

CHAPTER TWO

Tourism as an Industry versus Tourism as a Social Force

2.1 Background

Tourism is, without a doubt, one of the most important forces shaping our world (Cohen & Kennedy, 2000, p. 214). Economically, tourism is of growing importance to many nations and it is now recognised as the largest export earner in the world and an important provider of foreign exchange and employment (World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), no date a). In particular, developing countries are encouraged to use it as a means of economic development which wreaks less damage than extractive industries (see Russell & Stabile, 2003) and can be used to generate revenue for other developmental activities (Mathieson & Wall, 1982, p. 41). But in addition to these economic benefits, tourism offers social, cultural and environmental benefits which also add to its allure. Tourism is argued to contribute to the well-being of the tourists by giving them restorative holidays that fulfil many human needs (UNWTO, 1999). Tourism is also acclaimed for its contribution to the preservation of cultures at a time when globalisation is arguably a force for cultural homogenisation (Cohen & Kennedy, 2000, p. 226). The growth in interest in

ecotourism has demonstrated that tourism can be an important force for the restoration or conservation of environments (Richardson, 1993). Lastly, and perhaps the most important work with which tourism is credited, is that it is a force promoting peace and understanding between peoples and societies (UNWTO, 1980). However, despite the diversity of positive impacts with which tourism is credited, there is a current trend to limit its parameters to the economic and business domains thereby severely restricting its capacity to fulfil other invaluable potentials.¹ Tourism has succumbed to the effects of “marketisation” which has been affected by the dominance of “neoliberal” values in much of the global community. As a result of such dynamics, tourism industry leaders are able to harness tourism’s opportunities for their own private wealth accumulation and commandeer scarce community resources for their purposes. As a result, tourism’s full potential is squandered and its promise of many powerful benefits for humanity remains unfulfilled. This chapter is an effort to form a foundational argument that tourism is much more than just an “industry”; it is a social force which if freed from the fetters of “market ideology” can achieve vital aims for all of humanity.

2.1.1 Historical perspective

The ability of tourism to contribute to important social aims was recognised at the birth of the modern tourism phenomenon. Thomas Cook could be described as the father of modern, mass tourism when he utilised the new railway technology to organise inexpensive journeys for the emerging working class created by the

¹ Morgan and Pritchard have identified the gap between the economic perspective of tourism and the sociological one as one of the outstanding problems in the study of tourism (1998, pp. 4-5).

industrialisation of the United Kingdom.² Although it took until 1850 for Cook's amazing organisational skills and foresightedness to pay off in profits, he was motivated as much by philanthropic aims as business goals (Turner & Ash, 1976, p. 52). It is well known that Cook's short train journeys in England subsequently expanded in scope and in industrial organisation to feature all-inclusive tours to the Great Exhibition in Paris in 1855 and then to destinations around the world such as India, Egypt and the Holy Lands (Swinglehurst, 1982; Turner & Ash, 1976, pp. 51-59; Urry, 2002, pp. 23-24; Weaver & Oppermann, 2000, pp. 64-66). It is less well known that Cook had a broad social agenda underpinning his efforts.

Turner and Ash claim Cook viewed the railway as "... a great and beneficial social force" (1976, p. 52) and they quote him as describing travel as "appertaining to the great class of agencies for the advancement of Human Progress" (cited in Turner & Ash, 1976, p. 53). Turner and Ash argue further:

He saw 'excursionism' as an agent of democratisation, and in 1861 he demonstrated the sincerity of his democratic principles by organising an excursion of 1,500 to 1,600 people to support a working men's demonstration in Paris. Cook made a loss of 120 pounds and described the venture as a 'labour of love minus profit'. Nevertheless, a similar excursion was organised in the following year (1976, p. 53).³

² Cook's first effort was to organise train transport to get delegates to a temperance meeting in 1841 (Turner & Ash, 1976, p. 51). Recognising that the working class resorted to hard-drinking in their free time to offset the hard and dangerous labour they performed in factories, Cook wished to offer them more wholesome leisure activities.

³ Observers of the day from the elite resented Cook's efforts to "democratise" the benefits of travel to the masses describing Cook's "tourists" as "droves" and "flocks" (see Boorstin, 1963, p. 96). Boorstin argues that it was Cook's efforts that saw the distinction between "travellers" and "tourists", as independent travellers educated and challenged themselves through their "*travail*" (French for "work" or "toil") while tourists were passive and pleasure-seeking. With the creation of "tourists", Boorstin claims, "foreign travel ceased to be an activity – an experience, an undertaking – and instead became a commodity" (1963, pp. 93-95).

Turner and Ash characterise these efforts as a “promising beginning” for tourism but conclude “... a politically aware tourism [showed] no signs of materialising: one cannot imagine modern tour operators supporting the struggles of the French students and workers in any recurrence of the 1968 May riots” (1976, p. 53).⁴ This discrepancy between contemporary tourism and its promising beginnings is, in fact, one of the points of Turner and Ash’s book as they conclude “...tourism has proved remarkably ineffective as a promoter of equality and as an ally of the oppressed” (1976, p. 53).⁵ What has exacerbated this situation since the times in which Turner and Ash were writing, is the dominance of the neoliberal agenda which has arisen with the demise of the Cold War’s bipolar world and the resulting hegemony of the “Washington Consensus”⁶ and its “market fundamentalism”. It is to the effects of these developments that this discussion now turns.

2.1.2 The hegemony of the market

The diminishing of the socialist alternative that occurred with the abandonment of communism by the Soviet Union and other nations of the Warsaw Pact has resulted

⁴ Under contemporary corporatised tourism, “politically aware” tourism, such as Turner and Ash describe, supporting the struggles of today (such as the Palestinians, the anti-Iraq War coalition, or the agendas of the World Social Forum) remains a rarity. See Chapter five for a discussion of justice tourism as the notable exception.

⁵ In light of today’s thinking, what is really quite startling is that Turner and Ash can even posit that tourism could be expected to do these things. While the new drive for pro-poor tourism (PPT) could be argued to be an alignment of tourism with the needs of the oppressed, the discussion provided in Chapter five indicates it falls short of this aim when it is co-opted by the tourism industry.

⁶ The term “Washington Consensus” was coined by John Williamson of the Institute for International Economics in 1990 for the increasingly common view held by financial players that economic and trade liberalisation are the keys to financial prosperity (Williamson, 2000). Thomas argues “by ‘Washington’ Williamson meant not only the US government, but all those institutions and networks of opinion leaders centred in the world’s de facto capital – the IMF, the World Bank, think-tanks, politically sophisticated investment bankers, and worldly finance ministers, all those who meet each other in Washington and collectively define the conventional wisdom of the moment” (1999, p. 225). The content of the consensus is that free markets and strict fiscal policies are the keys to future economic development.

in an extraordinary advance in the spread of the ideology of neoliberalism.⁷

According to Stilwell, neoliberalism's "core belief is that giving freer reign [sic] to market forces will produce more efficient economic outcomes" (2002, p. 21). In Stephen Gill's article "Globalisation, market civilisation and disciplinary neoliberalism" he characterises the current era as an attempt to impose a "market civilization" on global society:

The present world order involves a more 'liberalized' and commodified set of historical structures, driven by the restructuring of capital and a political shift to the right. This process involves a spatial expansion and social deepening of economic liberal definitions of social purpose and possessively individualist patterns of action and politics (1995, p. 399).

Stilwell claims that the neoliberals advocate "free market" policies in order to unfetter capitalist economies from excessive interventions by governments in economic matters, a product of the policies of the "welfare state" supported since the 1950s and which neoliberals view as stifling economic efficiency. With the rise of the "Washington Consensus", these neoliberal policies now have global reach as developing countries are urged to adopt such policies by international financial institutions (IFIs) such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the development banks.⁸ McMichael claims that the World Trade Organization (WTO) offers the promise of development to developing countries as the reward for joining

⁷ Also known as "economic fundamentalism" or "economic rationalism" (Stilwell, 2002, p. 21). Gill uses the term "market fundamentalism" (1995).

⁸ In reference to the pressure that developing countries are under to adhere to the ideology of the Washington consensus, journalist Thomas Friedman has used the evocative term "Golden Straitjacket" (2000). He claims: "when your country recognizes...the rules of the free market in today's global economy, and decides to abide by them, it puts on what I call the Golden Straitjacket...[which] is the defining political-economic garment of the globalization era... As your country puts on the Golden Straitjacket, two things tend to happen: your economy grows and your politics shrinks" (2000, pp. 104-105). These rules include: allowing the private sector to be the engine of economic growth, low inflationary and price stabilising policies, deregulation of economy, privatisation of state assets, reduction of state bureaucracy and embracing foreign trade and investment (Friedman, 2000, p. 105).

the market so that a “market rule” is installed whereby the markets and resources of the developing world are available for access (1998, pp. 302-303).

Stilwell claims that the implementation of neoliberalism has not resulted in “small government” but instead “different government”:

The economic activities of government are not reduced, only reoriented towards directly serving the interests of business; they become less concerned with progressive income redistribution and the amelioration of social problems arising from the operations of the market economy. The policies certainly create winners and losers whatever their effectiveness in relation to the dynamism of the economy as a whole: the removal of regulations protecting employment conditions predictably leads to more unevenness of employment practices and greater wage disparities; the relaxation of environmental controls leads to more environmentally degrading activities; and the withdrawal of redistributive policies leads to growing problems of economic inequality and poverty (2002, p. 22).

In his work on “demystifying globalisation”, McMichael supports Stilwell’s contention that neoliberalism reshapes the state-market relationship but reminds us that ultimately markets are political institutions embedded within both states and the state system (1998, p. 300). McMichael argues that

The globalisation project is premised on political-economic liberalisation of states. It subsumes the rhetoric of development and reconstructs it as efficiency, competition, and entrepreneurialism. But it is not necessarily an equivalent project- it does not possess the coherence of the development project, anchored in the nation-building process. The latter was embedded, to a greater or lesser degree, in social goals specific to each state. The global regime has no social goals, just private/financial goals, expressed in appeals to the abstract authority of the market (1998, p. 303).

