2021.05.006>
- Artigues-Bonet, A.-A., & Blázquez-Salom, M. (2016). Huídas al Paraíso y la Realización Mercantil del Sueño. In *Las utopías y la construcción de la sociedad del futuro*. Symposium conducted at the meeting of XIV Coloquio Internacional de Geocrítica, Barcelona. https://www.ub.edu/geocrit/xiv_artiguesbonet.pdf
- Associació Muntanya del Voltor (2017). *Informe de dades de visitants: Any 2017*. Associació Muntanya del Voltor (2016). Balanç de visitants: Octubre 2014-2016. https://muntanyadelvoltor.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Informe-visites_WEB_CAT.pdf
- Bakker, K. (2005). Neoliberalizing Nature? Market Environmentalism in Water Supply in England and Wales. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 95(3), 542-565. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8306.2005.00474.x>
- Benjaminsen, G., & Kaarhus, R. (2018). Commodification of forest carbon: REDD+ and socially embedded forest practices in Zanzibar. *Geoforum*, 93, 48-56. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2018.04.021>
- Benjaminsen, T.A., & Bryceson, I. (2012). Conservation, green/blue grabbing and accumulation by dispossession in Tanzania. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 39(2), 335-355. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03066150.2012.667405>

- 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), 1-30. <https://doi.org/10.21138/bage.2834>
- Blázquez-Salom, M. (2007). Los espacios naturales: "El mango de la sartén va al otro lado". In P. R. Soares & V. Ueda (Chairs), *IX Coloquio Internacional de Geocrítica*. Symposium conducted at the meeting of Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre. <https://www.ub.edu/geocrit/9porto/maciacia.htm>
- Blázquez-Salom, M., Cladera, M., & Sard, M. (2021). Identifying the sustainability indicators of overtourism and undertourism in Majorca. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2021.1942478>
- Bluwstein, J. (2017). Creating ecotourism territories: Environmentalities in Tanzania's community-based conservation. *Geoforum*, 83, 101-113. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2017.04.009>
- Broch, S.W., Strange, N., Jacobsen, J.B., & Wilson, K.A. (2013). Farmers' willingness to provide ecosystem services and effects of their spatial distribution. *Ecological Economics*, 92, 78-86. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecolecon.2011.12.017>
- Brockington, D., & Duffy, R. (2010). Capitalism and conservation: The production and reproduction of biodiversity conservation. *Antipode*, 42(3), 469-484. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.2010.00760.x>
- Brockington, D., Duffy, R., & Igoe, J. (2010). *Nature unbound: Conservation, capitalism and the future of protected areas*. Earthscan. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781849772075>
- Büscher, B., & Fletcher, R. (2014). Accumulation by Conservation. *New Political Economy*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13563467.2014.923824>
- Büscher, B., & Fletcher, R. (2020). *The Conservation Revolution: Radical Ideas for Saving Nature Beyond the Anthropocene*. Verso.
- Büscher, B., & Whande, W. (2007). Whims of the winds of time? Emerging trends in biodiversity conservation and protected area management. *Conservation and Society*, 5(1), 22-43. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26392870>
- Campling, L., & Colás, A. (2021). *Capitalism and the sea: The maritime factor in the making of the modern world*. Verso.

Capdepón-Frías, M. (2016). La custodia del territorio como instrumento de gestión medioambiental y turística: Una revisión desde el análisis de experiencias. In M. Blázquez-Salom, M. Mir-Gual, I. Murray & G.X. Pons (Eds.), *Monografies de la Societat d'Història Natural de les Balears: Vol. 23, Turismo y crisis, turismo colaborativo y ecoturismo* (pp. 321-333). Societat d'Història Natural de les Balears.

http://ibdigital.uib.es/greenstone/collect/monografiesHistoriaNatural/index/assoc/Monograf/iesSHNB_/2016vol0/23p321.dir/MonografiesSHNB_2016vol023p321.pdf

Capdepón-Frías, M. (2021). Las áreas protegidas privadas como escenarios para el turismo: Implicaciones y cuestiones clave. *Cuadernos Geográficos*, 60(2), 72-90.
<https://doi.org/10.30827/cuadgeo.v60i2.15336>

Capellà-Miternique, H. (2020). La revenja de la natura: El cas de Ternelles (Mallorca). *Treballs de la Societat Catalana de Geografia*, (90), 205-222.
<https://publicacions.iec.cat/repository/pdf/00000299/00000071.pdf>

Castree, N. (2003). Commodifying what nature? *Progress in Human Geography*, 27(3), 273-297.
<https://doi.org/10.1191/0309132503ph428oa>

Castree, N. (2005). *Nature. Key ideas in geography*. Routledge.
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203448410>

Checker, M. (2011). Wiped out by the "Greenwave": Environmental gentrification and the paradoxical politics of urban sustainability. *City & Society*, 23(2), 210-229.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-744X.2011.01063.X>

Clark, E., Johnson, K., Lundholm, E., & Malmberg, G. (2007). Island gentrification and space wars. In G. Baldacchino (Ed.), *A world of islands: An islands studies reader* (pp. 481-510). of Island Studies University of Prince Edward Island.

