HUMAN MOBILITY, MIGRATION & TOURISM IN THE ANTHROPOCENE
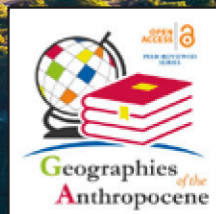
Gian Luigi Corinto, Glen Farrugia (Editors)

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Geographies of the Anthropocene

Human Mobility, Migration and Tourism in the Anthropocene

Gian Luigi Corinto, Glen Farrugia
Editors

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Geographies of the Anthropocene

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The book series "Geographies of the Anthropocene" edited by the Scientific International Publisher "Il Sileno" (Il Sileno Edizioni) will discuss the new processes of the Anthropocene epoch through the various worldviews of geoscientists and humanists, intersecting disciplines of Geosciences, Geography, Geoethics, Philosophy, Socio-Anthropology, Sociology of Environment and Territory, Psychology, Economics, Environmental Humanities and cognate disciplines.

Geoethics focuses on how scientists (natural and social), arts and humanities scholars working in tandem can become more aware of their ethical responsibilities to guide society on matters related to public safety in the face of natural hazards, sustainable use of resources, climate change and protection of the environment. Furthermore, the integrated and multiple perspectives of the Environmental Humanities, can help to more fully understand the cultures of, and the cultures which frame the Anthropocene. Indeed, the focus of Geoethics and Environmental Humanities research, that is, the analysis of the way humans think and act for the purpose of advising and suggesting appropriate behaviors where human activities interact with the geosphere, is dialectically linked to the complex concept of Anthropocene.

The book series "Geographies of the Anthropocene" publishes online volumes, both collective volumes and monographs, which are set in the perspective of providing reflections, work materials and experimentation in the fields of research and education about the new geographies of the Anthropocene.

"Geographies of the Anthropocene" encourages proposals that address one or more themes, including case studies, but welcome all volumes related to the interdisciplinary context of the Anthropocene. Published volumes are subject to a review process (**double blind peer review**) to ensure their scientific rigor.

The volume proposals can be presented in English, Italian, French or Spanish.

The choice of digital Open Access format is coherent with the flexible structure of the series, in order to facilitate the direct accessibility and usability by both authors and readers.

Contents

Foreword

Geoffrey Lipman[1]

This is not a book for the casual reader. It is written by academics for academics and most importantly for their students. There is much for them to contemplate.

It opens the mind to the immense power of Travel & Tourism as a driver of socio-economic change. To its place as somewhat unique modern day phenomenon in an increasingly mobile and wired world. It highlights its contribution at the local as well as the global level. It also underscores the importance of the relatively recent shift to sustainable and responsible tourism to give a positive future vision for the sector.

In a series of worldwide, in depth, case studies, of a broad range of typical and topical tourism issues, it gives a very readable snapshot of the diverse impacts of the sector and its sub-components on modern society. These range across the geographic and sociological spectrum.

A central theme is the global environmental impact of humanity generally and tourism specifically - where unchecked human mobility, in an age of increasing Climate sensibility is a part of the top planetary code red challenge. This is identified as a "*Wicked Problem*" where we know the answer but don't act on it. It points to the fact that tourism's challenge to nature is seen as a growing concern in virtually all areas of activity - at best a wakeup call for a gentler, kinder tourism, and at worst a potential threat to all the other species on the planet.

It delivers a global deep dive on the interrelationship of mobility, migration, and tourism, showing the intensifying evolution over the past century, as well as the diverse results of the intersect. It notes the growth of migration for labour and of tourism for development, with mobility as a common link. It shows that the concepts are highly interconnected and suggests that it is academically, practically, and professionally dangerous to consider them in isolation, hinting that a coherent view of their interrelationship might help to find solutions to some of society's more difficult intercultural problems

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1   President of the Strong Universal Network (SUNx)

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Another common theme is the massive financial and social costs of the sharp COVID shutdown and its negative implications for employment and individual tourism dependent households, along with the positive general lifestyle improvements in terms of air quality and health. It considers the merits of substituting local, regional tourism (so called "Proximity Tourism") for potentially lost long haul business, as happened during Covid. It is clear that there is a need to prepare for similar paralysing emergencies in the future.

It looks somewhat wistfully at the romantic small scale early days of tourism, at the start of the last century and considers the commercially driven world of today. Noting that this has moved the type of visitor from locals looking for sun and beach rest, through so called "mass tourism" to a more sophisticated international clientele seeking cultural or culinary experiences and highlighting rural tourism.

It also highlights the challenge of the pressures for getting back to normal, while recognizing that normal was the problem. This might be seen as the most "*wicked problem*" of all, or as Groucho Marks famously said "I refuse to join any club that would have me as a member"

Overall, this is a fascinating volume that somehow succeeds in placing travel & tourism - a relatively modern socio-economic phenomena - in the context of the multi-billion" year evolution of the planet and its scenic and cultural wonders, as well as the past century's accelerating growth of tourism. It captures the very essence of the word *"Glocal"* Global issues brought down to the local level.

It also beautifully demonstrates why Tourism, before it became a recognized policy discipline in educational spheres could be found in Geography Departments. This book is a tour de force in showing the diversity of the world we live in and the cultures we have evolved into. And it does its job in a way which is both deeply educational as well as an interesting read.

In short, the authors combine very solid, historic, social, and even geographic analysis, with a stark environmental impact assessment of tourism and its place in the firmament. And we don't come out too well. They suggest humanity has been as destructive to the planet as all the great volcanic and tectonic shifts, leaving behind scarred landscapes, embattled nature, and shredded cultures.

And they note well the paradox of tourism as an activity with positive and negative impacts on nature, tradition and life-styles, as well as huge potential to spur economic growth

The bottom line is that we will need to "unlearn" some of the worst practices that are all too often presented as a desirable goal and look to a clean energy driven future that is focused on local development, climate resilience and the inherently decent values of the young people and their mentors, who are its target readers.

Introduction

Contextualizing Human Mobility, Migration, and Tourism

Gian Luigi Corinto[1], Glen Farrugia[2]

Plenty of ink has been spread on the concept of human mobility, migration, and tourism for many years. It has been studied from different perspectives, particularly in light of the economic, social, and political spheres. The common factor between these three different elements is the movement of people from one location, often being the country of origin, to another. This introductory chapter aims at cognitively preparing the readers of this book by briefly examine the academic discourse on the modern history with regard to the voluntary movement of people. The content here shall also analyze relevant academic literature to trace the key elements in history which shaped, and are shaping, these three components. Finally, the arguments presented will focus on the various causes and impacts of human mobility, migration, and tourism as well as the different policies and regulations that have been implemented in order to manage these phenomena.

1. Causes of Human Mobility, Migration, and Tourism

Migration has been a long-standing phenomenon in human history, but the causes and motivations have changed significantly over time. In the modern era, there are a wide range of factors that contribute to the increase in human mobility, migration, and tourism. According to a 2020 study by O'Conner *et al.*, the most common motivations may be attributed to employment opportunities, family reunification, educational opportunities, social and political factors, and climate change. Employment opportunities are a major factor driving human mobility, migration, and tourism. With the global economy shifting towards a more digital and automated nature, there has been a rise in jobs available in the technology sector, leading to increased migration from areas with lower rates of technological advancement to areas with higher rates of technological advancement. This has been especially true in developing countries, where the digital divide between more and less developed countries has created a "push" factor for people to migrate in search of better economic opportunities.

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Family reunification is also a key element which leads to the movement of individuals from one country to another. This can include reuniting with family members who have already migrated, as well as those who are seeking to escape conflict or dangerous conditions in their home country. This has been especially true in the past decade, as global conflicts, civil wars, and other political unrest have led to increased migration of people in search of safety and security – a recent example is the situation in Ukraine.

With the rise of global education opportunities, there has been an increase in the number of people seeking to study abroad in order to gain access to higher education. This has been especially true in developing countries, where access to higher education is limited. It is however important to note that the ever-growing increase in Transnational education, has, to a certain extent, reduced the voluntary movement of student seeking graduate studies.

Climate change is also a major factor driving human mobility. As global temperatures rise, sea levels rise, and extreme weather events become more frequent, people are increasingly seeking to migrate to safer and more secure areas. This is particularly the case in coastal areas, where rising sea levels have led to increased migration of people in search of safer and more stable living conditions.

Another important element in the temporary movement of people from one country to another is tourism. Tourism is a global phenomenon that has been growing rapidly for many years. It is one of the largest and fastest growing industries in the world and it has a significant impact on the global economy. Tourism has become a major source of income for many countries and is an important source of employment for millions of people.

In order to better understand the motivations and factors that lead people to engage in tourism, the following content will explore the arguments that have been put forward by researcher in this field. The research on tourism motivation can be divided into two main categories: push and pull factors. Push factors are those that push people away from their home environment and towards a destination, while pull factors are those that attract people to a destination. There is a large body of research that has been conducted on the motivations behind tourism. Some of the key factors that have been identified include leisure and recreation, social interaction, education, adventure, and relaxation.

The role of leisure and recreation in tourism motivation has been the subject of much research. Studies have shown that leisure activities, such as sightseeing and activities related to the natural environment, are strong motivators for tourists. Recreation activities, such as outdoor activities, are also important motivators for tourists. Leisure and recreation activities are important ele-

ments of the tourist experience, as they help to create a sense of relaxation and satisfaction. Social interaction has also been identified as an important motivator for tourists. Studies have found that social interactions, such as making friends and engaging in meaningful conversations, are important motivations for tourists. The opportunity to meet people from different cultures and backgrounds can be a powerful motivator for tourists. Informal education is another important motivator for tourists. Tourists are often motivated to travel to a destination because of its educational opportunities, such as guided tours, museums and other cultural attractions. Further, research indicates that educational activities can also help tourists to gain a better understanding of the culture and history of a destination.

Adventure and exploration are amongst the top motivators for tourists. The potential for adventure, such as hiking and exploring unknown destinations, is a strong motivator for people to travel. Adventure can also provide a sense of fulfillment for tourists, as they are able to explore and discover new places.

Finally, relaxation is an important motivator for tourists. Relaxation is an important element of the tourist experience and is often a primary motivator for people to travel. Relaxation can help tourists to escape from their everyday lives and enjoy a sense of freedom.

2. Impacts of Human Mobility, Migration, and Tourism

The impacts of human mobility, migration, and tourism are far-reaching and complex. According to a 2020 study by Zhang *et. al*, the most significant impacts of these three elements include changes in socio-economic structures, cultural dynamics, and political systems.

Changes in socio-economic structures are a major impact. Migration has been linked to increased economic growth in the destination country, as well as increased job opportunities for migrants. It has also been linked to increased GDP per capita in the destination country.

Changes in cultural dynamics are another primary effect of human mobility. Migration has been linked to increased cultural exchange between countries, as well as increased tolerance for different cultures and religions. It has also been linked to increased diversity in the destination country.

Finally, changes in political systems may also lead to an individual or group of people to move from their country. Migration has been linked to increased democratization in the destination country, as well as increased access to civil and political rights.

3. Policies and Regulations

In order to manage the various impacts of human mobility, migration, and tourism, governments have implemented a number of policies and regulations. According to a 2020 study by Jain and *et al.*, the most relevant policies and regulations are those related to immigration, labor, and refugee protection.

Immigration policies regulate the number of people who are allowed to enter a country and the conditions under which they are allowed to stay. These policies can include visa requirements, work permits, and other restrictions.

Labor and industrial laws and legislations are designed to control the conditions under which people are allowed to work in a country. These policies can include minimum wage requirements, workers' rights, and other regulations.

Finally, refugee protection policies protect the rights of refugees and asylum seekers. These policies can include access to legal protection, education, and health care.

The above content has so far examined the modern core elements of human mobility, migration, and tourism. We have analyzed recent academic discourse to build a picture of the determinants of the three components. The focus here was on the various causes and impacts on the voluntary or involuntary movement of people as well as the different policies and regulations that have been implemented in order to manage these occurrences. It is clear that human mobility, migration, and tourism have far-reaching implications for countries and societies around the world. It is essential that governments continue to monitor, regulate and legislate so as to ensure that these elements are managed in a sustainable manner. We hope that this academic contribution can provide the necessary impetus to the relevant authorities to address issues which may be curtailing the adequate management of these phenomena.

4. The contribution of this volume

The authors that contributed to the present volume treated the complexity of human mobility from varied points of view, using different methodologies in dealing with migrations and tourism. Each scholar produced a chapter showing a sound opinion on a specific issue, composing a partial yet coordinated picture of the features of human mobility in the Anthropocene. Thus, the goal was to have examples of both prescriptive and descriptive approaches, making critical essays or case studies referring to selected places. Any attempt at exhaustiveness would be a presumptuous act.

The chapter of Gian Luigi Corinto is an essay entitled *Tourism in the Era of Anthropocene. Only Clumsy Solutions for a Wicked Problem*. The author aims to critically discuss sustainable tourism in the Anthropocene under the theoretical perspective proposed by the Cultural Theory. Sustainable tourism is a recognized wicked problem policymakers cannot face with easy solutions, and eventuality resolved only by means of "clumsy solutions", namely not elegant ones. Policies of sustainability should envision the long run with a high level of flexibility and local adjustments. There are no easy ways of decision making, and Policymakers are obliged to adopt fatiguing tools, such as stakeholders' analysis, stakeholder involvement, and social network analysis.

Tohidur Rahaman wrote the chapter *Runaway in and out as a Compulsive Migration in Anuradha Roy's The Folded Earth: Exploring the Multi-layered Cultural Geography of the Himalayan North*. Through the literary analysis of a novel of success, the author explored the issues of travel toward the otherness of places. The far-from-home Himalayas can be a form of escape, a tourist destination, or a place of adventure. The author uses cultural geography as a theoretical model, incorporating issues of gender, post-anthropocentrism, and exclusion politics. It is possible to find a geographically situated place able to open the psychological dimension of runaway where the exclusive ideals of right-wing politics find it queer to accommodate spaces for minority cultural values of India.

Alberto Catania wrote the chapter *Mobility and tourism opportunities in an isolated geographical exclave: the case of Ceuta*, aiming at discussing territories with particular geographical peculiarities and at the center of geopolitical disputes. The focus is the Spanish city of Ceuta, a space with historical tensions exacerbated by the ongoing intense migratory flows. Local authorities try to fortify and close the boundaries, even if the territorial narrowness and the weak economy claim an opening so that the border factually works as a varying permeable system for diverse migrants. Here migration and tourism are in tension in a contested space. Yet Ceuta has sound tourist potential for better-programmed development. In its turn, tourism can be a means to promote dialogue between different communities and resolve geopolitical disputes.

The chapter *From local owners to international hotel groups: the transformation of the hotel industry in Sóller (Mallorca) from 1950 to 2022*, by Antoni Quetglas, Joan Rosselló, reports the evolution of hotels ownership in the coastal municipality of Sóller in Northwestern Mallorca. The most increase in hotel tourism arrived in the second half of the 20th century. Still, the hotels owned by residents offered services oriented to the families' sun and

beach demand. In the 21st century, tourism companies acquired many estates, altering the whole ownership of hotels. The luxury offer and the average cost of the stay increased. Thus, the kind of attracted tourists changed, looking for something more than sun and beach, with modification of the social and economic local features.

Michela Bonato wrote the chapter *Yangtze River Cruise: a journey through the promotion of liquid developing places and controversial models of sustainability*, highlighting the contentious socio-economic and ecological dynamics of interaction that emerge at the local level about tourism activities. Yangtze River cruise tourism within the Chongqing-Three Gorges section is an emerging niche destination for domestic tourism and more globalized forms of privileged cruising. The study questions the global elite cruise tour models versus local ones in pre-pandemic Chongqing by looking at the development of the ecological zone. The analysis uses statistics and discourse analysis of the online promotion of the place, and excerpts from the author's travel journal during the boat cruise describes the emotional atmosphere of the Yangtze River cruise in the historical conjuncture of institutional neoliberal transition.

Beatrice Ruggieri and Elisa Magnani entitled their chapter *COVID-19 pandemic and tourism. (Not) Getting back to normal in tourism-dependent Pacific island economies*. The contribution is an in-depth literature review focusing on tourism models in Pacific Small Island Developing States, or SIDS. The pandemic impacted the whole world economy, but it particularly struck the tourism-dependent island economies already suffering from climate-related hazards and disasters. The general vision of recovering after the pandemic is to reset the ex-ante status, at least with more attention to green models, even in the travel and tourism industry. Instead of globalized international flows, local economies should enhance more sustainable local and regional arrivals. That also could be an opportunity to move toward more ethical forms of tourism by paying attention to its environmental impacts and its uneven politics of mobility.

Simon Caruana's contribution deals with relations between tourism and the design of proper education models. The chapter entitled *Stakeholder Involvement in Tourism Education Design* explores stakeholder involvement in a Bachelor program in Tourism in Malta. The methodology previews a series of focus groups followed by in-depth interviews to identify the main stakeholders and survey their views about the degree of their involvement in touristic education. A feasible learning environment needs the voluntary and free participation of all stakeholders. The study also highlights the need

for stakeholders to interact and exchange views about the adopted education model. On the other hand, when diverse groups must work together, high levels of mistrust may arise. To resolve this issue, one should identify the attitudes of any stakeholder group, establish proper communication between the parties, and diffuse any conflict troubles.

This publication ends with a contribution from one of the editors. In his article *Responsible Tourism in Theory and Practice: Past, Present, and Future,* Glen Farrugia sheds lights on how regulation, market failures, governmental initiatives, and responsible private sector practices have all been critical to the success of Responsible Tourism (RT). In addition, the article proposes that adequate mobility of people is an essential underpinning of the concept, noting that connectivity and transport approaches are essential for it to become embedded in future sustainable development. Farrugia argues how RT is a complex yet fundamental part of global sustainable development, which policymakers, academics, and the private sector should give more attention to. Through the arguments put forward in this chapter, the author aims to provide a launching pad for further discussion, research, and engagement on the concept of RT and enable further critical discussions on how it can be effectively implemented to benefit all tourism stakeholders.

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1
Tourism and Mobility

1. Tourism in the Era of Anthropocene. Only Clumsy Solutions for a Wicked Problem

Gian Luigi Corinto[1]

Abstract

The tourism and travel industry can produce revenue and employment, giving humanity an opportunity for economic growth even after global crises. Due to its intrinsic force of recovery and development, it is time to rethink tourism to mitigate its impact and implement its sustainability in the era of the Anthropocene. This chapter aims to critically discuss the topic of sustainable tourism in the Anthropocene under the theoretical perspective proposed by the Cultural Theory, to interpret and give sense to policies which govern human mobility, focusing the attention on sustainable tourism. After resuming the concept of Anthropocene and the ongoing debate about its meaning, the chapter discusses sustainable tourism as a wicked problem and analyzes the eventuality to deal with the issue only by means of "clumsy solutions" and adopting fatiguing tools, such as stakeholders' analysis, stakeholder involvement, and social network analysis.

Keywords:
Sustainable Tourism; Cultural Theory; Geography; Wicked Problems; Clumsy Solutions

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1. Introduction: theme, focus, and reference theory

After decades of uninterrupted growth and after recovering from the global financial crisis of 2008, international tourist arrivals reached a total number of 1.5 billion in 2019. Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, in 2020-2021 the number of international arrivals decreased by one billion, but with a slow and steady recovery over time. The latest UNWTO World Tourism Barometer reports that international tourist arrivals in all parts of the world have nearly tripled from January to July 2022 compared to the same period in 2021. The geographical areas that showed a strong recovery are Europe and the Middle East, followed by the Americas, Africa, Asia, and the Pacific (UNWTO, n. d.). The varying performances between geographical areas are due to different policies to contain the pandemic. Worldwide, the recovery of the travel and tourism industry is neat. The improving economic trend is a good thing, but the rebound in tourist numbers will coincide with new global consequences. Over time, tourism is an industry that can produce revenue and employment, giving humanity an opportunity for economic growth. Due to its intrinsic force of recovery and development, it is time to rethink tourism to mitigate its impact and implement its sustainability in the era of the Anthropocene.

This chapter aims to critically discuss this topic under the theoretical perspective proposed by the Cultural Theory (Douglas, 2007; Thompson, 2018), to interpret and give sense to policies which govern human mobility, focusing on the sustainability of the tourism and travel industry. Thus, the remainder of this chapter is structured as follows. The next section resumes the concept of Anthropocene and its still debated meaning. The third section discusses sustainable tourism as a wicked problem (Rittel, 1972; Buchanan, 1992). The fourth section analyzes the possibility to treat the issue of tourism in the Anthropocene, namely sustainable tourism, only using "clumsy solutions" (Verwej *et al.*, 2006), involving various tools, such as stakeholder analysis, stakeholder involvement, and social network analysis. All these tools entail costly, fatiguing, and never-ending practices, which nevertheless may find a solution to complex issues (Lindblom, 1959; Grimble, *et al*. 1995; Varvasovsky, Brugha 2000). The last section reports comments and conclusions.

2. Defining the Anthropocene

Around the end of the last century, Paul Crutzen and Eugen Stoemer (2000) launched the term Anthropocene to give a name to a new geological era after the end of the Holocene and the 12,000 years of climate balance that the plan-

et has enjoyed since the last ice age. The term has been a great success but is still controversial in scientific circles. Acquired from geology, it requires geologists to find stratigraphic evidence that can attest to its legitimacy. In other words, scientists should detect decisive bio-chemical geological traces of the ongoing global change in the Earth's system to definitively sanction the transition from one of the units of geological time to another (Boella, 2019). Anthropocene is, however, a phenomenon with great symbolic content among scientists as in the rest of society, due to a changed human sensitivity to the global dynamics of the Earth system. There has been widespread disillusionment with the idea that human – and not human – history is still characterized by evolution and progress. In this direction, some have proposed to adopt the expression *global change* instead of the still partial one of *climate change* (Hamilton, Grinewald, 2015). The idea that human impact on the environment is growing exponentially and unchecked is not new, but the term Anthropocene was born from a "situationist" intuition of Nobel Prize winner Paul Crutzen, impatient with the hesitation of other colleagues during a seminar held in Cuernavaca (Mexico) in 2000. As often happens, the term was probably born unconsciously, according to what Freud (2011) called wits, the mottos of spirit. The word immediately had a bewildering effect on the attending lecturers.

After the launch of the term, the Anthropocene became synonymous with the hypothesis that the human species is a geological force like the much slower natural ones. In a few centuries, humans have caused changes similar to those of geological forces, such as glaciations, tectonic shifts, or the fall of asteroids. Human activity has left traces on the surface of the planet by digging wells and mines, building roads and cities, practising large-scale deforestation and monoculture farming. In doing so they changed the living conditions on the Earth. Such enormous changes will leave traces not only on the surface but also in the deepest parts of the planet. Chemical residues, plastics, and rare metals used for cell phones will leave sediments in the Earth strata that will survive for millennia. It seems that humanity has come to leave traces more durable than human life itself or the historical duration of monuments and texts written on tablets, papyri, codices, and manuscripts (Boella, 2009).

In any case, the Anthropocene is an ongoing phenomenon whose traces will remain forever unless the world ends soon. The industrial development, which has lasted about five centuries —an infinitesimal geological time— can leave traces as durable as the ones of mountains, rivers, oceans, and the marine fossils found in the Alps. It is therefore relevant to ask ourselves when it began. Many are the possible starting points. With the beginning of agri-

culture, the era of colonialism, the industrial revolution, the World Wars, the launch of the first atomic bomb, the boom of births, or with the rise in petroleum product consumption?

It would be necessary to define the passage from the Holocene and Anthropocene to sanction the end of the conception of nature as external to the human world. Whether it is meant as a mother/stepmother, a dwelling, or an infinite resource to exploit, nature is undergoing a conceptual redefinition (Smith, 1984). Nature is no longer an external entity subjected to human will but a unique interweaving between human and non-human entities that can no longer be subject to depredation or simply sustainable development. If we are already inside the Anthropocene, it means that the Earth is dying, but humanity is not able to put together individual choices with collective policies to govern a global event (Purdy, 2015).

Humanity faces a phase of disorientation and alienation, which has effects on both sensory and psychological experiences. The threat is as great as it is confused and indistinct. It is not yet possible to find words and expressions capable of uniquely directing the policies to govern the problems underlying the term Anthropocene. It presents itself as a typical wicked problem (Rittel, 1972) to which you cannot see the solution. Anyway, it would be too dangerous to deny policies only because phenomena are complex or because governance is ineffective.

3.   Sustainable Tourism as a Wicked Problem

The concept of sustainable development appears as an idea acquired in contemporary society (Hall *et al*., 2015). Nonetheless, its history is very long, even if the political-economic debate on how it should be declined has involved very different ideas coming from diverging positions. Nowadays the focus is on the environment and its conservation in an industrial society. However, this awareness is a relatively recent phenomenon, dating from the 1960s and 1970s. The spread of the term Anthropocene reveals the ongoing consciousness that the global impact of human beings on the planet has a scale similar to the modifications of geological forces. Understanding the relationship between the Earth and tourism is crucial, given the increasing importance of this activity from an environmental, social, and global economic point of view.

The Brundtland report in 1987 gave the following famous definition: "Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present

without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs." (World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), 1987, p. 49) Several tourism textbooks report the same formula for sustainable tourism, even if the report barely mentions the subject of tourism. Despite their recognized importance, neither sustainable development nor sustainable tourism started after the WCED. In other words, sustainability is an accepted concept but of intrinsically controversial use and application. The reason lies in the difficulty of defining the balanced or wise use of natural resources. The definition of the wise use of nature depends on values and ideologies that vary in time and space.

Notwithstanding the paramount growth of the travel and tourism industry has highlighted evident global scale impacts, many issues are yet controversial. The major ones are climate change, coastal urbanization, biodiversity loss, fossil fuel consumption, disease transmission, and cultural commodification. However, until not so long ago, the media emphasis was on the economic impact, considered more important than the environmental and social ones, which today are generally perceived as negative. For many decades, the main objective of the tourism industry has been to produce revenue and employment. Political economics realize that only businesses making profits can pay environmental taxes to offset environmental impacts (Mankiw, 2009). Moreover, tourism has been considered a feasible model for the economic growth of already-developed countries and the solution to the poverty problems of the less developed ones. Tourism was the panacea of the trade balance of many countries in the world (Tonini, 2010). Tourism's negative effects became a problem in the 1970s and 1980s, owing to public concern about natural resource management. National ministries and international environmental agencies where established, also under the pressure of voluntary organizations. Impact studies, by taking sustainability into account, gradually considered the interrelationship between economic, social, and environmental impacts rather than focusing only on environmental ones –the original focus of the Brundtland Report. Thus, the concept of sustainable tourism is now multifaceted, more complex, and more intricate than in the past.

For years, academic studies have considered tourism within the bigger issue of human mobility (Lew, *et al*., 2008). There are numerous divergent lines of thought on this subject, all of which are partially correct. Nevertheless, any subsequent policy, if singularly adopted, is bound to fail (Rittel, 1972). At issue is the problem of governance, at different scales of intervention and in view of vertical integration (Fritz *et al.*, 2009; Rodrik, 2008).

The general term *governance* indicates the process, institutions, and ways through which the government functions are implemented. It aims at dealing with the real sociopolitical environment which conditions the results of any attempted policy (North *et al.*, 2008). This political aptitude appears to be soundly coherent with the acknowledgement that, behind different ways of reasoning, stand more or less numerous social groups, all of which represent different interests and different ways of perceiving and organising social relations. An interpretive theory is necessary to delineate the policies sustained by different social groups, and subsequently induce the different positions to an effective intervention (Verweij *et al*. 2006), namely a *governance* of such an issue as sustainable tourism.

As above stated, the relations between tourism and Anthropocene are immensely complex. Even with a partial approach, namely within tourism studies, eminent scholars wrote:

> 'Sustainability is a 'wicked' or meta-policy problem that has led to new institutional arrangements and policy settings at international, national and local scales. Sustainable tourism is a subset of this broader policy arena, with its own specific set of institutions and policy actors at various scales, as well as being a sub-set of tourism policy overall.' (Hall *et al*. 2015, p. 5).

The meaning of the expression *wicked problem* (Rittel, 1972) is this: it is impossible or very difficult to find an ultimate solution because decisions are based on incomplete, contradictory, and changing requirements, very often lacking or difficult to recognize. A wicked problem shows a surprising novelty as well as a tenacious content; it is highly complex rather than complicated; it is located across different systems, and a single hierarchy cannot solve it. Often, solutions produce other problems, there is a non-definition of eventual success, and rules appear to have no ending (Verweij *et al*. 2006). Uncertainty and ambiguity are evident and anavoidable; solutions are to be considered not *right or wrong* but do lay on *better or worse* choices (Grint *et al.,* 2016; Rodrik, 2008); finally, human societies very often divide themselves in fiercely opposite opinions (Verweij *et al*. 2006). Then, it is the social-cultural variability of the *issue* to be treated, in search of credible, yet highly fatiguing, solutions.

This social variability has been interpreted by the so-called grid-group cultural theory, also known as grid-group analysis, Cultural Theory, or theory of socio-cultural variability; such an approach has initially been developed by

the British anthropologists Mary Douglas and Michael Thompson, and the American political scientist Aaron Wildavsky (Mamadouh, 1999).

According to this theory, scholars described: "four primary ways of organizing, perceiving and justifying social relations [...]: (1) egalitarianism; (2) hierarchy; (3) individualism; and (4) fatalism" (Verwey *et al.*, 2006, p. 819). These four "world views" are in conflict in every aspect of social life, even melding each other and mediating the extreme points. It is obvious that also human mobility and (sustainable) tourism, separated or melded as interacting issues, are differently approached by diverse cultures embedded in these social relations.

In Figure 1, the social classification according to the theory is resumed for tourism. The "grid" axis assesses the intensity of constraints or laws affecting individual behavior. On the opposite, the "group" axis assesses the extent of individual commitment to a social unit, influencing the thought and actions of individual agents. Combining two values (high and low) per dimension (grid and group) the figure displays four ways of organizing social relations, as above said: egalitarianism, hierarchy, individualism, and fatalism. These are also different ways humans perceive problems, and privileged policies or rules to be assumed.

