

# Socialising Tourism

Rethinking Tourism for Social  
and Ecological Justice

**Edited by**  
**Freya Higgins-Desbiolles,**  
**Adam Doering and**  
**Bobbie Chew Bigby**

**First published 2022**

ISBN13: 978-0-367-75922-3

## **Introduction**

Socialising tourism: reimagining  
tourism's purpose

*Freya Higgins-Desbiolles, Adam Doering,  
and Bobbie Chew Bigby*

(CC BY-NC-ND 4.0)

DOI: 10.4324/9781003164616-14

 **Routledge**  
Taylor & Francis Group  
LONDON AND NEW YORK

# Introduction

## Socialising tourism: reimagining tourism's purpose

*Freya Higgins-Desbiolles, Adam Doering,  
and Bobbie Chew Bigby*

### Introduction

Tourism is a controversial and contested phenomenon. This starts at the most basic level when many people engaging in voluntary travel designate themselves as travellers, thus attempting to distance themselves from maligned tourists. Long gone are the days of the Grand Tour when touring was seen as a journey for cultivation and refinement of one's educational and cultural learning. Too often now tourists are viewed as hedonistic pleasure seekers who care little for anything beyond their own enjoyment on holidays. Simultaneously, the industry of tourism has come in for criticism for overwhelming some destinations through overtourism (Dodds & Butler, 2019; Goodwin, 2017), failure to deliver the promised benefits (Chalip & Costa, 2012) and being subject to a practice of "bugger it up and pass it down" (Wheeller, 1993, p. 125). Tensions, protests and resistance have grown in places as varied as Barcelona, the Galapagos Islands, Venice, Byron Bay, Kyoto and Mount Kilimanjaro. Something has gone awry in the evolution of tourism and we suggest here that thought should be given to the ways in which we might "socialise tourism" to set it on a better trajectory.

The term "socialising tourism" is a provocation for critical engagement. In recent political campaigns in countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom and Australia, the labels socialists and socialism were used as pejoratives to ensure one's opponents were dismissed as either utopians or Stalinist authoritarians. However, this term is richer and more complex than this limiting political label. First, tourism is a socialising activity in the most basic meaning: "to spend time when you are not working with friends or with other people in order to enjoy yourself" (Cambridge Dictionary Online, n.d.). However, there is another important connotation to socialising: "to train people or animals to behave in a way that others in the group think is suitable" (Cambridge Dictionary Online, n.d.). The term "socialised" might also mean: "provided or paid for by the government" (Cambridge Dictionary Online, n.d.). As these few initial forays demonstrate, this term is

rich with possibilities and invites different thinking about tourism and how we might engage with it.

This is not a sociology of tourism, although this edited work will intersect with sociological concerns in some discussions. Sociology is “the scientific study of human life, social groups, whole societies and the human world as such” (Giddens, 2009, p. 6). As many tourism analyses indicate, tourism is an important and “increasingly widespread social activity” shaping our world and may even offer “a lens through which people and society can be studied” (Sharpley, 2018, p. 20). Sociologists Cohen and Kennedy have asserted that tourism has helped shape globalisation with an “out-reach greater than other powerful globalising forces” (2000, p. 213). Clearly tourism matters and for more than just employment, foreign exchange and economic growth.

Socialising tourism can be viewed as a revival of earlier thinking on “tourism as a social force” (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006). Conceptualisations of tourism as a social force represented a pushback against the growing hegemony of neoliberalism and the power of the market to transform and limit tourism to its business aspects and claim it as an industry. This pervasive view of tourism as an industrial sector contributing to growth in economies has had significant repercussions on not only increasing the unsustainability of tourism but also diminishment of tourism’s social possibilities. The view has become so pervasive in both the tourism academy and in the wider society that to think critically on tourism and to challenge its injustices may be interpreted to be anti-industry or even waging a “war on tourism” (see Butcher, 2020; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2021).

However, COVID-19 offered a circuit breaker to this ideological domination of the “tourism as industry” point of view. As Higgins-Desbiolles argued:

The COVID-19 pandemic crisis has challenged the premises of neoliberalism that smaller government, individualism, and marketisation benefit people and society. Forms of government interventions, the redevelopment of social safety nets, and the significance of social caring and networks have been the primary responses to challenges of this crisis.

(2020, p. 8)

Importantly, as a response to the extraordinary challenges of the COVID-19 crisis, neoliberal governments willingly adopted “socialised” policies in their responses to the pandemic. For instance, there have been large government expenditures to support businesses and employees severely impacted by the lockdowns (particularly in hospitality and tourism) and control measures the crisis necessitated. Such governments have also been forced to fund health, social and educational support packages (sectors they had

previously white-anted through privatisation) in an effort to avoid widespread social unrest. In some cases, governments have decided to support the tourism industry, tourism jobs and tourism-dependent communities with temporary subsidies for citizen's holidays through holiday vouchers and other mechanisms.

Taking this historical moment as an opportunity to rethink tourism, this book explores the possibilities of socialising tourism for better outcomes. To this end, this introduction addresses these opening questions:

- What might socialising tourism mean?
- Why does tourism need to be “socialised”?
- How might tourism be socialised?
- What might we ask of tourism?

### **A first foray into socialising the stranger: First Nations**

In setting such an agenda, the knowledges of Indigenous and First Nations peoples around the world offer rich insights into the philosophies, practices and spiritualities that might underpin such a socialisation agenda. We might turn to First Nations first as Indigenous and First Nations peoples have enduring hospitality, socialisation protocols and ceremonies over millennia that might offer exemplary insights into possibilities for socialising tourism. For instance, the Māori of Aotearoa/New Zealand have protocols and ceremonies for receiving and socialising visitors on the *marae*, the meeting ground of Māori *iwi* (tribes). Harvey (2003) explained these protocols as shaping guesthood (in his analysis of decolonising research methodologies), which are based on recognising local sovereignty arising from the host's *marae* serving as *turangawaewae*, the “standing place” of the host. *Marae* protocols of welcome, greeting and exchanges are protocols of “guest-making” as strangers are transformed into guests (Harvey, 2003, p. 134). But the foundation of this interaction and relationship is respect for the local people's authority as the sovereign peoples of that place. This is an excellent example of socialising the visitor.