Consorci Serra de Tramuntana (2013-2022). Distintiu Serra de Tramuntana Patrimoni Mundial.
<https://serradetrabantana.net/distintiu>

Cortés-Vázquez, J. A. (2017). Conservación ambiental, participación pública y crisis económica: Entre la amenaza de privatización encubierta y la búsqueda de políticas más equitativas para los espacios naturales protegidos. *Quaderns de L'institut Catala D'antropologia*, 22(2), 232-241.
https://www.antropologia.cat/estatic/files/15_Nota_Cortes.pdf

- Cortés-Vázquez, J. A., & Apostolopoulou, E. (2019). Against neoliberal natures: Environmental movements, radical practice and “the Right to Nature”. *Geoforum*, 98, 202-205. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2019.01.007>
- Dudley, N. (Ed.) (2008). *Guidelines for applying protected area management categories*. IUCN.
- Duffy, R. (2006). The Politics of Ecotourism and the Developing World. *Journal of Ecotourism*, 5(1-2), 1-6. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14724040608668443>
- Farmer, J. R., Knapp, D., Meretsky, V.J., Chancellor, C., & Fischer, B.C. (2011). Motivations influencing the adoption of conservation easements. *Conservation Biology*, 25(4), 827-834. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1523-1739.2011.01686.x>
- Fletcher, R. (2022). Neoliberal Conservation. In Oxford University Press (Ed.), *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Anthropology*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190854584.013.300>
- Fornés-Horrach, A., Vallespir-Pons, J., Adrover-Fiol, M., Bernales-Sastre, J., & Moll-Mass, M. (2021). *Sistema d'indicadors de la Serra de Tramuntana Patrimoni Mundial*. https://serradetrabantana.net/documents/8935369/9197304/Sistema+de+indicadores+ST_w eb.pdf/9bed386d-4e5b-993c-9f2d-697cab29c387?t=1678258675078
- García-Álvarez, G. (2016). Instrumentos territoriales y protección de la biodiversidad: una perspectiva jurídica. *Revista Aragonesa de Administración Pública*, (16), 11-31. <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=6088621>
- Hall, D. (2013). Primitive Accumulation, Accumulation by Dispossession and the Global Land Grab. *Third World Quarterly*, 34(9), 1582-1604. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2013.843854>
- Harvey, D. (1993). The nature of environment: Dialectics of social and environmental change. *Socialist Register*, 29, 1-51. <https://socialistregister.com/index.php/srv/article/view/5621>
- Harvey, D. (2005). *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford University Press.
- Hof, A., & Blázquez-Salom, M. (2013). The linkages between real estate tourism and urban sprawl in Majorca (Balearic Islands, Spain). *Land*, 2(2), 252-277. <https://doi.org/10.3390/land2020252>
- Holmes, G. (2013). What role do private protected areas have in conserving global biodiversity? *SRI Papers*, 46. <https://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/76968/1/Holmes%282013%29PPAs.pdf>

Holmes, G., & Cavanagh, C. J. (2016). A review of the social impacts of neoliberal conservation: Formations, inequalities, contestations. *Geoforum*, 75, 199-209. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2016.07.014>

IBESTAT (2022). *Viajeros entrados por periodo, zona turística y país de residencia (5)*. https://www.caib.es/ibestat/estadistiques/614884d6-737a-401d-a8c3-a35519b8fec9/151947b3-8dd4-4bef-8eb9-207c8898b4b7/es/l208013_0030.px

Igoe, J. (2010). The spectacle of nature in the global economy of appearances: Anthropological engagements with the spectacular mediations of transnational conservation. *Critique of Anthropology*, 30(4), 375-397. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0308275X10372468>

Igoe, J., Neves, K., & Brockington, D. (2010). A spectacular eco-tour around the historic bloc: Theorising the convergence of biodiversity conservation and capitalist expansion. *Antipode*, 42(3), 486-512. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.2010.00761.x>

Krüger, O. (2005). The role of ecotourism in conservation: Panacea or Pandora's box? *Biodiversity and Conservation*, 14(3), 579-600. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10531-004-3917-4>