Fig. 1. The grid-group analysis of human mobility and tourism
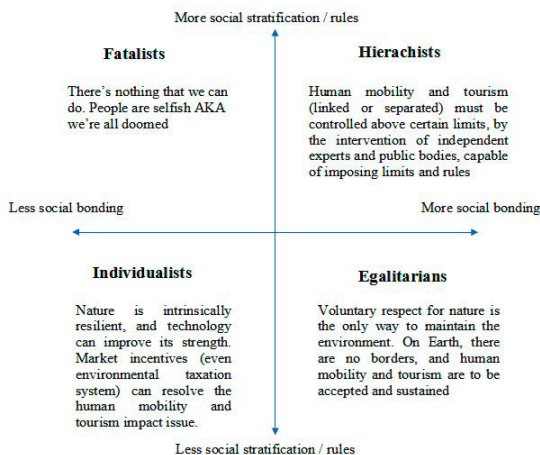
Source: elaboration from Verweij et al. 2006

Explanations of the picture are as follows. Egalitarians see humans and nature as intrinsically interconnected, and the fragility of nature can be managed only by light and responsible human behaviors. Voluntary respect for nature is the only way to maintain the environment. On Earth there are no borders and human mobility should be accepted and sustained, because coercive institutions, the market, and the bureaucracy of policy, are responsible for both the market and policy failures, acknowledged even by economics (Anthoff, Hahn, 2010). The unquestioned production-consumption social architecture of advanced industrial society is the actual responsible for natural resources destruction (Haraway, 2015; Moore, 2017). The absence of caring for nature is the core of economic growth, producing distortions even in understanding real problems, inducing demand for unsustainable products and social relations, including impacting forms of tourism. Uneven distribution of wealth is responsible for social pains which induce migrations and exclusion from tourism. Greedy persons treat in the same bad manner nature and humanity, generating struggles and loss of well-being. People should understand that humans and the Earth are a holistic unity, and the sole possible policy is to avoid any activity that damages the environment, adopting a strict precautionary principle (O'Riordan, 2013). Centralized decisions delegated to global bureaucratic institutions are ineffective, and only grass-roots organizations should become activists in fighting the perverted effect of uneven distribution of leisure time.

Hierarchists claim the world is controllable if nature is not pressed by free riders, who should be fined. People are imperfect, but solid institutions can resolve human flaws. Uneven distribution of tourists must be controlled above certain limits, by the intervention of independent experts and public bodies, capable of imposing limits and rules.

Hierarchists trust in long-term policy, not considering the immediate, or short time deadline of necessary interventions. Furthermore, they think that the individual initiative is helpless, producing the so-called tragedy of the (global) commons (Vogler, 2012). Thus, only global agreements can solve the uneven development of the travel and tourism industry, accepting intergovernmental treaties, promoted and sustained by global authorities, such as UN agencies and mainstream environmental organizations. In this model, political leadership and governance are substituting individual decisions, without changing the overall philosophy based on voluntary agreements.

Individualists are those completely trusting in market functioning. Nature is intrinsically resilient, and technology can improve its strength. Social actors are inherently selfish and behave as separate and competing individuals.

They strongly believe that market incentives (even negative as an environmental taxation system) can resolve the distribution of travelers around the globe (Mankiew, 2009). Anyway, changes are acceptable just because they are not catastrophic nor uniformly negative; individualists assert that competitive agents will discover the resolving invention.

Fatalists believe that there is no meaning in nature and life, there is no possibility to have a better situation than the current one, because even humans are intrinsically unreliable (Lovelock, 2010). Nothing to do for managing tourism. This latter way of life can be excluded from reasoning, and the three other ways of thinking define the so-called "clumsy solution space" (Grint, Jones, 2016), which is the space of *not elegant but possible solutions* coming from the melding of different ways of reasoning.

Pic. 2. Clumsy Solution Space
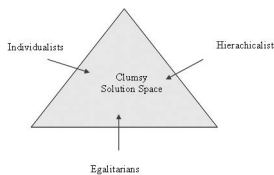
Source: elaboration from Grint, Jones, 2016

4.   Clumsy solutions for the sustainable tourism problem

If the ongoing model of the travel and tourism industry and its impacts on the environment are global problems needing global responses, any policy discourse is affected by never-ending confrontation among political choices informed by diverse actors whose cultures are produced by different ways of life (Verweij *et al.* 2006). Ignoring the co-existence of several ways of life is risky because it makes the whole policy less effective. Namely, both individualism and egalitarianism would be chaos-making without the empowerment of an effective hierarchy. In its turn, the latter would be: "stagnant without the creative energy of individualism, uncohesive without the binding force of equality, unstable without the passivity and acquiescence of fatalism." (Schwartz, 1991, cited in Verwej *et al.*, 2006: 822).

Solutions based on a singular approach may be defined as "elegant" but are inexorably ineffective; policymakers should better understand the importance of considering altogether the three "elegant" approaches, merging them and thus implementing "clumsy solutions" when facing "wicked problems" (Verwej *et al.*, 2006).

The very first proposed sense of the term *wicked* is not that of *evil*, but rather that of an immensely complicated and untamable issue (Rittel, 1972; Buchanan, 1992). It is possible to argue that one further meaning of the term *wicked* could be that humanity tends to split in contradictory perceptions, being impotent in finding a common solution. In this sense, the meaning of *wicked* may also be that of *evil*, producing the actual impossibility of reciprocal understanding like in the building of the Tower of Babel (Klijn, Koppenjan, 2014). Thus, *clumsiness* must accept the existence of contradictory problem perceptions and solutions; humans should make their own best to stress the eventual synergies and take into serious account any difference in problem perception.

So, any sustainable tourism policy must adopt fatiguing and expensive tools, hoping to be effective. In this sense it is called *clumsy*, also because it should be flexible, switching in strategies, inelegantly prompt to take U-turn paths, confronting diverse interests and values among stakeholders. In real life, various stakeholder groups can endorse a policy option but for very different reasons; and international cooperation would privilege technological development and leave complicated consensus-searching to the local levels of policymaking (Corinto, 2016; Verweij *et al,* 2006).

International institutions such as the World Bank ten years ago stressed the importance of governance and problem-driven political economy (GPE) as an actual critical point in favoring development (Fritz *et al.*, 2009). The main idea is that in governing huge global problems, *good enough* governance and *feasible approaches* to reforming problematic issues are acceptable (Rodrik, 2008). The problem is not to reach the ultimate goal, but rather achieve and maintain the proper direction; it is much better to have a diagnostic political tool than a prescriptive policy and follow the good path, whether at the country, sector, thematic, or project level (Fritz *et al.*, 2009).

That being said, the proposed clumsiness to be adopted in governing such a wicked problem as sustainable tourism matches with the pragmatic vision of the World Bank (often contested by popular discourse), suggesting the implementation of fatiguing governance tools. These tools can be better arranged for local initiatives, which involve different stakeholders, with conflicting points of view and socioeconomic interests, still committed to a

common problem. The very issue in sustainable tourism analysis could be the diverse interests of travel and tourism global companies and tourist operators in grabbing the quota of total international tourists and in managing tourist destinations in less developed counties. Anyway, even this eventuality does confirm the impossibility to treat such a problem solely by adopting singular elegant policies.

5. Comments and Conclusions

The chapter dealt with different social positions on sustainable tourism in the Anthropocene, illustrating a strongly complex situation, accepting that it is impossible to state a clear practice of policies on sustainable tourism, and searching possible theoretical interpretations and feasible policies. Sustainable tourism is better expressed as a spatial human movement based on both environmental and socioeconomic concerns, and the limits to tourism should be better considered to state effective governance. Even arguing that tourism will have a future big impact on the planet, it is still more correct to consider that environmental, economic, and social degradation are permeable categories. Considering only one motive and only one way of reasoning is reductionist and could produce misguiding and failing policies. Better knowledge is necessary about how to implement sustainability policies, their meaning and their influences at global and regional levels, but the focus could conveniently shift to necessary and effective governance of tourism on the Earth.

Thus, it is much better to consider the necessity to implement more fatiguing political tools, but capable of involving real people who bear a diverse way of living and producing opinions. Any global tourism policy based on one or two positions described through the grid-group theory will be partial and consequently ineffective. Ignoring this will result in the failure of all good intentions; at the worst, producing the opposite result of inducing more social conflicts. The excluded voices will be induced to manifest their political position violently, causing the intervention of repressive force. The result could be a spiral of self-feeding social conflict.

Also, within the complex issue of sustainable tourism, policymakers should better consider some theoretical findings. According to Verweij *et al*. (2006) it is credible that the reasonable perspective of governance of global and regional tourism is that of implementing *clumsiness*, accepting to avoid "elegant" policies, and, on the contrary, implementing collaborative though fatiguing tools for policymaking.

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2. Runaway in and out as a Compulsive Migration in Anuradha Roy's *The Folded Earth:* Exploring the Multi-layered Cultural Geography of the Himalayan North

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Abstract

Despite being in the global south, diverse landscapes and existing cultural divides create a unique geographic mapping of India. Reflecting on the motif of "runaway", my research aims to explore the issues of migration through the literary analysis of Anuradha Roy's *The Folded Earth*. Travel to the Himalayas works more as a form of escape, a tourist destination, or a place of adventure. The novel primarily elucidates the Himalayan north as a circle where people travel in or out. Thus, my paper aims to engage in cultural geography as a theoretical model, where it will incorporate elements of gender, post-anthropocentrism, and exclusion politics. Here, the patriarchal system frequently leads to this "runaway" state, since many women fear having to deal with the issues of forced marriage. This further leads people to become cultural or familial outcasts. In contrast, the novel also opens up the scope of travelling to the realms of a more-than-human world. Here, the theme of runaway works within the topography of the Himalayas. The microcosmic sketching of the Himalayan hill station also brings out the psychological dimension of runaway where the exclusive ideals of right-wing politics find it queer to accommodate spaces for minority values in the diverse cultural mapping of India. These things, in turn, reflect a unique aspect of socio-economic and environmental issues in the Anthropocene. Further, it is to see how Roy's sketching of events works on both personal and collective layers.

Keywords:
Anthropocene, runaway, cultural geography, gender, exclusion politics

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1. Introduction

The concept of migration is frequently employed as a cliché in a variety of fields of social science and humanities to allude to the relocation of people from the formerly inhabited geographic places. This type of movement has happened throughout history as a result of compulsion or a desire to change locations. Thus, this very instance of human mobility often becomes a quintessence of human existence. In agricultural communities, the movement was mainly focused on fertile areas with good farming potential. India, in that respect, being rich in agricultural prospects, has attracted migrants down the ages. However, during this capitalist epoch of the Anthropocene[1], the migration happens from the regions of the global south like India to the more economically and technologically advanced regions of the global north and many other places. Here, my research focuses mostly on using literary analysis of Anuradha Roy's *The Folded Earth* to investigate the problem of migration within India on a new scale. This is actually the author's 'ability to infuse hard bits of social and political reality into a narrative that would otherwise have assumed the soft tinctures of light reading' (Khair, 2011). Thus, instead of extrapolating these concerns to a global scale, my goal is to discuss the cultural geography of the Himalayas in an Indian context. Even though India is regarded as being a part of the global south, the country's diverse landscapes and cultures make it a continent that deserves its own special geographic mapping. The Himalayas, a region with a variety of flora and cultures, do occupy a distinctive position on the northern side of the Indian map, sharing its territories with other nations like Nepal, Bhutan, and others. Since the Himalayas have a significant impact on the landscapes and climates of India, my goal is to combine the disciplines of literature and geography, and provide a geo-critical reading of this chosen text by Anuradha Roy to see if any symbolic connotation of the Himalayas can be inferred here.

While employing the cultural geography of the global south as a theoretical model, my study intends to include numerous concerns of gender, post-anthropocentrism[2], and exclusion politics. Thus, as we read the novel, we can perceive how things revolve around the landscapes of the Himalayas. Maya, an important character, runs in and settles down in the village of Ranikhet to

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[1] This term is used to mean a temporality of human civilizations that largely have a negative impact on nature from various perspectives. For more details, see, Parikka, J., 2018, "Anthropocene", In: Braidotti, R., Hlavajova, M. (Eds.), *Posthuman Glossary*, Bloomsbury, London, 51-53.
[2] Post-anthropocentrism in many ways challenges the ideas and approaches of the Anthropocene. For more details, see, Ferrando, F., 2019, Philosophical Posthumanism, Bloomsbury, New York, 103-108.

overcome the trauma of her dead husband. Her travel, here, encompasses the physical and psychological domain of trans-spatiality. In contrast, Charu, another important character, chooses the path of runaway out of the Himalayas in order to have better life prospects. Here, Ranikhet serves as a microcosmic illustration of the rough reality of how spaces are constricted for those who cannot fit their differences into both the right-wing politics and the established social standards. However, there are characters that resist all cultural constraints and venture into the regions of the more-than-human world, while being socially conditioned and labelled as invalid. How the concepts of sane and insanity are often perceived in the Anthropocene, when people's view of the "order of things"[3] is determined by their unrelenting need for financial gain, is one of this book's central questions.

"Roy prefers to keep the heights of her story, like those mountaintops shrouded in mystery," writes Andrea Thomson for *The New York Times* (Thompson, 2012). Robin Leggett comments on the 'power of the natural world there' (Leggett, 2011). However, it is intriguing to notice that neither Leggett nor Thompson have made an effort to connect this book specifically to the cultural geography of India, where the Himalayan village functions as a type of microcosmic level of spatiality and brings out many societal difficulties of India, both of the present and of the past, in order to offer a prediction of the future. In that regard, the central argument of the novel can be structured around four different subtopics. These are as follows: a) runaway, tourism and the quest for peace in the Himalayas; b) runaway, better economic life and travelling out of the Himalayas; c) runaway and travel to the more-than-human world; d) politics of exclusion, the cultural mapping and the runaway from existent problem. Following that, the novel's central idea can be understood through a multi-layered lens. Thus, my goal in writing this essay is to demonstrate how a literary work might express the concerns of cultural geography by using a certain narrative approach. Patricia L. Price specifically highlights the value of "a narrative method to comprehend culture and by extension to perform cultural geography" (2010, p. 203). While dealing with the stance of cultural geography, my work aims to offer a posthuman[4] break-down of some of the issues of human culture that divide and

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[3] Every society in a historical period is governed by certain norms. The detailed idea comes from Michel Foucault's book, The Order of Things (1966). See, Foucault, Michel., 1994, The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences, Vintage Books, New York.

[4] This is a field of studies that question the status of humans with or without relation to the non-human world from various perspectives. See, Braidotti, R., 2013, *The Posthuman*, Polity Press, Cambridge.

differentiate non-human agency and some humans as categorized "others"[1] from a more powerful, hegemonic human agency in the Anthropocene. Different facets of social and cultural isolation are highlighted in the book. Maya risks being excluded from her family due to her failure to fit the expectations of gendered and cultural norms. Because of his porosity and assimilation with the non-human world, Puran is at risk of social isolation. In addition to these issues, certain minorities in India experience many tiers of social exclusion as a result of the dominant right-wing political ideology that emphasizes the division of India along the lines of ethnic and religious purity and impurity.

2. Runaway, tourism and the quest for peace in the Himalayas

The Himalayan landscapes and vegetation attract tourists from all over India and abroad due to their scenic grandeur. From a number of angles, this has got a boosting impact on the Indian economy. Indeed, some claim that 'tourism has been seen as the panacea for depressed economies in both developed and lesser developed countries' (Meyer-Arendt & Wall, 1990, p. 01). Here, the obsession for travelling to the Himalayas is well captured in Anuradha Roy's book. In fact, in one of the places, the narrator says 'we could not afford more than an annual trek for him in the mountain and that one trek was what he lived for all year' (Roy, 2011, p. 06). The adventurous and uneven terrain of the Himalayas frequently serves as a hub for risky hiking. As we read the book, it becomes clearly evident that the narrator's husband's life is fatally cut short on this exciting adventure over the Himalayas. This thing, alone, could have easily shaped a version of the terrifying image of the Himalayas for the narrator to the extent that she would refrain herself from going there. However, in this story, the narrator travels with the memories of her deceased spouse, and it seems that the Himalayas are the only location that could ease the trauma and bring her close to her husband's presence. In the Himalayan village of Ranikhet, 'Maya settles into a routine: teaching at a Christian school; spending time with her landlord, Diwan Sahib; and observing the sometimes comic rhythms of the village and its army garrison' (Thompson, 2012). Thus, her arrival in this village and taking a position as a school teacher at St. Hilda works as a psychological level of travel as she strives to overcome the trauma of her husband's passing. The character of Maya might readily represent the theme of runaway. She runs away from her home to marry her lover, Michael, when she comes to the realization that

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[1] This is used in the fields of gender studies, postcolonialism, disability studies, Posthumanism, Ecocriticism, etc.

her father will never agree to the inter-religious marriage. Thus, for Maya, the runaway motif actually serves two purposes: first, she runs away from her paternal family, and secondly, from her home in the Deccan she and her husband shared. The village serves as a means of escape for this character as she embarks on a new chapter of her life, engaging with Himalayan terrain and the various sorts of things that occupy it. Maya's engagement with this Himalayan village is transpatial[2] as her travels are multi-dimensional.

The runaway motif actually opens up a different level of situation that involves the predicament of making certain choices in life. This notion is well supported in Maya's case, as her choice to be a runaway not only makes spaces constricted for her but also creates problems for other characters, like her mother. This motif of being a runaway may easily have been interpreted as a form of foreshadowing of her emotional conflict with her father. However, her mother is the one who is affected by this the most. Soon after this event, it is observed that she has herself confined to a room. Consequently, it is also implied that she has stopped sharing her bed with her husband. However, having a large knife under the pillow in her bedroom makes us see things through a complicated lens. It can be assumed that Maya's mother does not intend to conceive a second child for her father so that he can develop his goals and forget about her runaway daughter. The issue of gender, reflected through the emotional struggle between Maya and her father, brings out the exclusive ideals of patriarchy, where certain people are rejected from the mapping of family and culture if they deviate from its norms. The theme of runaway also plays a significant role in the writings of authors outside of India as well. Alice Munroe, a renowned novelist from Canada, has invested a whole book as a collection of short stories with the theme of runaways. In fact, her work deals with 'the exclusion of people from the society because of social inferiority or because of certain human experience such as marriage, love, divorce or aging' (Keshk, 2019, p. 11). Here, too, the premise of the runaway comes out as an outcome of gendered roles in society. A direct upshot of power relations, it regulates 'life in negative terms—that is through the limitation, prohibition, regulation, control, and even "protection" of individuals related to that political structure through the contingent and retractable operation of choice' (Butler, 1990, p. 04). As she struggles with how to live through her husband's memory and get past the tragedy of his passing, Maya's desire for peace in the troubled Himalayan village occasionally runs against her interests. Things seemed quite favourable at the onset of her refuge in the Himalayas. In fact, along with her students, she gets engaged in the pickle business, where she

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[2] The idea extends and foregrounds the boundaries of both psychological and physical spaces.

finds great success. These lines aptly bring out this: 'May and June were our months: all the soft fruit of summer-plums, peaches, apricots-arrived from distant villages, baskets and crates of them together, and they had to be dealt with at once. Some days, neither Charu nor I get home from the factory till after dark' (Roy, 2011, p. 118). It soon turns out that the location turns into an alternative space where she attempts to escape her husband's demise by engaging in sexual intimacy with Veer, an important character in this novel. This physical intimacy, however, goes on to weave intricacies around the central theme of the text.

3. Runaway, better economic life and travelling out of the Himalayas

Although the Himalayas in India are a popular tourist destination, the steep and uneven mountains make life difficult for its inhabitants. The author here, as in this story, does not conceal the harsh reality of the Himalayas. The sole reason why tourists continue to be fascinated by this area is because they visit mostly during the pleasant months of the year to unwind for a few days. However, when individuals attempt to support themselves in this environment, they are forced to engage in a gruelling battle for survival. Thus, travelling out of the Himalayas to more lucrative locations for earning money becomes a necessity for a better economic existence. Here, in this section, I want to bring out how this novel validates this condition through the characters Kundan Singh and Charu. Kundan's travel out of the Himalayas to Delhi and then to Singapore justifies this situation. In that connection, it highlights the fact that 'international migration constitutes one of the central issues of contemporary society' (Canales, 2020, p. 01). While Charu's perception of a better life is aligned with her eventual union with Kundan, it is for Kundan a compulsive venture as he has family debts that need to be repaid. Ranikhet is likely to limit his opportunities in terms of earning that sum of money. The novel clearly reflects the extremities of the Himalayas, with its inhabitants aiming to create opportunities out of it. In addition, because the town has yet to become a popular tourist destination, a lack of prospects is a common occurrence. Political leaders like Umed Singh want to develop Ranikhet as a tourist spot, not just because of its scenic beauty but also on the basis of creating a promising space for pilgrimage. Actually, this sort of endeavour to turn a place into a spot of pilgrimage has become a common alternative to boosting tourism in a place. Citing the case of Santiago, Fabio Carbone, Gian Corinto, and Anahita Malek argue that the 'phenomenon of religious pilgrimage has thus assumed

other connotations and meanings, including that of the management of these circuits in order to boost the cultural and economic benefits they bring to the affected territories' (2016, p. 153). In that connection, the novel brings out the issue of the beautification of this Himalayan town where a character like Mr. Chauhan comes out with the 'promise to turn Ranikhet into a Switzerland' (Roy, 2011, p. 102). Here, 'Roy manages to capture both the absurd and the sinister in even minor characters, like a corrupt local official who embarks on a beautification plan that includes posting exhortatory signs around town' (Thompson, 2012). Despite having the tough task of forcing cattle to graze through the forests and meadows of the Himalayas, Charu appears to like her life since it gives her the chance to meet her boyfriend, Kundan, in locations that are less frequented by regular people. This also increases the possibility of a runaway within the Himalayan topography, as pre-marital love affairs are still frequently seen as taboo in India. The unique aspect of this book is the way the author portrays this unrivalled emotional connection and how it helps both characters deal with the stress of hard labour. This pattern of Charu's relationship with Kundan stands out as 'touching and sweet' (Leggett, 2011). However, as Kundan moves to a different location to try his luck at finding work, her life descends into a dragging monotony. The physical distance created by the departure of Kundan is often smudged as the letter written by him reaches Charu. This creates a kind of emotional bond between these two characters. Soon, these letters become emotional constraints when Charu comes to know that Kundan is leaving for Singapore and she is being repeatedly approached by her family to have an arranged marriage. Charu's only choice becomes to be a runaway. She knows that her family is not going to wait for long. However, this also turns out to be an interesting and dangerous choice for this character, as she does not have any preconceived knowledge about the outside world of the Himalayas beforehand. Her travel to Delhi could have been a painful end to her adventurous journey as she happened to encounter people who had the intention of molesting her. This situation actually brings out the concern regarding the safety of women in metro cities in India. However, through a lucky coincidence, she gets to save herself from harassment and finally gets to be with her lover, Kundan. Though the option of runaway is carried out by Maya and Charu for the same purposes, there are certain differences. Maya and Charu belong to two different socio-economic backgrounds. For Maya, it is two-layered, as she substantially chooses this path twice. However, for Charu, it becomes a compulsion to travel within the extreme topography and out of the Himalayas. While a sort of reunion happens between Charu and her family, this aspect of the runaway becomes com-

plicated for Maya as the unfathomable spatial fissure is created in the way of the reunion between Maya and her parents. In fact, this 'is a book about love, losses and long standing personal conflicts' (Leggett, 2011).

4. Runaway and travel to the more-than-human world

Although the primary objective of this paper is to analyze the cultural geography of the Himalayas through the literary analysis of Anuradha Roy's novel, it is important to add that the version of cultural geography represented here actually works both within human society and outside of human society in the woods of the Himalayan landscapes, along with its diverse wildlife. While it is primarily conceived that the scope of cultural geography must be limited to the understanding of people's ways of living in a designated landscape, Roy's story seems to foreground and extend this scope; and it, further, goes beyond the archetypes of the nature/culture binary. Thus, it can be put in the context that 'Nature is perhaps the most complex word in the language. It is relatively easy to distinguish three areas of meaning: (i) the essential quality and character of something; (ii) the inherent force which directs either the world or human beings or both; (iii) the material world itself, taken as including or not including human beings' (Williams, 2008, p. 208). In reality, just like anywhere else, it is exceedingly challenging to separate Nature from culture as it shapes, moulds, and is itself moulded by the things that constitute its spatiality. Here, we can bring in the idea of "trans-corporeality" that suggests that the 'the figure/ground relation between the human and the environment dissolves as the outline of the human is traversed by substantial material interchanges' (Alaimo, 2018, p. 435). The personalities of Puran and Diwan Sahib best capture this notion of porosity or fusion. Despite being projected as a social invalid and an outcast, Puran ends up becoming one of the most important characters in the novel. In addition to Puran's entanglement with Nature, the novel hints at the suggestive culture that may be created realizing how closely Nature and culture are intertwined. Undoubtedly, the author does not designate Puran that kind of agency from which he might have philosophically disseminated this idea, but his utter state might well counsel the reader to be responsive to the differences that have cropped up between human culture and Nature. Thus, this calls for an environmental concern that is supposed to create a link between these two ostensibly disparate axes both through the realization and praxis of the state of interdependence. Indeed, readers may be surprised to consider the non-separability of consciousness

and behaviour between Puran and animals. This brings post-anthropocentric philosophy in the context. While this does not itself become a matter of concern, things start to fall apart when people try to civilize him as per humanizing ideals. As a result of this, this character gets subjected to animalization through ruthless torture. Here, this process of animalization is a system of power relations that often originates from violence inflicted upon people who belong to the margins. Hence, this is not to be confused with becoming mutually identical with animals in terms of motives and behaviour. On the same line, it is seen that the 'historical process of humanizing has emerged through, not only, the exclusions of the humans who were considered inferior, but also, a strict dichotomy with nonhuman animals and planet Earth' (Ferrando, 2019, p. 103). The tragedy that lies behind Puran's life is that nobody understands him to the fullest extent. On the contrary, he is the one who understands the more-than-human world better than anyone else. In return, he receives the same sort of benevolent treatment from them. Thus, in one of the places, Diwan Sahib puts this in the context: 'Puran's affinity to animals was a lost treasure. Puran was the sanest of us all, because animals knew whom to trust. They were imbeciles themselves who called Puran half witted' (Roy, 2011, 74). All these lines actually make us sceptical of how the notion of sanity/insanity is understood in the Anthropocene. Actually, insane people, usually, have been subjected to "confinement" and segregation from society many times in history. Michel Foucault's comprehension of this concept could be helpful here as he suggests how, during the period of enlightenment, 'madmen were subjected to the regime of this confinement for a century and a half' (1988, p. 38). The notion of Nature/culture binary, directly resulting from the enlightenment, influences many things in the Anthropocene, where a human is recognized as sane when he/she can achieve inexorable economic growth for personal benefit without giving much heed to the understanding of the interdependence between various living and non-living things. In this case, Puran's personality does not perfectly fit into this anthropocentric "sane" world. Thus, harm inflicted on the more-than-human world for monetary gain is often normalized. However, 'the study of relationships between culture and environment is not just academic, it is vital, not simply because it offers understanding and possible solutions to important contemporary problems' (Anderson & Sutton, 2010, p. 04).

The one who comprehends Puran and all of his ramifications the best is Diwan Sahib. However, it is important to note that Diwan's travel to the more-than-human world is not physical, as the same applies quite effectively to Puran's case. Diwan does so either through writing the travel stories of Jim

Corbett or by mimicking bird sounds at the annual conference in school. In the context of the novel, Diwan Sahib's importance lies in many ways. If the Himalayas act as a circle where people travel in or out, Diwan Sahib is the epicentre of that circle upon which all the events of the past and present traverse, and the prediction of the future is calculated. In addition to his special attention to Puran and wildlife, his objectives call for environmental ethics. In fact, Diwan's last visit to St. Hilda for the annual conference explicitly advocates for a sustainable future that focuses deeply on the more-than-human world. Here, he talks of the "Himalayan Golden Eagles", which were once so common in these Himalayan woods. He asserts that these 'are rare majestic birds and have not seen here in living memory' (Roy, 2011, p. 177). The exploitation of the Himalayan natural environment is well reflected in Diwan's speech, as he argues that there 'are trucks that come and go, the entrance to the spur is piled high with logs from trees that have been cut from the forests all around' (Roy, 2011, p. 177). The concerns expressed in this novel bring out the abuses of nature in contemporary India. 'It is a landscape in which the natural world is continually being replaced by a world of artefacts: where trees, shrubs and grasses are giving way to plantations and crop fields, roads and buildings' (Gadgil & Guha, 1995, p. 01).

5. Politics of exclusion, the cultural mapping and the runaway from existent problems

One of the most important aspects of India is its diversity of languages, religions, and ethnicities that shape the cultural consciousness of its people in distinctive ways. Here, in this novel, Ranikhet gets a special representation with respect to how it acts as the totality[1] of India at a microcosmic level. In reality, given Ranikhet's distinctive demographics, it is safe to assume that this hill station holds many immigrants who have moved into this place from various parts of India. These migrations, in fact, hint at various levels of implications. While some of the characters have come for job opportunities, others have come to spend the remaining days of their lives in the lap of the Himalayan landscape. Put in geographical context, the mountains in the Himalayas control the climates and lifestyles of the entire country. This has led many people to call India the "gift of the Himalayas" as much as Egypt is of the Nile. Thus, the question arises whether this supposedly "blessed" landscape can stand as a safe and inclusive heaven for the diverse demographic

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[1] Here, I want to mean the collective layers of cultural spaces that define the multi and mixed cultural status of India.

entities of India. However, it is very often observed that a 'sedate world exists only to be shaken, and soon enough the town is disturbed from all sides' (Thompson, 2012). The problem, here, does not lie in the Himalayas. It lies in the politics of right-wing ideals fuelled by the radical version of "Hindutva"[2] idealism that very often takes a fascist turn. With the creation of an imaginary 'golden past that existed prior to the Mughal Empire and the British Raj[3], Hindutva attempts to write a historiographical account that contradicts the "shame" of foreign invasion' (Leidig, 2020, p. 224). Thus, this historical sense propels a situation where spaces become constricted for minor religious groups like Christians and Muslims, as both Christianity and Islam owe their origins to outside of India.