In Australia, many Aboriginal First Nations peoples respect and follow their Dreaming laws, which in part explain how physical landscapes serve as reminders of protocols and the consequences for violating them. Aboriginal tour operator Quentin Agius shared a story that communicates one such Dreaming narrative that addresses proper protocols for entering another's Country:

We talk about how Nookina came from the northern part of the country and came into southern part of country without permission, and then Nookina and Windera got into a fight.

During that fight Winderera got injured and he laid down in a certain special area, and where he laid down he became a part of country and you can see to this day the different coloured rocks that are parts of his body.

(Clarke, 2015)

The very idea of hospitality is welcoming the stranger and questions on how the Other is received (see Scott & Hall, 2012). But this Dreaming narrative indicates that there are mutual obligations when visiting the home of another. The socialising values that might be gleaned from this foray into First Nations' practices and protocols include respect, relationships, reciprocity and responsibilities, and these are mutual but differential on the parts of the hosts and the guests (see also Chapter 1).

Using a socialisation lens, we might understand settler-colonialism, colonialism and other forms of dispossession of First Nations peoples as the most violent and damaging form of violation of host-guest protocols. As a result, the modern meeting grounds between Indigenous hosts and non-Indigenous tourists too often symbolises a good deal of what is wrong in marketised forms of tourism:

It is a truism that to visitors to a new land – certainly in the case of early settlers – the original inhabitants were profoundly Other... In settler societies such as Canada, New Zealand and Australia, tourism development is often controlled by non-indigenous peoples and dominated by power structures that have originated through colonialism.

(Amoamo & Thompson, 2010, p. 37)

This observation by two Māori First Nations scholars alerts us to remember and account for the origins of tourism in colonialism and imperialism, interwoven with forms of capitalism that emerged from these forces, because these still reverberate in current dynamics of tourism today. Additionally, First Nations' protocols provide a word of caution on proceeding with the introduction and imposition of tourism without proper socialisation into the appropriate ways to visit another people and their lands.

### **What might socialising tourism mean?**

The socialisation of tourism offers one pathway to transform relations in tourism so that justice, equity and sustainability may be better secured. As explained earlier, the word “socialise” could hold multiple meanings, including following the principles of socialism; to act socially well in interactions with others; or to guide on proper ways of behaving with regards to society. In his discussion of “socialising the stranger”, Scott provided an insight into the way socialising tourism could be understood. Scott explained: “Hospitality becomes an initiation of the process that would result

in the socialisation and thus integration into the ‘local’ society” (2006, p. 57). Drawing on Scott, Higgins-Desbiolles proposed the concept of socialising tourism meant “[...] to make tourism responsive and answerable to the society in which it occurs” (2020, p. 617). She insisted that it is both tourists and tourism businesses that must be socialised into respecting the lifeways of the local community (often called “hosts”) and serving the needs and interests of the local societies in which the tourists tour or the tourism industry offers tourism services.

Tourism can be a means for socialisation of tourists into the worlds of others and foster understanding and empathy for those struggling with social inequalities. As Parrish (2014) argued, sports and leisure socialised the young Ernesto Che Guevara through interactions with the oppressed and the poor, and this helped shape his concerns with social justice and his revolutionary trajectory. Through this example, we can intuit that socialisation of tourism must hold a concern with Others and communal bonds. It should present a stark contrast to the individualistic, hedonistic, self-focused and accumulative forms of tourism that have evolved from commercial tourism fostered under neoliberal market mechanisms.

Social tourism offers some useful insights into some of the particular ways by which tourism might be better socialised. As Minnaert et al. (2006) explained, there are two potential perspectives on social tourism: “visitor-related” and supply-side approaches to social tourism. The visitor-related forms of social tourism address the call of “tourism for all” by aiding those that are disadvantaged in any way to fulfil their desire to have a holiday (Minnaert et al., 2006, p. 8). There are a broad number of programs, activities and organisations that support such forms of social tourism, addressing many factors that inhibit people’s enjoyment of holidays: low income, unemployment, aging, caring responsibilities, single-parent status, disabilities, etc. The supply-side view of social tourism focuses on forms of tourism that foster social interaction at the tourism destination. Seabrook (1995) explained:

there is emerging a more convivial and interactive form of travel, a kind of social tourism; designed specifically to enhance and offer insight into the lives of people, which figures neither in the glossy brochures, nor in the media coverage of third-world countries.

(cited in Minnaert et al., 2006, p. 8)

These forms of social tourism suggest that something important and valuable occurs through tourism experiences and encounters that have social value and should not be and cannot be left solely to the commercial tourism sector (see also Diekmann & McCabe, 2020). In terms of visitor-related social tourism, it is recognised that holidays support well-being and personal growth and that it is a matter of equity; that is, citizens should not be barred from such beneficial outcomes solely due to limited income or other

barriers. Supply-side concerns with social tourism emphasise the human encounter made possible through tourism and seek to develop opportunities for that to be fostered rather than the commercial sector's emphasis on profits from tourist visitation. In their discussion, Minnaert et al. (2006) discussed the economics of both forms of social tourism; suggesting that visitor-related social tourism will require evidence that public monies supporting social tourism initiatives offer benefits in terms of reducing other social welfare costs; supply-side forms of social tourism represent a higher cost niche market that some individual tourists would be willing to pay. Recent research suggested that not only do disadvantaged individuals benefit from visitor-related social tourism opportunities through improved mental health, well-being and feelings of greater self-efficacy, but also the wider society might benefit in a number of ways (Kakoudakis et al., 2017). This research specifically showed that social tourism experiences can support job seeking behaviour as a result in the improvement in self-efficacy, and thus can make important positive contributions to both society and economy. Analyses of social tourism such as these succumb to such marketised and individualised views as a result of neoliberal instrumentalities that pressure advocates to justify social tourism spending on economic bases. From a socialising point of view, however, societies could prioritise social values over economic values (see Latouche, 2009) and visitors could be held more accountable to people and places (including but also beyond paying fair prices) for their holiday experiences when we remove neoliberal blinkers.