Development analyst Susan George (1999) has referred to the early warning of economic historian Karl Polanyi in his 1944 work *The Great Transformation* against

the folly of allowing the market system to place economic imperatives over social relations. She cautions:

...the whole point of neoliberalism is that the market mechanism should be allowed to direct the fate of human beings. The economy should dictate its rules to society, not the other way around. And just as Polanyi foresaw, this doctrine is leading us directly towards the 'demolition of society' (1999).

Gill concurs with George and states that "the privatisation and marketisation of social life – for example in the institutions of the family, churches, medical provision, education - associated with the capitalist market order tends to atomise human communities and destroys the integrity of the ecological structures that support all life forms" (2000a).

Clive Hamilton has described the central tenets of neoliberalism as beliefs that "...the central objective of government must be the promotion of economic growth and that markets must prevail" (2003, p. ix); the former he calls "growth fetishism". He states:

In practice, growth fetishism has been responsible for a historic transfer of political authority from the state to the private market. If growth is the path to greater national and personal wellbeing, should not those responsible for growth be encouraged at every opportunity? Growth fetishism therefore cedes enormous political power to business, and corporations are never reluctant to argue that, since they are creators of wealth, it is their interests that should be paramount to government (2003, pp. 17-18).

In his explanation on how a force with such negative social and environmental impacts, receives so little resistance, Hamilton explains:

At its heart...globalisation is not so much about the deepening of economic and financial networks or the extension of the international reach of corporations; it is about the restless spread of the ideology of growth and consumer capitalism... While the motive force is the accumulation of wealth through profit seeking, the ideology draws its legitimacy from the core belief that human well-being is advanced above all else by increasing the quantity and quality of goods and services consumed by individuals. This gives privileged place to all activities and policies that promise an increase in the rate of economic growth. Parallel with this formal set of beliefs are cultural forms of behaviour that place enormous emphasis on consumption as the foundation lifestyle. This is why there has been so little resistance to globalisation... (2003, pp. 119-120).

The tourism sector is very important in these processes because the consumption of tourism experiences is a key “growth” sector in many contemporary economies. As a result, tourism has been radically changed by the hegemony of the market. There has been a great deal of valuable analysis in the tourism literature about such developments (including Brohman, 1996; Mowforth & Munt, 2003; Reid, 2003; Scheyvens, 2002). In his discussion of volunteer tourism, Wearing is highly critical of tourism operations within the neoliberalism context (2001, 2002a). He states:

Tourism in a free market economy can exploit natural resources as a means of profit accumulation, and consequently has been described as the commercialization of the human need to travel. The notion of unlimited gain has led to the exploitation of host communities, their cultures and environments.

Tourism perpetuates inequality, with the multinational companies of the advanced capitalist countries retaining the economic power and resources to invest in and ultimately control nations of the developing world. In many cases, a developing country’s engagement with tourism serves simply to confirm its dependent, subordinate position in relation to the advanced capitalist societies– itself a form of neo-colonialism (2002a, p. 238).

Brohman (1996) has thoroughly critiqued the use of tourism as part of the outward-oriented development strategies promoted by the neoliberally-driven international financial institutions (IFIs) such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Such agencies pressure developing countries to adopt neoliberal policies as

part of the structural adjustment programs that are a pre-requisite to obtain loans. Reviewing Brohman's work, Scheyvens has claimed "rather than encouraging domestic tourism or promoting tourism as a means of developing cross-cultural awareness, for example, for most Third World countries tourism is explicitly pursued as a means of earning foreign exchange" (2002, p. 24).

Clearly contemporary tourism has accommodated itself to the hegemony of the market. In fact, contemporaneous with the rise of neoliberalism, the mantra that tourism is an "industry" which is subject only to the rules of the marketplace has been repeated so frequently that to think otherwise is almost viewed as nonsensical. The issue of globalisation and the impact of neoliberal ideology on tourism are the subjects of Chapters three and four, whereas this chapter will address rival depictions of tourism. While, on one hand, the dominance of the market paradigm has supported the depiction of tourism as an "industry", tourism is also in fact a potent social force. As the next section demonstrates, the discourse of tourism as "industry" has been developed for particular political purposes and has important effects which are vital to recognise.

2.2 Tourism as an industry- the marketisation of tourism

Tourism is characterised as an industry in a great deal of publications ranging from newspapers to trade magazines, various kinds of academic publications as well as government and business reports.⁹ While people more readily accept the notion of

⁹ For instance, tourism falls under the Australian federal government's Department of Industry, Tourism and Resources. Texts such as Knowles, Diamantis and El-Mourhabi's *The globalization of tourism and hospitality* discusses how these "industries" can strategise their benefits from globalising

tourism as an industry today following years of hearing the term repeatedly, the academic debate remains unresolved. This remains an outstanding issue in academia mainly due to the diverse range of products and services that make up the “tourism industry” which are accessed by both tourists and non-tourists. As Sinclair and Stabler state:

It is a composite product involving transport, accommodation, catering, natural resources, entertainments and other facilities and services, such as shops and banks, travel agents and tour operators. Many businesses also serve other sectors and consumer demands, thus raising the question of the extent to which suppliers can be considered as primarily suppliers of tourism. The many components of the product, supplied by a variety of businesses operating in a number of markets, create problems in analysing tourism supply (1997, p. 58).

However, as will be demonstrated in this section, the drive to characterise tourism as an industry has resulted in a deleterious narrowing of the vision of tourism’s role in societies.

Leiper traces the development of the term “tourism industry” to the 1960s when modernising forces looked to industries as engines of economic growth (1995, p. 97).

It is apparent that there has been a concerted effort made on the part of interested parties to gain widespread acceptance of the notion of tourism as an industry. Leiper contends that this is partly the result of a simile (tourism is like an industry) going wildly astray when extended as a metaphor (tourism is an industry) (1995, p. 99).

However, there are more important agendas behind the promotion of this conceptualisation. Davidson argues that tourism businesses reacted against the common notion of tourism as “...fun and games, recreation, leisure, unproductive”

(2001). *Tourism Talk*, an online tourism newsletter, describes itself as the “industry” magazine for Australia (see: <http://www.tourism-talk.com.au/>).

which resulted in a failure of economists, economic developers and governments to take tourism seriously (1994, pp. 20-21). He argues that the struggle to get tourism accepted as an industry was waged for the following purposes: to win respect, to enable data collection and to create an identity and secure self-esteem for those working in tourism (1994, pp. 21-22). Leiper argues that the “tourist industry” image was created to secure broad public relations goals for organisations such as the Pacific Asia Travel Association (PATA), the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO)¹⁰ and the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC). It also aimed to create pride and professionalism among employees and establish clout wieldable in politics (1995, pp. 103-105).¹¹ Davidson (1994) and Leiper (1995) convincingly argue that the effort to gain widespread acceptance of tourism as “industry” on the part of its promoters was in part an attempt to gain considerable political advantage pursued for obtaining economic benefits.

One academic proponent of the notion of tourism as an industry is Stephen Smith. Smith laments the gap that exists between the researchers of tourism and the practitioners in the tourism business sector which results from lack of awareness of tourism as a business on the part of the former (1988, p. 182). He offers an industrial definition of tourism, which he argues will rectify the poor regard that industry leaders, government officials and economists have for tourism by allowing comparability with other industries (p. 182). This definition is what he calls a

¹⁰ Formerly, the World Tourism Organization used the acronym WTO-OMT to distinguish it from the World Trade Organization which used the acronym WTO-OMC (the former signifying World Tourism Organization-*Organisation mondiale du tourisme* from the latter World Trade Organization-*Organisation mondiale du commerce*). However, in 2005 when the World Tourism Organization became a specialised agency of the United Nations, the acronym UNWTO was adopted to avoid confusion between these two international organisations; the World Trade Organization now uses the acronym WTO.

¹¹ Additionally, Leiper argues that environmentalists also helped create the image of the “tourism industry” in order to make it a target worthy of their considerable opposition and criticism.

“supply-side” definition in that it shifts focus away from tourists to the businesses which service them: “Tourism is the aggregate of all businesses that directly provide goods or services to facilitate business, pleasure, and leisure activities away from the home environment” (1988, p. 183). This definition leads critics to claim tourism cannot be an industry because it fails to produce a unique good or service (the usual criterion for defining an industry), because it produces a multitude and diversity of products and services. In response, Smith retorts that “the tourism product is the complete travel experience” which comprises travel, accommodation, food and attractions a tourist uses (1997, p. 149).

The notion of tourism as an industry has generated extensive debate and disagreement. Davidson argues convincingly that tourism is not an industry in particular because an industry is composed of individual businesses grouped together, the revenue received by these businesses and the common product that they create and sell. Tourism, he claims, does not meet these criteria as tourism is “a social phenomenon, not a production activity”, it comprises the total of expenditures of all travellers or visitors for all purposes, and not just the receipts of a particular set of businesses and it is “an experience or process, not a product” (1994, pp. 22-25). Davidson claims that by arguing for support for tourism as an industry, the tourism sector looks narrowly self-interested in achieving outcomes for its individual businesses while it could be achieving greater support for itself by highlighting its contributions to society in general. He states:

When tourism – an industry composed of individual business firms seeking their own benefit – comes up against education, public health, crime prevention, infrastructure repair or development, etc. (all seen as serving society as a whole), the problem before the appropriations committee is clear. Why should government use limited funds to

support one industry – and a ‘frivolous’ one at that – when there are so many social ills that demand attention? As an industry, tourism is often seen as self-serving when, in fact it is a key ingredient in the economic health of a community. Thriving tourism can be key to attending to these other issues (1994, p. 26).