Here, in this novel, we learn that an important Christian character, Miss Wilson, has arrived in this concerned location in charge of overseeing a missionary school. While it is interesting to note that there is an urge among people in India to get their children admitted to Christian missionary schools, the idea of Christians being an essential part of India has not yet been fully integrated into the diverse mapping of India. Thus, when Maya, a Hindu character, decides to settle her life with a Christian character, Michael, it becomes too difficult for Maya's father to accept that. This further prompts Maya to be a runaway. The ambivalent attitude of Maya's father towards Christians could easily be replicated in these lines: 'Michael's parents were second-generation Christians and my father was contemptuous of all Christians—even though he was happy enough to send me to St. George's Grammar School for Girls on the first rung of his grand plan to turn me into an industrial magnate' (Roy, 2011, p. 123). It can be well perceived that things related to Christianity are only a matter of necessity, where not many people want to allow this aspect to be porous with the diverse consciousness of Indianness. This continues in the Himalayan setting as well. The sense of separateness can be reflected in the psychological terrain of the ordinary people as well. In that connection, Muslims also fall under this psychological spatiality of non-acceptance. Thus, whenever there is an attempt to de-territorialize this hegemonic structure, an atmosphere of disdain can, unmistakably, be perceived in various spheres of Indian society. Though this does not always become referential to violence, it calls for our attention to be concerned about the differentiation. Characters like Ama, the grandmother of Charu, are not free from such prejudices as well. Thus, she reveals: "Doesn't care that everyone knows she's carrying on with that boy at Liaquat's medicine shop. He's not just a different caste, no—

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[2] This is not to be confused with Hinduism, which is more of a religious philosophy and practice.

[3] Raj refers to rule. Hence, British Raj refers to British colonial period in India.

he's a *Muslim*' (Roy, 2011, p. 123)! However, it is astonishing to note that this idea of differentiation mixed with detestation is not just limited to this occasion alone. This becomes a heated political subject as characters like Umed Singh utilize it to garner favour in the impending election. Here, he 'is about to muddy the waters- or, more precisely, singe the clean mountain air' (Khair, 2011). Thus, on an occasion, we see that his speech reflects this sentiment: 'Why doesn't the government subsidise pilgrimages to Deo Bhoomi to help the hill economy? These hills are the abode of Hindu gods, and India is the Hindus' last refuge in a new world order dominated by Islamic terrorism and Christian missionaries. There is soft war and there is hard war' (Roy, 2011, p. 229). Clearly reflected in these lines, territorializing the Himalayas and symbolically the entire regions of India with "Hindutva" ideals, Umed Singh here wants to act as a "saviour" where he intentionally ignores many social and environmental problems in India. This is a case of psychological runaway that has been transformed into a question of political compulsion. Additionally, several issues related to Islamic terrorism and Christian missionaries are generalized to the point where they form a misleading portrayal of Muslim and Christian minorities in India, excluding them from the country's diverse cultural landscape.

6. Conclusion

The microcosmic representation of Ranikhet gives us somewhat of a clear cartographic description of the existent political turmoil in India. Although this book contains both individual and collective layers, the individual experiences serve as models for the cultural mapping of India in terms of what is left out and what needs to be added to produce a more varied consciousness of India. As a result, it calls for the elimination of existing disparities that cause differences in acceptability and recognition, and frequently act as barriers to the concept of "unity in diversity". Rosi Braidotti's understanding of the term "difference", pertaining to the posthuman condition, becomes so vital here as she argues that 'difference spells inferiority, it acquires both essentialist and lethal connotations for people who get branded as "others". These are the sexualized, racialized, and naturalized others, who are reduced to the less than human status of disposable bodies' (Braidotti, 2013, p. 15). The inter-religious marriage of the main character, Maya, and her desire for a place where her identity does not become fixed on a single signifier set off the intricacy of the narrative. Diwan Sahib's home becomes a space where the stories of the

past and present intersect. Not only people from India but also from abroad run to this place in quest of supposedly hidden sensitive documents such as letters. The letters, allegedly, contain the exchange of a love affair between Nehru, India's first Prime Minister, and Edwina Mountbatten, the wife of the last Viceroy of colonial India. Diwan Sahib does not want to provide anything since doing so may compromise the integrity of Indian pride. Anuradha Roy's talent in this area lies in diluting history with fiction. Put it in the domain of speculations, nevertheless, this could seriously spark a sentiment of anger, not necessarily because the relationship was illicit, but it was one of those inter-religious, inter-ethnic relationships between two people coming from two very dissimilar backgrounds: one who was active in the anti-colonial movement in support of an independent India, and the other who belonged to the ruling class of colonizers. In this fictional story, Diwan Sahib knows the implication that it could be a queer thing for many people to accept that some spaces go beyond the binary marker of the colonized/colonizer. Thus, Anuradha Roy's engagement with the British Raj brings to light the intriguing tales of India in all of their complexities. The plot, here, 'serves to symbolize India's uneasy passage from tradition to modernity' (Thompson, 2012). In reality, it aptly conveys how Christians hold the status of minorities in India along with other minority groups. Thus, the Himalayan town, with its misty woods and colonial tombs, offers a unique sketch of the cultural geography of India in its totality. Despite the fact that Tabish Khair, as a reviewer, dislikes literary works 'imbued with Raj nostalgia', he claims to have been 'captivated by *The Folded Earth*' (Khair, 2011). The Raj nostalgia in this book, in my opinion, takes an alternative approach to consider how people should be critical of many pressing issues of present day India while also ruminating on the grotesque atrocities of the British colonial past. It is crucial for Indians to think about the increasing destruction of India's natural environment in addition to the political marginalisation of religious minorities and the gendered social exclusion of some individuals. In fact, the exploitation of natural resources and the environment is invariably linked to climate change, which does not exempt 'consequences on agriculture, water resources and exposure to geo-hydrological risk with damages to population and properties' (De Pascale et al., 2020, p.1). In that sense, I believe that Anuradha Roy uses Diwan Sahib as a point of view character to share her anxieties and doubts about the sustainable future of India.

Acknowledgment

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3. Mobility and tourism opportunities in an isolated geographical exclave: the case of Ceuta

Alberto Catania[1]

Abstract

The Spanish city of Ceuta is a peripheral territory with particular geographical peculiarities and at the centre of geopolitical disputes with Morocco. Furthermore, the migratory flows affecting Ceuta exacerbate the tensions that already coexist in the city. If this situation encourages the fortification and closure of the city, its territorial narrowness and its fragile economy require at the same time a certain opening of the border that so works with a selective permeability, affecting the different categories that want to cross it and delineating hierarchies of power on and within the border. However, places with an important tourist potential like Ceuta can exploit this sector for possible socio-economic development. Nevertheless, tourism is not limited to economic effects but in contexts like this it can be an important means to promote a greater dialogue between different communities, to solve geopolitical disputes and to eliminate inequalities in mobility opportunities. This work analyzes the current situation of Ceuta from the geopolitical, economic, social and tourist point of view, starting from its historical causes. It's highlighted how tourism in Ceuta is a sector with an important potential but not sufficiently exploited and how the creation of a joint tourism offer together with the surrounding Moroccan territory can be a means to improve relations between the two countries and the region's communities.

Keywords:
Spain, Morocco, geopolitical dispute, migration, tourism

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1. Introduction

Ceuta is an exclave,[1] under Spanish sovereignty, located on the northern coast of Morocco. Geographically it is a peninsula surrounded on the territorial side by Morocco and on the maritime side by the Mediterranean Sea. It is part of a series of territories in this area occupied over the centuries by Spain and called *plazas de soberanía*: these include some uninhabited or militarized islands and the two cities of Ceuta and Melilla, the two main possessions and the only inhabited by a civilian population (Trinidad, 2012). After the independence of Morocco these territories remained under Spanish sovereignty as they were never included in the Spanish protectorate in the region because they were former possessions that Madrid didn't consider colonies but an integral part of its territory. For this reason they were not involved in the process of decolonization (Ferrer-Gallardo, 2008).

The peculiarity of *plazas de soberanía* is to be the only European territories in Africa. In the unawareness of most Europeans and Spaniards these territories have had and still have today a great importance from a geopolitical point of view but they also have a great cultural relevance since they're a historic bridge between two continents, two geopolitical areas, two religions and two different civilizations, in a region where the two sides of the Mediterranean have a long and deep history of relations and mutual contrasts. As a consequence of their geographical location and their disputed status between Spain and Morocco, which claims their sovereignty, these cities face a series of global problems that make their administration a critical issue: intertwined with the territorial disputes between the two countries there's in fact the phenomenon of irregular migration that affect both Ceuta and Melilla and have led to a fortification of their borders. Nevertheless these borders, as will be seen, operate in a peculiar way by delineating different opening regimes: while Spain wants to counter the arrival of migratory flows in the city, at the same time the fragile economy of Ceuta benefits from a link with the surrounding Moroccan territories.

It's in this context that tourism comes in as a phenomenon that on one hand can help the economic development of Ceuta and the surrounding Moroccan provinces, as well as a possible instrument of dialogue between the two countries and their inhabitants, and on the other hand suffers itself from this tense situation along this border. Many studies have recently pointed out the important contribution of tourism to peace. In 2007 the United Nations

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[1] Vinokurov (2007) refers to Ceuta as exclave or semi-enclave. The definition of enclave, while widely accepted, is not entirely suitable for the city as it refers to territories completely surrounded by another state while a major part of Ceuta's perimeter overlooks the sea.

World Tourism Organization (UNWTO, 2007) recognized «the importance of tourism as a corner stone of pluralism and as an effective way of bridging the divides». In 2016 also the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC, 2016), partenered with the Institute of Economics and Peace (IEP), underlined that «countries with a stronger tourism sector tend to be more peaceful» and that «in non-conflict-affected countries, tourism is resilient to increases in violence and conflict».

2. A strategic territory

2.1 A disputed status

As has been said, the status of these territories is currently disputed between Spain and Morocco. The Spanish interest in maintaining its sovereignty has been historically linked to their importance in exerting influence over the Strait of Gibraltar and as an outpost to defend the southern Spanish coasts. After the completion of the *Reconquista* and the expulsion of the Moors from the Iberian Peninsula, these territories were in fact gradually conquered in order to remove the containment of Islam from the same peninsula (Elliott, 2006). The borders of these territories are part of the *frontera sur*, a concept that has a prominent place in the history and in the Spanish national psychology as a historical belt of containment against Islam. In fact, Spain has often used this border as a glue for its population and a useful tool to build national cohesion in response to external threats, an even more important aspect for a multinational country like Spain (Ferrer-Gallardo, 2008). The secular Spanish membership of these territories, prior to Moroccan independence, the fact of being inhabited by Spaniards, the recognition of Spanish sovereignty by many agreements throughout history and by organizations like the EU make the Spanish position very strong by a juridical point of view. At the same time the Moroccan claims, that are based on the consideration of these territories as colonial vestiges under occupation that violate their territorial integrity and lack continuity with Spanish territory, have a weak legal basis and have received little international support over time, leading the dispute back to a bilateral plan (González Enríquez, 2007). This dispute, although still ongoing, is currently stalled and hardly there will be a change of sovereignty in the future, given the common interest of Spain and Morocco to maintain a good relationship.

Nevertheless, this dossier is characterized by alternating phases linked to the contingent interests of the two countries. On the one hand, as we said,

Ceuta and others *plazas de soberanía* have an important symbolic and geopolitical role: the contrast between the Christian Spanish world and the Islamic civilization has in fact marked the history of Spain by instilling in its society the idea that the main threat for the peninsula comes from its southern borders, an idea exacerbated over time by the disputes with Morocco (Martín-Múñoz, 1994). On the other hand this border also has great importance for Rabat, firstly in its internal politics: Moroccan monarchy, strongly linked to the political system and to the nationalism of colonial era, legitimating instrument of the Crown, has assumed the Moroccan sovereignty of these possessions as a constitutive element, thus making it unthinkable to renounce any claim (Velasco de Castro, 2013). The last decades, however, have added new elements to this dispute.

2.2 The militarization of the border

The European integration of Spain and the establishment of Schengen, between the eighties and nineties, increased the relevance of this border, which became the only true border of Spain. At the same time its transformation into an external border of the EU has meant that Ceuta, like Melilla, has witnessed an increase in the flow of irregular migrants who, attracted by the European membership of the two cities, reach them on their journey to Europe. This specific type of migration, made up mainly of sub-Saharan migrants, together with the increase of controls at the EU's external borders in the peripheral countries after the establishment of Schengen, has led to a progressive fortification of this border to prevent entry into the cities. This fortification consists in the construction of fences along the entire border, the use of new technologies and the strengthening of the Spanish and Moroccan military presence. This border has also taken on a violent character towards migrants, a violence that has been often delegated to the Moroccan forces that, thanks to the emergency perception of the migration dossier, have often implemented actions that derogate from many laws and human rights (Hess & Kasparek, 2019).

However, the militarization of the border, having not affected the underlying reasons of these migratory flows, didn't stop them but instead led to a greater sophistication of the crossing attempts, many of which are still successful (Fig. 1). Nevertheless, the increased centrality of the migration issue within Europe, linked to an emergency and alarmist narrative, has enabled Madrid to raise this issue at Community level by ensuring that the EU helped economically to fortify this border (Sagnella, 2021).
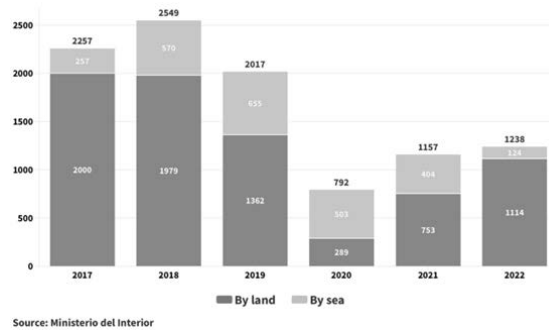
Figure 1 – Number of illegal immigrants who managed to enter Ceuta. Source: Ministerio del Interior

2.3 Migration as a weapon

The issue of irregular migration towards the border of Ceuta has acquired over time an increasingly important role for the strategic importance of these territories from a geopolitical point of view and for the city itself. In fact, Morocco has tried to capitalize on its strategic geographical position as a hub of migratory flows directed to Europe by being invested in the role of gendarme of the European borders in exchange for economic aids. Rabat has thus acquired a new weapon for geopolitical blackmail towards Spain and the EU using this situation to increase its negotiating power, exchanging the outsourcing of migration management, an issue that has become central in the relationship between the EU and its neighbours, as in the case of Turkey (Cuttitta, 2020), with a stronger support from Madrid and Brussels. Morocco has thus earned economic and political benefits for its role as a border police and the migration dossier allows the country to put pressure on Spain and the EU, for example by relaxing its control over migratory flows (McKenna, 2022).

The blackmailing use of migration and the domestic political benefits of this geopolitical dispute, combined with the need to maintain good relations with Spain and the EU for economic reasons, means that Morocco alternates periods of stronger collaboration with Madrid and Brussels with periods of greater tension. Over time, Rabat has thus taken a generally soft approach to its demands, alternating however with the opening of limited crises when the use of migration as a means of pressure has helped Morocco to obtain international support on various issues. And it was not by chance that two of the major crises of the new millennium occurred near the Moroccan national elections: the Perejil's one, when in July 2002 this small uninhabited Spanish island, part of the *plazas de soberanía*, was briefly occupied by Moroccan

soldiers (Trinidad 2012), and the 2021's one when the relaxation of the control on these borders led thousands of migrants to storm the fences of Ceuta (McKenna, 2022).

At the same time migration is an important instrument in the hands of Madrid. While Spain has an interest in maintaining its sovereignty over Ceuta as the first barrier to prevent the arrival of migratory flows in the Schengen area, filtering them before the Iberian Peninsula (Johnson and Jones, 2016), on the other hand it benefits somewhat from this migration thanks to the geopolitical rent resulting from being a peripheral state of the EU. Madrid has in fact put pressure within the EU, relying on the existence of a threat from the southern shore of the Mediterranean, to gain benefits and to signal the need to invest resources in the development of this area. At the same time Spain has become a spokesman for the granting to Rabat of an advanced status in its role of associate member of the EU, involving Brussels for economic support and to increase its negotiating power with Rabat (Sueiro Seoane, 2003; Cherkasova, 2017).

3. The situation in Ceuta

The compresence of global phenomena like a historical geopolitical dispute and migratory flows in a small area like Ceuta increases the state of tension already present because of the existence of internal cleavages.

3.1 A multicultural city

The history of Ceuta, thanks to its peculiar geographical location, has outlined a multicultural society, a character that has become increasingly marked in recent decades. Today Ceuta presents a linguistic-cultural interpenetration that is substantiated in the presence of different languages and religions, whose respective weight has varied over time along with the military and demographic dynamics (Sagnella, 2021). However, this multiculturalism presents within itself cultural and economic-social cleavages that are substantiated in hierarchies of power between the different communities, thus influencing their daily interactions (Albuquerque, 2018). First of all Ceuta is a multilingual city in which however the political-social dynamics make Castilian rise to a hegemonic status, identifying it as the language of the socio-economic success while other languages (such as Darja) are ostracized because they're considered dangerous for national cohesion despite being commonly

used. Overall, the city has four main groups of different religions, an element that has always served as a means of identification (González Enríquez, 2007): while the Jewish and Hindu communities are smaller, it's especially between Catholics and Muslims that religious diversity is substantiated. In fact, the Spanish-speaking (of Iberian origin) and Catholic community is the dominant one in Ceuta from a socio-political point of view, although there's also a Muslim Spanish community, usually of acquired nationality (Tarrés, 2013). Therefore, people unrelated to the Spanish and Christian component suffer from the rejection and distrust of this community, being identified as dangerous for national cohesion (Fernández García, 2016). This feeling is exacerbated by the growing demographic pressure exerted by the neighboring Moroccan territories which, also thanks to the higher birth rate of the population of Moroccan origin, it's increasingly dissolving the previous Christian predominance in Ceuta (Fernández García, 2020). This has led to growing concern in the Spanish and Christian community about the future Spanish sovereignty over these territories, increasing in this way an ethnic conflict that has led to urban and social segregation and to the growing demand for cultural rights by the minorities, also because of the fragile economic system that hinders the social mobility and the integration of the community of Moroccan origin, thus increasing this state of tension (González Enríquez, 2007).

3.2 A fragile economy

It's precisely the economic sphere that is decisive in the current developments in the city. Ceuta has worse economic data than the rest of Spain, a low standard of living and suffers from considerable fragility due to the territorial narrowness that makes the primary and secondary sectors residual, making the economy concentrated in the tertiary sector[1] and highly dependent on state support (Cherkasova, 2017).

This economic fragility has made necessary over time a close relationship with the surrounding Moroccan territories along a border that from the socio-economic point of view is one of the most unequal in the world. This inequality, combined with the special tax regime of the two cities, has encouraged the development of a cross-border economy, partly legal and partly illegal, which provides a living to many people on both sides of the fences and has led to a permeability of this border for the citizens of the surrounding Moroccan province who can enter the city without a visa, unlike the other Moroccan inhabitants (Buoli, 2014; Fernández García, 2020). Thus, many

[1] In 2022 the tertiary sector employed almost 97% of Ceuta workers (Instituto Nacional de Estadística).

cross-border workers from Morocco come every day to the city for work, in the formal and informal economy; a migration that is fuelled by the existence of a demand for cheap labour (de Haas & Vezzoli, 2010; Sagnella, 2021).

The economic differences between Ceuta and the surrounding Moroccan territory, the differences in prices and in the availability of goods on their respective markets have also developed another form of economy represented by the so-called *porteadores*, thousands of people crossing the border several times a day carrying goods purchased in Ceuta to sell them in Morocco (Sagnella, 2021).

Informal cross-border trade, as well as cross-border work, represent an important economic contribution both for Ceuta and for the surrounding Moroccan territory (Buoli, 2014; Sagnella, 2021). As a result, the fragile economy of Ceuta, both emerged and submerged, is very linked to immigration and economically dependent on the surrounding Moroccan territory and this has led to a certain permeability of the border (Fernández García, 2020). So, while the official narrative reaffirms the goal of controlling the border and migratory flows, especially irregular ones, on the other hand there is the economic and political interest in tolerating a certain type of migration (de Haas & Vezzoli, 2010). The consequence is that the border of Ceuta discriminates between different types of migration: while the daily movement of cross-border workers and *porteadores* is tolerated and actually encouraged by the economic needs of the territories of both countries, the functionary of this border towards the irregular migration flow, mainly of sub-Saharan origin, is different (Sagnella, 2021). This selective permeability of the border is also transferred within the city where it's added to the existing inequality between the different housing communities. There's here a different perception of foreigners: while Moroccan immigration isn't widely considered as such, since cross-border workers often have a close relationship with the inhabitants of Ceuta, this is not the case for irregular migrants whose presence, although smaller, is considered a major problem (Saceda Montesinos, 2016).

In Ceuta, therefore, the picture outlined is of a considerable political tension between Spain and Morocco that is reflected in a tension also within the exclave about the future of the same. In turn, the border, which is very discriminatory towards irregular migration flows, has a certain openness towards the flows of cross-border workers and Moroccan *porteadores* who interact every day with the inhabitants of the city in a dialogue that, although difficult, is made necessary by the economic situation.

4. Tourism as a means of development and cooperation

The difficult economic situation in Ceuta has meant that many hopes have been placed in tourism, a key sector for a possible economic development of the city (Cordón Pozo & Martín Segura, 2016). As we have seen, the economy of Ceuta is remarkably fragile, dependent mainly on services and part of it has been based on the lack of competition due to the small opening of this market, making the city a virtual monopoly. However, the progressive reduction of duties between Morocco and the EU has endangered the economy of Ceuta whose development depends partly on commercial activity and partly on a possible implementation of tourism (Bascón Jiménez et al., 2016).

4.1 Ceuta and northern Morocco: an unexpressed tourist potential

Ceuta has a strong tourist potential resulting from the presence of a diverse cultural landscape, characterized by the fusion of Arab and European elements and thus creating a unique cultural mix in a restricted territory (Poulaki et al., 2020). However, this cultural richness has not yet been properly exploited: tourism in Ceuta hasn't yet registered a great growth like the rest of Spain (Tab. 1) and there's therefore in Ceuta the prospect of a possible decrease in commercial tourism. Nevertheless, the presence of cultural tourism potential that have not yet been exploited is a valuable asset.

	Visitors		International visitors (in %)	
	Ceuta	Spain	Ceuta	Spain
2012	73.980	82.962.481	29,5	48,1
2013	73.995	83.820.919	34,9	49,2
2014	68.009	87.814.529	35,5	49,1
2015	75.843	93.216.968	36,7	49,0
2016	75.330	99.840.032	33,1	50,4
2017	77.511	103.804.067	37,2	51,4
2018	76.246	105.311.465	36,8	51,4
2019	76.339	108.716.047	39,4	51,5
2020	25.749	34.589.071	22,8	31,5
2021	39.233	60.724.132	6,9	33,7
2022	61.282	102.656.430	22,0	48,2

Table 1 – Tourism performance in Ceuta and Spain (2012-2022). Source: Ministerio de Industria, Comercio y Turismo

For example, the study by Cordón Pozo and Martín Segura (2016) highlighted that the cultural offer and the historical heritage of the city are among the aspects of Ceuta positively evaluated by Moroccan tourists. At the same time, the surrounding Moroccan region enjoys, for the same reasons as Ceuta, a remarkable internal diversity and an important historical-cultural heritage, thanks to a mixture of ancient Muslim and Spanish style, heritage of the protectorate, in a balance between tradition and modernity. The northern coast of Morocco has so recently established itself as one of the emerging tourist areas of the Mediterranean and Morocco has invested in the sector, also trying to attract foreign investments, as an important driver of development of this area that has recorded economic growth (Araque Jiménez, 2013; Bascón Jiménez et al., 2016; Giblin 2013).

This region, both the Moroccan area and the city of Ceuta, thus has an unexpressed tourist potential, presenting the prerequisites for a possible development of the sector mainly thanks to the particular diversity of cultural heritage. The study by Cordón Pozo and Martín Segura (2016) on Ceuta highlighted the need, in order to increase the tourist activity, to create a tourist product different from that typical of the Spanish coasts linked to the sun and the sea and that fits into the change of economic model that is being prefigured, linked to the possible sunset of Ceuta as a shopping city. At the same time the unexpressed potential of cultural tourism in northern Morocco, the importance of the economic relationship between the two territories and the territorial narrowness of Ceuta create the conditions for the creation of a unique tourist offer that would benefit both the Spanish city and the north of the Moroccan country.

4.2 The obstacle of tensions between the two countries

Nevertheless, this situation is hampered by the historical political and social tension between the two countries, which has different consequences on the possible implementation of the tourist offer in both territories.

Firstly, the tourist development of the area, and therefore also the economic one, depends on the accessibility of these territories. This factor is particularly critical in the case of contexts such as exclaves where there's a geographical isolation that is added to possible contrasts and political tensions that can act as an obstacle to movements along the borders. This means that transport infrastructure, which is necessary but not sufficient for the development of tourism, is often hampered. This is precisely the case of Ceuta, whose peripheral situation is also a problem in terms of infrastructure. In the case of

isolated locations such as Ceuta, air transport is usually the most suitable way to ensure accessibility; however, the exclave does not have its own airport and must rely on one of the four airports in the area. Two of these are located on the southern coast of the Iberian Peninsula and represent the only way to travel to and from Ceuta avoiding Moroccan territory: these are the airports of Jerez (XRY) and Malaga (AGP). However, travelling from these airports is a complex and expensive journey, involving the use of a ferry and another means of transport once on the Iberian coast. The most convenient way would be to use the two Moroccan airports, more accessible: Tetouan (TTU), closer but with a more limited route network, or Tangier (TNG), more distant but with a wider network. However, such a solution implies crossing the border between Ceuta and Morocco, which may compromise the journey to or from Ceuta due to the border crossing procedures and political factors between the two countries. That's an element that also hampers international tourism, which in fact is far less important in Ceuta (Tab. 1) (Poulaki et al., 2020).

The studies of Papathedorou and Poulaki (2016) and Poulaki et al. (2020) are interesting in this regard because they investigated, among the tourist and transport stakeholders of Ceuta and among the inhabitants of the city, the dynamics that lead to the choice of the airport for the journey. The results showed first of all the clear need for mobility to and from the city, both for commercial and recreational reasons and therefore also linked to tourism. As regards the choice of airport, the cost was the main variable but not the only one. Among those who prefer to travel from Spanish airports, thus avoiding the Moroccan territory, are especially the procedures of crossing the border, a factor reported by the majority of respondents, and ethical reasons to have determined the choice. The unwillingness to cross Moroccan territory, stressing the concern about the negativity or even the hostility of part of the region's population linked to the long conflict between the two countries, has proved important in the choice of the airport, especially in the older group and in the civil servants of the city, usually belonging to the Spanish and Catholic community, while it was less important in the younger group, higher educated and more open-minded. The studies finally showed that those who have a negative idea of Morocco are willing to face more costs and time to not cross the Moroccan territory.

Poulaki et al. (2020) also showed that the lack of an adequate transport service connecting Ceuta to Tangier airport was a problem reported by many. In particular, more than half of the respondents highlighted how they would have preferred to use Tangier Airport if ideal conditions existed, such as an easy crossing of the border and the existence of an adequate connecting service,

demonstrating that a better accessibility of Ceuta from Morocco would have positive consequences for the movement and tourism to and from the city.

These studies have therefore shown first of all that the choice of the airport is influenced by the perception of the border and the surrounding country, highlighting the relevant political tension between the two actors in cross-border movements. At the same time they showed how a greater ease in crossing the border and better infrastructure connections between Ceuta and the Moroccan territory could lead to a lesser relevance of political geography, and therefore of geopolitical disputes, and a primacy of the physical geography, increasing the relevance of the variable of geographical proximity of Moroccan airports. Better accessibility of the exclave could benefit both those traveling from Ceuta and those who are directed there, thus promoting the tourist development of the city and bringing economic benefits both in Ceuta and the surrounding Moroccan provinces, by opening more possibilities for the creation of a single tourist product. An increased cross-border relationship and greater synergies in terms of tourist offer between Ceuta and the neighboring Moroccan provinces can in turn create political pressure on the two countries for a progressive loosening of the border (Poulaki et al., 2020).

Conclusions

Ceuta is a particular territory from the geopolitical, social and cultural point of view. In this city historical events, the disputes between Spain and Morocco and the socio-demographic dynamics have given rise to a multicultural society in which, however, there are significant cleavages that have outlined a tense situation, increased by the growth of irregular migration flows that have promoted the fortification and militarization of the border. Nevertheless, the tension between the different communities and the fortification of the border to prevent the entry of irregular migrants coexists with the economic needs of both Ceuta and the surrounding Moroccan territory in maintaining an economic interdependence thus leading to a selective permeability of the border and a hierarchy of powers within the city.

Ceuta's fragile economy has at the same time made tourism a possible driver of economic development, favored by the cultural heritage of the city and of the surrounding Moroccan territories. However, tourism in Ceuta has not yet registered a great growth, suffering from the political tensions between the two countries. In fact, it is often small places that suffer most from the contrasts between political entities. The existence and perception of political,

cultural and linguistic borders can discourage mobility and tourism, as has happened in Ceuta so far. At the same time it's important to counteract negative perceptions about borders and tourism can play a key role in this process (Papathedorou & Poulaki, 2016; Poulaki et al., 2020). As Vietti (2019) has shown by studying the case of Lesbos, a Greek island affected by migratory flows from the Turkish coast in front of it, the political boundaries replicate within the space itself, in our case in the space of the exclave: in Lesbos, as well as in Ceuta, tourists and migrants have a different right of access and also of movement within it. However, in this geographical area migrants, tourists and locals live together, creating interesting practices of interaction and cooperation: thus tourism, which is a complex phenomenon, has the ability to determine a profound effect that isn't limited to the economic, nevertheless relevant, but also extends to the promotion of greater dialogue between different communities by promoting intercultural exchange, the removal of barriers and the promotion of human rights. Therefore, the possibility of coexistence of tourism and migratory phenomena is also demonstrated by the case of the Italian island of Lampedusa: this island has become, like Ceuta, a hub of great importance for migratory flows from Africa but this has not prevented the growth of tourism in the last two decades when the passengers arriving at the island's airport have doubled (ENAC, 2022) despite Lampedusa has often faced periods of major emergency.

Considering how the geopolitical dispute between Spain and Morocco is certainly historic but not so strong, given also the common interest in having important reciprocal relations, and given that the situation of the flows in Ceuta has often been less emergency than in Lampedusa, a greater cooperation between the two countries is possible, then leading to a single tourist offer. In the case of Ceuta tourism represents in fact a great opportunity for development of the city and the Moroccan territory, exploiting the strong tourist potential present and encouraging the existing link between the two territories, promoting a development in the transport sector that has proved necessary and potentially decisive. Cooperation of this kind can create a unique tourist product between Ceuta and the Moroccan territory, taking advantage of the historical and cultural mixture that unites the whole area. It became clear that tourism, which for its characteristics implies the collaboration of different actors on the territory and has as its objective the encounter with the other, needs here a strong cooperation between the two countries and a greater opening of the border (Bettoni, 2013). Nevertheless, a better link between north of Marocco and Ceuta and a more lascivious and less militarized border also have the potential to promote greater dialogue between the respective

communities and it's a precondition for better cooperation, bringing a wide-spread benefit to the population of both sides of the fences but would also affect irregular migrants leading to a reduction in the violence of this border towards this migration component.