The contemporary, “Western” understanding of tourism comes from a rather narrow set of experiences and philosophies which results in emphasis on a highly individualistic and marketised tourism. In mainstream tourism literature, it can be difficult to find academic contributions to the critique of tourism that approach the topic from a “non-Western” perspective. One outstanding example is Inayatullah’s “Rethinking tourism” (1995) which utilised, in addition to pacific and futures analysis, an Islamic perspective which was used to “deconstruct” tourism. Inayatullah claims an Islamic perspective centralises the phenomenon of pilgrimage and in particular the *hajj*, or pilgrimage to Mecca, which is one of the central pillars of Islam. Inayatullah describes it thus:

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

(1995, pp. 411–2)

While pilgrimage was not unique to the Islamic faith, what is perhaps striking is how central religious travel is to fulfilling obligations of the Islamic

faith. Instead of the hedonistic focus of a great deal of contemporary, marketised tourism, this Islamic “tourism” is geared to spiritual growth and fostering of solidarity among the *ummah*, the community of believers within the Islam (see the autobiography of Malcolm X (1992) on this, Chapter 17 “Mecca”). Inayatullah charged: “the West ... manufactures tourism services and the idea of tourism itself, which we have suggested is not a universal concept but a particular idea of a specific culture” (1995, p. 412). Inayatullah’s contribution is valuable to any discussion of contrasting perspectives on tourism, because he reminds us that most tourism discourse emerges not only from the neoliberal economic paradigm but also from a narrowly “Western” set of experiences. Similarly, Hall (2006) has explored the role of Buddhist values in Asian tourism development and suggested these values work towards fostering a “middle way”, the appropriate actions for each locality and activation of compassion (see Chapter 12 also on *Buen Vivir*).

It is also important to note that tourism has been used as a tool for political socialisation. The most obvious form is at the national level when tourism is utilised to fulfil nationalistic agendas and foster civic connections. For example, Zuo et al. (2016, p. 183) examined how tourism has been used as a tool of political education in China to “instil core political values and ideologies”. Through a study of tourists’ experiences of touring the Jinggangshan scenic area, a “red tourism” site, these authors explored the capacities and limits of tourism as a tool of political socialisation. Such forms of political socialisation through tourism were and are a feature of socialist and communist states (see Williams & Balaz, 2001). But political socialisation through tourism is more widespread than this and features in any nation where tourism is used for defining and building the bonds within the civic body (see, for instance, Doering & Kong, 2020). As Rasul Mowatt’s chapter (Chapter 6) in this volume demonstrates, however, there are also very destructive forms of such political socialisation through tourism. In this chapter he reveals how Dylann Roof embarked on white nationalist road trips as preparation to carry out a massacre in South Carolina, USA, in 2015.

The most powerful instance of political socialisation through tourism is arguably the effort by American business leaders to capture the global economy for their profit-making and political agenda in the post-Second World War era of rebuilding in the war’s aftermath and then the globalisation processes which followed based on globalised trade regimes. Patricia Goldstone’s work *Making the world safe for tourism* (2001) is invaluable in explaining this. Describing these efforts as less about beneficent spreading of democracy and more about establishing neocolonialism for ongoing American profit, Goldstone wrote:

[...] the post-World War II travel offensive launched by Rockefeller’s ally, American Express, [...] sold tourism as an integral extension of the Marshall Plan. The resemblance of American Express’ post war



advertising campaign to speeches by James Robinson III's and other American Express executives during the approach of glasnost is not accidental, for American Express has appropriated democracy as its global brand; as the official company history proudly declares, "When dollar shortages are choking the arteries of international commerce, the American tourist plays a vital role in the economies of all free nations". (2001, p. 44)

Goldstone's work is vital to understanding the foundations of contemporary tourism and the reasons that it has been manipulated so easily for private profit and complicit in exploitation and human rights abuses. This sets a useful context for the argument of why tourism must be socialised differently for social and ecological justice.

### **Why does tourism need to be socialised for social and ecological justice?**

The world is entering extraordinary times that are featured by enormous challenges. In a world nearing eight billion people, where many seek a quality of life that is based on a high consumption lifestyle, on a planet with finite resources, social and ecological pressures are mounting. We currently face pressures due to human impacts on the natural environment resulting in biodiversity loss, species extinctions, scarcities, pollution and whole habitats under threat. In recent years, extraordinary warnings have been issued by scientists that the world is on a dangerous pathway. For instance, in 2018 scientists explored the possibilities that human-induced climate change is leading us on a pathway to "hothouse earth": "If the threshold is crossed, the resulting trajectory would likely cause serious disruptions to ecosystems, society, and economies" (Steffen et al., 2018, p. 8252).

It is evident that tourism contributes to these concerns and even exacerbates these problems in ways that are becoming increasingly clear (see Scott et al., 2012). First is the sheer volume of tourism as evidenced through tourism statistics, including the 2019 data showing 1,459 million international tourism arrivals who generated US\$1,487 billion in international tourism receipts according to the UN World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) (UNWTO, 2019). This particular "tourism dashboard" fails to capture domestic tourism statistics, but it is certainly larger in terms of numbers of people travelling.