Leiper argues that the promotion of tourism as an industry is “an economic image with political uses” (1995, Chapter 5). In particular, national tourism bodies such as the Tourism Council of Australia and Tourism Task Force seek to enhance the size of the tourism phenomenon (Leiper, 1995, pp. 105-109). They do this in order to secure greater public funding, favourable fiscal policies and political influence.¹²

Examining the case of Australia, Leiper concludes that these efforts have largely paid off but he challenges the wisdom of this success:

Has need become greed? While there are certainly arguments supporting the opinion that governments should be sponsors of tourism promotion, because of the free-rider/market failure problems and other reasons, no study of costs and benefits to society at large has been prepared which adequately justifies the huge and rising expenditures on the promotion of tourism industries by Australian governments (at Commonwealth, State and Territory levels) over the past fifteen years. Perhaps some of the money would be better spent on something in tourism other than industry promotion, or for a quite different field of government policy beneficial to the common wealth. These possibilities are one reason why investigating the scope of industries associated with tourism has more than academic relevance (1995, p. 109).¹³

In an increasingly competitive world, the notion of tourism as an “industry” is used to obtain support and access to resources that would otherwise be unobtainable.¹⁴ As

¹² Greenwood concludes that tourism is composed of a “collection of sectors” with disparate interests and this limits the ability to lobby as an “industry” speaking with one voice in the public policy arena and thus curtails its success in exerting its influence on governments (1993, p. 348).

¹³ Leiper (1995) views tourism as only a partially industrialised activity and argues that its promotion as an “industry” contributes to flawed policy-making, inequity and advantage for particular sectional interest groups over others. Davidson concurs, stating that exaggerating the industrial nature of tourism fails to “... reflect the totality of tourism and serves to champion a few industries” (1994, p. 26).

¹⁴ Nesiiah (2005) provides an excellent example of this dynamic in the competition for reconstruction aid in the aftermath of the Asian tsunami of December 2004. Nesiiah states a World Bank report rated the loss for the tourism industry at \$300 million in contrast to only \$90 million for the Asian fishing sector. He states: “the ideological assumptions embedded in an assessment methodology that rates a

Leiper indicates above, these resources could be used for other purposes such as education, health or other areas of economic development. The economic justifications for such support are debatable on the grounds of the jobs, foreign exchange, infrastructure and other outcomes that tourism does or does not deliver. While criticism has been levelled at tourism on such grounds as the low-skill, seasonal and fragile nature of its employment, or the economic leakages that it suffers, or the vulnerability and volatility of its markets (Mathieson & Wall, 1982, pp. 86-89; Weaver & Oppermann, 2000, pp. 266-272), this is not crucial to this discussion. What this chapter is focused upon is how the “tourism as industry” discourse limits analysis of the tourism phenomenon to its “marketised” or “corporatised” attributes, and privileges the interests and demands of the tourism business sector (also known as the “tourism industry”)¹⁵ while marginalising other important facets of tourism which will be addressed presently.¹⁶

Despite the criticism levelled at the notion of tourism as an industry, the designation is no doubt here to stay. Particularly in this era of neoliberalism, the economic and industrial discourse of tourism as industry serves purposes that will continue to motivate the beneficiaries of this platform. In fact, much is at stake when tourism development in this context requires financial investment, favourable political climates, expensive infrastructural support and subsidies and other support

hotel bed bringing in \$200 a night as a greater loss than a fisherman bringing in \$50 a month have far-reaching consequences. With reconstruction measures predicated on this kind of accounting, we are on a trajectory that empowers the tourism industry to be an even more dominant player than it was in the past, and, concomitantly, one that disempowers and further marginalizes the coastal poor” (Nesiah, 2005).

¹⁵ These phenomena will be characterised as creating “corporatised tourism” in later discussion.

¹⁶ Research on the peace-promoting impacts of tourism by Ap and Var (1990) indicates that tourism professionals perceive tourism as an economic activity with many positive impacts but do not demonstrate a high awareness level of the contributions of tourism to social, cultural and environmental impacts.

mechanisms.¹⁷ However, there are rival depictions of tourism that are worthy of attention.

2.3 Tourism as a social force - the transformative capacity of tourism

It is important to qualify the emphasis on tourism's economic contributions by highlighting its other positive impacts which include improving individual well-being, fostering cross-cultural understanding, facilitating learning, contributing to cultural protection, supplementing development, fostering environmental protection, promoting peace and fomenting global consciousness which contributes to the formation of global society (UNWTO, 1999; Cohen & Kennedy, 2000, p. 212 for the latter point). The 1990s have witnessed an acknowledgement of the power of tourism as a social force. Barnard and Spencer argue that "to ignore tourism in our accounts of culture contact in the twentieth century is probably as great an omission as to ignore slavery in the eighteenth century or colonialism in the nineteenth" (1996, p. 552). Knowledge of tourism as a social force comes from those analysts who approach tourism from sociological, psychological or anthropological perspectives. Often their studies will examine the motivations of the tourists, the concerns of the host community and/or the societal impacts of tourism.

¹⁷ An important point to note is that this discussion casts doubt on Jafari's analysis of the tourism platforms (2001) in which he claims more sophisticated thinking has led people away from the uncritical "advocacy platform" (or "boosterism") promoted by the tourism industry and its supporters to a more analytical "knowledge-based platform" which calls for critical and balanced evaluation of tourism's positive and negative impacts. The argument presented here suggests that there is an ideological underpinning to the advocacy platform which means that it has not been superseded by the knowledge-based approach yet. Because Jafari's analysis is focused on perspectives on tourism's impacts and is not concerned with the political dimensions of tourism, he fails to acknowledge the ongoing strength and influence the advocacy platform enjoys in the tourism realm.

For instance, Graburn, in examining the motivation to tour, uses Durkheim's division of the sacred and the profane to situate modern tourism as "the sacred journey" or "the spirit quest" which serves to provide fulfilment lacking in ordinary daily lives (1989). While Krippendorf (1987) situates tourism in the "industrial social system", his work investigates the possibility for tourism to act as a social force. He envisions a "new tourism" that will accompany a societal shift against the uniformity of modern life and "...may well become again a true discovery, a place of experiences and learning, a means of human enrichment, a stimulus for a better reality and a better society" (1987, p. 530). McKean boldly claims:

Underlying tourism is a quest or an odyssey to see, and perhaps to understand, the whole inhabited earth, the *oikumene*. Tourism can be viewed as not an entirely banal pleasure-seeking escapism (MacCannell, 1976), but as a profound, widely shared human desire to know 'others,' with the reciprocal possibility that we may come to know ourselves (1989, p. 133).

In a critical discussion on peace through tourism, Dann argued that "tourism has strong interpersonal and cultural components [including spirituality] which cannot be captured by economic analysis alone" and this is what gives it its ultimate potential, as a vital force for peace (1988, p. 28).

From these brief quotations, it is evident that tourism is an important social force with transformative capacities and deserves considered analysis in this regard. The words of the 1980 Manila Declaration on World Tourism highlight the strongest vision for tourism:

In the practice of tourism, spiritual elements must take precedence over technical and material elements. The spiritual elements are essentially as follows:

- The total fulfilment of the human being,
- A constantly increasing contribution to education,
- Equality of destiny of nations,
- The liberation of man [sic] in a spirit of respect for his identity and dignity,
- The affirmation of the originality of cultures and respect for the moral heritage of peoples (UNWTO, 1980).

This document also notes that:

Modern tourism was born out of the application of social policies which led to workers obtaining annual paid holidays, this in turn reflecting an acknowledgement of the human being's fundamental right to rest and leisure. It has become a factor of social stability, mutual knowledge and understanding of man [sic] and peoples, and the betterment of the individual. Apart from its well-known quantitative dimension, it has gained a cultural and moral dimension which it is important to encourage and to protect from negative distortions due to economic factors (UNWTO, 1980).¹⁸

2.3.1 Tourism and travel as a human right

The psychological, social, economic and environmental impacts of tourism are so powerful that the right to travel and tourism have been incorporated in key international documents including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) of 1966, the UNWTO's Tourism Bill of Rights and Tourist Code of 1985 and the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism of 1999. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights has two passages that underpin the right to travel: articles 13(2) and 24. Article 13(2) states "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country" (UN, 1948), which

¹⁸ Hultsman has argued that as tourism becomes increasingly recognised as an economic phenomenon, the application of ethics to tourism becomes more difficult (1995). He states: "The more important tourism becomes to the economy of a particular locale, the more its true spirit of an uplifting, uncontrived ... and intrinsically rewarding experience is in danger of being forgotten at the expense of the extrinsic value associated with the income derived from it. When the extrinsic value grows out of proportion to the intrinsic worth of tourism, the social and personal value of the experience may be reduced to the point to which ethical concerns – for the environment, indigenous peoples, and tourists alike - are of little, if any concern to service providers" (1995, p. 561).

O’Byrne describes as underpinning the human right to travel (2001, pp. 411–413). Combined with article 24, which states “everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay” (UN, 1948), this fundamental document of international law is credited with situating travel and tourism as part of human rights.¹⁹ The justification for asserting such new rights can be gleaned from the words of the UNWTO, which declare tourism’s potential value in “contributing to economic development, international understanding, peace, prosperity and universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all” (UNWTO, 1999). Making such important and varied contributions to the human good, tourism and travel are uniquely worthy among “industries” to be elevated to a human rights status.²⁰ The Manila Declaration on World Tourism states:

Tourism is an activity essential to the life of nations because of its direct effects on the social, cultural, educational and economic sectors of national societies and their international relations. Its development is linked to the social and economic development of nations and can only be possible if man [sic] has access to creative rest and holidays and enjoys freedom to travel within the framework of free time and leisure whose profoundly human character it underlines. Its very existence and development depend entirely on the existence of a state of lasting peace, to which tourism is required to contribute (UNWTO, 1980).