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2
Sustainable Management of Touristic Resources

4. From local owners to international hotel groups: the transformation of the hotel industry in Sóller (Mallorca) from 1950 to 2022

Antoni Quetglas[1], Joan Rossellò Geli[2]

Abstract

The research focus on the evolution of the hotels ownership on a coastal municipality located in NW Mallorca. The city of Sóller welcomed tourist as early as the 1930's but the largest increase of the hotel trade arrived in the second half of the 20th century. Initially, hotels were locally owned and offered basic services, which were focused on families looking for a "sun and beach" offer. Since the arrival of the 21st century, there has been a change on ownership and international companies own nowadays a large number of hotels. Furthermore, the quality of the lodging has increased towards luxury thus increasing the cost of stay and changing the kind of tourist attracted, which is not only looking for sun and beaches but for other interests, like culture or gastronomy.

The chapter will present how those changes have shaped the current hotel industry in the area and how such modifications have had social and economic effects too.

Keywords:
20th-21st centuries, local owners, hotel industry, Mallorca, tourism

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1. Introduction

The definition of tourism is not easy. According to the United Nations World Tourism Organization (2008), tourism is "a social, cultural and economic phenomenon which entrails the movement of people to countries or places outside their usual environment for personal or professional purposes". Another option defines tourism as "the act and process of spending time away from home in pursuit of recreation, relaxation, and pleasure, while making use of the commercial provision of services." (Walton, 2022).

Nowadays a global phenomenon, tourism activities can be related to the Classical period when wealthy population travelled for leisure (Gyr, 2010). After the middle Ages, a precursor of modern tourism appeared with the Grand Tours but it was during the 19th century when tourism became an activity to demonstrate power and money, thus being only available for nobility and upper middle classes. Mass tourism started during the 20th century and was widely available after World War II.

Tourism is a term that encompasses a wide range of activities and occupations, including the concept of hospitality, closely related to the concept of travelling.. The word derives from Latin and it means "providing lodging for a visitor". A modern definition of hospitality is "the business of helping people to feel welcome and relaxed and to enjoy themselves (Westcott & Anderson, 2020). Whilst in the past accommodation and food were provided in private homes, monasteries and guest houses, the concept of hotel to lodge clients appears during the 18th century, alongside the development of traveling technical advances and the return of the leisure voyages. Inns to accommodate travellers were regulated by laws in England so they should be registered and keep a guest register (Tourism Teacher, 2022). During the 19th and 20th century, as holidays and leisure travel became common, the number of hotels increased and different types of hotels existed to accommodate different kinds of tourism. International chains appeared during the 1920s when corporate ownership models substituted individual owners as a result of the increasing cost to run the business but its main grow started after 1945, the result being that, at the end of the 20th century, the main hotel chains controlled 75% of the large hotels worldwide (Salvioni, 2015).

The development of larger hotel chains is linked to the globalised product they offer. Hotels are by nature an international product and the saturation of domestic markets led to the exploitation of new ones, commonly located in developing countries (Breda et al, 2020).

Spain was no stranger to the tourism development. During the 19th centu-

ry, travellers arrived to the country even if a limited integration to the international tourism flow existed then (Vallejo Pousada et al, 2018). It is in the 1960's when Spain fully embraces the tourism industry. If at the start of the 20th century, the country had small numbers of an elite tourism, from 1960 onwards Spain consolidates its position among the world's leading tourist destinations (Vallejo Pousada, 2002). One of the main reasons is politically related; the country needed the foreign currency brought in by visitors and the national authorities allowed a large development of an industry based on a sun and beach offer even if it means a change on the quality of the arrivals, who were searching for cheaper destinations like Spain. In the 1980's the model of sun and beach tourism reaches its peak and consolidates as the main offer linked to new marketing policies to attract foreign visitors but to improve the national tourism as well (Vizcaino, 2015). From the end of the 20th century to our days, new tourism activities became available in Spain, such as cultural tourism, rural tourism or culinary tours with the aim to diversifying the national tourist offer.

In Mallorca, the first hotels appear around 1900. The offer of sun, sea and beach was paramount as is today and establishments devoted to rest and recreation are built in coastal areas of the island. In 1905, the Fomento del Turismo society is founded and an intense activity started, to convert Mallorca into a tourism mecca. During the 1930's a large number of hotels are opened in areas like Pollença, Alcúdia, Andratx, Calvià and Sóller, reaching 3317 beds in 1933 and a total of 30000 tourists. After the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and the Second World War, the mass tourism arrival starts, multiplying the number of beds and amount of visitors, almost 4 million in 1973 (Salvà, 1985). Despite some crisis, the same model exists today even if large changes have affected the tourism industry, such as the arrival of online platforms, the increase of rental lodgements and, recently, the apparition of investment funds that are buying establishments from national chains and from family owners. Such sales are often related to the need to improve the profit accounts, selling properties affected by losses after the COVID pandemic and previous crisis periods. Another factor leading to the sale of family owned hotels is the lack of generational replacement.

The objective of the research herein presented is to study the hotel ownership evolution and change in a tourism-related town in Mallorca to ascertain if the global growth of corporate hotel chains has also affected the area. The methodology uses historical data from archives, both from private business and public administrations, to gather information about the evolution of the industry and the main causes of changing ownership.

The chapter is structured as follows: first a description of the research area, followed by an overview of the historical activities related to the tourism industry. A third part is devoted to the current situation of the hotel activity including a section that presents the evolution of both the hotel plant and the ownership model as well as the changes on the type of tourist arriving to Sóller.

2. Research area

The municipality of Sóller lies within the Tramuntana mountain range, in Northwestern Mallorca (Figure 1).

The town is located on a valley, surrounded by mountains of medium and high altitude, one of them the highest peak of the island at 1453 meters above sea level. Such locations is important regarding tourism as a large number of hiking routes start or end in Sóller. Regarding the climate, the area belongs to the Mediterranean temperate variety, with hot summers and mild winters and an average of 779.4 mm of rain a year (Rosselló, 2015).

Figure 1. Location of Sóller within the island of Mallorca.

Also of paramount importance is the location of the municipality along the western coast. There is the lone large bay of that coast, thus allowing the existence of a harbor with capacity for small to medium size ships. Furthermore, the bay has a large beach, formerly made with pebbles and nowadays sandy, as tons of sand were dumped to create comfortable spaces for tourists. The harbor was intensively used during the 19th and first decades of the 20th century as a commercial port, linking Sóller to the south of France and mainland Spain, with an important traffic of citrus fruits and other goods like olive oil (Figure 2). In that sense, for centuries, the main economic activity of the area was agriculture and the resulting export of products.

Figure 2. The port de Sóller at the start of the 20th century. Source: Fotos antigues de Mallorca.

The agricultural activity was heavily related to the large amount of springs located in the valley, which allowed an important development of orchards and fruit trees. An outstanding drainage system, originally related to Arab times, offers the opportunity to cultivate large tracts of land, which would otherwise be useless for agricultural purposes (Carbonero, 1986).

At the start of the 19th century, Sóller main source of wealth was the agricultural sector as well as the orange trade and an artisanal cotton industry. This model was affected by a mid-century crisis that forced to migrate a large number of population, towards zones of Central America and France. Such process laid the foundation of the reconversion of the local economy as the reinvestment of the capitals arriving from abroad once the migrants returned, at the end of the century, allowed the creation of industrial enterprises (factories, railway, gas and electricity), banks and commerce. The society was transformed from a rural one to a bourgeois and advanced society, that saw the tourism as another way to gain money.

3. Historical evolution of tourism in Sóller

By the early 20th century, the city of Sóller was ready to develop the tourism sector. Along with Palma and Pollença, Sóller was a pioneer in the development of an early passenger industry (Cirer, 2009). The causes of this rapid tourism progress were:

- The idyllic image that had been formed of Sóller, mostly from the writings of romantic travellers of the 19th century. This made the visit to the Valley particularly attractive.

- The marked improvement of transport lines and services.

- The existence of awareness among local entrepreneurs and notables of the potential the tourist industry could have for the town.

- The investment of capital in services-related businesses, such as restaurants and inns.

- The expansion of the French language due to the huge emigration to that country.

-The municipality had elements that favoured the arrival of visitors that were becoming fashionable across Europe, such as trails for hiking and a beach for bathing. All of these favoured the arrival of new waves of travellers, artists, tourists and scientists.

A major milestone for the tourist development of the town was the 1903 inauguration of the Grand Hotel Marina. The hotel had all the comforts and luxuries available: elevator (it was the second one to be installed in Balearics), billiard room, gardens, restroom and dining room, and a revealing picture room. The interiors were decorated with polychrome tiles of modernist style.

Another major driver of tourism was the *Ferrocarril de Sóller* company, as from the 1920s the railway boosted this new economic activity. Practically from the start of its operation, travels that combined rail and automobile started. Passengers arrived from Palma by train to Sóller and others by car from Valldemossa and Deià; on the return, the groups were exchanged and the journey reversed. These excursions were combined with boat visits to sa Calobra and Tuent. Related to the railway line, a new hotel establishment, the Grand Hotel Ferrocarril, was inaugurated in 1912. Thus, during the 1920s and 1930s, the town hosted the first tourist waves driven from the Railway of Sóller and the Promotion of Tourism. They were no longer sporadic travellers or small groups with scientific objectives, but more or less numerous groups, coordinated by various entities in order to come to the Valley to meet and enjoy the services offered. Visitors were mainly of French, German and English nationality; with the English arriving through Thomas Cook, the first travel agency working in Mallorca.

By the late 1920s, tourism was already rooted in the local economy. The increase in visitors led to the opening of new premises to accommodate them. The 1929 crisis also affected all productive sectors. A way out of the crisis was to support the tourism sector improving the offered services (Pérez, 2015). During these years, several hotels opened: Costa Brava (1929), Marina (1930), Costa d'Or (1933), Denis (1934) and Terramar (1934). Complementing the accommodation offer, there were the Hotels Ferrocarril and Marisol and the inns La Marina, El Guía, La Palmesana, Miramar, Las Delicias and

Sonnenhof. Among them were more than 150 beds, one of the largest number in the Balearic Islands.

The outbreak of the Spanish Civil War on 18 July 1936 broke this growing dynamic of the tourism sector. The war resulted in the closure of many of the establishments opened in the preceding years while some were expropriated by the military (Quetglas, 2012) Towards the end of the 1940s, the city experienced a major change in the tourism sector. There was a consensus that the economic dynamism should be restored, that tourism industry was key for the recovery and that a number of factors could help largely change the local economy.

These factors were:

- Nationally, the end of economic autarchy, with the change made by the regime to legitimize itself internationally.

- Within Mallorca, harbour infrastructure was improved and Palma Airport was created (1939).

- The end of international isolation led to the arrival of foreign agents representing charter and holiday companies, which were searching in Majorca a relatively untouched lands with competitive prices. This paralleled the liberalisation of air transport in several European countries and the creation of the first charter airline companies.

- From various tourist promotion institutions, notably the Promotion of Tourism, campaigns were promoted, prompting the arrival of visitors.

- At European level, there was also a progressive rise in the standard of living of the societies of the central and northern part of the continent, allowing their citizens to have free paid holidays and time for leisure activities.

- There was a shift of capitals from the industry to the tourism sector. This resulted on an increase of the available workforce, thanks to the gradual closure of textile factories and a major migration movement from the peninsula towards the island.

- The aforementioned changes led to an increase of improvements. In the late 1940s, new hotels (Costa Brava, Marbell, Espléndido, etc.) were built and existing ones (Marina) were expanded.

In this context, 1951 saw the true change in the area when tourists from *Club Les Hirondelles*, from Belgium, began to arrive. In the first year, more than a thousand tourists arrived to Sóller, in groups of 70–100 people. Not only did visitors of a family type come, but also university students. Tourists began coming in April and the last groups returned to September.

Those holidays were organized directly from their place of origin, with the club responsible for all the procedures. However, after 1955, the obligation

to manage travel was established through a Spanish agency. In this way, a delegation from the agency Consignaciones y Representaciones Aéreas S.A. (CYRASA) emerged in Sóller, which was responsible for managing the arrival of these new visitors, organising excursions and visits outside Mallorca.

The first to arrive in the Valley were accommodated in the already existing establishments, but due to the high demand, some visitors had to be moved to private houses, which were enabled to accommodate them. These houses were known as "Appendes" and each hotel had its own. Normally, there the clients could only sleep but not eat and they had to move to the hotels restaurants.

From 1953, from the same Belgian club, traveling parties were organized from the delegations that were held in other countries, and the arrival of groups of other nationalities began. In August 1953 a new group of tourists arrived and was composed by Germans, English, Luxembourgers, Dutch, French and Belgians.

In 1954, groups of German origin began to arrive through agencies such as Aeropa (Hamburg) or Transeuropa (Munich). These German agencies organized several visits to Majorca by journalists and travel house owners to know the island and Sóller was among the places they visited.

In those years, the model of management of the solleric hotels was established. They were family-run companies, both in terms of their creation and their management, based on exclusively local capital. Another trend was the strong conjunction between the places offered and those demanded by travel agencies, since there was a direct relationship with no intermediaries. In addition to the existing hotels – which were expanded at the same time –such as Marbell, Espléndido, Costa Brava and Marina, between the 1950s and 1960s, new ones were to be inaugurated, those being Chez Generoso, Rome, Edén, Es Port, Miramar, Brisas and Mare Nostrum, largely located in the seaside area (Table 1).

Comparative table of tourist services in Sóller from 1948 to 1958		
	1948	1958
Population	10.332	9.822
Municipal budget (pesetas)	731.724,86	2.481.868,63
Hotels	8	25
Number of hotel rooms	85	548
Bars and similar	24	48
Souvenir shops	8	24
Discotheque	0	6

Table 1. Tourist services between 1948 and 1958.

The 1960s represented the start of mass tourism. The increase in the number of visitors came along the so-called "construction boom". This rate of expansion continued to rise until the 1973 oil crisis, which, among other consequences, caused a sudden slowdown of the global economy.

In the 1960s, new elements appeared, particularly in terms of the rate of arrival of tourists, with the entry into operation of the charter flights and tour operators. This, even if it led to a significant increase in the number of visitors, did not alter the model of management of solleric hotels, which retained the family character. However, the qualitative change of new tourists was noted. It moved from a relatively minority and quality tourism of the 1950s, with a strong purchasing power, to become cheaper and more massive tourism, consisting mainly of people from the working classes of Western Europe.

It should be noted that tourists, especially those from Belgium, the Netherlands, France and England, showed a strong sense of fidelity towards Sóller hotels. There were families or couples that repeated year in year out in the same establishment and often occupying the same room.

Regarding official policies, the Sun and Beach offer was generalized and promoted, as in the rest of the island, accompanied by other services that were only intended to satisfy visitors' leisure moments. This also meant that the season focused on the good weather months, which ran from Abril and May until September and, sometimes, October. The offer was mostly full pension, but half pension was also a possibility. There was also some complicity among local hoteliers, particularly when there was an excess of clients, causing the so-called overbooking. It was usual among them to help with offering rooms if they were available in other establishments.

The increase in tourism led to a sharp increase in construction and urbanism, especially in the surrounding areas on the beach and the Port. This boosted several housing developments, which were intended to serve as the second residence or temporary residence of tourists with the most purchasing power (Bisson, 1977). Although the Port of Sóller remained relatively untouched by the mass construction that affected other coastal locations on the island, the number of hotel buildings continued to increase. Due to the lack of available land on the first line of the sea, hotels began to be built in the new housing developments that arose at that time. The last ones built on the first line of the boardwalk were the Bahía Hotel (1962) and the Ladan Hotel (1966). In that sense, buildings were built in different locations near the Port, such as the Atalaya Hotel, the Rocamar Hotel, the Monte Azul Hotel (1966) and the Porto Sóller Hotel (1970). From this period was the project of the

"Mini-Rancho" (1969), an American-style bungalows complex for visitors. In 1966, appeared the residence called "Les Belles Etapes", promoted by the Frenchman Marcel Maillot, which lately became a house of colonies for young people.

In 1964, there were 2,043 beds and 39 tourist accommodation establishments in Sóller, 79.5% of whose seats were located in Port de Sóller (Table 2).

At the time, this municipality was the third in Majorca in terms of number of tourist beds, just behind Calvià, which tripled the solleric offer (Murray Mas, 2012).

Accommodation capacity in hosting establishments in Sóller, 1964			
Zone	Hotels	Places	Places/Hotels
Sóller	15	419	28
Port of Sóller	24	1.624	68
Total	39	2.043	52

Table 2. The hotel industry in 1964.

Alongside this expansion, there was also important activity in the creation of new infrastructure. The two most important were the construction of the road from Sóller to Lluc between 1959 and 1962 and the improvement of the road to the Port between 1961 and 1962. Both served to facilitate the access by car and coach to the valley, thus increasing the capability to receive visitors from other areas of the island.

The Oil Crisis of the early 1970s caused a major recession in Mallorca's tourism sector, although locally, Sóller endured a little better recession, thanks to its family tourism model and the consolidation of the hotel plant. Thus, the tourist seasons of these years were not as disastrous as expected. Most of the customers in the tourist establishments were French, Belgian, Danish, English and German, i.e. from countries traditionally related to the area.

However, a combination of the crisis effects, the impositions from tour-operators, the abuse of the overbooking practices and the pressure from large hotel chains led, to the closure of small, low-capacity establishments. On the other hand, the remaining hotels had to increase the number of rooms and beds, adapting to the "mass tourism" offer. In 1973, Sóller counted approximately 3,237 tourist accommodation places, having grown in previous years but with a lower intensity than the rest of the island – for example in Sóller

between 1964 and 1973 the number of places increased by 58.4% while in Muro the growth was 16,286.6% (Murray Mas, 2012).

In the 1970s, tourists wanted large hotels and smaller establishments – common within Sóller –were forced to operate only with one travel agency, which took advantage of this situation and imposed very tight prices and services thus leading to a decrease of the quality for tourists – which resulted in hotels having few benefits. The imposition of this model meant that Sóller could not compete with other areas of the island such as S'Arenal, Can Picafort, or Cala Ratjada, which had been organized to absorb huge numbers of tourists and possessed more modern infrastructures, built entirely for this concept of tourism. The hotel industry in Sóller was unable to compete thus it was used primarily as an alternative area that absorbed tourist surpluses from the areas above mentioned. According to the Plan of Tourism Offer of Mallorca, commissioned by the Ministry of Commerce and Tourism, one of the problems of the area was the lack of high-ranking establishments, with a large number of hotels of one star and, above all, hostels. However, this favoured not being considered a tourist saturated area.

From the end of the 1970s but especially during the 1980s, there was a strong decision to enlarge the tourist season. In that sense, the arrival of elderly associations, mainly from France, during the winter allowed opening some hotels during December and January. Another important milestone was the offer made to German Hiking Groups from some local owners, who travelled to Germany to show the trails of the area and the possibilities they offered. Should contacts allowed to start the season by mid-February and enlarge it towards the end of October. During that decade, it must be noted that little was invested to modernize the establishments, resulting in old and obsolete buildings in relation with the new demands of the clients. The fidelity of family-oriented visitors, searching for tranquillity and a known landscape, helped to maintain the tourist sector, even if the decline was clear and in the mid-1980s, the sector capacity was reduced to 2798 beds. During the 1980s, around 10 establishments were closed, among hotels and hostels, of which three were located in Sóller and seven in Port.

By the 1990s, the decline of the local offer was evident and between 1988 and 1994, Sóller lost 21% of tourist places. The need to invest and reform hotels was evident and several hotels were closed forever, becoming flats (Murray Mas, 2012). By 1994, only 10 hotels remained on business in the municipality.

By the end of the 1990s, a change in terms of management and tourism arrivals was noted in the area. A regional plan of Tourism Ordination was

approved in 1995 some key features of the plan included: implement alternative activities, determine the capacity of each area according to its population density, promote a territorial balance of the offer and renew obsolete establishments to improve the quality of the offer. The official planning related to tourism was improved with the Law 8/2012 of Tourism, in turn amended by Law 1/2020 against uncivic tourism and the degradation of tourist areas and applicable in some municipalities of the Balearics. In 2022 a Decree Law was approved, regarding sustainable tourism and circular economy, which modified aspects of the 2012 Law. The new decree addresses issues such as the quality of tourism service and the working conditions of employees (Moon et al, 2022).

As with the rest of the island, the tourism business expanded to rural areas. This was due to the confluence of various factors such as the disintegration of the farming world, the search for new tourist spaces far from the coast and the lines of subsidies provided by the European Union (ERDF, LEADER, etc.). Sóller was, between the 1990s and 2000s, one of the most populous municipalities on the island of rural tourist accommodation (Table 3).

Year	Rural Hotel	Agritourism	Home tourism	Total
1994	16	9	0	25
2002	16	79	26	121
2009	16	103	119	238

Table 3. Accommodation capacity in rural tourism (units/places)

Another important milestone was the opening of the Sóller Tunnel in 1999. This infrastructure ended the historic isolation of the Valley. Along with the tunnel, there were a series of public actions aimed at beautifying and improving the Port area. These interventions were managed through the Plan of Tourism Excellence of the Port of Sóller (2001) valued at € 6.76 million.

The new century brought a change in terms of generational replacement of the hotels ownership but also a shift as foreign companies started to buy hotels as an investment, even if the average of foreign proprietors was lower than the Majorcan average. Even so, by 2015, many of the existing hotels were in the hands of foreign owners or chains.

As regards the offer of the tourism model, the effort to extend the tourist season was evident – from February to November – mainly through hiking and nautical tourism. This policy was successful and during the first decades

of the 21st century, there was a gradual increase in reserves. The hotels of Sóller were among the few in Mallorca who did not have to resort to the "all included" formula to fill their seats (Murray Mas, 2012). Between 2009 and 2011, there was a decline in the number of visitors, related to the global crisis of 2008. However, as of 2012, there was a clear recovery and the results exceed even those of the years preceding the crisis. Such recovery led to an increase of the hotel's capacity and of the total number of beds, moreover if the opening of new establishments, mostly small "boutique" hotels and agritourisms, is taken into account. The increase of the so-called "mass tourism" has led to concerns regarding sustainability and the need to balance the economic growth associated to tourism with a quality of life offer, to both residents and visitors (Moon, 2018).

The final years of the second decade of the 21st century saw a continuous increase of the number of arrivals, which was stopped by the COVID pandemic. The results of 2021 and 2022 in terms of hotel occupation and number of tourists are encouraging and the pre-pandemic levels have been almost surpassed.

4.   Current hotel situation

As of 2022, sixteen hotels are officially active in Sóller (Table 4). The oldest was opened in 1944 while the newest opened in 2017. The categories range from one star to a five star superior establishment.

Name	Opening	Category	Ownership
Jumeirah Port de Sóller	2012	5 stars superior	Jumeirah Port de Sóller SLU
Minister	2017	4 stars superior	A.J. Minister SL
Gran Hotel	2004	5 stars	Alvotel Mallorca SL
Cal Bisbe	2003	4 stars	Cal Bisbe SL
Aimia	1976	4 stars superior	Explotaciones Turisticas SA
Eden	1957	4 stars	Gestora Hotelera Mallorquina SL
Eden Nord	1970	3 stars	Gestora Hotelera Mallorquina SL
Bikini Island&Mountain Hotel Port de Sóller	1970	4 stars	Bikini Island SLU
Los Geranios	1964	4 stars	Rullan i Oliver Inversions SL
Pure Salt Port de Sóller	1952	4 stars	Hotel Marbell SL
Es Port	1960	4 stars	Montimar SA
Esplendido	1954	4 stars superior	Davant la Mar SL
El Guia	1944	4 stars	Falguera Inversions SL
Marina	1955	4 stars	Marimat SA
Miramar	1952	2 stars	Miraport SL
Citric Sóller	1956	1 star	Citric Turistic SL

Table 4. Active hotels in Sóller. Source: Consell de Mallorca, 2022

Taking into account the date of opening, there is a large group of hotels that are dating back to the 1950s and 60s while in the 21st century only four establishments have been opened. Two of them are the result of the rebuilding of old buildings, already devoted to the hospitality industry (Jumeirah and Gran Hotel) while another one, Hotel Minister, was built up in a vacant lot.

Finally, Cal Bisbe occupies an old townhouse, formerly residence of a bishop in the 19th century (Figure 3).

Regarding the other hotels, it is clear that all of them have undergone modifications aimed to improve its quality and change the provided service according to the demand evolution (Figure 4). In that sense, eleven of sixteen have a 4-star category, which is related to the offered services of accommodation (in room minibar, hair drier, bath amenities and bathrobe) and service (parking availability, internet access, daily room cleaning service, pool, spa and fitness center).

As of today, there are only six hotel establishments – not counting agritourisms – under the control of local hotel families: Cal Bisbe, El Guia, Es Port, Los Geranios, Marina and Miramar.

Figure 3. The future hotel Cal Bisbe as it was in 1985.
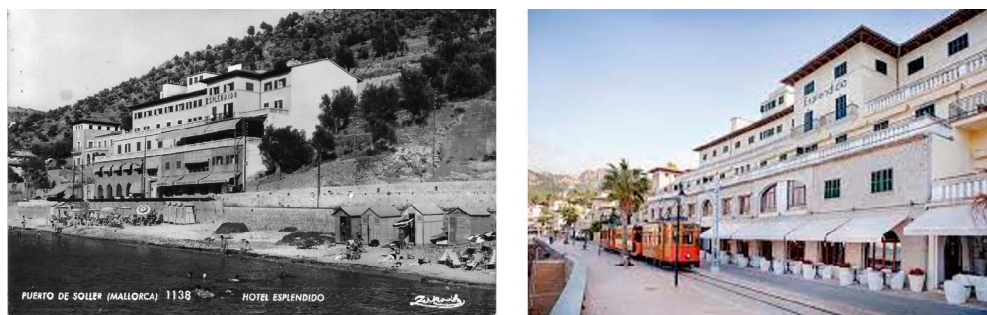
Figure 4. Hotel Esplendido during the 1970s (left) and today (right).

The above presented trends of the hotel business in Sóller show all the changes that currently shape the tourism-related industry.

On the one hand, the change of ownership is evident. Only six of sixteen hotels are on local hands when during the 1980s local proprietors represented the 100% of the sixteen hotels that were active. Foreign capital investments have bought establishments, following a global trend that has also affected the area. Even if, in some cases, day-by-day operations remain under local control, the main directives are controlled by relatively away headquarters.

On the other hand, a change regarding the type of the arriving client is also clear. Gone are families with children, nowadays only arriving during the summer months and residing only in some hotels. Now the largest group of tourists (90%) are young couples who search not only for a sun and beach offer, typical of the 1970s and 1980s, but arrive to Sóller attracted by other options and also its marketability as in 2021 the name Sóller was the one with more references in Instagram, becoming a trending spot for celebrities and visitors. Related to the type of client, another change is the duration of the holiday stay. Visitors during the early stages stayed for a month while now the median stay is four days, less than at the start of the 21st century when it was twelve days. The nationality has also changed. If previously Belgians and French were the most common nationalities, it changed to German and British during the 1980s and 1990s. From 2005 onwards a large number of arrivals were from countries like Sweden and Norway and today there is a mix even if Germans, British and French are the three main countries of origin of the arrivals. Moreover, a change on how clients arrive to the hotels is identified since 2000 as nowadays 70% of the arrivals are direct (using online booking options) and only 30% arrive through tour operators. Before 2000, almost all the tourists came using services such as the French FRAM or the German Neckerman, which had contracts with all the hotels of Sóller.

The improvement of the hotels in the past decades led to an increase of the cost of stay. Nowadays, one night average is €140 for two people and including breakfast while at the start of the 1990s the cost was around €30. Such increase is related to the refurbishments of the establishments, now qualified as four stars, and its complementary offer. Tourists search for quality and, in some cases, luxury, and they pay for it.

Finally, another change regards the duration of the season. If in the past, hotels were opened from May to September, offering only sun and beach options, since the 1980s the arrival of hikers and cultural-related tourists allowed enlarging the season. It starts now at the end of January and ends in November, thus being one of the largest of Mallorca, with a large number of hotels opened for eleven months.

5.   Conclusions

The conversion of tourism into a worldwide phenomenon, with economic factors involved, has led to changes in the structure of the industry (Salvioni, 2016). Among these changes, there is the change of hotel ownership, from independent, family-owned business, to brand chains that own many establishments in different parts of the world.

Sóller is no stranger to this evolution and there has been a change in hotel ownership over the last decades. Nowadays, only six hotels remain as local family-owned establishments, while larger companies own ten, with capital arriving from Spain but also from countries like France or Sweden.

Another change is related to the type of client. Gone are the times when visitors stayed for a whole month in the hotel and were returning every year to the same establishment. Today, the medium stay is four days and the large increase of accommodation prizes led to a reduced demand, being common now the arrival of couples without children instead of whole families like happened during the 1960's and 70's. Moreover, the current visitors demand luxury services that led to an improvement of the hotel offer but increasing costs. Another change is related to the objective of the holidays as, in the past, it was the desire of a sun and beach destination while now there are many tourists searching for cultural activities and, during the coldest months of the season, Sóller has become a trekking hotspot.

The combination of all the above-mentioned factors has helped Sóller, which has become a trendy destination for abroad visitors of different nationalities. The future looks bright even if the effects of the pandemic and the

global increase of costs, together with the competition of other tourist areas, worries the local owners. Finally, regarding the future of the locally owned establishments, there is a consensus to maintain the status-quo and to proudly remain in hands of long-time Sóller residents.

Further lines of future research could be relating changes in GDP and hotel sales to foreign investors, as well as to study if economic factors influence the change in the pattern and quality of tourists. Moreover, another interesting avenue is the advent of online platforms, such as AirBnB, and its impact on tourist arrivals in the area.