To support such massive movements of people and to cater to their tourism demand, enormous impacts occur. Studies of the impacts of tourism must be one of the most voluminous facets of tourism studies (e.g. Hall, 2008; Mason, 2003). The studies that document and explain the many types of negative tourism impacts – including social, environmental, economic, cultural, political and spiritual – provide insight into the specifics of the problems (Hall, 2008). In fact, some forms of tourism might be characterised as anti-social in the ways they have sometimes brought offensive, anti-social

and abusive behaviour into the communities where these tourists holiday; this includes sex tourism, rave tourism, stag party tourism and other particularly transgressive forms of tourism. Certain forms of tourism are ruining life for the local communities and even displacing them. For instance, Budapest has become a hotspot for party tourism that causes negative impacts while delivering little economic benefit (Schlagwein, 2020). However, we lack a macro-level view, which really prevents us from understanding just how much tourism contributes to the downward trajectory we are on in terms of human impacts on natural environments, global environment change and exacerbation of social tensions (see Hall, 2008).

There are many aspects to these issues, but the one we will highlight here is the way communities around the world have been pressed to accept corporate forms of tourism development. Higgins-Desbiolles argued:

Worse still is how communities seeking development are pushed into a tourism-dependent economy in their attempts to try to garner some opportunities for themselves in a global trading system geared to their continued under-development. In the process, they serve up their people to be the docile workforce so that tourists can enjoy inexpensive holidays in these imposed tourism playgrounds and tourism multinationals can extract wealth as a result.

(2018, p. 158)

Tourism under neoliberal globalisation undermines the power of society to manage, control and benefit from tourism businesses operating in their communities because the global market they are tapping into runs outside of their control. This is a key catalyst to the recently documented problem of overtourism. Goodwin characterised overtourism as occurring when “hosts or guests, locals or visitors, feel there are too many visitors and that the quality of life in the area or the quality of the experience has deteriorated unacceptably” (2017, p. 1). The causes of overtourism varied according to the destination. The disruptive agents of the sharing economy, like Airbnb, were blamed for bringing more tourists into the heart of communities instead of just tourist sites. Cheap travel and package holidays enabled more people to take short city breaks and cruises, particularly in Europe. Social media played a role in popularising less-visited places, which went from being off-the-grid to “must-see” destinations overnight. The shifting focus of governmental tourism agencies saw them become almost exclusively marketing-focused with a singular goal of growing tourism (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2018).

Understandings of overtourism should be situated in the wider context of tourism development being fostered by the capitalist economy system for profit accumulation of multinational corporations and the global elite (Fletcher, 2011; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2008, 2018). As Fletcher argued:

A small number of increasingly interrelated transnational tourism operators control much of the goods and services that tourists consume

globally. In this respect, tourism expansion can be viewed as an instance of “accumulation through dispossession” that Harvey (2005) finds characteristic of neoliberal capitalism in general. These operators also control much of the advertising by which tourists are enticed to consume the products offered. Transnational tourism operators work hand-in-hand with other important tourism promoters, including international development agencies and national governments.

(2011, p. 455)

Through this political economy lens, we can see how overtourism occurs through the pressures of multinational tourism corporations and affiliated others, who press for pro-growth approaches to tourism development. They lack concern for the limits of carrying capacity that a particular destination might be subject to, and in current neoliberal contexts of deregulation are not compelled to respect such limits. Another key aspect of this is the usurpation and privatisation of the commons which is a key feature of neoliberal capitalistic tourism (see Fletcher, 2016) and one significant source of the serious ecological injustices of tourism.

In their consideration of degrowth as a pathway to address such issues, Higgins-Desbiolles et al. (2019) proposed defining tourism by the rights, interests and benefits of the local community and thereby reorient the phenomenon entirely (more on this below). The justification for such a radical proposal can be seen, for instance, in the results of tourism surveys which indicate the ways in which local people feel alienated by tourism. As an example, a 2018 survey by the Hawaii Tourism Authority indicated that two-thirds of respondents agreed with the statement that “This island is being run for tourists at the expense of local people” (Hawaii Tourism Authority, 2019, p. 22).

While COVID-19 has temporarily caused the issue of overtourism to retreat from focus, we can anticipate it will return and will raise possibilities for tension, hostility and even violence, as has been witnessed in places such as Barcelona. Andrews has demonstrated that “violence is manifest in many aspects of tourism practices and encounters...” (2014, p. 5). Additionally, analyses have demonstrated that inappropriate tourism development can result in a violent deterioration in the quality of life for resident communities (see da Cal Seixas et al., 2014).

This brings us to considerations of the right of local communities to say “no” to inappropriate tourism developments, which has been too little discussed in tourism studies (see Robinson, 1999, as one exception). We would argue that the ultimate way to determine if tourism is properly socialised is when the local community has the capacity to say “no” to tourism and/or tourists and to deny tourists entry into their place (whether temporarily or more long term). This has occurred in places around the world in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic. As people sought to escape urban areas with their lockdowns and stresses, nearby holiday hotspots became concerned

these city populations would spread the contagion to their communities and threaten to overwhelm their limited medical facilities. Indigenous communities were among such communities. The BBC reported that First Nations are “uninviting visitors”, noting in British Columbia:

In an effort to keep out outsiders, Haida Gwaii and the Central and North Coast, including the Heiltsuk and Kitasoo / Xai'xais Nations, have set up a coalition. They are working collectively to let visitors know that while they are valued and wanted, now is not the time to visit. The communities are simply too vulnerable to risk any loss.

(Selkirk, 2020)

In another instance, on 3 August 2020, 30 members of Mutitjulu Aboriginal community blocked tourists' access to Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park in central Australia because of fears they arrived from interstate COVID hot-spots and might bring the disease into the vulnerable local Aboriginal community (Barnsley, 2020). Such cases demonstrate socialisation of tourism to the lesson that tourist right of access cannot override the community's right to ensure community benefit and well-being.

### **How might tourism be socialised for social and ecological justice?**

Possibilities for socialising tourism include focusing on how we can socialise tourists for respectful and responsible behaviour during their holidays; how we might ensure the benefits of tourism are more equitably distributed within society; how we might socialise tourism industry businesses to assume appropriate roles and practices in the jurisdictions where they operate; how we might socialise governments for shaping tourism to the needs of the local communities where tourism occurs; and socialising our values to ensure that tourism is harnessed for social and ecological well-being. Indeed, the seeds for socialising tourism are already with us and we will provide some examples of these below. However, this section will also flag that there is much more to be done and some of the chapters in this volume will start this important work.