¹⁹ While travel and tourism are distinct phenomena, they are intimately related as Wall demonstrates: “Travel involves movement from place to place. This is a fundamental aspect of tourism, an in its absence there would be no tourism. Improvements in the ease of travel have greatly increased the magnitude of tourism and have influenced the forms which it takes. In fact, many forms of travel, such as walking, canoeing, rafting...are tourism activities in their own right. Although sometimes used synonymously with tourism, travel is a broader concept. There is a diversity of types of travellers, such as migrants or exchange students, not all of whom may be tourists. Both travel and tourism involve the movement of people between origins and destinations along connecting routes. However, depending upon the distance travelled, whether borders are crossed, length of stay at the destination and motivations, travellers may or may not be considered to be tourists” (2000b, p. 600).

²⁰ However, it is obvious that this human right is not universally enjoyed. There is a clear divide between the first and third worlds in this respect, with the former providing the vast bulk of international tourists and the latter increasingly serving as their hosts. We have largely forgotten in this era of the ascendancy of the market that important international tourism declarations acknowledged the need to bridge the divide between the first and third worlds’ ability to fulfil the human right to travel and tourism.

The 1985 Tourism Bill of Rights and Tourist Code reinforces the “human dimension of tourism” and reiterates the claims that tourism contributes to the social, economic, cultural and educational sectors of national societies and improves the international community (UNWTO, 1985).

The more recent code promulgated is the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism (UNWTO, 1999), which follows in the line of its predecessors but adds value by enunciating the roles and responsibilities of the various stakeholders in tourism. This code was forged in the new era after the demise of communism and the triumph of the “Washington Consensus”, and so, not surprisingly, its preamble states: “The world tourism industry as a whole has much to gain by operating in an environment that favours the market economy, private enterprise and free trade and that serves to optimize its beneficial effects on the creation of wealth and employment” (UNWTO, 1999). Also reflecting concerns contemporaneous with its development, it acknowledges the need to balance economic development with environmental protection and alleviation of poverty, and thus is informed by the sustainability discourse of the 1990s. However, the code’s passage on the right to travel found in article 7 proves interesting; it not only reiterates the right to travel and tourism already stated in other key documents such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, but it also advocates government support of initiatives such as “social tourism” and other processes to promote access to tourism for potential disadvantaged groups in their societies including the disabled, youth, seniors and families.

It is not surprising that preceding codes and declarations, such as the Manila Declaration (UNWTO, 1980), contained similar statements and concerns because they were forged in the era where social welfare and justice were still high on the agenda of governments. It is surprising, though, that such rhetoric has survived into the era of marketisation under neoliberalism.²¹ What this demonstrates is that the power of tourism as a social force and the right of all of humanity to partake of its benefits cannot be entirely dismissed in vital protocols such as the Global Code of Ethics that are advocated as “global instruments”. Ryan argues in his analysis of the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism “the point has been to show that “Social Tourism” and “Social Equity” is [sic] not a mere will of the wisp of idealists and marginalised pressure groups, but an aspiration shared at the highest levels of industry and governments” (2002, p. 19). Whether Ryan is right that significant segments of industry and governments are alive to the need for social equity, there is no doubt that pressure for it will not go away as other stakeholders in tourism, including NGOs and communities, will continue to agitate for it.²² While currently the neoliberal era demands that dispensing the benefits of tourism be allocated according to the “invisible hand” of the market,²³ the discourse of tourism as a

²¹ But because there is no mention of the New International Economic Order in the Global Code of Ethics (unlike the Manila Declaration), one can assume that each government’s ability to fulfil its “social tourism” obligations to its citizenry and thus make real their citizens’ exercise of their “right to tour” is dependent upon them obtaining sufficient levels of development.

²² This agitation to gear tourism towards equity and justice has advanced further as the World Social Forum has recently put tourism on its agenda. These developments will be discussed further in Chapters four and five.

²³ Richards’ analysis of tourism as a social right found that social democratic countries such as the Netherlands made considerable efforts to ensure that citizens have both the time and the money to enjoy their right to tourism, while liberal democracies such as the USA do not provide such welfare structures (1998). Richards concludes “tourism is currently promoted more for its beneficial economic externalities than for the health and social benefits which have justified an extension of holiday rights as an element of welfare in the past” (1998, p. 158). Richards subtitles his article “social rights and international tourism consumption” but chooses to focus only upon the developed nations; the developing nations he dismisses as “time poor and money poor” (1998, p. 148). Richards is not alone in failing to recognise, that in rhetoric at least, the right to tourism is a universal human right and not just the province of the privileged.

“human right”²⁴ demands the involvement of communities and governments in ensuring a just distribution of its bounties (and presumably its ill effects). Table 2.1 provides an outline of the evolution of the right to travel in the modern era.

2.3.2 Social tourism – a forgotten commitment to humanity

The discussion of tourism and travel as a human right raises the little known topic of “social tourism”. While the market paradigm has for some time dominated the views of tourism in many developed nations, there is another view of tourism which has a rich history in Eastern and Western European countries. Some of these countries have fostered the phenomenon of social tourism as an important aspect of the obligations a state owes its citizenry and society in order to fulfil the right to tourism espoused in such charters as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights discussed previously. While social tourism has different meanings in different contexts (Murphy, 1985, p. 23),²⁵ the basic principle of social tourism is “access to travel and leisure opportunities for all” (International Bureau of Social Tourism, no date).²⁶

²⁴ However the human right to travel must be balanced against its appropriate set of responsibilities. The Acapulco Document of the UNWTO (1982), contains a lengthy section on ‘preparation for travel, holidays and in-bound and out-bound tourism’ in which it advocates a campaign of education of the citizen “from childhood to old age” to foster “preparedness for tourism” as both “host” and “guest”. This educational work is the task of tourism management, the media and governments and is geared to ensure that “the human activity of travel and holidays...may help the individual...to reach his [sic] full potential, contribute to his education and foster his awareness of the destiny he shares with all human beings” (UNWTO, 1982).

²⁵ One important distinction is that in liberal democracies such as the United States, social tourism is provided by churches, NGOs and philanthropic organisations, while in social democracies such as France and socialist states such as the former Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact countries it is (or was in the case of the latter) more often provided by the state.

²⁶ It should be noted that Seabrook has used the term “social tourism” to describe the intensive type of responsible tourism in which tourists experience the real lives of the local people of developing communities by briefly living with them (1995). This occurs in the “reality tours” offered by Global Exchange of the USA and the “responsible tours” of Oxfam Community Aid Abroad of Australia. Seabrook also uses the term “socio-tourism” for this phenomenon which is preferable in order to distinguish it from the more general, state-fostered phenomenon presently being described.

**Table 2.1: Milestones in the evolution of the human right to travel
and tourism in the modern era**

Timeline	Milestone	Detail of event
16 th – 19 th Centuries	Travel for the elite	Grand Tour used by European elite as educational experience
1841	Travel for the workers & masses	Cook’s Tours are born when Thomas Cook organises rail journey between Leicester & Loughborough, UK
End of World War I	Passport as travel requisite	To consolidate nation states & deal with global war, passports become widespread (O’Byrne, 2001)
1948	Universal Declaration of Human Rights	Declaration which affirms the basic rights to travel, rest, leisure & paid holidays
1954	World passport initiative	Travel document for “world citizens” created by World Movement for World Citizens to enable the realisation of the right to travel as stated in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights
1963	International Bureau of Social Tourism	Organisation founded in Belgium chartered to promote “access to travel & leisure opportunities for all”
1976	UN’s International Covenant on Economic, Social & Cultural Rights	Document which reiterates the rights to rest, leisure & paid holidays
1980	UNWTO’s Manila Declaration on World Tourism	Document which states: “tourism is considered an activity essential to the life of nations ... Its development is linked to the social and economic development of nations & can only be possible if man [sic] has access to creative rest & holidays & enjoys freedom to travel”
1985	UNWTO’s Tourism Bill of Rights & Tourist Code	Document which states: “the right of everyone to rest & leisure...periodic leave with pay & freedom of movement without limitation, within the bounds of law, is universally recognized. The exercise of this right constitutes a factor of social balance & enhancement of national & universal awareness”
1990s	Human development index drops in developing world	Human Development Report describes “unprecedented reversals of the 1990s” as development regressed in dozens of countries (UNDP, 2004, p. 132)
1999	UNWTO’s Global Code of Ethics for Tourism	Document includes article 7 on the “Right to Tourism” which states “the prospect of direct & personal access to the discovery & enjoyment of the planet’s resources constitutes a right equally open to all of the world’s inhabitants”. It also calls on public authorities to support social tourism
September 11, 2001-	Attack on USA & subsequent “War on Terror”	Implementation of universal right to travel is set back with tighter border security, travel advisories & heightened international tensions

In particular, social tourism advocates the provision of tourism opportunities for the “economically weak or otherwise disadvantaged elements of society” (Hunzinger cited in Murphy, 1985, p. 23).

The precepts of modern social tourism were being laid early in the twentieth century when the principle of paid leave for workers became adopted. For example, it has been noted that French trade unions, as early as the implementation of paid leave in the 1930s, were promoting not only the value of tourism for relaxation from work but also for the development of the mind and the body (Ouvry-Vial, Louis & Pouy, 1990, cited in Richards, 1996, p. 157). A distinctive form of social tourism was developed in the socialist countries (or centrally-planned economies as Allcock & Przeclawski (1990) prefer) to serve several needs.

Unlike the tourism phenomenon in capitalist societies where tourism symbolised freedom, choice and individuality, in socialist countries belonging to the Warsaw Pact or the Council for Mutual Economic Aid, tourism was geared to serve socialist needs. These ranged from provision of rest and relaxation for the workers of socialist production in order to improve their future output, to fostering communist solidarity by touring fellow communist countries, to use of tourism as a method of fostering “socialist education” for youth (Allcock & Przeclawski, 1990, p. 4).

However, social tourism has extended beyond the socialist and centrally planned economies of Eastern Europe. As mentioned earlier, France has a long tradition of social tourism through the trade union movement. Switzerland created the Swiss

Travel Saving Fund (REKA) in 1939 to assist low-income workers with funding for holidays (Teuscher, 1983).²⁷ France and Switzerland have been joined by other Western European states such as Germany, the Netherlands, Portugal and the Scandinavian countries in subsidising transport, maintaining “social resorts” and funding youth camps, to name only a few. Even the United States of America, one of the main proponents of neoliberalism, has social tourism schemes such as the youth camps of the Young Farmers Association which have been devised to ensure that rural youth have access to the learning and recreational capacities of tourism.