Langholz, J., & Lassoie, J. P. (2001). Perils and promise of privately owned protected areas. *BioScience*, 51(12), 1079. [https://doi.org/10.1641/0006-3568\(2001\)051\[1079:PAPOPO\]2.0.CO;2](https://doi.org/10.1641/0006-3568(2001)051[1079:PAPOPO]2.0.CO;2)

Mateu-i-Lladó, J. (2003). Turismo Residencial y Dispersión Urbana en Mallorca (Illes Balears): Un Ensayo Metodológico en el Municipio de Pollença. *Estudios Turísticos*, 155–156, 197-218. <https://doi.org/10.61520/et.155-1562003.915>

Mateu-i-Lladó, J. (2014). Los paisajes culturales patrimonio mundial como herramientas de gestión territorial: El caso de la Serra de Tramuntana de Mallorca. *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles*, (66). <https://doi.org/10.21138/bage.1789>

McAfee, K. (2012a). The contradictory logic of global ecosystem services markets. *Development and Change*, 43(1), 105-131. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7660.2011.01745.x>

McAfee, K. (2012b). Nature in the Market-World: Ecosystem services and inequality. *Development*, 55(1), 25-33. <https://doi.org/10.1057/dev.2011.105>

McGinlay, J., Gkoumas, V., Holtvoeth, J., Fuertes, R.F.A., Bazhenova, E., Benzoni, A., Botsch, K., Cabrera-Martel, C., Carillo- Sánchez, C., Cervera, I., Chaminade, G., Doerstel, J., Fagundo-García, C.J., Jones, A., Lammertz, M., Lotman, K., Odar, M., Pastor, T., Ritchie, C., Santi, S.,

Smolej, M., Soriano-Rico, F., Waterman, H., Zwijacz-Kozica, T., Kontoleon, A., Dimitrakopoulos, P.G., & Jones, N. (2020). The Impact of COVID-19 on the Management of European Protected Areas and Policy Implications. *Forests*, 11(11), 1214. <https://doi.org/10.3390/f11111214>

Moore, J.W. (2020). *El capitalismo en la trama de la vida: Ecología y acumulación de capital*. Traficantes de Sueños.

Morton, L.W., Regen, E., Engle, D.M., Miller, J.R., & Harr, R.N. (2010). Perceptions of landowners concerning conservation, grazing, fire, and eastern redcedar management in tallgrass prairie. *Rangeland Ecology & Management*, 63(6), 645-654. <https://doi.org/10.2111/REM-D-09-00041.1>

Müller, N., & Blázquez-Salom, M. (2020). El uso público en la custodia de territorio: ¿Hacia un domino de intereses privados? In G. X. Pons-Buades, A. Blanco-Romero, L. Troitiño-Torrallba, & M. Blázquez-Salom (Eds.), *Sostenibilidad turística: "overtourism vs undertourism"* (pp. 197-208). Monográfico de la Societat d'Història Natural de les Balears. https://ibdigital.uib.es/greenstone/sites/oai-site/collect/monografiesHistoriaNatural/index/assoc/Monograf/iesSHNB_/2020vol0/31p197.dir/MonografiesSHNB_2020vol031p197.pdf

Müller, N., Murray, I., & Blázquez-Salom, M. (2021). Short-term rentals and the rentier growth coalition in Pollença (Majorca). *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 53(7), 1609-1629. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518X211033307>

Müller, N., Rathgens, J., Fletcher, R., & Hilser, S. (2023). Linking tourism and conservation on privately owned natural areas: A systematic review of English-language literature. *Society & Natural Resources*, 1-20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08941920.2022.2161029>

Murray, I., Jover-Avellà, G., Fullana, O., & Tello, E. (2019). Biocultural heritages in Mallorca: Explaining the resilience of peasant landscapes within a Mediterranean tourist hotspot, 1870-2016. *Sustainability*, 11(7), 1926. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su11071926>

Neves, K., & Igøe, J. (2012). Uneven development and accumulation by dispossession in nature conservation: Comparing recent trends in the Azores and Tanzania. *Tijdschrift Voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 103(2), 164-179. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9663.2012.00710.x>

Ojeda, D. (2019). La playa vacía, el bosque exuberante y el otro exótico: Herramientas para el análisis crítico del turismo de naturaleza. In E. Cañada & I. Murray (Eds.), *Turistificación global: Perspectivas críticas en turismo* (pp. 463-473). Icaria Antrazyt.