Attempts to socialise tourists through codes and protocols has had a lengthy history. These codes have been viewed as an important means to make tourism more ethical and responsible (i.e. Fennell & Malloy, 2007; Lovelock & Lovelock, 2013). An example of this is the International Ecotourism Society's code of conduct for ecotourism and ecotourists. Recently, Aotearoa/New Zealand in 2019 instituted a campaign called the Tiaki Promise (Tiaki, n.d.), which urged international tourists to assume the role of custodians of New Zealand and take care of it during their holidays (*tiaki* is a Maori word for care). Additionally, the north Pacific state of Palau developed the Palau Pledge (n.d.), which was marked by an official stamp in

visitors' passports, asking tourists to be careful of the people and place of Palau during their visit.

There are also codes which have sought to reach other stakeholders in addition to the tourist. A good example of that is the UNWTO's "Global Code of Ethics for Tourism" (1999). This extensive document has sections addressed to all major stakeholders in tourism, including the tourists, the tourism industry, host communities and governments at all levels. However, as Castañeda (2012) explained, this document does not effectively promote greater equity and sustainability in tourism. Instead, the Code validates "laissez faire neoliberal expansion of tourism development" and "... unequivocally asserts the subordination of the heritage rights of destination communities to those of tourists through the use of its awkward yet very precise language" (2012, p. 49).

To ensure greater equity and social justice, there are well established and sophisticated programs and policies for social tourism which exist all around the world, as previously mentioned (see also Chapter 13). Social tourism programs and facilities are well known in parts of Europe such as Spain and Belgium. Brazil offers another example to consider with both federal state authorities and third sector actors contributing, as reported by de Almeida (2011). His brief analysis of one programme explained:

SESC does not only strive to reduce the price of the holidays and the hotel rates for its members, but above all it aims to transform people by "[...] developing their intellectual and physical skills, knowledge and social interaction".

(de Almeida, 2011, p. 488)

The example of Brazil models possibilities for combining hospitality, leisure, recreation and tourism for the full participation and well-being of the society. However, as studies show, it is the resourcing and dedicated implementation that are essential for success.

In thinking through how we might better socialise tourism, we might give consideration to how we can socialise the tourism industry. There are specific codes of conduct and accreditation schemes which are purported to guide businesses to ethical and sustainable conduct. These have been criticised as often voluntary and weak, with strongest attention to measures that support the business' benefit such as energy savings (see Hall, 2008; Mason, 2007). Similarly, the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals has been promoted as a pathway to greater sustainability but still works to sustain growth in production and consumption (see Boluk et al., 2019). More promising in terms of socialising tourism businesses is implementing the concept of business "social license to operate" (SLO) (see Williams et al., 2007). SLO has been better developed for the more well-recognised extractive industries and describes business efforts to obtain legitimacy and acceptance of their operations, even in cases when the impacts are negative.

As indicated earlier, tourism under neoliberalism can be as extractive and damaging as logging or mining and is often not the benign industry that some suggest (see Fletcher, 2011). Better developing the concept of SLO in tourism and analysing how to effectively implement it might be a key pathway to socialising tourism.

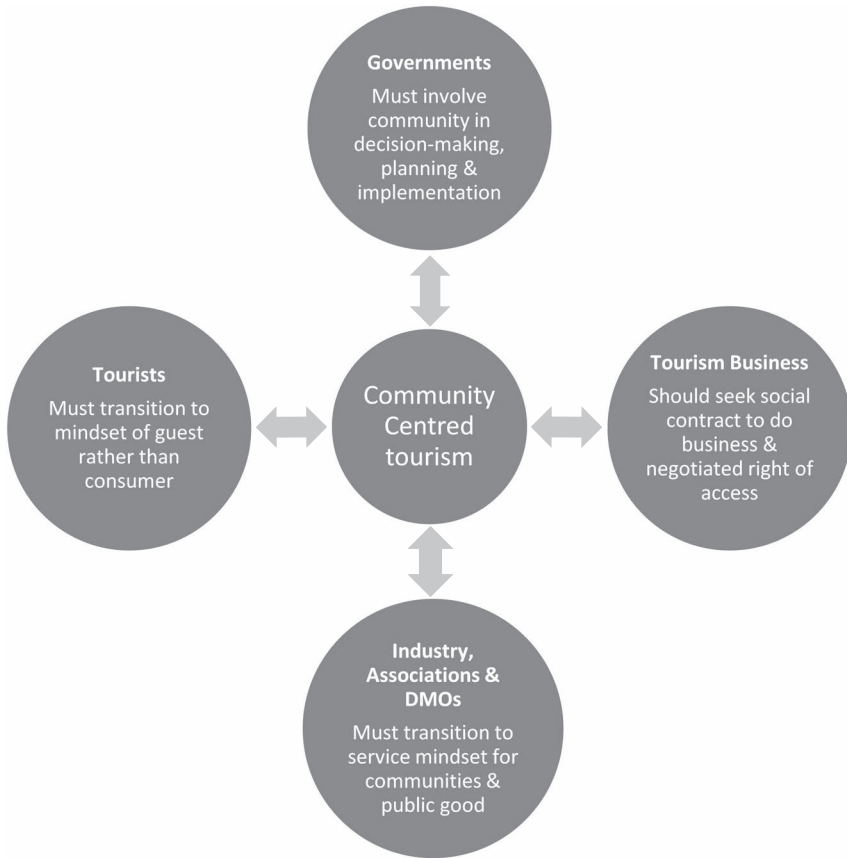
In order to achieve the socialisation of tourism for social and ecological justice, an essential focus must be to effectively address the role of governments. As already argued, under neoliberal conditions, too often governments support the interest of corporations at the expense of society and push an unsustainable growth ideology (Fletcher, 2011). Some of the positive outcomes of the COVID-19 crisis have been the demonstration that governments must support societal thriving first and also that social solidarity is the key to positive futures. This is how, for instance, tourist hotels were quickly commissioned to house the people experiencing homelessness during the crisis management phase. As a result of the crises of capitalism and capitalistic tourism, there are numerous considerations of alternative governance regimes and alternative economies which are envisioning new approaches (i.e. Hall, 2018; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2008; see also Chapters 5 and 13).