There is also an institutional structure to promote the values of the social tourism movement. The International Bureau of Social Tourism (BITS) is an umbrella structure for national social tourism organisations to cooperate on the development and promotion of social tourism. It was founded in 1963 in Brussels and now represents members from around Europe as well as the rest of the world and includes twelve governmental authorities. BITS is also charged with representing the issue of social tourism to such bodies as the UNWTO and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). On its website, BITS has formulated a strong argument for the right *of all* to tourism, travel and leisure. In particular it exhorts governments to move beyond “recognition of the right” to tourism to actual pragmatic programs to enable all to enjoy the exercise of their right (BITS, no date). In its Montreal Declaration (1996), BITS outlines the context which makes the promotion of social tourism so vital. This states that today’s world:

²⁷ Teuscher explains the ethos and operation of REKA (1983). REKA provides information about inexpensive holiday opportunities, economic assistance and subsidies for holiday travel and access to REKA holiday resorts and accommodations. Teuscher provides an explanation of the complex “REKA cheque” system, which effectively creates a “holiday currency”. This system involves REKA, tourism and transport enterprises, employers and the Swiss National Bank in a systematic support of social tourism (Teuscher, 1983).

in which growth in the wealthiest countries is spasmodic, and whole sections of the population suffer increasing deprivation, resulting in serious social unrest,

in which advances in science and information technologies go hand in hand with a reduced workforce, opening up as yet undreamed-of social and cultural opportunities,

in which large economic alliances are formed, operating according to their own free-market logic,

in which some countries experience rapid growth, opening up to the possibility of domestic tourism,

in which other countries, and even whole continents, are trapped in appalling poverty,

in which the right to a search for meaning is claimed everywhere,

in this world, tourism is growing rapidly. We are witnessing [a] spectacular increase in business and leisure travel, the opening-up of borders, the diversification of destinations, and new means of communication and transport (BITS, 1996).

This declaration asserts that the “subjugation” of tourism to the service of human needs is imperative in such a context (1996). First Secretary General of BITS Arthur Haulot described social tourism as “a type of tourism that concentrates essentially on Man and his [sic] destiny, and not on the profits to be made from his status as a consumer” (1985, p. 220). In the era of neoliberalism, we forget that tourism’s purpose is to serve human needs and not only to deliver profits to the business sector or economic growth for governmental accounts. Certainly tourism should not be about economic development for its own sake, as seems to be the ideology of a tourism sector subject to the “growth fetish”.²⁸

However, finding references to social tourism initiatives in the tourism literature is exceedingly difficult.²⁹ A look through several dozen tourism text books in search of references to social tourism yields surprisingly few results. This perhaps indicates

²⁸ Perhaps an example of growth fetishism in tourism is the Queensland Government’s tourism development plan entitled *Strategy for growing tourism* (Queensland Government, 2001).

²⁹ The notable exceptions include Barkin, 2000; Connell, 2000; Hall, 1998; Haulot, 1985; Murphy, 1985; Ryan, 2002; Teuscher, 1983.

just how dominant the neoliberal paradigm has become in the tourism context, for one would expect that at least anthropological and sociological tourism literature would find some interest in the social tourism phenomenon. Presumably it is not helpful to have such a title as “social tourism” at a time when the socialist alternative is largely viewed with contempt. One suspects that the decision of the BITS to consider a change of title from “social tourism” to “tourism for all” is a reaction to this unfortunate situation (see BITS, 2002, p. 3).

Thus the current situation of social tourism is not yet satisfactorily advanced to ensure that the promise of “tourism for all” is actually realisable. At the moment, the mantle of obligation to fulfil the precepts of social tourism is given to governments and this blocks the likelihood that such rights will be truly universally provided as many developing countries are still unable to meet their citizens’ most basic needs, let alone fulfil a right to travel.³⁰ Therefore the precepts of social tourism cannot be implemented universally until the fulfilment of the right to development as demanded in the concept of the New International Economic Order (NIEO) (discussed below) and as outlined by such agreements as the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights is achieved.³¹ It is perhaps because of the unlikelihood of this eventuating in the short to medium term that Ryan connects his discussion of social tourism to recent developments in stakeholder theory and sustainability. Ryan states “it thus seems that if ‘Social Tourism’ is to become a meaningful and practical policy, attention must be paid to the concept of stakeholders

³⁰ But as Barkin has pointed out in his examination of Mexico, even the wealthier developing countries which could provide resources for social tourism’s facilitation will not choose to support its capacities as “an instrument for environmental management and social well-being” because the neoliberal agenda sees “public policy... driven by the service providers organized to respond to the demands of the tour operators who focus their efforts on the most profitable segments of the globalized market” (2000).

³¹ However, it must be recognised that a universal fulfilment of the right to tourism and travel would entail grave environmental consequences which would have to be addressed.

and mutual responsibilities, as is recognised by the WTO [UNWTO] Code” (2002, p. 20). While Ryan is right that such an effort will improve tourism’s capacity to contribute to social equity, it will not deliver the right to tourism to the most disadvantaged, particularly the poor in the developing world unless the right to development is realised first.³²

That the tourism industry should support widened access to the benefits of tourism through the phenomenon of social tourism is well argued by Haulot (1985). He claims “tourism in the broad sense owes much of its enormous scope and potential to those who have fought so hard for social tourism over the years” (1985, p. 220). He argues it was the struggle of the 1930s for workers’ rights to paid annual holidays and the later efforts to develop facilities and amenities for social tourism that saw widespread growth in the touring public. This in turn fed the expansion and development of the tourism industry which has made it such a phenomenon today. Much like sustainability,³³ supporting the expansion of social tourism to all segments of the community in communities throughout the world makes sound “business” sense for the tourism sector, if only they would realise the opportunity.³⁴

³² That Ryan recognises this is implied in his comment “western tourists are practiced [sic] consumers seeking to meet their *wants* rather than *needs*, and why are their wants given primacy over the needs of others?” (emphasis in the original, 2002, p. 23).

³³ Whereas initially meeting the benchmarks of sustainability appeared as a liability to the tourism industry, with some analysis the industry realised that sustainability protected its asset base (the tourism environment), provided cost savings in use of resources and reductions in wastes and provided marketing advantages.

³⁴ Goldstone provides chilling warning to counter support for the right of all to tourism and travel. She says: “The free movement of people, enshrined in the Treaty of Rome and celebrated...as a learning instrument for forgetting national differences and living together in a global economy, is indeed a cornerstone of a free society; but its mirror image is something else, the restless surging of uprooted populations foreseen by Rebecca West as the most pernicious of the century’s evils. It would be a stunning epiphany of the nature of capitalism if globalization, the engine of utopia in the second half of the century, were to create the same condition as the catastrophic wars of the first” (2001, p. 258).

But the current reality sees a privileged elite within the global community with high disposable incomes serving as the drivers of current tourism and travel. A press release entitled “Rich minority ‘fuelling air travel boom’” reported on a Civil Aviation Authority (United Kingdom) survey which indicated despite “the huge array of cheap flights on offer” the lowest income groups took six percent of UK flights while representing 27 percent of the population, whereas the wealthiest income groups took 40 percent of UK flights while representing 24 percent of the population (Gillett, 2004). This press release quoted John Stewart of the activist group ClearSkies which opposes airport expansion as saying “The absence of any tax on aviation fuel or VAT on air tickets amount to a £9 billion subsidy for the better-off to enjoy their jet-setting lifestyle” (Gillett, 2004). Instead of relying on the high consumption rates of a set of elite travellers and tourists, the tourism industry should fulfil its commitments as espoused in the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism to share the tourism opportunity equitably by fostering social tourism initiatives.

In addition to social tourism with its emphasis on enabling the disadvantaged to fulfil their right to travel, there is a diversity of other “tourisms” which are revealing of tourism’s full capacity as a social force. These include *ecotourism* with its emphasis on conservation and environmental education, *volunteer tourism* where tourists use their holidays to contribute to development and conservation at their holiday destinations, and *peace through tourism* where tourism is used to develop cross-cultural understanding and conflict resolution. These and other examples of tourism being directed to “higher ends” are analysed in Chapter five of this thesis where tourism’s capacity to serve as a force for a more equitable and sustainable globalisation is explored.

An important question remains; how significant are these socially transformative kinds of tourism? In his analysis of volunteer tourism, Wearing notes that many alternative tourism sectors, including the very strong ecotourism niche, are subject to “data collection shortcomings” (2001, p. 6). One reason for such circumstances is the fact that definitional difficulties hinder reliable data gathering and certainly a similar difficulty would confront research into the phenomenon of “tourism as a social force”. Additionally, the focus of research attention on the more commodified forms of tourism (Wearing *et al.*, 2005), may mean that this area is currently under-researched. Importantly, consumer surveys in the United States and United Kingdom appear to identify a growing interest and support for sustainable and ethical tourism (Goodwin & Francis, 2003; Stueve, Cook & Drew, 2002).³⁵ However the quantitative estimation of the size and import of the phenomenon presently under discussion awaits further debate and clarification of its composition and research into its demand, supply and impacts attributes.