- Ovando, P., Campos, P., Oviedo, J.L., & Caparrós, A. (2016). Ecosystem accounting for measuring total income in private and public agroforestry farms. *Forest Policy and Economics*, 71, 43-51. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.forpol.2016.06.031>
- Palfrey, R., Oldekop, J., & Holmes, G. (2021). Conservation and social outcomes of private protected areas. *Conservation Biology*, 35(4), 1098-1110. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cobi.13668>
- Pons, A., Rullan, O., & Murray, I. (2014). Tourism capitalism and island urbanization: Tourist accommodation diffusion in the Balearics, 1936-2010. *Island Studies Journal*, 9(2), 239-258. <https://doaj.org/article/1746046538be484aa848f8ade6001929>
- Pons-Buades, G. X., Blanco-Romero, A., Troitiño-Torrallba, L., & Blázquez-Salom, M. (Eds.) (2020). *Sostenibilidad turística: "overtourism vs undertourism"*. Monográfico de la Societat d'Història Natural de les Balears. <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/libro?codigo=776500>
- Raymond, C. M., Singh, G.G., Benessaiah, K., Bernhardt, J. R., Levine, J., Nelson, H., Turner, N.J., Norton, B., Tam, J., & Chan, K.M.A. (2013). Ecosystem Services and Beyond: Using Multiple Metaphors to Understand Human–Environment Relationships. *BioScience*, 63(7), 536-546. <https://doi.org/10.1525/bio.2013.63.7.7>
- Rissman, A.R., & Merenlender, A. M. (2008). The conservation contributions of conservation easements: analysis of the San Francisco bay area protected lands spatial database. *Ecology and Society*, 13(1). <https://doi.org/10.5751/ES-02329-130140>
- Robertson, M.M. (2000). No net loss: Wetland restoration and the incomplete capitalization of nature. *Antipode*, 32(4), 463-493. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8330.00146>
- Robeyns, I. (2016). Having too much. In J. Knight & M. Schwartzberg (Eds.), *Yearbook of the American Society for Political and Legal Philosophy. NOMOS LVI: Wealth*. New York University Press.
- Romero-Torres, J. (2020). *El desarrollo del ecoturismo en los destinos de montaña en España (2000-2019): Análisis, evaluación y perspectiva* (Doctoral dissertation, Universitat de Barcelona, Barcelona). <http://hdl.handle.net/2445/180043>
- Rullan, O. (1999). Crecimiento y política territorial en las islas baleares (1955-2000). *Estudios Geográficos*, 60(236), 403. <https://doi.org/10.3989/egeogr.1999.i236.570>

- Salvà-i-Tomàs, P.A. (1978). Las funciones residencial y de ocio como elementos de transformación del espacio rural de la Serra de Tramuntana de la Isla de Mallorca. *Treballs De Geografia*, 35, 163-172. <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=6487446>
- Santamarina-Campos, B. (2019). El inicio de la protección de la naturaleza en España: Orígenes y balance de la conservación. *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, 168, 55-72. <https://doi.org/10.5477/cis/reis.168.55>
- Sayer, A. (2003). (De)commodification, Consumer Culture, and Moral Economy. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 21(3), 341-357. <https://doi.org/10.1068/d353>
- Serenari, C., Peterson, M.N., Wallace, T., & Stowhas, P. (2016). Private protected areas, ecotourism development and impacts on local people's well-being: A review from case studies in Southern Chile. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 25(12), 1792-1810. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2016.1178755>
- Smith, N. (2008). *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital, and the Production of Space* (3rd ed.). Georgia Press.
- Stolton, S., Redford, K.H., & Dudley, N. (2014). *The Futures of Privately Protected Areas*. Gland Switzerland. <https://portals.iucn.org/library/sites/library/files/documents/PATRS-001.pdf>
- Strübing, J. (2014). *Grounded Theory: Zur sozialtheoretischen und epistemologischen Fundierung eines pragmatistischen Forschungsstils* (3rd ed.). Springer.
- Tello, E., Jover, G., Murray, I., Fullana, O., & Soto, R. (2018). From feudal colonization to agrarian capitalism in Mallorca: Peasant endurance under the rise and fall of large estates (1229-1900). *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 18(3), 483-516. <https://doi.org/10.1111/joac.12253>
- Vaccaro, I., Beltran-Costa, O., & Paquet, P. (2013). Political ecology and conservation policies: some theoretical genealogies. *Journal of Political Ecology*, 20(1), 255-272. <https://doi.org/10.2458/v20i1.21748>
- Valdivielso, J., & Moranta, J. (2019). The social construction of the tourism degrowth discourse in the Balearic Islands. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 27(12), 1-18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2019.1660670>
- West, P., & Carrier, J. G. (2004). Ecotourism and Authenticity: Getting away from it all? *Current Anthropology*, 45(4), 483-498. <https://doi.org/10.1086/422082>

Wieckardt, C.E., Koot, S., & Karimasari, N. (2020). Environmentalism, green grabbing, and neoliberal conservation: The ambiguous role of ecotourism in the Green Life privatised nature reserve, Sumatra, Indonesia. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 1-17. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2020.1834564>