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5. Yangtze River Cruise: a journey through the promotion of fluid developing places and controversial models of sustainability

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Abstract

In the upper middle course of the Yangtze River, there is a long history of difficult navigation, especially in the section of the river that crosses the Sichuan Basin towards the Three Gorges Reservoir. It was not until the end of the nineteenth century that Western steamboats began sailing to Chongqing, a prefecture seat that later became the provisional capital of China during World War II. The material and ideological presence of imperialist traces caused the political decline of the city during the Maoist period and the first phase of economic reforms in the 1980s. Thanks to the institutional change in 1997, when Chongqing gained independence from Sichuan Province and became a Municipality, the city has been rediscovered due to rapid urbanization, attractive policies to direct foreign funds, and eccentric leadership. In this context, which has also been described in terms of the "Chongqing renaissance," local tourism activities struggled to position themselves as a valuable economic sector and followed the pre-reform red tourist visit fashion. This paper investigates Yangtze River cruise tourism within the Chongqing-Three Gorges section as an emerging niche category characterized by domestic tourism to the river's growing visibility and opening up to more globalized forms of elite cruising over the past decade. Building on the assumption that the river cruise tourism sector, particularly in China's peripheries, is an under-investigated field of research, this study questions the global elite cruise tour models versus local ones in pre-pandemic Chongqing by looking at the local development of the ecological zone. The analysis is based on statistics and discourse analysis of the place's online promotion through the literally and metaphorically fluid space that characterizes the area. The integration of excerpts from a personal travel journal written during a cruise on a lower-middle-class service boat aims to dive deeper into the emotional atmosphere of the Yangtze River cruise in the historical conjuncture of institutional neoliberal transition. In doing so, the paper highlights the controversial socio-economic and ecological dynamics of interaction that emerge at the

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local level concerning tourism activities. It also reflects on how the concepts of sustainability and ecological civilization are politicized and flow into the local understanding of the place, facilitating the formation of new power networks and territorialization tactics.

1. Introduction

Navigation in the upper middle course of the Yangtze River was characterized by a challenging environment of sandbanks, currents, and whirlpools. Local knowledge was vital to pass through the Three Gorges during the journey to the pre-modern prefecture city of Chongqing until the end of the nineteenth century when the English vessel captain Archibald Little managed to navigate the river upstream. The steamboat docked at Chongqing harbour, and western-driven modernity landed on the Sichuan Basin, promoting the development of the area that became a City and later the national provisional capital during the Japanese invasion of China (1937-1945). The Sichuanese businessman Lu Zuofu succeeded in opening a mercantile navigation company that, despite the Second World War, broadened its interests in Southeast Asia, making it the first example of a China periphery-based cargo fleet operating on a large scale. Due to the distance from the Chinese coast, tourism was relatively rare during the first half of the twentieth century; in the Eighties, Chongqing became a renowned destination of red tourism (Bonato, 2020). The natural resource of water was exploited for energy production; despite the common usage of water for leisure activities such as bathing and swimming, internal waterways were not conceived as a profitable path to develop mass tourism, at least since the 2000s when the concept of sustainable eco-tourism became a tool in the hands of the local government to legitimize the use of water and green resources and monetize the landscape experience (Zheng, 2011; Feng, 2015). Indeed, a world-renowned Western-oriented travel guide describes the city as "a massive and enthralling urban sprawl" that "[...] makes up for a lack of top-notch sights with fantastic food and charismatic geography" (Lonely Planet, 2023). One might wonder whether the *shanshui* experience (lit. "mounts and water," or inter alia the practice of admiring the scenery) is sufficient to justify the emergence of Chongqing as "the world's fastest-growing tourism city (World Travel and Tourism Council), recording a whopping 14% growth in its tourism sector" in 2016 (Wong, 2017). In March 2023, the Deputy Director of the Chongqing Municipal Commission of Culture and Tourism, Qin Dingbo, explained how the development of cultural and tourism industries is based on "internationalization, high-end, specialization, and intelligence" (Hui, 2023). This year also defines the post-pandemic power shift in southwest China, where Chongqing is definitively recognized by the surrounding provinces as the hub that holds clear potential for the further development of the tourism sector in the area, for example, through the Chongqing-Chengdu Economic

Circle and the Chongqing-Changsha partnership as "their tourism resources have strong uniqueness and complementarity" (Hui, 2023 reporting Qin Dingbo's speech).

Defined by Cui as a "powerhouse of cultural and tourism growth" (Cui, 2021), the municipal government invested heavily in the sector during the 13th Five-Year Plan period (2016-2020), for example in transport infrastructure (RMB 431.2 billion investment). The revenue generated in 2019 exceeded RMB 573 billion, more than double that of 2015. In 2020, the sector also ensured an almost complete recovery to pre-pandemic levels: 64 million overnight trips (64.5 percent recovery compared to the 2019 figure); the added value of its tourism industry was RMB 97.9 billion (3.9 percent of the city's GDP with a 95.2 percent recovery). During the 14th Five-Year Plan, the sector is expected to grow and cover up to 5 percent of Chongqing's GDP (Cui, 2021).

This study focuses on the Yangtze River cruise tourism within the Chongqing-Three Gorges section as an emerging niche category characterized by domestic and global elite cruising practices. As Bu *et al*. suggest, "China's cruise tourism is still in its infancy, and its main business mode is to attract international luxury cruise" (Bu *et al*., 2020, p. 1116). Furthermore, research seems to focus on the main portal coast cities, leaving out the less developed inland river port cities from the mainstream narrative of inbound tourism (Bu *et al*., 2020; Feng & Dai, 2020; Chu & Tung, 2022; Gong, 2022). Therefore, the choice of Chongqing as a case study was determined by the fact that the sector of river cruise tourism, particularly in China's peripheries, is an under-investigated field of research, and this study wishes to partially fill in the literature gap by questioning the different tour models in pre-pandemic Chongqing and their impact on the development of the area.

The paper unfolds in the following way. The next section explains the theoretical framework of cruise tourism worldwide and in the market context of the China Sea and internal waterways; the third section focuses on the case study by combining a set of data collected during two fieldworks conducted in the years 2011 and 2015. The analysis is based on local statistics and online place branding discourse analysis. Finally, the last paragraph illustrates some conclusive remarks and reflections on how the concepts of sustainability and ecological civilization are politicized to shape new power networks and territorialization tactics.

2. Theoretical framework

What may be described as a practice that merely requires time (Gunderson, 2007) certainly comes with a price, even though recent studies point out how the opening of the cruise sector to a wide target range has contributed to abating costs so that nowadays, "the key determining factor when selecting a cruise is based on point of boarding, routes/ports, and time availability to complete the vacation" (Parker & Downie, 2019, p. 39). The Asia-Pacific region, with China in particular, has often been described as "a target" of the Western-led cruise industry, thus creating a narrative of market expansion and standardization which also collimates with the assumption that there is no relevant strategy on the Asian/Chinese counterpart (Parker & Downie, 2019, p. 37). This assumption is partly legitimized by the limited literature production in the Chinese language (Hung *et al.*, 2019, p. 215). After the worldwide market impasse of the early 2010s, when the cruise industry was pretty much designed for wealthy retirees and newlyweds, the experience of "luxurious holiday on water" has become a more sustainable business model by attracting the younger population (Parker & Downie 2019, p. 38; Pan *et al.*, 2021). While (three) enormous corporations dominate the market (Jeon *et al.*, 2019, p. 259), over the last decade, China has made significant progress in developing its cruise line by focusing on infrastructure at the Shanghai Port, where ships are manufactured (Howard, 2008; Jeon *et al.*, 2019, p. 267).

The title of "experimental zone" gained by Shanghai Baoshan District in 2012 was upgraded to become "China's first Cruise Tourism Development Demonstration Zone" in 2019 (TME, 2019). Foreign direct investment by the Italian Fincantieri and the Chinese-US joint venture, China State Shipbuilding Corp (CSSC) Carnival Cruise Shipping Ltd, strengthened the global interest in Shanghai cruise ship manufacturing (TME, 2019). The opening of six other pilot zones along the coast followed, i.e., Tianjin, Shenzhen, Qingdao, Fuzhou, Dalian, and Guangzhou (Si, 2019; Feng & Dai, 2020). Coastal cities, therefore, once again become the protagonist of local industrial reform, emphasizing the centre-periphery as a stereotyped function of Chinese development that solicits a scrutinizing gaze on distant realities and practices. The diversity of sea and river landscapes can be turned into a visual discursive trap by forcing exotic and orientalist patterns (Gunderson, 2007) so that "mysterious" rivers "reveal" some of their most hidden characteristics by producing unsolicited and stereotyped narratives (Kurlantzick, 2005), so that destinations may become part of the "Trade Routes of the Orient" tour within the "faraway rivers and seas" advertising programme (Mogelefsky, 2000):

"Earlier this year [2019], China announced that the ports of Sanya and Haikou on Hainan Island will soon be ready to serve cruises to "nowhere." These cruises, usually one or two nights, aim to be *romantic, exciting and luxurious* vacations on a floating resort at sea. The government is encouraging the development of itineraries that involve, for example, *watching sunrises* at sea, diving and fishing, corporate leisure business trips and private gatherings. Gambling activities will be forbidden." (TME, 2019; emphasis added).

The atmosphere is certainly a trigger for the functioning of tourism worldwide. The Olympic Games 2008 in Beijing were successfully used to engage foreigners as the tourists were called to demystify the backwardness of the socialist country (Howard, 2008). Foreign corporations also took the occasion to develop specific tourist products:

[...] 'Because of the upcoming Olympics – Aug. 8 to 24 in Beijing – we thought there would be *some additional interest* in China,' Mr. Good said. The 8-day trips, which start at $4,639 [...], stop in Shanghai and Xiamen and sail on the Yangtze River [...] (Gunderson, 2007; emphasis added).

Considering the spatial framework as a symbolic and perceived atmosphere, the cruise sector benefits from sightseeing, which is "the most strongly preferred shore excursion, followed by visiting natural scenery" (Chu & Tung 2022, p. 1). Intended as a holistic experience "in an enclosed environment" (Chu & Tung 2022, p. 2), cruise ship travel also embodies the outer performance of discovering the waterscape that becomes evident along the journey thanks to the onshore excursions. Indeed, according to Hsu and Li, Nature is one of the eight "push-pull factors" (Pan *et al*., 2021, p. 514), which may help develop motivation in potential consumers together with "Novelty, Escape, [Nature], Leisure, Social interaction, Relaxation, Relationship, and Isolation" (Hsu & Li, 2017). As the high-end service may satisfy all of these amenities, the less luxurious travel package may lack certain services that do not correspond to the travellers' most essential needs (Kong *et al*., 2022). Considering the Chinese cultural background, for instance, "authentic Chinese food" as well as the Chinese-speaking crew are considered of high relevance for successful marketing products; the request for "Western elements" should also be fulfilled if the product is advertised as a flag of the Global North otherwise the non-Chinese cruise ship may have no appeal on Chinese potential customers, forcing foreign companies to rethink their approach or

leave the market as it has happened just before the pandemics (Global Times, 2018). The "low price dilemma" of the Chinese cruise market (Hung *et al*., 2019, p. 213) may also have influenced the decision, therefore eradicating the expectation for profit promoted by the statistics of about five million Chinese cruise passengers and a rising market (Parker & Downie, 2019, p. 38; Pan *et al*., 2021, pp. 512-513) which foreign investors had relied on since the end of the 2000s (TTG, 2008, p. 46).

The Chinese cruise ship market decrease in customers that happened in 2017 was mainly due to the low product appeal, which could not satisfy the local demand (Feng & Dai 2020, p. 193; Guo *et al*., 2021, p. 225); despite that, there is still hope that short-term cruise products can undermine the foreign monopoly by offering a product suitable for mass consumption (Guo *et al*., 2021) even though centralized politics on Chinese cruise sector currently lead towards "high-quality and high-grade development" after the initial "high-speed growth" (Wang *et al*., 2020; cf. also Feng & Dai 2020, p. 188).

Safety concerns remain one of the main constraints against cruising (Parker & Downie, 2019; Chu & Tung, 2022, p. 3; Kong *et al*., 2022, pp. 542-543); indeed, over the last decade, accidents have occurred both at sea and in internal waterways like the 2015 *Eastern Star* episode that took place in the middle course of the Yangtze River in Hubei Province, and Wushan Mount landslide in the Three Gorges Ecological Zone of Chongqing (Feng, 2015). These facts reached great media coverage, raising doubts over security, and in broader terms, they also questioned the Chinese body as a politicized means of national strength. This kind of disaster may open the floor to more structural issues of power reflexivity while constructing the Chinese ecological civilization (Wang, 2016, pp. 212-214). Chinese customers' rising awareness of security measures while travelling forces a debate on industrial restructuring despite the relatively new mass performance of cruise shipping.

Based on Hung *et al*. (2019, p. 212)'s comparative analysis of cruise studies published in English and Chinese in the last twenty years, destination management, including cultural and social impacts at the local level, is neglected in the discussion on cruise sector development. Furthermore, Chinese authors show prominent interest in coastal ports, especially Shanghai. The case of Chongqing cruise tourism on the Yangtze River upper-middle stream is based on a mixed-method approach by embracing an ethnographic-spatial point of view, which aims to open the discussion on cruising practices in China's peripheries and scrutinize the objectifying and politicizing gaze on local waterscape (Parker & Downie, 2019, p. 40). Drawing upon the literature mentioned above on market trends, customers' behaviour, security,

and nature-as-subject, the next chapter investigates the waterscape neoliberal transition in the north-eastern area of Chongqing Municipality, namely during the phase of "high-speed growth" (Wang *et al.*, 2020) after the opening of the Three Gorges area following the conclusion of construction works at the Three Gorges Dam in 2003.

3.   The fluid path to the Great Wall of Water and back

The Chongqing-Three Gorges Dam journey started on land with a three-hour bus ride to the embarking port of Wanzhou. As local statistics also suggest, there were clear signs of slow and disorganized development between Chongqing city proper (also called One-Hour Economic Zone) and the functional area of the Three Gorges Ecological Zone; communication routes were significantly affected. Figure 1 shows a considerable discrepancy in the annual GDP of the administrative peripheries vis-à-vis central areas where the GDP is threefold. The average agricultural production in the Three Gorges Area is in line with Chongqing standard production at the end of the 2010s. In contrast, the tertiary sector, despite being the most productive sector of the new Ecological Zone, is still not comparable with the One-Hour Economic Zone level of development. Another major obstacle to the beginning of the cruise was the traffic jam in Chongqing city, as the meeting point was paradoxically fixed at Chaotianmen Port in the city's historic centre. The organizing team could not find a more congested area even if the choice appeared quite reasonable since people living in the suburbs could find it challenging to reach less famous landmarks within the tortuous urban grid of the hilly city. At the time, urban infrastructure did not match the megacity image (Zheng, 2011, p. 26), and the cruise sector could not take advantage of the rising mass of middle-class tourists driving private cars (Kan *et al.*, 2011, p. 68). One of the most prominent online tour operators working in the Sichuan area, Yangtze River Cruises (YRC), "the FIRST and the BEST online China travel agency," as described on the website, explains how to reach Chongqing Chaotianmen Dock by air, train or car. By the end of the 2010s, most cruise ships had turned to Chongqing as a place of tour departure or arrival to "taste the natural beauty of the Three Gorges and appreciate the thousand-year Ba and Shu history" (YRC, n.d.). In particular, the city itself "becomes a must-visit place for tourists who are dreaming of cruising Yangtze River" (YRC, n.d.). In the second half of the 2010s, there was a shift in Chongqing's image towards a sort of metonymic relation between the natural waterscape scenario

and the urban landscape of the megacity. Local administrators promoted this integrated understanding of the municipality's local beauties through Chinese public media, as advertised in Figure 2, where the practice of cruising should embody the state of environmental health and protection of the region and indicate the megacity's development status. The news headline reads: "With green hills and clear waters, Chongqing's power of attraction can just increase!" (Leju, 2018). The average annual GDP increase of around 5.3 percent exceeded an estimated RMB 2.9 trillion in 2022 (Xinhua, 2023). Furthermore, the Three-Year Action Plan to build a "High-Quality Foreign Investment Cluster" (2022-2024) should help keep the overall annual growth of over 10%. According to the secretary general of the Chongqing Association of Travel Agency, Mr. Lee, one objective of the plan is to accelerate "the international promotion of the city of Chongqing and [...] the upgrading of local tourism enterprises" by allowing foreign-invested travel agencies to set up their branches locally and engage in outbound tourism (Zhan, 2022). This policy marks a new direction of governance, whereas the national policies prevent foreign companies from directly engaging in tourism activities; water transport routes are also regulated as a sensitive matter, and foreign investment is generally restricted (Feng & Dai, 2020, p. 193).

As of 2015, 53 tour operators were promoting tours to the Three Gorges, of which 31 were located in the Chongqing Municipality. In the same period, 22 cruise ship companies in China and nine joint ventures offered 54 low-fare cruises and 34 high-fare cruises with three million customers (Feng, 2015). Victoria Sabrina luxury cruise ship made its maiden voyage in 2020 as the "first Yangtze River Eco-friendly luxury cruise" and "the only Yangtze cruise line under American management, [...] providing satisfying international service and care" (YRC, n.d.). Having been chosen by "global celebrities" such as "Julie (the daughter of America's former President Nixon), Robert A. Mundell (the father of Europe currency), Anna Chan Chennault (global famous Chinese American politician) [...], Victoria Cruises it is the advantageous symbol for your noble statue!" (YRC, n.d.). Chinese companies also made use of stereotypical images to describe the ship's high-quality standard, e.g., "[President No. 6 5-star cruise ship] features in the combination of classic European style and deluxe modern comforts" (YRC, n.d.). The ship I embarked on was less than 100 metres long. According to Feng, these small cruise ships were built before 1997 to serve the domestic market (Feng, 2015, p. 11).

After the departure from Wanzhou, my first impression of the cruise ship was as follows:

Even if it is a tourist cruise, the impression remains that it could be a ferry in use for travel within the region. The infrastructure network in the northeastern districts and counties of Chongqing Municipality is still very lacking. As in the past, the river may be the most practicable communication route" (personal diary, September 10, 2011).

Based on the service type distinction (Parker & Downie, 2019, p. 39), the cruise ship I embarked on in September 2011 may be classified as a "destination cruise" being offered on board basic service only with extra payment. The service on board and the quality of the overall ship infrastructure revealed the initial state of the cruising market on the Yangtze River after the dam construction. Finding myself in Chongqing as a graduate student conducting a self-financed mission for my final thesis, extra activities could be too expansive, especially during the Mid-Autumn Festival. The total amount spent for the three-day cruise was RMB 1,180 (USD 184.5 or EUR 133.55 at the currency of 10 September 2011).[1] It included a third-class ship ticket and the following onshore excursions: Zhangfei Temple, Jiuwan Stream with *Baidicheng Isle* (the "White Emperor City"), the Three Gorges Dam, and the Lesser Three Gorges, also known as the "Peculiar Gorge under Heaven" where to "get closer to Nature [...] purify your mind and please your eyes" (Chinadiscovery, n.d.). The tariff was the realistic result of a mechanism in which foreign tourists, due to various reasons, may find themselves trapped in a chain of intermediaries who then determine the rising costs of service based on a marketing pattern of "charter ships" or "block group space" characterized by "package cruise tours, tourism intermediaries as main competitors, monopolistic competition, and fierce price competition" (Hung *et al.*, 2019, p. 213). Purchasing the ticket through the hostel manager where I was staying, I paid double the price compared to the local tariff of around 600 RMB my new friend's father paid for each of his three family members embarked on the cruise ship. The following table (Fig. 3) shows current prices for the season 2023. There emerges how the "cheapest" three-day travel package advertised by Changjiang Cruises for the Yangtze 2 ship (operative since 2011) costs 279 USD, i.e. 1,926.74 RMB. Despite the "reasonably low price," according to the customers' comments left on the YRC website, Yangtze 2 is described as "the newest as well as the most luxury ship among Changjiang Cruises" (YRC, n.d.). In September 2011, 279 USD corresponded to 1,783.96 RMB, around 500 RMB more than the price I paid for a third-class ticket.

The standard "three-day" cruise reflected the short-term vacation products suitable for mass consumption (Guo *et al.*, 2021). Even if China is still de-

[1] The currency conversion was made on the website oanda.com/currency-converter.

fined as a "developing country" insofar that the working class cannot engage in long vacation periods and typically travel "only 2-5 days a year" (Guo *et al*., 2021, 226), the cruising business on the Yangtze River has moved beyond this pattern, also offering longer trips from Chongqing to Wuhan and Shanghai (eleven-day travel); however, "the classic Chongqing Yichang cruise line is more popular and frequent" (YRC, n.d.). The cruise I embarked on returned to Wanzhou, where the bus was waiting to bring the customers back to Chongqing.

Low-quality standards and security issues characterized the first "high-speed growth" phase (Wang *et al*., 2020). The diary recalls that the ship was "old, rusty, and dirty" (Fig. 4). There was, however, a joyful atmosphere on the upper deck:

> "Sitting on the ship dock, people spend time smoking, chatting, playing cards, and eating pumpkin seeds. Plastic stools are so uncomfortable after a while; I may return to the cabin to stretch my legs on the bunk bed. Luckily enough, I am assigned the top bunk so that I can watch out of the porthole and even open the window to change the air inside the cabin, which smells stale due to the carpet" (September 11, 2011).

The lack of private space supports the "social gathering" motivation factor for choosing cruise tourism. Even if the majority were retired couples traveling in organized groups, there were also some families and young couples entering as niche customers at the time; nowadays, as part of the new worldwide marketing trend, "inter-generational" cruise package can become an experience of multi-generational bonding (Chu & Tung, 2022, p. 21). Struggling to find time and share moments with their families, the cruise ship may represent a safe space where relatives can stay together and perform parental and filial duties. My roommates comprised an eighteen-year-old girl, her mother, and her aunt. Relocating from Xinjiang to Chongqing for her undergraduate studies, the girl enjoyed the remaining time with her family before the start of university courses. As they entered the cabin, they asked which Chinese ethnic group I belonged to; to be clear, only three foreign people were on board: me and a couple from the US. Crossing other vessels was also rare. On day 2, the diary reads, "So far, we have only crossed paths with one coal transport ship" (September 11, 2011). Analysing the Q&A section on the Yangtze River Cruises website, there emerges how the situation has changed over the last decade: Professional bilingual guides accompany the tours serving customers coming from the Global North and the South Asia region. The number of cruise ships defined as the "best cruise ships under the

top 6 cruise companies" increased to 26 (YRC, n.d.). Finally, great attention is given to food and beverage. At the same time, in 2011, there was no food available for purchase to the third-class travellers who had to make up for this absence on board by exploiting the creativity of the villagers who live near the docks. In fact, around lunchtime, the ship could shortly dock to allow the local population to sell foodstuffs, especially sweet potatoes, grilled fish, and homemade noodles.

The visit to the Three Gorges Dam conveys a sense of relief after the tragedy of displacement and partial destruction of the environment; it also enhances the sense of pride for the motherland for completing a long-dreamed project. The "Water Great Wall" of China (Winchester, 1996) shows the success of the Party in integrated resource management and the possibility to adjust the environment to human needs without neglecting environmental protection, at least in the official discourse of the newly established ecological reserve (Wang & Yan, 1998). In the second half of the 2010s, the heritage-consuming and reifying practices related to cruise tourism have gone beyond the display of objects and the sightseeing experience of culture within the waterscape. One example is the performance called "War and Fire on the Three Kingdoms" (*feng yan san guo*), which was set up in 2016, but it has now become part of the cruising experience as an extra activity:

> A large-scale landscape live-action performance created by taking the spirit of loyalty as its soul, the Three Kingdoms culture as its theme, the Yangtze River Three Gorges as its background, and the Three Gorges Harbour as its stage. (Galileo Galilei, 2016)

The performance takes place at Dongxi Lake, Zhongxian County. Although the process of ecological civilization foresees nature as an active actor in societal and economic networks of power, the abovementioned description still suggests that nature may be a passive stage to be cherished by virtue of the beauty grasped through the objectifying gaze.
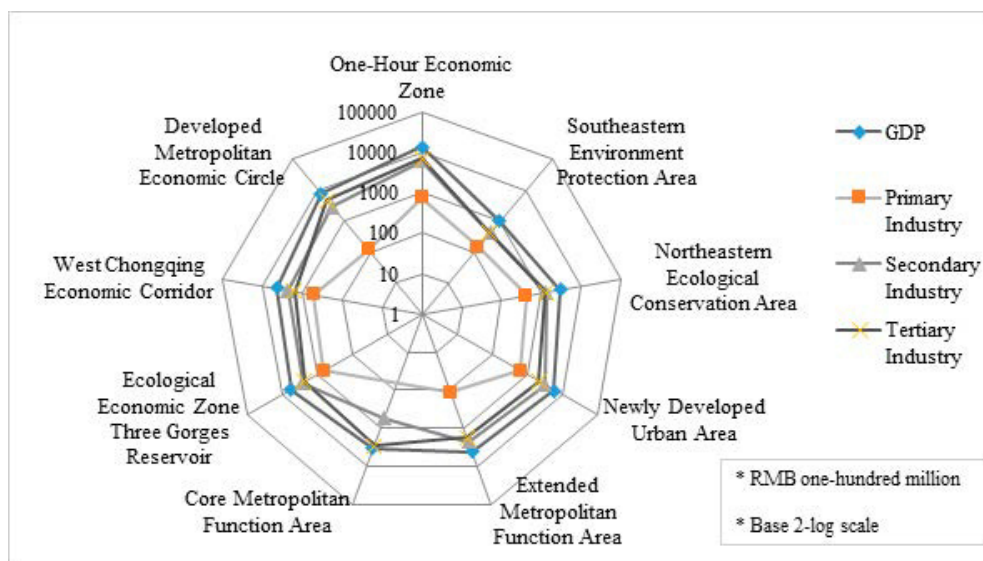
Figure 1. GDP of Chongqing Municipality functional areas in 2016 (drawn by the author using the data retrieved from CTJ 2017, Ch. 2, p. 11)

Figure 2. "With green hills and clear waters, Chongqing power of attraction can just increase!" said Chongqing Local Party Secretary Chen Min'er (screenshot from CCTV13 News, retrieved on Leju, 2018; fair use for academic purposes, http://cq.leju.com/news/2018-03-14/00006377725523631852136.shtml)
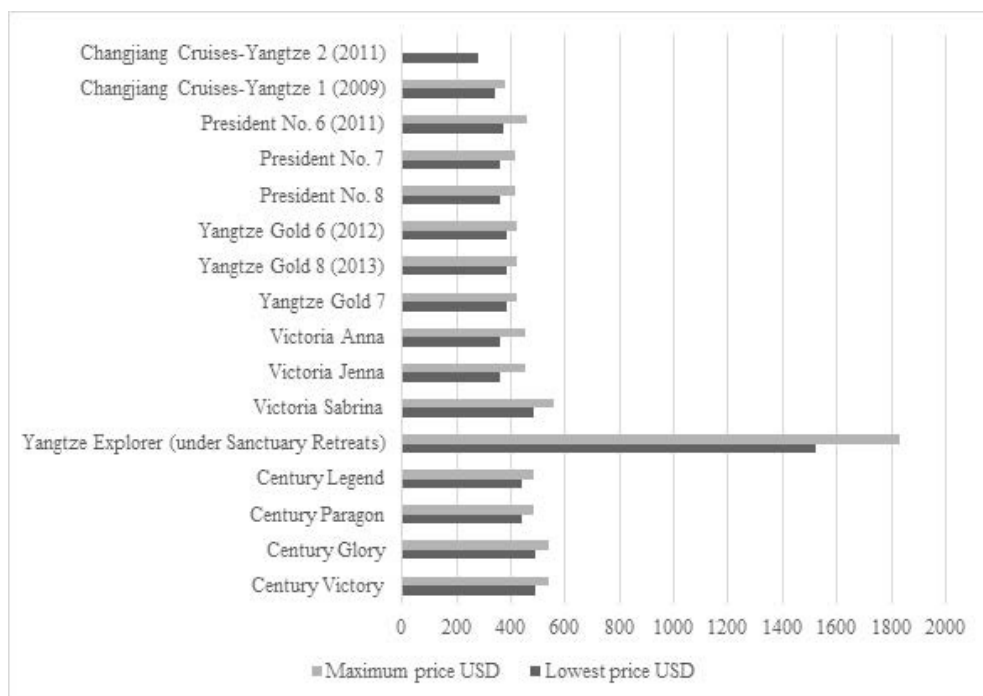
Figure 3 Price comparison of the 5-star cruise ships in 2023 (drawn by the author using the data retrieved from YRC, n.d.)

Figure 4. a) Cruise ship docked at Jiuwan Stream; b) Upper deck with plastic furniture (polaroid by the author, 2011)

4. Conclusions

Within the analytical framework of Chongqing as "the world's fastest-growing tourism city" (Wong, 2017), the case study reveals a stereotypical idea of eco-tourism based on the fact that the scope of local governance regulation and new policies is to enhance the frequency of cruise travel and the number of ships available, forcing a unified regional imaginary regarding the Yangtze Economic Belt and trying to win the competition against the cruise market in Wuhan (Feng, 2015). The pilot project of management concession to entirely foreign-administered companies shows how Chongqing Municipality is considered an established political reality within Chinese peripheries in the eyes of the central government since pilot policies usually take place in Chinese coastal cities. Within this regulatory framework, the Yangtze River has played an active role as a local development trigger, whereas the Three Gorges Dam has become a national tourist site where the country manifests its pride and grandeur. These two landmarks, the river and the technology, are combined in a unique discourse of urban-rural synergy that can be embodied by performing the experience of cruising the once indomitable river (Feng,

2015). Therefore, according to the integrated urban-rural policies, there exists a metonymical synthesis where the Three Gorges embody the green symbolism of Chongqing City, strengthening the process of national rediscovery of the Chinese south-western periphery. It also places the Three Gorges' intangible heritage on an international platform of the most acclaimed tourist sites in the world (Kan *et al.*, 2011). Within this context, auto-ethnography reveals its validity as a method for inquiring about tourist performance and the entanglement between discourse analysis of the relational mechanisms of place branding and territorialization. By showcasing the orientalist gaze, the mixed method underlines how embodiment may manifest along the process of waterscape objectification.