Nonetheless an impression remains from the available evidence that the transformative capacities of tourism are significant and worthy of such further study. See Figure 2.1 for a proposed illustration of the tourism sector’s contemporary contributions to transformative experiences and the discrepancies in the facilitation

³⁵ Evidence exists of a market niche interested in socially responsible tourism. Stueve *et al.* (2002) claim their “geotourism study” indicates “...that there are at least 55.1 million Americans who could be classified as ‘sustainable tourists’ or ‘geotourists’” and in particular specify a ‘good citizen’ demographic segment. Goodwin & Francis (2003) review surveys conducted by British agencies Voluntary Service Overseas and Tearfund which demonstrate an increase in consumer demand for responsible tourism experiences. In their most recent tourism plan, the South Australian Tourism Commission (SATC) has delineated such consumer trends as “search for community”, “save our world”, “healthy living-well being”, and “anchoring” (described as a search for meaning and spirituality) which it has designated as presenting “opportunities” for product development (SATC, 2002b, pp. 8-9).

of the fulfilment of the right to travel for the privileged of the minority elite and the disadvantaged majority.³⁶

2.3.3 Alternative perspectives: “Non-Western” understandings of tourism

The contemporary, Western understanding of tourism comes from a rather narrow set of experiences and philosophies which result in an emphasis on a highly individualistic and marketised form of tourism. In the mainstream tourism literature it is difficult to find academic contributions to the critique of tourism that approach the topic from a non-Western perspective.

One outstanding example is Inayatullah’s “Rethinking tourism” which utilises, in addition to pacific and futures analysis, an Islamic perspective which is used to “deconstruct” tourism (1995). Inayatullah claims an Islamic perspective centralises the phenomenon of pilgrimage and in particular the *hajj*, or pilgrimage to Mecca, which is one of the central pillars

³⁶ As the preceding discussion suggests and Figure 2.1 illustrates, the majority of experiences of a “tourism as social force” type provided by contemporary tourism are available only to the minority elite (meaning first world tourists and the elite of the third world). Social tourism is one of the rare market segments that offers tourism’s transformative capacities to the disadvantaged, but not necessarily to the “poorest of the poor” in the underprivileged majority. Solidarity exchanges organised by NGOs and churches between the first and third worlds could be classified as a form of tourism as a social force open to a few leading activists and campaigners from the majority world. Note that Figure 2.1 argues that mass tourism experiences can contribute to the transformative experiences of tourism but, as diagrammatically represented, are arguably less likely to do so than the alternative experiences described in this thesis; one small example from the mass tourism sector is perhaps the message of the “It’s a Small World” exhibit of the Disney World theme park in Florida. Further discussion of specific types of transformative alternative tourisms is offered in Chapters five and six.

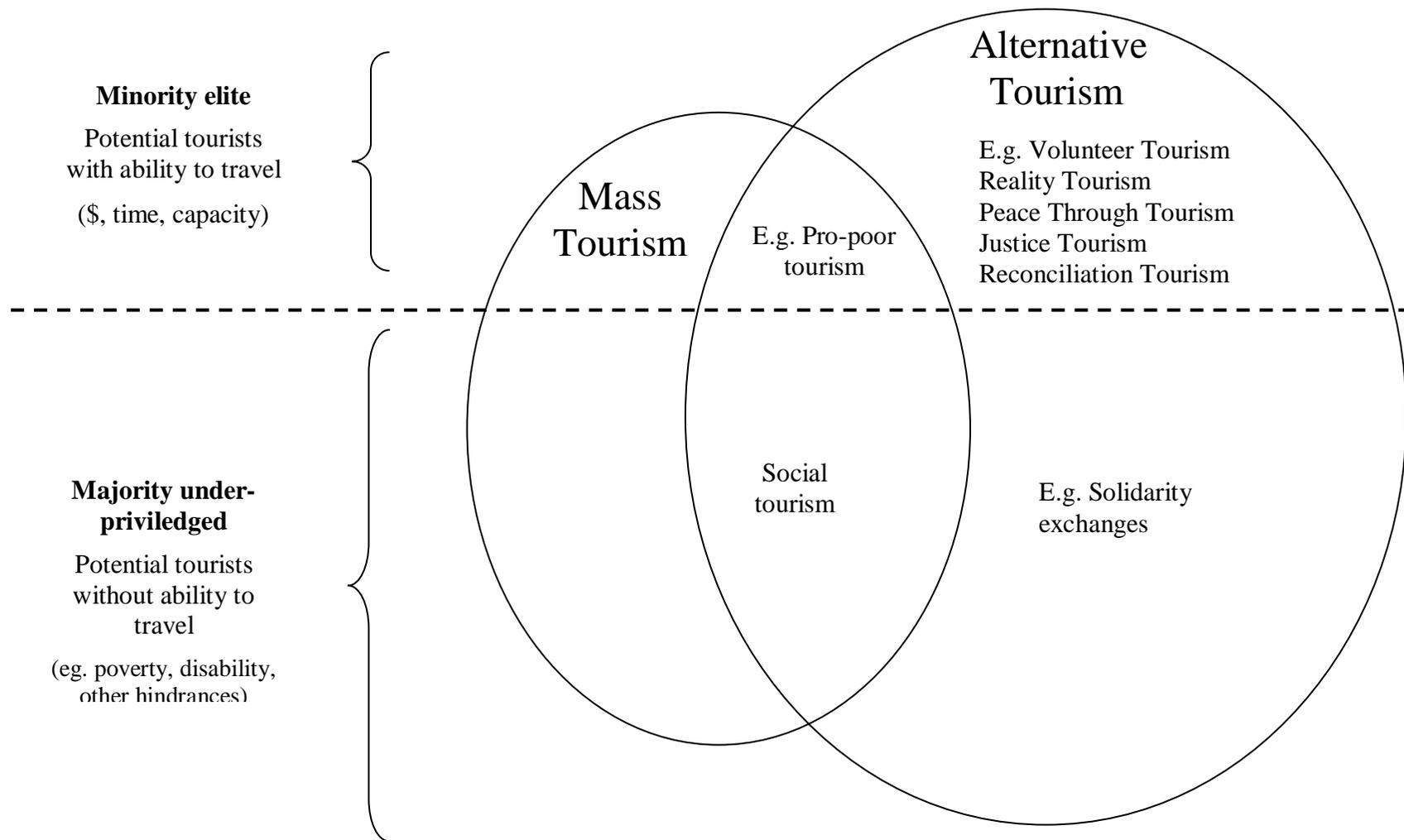


Figure 2.1: Capacity to facilitate transformative experiences from main tourism sectors with discrepancies in the fulfilment of the right to travel between the minority elite and the majority underprivileged (NB: Alternative tourism has a much greater potential for generating transformative experiences and is therefore represented by a bigger circle. These alternative tourism niches are discussed in Chapters five and six)

of Islam. Inayatullah describes it thus:

Within ... the Islamic world, all Muslims had to travel, they had to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. Indeed, travel or the accumulation of wisdom, *ilm*, was the essence of Islam. Travelling, visiting wise people, finding holy sites, was an integral part of life... the self travelled to gain spiritual knowledge... travelling, indeed was a microcosm of the spiritual journey of the Self (1995, pp. 411-412).

While pilgrimage was not unique to the Islamic faith, what is perhaps striking is how central religious travel is to fulfilling obligations of the Islamic faith. Instead of the hedonistic focus of a great deal of contemporary, marketised tourism, this Islamic “tourism” is geared to spiritual growth and fostering solidarity among the community of believers or the *ummah*. Inayatullah claims that “the West ... manufactures tourism services and the idea of tourism itself, which we have suggested is not a universal concept but a particular idea of a specific culture” (1995, p. 412).

Inayatullah’s contribution is valuable to any discussion of contrasting perspectives on tourism because he reminds us that most current tourism discourse emerges not only from the neoliberal economic paradigm but also from a narrowly “Western” set of experiences.

Berno’s analysis of the understanding of tourism held by the local people in the Cook Islands offers another insight into non-Western interpretations of tourism (1999).

She discusses the values and spirituality behind Polynesian hospitality, including generosity, reciprocity and *aroa* (a value full of complex meanings but possible to distil to love, kindness and generosity) which can be seen as an alternative value system supporting their engagement with tourism. While her work shows that many Cook Islanders in the more urbanised areas do engage with a more “Western” notion

of tourism based on market exchange, the concept of *aroha* is still strong in the more rural and underdeveloped regions of the Islands (Berno, 1999). Similarly Maori tourism in New Zealand/Aotearoa has been discussed in terms of *manaakitanga*, or Maori values of hospitality (Barnett, 2001). This demonstrates that there are many other cultural systems and that people from other cultures will make their accommodation to tourism based on their own cultural values of the proper relationships between peoples.

Allcock and Przeclawski's analysis in the *Annals of Tourism Research* contributes another tourism perspective in their discussion of tourism in the socialist countries of Eastern Europe (1990). They argue that despite the predominance of Marxist ideology in intellectual life, thinkers from these societies offered independent analysis not only divergent from Marxist precepts but also divergent from their non-socialist colleagues in the West:

...the independence of [their] values does not always consist of a convergence with the ideas of Western social scientists, especially those who treat tourism mostly or exclusively as an economic phenomenon, or who are interested only in recreational functions. There is often a sense among intellectuals from these countries that they are looking for a 'Third Way.' This alternative is to provide systematic solutions to problems by turning their backs on the inheritance of central economic planning and its associated political and ideological structures, but at the same time by avoiding a mere mimicry of Western models... This search for a 'Third Way' extends also to the field of research in tourism (Allcock & Przeclawski, 1990, p. 6).

The perspectives that leaders from the centrally-planned economies had developed could have provided alternative perspectives to their Western counterparts on the role of tourism in society. However, the dynamics of the momentous change that swept Eastern Europe in the early 1990s did not allow for such cross-fertilisation as the

East either bought into the “market” (or was “brought” into the “market”) without pause for such “cross-civilisational” conversations.

This brief highlighting of some non-Western perspectives on tourism and its attributes indicates that tourism is a cultural practice that will hold different meanings in differing societies. Upon reflection, this makes sense since tourism relies upon human relationships, hospitality, sharing and cross-cultural communication so that its meanings will be diversely interpreted by the world’s diverse cultures. The narrowing of Western analysts’ understandings of tourism to only its market aspects is not universally accepted (yet) and diversity of opinions on the purpose and uses of tourism is still evident. It should be of concern that the trends towards economic globalisation mean that such diverse interpretations of tourism are threatened with replacement by the marketised view of tourism as multinational tourism corporations, international financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and World Bank and governments promote market values in countries throughout the world (see Chapter four). In such circumstances, concerted effort may be necessary to ensure that tourism’s capacity to fulfil a diversity of human values remains attainable.