So far, this section has covered what already exists, which is clearly not yet sufficient to reorient tourism for securing social and ecological justice. The proposal by Higgins-Desbiolles et al. (2019) to redefine tourism by the local community has some potential for better socialising tourism. These authors explained:

Tourism for sustainability and degrowth must focus on the needs and interests of the local community; what tourism industry interests have usurped for themselves under the label of the “host community”. A redefined tourism could be described as: the process of local communities inviting, receiving and hosting visitors in their local community, for limited time durations, with the intention of receiving benefits from such actions. Such forms of tourism may be facilitated by businesses operating to commercial imperatives or may be facilitated by non-profit organisations. But in this restructure of tourism, tourism operators would be allowed access to the local community’s assets only under their authorisation and stewardship.

(2019, p. 1936)

This rethinking resulted in Figure 0.1, which illustrates the transformed relationships with such a definition. In this conceptualisation, the local community where tourism occurs is placed at the centre and this resets relationships with other key actors in tourism. This includes the tourist being socialised to be a guest rather than a demanding customer; governments recognising the authority of local community over tourism; and tourism businesses being socialised to earn and maintain their SLO. A justification for such an approach might be evident from our earlier discussion of First



*Figure 0.1* Community-centred tourism framework. Figure adapted with permission from Higgins-Desbiolles et al. (2019, p. 1937). Taylor and Francis Inc. <http://tandfonline.com>.

Nations protocols on Māori marae, when we explained the recognition of local sovereignty arising from the host’s marae serving as turangawaewae, the “standing place” of the host. The place where tourism occurs is not a tourism destination; it is the local community’s home, their standing place, and a place of uncompromisable value.

Finally, we must briefly turn to the values that are essential for this agenda of socialising tourism. In the discussions of First Nations pedagogy, we have already gleaned values of respect, relationships, responsibility and reciprocity. A socialising approach is a social approach that is based on relationality and must, by definition, be Other-oriented. However, this is not sufficient in a global order that is causing such large-scale damage and destruction. Socialising tourism must foster greater understanding of our interdependency

as humans – our bonds, our need for each other as well as the environment that nourishes us. Feminist scholar Judith Butler (2020) has penned a recent treatise on interdependency, demonstrating that we are not isolated individuals but interdependent social beings with global obligations. This is a philosophy for socialising tourism as a global agenda.

### **What might we ask of tourism?**

The project of “rethinking tourism” has been under development for several decades. This includes the important milestone when Deborah McLaren offered her book *Rethinking tourism and ecotravel* (1998) and Inayatullah’s “Rethinking tourism” (1995) offering an Islamic perspective referred to earlier. As Higgins-Desbiolles (2006) asserted more than a decade ago, considerations of tourism as a social force have been overshadowed with the rise of neoliberal globalisation and the concomitant discourse and shaping of tourism as exclusively an industry limited to its commercial and business forms. But, as she demonstrated in that analysis, the older vision of “tourism as a social force” has powerful positive possibilities that are worth struggling for. With this introduction, we have extended this analysis with our considerations of socialising tourism. Here, we have explained what socialising tourism might mean, why such an effort is needed and ways we might go about achieving this agenda. This is only an exploratory overview and much more work remains to be done to more fully consider the possibilities.

In the wake of COVID-19, some tourism scholars noted how possibilities for transforming tourism emerged from the dynamics of the crisis (Lew et al., 2020). With this crisis, it became apparent to many that activities and services that are essential to public well-being, in particular healthcare, needed to be addressed as a universal social good rather than as a marketised commodity. As we close this initial analysis of the possibilities for socialising tourism, we might ask: could similar demands be placed on tourism? That is, could we shape tourism in such a way that it no longer causes widespread injustices and instead strives to serve as a universal social good? The chapters in this book will go some way to helping us answer such questions.

The organisation of this edited volume is divided into three sections.

### ***Section 1. Socialising tourism as rethinking social relations***

Socialising is the activity of engaging socially with others. We invited our authors to engage in critical questioning, including: How do we relate with one another and our environments with and through tourism? How are uneven and unequal social relations produced and maintained? How might they be reshaped? Socialising tourism requires a fundamental rethinking of the social relations and relationality of tourism at all scales: global, national, regional, local and individual. It is about how we relate with one another and how these social relations shape and are shaped by the political economy,



geopolitics between nations, host-guest relations, colonial histories, race, gender and human-environment relations, to name a few. Examples such as toxic tourism that encourage affective and embodied engagement with polluted places to invoke change or decolonising tours used to rewrite tourism representations and politics in colonial settings are exemplary instances of making tourism work for the public good.

In Chapter 1, Andrew Peters and Simon Lambert offer Indigenous perspectives engaged with Māori hosting principles and Aboriginal Australia Welcome to Country/Acknowledgement of Country protocols. This analysis offers us insights into rethinking relations between tourists, culture and place. In Chapter 2, Bobbie Chew Bigby and Rebecca Jim analyse toxic tours as a tool for “environmental coalition building” through their case analysis of Tar Creek toxic tours. The tours offer the possibility of connecting visitors to places of environmental injustices while also allowing the hosts to use these tours for agency, empowerment and the search for justice. In Chapter 3, Sandro Carnicelli and Karla Boluk explore how we might move from the dominating practice of “carelessness” in contemporary tourism to a more “care-full” form of tourism. They emphasise the importance of “caring capacity” as a means to socialise tourism and propose a pedagogy and approach to foster such caring in tourists and others. Kokel Melubo and Adam Doering provide insights into the potential and constraints to involving local communities in tourism as tourists through a detailed analysis of experience in Tanzania’s Northern Circuit in Chapter 4. From their analysis, it is made clear that a pandemic recovery process offers an opportunity to prioritise local communities as tourists but to do so requires overcoming colonial legacies and associated Western framings of tourism.