As Parker and Downie point out, a port of call or transit port "may have a high appeal due to cultural characteristics, natural environment or historical significance or perceived unspoiled beauty" (Parker & Downie, 2019, p. 40). The docks along the Yangtze River in the Three Gorges area in 2011 were often nothing more than an iron dock and rammed earth stairways leading to county villages where the shops used to open only during the cruise onshore excursion. The high potential of tourism in the Three Gorges was still not entirely exploited at the end of the 2010s, prolonging the expansion times of the industry, which remains a niche sector (Fig. 1). Contradictions arise from the search for a status symbol of luxury cruising associated with global lifestyle and noble attitude vis-à-vis the maintenance of low prices to open even more the market to the middle-class thanks to the three-day travel package. However, joint ventures and breakthrough policies regarding foreign cruise ship management may solve the problem of price-service balance. At the same time, Chinese companies should maintain their competitiveness, as expected by Guo *et al.* (2021), by adopting low fares, as the case of Changjiang Cruises-Yangtze 2 demonstrates (279 USD in 2013; Fig. 3).

The overall cruise ship industrial restructuring due to safety concerns (Parker & Downie, 2019; Chu & Tung, 2022) has some characteristics proper of an industry located in a developed country despite the mainstream narrative that still positions the Chinese cruise sector within the framework of a developing country in terms of customers' number and service quality (Guo *et al.*, 2021). While the lower-middle-class service boat on which I enjoyed the cruise experience may still be used as a ferry, moving people who commute for work reasons within the two functional zones of the Chongqing Metropolitan Area and the Three Gorges Ecological Zone, its fate as a cruise ship was already sealed in the early 2010s when the first 4/5-star cruise ships made their maiden voyage on the Yangtze River.

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3
Responsible Tourism and Recovery After Crisis

6. COVID-19 pandemic and tourism. (Not) Getting back to normal in tourism-dependent Pacific island economies.[1]

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Abstract

The COVID-19 pandemic has severely affected the tourism industry globally, particularly impacting tourism-dependent island economies already suffering from climate-related hazards and disasters. The lack of tourism and related mobilities from march 2020 caused one of the biggest economic contractions in history. Nonetheless, even if confronted with severe losses of income and in the absence of effective political responses, many Pacific Islanders and businesses have been able to cope with the tourist crisis, both relying on customary knowledge, systems, and practices and rapidly adapting the tourism market to the new reality.

The post-pandemic recovery is being represented as a unique opportunity to reset entrenched systems and enhance policies that can favor a just green recovery in different sectors, tourism included. In this respect, it has been suggested to substitute the globalized international flows with more sustainable local/regional ones (Seyfi, Hall, Saarinen, 2022) and to consider the post-pandemic recovery as a stimulus to move toward more ethical forms of tourism, by paying attention to its environmental impacts and to its uneven kinopolitcs (Sheller, 2021a). Through an in-depth literature review, this chapter aims to elaborate preliminary considerations on the necessity to resist and restructure unsustainable tourism models in Pacific SIDS after the pandemic.

Keywords:
COVID-19, Tourism, SIDS, post-pandemic recovery, mobility justice

1. Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic has severely affected the tourism industry on a global scale. While the reduction of flights and cruise ships during lockdown has positively affected global carbon emissions (Gössling *et al.*, 2021), locally the decrease of leisure mobilities due to border closures has had a severe impact especially on tourism-dependent island economies, already suffering from climate change impacts and facing several economic and socio-ecological challenges. Indeed, if the virus has not reached the majority of Pacific Island states and territories due to their preventive efforts to stop international arrivals to preserve health systems - contextually causing delays in the repatriation of citizens stranded abroad (McClure, 2021) - the lack of tourism and related mobilities from march 2020 caused one of the biggest economic contractions in their history, with remittances and private investments that suddenly plummeted. Nonetheless, is it worth noting that, even if confronted with severe losses of income and in the absence of effective political measures, many Pacific Islanders have been able to cope by relying on customary knowledge, systems, and practices (Scheyvens & Movono, 2020) while many businesses have been able to rapidly adapt to the new tourism market (procedures of health control, digitalization, promotion of nomadic work).

In this context, the post-pandemic recovery is being represented as a unique opportunity to reset entrenched systems (Foley *et al.*, 2022; Gössling *et al.*, 2021; Lamers & Student, 2021) and enhance policies that can favor a just green recovery in different sectors, tourism included. In this respect, it has been suggested that substituting the globalized international flows with more sustainable local/regional ones might contribute to the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (Seyfi *et al.*, 2022). Moreover, the post-pandemic recovery might be a stimulus to move toward more ethical forms of tourism (Sheller, 2021a), thus paying attention to its environmental impacts as well as to how tourist practices both affect the governance of movement and are impacted by kinopolitics.

Through an in-depth literature review, ranging from tourism studies, to development and mobilities studies perspectives, the aim of this chapter is to elaborate preliminary considerations on the necessity to resist and restructure unsustainable tourism models in Pacific small island states after the pandemic. Specifically, the present chapter attempts to give answers to the following questions: have tourism practices changed in tourism-dependent Pacific Island economies after the pandemic disruptions? Is COVID-19 an opportunity to rethink the entire model of tourism in the Pacific region and make it more

sustainable, thus providing economic benefits without sacrificing socio-environmental concerns? Or is the crave for a fast economic recovery and the uneven pressure on tourism-dependent economies, such as small island states, leading to "getting back to normal, even if normal was the problem"?

2. COVID-19 impacts on tourism-dependent island economies

Tourism may be counted among the sectors most affected by COVID-19, particularly since it had been experiencing a continuous growth in the decades prior to the outbreak of the pandemic, being able to cope successfully with previous health crisis such as SARS, in 2003, and the global economic crisis in 2008 (Chenguang Wu *et al.*, 2022; Figueroa *et al.*, 2021).

Unlike previous crises, such as disasters-led crises, COVID-19 has produced a totally new scenario in which the shock does not strike the material infrastructures, but the very tourist flows (Arbulú *et al.*, 2021b), involving an unprecedented number of people and countries, thus posing new challenges in terms of management and postpandemic recovery (Arbulú *et al.*, 2021a, 2021b; Okafor *et al.*, 2022). The governmental responses put in place immediately after the recognition of the global diffusion of COVID-19, in fact, produced a dramatic stop to international arrivals, up to a 74% reduction compared to the previous year, accounting for a loss of 1.3 trillion US dollars (UNWTO, 2021). This lack of flows, moreover, does not only concern tourists but involves workers, food and other imports, which may have particularly relevant impacts in the case of remote islands (Arbulú *et al.*, 2021b). Tourism is, in fact, a labor-intensive industry, which employs both skilled and unskilled workers, both in high income and low-income countries; during and after the pandemic, the latter in particular, have been exposed to a severe risk of falling into poverty or extreme poverty (Sun *et al.*, 2021), highlighting the inherent vulnerability of the sector and its dependency on international flows (Lamers & Student, 2021).

All this considered, COVID-19 may be regarded - in general, but for the tourist sector in particular - as a multiperiod event that "simultaneously disrupts supply, demand, and productivity channels, that is almost perfectly synchronized within and across countries, and that has cataclysmic health, social, and economic implications not just for the foreseeable few weeks after the crisis, but for a long time period" (Ludvingson *et al.*, 2020). The spread of COVID-19, moreover, boosted a public discourse on the interconnectedness between diseases and climate change, with all TVs and newspapers in the

first half of 2020 highlighting the improved quality of the (global) air derived from the closure of industries and flights, evidencing the role of the travel and transportation industry in the massive emission of greenhouse gases, and bringing about a critical reflection on the environmental costs of global capitalism (Gössling *et al.*, 2021).

Up to 2019, island tourism had experienced a growth across all continents, with tourism having become the economic backbone of many islands, both mass destination - such as Mallorca, the Canary island and some Greek islands - which were struck harder by the pandemic, and smaller ones, particularly those offering "alternative" tourist experiences or being mostly visited by domestic tourists, such as the island of Ikaria in Greece, which have coped better, being not so much dependent on international tourist arrivals. Among islands, Small Island Developing States (SIDS) are especially sensitive to climate, economic, but also health crisis, as the spread of COVID-19 has revealed (Foley *et al.,* 2022; Movono *et al.*, 2022; Okafor *et al.*, 2022). The islands mostly affected by the limitation to international mobility were, in fact, SIDS, the majority of which rely significantly on tourist revenues (UNCTAD, 2020): Figueroa & Rotarou (2021) state that in 2019 travel and tourism represented more than 15% of the total share of employment in 44 countries, among which 27 island nations, including 24 SIDS, of which 16 in the Caribbean. Three of such countries, in particular, have been recognized as most vulnerable to the present tourist crisis on the base of the contribution of tourism on their GDP: Fiji, Mauritius and Jamaica (UNWTO, 2021, in Figueroa & Rotarou, 2021). The lack of tourism has had dramatic impacts on local households incomes - with a significant increase in poverty and extreme poverty among the population of these islands, particularly in the area of the Pacific (Lamers & Student, 2021) – and on natural and cultural heritage as well, being these disregarded as a consequence of the "missing" revenues of international tourism, thus requiring significant financial assistance to counteract the effects of the pandemic (Figueroa & Rotarou, 2021).

While the impacts and reactions to the pandemic have been diverse in each SIDS, the majority of them decided to close the borders and avoid the spread of the virus within their boundaries (Lamers & Student, 2021; Foley *et al.*, 2022), and COVID-19 helped highlighting their strong dependency on connections with the outside world to secure their economic sustainability. Furthermore, "for many SIDS, health, economic, and social impacts have combined, resulting in compounding shocks, and often amplifying pre-existing sustainability challenges" (Foley *et al.,* 2022, p.2), which implied the

need to resort to a wide array of coping strategies to survive in the absence of cash-wage earnings (such as selling livestock or even land, or going back to agriculture or grazing).

Moreover, as a side effect, the pandemic has limited the capacity of many countries - among which several SIDS - to implement climate actions planned at the moment of the outbreak of the disease, diverting attention and funding towards economic recovery, to which the label "green" has often been attached (Foley *et al.,* 2022).

2.1 Impacts of COVID-19 in Pacific Island States

Following the trend of growing international arrivals, the year 2020 was expected to be another year of strong growth in terms of tourism (UNWTO, 2020). However, as a crisis-sensitive sector, tourism was severely hit by the COVID-19 pandemic with an average decline of 22% worldwide in international arrivals in the first quarter of 2020 and a decline of 33% for the Asia-Pacific region, which was the worst hit (Kumar & Patel, 2021). In particular, the negative impacts of COVID-19 on tourism have been especially severe for Pacific Island States (PICs), heavily dependent on this sector for their economies. As a preventive measure to safeguard their precarious health systems, PICs were among the first countries to suddenly close their borders, even before the pandemic was officially declared by the OMS. This resulted in a reduced number of infections, but it also produced in an almost complete isolation. As a consequence, much of the tourist economy was impacted: hotels, resorts, businesses, formal and informal touristic services closed almost immediately, causing major disruptions to one of the most labor-intensive sectors of the economy. As observed by Movono *et al.* (2022), COVID-19 disruptions resulted in an unprecedented isolation and massive job losses, leading many people engaged in tourism-related activities and business to go back home, mostly in rural villages and settlements. This is the case of Fiji, the first tourist destination in the Pacific (Everett *et al.,* 2018). Unsurprisingly, since Fiji is highly reliant on tourism for its economy - 34% of its GDP, according to Gounder (2020) - and development, the country has been one of the most affected in terms of economic damages. Connell (2021) highlights that, three months after border closure, half of tourism businesses had closed down and most of the employees had returned to rural areas, putting new pressures on resources and creating new disputes over access and land tenure. The return to rural areas was especially necessary because most of the urban employees in the tourism sector lacked access to land and did not

have ongoing agriculture activities. In some countries such as Fiji, Kiribati, and Tonga, most of those people who lost their jobs were women working in hotels and restaurants (Connell, 2021; Reksa *et al.*, 2021). Women entrepreneurs, in particular, are more exposed to the risk of business bankruptcy in the tourism sector since it is more difficult for them to access financial assistance (Zarrilli *et al.,* 2020). In addition to the effects on transportation, accommodation services and jobs, the pandemic indirectly affected different sectors such as agriculture, fisheries and construction (Reksa *et al.*, 2021). Indeed, since tourism collapsed, tax revenues plummeted too, causing several disruptions to other sensitive economic sectors in SIDS.

While borders were never entirely closed - humanitarian flights, fishing fleets, cargo ships and yachts continued to operate (Connell, 2021) - the impact on tourism was dramatic for PICs, which were cut off from the rest of the world. Since mobility and tourism systems and dynamics are inextricably connected, the border shut-down caused a significant restriction to international migration, especially to Australia and New Zealand, reducing possibilities to move to generate new incomes and to send remittances back home. At the same time, migrant workers in host countries experienced unemployment and income stresses, thus facing several obstacles to contribute to remittances flows towards their families, strongly dependent on them for their sustenance and to face different kind of hazards. Furthermore, different studies on COVID-19 and (im)mobilities underline that the resettlement of many in rural areas and the frustration caused by losing jobs and being stuck at home because of the restrictions of movement, resulted in a significant rise in domestic violence (Connell, 2021; Wallis & McNeill, 2021).

3. Coping strategies and practices

As Gössling *et al.* (2021, p. 2) recall, in the first months of 2020 the world faced an unprecedented situation, in which "within the space of months, the framing of the global tourism system moved from overtourism […] to non-tourism, vividly illustrated by blogs and newspaper articles depicting popular tourism sites in 'before' and 'after' photographs periods, international and domestic tourism declined precipitously over a period of weeks".

The responses to this totally new situation varied from country to country, with the majority of them - and island States in particular - choosing to close their borders as the most immediate solution to contain the spread of the virus, and others introducing some compulsory sanitary practices such as the

use of facial masks, hand-sanitizing, spatial distancing, often accompanied by biopolitical control measures such as targeted testing and tracking (UNCTAD, 2022). The response, moreover, varied significantly depending on the level of vulnerability (Lamers & Student, 2021) and resilience (Okafor *et al.,* 2022) of each country. These two concepts have become main keywords in the public discourse concerning the pandemic crisis, including health, economic and environmental aspects. Both, however, are very slippery concepts, in that they do not offer an agreed upon definition and have been used, in general, to discuss of areas affected by one or more dramatic changes, spanning from terrorism and social unrest, to financial and economic crisis, the climate crisis and now the global pandemic and the consequent tourist crisis, as well.

The complexity of the tourist crisis scattering from the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic has highlighted the need for a response that is not localized but necessarily global, due to the transnational nature of the environmental mobilities and flows of tourism, and the solutions need to encompass strategies aiming at tackling both the vulnerability and resilience challenges that low-income countries, particularly SIDS, are confronted with (Lamers & Student, 2021).

Among tourism resilience strategies highlighted by literature (Sharma *et al.,* 2021), recurring to the promotion of domestic tourism is one of the most evident, together with an investment in the digitalization of the sector (Okafor *et al.,* 2022), including the creation of virtual tours (Nautiyal & Polus, 2022). Domestic tourism represents, as a matter of fact, a highly vital sector, capable of generating significant tourist revenues even in areas outside the range of international flows, thus opening new and diversified development perspectives, while re-distributing incomes from core to peripheral areas, and empowering local communities without the necessity to invest in infrastructures required by the international tourist sector (Canavan, 2013; Scott & Gössling, 2015). Proximity tourism may thus play a key role in the debate on Anthropocene, in that it stimulates the reduction of long-haul flights (Rantala *et al.,* 2020).

However, while some countries have been able to experiment alternative strategies of local development, including some new tourist strategies, such as investing in the promotion of domestic tourism, others - particularly tourism-dependent countries - are still relying on economic stimulus to support the sector (Okafor *et al.,* 2022). SIDS, in particular, are less likely to recur to domestic tourism to face shocks and disasters since domestic tourism only accounts for a very small percentage of their GDPs (Hampton & Jeyacheya, 2013). Thus, in the absence of a deep reorganization of the tourism industry

in SIDS, recurring to it would not represent an alternative solution to make up for the shortfall in external arrivals and to generate a significant contribution in terms of socio-economic benefits for their populations.

3.1 Examples from PICs

As Movono & Scheyvens (2022a, p.125) observe, "the partial collapse of the global tourism system due to COVID-19 has revealed tourism's vulnerability and susceptibility to sudden shocks, especially in SIDS countries of the Pacific region". In the absence of rapid and effective political responses, Pacific Islanders showed substantial adaptive capacities and resilience in finding alternative strategies to meet their needs. These strategies were not new but were identified in traditional knowledge, systems and practices. Indeed, while it is important to shed light on the pressures that urban to rural migration - return migration - put on land and ocean resources, it is also relevant to highlight that rediscovering and renewing those knowledges helped thousands of people to overcome the decline of tourism related jobs. Movono *et al.* (2022) emphasize the fact that many Pacific Island people, especially young people, have relearned about Traditional Indigenous knowledge, diversified their skills and reconnected with their socio-ecological systems. Kinship and community network constituted a safety net to people who had to return to their ancestral land. Furthermore, going back to the land helped communities to adopt more environmentally sustainable practices and challenge the dominant capitalist and neoliberal tourism model (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2020). Some of the coping strategies adopted by Pacific islanders included both cash and cashless practices such as growing food and fishing, handcrafting, selling flowers and food in local markets, trading or bartering goods (Scheyvens & Movono, 2020; Movono & Scheyvens, 2021; Connell, 2021). Bartering in the absence of cash wage-earning, in particular, has become commonplace in many Pacific Island Countries and elsewhere (Gunia & Lewicki, 2020).

Simultaneously, it is important not to idealize this physical and metaphorical return to the land, thus underlining the difficulties of both urban and rural dwellers to adapt to life together in a customary setting after the pandemic (Movono *et al.,* 2022). Furthermore, it is worth noting that not everyone could adapt by recurring to traditional systems. Indeed, the urban poor were the most affected because of lack of access to land elsewhere and increased commodity prices (Davila & Wilkes, 2020). Referring to Fiji, many argued that not everyone had land and rural homes to return to, thus warning about the risk of romanticizing the Fijian way of life (Doherty, 2020). For instance,

comparing Fiji and Samoa to Vanuatu, Connell (2021) further notices that, with a more traditional and informal economy, the latter was better prepared to "survive the economic slump" instead of more modernized Pacific countries. So, even in PICs, often described as being similar in geographical, economic, and social features, multiple and diverse responses to the tourism crisis due to the pandemic emerged. Many of these responses included a return migration to rural and customary land, other led to immobility and further marginalization and vulnerabilities.

4. COVID-19 and tourism: proposals for a just green recovery

COVID-19 has been regarded by some as an opportunity to "critically reconsider tourism's growth trajectory" (Gössling *et al.,* 2021) and reset the global economic system, working as a catalyst for a change (Gössling *et al.,* 2021; Figueroa & Rotarou, 2021; Mkono *et al.,* 2022; McNeely, 2021), a change that should incorporate concepts that have been widely used in the global discourse connected to the climate crisis, such as adaptation or resilience, but in the light of the global health crisis and the need to promote post-pandemic recovery via the empowerment of local communities and the implementation of sustainable policies that could prompt climate actions too in the fields of agriculture and traditional activities, but also in tourism. These actions would align with the implementation of the SDG, in an effort to "build a sector that is sustainable, more inclusive, and resilient" (Figueroa & Rotarou, 2021, p. 10).

Some islands have been able to use the economic stimulus aimed at addressing the health crisis to promote a change in the travel industry, towards a more sustainable tourist sector, i.e. via the development of small-scale ecotourism activities - that could play a relevant role in supporting community resilience - or via the acceleration of the digitalization of the sector - that could prompt the diffusion of a new environmental-friendly and economically sound business model (Foley *et al.,* 2022). Technological innovation is mentioned as a main advancement in the industry, prompted by the response to COVID-19, together with personnel training, the development of new services and online education; moreover, investment in technological advancement may support smart tourist destinations, a concept which, despite having no univocal definition as yet, may include experiences in which smart tourists interact dynamically with each other and the destination, and co-crate their experience while there, in a safe and inclusive way (Bulchand-Gidum-

al, 2022). However, the number of studies on the topic is still too scarce to produce a sound framework for post-pandemic recovery and this could be detrimental to tourist development in islands, particularly the most remote and isolated ones (Matiza & Stabbet, 2021). Moreover, as Sheller (2021a) observes, it is important to pay attention to the excessive encouragement of digitalization, nomadic work and greenwashed tourism practices, since these are not viable alternative solution to avoid the "old normal".

The promotion of domestic tourism, in particular, seems to be a widespread strategy to prompt tourist revenues but also to reshape the domestic demand toward a more open-air experience, that avoids the overcrowded urban areas. This option, however, does not seem particularly viable for many SIDS - among which many PICs - due to the way in which the tourism sector is currently organized there, and thus a switch toward a regional (other than domestic) tourism seems more appropriate. In general, the crisis has helped developing more environmental-friendly tourist products, which might contribute to a more sustainable industry in the future. The lack of international demand, nonetheless, could be detrimental even for the domestic one, in that nationals cannot rely any longer on the revenues earned within the international tourist sector to conduct their holidays locally (Chenguang Wu *et al.,* 2022).

While supporting the implementation of a greener and more sustainable tourism, more domestic and more based on the promotion of natural and cultural resources, islands should also aim at making an effort towards the (sustainable) diversification of the local economies – including agriculture, wine-making, services (Figueroa & Rotarou, 2021). In this respect, some islands have started marketing under the label "Covid-free island" that offers a guarantee to particularly worried tourists. In this regard, the Fiji Government has promoted a major campaign promising that the archipelago was "open for happiness", mostly targeting international tourists - especially from New Zealand and Australia - while apparently forgetting to target the wellbeing of its population, especially of tourism workers (Movono &Scheyvens, 2022b).

A measure frequently quoted well before the spread of COVID-19 is the reduction of long-haul flights accompanied by the extension in lengths of the holidays, particularly in remote destinations such as SIDS, which could reduce the amount of greenhouse gases emitted during the journey (Gössling *et al.,* 2018; Scott *et al.*, 2012; Gössling *et al.,* 2009; Figueroa & Rotarou, 2021): these measures would support a switch in the sector's focus from "quantity" to "quality", particularly in connection with the empowerment of domestic tourism based on experiential, rural, and active tourist products (Figueroa &

Rotarou, 2021). The extension of holidays length could also be supported by the opportunities revealed by teleworking, which could open up many island tourist destinations to a new market of long-stays visitors, encouraged by affordable living costs, the presence of Internet connections and remoteness, interpreted as a guarantee of being "Covid-free". The psychological side of the tourist promotion - with models being already studied by scholars such as Kock *et al.* (2020) - becomes particularly relevant in the post-pandemic, both in respect to the need to offer products and destinations that can be advertised as safe in respect to health requirements, and in terms of helping the tourist industry influence the tourist consumer behaviors towards more sustainable demands (Gössling *et al.,* 2021).

However, due to the unpredictability of the post-pandemic scenario, the recovery of tourism to pre-pandemic performances is not expected anytime soon - and surely not before 2023 (Figueroa & Rotarou, 2021): as a consequence, the risk that the tourist sector simply heads back to its previous "normal business as usual" paradigm is quite relevant, particularly for the most remote and isolated islands, such as Tuvalu. This small island might not have the means to compete with larger and more accessible islands of the same area in terms of innovation, thus having the only option to go back to the previous strategies, setting aside any intention to switch to more resilient and sustainable practices that they might have had in the past: tourist revenues are so important for their local systems that they cannot face the option of not being able to receive the same amount (Foley, 2022; Figueroa & Rotarou, 2021).

The risk of getting back to normal may result in a stop to the implementation of the environmental and climate measures that were started prior to the upsurging of COVID-19, to overcompensate for the loss of tourist revenues, while "there is an urgent need not to return to business-as-usual when the crisis is over", promoting "a transformation of the global tourism system more aligned to the SDGs" (Gössling *et al.,* 2021, p. 15), to "make the environment matter in post-pandemic tourism" (Mkono *et al.,* 2022). An interesting example is that promoted by the Sunx (Strong Universal Network) Malta – Climate Friendly Travel programme, a "support system for Travel & Tourism stakeholders to build Climate Resilience in line with the targets of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) and Paris Agreement", that tackles the impacts of climate change to create benefits for local stakeholders (SunxMalta).

4.1 Mobility justice for alternative tourism futures

Following (un)natural disasters, international development aid and government responses often seek to rebuild the old tourism infrastructure as a recovery strategy. However, in the light of a just green recovery from the pandemic, specific attention must be paid to alternative and regenerative tourism practices that involve "non-capitalist forms of ownership, non-monetary exchange and beneficial community-based development" (Sheller, 2021b, p. 1437). This is especially needed in times of compounding, accelerating crises, such as the climate crisis and the (im)mobility crisis generated by global uneven kinopolitcs. In this regard, travel and tourism can be identified as mobility regimes that respectively favor élites mobilities and hinder non-élites ones, specifically in island states, where "the preferred mobile subject" - the international tourist - is encouraged, while aspiring migrants are often prevented to move (Sheller, 2020). The current tourism system is supported by uneven power relationships that have been clearly exposed by the coronavirus pandemic disruptions and that have prompted thoughts on who controls human mobilities (included tourism flows), on who benefits from these forms of control and on who suffers from them. Therefore, if the aim is to elaborate and build a just green recovery that includes tourism, it is crucial to integrate a mobility justice perspective that sheds light on how to imagine and build just tourism infrastructures and systems. Rethinking tourism for a just recovery means to address the relationship between tourism and justice, in which the mobility dimension plays a key-role (Sheller, 2018; 2020, 2021; Guia, 2021). The adoption of this perspective, for instance, leads to interrogate the transformative value of responsible tourism, which has been criticized for its failure in recognizing the unjust structures of the industry and its exploitative nature that is at the core of distributive, procedural and recognition injustices in many places and territories around the world (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2020).

Justice is crucial to move towards fairer modes of tourism. But, as some have observed, there will be no justice without degrowing tourism, meaning that tourism must be less seen as an industry or synonym of development and more as part of the larger socio-economic byo-physical system (Hall, 2009). However, while the research agenda on tourism and degrowth is emerging, scholars who critically engage in the debate are still on the margins in tourism studies (Higgins-Desbiolles *et al.*, 2019). In addition, as Sheller (2021b) provocatively argues, the time may have come to ask how to imagine alternative post-tourism futures for islands and archipelagos, such as those in the Caribbean and the Pacific region. As previously underlined, a key-aspect

of alternative post-tourism island futures is the need to abandon "quick fix" disasters policies and return to work with island Indigenous communities to "reimagine regenerative economies and resilient ecologies that are grounded in more just relations of mobility and connection" (p.1445), e. g. through the rediscovery of biodiversity preservation practices as well as of agro-ecological knowledge and sustainable food growing. In this regard, claims for mobility justice will contribute to build more robust alternatives of tourism, far from "business as usual" extractive models and closer to ideas of "tourism commons" and "justice tourism" (Sheller, 2021a; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2008; 2020), which have the potential to reset tourism for the benefit of both ecological protection and social justice in tourism-dependent economies such as those of small islands and SIDS.

5. Conclusions. (Not) Going back to normal: attempts to build a more ethical tourism

Some of the consequences of COVID-19 may be regarded as opportunities to introduce changes to the global economic system, including the tourism system. As imaginable, the simultaneous loss of many jobs and the resultant social problems encouraged the desire to re-establish tourism (Connell, 2021). Nonetheless, a "return to the old normal" for many PICs would be not only problematic - at least in the short term, since many consequences of the pandemic breakdown would inevitably persist long after infection rates fall (Foley *et al.*, 2022) -, but also far from being desirable. In the context of multiple crises, indeed, it is time to resist, rethink and reorganize the general unsustainability of existing modes of tourism and, if there is a time to do it, this would be it (Sheller, 2021a). The pandemic has been framed as an opportunity to "reset" entrenched systems and enhance policies that can favor a just green recovery in different sectors, tourism included (Foley *et al.*, 2022; Hawkes, 2020), thus supporting the implementation of the SDG, "ensuring a more resilient, inclusive, carbon neutral, and resource efficient future" (UNWTO, 2020c). As Sheller (2021) points out, this is a compelling moment not only to rebuild tourism-dependent economies but to find new approaches to reduce over-dependence on tourism and build more ethical, sustainable forms of tourism that take into considerations (im)mobility regimes and uneven mobility infrastructures. In the context of a post-pandemic tourism recovery, aspirations are high and so are uncertainties, fears and hopes. Referring to a climate resilient recovery, Foley *et al.* (2022) state that

the different approaches proposed so far have three elements in common: the inclusion of development needs, the empowerment of communities, and an overall holistic approach that, in PICs, would include nature-based solutions and ecosystem-based adaptation. In these circumstances, and in relation to Pacific Islands, Hutchison *et al.* (2021) specifically remark that one of the keys to restructure a post-pandemic mode of tourism is that Indigenous People's wellbeing is explicitly considered in the process of finding alternatives and, above all, that their voices are heard and integrated in future frameworks and practices about a real sustainable tourism. There are other perspectives that underline the need to resist "overtourism" as a symptom of oppressive capitalism by considering issues and principles of degrowth in tourism (Higgins-Desbiolles *et al.*, 2019; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2020). Furthermore, following Sheller's thought (2018; 2021a), there couldn't be anything close to sustainable tourism without a serious consideration of what tourism should look like under conditions of greater mobility justice and alternative trajectories of development, especially in the context of the climate crisis and necessary adaptation in Pacific SIDS.

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7. Stakeholder Involvement in Tourism Education Design

Simon Caruana[1]

Abstract

The identification and involvement of stakeholders in education design and development is often indicated as a means to ensure that educational programs truly fulfil the aims set for them. Tourism education is by no means exempt.

This study explores stakeholder involvement in a Bachelor program (EQF Level 6) in Tourism. The main stakeholders identified were asked for their views about the degree of involvement of both their stakeholder group but also other identified stakeholder groups. Data was collected through a series of focus groups and followed up by in-depth interviews.

The outcome indicates clearly that all the key stakeholders need to be involved in order to have a successful learning environment. It also highlights the need for the different stakeholders to interact and exchange views in this respect. On the other hand, there is a high element of mistrust when it comes to having one group working with another. This is in contrast to what is envisaged to ensure that the proposed is a successful one, namely that all stakeholders need to be able to work together.

To do so, one has to identify the stakeholders and identifying the attitudes held by each group. Subsequently one has to establish proper communication between the parties and diffuse any conflict situations that may arise. Only then would it be possible to move towards intercultural reflection and finally achieve constructive interaction between all the stakeholders involved.

Keywords:
Stakeholders, Tourism Education, Intercultural Competence, Soft Skills

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1. Introduction

Much research has been carried out about the acquisition of employability skills by school leavers, higher education students and other lifelong learners; however, the old debate still rages about what constitutes the right skill set. John Dewey was one of the first to explore this issue over a hundred years ago (Dewey, 1916). Closer to our times, and in particular in the aftermath of last decade's economic crisis together with the effects of the Covid-19 pandemic a re-assessment of the ideal type of graduate skill set took place at a quasi-global level.