2.4 Tourism - bigger than business

Although it must be recognised that contemporary tourism holds some attributes of an industry because it is composed of businesses that create tourism products and services that are sold to tourists through market mechanisms, it must also be acknowledged that it is unlike other, more conventional industries. For conventional

industries the product or service is brought to the consumer; whereas for tourism, the consumer is instead brought to the product or service, i.e. the tourism destination. So unlike traditional exports, the tourism industry imports tourists and takes their money off them by selling them products and services at the destination. The tourist's act of consumption is enjoying the scenery, people, culture and activities of the host community.

If one thinks of conventional industries and their products, there is something disconcerting about the terms “consumer”, “consumption”, “product” and “commodity” being applied to the people, places and things located at the tourist destination. Are they “consumed” as a bottle of Coke is consumed ? If one thinks of the worst excesses of tourism like the environmental damage of golf tourism and the social damage of sex tourism, it is possible to view these forms of “consumption” as decidedly destructive.³⁷ This is one source of much criticism of tourism (see Krippendorf, 1987; McLaren, 1998; Turner & Ash, 1976). Perhaps this is why Davidson is uncomfortable with labelling tourism an industry when he states:

...I believe that defining tourism as an industry is incorrect; and further, this definition demeans what tourism really is. Tourism is a social/ economic phenomenon that acts both as an engine of economic progress and a social force. Tourism is much more than an industry. Tourism is more like a 'sector' that impacts a wide range of industries. Tourism is not just businesses or governments - it is people. Supporting rational tourism growth and development needs to be viewed in this broader context (1994, p. 26).

³⁷ Consumption is defined as both the “purchase and use of goods” as well as “destruction” (Concise Oxford Dictionary, 1976, p. 218). Thus the application of the term consumption in a tourism context could be interpreted benignly as the purchase and use of a tourism product or service or more negatively as the exploitation and destruction of the tourism assets at the destination.

Because tourism is about people, ways of living and whole environments, it cannot be treated as manufacturing or resource extraction are treated. It necessitates ethical thinking which is only now being more comprehensively explored in the tourism field (see Fennell, 2006; Smith & Duffy, 2003). But because in the era of neoliberalism most people view tourism as an “industry”, particularly the people in the “industry” itself, tourism operates on this industrial view of the tourist destination where its people, scenery, culture and activities are seen as commodities to be sold to the tourist consumer with all of the logic of profit extraction and exploitation that this entails.³⁸

Haulot (1985) warns about the damages that such an exploitative perspective can reap as criticism and hostility to the tourism phenomenon can result and thereby prevent tourism’s capacity to fulfil its highest potential. Accordingly he says “a harmonisation of leisure with the targets which have been set...is absolutely vital, for without it tomorrow’s world will see the social values of tourism irretrievably damaged as the human and natural environment will be” (1985, p. 223). Similarly, Nicholson-Lord calls for a “postindustrial tourism, with the emphasis on people and places rather than products and profits” which he suggests may be much more sustainable and “planet-friendly” (1997, p. 17).³⁹ Figure 2.2 provides a useful illustration of some of the key distinctions between the tourism as an industry and the

³⁸ I view tourism as a similar sector to health and education which have also been subjected to marketisation during the neoliberal era. We somehow know instinctively that education and health are “invaluable” as they concern people and the public good and we therefore resist the extremes of wholesale marketisation. I would advocate a similar attitude to tourism.

³⁹ Lanfant and Graburn see a similar divide in tourism to the one outlined here between tourism as industry and tourism as social force (1992). They point out that domestic tourism in developed countries is seen as a cultural force whereas international tourism has increasingly been viewed as an economic phenomenon useful as a source of foreign exchange. They conclude: “thus International Tourism [sic] is implicitly reduced to its economic and commercial aspects, which take preference over cultural aspects. Whereas domestic and national tourism are seen as inherently cultural, International Tourism [sic] is seen as prospectively economic” (Lanfant & Graburn, 1992, p. 94).

tourism as a social force perspectives. These differences demonstrate that tourism as a social force has a more humanistic and equitable focus.

2.5 The promise of tourism

Since the advent of the neoliberal era, many of us have forgotten the agenda set for tourism in the promotion of equity between the countries of the developing and developed worlds (the then called North-South debate). Thus in his analysis of tourism for UNESCO in the mid-1980s, Ascher (1985) advocated the idea that cooperation in tourism between the countries of the developed and developing world still needed to be assessed according to their contributions to the establishment of a New International Economic Order (NIEO). The NIEO was demanded by the newly independent countries of the developing world as a systemic program to bring just relationships to an increasingly interdependent but very unequal world.⁴⁰ Between the 1970s and the 1980s the demands for the NIEO were listened to with some attention as the developing countries exerted their power and influence.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Some have argued that this new order was required to redress the exploitation and underdevelopment that developing countries experienced through the colonisation process which had enriched the developed nations and created the disparities. While developed countries were willing to give some development aid for helping to alleviate this problem, developing nations argued that a just economic order was required and not the “charity” of development aid (Mazrui, 1977, p. 371) which was “bestowed” by the “benevolence” of the giver (and thus subject to their continuing goodwill). In fact, few wealthy countries have ever attained the agreed goal of providing 0.7 percent of GNP as development assistance each year and even these lesser amounts have been steadily declining. This reveals the precariousness of the conceptualisation of development aid as “charity” rather than a just redistribution in an effort to establish a just economic order.

⁴¹ The developing countries gained the attention of the developed countries through their assertion of power in such actions as the OPEC oil embargo of 1973, the formation of a coalition under the banner of the Group of 77 (in actual fact, now 132 members) when these countries flexed their muscles as a bloc in such forums as the General Assembly, and the dynamics of the Cold War when they played the Soviets against the Americans each of whom was seeking to entice nations to their alliance in the bipolar rivalry of that era.

ATTRIBUTES

- Private sector-based
- Marketised: driven by profits & market imperatives
- Industrialised, packaged & standardised
- Fostered by policies of IFIs such as IMF & WB in third world countries as developmental tool
- Supported by UNWTO, PATA, WTTC

TYPE & ORIGIN



- Conceptualised in the 1960s
- Widespread acceptance since advent of 1980s neoliberal era

EFFECTS

- Damages environment & societies
- Hostile to using tourism for non-profit activities
- Supports the status quo
- Delivers benefits to elite minority (owners, shareholders, senior management)
- Targets the advantaged tourist from first world & elite of third world

- Paramount role of government & community organizations
- Socialised: driven by social needs & concerns (e.g. social justice)
- Diversified, specialized & flexible in its variations
- Fostered by policies of social welfare in first world countries & formerly by policies of socialist solidarity in second world countries
- Supported by institutional structures such as BITS & IIPT



- Beginning with modern mass tourism by Cook's tours in the mid 18th Century
- Marginalised by the marketisation of neo-liberal era

- Emphasises benefits to society & environment (public good)
- Tourism expected to be used for a multitude of benefits
- Challenges the status quo through transformative capacities
- Delivers benefits to larger community
- Social tourism ideally extended to even the most disadvantaged (e.g. "tourism for all")

Figure 2.2: Contrasting attributes and effects of tourism: Tourism as industry and tourism as social force
(NB: specific tourism ventures may demonstrate characteristics of both phenomena)

Tourism was an important component of the vision of the NIEO. For example, the Manila Declaration of the UNWTO in 1980 declared in its opening statement:

Convinced ... that world tourism can contribute to the establishment of a new international economic order that can *help to eliminate the widening economic gap between developed and developing countries* and ensure the steady acceleration of economic and social progress, in particular of the developing countries,

Aware that world *tourism can only flourish if based on equity* ... and if its ultimate aim is the improvement of the quality of life and the creation of better living conditions *for all peoples...* (UNWTO, 1980, emphasis added).

The Acapulco Document of the UNWTO connected social tourism and international solidarity when it stated:

In the interest of equitable participation in travel and holidays on the part of everyone, the necessary international solidarity will have to prevail so as to arrive in the future at a balanced situation that is essential for satisfying the right of access to holidays of all layers of the population and the least favoured in particular (1982).

While the 1999 Global Code of Ethics for Tourism finds this vision of tourism's role much diminished, the UNWTO is unable to completely divorce the tourism enterprise from the goals of equity through development as expressed above.

However, its wording is less commanding and more admonishing. It reads:

As an irreplaceable factor of solidarity in the development and dynamic growth of international exchanges, multinational enterprises of the tourism industry should not exploit the dominant positions they sometimes occupy; they should avoid becoming the vehicles of cultural and social models artificially imposed on the host communities; in exchange for their freedom to invest and trade which should be fully recognized, they should involve themselves in local development, avoiding, by excessive repatriation of their profits, or their induced imports, a reduction of their contribution to the economies in which they are established. Partnership and the establishment of balanced relations between enterprises of generating and receiving countries contribute to the sustainable development of tourism and an equitable distribution of benefits of its growth (UNWTO, 1999).

These are the only words in the entire document which address the topic of tourism's role in equitable development through a request for multinational tourism corporations to commit themselves to the development agenda and to foster partnerships with local enterprises. Because the logic of these corporations is profit maximisation and returns to shareholders, it is not certain that their cooperation in the development enterprise can be secured. It is imperative that the concern for tourism development and promotion is returned to its object of fulfilling human values and human needs rather than being simply left to the goodwill of the market.

The precepts behind the NIEO emanate from the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). This document delineates such rights as the right to food, housing, medical care, education, work, language, culture and other elements of human livelihood that secure survival and make human thriving possible. Despite the fact that the international community has repeatedly affirmed its commitment to uphold the full range of human rights as "indivisible, interdependent and inter-related",⁴² with the advent of neoliberalism the ICESCR rights shifted from an obligation of states owed to citizenry to a desirable target to be achieved through engaging in the global market.⁴³

⁴² According to Amnesty International (AI): "In June 1993, at the Vienna World Conference on Human Rights, the international community affirmed its commitment to uphold the full range of human rights as 'indivisible, interdependent and inter-related'. Yet, 10 years on, the systematic denial of economic, social and cultural rights, growing global inequalities and the failure of governments to significantly reduce the number of people living in extreme poverty, are among the defining human rights problems of our time" (2004).