## ***Section 2. Socialising tourism as rethinking ideology***

Socialisation is the process of learning to behave in ways that are acceptable to society. The current socialisation into tourism’s business-as-usual is no longer tenable. In contrast to recent calls to have tourism scholars to be “better aligned with industry”, socialising tourism places critical theory, dissent, ideological critique, creativity, diversity and the forefronting of marginalised voices at the heart of tourism studies. Maintaining critical distance from corporate power and influence is essential if academic scholarship, education, NGOs and social activism are to offer critical and creative insights into how to do tourism differently. How have we been socialised to think about tourism? How has the COVID pandemic called these ideologies into question? How can we decolonise this hegemonic framing of tourism? What illusions and myths continue to obscure our insight into tourism’s harsh realities?

In Chapter 5, Raoul Bianchi provides a political economy analysis of the global tourism system in order to challenge current conceptualisations of socialising tourism. He identifies the need for effective interventions against

monopolistic corporate power, financial speculation and offshoring of capital, built on alliances between activists on these issues and workers exploited by these forces. Chapter 6 presents a different kind of challenge to the socialising tourism concept, as Rasul Mowatt recounts the white supremacist road trips undertaken by Dylann Roof before he carried out a massacre in 2015 at the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, South Carolina, with the aim of starting a race war. Mowatt asks how can we embark on a project of socialising tourism when such unjust circuits and itineraries remain unchallenged by a committed agenda of truth-telling, reconciliation and restitution? Critical scholars Alana Dillette and Stefanie Benjamin provide Chapter 7 in which they present two narrative ethnographies exploring the ways they as two early career scholars have experienced ongoing colonialism in the tourism academy. Their work impresses the need to socialise the tourism academy and industry through a committed agenda of decolonisation. Their critical, feminist, decolonising work underscores how essential it is to address issues of power, privilege and associated oppressions performed in both contexts. Continuing in the American context, Kyle Kajihiro presents Chapter 8 where he examines Hawai'i's "DeTours" as an example of critical educational tours used as a tool to address ongoing colonisation and also the militourism that Hawai'i suffers. He argues these DeTours allow for decolonial place-making and weave webs of solidarity through the multiple and multilayer relationships that occur. These DeTours are not without their limitations and this is important to our socialising tourism agenda.

### ***Section 3. Socialising tourism to build better collective futures***

Socialising means adapting to social needs or uses and organising group participation to achieve these goals. Socialising tourism is therefore future directed and aimed at building better futures. These are not idyllic visions, but are futures grounded in what is currently occurring. Socialising tourism means engaging with the difficulties of the times and finding ways to fit tourism in the societies and ecologies in which it is occurring. For tourism to become more socially and ecologically just, it must find ways to better fit into local agricultural systems, local land uses, traditional ecological knowledge and residential policies and planning.

In Chapter 9, Shinji Yamashita considers forms of public tourism that can be identified as a response to the Great East Japan earthquake of 2011. He identifies these forms of public tourism as part of a new age of civic activities in Japan which have revealed the public good possibilities of tourism, particularly in a context of ongoing crises but also beyond. In Chapter 10, Adam Doering and Kumi Kato explain the search for "new light" in Fukushima, Japan, thereby illuminating possible alternative futures, moments of hope and bursts of beauty and creativity, even in the midst of devastation and destruction. Their work offers an affirmative, creative and exploratory

ethos and methodology for scholars and practitioners of socialising tourism to consider. Carol Kline presents ideas of socialising tourism to ethical engagement with animals in Chapter 11. After documenting the forms of animal abuse and exploitation that occur in tourism, Kline engages with the emerging posthumanistic turn in tourism studies. She offers insights into species justice in tourism and how it can socialise tourism towards a more fulsome form of justice. In the penultimate chapter, Chapter 12, Natasha Chassagne and Phoebe Everingham explore the principles of *Buen Vivir*, which has emerged from the Latin American context. *Buen vivir* is about building economies based on concepts of well-being and represents one important paradigm challenging neoliberal, market fundamentalism and the growth ideology that accompanies it. The final chapter, Chapter 13, offered by Robert Fletcher, Asunción Blanco-Romero, Macià Blázquez-Salom, Ernest Cañada, Ivan Murray Mas and Filka Sekulova, offers one last critical challenge to the concept under study in this volume: socialising tourism. They critique the initial concept as introduced by Higgins-Desbiolles (2020), saying it focuses in on local community agency and action. In their view, this is not sufficient; they seek to activate social justice at scale across multiple levels. The three case studies they offer in this chapter support a vision they introduce of “eroding tourism” to arrive at a post-capitalist form of tourism that better benefits communities and ecologies. These, they argue, demonstrate the potential to combine diverse forms of action in different contexts and scales within an overarching strategy to erode capitalism and its sister, capitalistic tourism.

This text is a part of a long lineage of critical and engaged analysis and a contemporary expression of the dire need to rethink tourism as a social force. Because of current events and changes in tourism discourse, this rethinking of tourism has become increasingly urgent and possible. We are grateful to these authors for joining us in this project of fleshing out the provocative thinking on socialising tourism for social and ecological justice. These chapters take the reader on an engaging and stimulating journey in which we demand a lot of tourism.