Hargreaves (2003) asserts that preparing students to engage in the Learning Society is probably the biggest challenge that is currently facing higher education. The rate at which modern society changes is making this challenge even more difficult to face. This was already identified by Borges (2007). In his attempt to describe what he referred to as the 'virtual environment student', he quoted the 2001-2005 U.S. Secretary of Education:

"We still educate our students based on an agricultural timetable, in an industrial setting, but tell them they live in a digital age."

Rod Paige, U.S. Secretary of Education, (in Borges, 2007, p.1)

This implies enabling people to learn in collaboration, at a distance, throughout their livelihood, acquire the right attitudes and have the necessary skills and abilities to be able to manage information (Borges, 2007). Therefore, although there seems to be a general consensus within both academia and industry sectors regarding the importance of "transferable skills" for graduates, it also appears that employers, higher education providers, and young people do not necessarily understand the same thing by this term (Succi and Canovi, 2019).

2. A demand for skills and competences in today's learning society

Redecker et al. (2011) listed globalisation and immigration as two issues affecting Europe. Burn (2011) illustrates how globalisation is bringing different cultures in close proximity to an extent never witnessed before. This is changing the nature of workforce composition in organisations. As a result, for a person to thrive in modern organisations, one has to be creative and innovative, but s/he must also be able to operate within a multicultural

work environment. Moreover, French (2010) argues that as a consequence of globalisation, there has been, within the business research community, an emphasis on how to enter new national markets and engage in international strategic alliances. He also argues that 'labour flow' (his term) has been tackled to a much lesser extent globally (French, 2010).

The phenomenon of workers having to work in a culturally diverse environment is by no means new. If one looks at the last one hundred years in Western Europe, this has been witnessed in the different countries making up that part of the continent since the 1960s — particularly with the influx of immigrants hailing from different countries within this region and those from the former colonies of the same European countries (Hoskins and Sallah, 2011). In more recent times, one can observe a steady flow of persons between countries found within the European Union. This is the result of legislation that permits freedom of movement as the 'Schengen Agreement' (EUR-Lex, 2009). With this freedom it is much easier for people to move from one region of the European Union to another in the hope of better prospects in terms of employment, career progression, the future, etc. (Cedefop, 2016).

The European Commission recognised that one of the issues this could present is the recognition of the various qualification frameworks upheld by the different countries making up the union. This led to the development of the European Qualifications Framework (EQF), (EC, 2017b). It is worth noting that one of the key aspects of the EQF is the focus on learning outcomes: in other words, what knowledge, skills, and competences would have been acquired when the learning process has been completed (EC, 2017b).

While the documentation does not make a specific reference to culture-related skills and competences, it is possible to observe a number of references to EU-based documentation. Reference is made to the eight key competences identified by the European Commission as being fundamental for lifelong learning (EUR-Lex, 2006). These are summarised as follows:

1. Communication in the mother tongue. The ability to express and interpret concepts, thoughts, feelings, facts and opinions in both oral and written form and to interact linguistically in an appropriate and creative way in a full range of societal and cultural contexts;

2. Communication in foreign languages. It involves mediation and intercultural understanding;

3.   Mathematical competence and basic competences in science and technology. Mathematical competence is the ability to develop and apply mathematical thinking in order to solve a range of problems in everyday situations, with emphasis being placed on process, activity and knowledge. Basic competences in science and technology refer to the mastery, use and application of knowledge and methodologies that explain the natural world;

4.   Digital competence. This involves the confident and critical use of information society technology (IST) and thus basic skills in information and communication technology (ICT);

5.   Learning to learn. The ability to pursue and organise one's own learning, either individually or in groups and in accordance with one's own needs. It also includes awareness of methods and opportunities;

6.   Social and civic competences. Social competence refers to personal, interpersonal and intercultural competence, and all forms of behaviour that equip individuals to participate in an effective and constructive way in social and working life. Civic competence — and particularly knowledge of social and political concepts and structures (democracy, justice, equality, citizenship and civil rights) — equips individuals to engage in active and democratic participation;

7.   Sense of initiative and entrepreneurship. This is the ability to turn ideas into action. It involves creativity, innovation and risk-taking, as well as the ability to plan and manage projects in order to achieve objectives;

8.   Cultural awareness and expression. Involves appreciation of the importance of the creative expression of ideas, experiences and emotions in a range of media (music, performing arts, literature, and the visual arts). (Adapted from EUR-Lex, 2006)

Many of these competences are treated in various studies that look at soft skill requirements by students who will then enter the world of employment. (Cedefop, 2016; Redecker et al, 2011; Silva, 2009; Suto, 2013).

However, there is evidence suggesting that these competences are not being acquitted by students. Lowden et al.'s (2011) study, carried out in Scotland, looks at the employers' and HEI representatives' perceptions of the employability skills of new graduates. The employers' views may be summarised in the following list:

1. Team working
2. Problem solving
3. Self-management
4. Knowledge of the business
5. Literacy and numeracy skills relevant to the job post
6. ICT knowledge
7. Good interpersonal and communication skills
8. Ability to use own initiative, but also follow instructions
9. Leadership skills where necessary

Representatives of HEIs came up with another list of skills and attributes that in their view would enhance graduates' job prospects (Lowden et al., 2011):

1. Communication and presentation skills
2. Ability to work on their own initiative and independently
3. Assuming responsibility
4. Problem solving and creativity
5. Time management
6. Ability to work as part of a team and lead when appropriate
7. Ability to network
8. Knowledge of the industry and work readiness
9. Willingness to learn and take responsibility for their own development
10. Ability to be reflective about themselves and what they want from the job
11. Motivation and enthusiasm
12. Self-confidence

There are many congruent points. They suggest that ways have to be found in order to incorporate these skills and attributes across HE programs. Moreover, work placements would allow students to demonstrate their skills to their prospective employers. However, all of this may be futile unless there is what Lowden et al. (2011) refer to as 'meaningful employer participation on HEI committees'.

Similar questions are posed by Chamorro-Premuriz, and Frankiewicz (2019) whereby employers point out to the gap between what students learn and what skills and competences they actually have to be 'job-ready'. They argue that the biggest difference between what universities and employers

look for lies in 'people skills'. Today's employers look for resilience, empathy and integrity. They argue that universities rarely look for, let alone nuture these attributes. They go on to contend that the rise of Artificial Intelligence and disruptive technologies at the workplace makes these attributes even more valuable in people as they are still difficult for machines to emulate (Chamorro-Premuriz, and Frankiewicz, 2019).

This is a global phenomenon, as studies by Hyasat (2022) and Kimeto (2021) indicate. In his analysis of Jordanian tourism and hospitality curricula, Hyasat (2022), arrives to similar conclusions. That is, that there is a gap between the set curricula and the employer's curricula and that part of the solution is to involve the industry when it comes to tourism and hospitality curricular development. Kimeto's study suggest that the skill set with which tourism graduates in Kenya are being equipped is not matching the industry's requirements and that, closer collaboration between the two sectors is required to redress this situation (Kimeto, 2021).

The notion that some stakeholder feel that their contribution is ignored is therefore not new. This paper attempts to redress this issue. The study by Caruana (2019) looked at implementing a blended learning environment to teach and assess soft skills in tourism education. But in doing so, it had to explore ways by which stakeholders are first identified and subsequently involved.

3.   Determing the key stakeholders

Freeman (1994) defines stakeholders as groups or individuals that may affect or are themselves affected by the achievement of an organisation's objectives. Mead and Andrews (2011) discuss stakeholders as being fundamental towards successfully implementing a strategy. They quote David's (1993) definition which describes stakeholders as individuals and groups of persons who have a special stake or claim on the company.

Maric (2013) makes a direct reference to the role stakeholders may play in affecting HE. Getting to know the stakeholders' perspective is an essential to ensure that universities are able to fulfil their mission.

Caruana's (2019) study looked at an undergraduate program run by the Institute of Tourism, Travel and Culture (ITTC, 2010) forming part of

the University of Malta (UoM). All the relevant documentation regarding the governance of the ITTC was carried out in order to identify the main stakeholders that may have an interest (and possibly have an influence) on the ITTC curriculum. This first step was to look at all the potential stakeholders and classify them into two broad categories: external and internal (Lewis, 2006).

For the purposes of this research study, external Stakeholders are those not 'residing' within the UoM and the ITTC. While it is unlikely that they have a direct involvement in the development of the ITTC's strategies and policies (ITTC, 2010), they would be affected by the decisions taken within the ITTC. These stakeholders were:

1. Malta Tourism Authority (MTA) — the principal government agency involved in the development of Malta's tourism strategies, policy planning, legislation and enforcement, etc.
2. Heritage Malta — the government agency entrusted with the running and management of various heritage sites.
3. Malta Hotels and Restaurants Association (MHRA) — representing the vast majority of operators/employers in the Maltese tourism and hospitality sector.
4. Institute of Tourism Studies (ITS) — students from ITS may further their education at the ITTC.
5. The tourists visiting the Maltese Islands.

On the other hand, internal stakeholders are found within the UoM. Although not all of these are directly involved with the planning and development of the ITTC curriculum, their influence and power welding is determined by the administrative and managerial roles that they may occupy within the ITTC and other UoM entities. They are therefore in a position to determine whether a proposed curricular change would be approved, amended, and ultimately implemented. The following internal stakeholders were identified:

1. ITTC Director
2. ITTC Academic Staff
3. ITTC Board Members
4. Other UoM Academic Staff
5. ITTC Students
6. UoM IT Services.
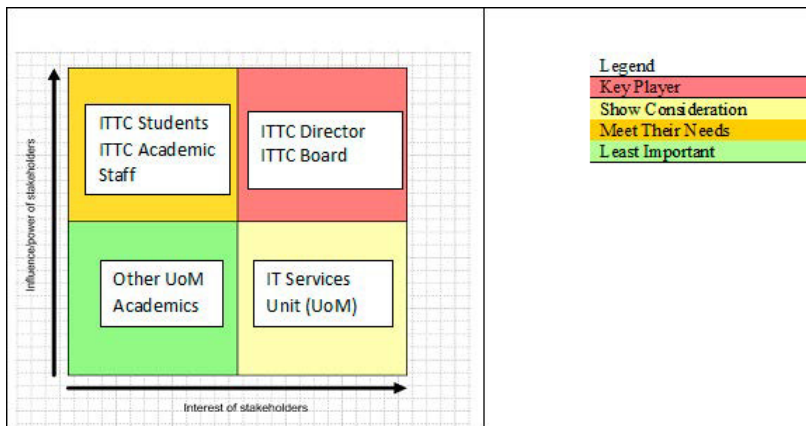
Figure 1 ITTC stakeholders' power and influence based on Bryson's (1995) Quadrant

In order to gain further understanding of the power and influence that internal stakeholders have over the ITTC, two informal discussions were carried out with two academic staff members of the ITTC. The first member was a relatively recent addition to the ITTC academic team as he came from a senior management background in tourism. Since the mid-1980s he has held various high- profile tourism management and consultancy positions and has over 30 years of experience within the Maltese tourism sector. The second member is an academic by profession since the mid-1990s who occupies various academic and administrative roles. He was on the University Council which is responsible for the general administration of the University (UOM, 2022) and is currently a member of the ITTC board (which, as indicated earlier, provides the Institute with academic direction as it determines the nature of the studies, teaching, and research carried out within the Institute).

The outcome of these discussions was the establishment that, when it comes to ITTC curriculum design and development, the key stakeholders within the ITTC are: the ITTC board and the ITTC Director (who ultimately sets the policies). Academic staff do have some influence and power due to the positions that they may occupy within the ITTC subcommittees, but the ultimate decision-making power belongs to the ITTC board. ITTC students are represented on some of the subcommittees and these may therefore air their views; however, these representatives are always in the minority. Therefore, while some aspects of the ITTC curriculum design would be of interest to these students, their degree of influence on the matter is limited.

However, when the idea of utilising ICT/e-learning for teaching and learning within the ITTC was broached, it was pointed out that any decisions taken in this regard are subject to approval by the UoM's IT Services. The current ITTC website was brought forward as an example, as this is hosted on the UoM IT Services servers. The website template and layout of the ITTC website was provided by UoM IT Services. Amendments to it are regularly made by the ITTC staff, but all the changes are subject to approval by the IT Services supervisory staff. Similarly, any e-learning-related initiative is subject to their approval. Therefore, although it is not on the ITTC board, the UoM IT Services unit has significant influence over curricular developments that involves ICT/e-learning.

From these discussions it may be concluded that, while it is clear that students will be the main participants in the exercise being proposed, it is vital to obtain information from the ITTC academic staff (some of which form part of the ITTC board) in relation to their views on intercultural competence and the use of a blended learning environment. Other members of ITTC staff who form part of the boards of studies, ethics, and dissertations, as well as other committees also need to have their say. Equally important is to try and obtain the views of at least a key figure in the UoM's IT Services section as this section is entrusted with the design, implementation, and maintenance of the e-learning platform.

External stakeholders would appear to be completely excluded, in clear contrast to Maric (2013) suggestions.

4. Data collection methods

Following the identification of the key stakeholders, the next phase is that to create the appropriate environment from which it would be possible to gather the required data in order to answer the queries posed with regards to stakeholder involvement.

The data was collected through a series of interviews. These were as follows:

> 1. Six student interviews. The seventh student participant was unable to do the final interview as she was no longer residing in Malta and declined to do it online.

2.   Eight members of the ITTC academic staff

3.   A senior manager within the UoM IT Services unit

To this, one has to add the workshop carried out with four representatives from the hospitality sector. Although, they can be defined as 'external' stakeholders, it was thought to get their views in response to Chamorro-Premuriz, and Frankiewicz (2019) argumentations. During the workshop there was quite a lively discussion which was actually transcribed and subsequently analysed.

5.   Findings

5.1. *Preliminary preparation*

All the interviews were anonymized. They were given a code in a way that the code itself would reflect the 'type' of research participant. Hence 'AC' would imply an academic, SP was a student participant, 'MN' for management, 'IT' for IT services employee and SC referred to the researcher.

All the transcripts were then reviewed in order to determine whether data was indicating particular, recurring issues. These were coded. This resulted in a rather large set of data codes. Further analysis lead to observing that some of the codes were quite similar, even if derived from different research participant categories. These codes were subsequently clustered into wider-ranging code categories based upon common data patterns as proposed by Braun and Clarke (2013). This task was facilitated with the use of the pivot tables as it was then possible to attempt to cluster the coding into various categories.

The step to establish patterns along the codes was carried out both manually and using the pivot table. Data was regularly reviewed again to consolidate the knowledge of the data itself. This iterative process enabled to group the themes into larger conglomerates having a common characteristic or theme. Each theme was reviewed to ensure that the supporting evidence does back the proposed theme. The final set of themes was supported with evidence from both the transcripts and the literature reviewed earlier.

Initially, it appeared that there were two themes that would cluster the main codes. One seemed to indicate a general unwillingness to embrace blended learning in higher education and the other an element of mistrust. Trust issues

were referred to by all the main research participants albeit at times from very different view-points. Working online implies trust: trust in the system, trust in the individuals interacting with the system, and trust in the administration of the system. Stakeholder involvement is also conditional to trust. The theme of trust is hereunder analysed in detail.

5.2. *Theme 1: A question of trust*

The students' historical lack of opportunities to peer-review exercises may lie behind their inclination towards retaining some distance between students and academics. Students were rather sceptical of giving themselves more say in the course design, the setting up of learning outcomes and, in particular, in issues related to assessment.

The higher education, well I think the lecturer always is the, has to have the…

Final say if you like… (SC)

But the higher you go, the education level, I think yes, there should be more involvement by the students. (SP1)

In spite of these reservations, they rated their involvement in this exercise positively. All the tasks were seen as both fair and meaningful (Herrington et al., 2010). This re-affirms the importance of having real-life situations included in the teaching and learning activities and the assessment tasks (Biggs and Tang, 2011; Herrington et al., 2010).

I think it will need to be set because at least to be approved by I believe a board of lecturers, so I think the authority of lecturers and the higher management still needs to be there and present, but students it might help to involve them in certain areas to make them feel that they're…heard. (SP4)

5.3. *Theme 2: Stakeholder Involvement*

Academics had a rather lukewarm reaction to the inclusion of stakeholders in the assessment. Regardless of whether students, industry professionals, or other stakeholders were suggested, the response was a cautious one. While welcoming stakeholder involvement, the view upheld was that it should be limited to a consultative role, lest they take over with their own agenda.

I mean getting persons in is always very good when it comes putting together courses. If you get feedback from the, industry that you're preparing courses for, it's always very valid. The problem you have…, there is a change in outcomes, between the needs of industry and the academic needs you know. (AC1)

Advisory I think… not more than advisory. Yes, because otherwise if they did go into more, then eventually they will be doing them (the learning outcomes) on their terms. (AC2)

If you're talking for example a training scheme you have to try to understand that there are certain agendas that are pushing and you know, their learning outcomes will be shaped very much by the management. So you have to do it with caution and with some intelligence. (AC7)

A similar view was upheld by the IT Services representative. Control should be firmly in the hands of the academics.

I think obviously with university should be very much in touch with, the requirements, I would say, not of the employers but really the requirements of society.

I don't want to use a strong word … I don't want to have the agenda dictated by either the government over policies or lawyers. Because ultimately I see, the academic as having the expertise and being current with research elsewhere. They would have the foresight, probably more than the employers or the government. (IT)

This unwillingness to open to external stakeholders may be due to how national entities have handled such involvement historically, often over-valuing the contributions of industry representatives at the expense of the recommendations from the academics (NCFHE, 2014, ibid, pp. 36-38).

Student participants had less rigid views, but some of the students did remark that the ultimate say has to remain within the academic's remit.

Employers I think they have to. Because if they are employing… they are employing people from different cultures, they at least, they have to at least understand each… you can't have everyone.

Employees as well. Employees in the tourism industry, for example, make… they meet other people all the time, so it needs to be there. And even with other colleagues. Academics maybe… it's not that much important as, as people working in the industry. But still if you have students that have different cultures, they still need

to understand and maybe make the lecture appropriate for each and every culture. Students, maybe not that much. But they need to understand more when they start working. (SP3)

The MHRA, MTA, you know. If you are applying it to other industries, you need to speak to the relevant bodies. (SP2)

Tourism for sure. I would include in work with people in hotels for sure. People, who maybe in events, in fairs… who meet people from different nationalities, so in the travel sector too. So, anywhere where people are engaging with people, especially from different nationalities, different backgrounds, cultures, basically. (SP5)

Industry representatives also lamented this lack of interaction. Some attributed this to academia's lack of engagement. A particular member mentioned that while individual academics may be interested, it becomes a little more difficult if done in an official format as one needs to take into account the teachers' unions.

No, useful for sure. I think it should be across all levels personally. The only problem you have there is the Malta Union of Teachers (MUT). Because we tried to introduce that some time ago. The problem is that you have some fantastic academics. I was an academic myself. But then the touch with the industry is… not there! (MN2)

6. Analysis

Overall, the findings revealed that all the participant groups felt the actual adoption and correct implementation of any aspects related to implementation of soft-skill related curriculum development was dependent upon the attitudes held by the stakeholders involved, together with the degree of trust existing between them. Trust affects the level of interaction and the attitudes influence the value which the participants attribute to a given issue.

6.1. *Stakeholder involvement as a critical factor*

It is clear that all the key stakeholders need to be involved in order to have a successful constructively aligned and blended learning environment. It also highlights the need for the different stakeholders to interact and exchange views in this respect.

On the other hand, the findings clearly indicate that there is a high element of mistrust when it comes to having one group working with another. Yet Biggs and Tang (2011) make it clear that Constructive Alignment requires the different stakeholders in the education process, namely students and academics (but also administrators), to be able to work together in order to make it a success. It is therefore fundamental that ways to increase trust between the different stakeholders are found.

6.2. *Establishing trust between all stakeholders involved*

Determining the needs of the individual stakeholder groups is one thing; getting them to work together is another. This study clearly shows a degree of mistrust between some of the stakeholders involved. The way that certain initiatives in higher education were managed as part of the higher education strategy (NCFHE, 2014) and the underlying perception of a preference for foreign 'consultants' over local ones does not help at all.

Academics want to retain overall control of the course design and development, but view directives from the management as intrusion in their teaching and learning. Students feel they have little say in the changes being carried out and therefore see little point in participating in the process. Employers see their considerations being met with scepticism if not outright suspicion.

Yet, to be successful, the implementation of a novel learning environment related to tourism education should involve the key stakeholders, as by Maric (2013).

6.3. *Acquiring trust by understanding each other's attitudes*

The discussion arising from the findings (from both the student focus group, the workshop with representatives from the hospitality sector, and the in-depth interviews with students, academics, and IT Services staff) highlight the need to have the 'right' attitude. However, the different stakeholders have different notions as to what constitutes the 'right attitude'. Moreover, the attitude is often dependent on the degree of trust present.

Students do not trust one another in peer assessment. They also think that academics are out of touch with reality. Academics do not trust students: they think that students do not have the right attitude and maturity. Academics are sceptical of other academics who, in their view, should be humble enough

to admit that they are not well-versed blended learning methods and outcomes-based learning principles. Academics are wary of working with industry representatives for fear that the latter would impose their own agenda. Academics are at loggerheads with the university administration who they see it as stifling academic freedom. Operators in tourism are sceptical of academics as, like students, they view them as being completely out of touch with the reality within which they operate.

This lack of trust between the different groups is the main obstacle towards preventing them from working together. Therefore, apart from the training indicated in the earlier section, there has to be a series of confidence-building measures that improves trust between the different stakeholders at the ITTC.

6.4. *Improving trust implies improving stakeholder communication*

The lack of opportunities for stakeholders to engage and exchange ideas further highlights the lack of trust between them. A particular sequence of events that took place at the ITTC throughout the period under scrutiny in this research is symptomatic of this.

Over a period of four years, the ITTC board appointed three different directors and three different board chairpersons — this when the designated duration for each post is four years. High administration staff turnover was also observed. Both factors contributed to a breakdown in the communication between the various stakeholders. Academics felt isolated and not supported in their work, yet they still had to adhere to grading deadlines, course learning outcomes, etc. Initiatives in blended learning were seen as a further burden within this context.

This lack of communication makes it even more difficult to support existing practices, let alone initiate new ones. The challenge is therefore to network effectively with all the stakeholders and improve communication. If by improving communication, the value of the others' contribution (Cajander et al., 2012) is acknowledged, then confidence, trust, and mutual respect for the other will increase.

However, it is not without challenges, as this study itself shows. Identifying and engaging with the stakeholders required time and careful planning. In this study, the 'insider' status of the researcher (Trowler, 2011) was an advan-

tage at times, especially in terms of obtaining access to some stakeholders, and identifying the gatekeepers and their influence.

It may be more difficult to get the same level of co-operation in other organisations without the availability of this level of insider information, which is not always there. One has to identify the stakeholders and get them to sit around a table. The second step would be identifying the attitudes held by each group. Subsequently one has to determine the knowledge and skills needed in order to establish proper communication between the parties and diffuse any conflict situations that may arise. Only then would it be possible to move towards intercultural reflection and finally achieve constructive interaction between all the stakeholders involved (Boecker and Jager, 2006).

6.5. A role for intercultural competence in consolidating trust

The findings of this study suggest that the contribution of intercultural competence may be extended to attribute value to the contributions of all the stakeholders involved in a given HE scenario, not just students. Only by being able to attribute value to the other stakeholders' contribution, can there be mutual tolerance, and subsequent communication across all parties. This would instil a sense of mutual trust between the parties involved in the educational process to eventually arrive at a stage where each stakeholder is able to, using Boecker and Jager's (2006) words, interact constructively. Its application in education management would consolidate Boecker and Jager's (2006) view that intercultural competence is indeed a key skill for the 21st century.

This study helped determine the stakeholders' different attitudes towards blended learning, aspects of constructive alignment and, indeed, intercultural competence. Future research should aim towards using intercultural competence to bring together all the stakeholders involved for a given context within higher education, such as blended learning or constructive alignment. Each stakeholder would need to be made aware of the other's attitudes regarding the issue being studied, and then determine the knowledge and skills that need to be shared across all the parties in order to ensure effective communication between them. Each stakeholder should be able to empathise with the position held by the other stakeholder/s and interact in a constructive fashion.

To use intercultural competence in other organisations may pose significant challenges. Stakeholders may be difficult to identify and some may be

unwilling to participate. Not everyone may be as open and direct during the data gathering sessions as was the case in this study. Further work in this respect is required to determine the best ways of engaging with interested parties in other situations. Nevertheless, it is my view that the application of the principles underlying intercultural competence may contribute towards increasing trust and reciprocal understanding between different stakeholders for a given scenario.

John Dewey's (1916) statement, mentioned earlier in Section 2.3.1, seems to provide a fitting conclusion:

"And there is perhaps no better definition of culture than that it is the capacity for constantly expanding the range and accuracy of one's perception of meanings."

(Dewey, J (1916), p. 123).

Intercultural competence reminds us that one's perception of meanings must necessarily include the perception of meanings of the other. It is by doing so that we, as educators and education planners, can truly respond to the challenges being placed in front of us by 21st-century society.

7. Limitations of this study

The issues of being an insider researcher and dealing with gatekeepers was discussed earlier. I was fortunate to have had the 'status' of an insider researcher, that certainly facilitated matters in certain aspects. On the other hand, it posed ethical issues that were previously not encountered in other previous research exercises. It also brought up the issue of gatekeeping and whether gatekeepers will be expecting anything in return for their help in accessing research participants or existing documentation.

I consider myself fortunate in that I did not encounter serious issues with respect to these two issues. All the research participant groups were relatively easy to access and they all graciously accepted to take part. However, there will be other instances where determining the key stakeholders will be more difficult and even harder to get them to accept the invitation to take part in a research exercise. Some stakeholder may have confidentiality concerns which require addressing. Very often, the researcher will have a single oppor-

tunity to engage and therefore it needs to be well planned in advance. This study had a similar scenario when the opportunity to engage with the industry representatives came up. Unlike with the other participant groups, less time was available to design and implement the data collection exercise.

One way to tackle this is to identify the key stakeholder groups early in the study. And ensure that all the ethical aspects are dealt with well in advance (anonymity etc.). This will allay some, if not all of the stakeholders' concerns and encourage them to take part. All the researchers need to be thoroughly conversant with research aspects issues as one omission may derail the work of the entire team.

8.   Final Reflections

My interest in what are collectively defined as 'soft skills' had started at the end of the 20th century during my Masters' degree studies.

Malta has since joined the EU, and as a result of healthy economic growth, it is experiencing an influx of people coming to work. Some choose to settle. In less than a decade, the Maltese Islands have experienced a population growth of almost 20% in the process, whereas up till the 1960's and 1970's emigration to the United Kingdom and other Commonwealth countries was seen as way to mitigate unemployment (Baldacchino, 2019). From a fairly homogenous, native-based population, there are now numerous expatriate communities. This has increased the need for all the stakeholders to engage even more and ensure that no one is left adrift.

Malta is a microcosm of what has been happening elsewhere. Close to our shores one can observe similar situations in many countries within the European Union and other, neighbouring countries. Migration, whether for economic or other, more dramatic reasons, will continue. Individuals with different cultural backgrounds are more likely to get into contact. The need to be empathise with others is vital in order to interact constructively with one another.

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8. Responsible Tourism in Theory and Practice: Past, Present, and Future.

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Abstract

Responsible tourism has emerged as a key component in the tourism and hospitality industry over the past decade. The aim of this chapter is to review the theory underpinnings and practices from a holistic point of view and within the context from which this publication draws, namely, mobility, tourism, and migration. The content here also discusses past, present, and future theories and practices of Responsible Tourism by focusing on concepts of sustainable development, which include but are not limited to, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), famous models related to sustainable tourism, the contribution of governments towards RT, and the role of the private sector. This article also highlights the need for more research to understand the complex dynamics of Mobility, Tourism, and Migration (MTM) and the needs for thorough, collaborative action to create a future of sustainable growth and opportunity.

Keywords:
Sustainability; Socio-cultural Implications; Shared Responsibilities; Discourse Analysis; Climate Change

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Introduction

The 21st century has ushered in an unprecedented period of globalization and mobility. Advances in digital technology and transportation have made the world much smaller, making it easier for people to move from one location to another at an unprecedented rate. These movements are taking the form of migration, migration for labour and tourism, and development-oriented mobility.

Responsible tourism (RT) has emerged as a powerful and holistic concept in the industry over the past decade. From conventionally-understood notions of sustainability and community-based tourism have come more challenging and insightful ideas that take more extraordinary account of social, economic, and environmental dimensions. The concept of RT has now been embraced by many stakeholders and policymakers and is widely used in industry publications and references to destinations, hotels, and tour operators.

While the concept of RT is well established in theory, in practice, the outcomes often need to catch up to the hopeful expectations. The aim of this chapter is to review RT in theory and practice from a holistic point of view and within the context from which this publication draws, namely, mobility, tourism and migration. In order to understand better how RT becomes embedded into policies, training, and, indeed, the experiences of tourists, the content of this paper will analyse the academic discourse that has been presented by various scholars in previous years. Questions are also raised about the aspirations of RT, including how to address more integrated and sustainable approaches to development and, indeed, the implications of migration and mobility.

This article also discusses past, present, and future theories and practices of RT by focusing on concepts of sustainable development, particularly the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), famous models, the part played by governments, and the role of the private sector. The research question that this chapter will try answers asks if any further success of RT is linked to the efficient movement of people, which can be termed mobility. The hypothesis tested here is that mobility is fundamental to the success of RT but also to the human experience of sustainability. This article thus contributes to the literature on RT by being one of the first to comprehensively understand the concept within the context of mobility and migration.

To answer the research questions, literature from various academic and professional sources is considered and integrated into a detailed conceptual discussion and review of RT. Practical examples are used to support and il-

lustrate key points. The article is structured by focusing on RT's past, present, and future, as this approach encourages a broad understanding of the concept and its development.

The concepts of RT are well established in theory, government recognition, use of practical models, addressing market failures, enabling an enabling environment for private sector engagement. Improved mobility of people is crucial for RT to move beyond a theoretical ideal and become genuinely embedded in the future of global tourism, sustainable development, and the needs of local stakeholders.