⁴³ The opening Statement by Amnesty International (AI) to the 2006 session of the UN Commission on Human Rights stated:
"This year will mark the thirtieth anniversary of the entry into force of the two International Covenants on Human Rights. It is also the thirtieth anniversary of the creation of the first universal mechanism allowing individual victims of certain human rights violations to seek international redress after they have been denied an effective domestic remedy.
But the UN system of redress for human rights violations, for all of its achievements, has been based on an arbitrary division of rights, and one that has repeatedly been rejected by the international community."

Particularly important has been the hostility of the Americans to the ICESCR which derives from their support for neoliberal values and hostility to socialistic values (Alston, 1990).⁴⁴ Therefore not only is the right to holidays relegated as a second tier right, but also rights to work, health care, education, housing, social security and culture are left to individuals to secure for themselves through the structures provided by the free market.⁴⁵ The subjugation of social values to market imperatives is one of the key themes of this thesis and it is suggested to result in unacceptable social and ecological problems.

In such a context, Stilwell's (2002) "three trilogies" model of political economy is very useful in illustrating the meaning and effects of such an imbalanced situation (see Figure 2.3). This model demonstrates the changes that globalisation is causing

Individuals of many states have, for some time, had the opportunity to denounce treaty-based violations of torture or other ill-treatment, denials of freedom of assembly and other civil and political rights. Yet they have had no similar avenue to complain where they are denied access to education; are forcibly evicted from their homes or land; are denied affordable essential medicines; where their only clean water supply is polluted without restriction; and where they face other violations of their economic, social and cultural rights.

The failure of the international community to commit seriously to the principle of equality of all rights has had a particularly telling impact on the poorest and most marginalised who are most frequently denied economic, social and cultural rights. It has also sent a debilitating, though plainly false, signal to states, communities and individuals that these rights are not capable of being enforced or upheld by judicial or quasi-judicial bodies" (AI, 2006).

⁴⁴ Alston suggests that from an American perspective, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights is viewed as "the Covenant on Uneconomic, Socialist and Collective Rights" (1990, p. 366). See Alston (1990) for a useful review of the American opposition to social, economic and cultural rights that were enshrined in the ICESCR. America has failed to ratify the Covenant and opposes its provisions effecting its domestic or international policies and actions.

⁴⁵ As a sign of the disdain for this basket of rights, critics have called the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights as "holidays with pay treaty" which Alston asserts is "...indicative of the utopian and highly demanding nature of the rights recognized in the Covenant" (1990, p. 368). But as Salomon points out the 150 states that are signatory to the ICESCR are obligated to fulfil all human rights to their fullest extent. Poor states are not abandoned on their own under the ICESCR and the market is not allowed free reign: "If the state is unable to meet its obligations, it has an obligation to seek international assistance and cooperation and, those in a position to assist, have an obligation to countenance such a request. States and other actors, such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organization, which greatly influence the decisions taken by individual states in a range of areas, have a duty not to undermine the ability of these states to meet any of their human rights obligations..."(Salomon, 2005, pp. 95-96). Effectively then, the structures needed to fulfil the needs of humanity and prevent poverty are already in place. It is merely necessary to move from the realm of rhetoric into reality by overturning the fundamentalism of the market.

on the spatial realm of action as nation-states and localities are adjusting to a globalised economy. It also outlines the interrelationship between economy, society and ecology wherein lie the possibilities of distributional equity, ecological sustainability and the quality of life. Lastly, it shows the interrelationship between the state, community and the market which can be used to analyse the impacts of the contemporary neoliberal order which has seen the reduction of the state's role in favour of the private sector and commodification extending deeply into the social realm (2002, pp. 14–16). Stilwell argues this model reminds us of the social choices that we face:

What should the balance be between these three sets of concerns- market, state, and community; locality, nation and global economy; economy, society and ecology? From this perspective, the significance of the three trilogies is in drawing attention to *social choices*. Do we want our economic arrangements to be mainly market-oriented, increasingly global in character, and with the concern for economic growth dominating social and environmental concerns? Or, would we prefer a greater emphasis on the role of the state, in planning national economic development with a greater focus on social and/or environmental goals? Or some other combination emphasising a stronger focus on community and more localised forms of political economic organisation? What balance of arrangements would be most desirable? And how can we seek to achieve these different outcomes, whether through individual or collective action? What political processes facilitate making systematic social choices? These are fundamental questions facing us all as citizens (2002, pp. 15-16).

As this thesis will demonstrate, the marketisation of tourism which has seen its industrial nature overshadow its public welfare and social attributes has curtailed the capacities of tourism. The following chapters will outline what impacts this situation brings and will suggest some alternative choices that are possible if we rebalance the relationship between tourism, society and ecology in favour of equity, ecological sustainability and quality of life.

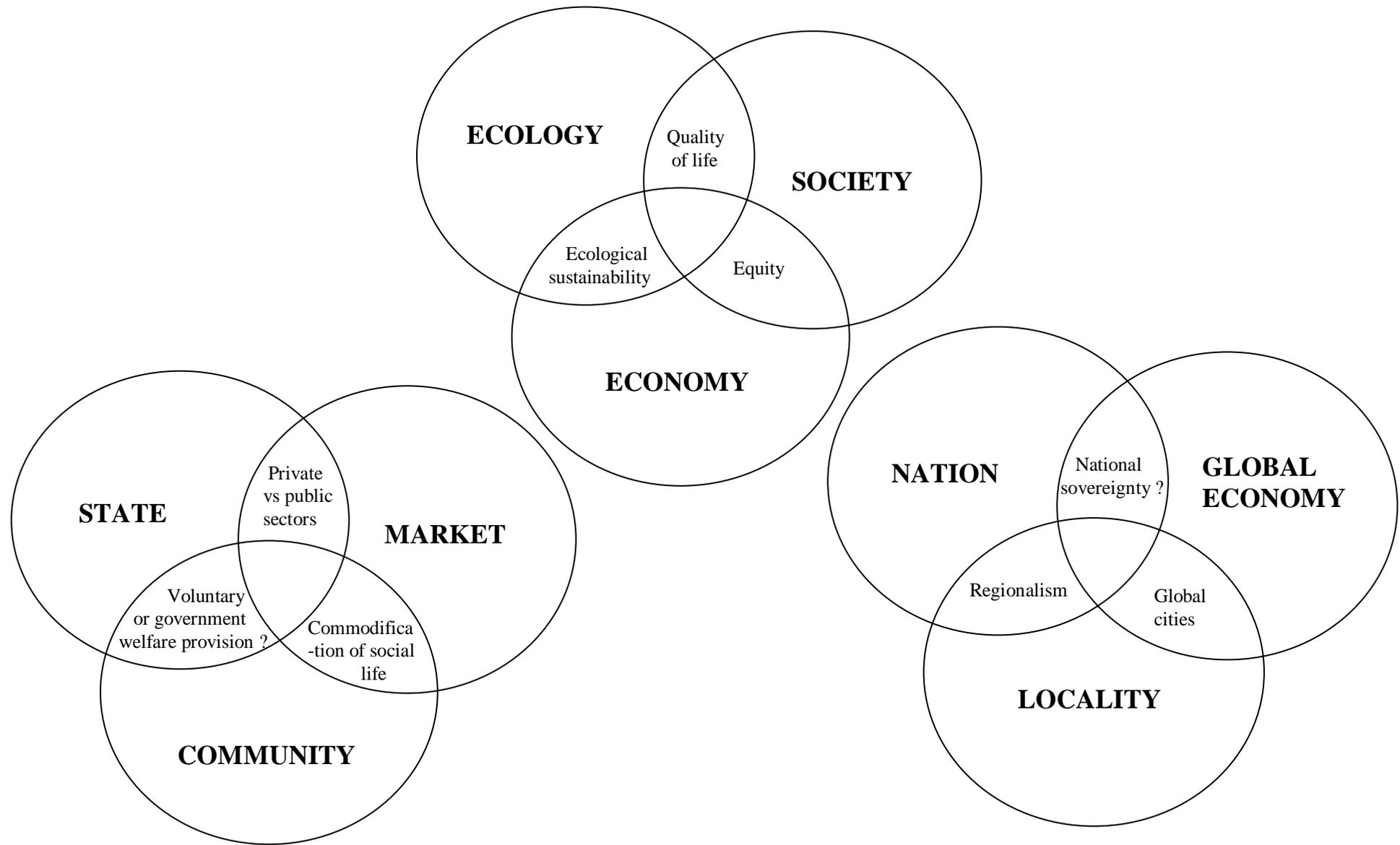


Figure 2.3: The Three Trilogies Model: Institutions, systems and spatial scales (Stilwell, 2002, p. 14)

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the tendency in the present era to distil tourism's essence to its barest market attributes. It has argued that while tourism possesses the attributes of an "industry", it is much greater than this and is a potentially important social force. This chapter has attempted to impart and reinforce a wider vision of tourism's role in societies and the global community by examining the human rights aspects of tourism, investigating phenomena such as "social tourism", exposing a handful of "non-Western" perspectives of tourism and outlining some of the tantalising promise that tourism holds.

Tourism is an established and wide-ranging social force which we must endeavour to ensure does not become constrained by reducing it to a market activity and an industry. Tourism fulfils fundamental human needs, is a human right and potentially could engender benefits that can be harnessed to improve the lives of many.

However, the dominance of the neoliberal agenda which is increasingly advanced by capitalist globalisation, has made the capacity of tourism to serve these social purposes more difficult. The next chapter will address the nature of contemporary globalisation in order to provide a context for understanding contemporary corporatised tourism.