In the modern world, the concepts of migration, tourism, and mobility are intrinsically intertwined yet often considered in isolation. While each of these three concepts is complex enough in its own right, in recent decades, they have become engaged in increasing and dynamic interaction, positively and negatively impacting countries, localities, and individuals. From global and regional forums to national discussions on border control, migration policies, and tourism development, Mobility, Tourism, and Migration (MTM) are issues of critical importance to governments, businesses, and individuals who strive to capitalize and benefit from opportunities presented, while simultaneously balancing the challenges posed.

1.   What is Mobility?

Mobility is a broadly defined concept that encompasses physical displacement from one place to another and changes in status, behaviour, skills, and capabilities. Physical mobility occurs on many levels, including local and regional travel, commuting, migration, and displacement. Changes in status, behaviours, skills, and capabilities can also be included in mobility considerations (Alessandretti et al., 2020). In this sense, mobility can refer to the movement of people and shifts in social, economic, or political positions or identities. Mobility spans many forms and functions, including intentional and unintentional mobility, forced and voluntary mobility, and migratory mobility.

2.   What is Tourism?

Tourism, as traditionally defined, is a short-term, leisure travel to destinations away from an individual's usual sightseeing environment, participating

in recreational activities, and seeking rest and rejuvenation (UNWTO, 2017). With the emergence of digital technology, which has made it easier to connect people from different countries, the scope and the definition of tourism have come to encompass a much more comprehensive range of travellers. Tourism today can include not only leisure travellers but also business travellers, educational travellers, and those engaging in what is usually referred to as voluntourism or sustainable tourism, the combination of travel with voluntarism, social assistance, or conservation activities.

3. What is Migration?

Migration is a form of mobility that involves the long-term, large-scale movement of people across international boundaries. It involves the resettlement or incorporation of those who move into their adopted countries. It is typically characterized by the intention to permanently change an individual's usual place of residence (IOM, 2015, Segal, 2019).

4. Historical Approaches to Mobility and Migration

The historical study of Mobility, Tourism, and Migration (MTM) helps us understand how these processes have developed over time. MTM has been a significant factor throughout human history, and they were often interrelated, with the movements of people facilitating tourism and the growth of trade (Salazar, 2022). Early migrations were often generated by the need for access to resources, whereas more recent migrations were primarily driven by improved economic and social opportunities (Choe & Lugosi, 2022).

During the Middle Ages and up until the 19th century, exploration and travel were mainly undertaken by the privileged few who had the resources and ability to explore, with the majority of the population lacking the economic and technological resources required to explore the world (Bhatia, 2002). With the advent of the Industrial Revolution, changes in transportation and the lowering of travel and labour costs made international travel and migration more accessible to a broader population (Gierczak, 2011) .Not only were migration and tourism becoming democratized, but the motivations of those undertaking these activities were also changing.

The 19th and 20th centuries may be characterized as a 'tourist revolution,' where tourism experienced an explosion in scale, scope, and diversity. This

period was also marked by developments in mobility, with migration becoming increasingly widespread and intertwined with tourism (Walton, 2005). This was the start of a new era in MTM, where technological and transport advances paved the way for further exploration, movement, and development.

5. The intersection of Mobility, Tourism, and Migration

Much of the mobility we observe today encompasses a combination of tourism, labour migration, and development-oriented mobility. Many individuals travel for extended periods to fulfil various combinations of these functions, e.g., migrant workers and students who may engage in leisure and tourist activities. However, mobility, tourism, and migration interact in more ways than this. For example, migration may involve non-permanent labour mobility, and migrant populations may be critical contributors to global tourism. This is particularly important as some destinations rely more on migrant-sourced labour to support their tourism and hospitality sectors (Piso, 2016). There is also evidence that global mobility and tourism flows are interlinked and mutually reinforcing (Crispin. Thurlow et al., 2010). This intersection is important to consider when examining the challenges and impacts of mobility, tourism, and migration in the 21st century.

6. The Economic Impacts of Mobility, Tourism, and Migration

The global economy has been transformed in the past few decades by the intersection of mobility, tourism, and migration. Of the economic impacts, disparities in income levels between countries of origin and those hosting migrant workers are the most significant (Dwyer, 2015; Huh & Park, 2021; Mowforth & Munt, 2008; Porto & Espinola, 2019). Migrant labour is often cheaper than host-country labour, resulting in wage compression and reduced employment opportunities for lower-skilled native workers. This can lead to social resentment towards migrants and potential political instability. In the tourism sector, meanwhile, labour exploitation has become an increasingly prominent form of global mobility (UNWTO, 2017). Low wages in the tourism sector (which, in many countries, are lower than in other sectors) and the presence of both legal and undocumented migrant labour contribute to this exploitation (Santos & Varejão, 2007).

7.   Migration, Immigration, and Refugee Policies

The intersection of mobility, tourism, and migration has been heavily regulated in many countries, especially regarding migration, immigration, and refugee policies and laws. This regulation is often driven by national interests such as protectionism and economic security and can result in restrictive policies. These policies range from visa requirements and border controls to quotas and more restrictive visa systems, further marginalizing vulnerable migrant populations (Boswell, 2007). They can also disrupt the flow of good migrant labour, increasing illegal labour migration and exploitation of migrants.

8.   Implications for Development

The implications of mobility, tourism, and migration for economic and social development are significant. Undocumented migrants and refugees, for example, are often excluded from national development strategies. Mobility for both labour and leisure can provide economic opportunities for some but can also contribute to rising income inequality and displacement of vulnerable populations (Cocola-Gant, 2018; Gant, 2015; Gravari-Barbas & Guinand, 2017; Mullenbach & Baker, 2020). Additionally, the prevalence of short-term and informal labour in the tourism and hospitality sectors can pose employment challenges, creating an increased risk of exploitation and low wages. These challenges are often exacerbated by the lack of legal protection frameworks, meaning migrants and refugees are often not entitled to the same labour rights and benefits as host citizens.

9.   Past Theories and Practices of Responsible Tourism

Responsible tourism emerges from a long history of associations and co-operative approaches to global tourism (Burrai et al., 2019; Cheer et al., 2021; Frey & George, 2012). Formative thinking can be found in Utopian societies of the eighteenth century and the early advances in technology and transportation. The idea of sustainability has always been evident in terms of its importance to the environment. Still, social responsibility became linked to tourism and development in the mid-twentieth century.

The formal concept of RT derived from the Brundtland Report (1987), which described economic growth that met the needs of the present without

compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. This placed great emphasis on both RT's environmental and social dimensions. Tourism Concern, in the UK in the 1990s, placed the concept of RT squarely in tourism through their work on ecotourism and community-based tourism (World Commission on Environment and Development & Brundtland, 1987).

When discussing the foundations of RT, it is essential to consider both the economic drivers of the tourism sector and its social, political and ethical dimensions (Cheer et al., 2021). One of the critical theorists in this respect has been who explored the concept of tourism as an act of responsible freedom; it is part of a journey of self-discovery, the experience of an otherness or discovering something beyond the boundaries of the familiar and the routine. This is a form of freedom in its most articulable form, in which we can act, choose, and experience something different from the everyday.

In addition, theories of the stakeholder citizen and the ethic of care have contributed to the ethical ideology of tourism, where the welfare of the visitor is placed at a premium, even in a globalized marketplace (Burrai et al., 2019).This is linked to the ethic of hospitality, which encourages the positive engagement of hosts and guests to ensure mutually beneficial outcomes, even if these involve sacrifice by one or both parties. Similarly, existing concepts of business ethics linked to Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) and best practices have also significantly influenced contemporary discussions of RT, where the onus remains on responsible choices at all times.

The primary underpinning of RT is, of course, the tourism industry itself. This can be provided through public sector tourism development and marketing initiatives, industry standards, quality assurance schemes, and private sector initiatives such as CSR programs. Also, as noted. Traditional environmental concerns that partly initiated the RT agenda should be addressed; this may include the preservation of habitats, cultural diversity, and public access to the countryside.

10. Present Theories and Practices of Responsible Tourism

At the present juncture, the concept of RT is increasingly significant in both professional and academic arenas. The sustainability of tourism is now closely associated with the concept of RT and is, in many respects, beyond question. The concept has also been embraced by international bodies and regional and national governments, suggesting broad recognition of its importance.

Regarding the practice of RT, there is a growing list of responsible tourism management systems and criteria at the international and regional levels. The Global Sustainable Tourism Council (GSTC) oversees criteria that include the following elements: responsible business practices, product certification, integrated decision-making, and best practices. Similarly, models such as the Green and Blue Lists of Good Practice developed by the World Tourism Organisation focus on practical and achievable initiatives (GSTC Council, 2014).

At the local level, Responsible Tourism (RT) programs are also forming a more important place in the lives of residents and tourists alike. This is especially the case in destination-wide approaches, where stakeholders from the private, public, and voluntary sectors collaborate to improve tourism standards and deliver more sustainable experiences. Examples of such collaborations can be found through programmes such as the WTM Responsible Tourism which saw its inception during the Cape Town Conference on Responsible Tourism in Destinations and which has consecutively led to the 2002 Cape Town Declaration on RT. Such initiatives clearly demonstrate the increasing importance of collective, integrated, and multi-stakeholder approaches (Burrai et al., 2019).

In addition, the private sector has recognized the importance of RT, most notably in the form of 'Green Hotels' and ecotourism initiatives. Much evidence supports the claim that hotels are moving away from single-issue 'green' initiatives towards more holistic and integrated programs involving renewable energy sources, ethical labour practices, and the enhancement of cultural heritage sites. Furthermore, the value of integrating policy, practice, and the particular characteristics of RT programs is increasingly being recognized (Abeyratne & Arachchi, 2021; Alexander & Kennedy, 2002; Joppe & Dodds, 1998). Has argued that RT programs need to be sensitive to socio-economic and cultural contexts and the level of political will and existing physical infrastructure. Such insights emphasize the importance of multi-level and multi-sectoral strategies when attempting to effect meaningful change in RT.

11. Theories and Practices of Responsible Tourism

It is clear from the discussion above that while significant inroads have been made in RT's theory and practice, the concept's future still needs to be defined and untested. Questions about the nature and direction of RT need to be addressed, especially regarding how the concept can move beyond its

current form and become fully embedded in global tourism, sustainable development, and the needs of local stakeholders.

Two key drivers of development within the tourism sector are mobility and migration. Here, themes of accessibility, interconnectedness, and regulation come to the fore. Mobility is a fundamental part of the tourism experience, both in terms of the movement of visitors and their associated spending patterns, as well as the impact on host populations. Policies such as 'transport poverty where mobility is restricted by cost or access can have significant ramifications for RT and, indeed, the broader issue of sustainable tourism.

Regulation is also a significant issue, especially regarding research on RT, best practices, and the capacity of the industry to respond to changing demands. For example, international frameworks such as the Global Sustainable Tourism Criteria (GSTC) have been developed to set tourism practice and governance standards. However, there is a need for greater clarity on linking such frameworks to legal standards and market failure (Bristow et al., 2010).

Governments also have a crucial role to play in the implementation of RT. The primary role of government is to create and modify policies and provide incentives and subsidies to support private-sector investment. Using tax breaks and grant-aid programs has effectively promoted private-sector participation in RT programs. However, their efficacy largely depends on how effectively infrastructure, professional training, and marketing strategies support local enterprises.

The private sector has a crucial role in promoting RT. Companies can act as an exemplar in sustainability and customer service. More broadly speaking, companies can utilize improved customer data collection and analysis to respond better to changes in market demand and promote more immersive experiences that will enhance more profound levels of engagement with RT themes. Such initiatives depend on improved standardization, customer experience data collection, analytics, awareness, and education.

12. Conceptualizing Mobility, Tourism, and Migration

Theories of mobility and tourism are drawn from a broad range of disciplines, including sociology, anthropology, economics, geography, and psychology, as well as historical and government policy studies (Abeyratne & Arachchi, 2021; Alexander & Kennedy, 2002; Burns, G. L., 2004; Burns, P. M., 1999; Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Hall, 2013; Joppe & Dodds, 1998; Lamers

et al., 2017; Mura & Wijesinghe, 2021). Mobility can be defined more broadly as the process of moving people, goods, information, ideas, and services. Migration is commonly described as a sustained movement of people or a series connected by a sequence of moments of change in residence. Tourism is more clearly defined than the other two terms but can be broadly viewed as a short-term movement of people visiting various places but not making a permanent residence. However, there is an increasing recognition that more than these definitions are needed and that different types of people and travel activities must be considered.

With the emergence of increasingly sophisticated modes of transport, lower travel costs in some locations, population mobility facilitated by changed economic circumstances, and increased globalization, the nature of mobility, tourism, and migration have changed considerably over the past few decades. This has coincided with an expansion in research literature in these areas, much of which is devoted to exploring and understanding their connections. Mobility, tourism, and migration are now frequently considered a single, integrated phenomenon (Page & Connell, 2014).

Still, while different perspectives on MTM have developed in recent years, there remain different opinions on the role of each. In some countries, migration is viewed primarily as a political issue, whereas in others, it is seen as more of an economic matter (Möhring, 2014; O'Reilly, 2003; Williams & Hall, 2000). Scholars have argued that there is a need for further investigation to comprehend better the various connections between the three concepts.

13. Exploring Motivations of Mobility and Migration

Migration has long been a prominent feature of human societies. In the current era, it has been spurred on by a range of push and pull factors, including economic opportunity, religious freedom, political stability, and educational goals (Krishnakumar & Indumathi, 2014). Given the many motivations for migration, it is essential to understand why people decide, who is most likely to migrate, and how this might change over time.

Economics continues to be a significant factor in understanding why people move (Farber, 2005). Large-scale migration motivated by economic reasons often involves crossing international borders in search of better job opportunities, higher wages, and a more outstanding quality of life. Political instability and conflicts might also be reasons behind migration, and international organizations are responding by granting refugee status to those fleeing

persecution. However, people may also migrate simply because they wish to experience a different culture or escape boredom or stagnation in their current circumstances (Bhugra, 2004).

In contrast to migration's economic and political motivations, tourism is generally deemed a voluntary activity that improves the quality of life, primarily through leisure activities and sightseeing . While motivations for tourists vary considerably, sociocultural experiences and interaction with local communities are some of the joint driving forces. Furthermore, the search for unique experiences, particularly those linked to nature or involving adventure activities, has become increasingly popular.

14. Examining Impacts of Migration and Tourism on Host Countries

The impacts of Mobility, Tourism, and Migration (MTM) can be profound and far-reaching, and host countries must be prepared to manage the positive and negative outcomes. Migration can have significant economic consequences for sending and receiving countries, improving job prospects, labour markets, and productivity and creating new social, political, and cultural challenges (Katseli et al., 2006).

Tourism, too, has had a significant effect on the social, political, cultural, and economic landscape of many countries. The rise in tourism has contributed to growth in the hospitality and leisure industries, and it has often been the focus of economic development strategies. Furthermore, it has provided countries with significant financial rewards by employing increased government revenues in the form of taxes on tourism-related services (Agaraj & Murati, 2009).

However, increased mobility, tourism, and migration have also brought challenges for host countries. Immigration may result in the displacement of local workers and competition in the labour market or lead to social and cultural changes in the receiving country. Furthermore, large-scale tourism can result in the overcrowding of specific areas, the over-commercialization of sites, and the displacement of local people (Farber, 2005)

15. Exploring Relations between Migration, Tourism, and Mobility

The relationships between migration, tourism, and mobility are multi-faceted and interrelated. They are also inextricably linked to other movements,

such as trade, transport, and communication . The mobility of goods, services, information, and people is both a cause and a consequence of migration and tourism, and their current and future relationship should be carefully considered (Riley, 2004).

On the one hand, increased migration can lead to increases in tourism and vice versa. People sometimes migrate to become a tourist or experience a tourism period while exploring potential new homes. Immigration and tourism may also contribute to intercultural communication and understanding, with people learning more about and engaging with different cultures (Steinfatt & Millette, 2019).

Conversely, increased mobility, tourism, and migration can also create challenges for host countries. For example, there might be competition for limited jobs between migrants and locals or increased pressure on resources and infrastructure due to population movements . Furthermore, misunderstandings between tourists and locals have been identified as a common problem, leading to tension and sometimes conflict in those destinations (Pope & Withers, 1993).

16. Challenges and Opportunities of Migration and Tourism

The challenges and opportunities associated with MTM are numerous, and they must be carefully considered when discussing the topics of mobility, tourism, and migration. Migration, in particular, presents a range of both challenges and opportunities, depending on the situation and context. The presence of migrants may give rise to questions of national identity, exclusion, and social cohesion, and that migrating may be exposed to a range of inequalities and exploitation. Furthermore, population movements may pose various economic and social challenges, with host communities often needing help managing the demands of accommodating new people and tourist activity. Likewise, migration may create competition in the labour market, leading to displacement and dangerous working conditions (Nica, 2015).

However, the benefits of migration can also be highly significant. Migrants can stimulate local economies by providing additional labour and skills, boosting the local workforce, and raising overall productivity (Taylor, 1999). They can also bring different cultural perspectives and experiences, contributing positively to the diversity of a nation.

Likewise, while there are potential risks associated with tourism, there are also many compelling opportunities. Tourism has the potential to create

new jobs and open up new markets and economic opportunities. It can increase access to technology, provide new education opportunities, promote the conservation of natural resources, and increase awareness of other cultures (Dwyer, 2022).

17. Technologies and Impact of Mobility, Migration, and Tourism

Technology plays a significant role in Mobility, Tourism, and Migration (MTM). Technology advancements have moved people, goods, information, and resources more straightforward and cost-effective than ever before, opening the door for increased migration, tourism, and mobility.

The introduction of improved transport systems has enabled people to move more easily and quickly. In contrast, the growth of the internet has made communication simpler, allowing people to stay in touch with friends and family and maintain their social networks. Technological development has also been seen in the hospitality industry, allowing hospitality providers to tailor programs and experiences to meet their guests' needs (Fennell, 2021).

The increased use of technology has posed both risks and benefits. It has enabled the dissemination of information and allowed people to access previously unavailable opportunities. At the same time, it has generated new challenges for host nations, such as increased competition for resources, labour markets, jobs, and the need to manage the misuse of digital information.

18. Immigration and Issues of International Labour Migration

International labour migration is one of the most important forms of contemporary mobility and profoundly impacts societies and economies (Rye & O'Reilly, 2021). In recent years, more people than ever before have migrated in search of work, with international labour migration estimated to account for 5% of the global work force and are considered to be an important asset for the world economy (International Labour Office, 2021)

The impacts of international labour migration vary greatly and depend on the type of work, the duration of the migration, and the host nations' economies and politics. On the one hand, it can have a positive impact, providing economic assistance to sending countries, tackling labour shortages in host countries, and providing new employment opportunities. On the other hand,

labour migration may also lead to exploitation, low wages, and poor working conditions (Abdurakhmanova & Abdurakhmanov, 2019)

Given these complexities, governments and international organizations must ensure that international labour migration is well regulated, with measures in place to protect the rights of those involved. In addition, governments need to develop strategies to ensure that receiving countries benefit from labour migration without displacing local workers. In contrast, sending countries must ensure that their people are prepared for the job market and are trained to the required skill level (International Labour Office, 2021)

19. Policy Implications and Governance of Migration, Tourism, and Mobility

The effects of Mobility, Tourism, and Migration (MTM) are often both positive and negative, and it is, therefore, essential that these interactions are appropriately managed and balanced. Effective governance of MTM requires understanding the dynamics of the different processes and the capacity to develop appropriate policies and strategies to ensure that the interactions between the three phenomena benefit all involved.

Governments need to develop policies that ensure that overall migration and tourism benefit both the sending and receiving countries and that rights and equality are respected. Similarly, trade policies should be in place to ensure that the international transfer of capital is not to the detriment of either party. In addition, governments must ensure the development of the necessary infrastructures to accommodate population movements, and international organizations must provide the necessary guidance and regulations.

20. Emerging Trends and the Future of Migration, Tourism, and Mobility

The relationship between Mobility, Tourism, and Migration (MTM) will likely grow increasingly complex. With advances in transport and digital technology continuing to open up new paths of exploration and collaboration, people and goods can move faster and travel further than ever before.

At the same time, the world continues to experience an increase in conflict and displacement, with political and economic unrest in many countries prompting large-scale migration and refugees. In addition, countries

are working to attract more tourists, and there is an ongoing search for new, unique experiences, with tourists venturing further off the beaten track than ever before (Kozak & Buhalis, 2019). Moving forward, countries, international organizations, and individuals must work together to ensure that MTM is managed sustainably, equitably, and safely. There is an urgent need for collaborative research to understand better the different facets of these processes and their impact on host countries, communities, and individuals. If we are to reap the benefits of mobility, tourism, and migration while managing any potential harm, a more holistic understanding of these interrelated processes is essential.

21. The History and Development of Responsible Tourism:

Responsible tourism is management, principles, and practices that maximize local communities' economic, social, and cultural benefits; minimize negative impacts; and respect and preserve the natural environment. Responsible tourism is often linked to sustainable tourism, introduced in the 1980s, which focuses on maintaining a consistent number of visitors and their total expenditures over time (Fennell, 2008). The first formal mention of responsible tourism appeared in 2001 when the World Tourism Organisation launched its Global Code of Ethics for Tourism (UNWTO, 2017). Responsible tourism has grown in popularity over the past two decades as tourists become more aware of their environmental and social impact. Organizations respond by creating responsible tourism strategies to meet their sustainability goals.

22. The Economic Impacts of Responsible Tourism:

Responsible tourism benefits both destination communities and tourists, providing local businesses with a steady source of income and allowing tourists to have a more meaningful experience while on their trip (Spenceley, 2012). For destination communities, responsible tourism can offer long-term economic benefits, including job creation, investment in infrastructure and services, and the support of local businesses. It can also promote economic diversity by encouraging tourism-supported activities such as ecotourism, cultural tourism, and sustainable agriculture. For tourists, responsible tourism often translates into more memorable and beneficial experiences. Tourists often appreciate the opportunities to interact with and give back to local people

and communities, creating meaningful relationships that yield lasting memories (Fennell, 2008; Kozak & Buhalis, 2019; Spenceley, 2012)

23. Environmental Considerations in Responsible Tourism:

Responsible tourism is responsible for considering the environmental impact of tourist activities and choosing more sustainable practices and destinations. Environmental considerations should be at the forefront of all responsible tourism decisions as they can significantly impact the natural environment (UNWTO, 2019). Operators should embrace the 3Rs (reduce, reuse, and recycle) and strive to actively reduce pollution and conserve natural habitats while pursuing their tourism goals. In addition, operators should assess the energy and water consumption of the tourism industry and focus on finding ways to become more efficient (Schianetz et al., 2007). Responsible tourism encourages tourists to respect the environment of their destination and engage in environmentally friendly activities.

24. Social and Cultural Implications of Responsible Tourism:

Responsible tourism must take into consideration the potential cultural impacts of travel. It is essential to recognize and protect the cultural heritage of destination regions and strive to engage local communities in the tourism process – a good example of local community involvement is the community-based participatory programme at Çatalhöyük, a UNESCO world heritage site located in Turkey (Smith, 2022). Responsible tourism can involve engaging with the local population by encouraging authentic practices, activities, and respectful interactions with locals. It also involves providing economic incentives to the local community to promote the long-term viability and sustainability of the destination (Atalay, 2010). In addition, stakeholders should strive to have equal participation in the tourism planning process, and decisions should involve taking the local perspective into account.

25. Stakeholder Perspectives in Responsible Tourism:

Stakeholders from the public and private sectors should be involved in responsible tourism planning and decision-making to ensure sustainable out-

comes. Private sector stakeholders such as hoteliers, tour operators, and other tourism-related businesses must be involved to ensure that their interests are incorporated into the decisions being made (Byrd, 2007). On the public sector side, stakeholders should involve local, regional, and national governments to ensure that the local socio-economics, culture, laws, and regulations are accounted for . It is also important to involve different types of organizations, such as NGOs and academic institutions, to acquire an in-depth understanding of the different perspectives related to tourism development (Graci, 2013; Mak et al., 2017; Roxas et al., 2020)

26. Strategic Planning for Responsible Tourism Development:

Responsible tourism development requires a detailed and holistic approach to be effective. Engaging stakeholders and collecting data is essential to ensure that the most suitable strategies are employed locally (Graci, 2013; Mak et al., 2017; Roxas et al., 2020). Strategic planning should involve assessing the opportunities and constraints for development and setting clear implementation goals and objectives. It should also be informed by a cultural understanding of the region and a thorough analysis of the local context's environment, economy, and social components. Responsible tourism plans should be monitored and adapted to ensure long-term success (Gkoumas, 2019; Seyitoğlu & Costa, 2022; Yang et al., 2021).

27. New Technologies and Innovations in Responsible Tourism:

Technology is an increasingly important area in the field of responsible tourism. Over the past decade, governments, businesses, and tourists have embraced digital technologies to increase efficiency, reduce costs, and improve environmental performance (Bugeja & Grech, 2020; Opute et al., 2020; Pierdicca et al., 2019). Innovations such as inventory and reservations systems, mobile applications, and social media platforms have been used to manage visitor flows better and more accurately monitor the environmental impacts of tourism. In addition, digital technologies can be used to improve the efficiency and sustainability of tour operators, hotels, and other tourism businesses. Moreover, mobile applications and other forms of interactive media can engage and educate tourists about local cultures and ecotourism activities while travelling (Bugeja & Grech, 2020; Garcia et al., 2019; Huang et al., 2019; Liu et al., 2023).

28. Financing and Governance in Responsible Tourism:

Developing and managing responsible tourism requires collaboration between public and private sector stakeholders and requires financial resources. Governments and public sector stakeholders often carry out most research, product development, and marketing activities related to responsible tourism (Eyisi et al., 2023; Fam et al., 2023; Koščak & O'Rourke, 2023; Zainal & Cahyadi, 2023). Private sector stakeholders have a role in funding and managing these activities, supporting local businesses, decentralizing control, and pushing for public policy changes. It is also essential for stakeholders to work together to ensure that any activities and investments related to responsible tourism are well-managed and account for the diverse needs of the population.

29. Long-term Sustainability of Responsible Tourism:

Sustainability is a crucial concept for responsible tourism and is a necessary condition for its long-term viability. Sustainable tourism initiatives must focus on the conservation of natural resources, respect for local cultures, and social and economic benefits for the local community. An effective sustainability strategy should involve monitoring the effects of tourism and taking preventive measures when necessary (Budeanu et al., 2016; Cronin, 1990; Fusté-Forné & Michael, 2023; Jamrozy, 2007; Parra-Requena et al., 2023). Additionally, sustainability initiatives should involve community engagement and participation while encouraging efficient resource consumption

30. Climate Change and Responsible Tourism Strategies for the Future:

Climate change is increasingly becoming a concern for the tourism industry, and responsible tourism initiatives must strive to address this issue (Amelung & Nicholls, 2014; Fang et al., 2018; Pang et al., 2013; Scott et al., 2008). Strategies should focus on reducing emissions, improving energy efficiency, and conserving resources to reduce the impacts of tourism. Additionally, eco-friendly and sustainable tourism strategies should be adopted to reduce the industry's carbon footprint. Moreover, there is a need to educate

tourists on sustainable travel practices and support destination communities in adapting to and mitigating the impacts of climate change (Dawson et al., 2022; Linnes et al., 2022; Tomasi et al., 2020).

Conclusion

The intersection of mobility, tourism, and migration has created immense opportunities, associated challenges, and implications. As mobility becomes increasingly accessible and the world continues to globalize, it is more important than ever to consider the ethical implications of mobility, tourism, and migration to ensure equitable, safe, and just societies. These considerations are vital to develop countries and societies at local, regional, and global levels. It is, therefore, essential to create an open dialogue to assess the various policies and regulations that rely on the integration of mobility, tourism, and migration in the 21st century and explore ways to ensure that the impacts of these intersections are beneficial for all involved.

This chapter explored the intersections between Mobility, Tourism, and Migration (MTM) and their impacts and implications. Through the academic discourse presented it has demonstrated that these three concepts are highly interconnected and cannot, nor should they, be considered in isolation. The positive and negative outcomes of MTM were explored, as were their historical and contemporary significance. The chapter further discussed the implications of MTM, including the potential risks and possible benefits and the role of policy and government in regulating them. Finally, the content here highlighted the need for more research to understand the complex dynamics of MTM and the need for thorough, collaborative action to create a future of sustainable growth and opportunity. The present article has taken a deep dive into the origins and current state of RT in theory and practice, as well as considering the future opportunities and challenges of the concept. RT has developed from its initial conception in the mid-twentieth century to the point where it is now widely recognized and embraced by governments, the private sector, and local stakeholders.

The literature has also highlighted how regulation, market failures, governmental initiatives, and responsible private sector practices have all been critical to the success of RT. The adequate mobility of people is an essential underpinning of the concept, noting that connectivity and transport approaches are essential for it to become embedded in future sustainable development. RT is a complex yet fundamental part of global sustainable development,

which policymakers, academics, and the private sector should give more attention to. It is envisaged that the outcome of this chapter serves as a launching pad for further discussion, research, and engagement on the concept of RT and how it can be effectively implemented to benefit all involved.

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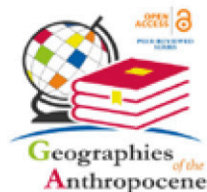
This book offers a comprehensive examination of the dynamic interplay between human mobility, migration, and tourism in the context of the Anthropocene era. The collection of eight chapters delves into various aspects of this complex relationship, shedding light on crucial issues, challenges, and opportunities in today's rapidly evolving global landscape. The concept of responsible tourism is a transversal element in this publication, exploring its significance in promoting sustainable practices and mitigating the environmental and socio-cultural impacts of movement of people. Another topic which is addressed here is the post-Covid regeneration of tourism-dependent island economies. The authors analyze the challenges faced by these regions and explore innovative approaches to sustainable recovery. The discussions here revolve around the importance of community engagement, diversification, and resilience in building a robust and sustainable tourism industry. Sustainability also takes a center stage in this edition. The discourse presented in various chapters examines the pressing environmental issues associated with the movement of people. It also delves into the transformation of the hotel industry and explores tourism opportunities in isolated geographical exclave, shedding light on unique destinations that face challenges related to accessibility and connectivity. Important analysis is also presented on cultural landscapes, heritage sites, and local traditions and how cultural authenticity and meaningful interactions between tourists and local communities can shape the tourist experience.

This book will be of great interest to scholars, researchers, policymakers, and practitioners seeking to understand and navigate the challenges and opportunities that arise in this rapidly changing global landscape.

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