## References

- Amoamo, M., & Thompson, A. (2010). (Re) Imaging Māori tourism: Representation and cultural hybridity in postcolonial New Zealand. *Tourist Studies*, 10(1), 35–55. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468797610390989>
- Andrews, H., ed. (2014). *Tourism and violence*. London: Routledge.
- Barnsley, W. (2020, 3 August). Uluru national park closed after traditional owners block tourists amid coronavirus fears. Retrieved 5 August 2020, from <https://7news.com.au/lifestyle/health-wellbeing/uluru-national-park-closed-after-traditional-owners-block-tourists-amid-coronavirus-fears-c-1212995>.
- Boluk, K., Cavaliere, C., & Higgins-Desbiolles, F. (2019). A critical framework for interrogating the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals 2030 Agenda in Tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 27(7), 847–64. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2019.1619748>

- Butcher, J. (2020). The war on tourism. Spiked Online. Retrieved 5 May 2020, from <https://www.spiked-online.com/2020/05/04/the-war-on-tourism/>.
- Butler, J. (2020). *The force of nonviolence: An ethico-political bind*. London: Verso.
- Cambridge Dictionary (n.d.). Socialize. Retrieved 5 August 2020 from <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/socialize>
- Castañeda, Q. (2012). The neoliberal imperative of tourism: Rights and legitimization in the UNWTO global code of ethics for tourism. *Practicing Anthropology*, 34(3), 47–51.
- Chalip, L., & Costa, C. A. (2012). Clashing worldviews: Sources of disappointment in rural hospitality and tourism development. *Hospitality and Society*, 2(1), 25–47. [https://doi.org/10.1386/hosp.2.1.25\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1386/hosp.2.1.25_1)
- Clarke, A. (2015). Indigenous Australians tell you why you should take an Aboriginal tour. Retrieved 3 August 2020, from <https://www.buzzfeed.com/allanclarke/why-your-next-holiday-should-be-an-indigenous-experience>
- Cohen, R., & Kennedy, P. (2000). *Global sociology*. Houndsmills: Macmillan Press.
- da Cal Seixas, S. R., de Moraes Hoeffel, J. L., Botterill, D., Carnevale Vianna, P. V., & Renk, M. (2014). Violence, tourism, crime and the subjective: Opening new lines of research. In H. Andrews (Ed.), *Tourism and violence* (pp. 145–64). London: Routledge.
- de Almeida, M. V. (2011). The development of social tourism in Brazil. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 14(5), 483–9. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2011.568057>
- Diekmann, A., & McCabe, S. (Eds.). (2020). *The handbook of social tourism*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Dodds, R., & Butler, R. (Eds.). (2019). *Overtourism: Issues, realities and solutions*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Doering, A., & Kong, T. (2020). Performative nationalism in Japan's inbound tourism television programmes: YOU, Sekai! (The World), and the tourism nation. In H. Endo (Ed.), *Understanding tourism mobilities in Japan* (pp. 138–57). London: Routledge.
- Fennell, D., & Malloy, D. (2007). *Codes of ethics in tourism: Practice, theory, synthesis*. Clevedon: Channel View.
- Fletcher, R. (2011). Sustaining tourism, sustaining capitalism? The tourism industry's role in global capitalist expansion. *Tourism Geographies*, 13(3), 443–61. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2011.570372>
- Fletcher, R. (2016). Cannibal tours revisited: The political ecology of tourism. In M. Blázquez, M. Mir-Gual, I. Murray, & G. X. Pons (Eds.), *Turismo y crisis, turismo colaborativo y ecoturismo*. XV Coloquio de Geografía del Turismo, el Ocio y la Recreación de la AGE. *Monografies de la Societat d'Història Natural de les Balears*, 18, 23, 19–29. SHNBUIB-AGE.
- Giddens, A. (2009). *Sociology* (6th ed.). New Delhi: Wiley.
- Goldstone, P. (2001). *Making the world safe for tourism*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Goodwin, H. (2017). The challenge of overtourism. Responsible tourism partnership working paper 4. Retrieved 3 January 2020, from <http://www.millennium-destinations.com/uploads/4/1/9/7/41979675/rtpwp4overtourism012017.pdf>
- Hall, C. M. (2006). Buddhism, tourism and the middle way. In D. J. Timothy & D. H. Olsen (Eds.), *Tourism, religion and spiritual journeys* (pp. 172–85). London: Routledge.
- Hall, C. M. (2008). *Tourism planning: Policies, processes and relationships* (2nd ed.). Harlow: Pearson.

- Hall, C. M. (2018). Anarchism and tourism: Coming sometime and maybe. *Tourism Recreation Research*, 43(2), 264–7. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02508281.2018.1430717>
- Harvey, D. (2005). *A brief history of neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Harvey, G. (2003). Guesthood as ethical decolonizing research method. *Numen*, 50(2), 145–56.
- Hawaii Tourism Authority (2019). HTA resident sentiment survey 2018 highlights. Retrieved 8 September 2020 from <https://www.hawaiitourismauthority.org/media/2984/resident-sentiment-presentation-to-hta-board-01-31-2019.pdf>.
- Higgins-Desbiolles, F. (2006). More than an “industry”: The forgotten power of tourism as a social force. *Tourism Management*, 27(6), 1192–208. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2005.05.020>
- Higgins-Desbiolles, F. (2008). Justice tourism and alternative globalisation. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 16(3), pp. 345–64. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669580802154132>
- Higgins-Desbiolles, F. (2018). Sustainable tourism: Sustaining tourism or something more? *Tourism Management Perspectives*, 157–60. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tmp.2017.11.017>
- Higgins-Desbiolles, F. (2020). Socialising tourism for social and ecological justice after Covid-19. *Tourism Geographies*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2020.1757748>
- Higgins-Desbiolles, F. (2021). The “war over tourism”: Challenges to sustainable tourism in the tourism academy after COVID-19. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 29(4), 551–69. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2020.1803334>
- Higgins-Desbiolles, F., Carnicelli, S., Krolkowski, C., Wijesinghe, G., & Boluk, K. (2019). Degrowing tourism: Rethinking tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 27(12), 1926–44. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2019.1601732>
- Inayatullah, S. (1995). Rethinking tourism: Unfamiliar histories and alternative futures. *Tourism Management*, 16(6), 411–5. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0261-5177\(95\)00048-S](https://doi.org/10.1016/0261-5177(95)00048-S)
- Kakoudakis, K. I., McCabe, S., & Story, V. (2017). Social tourism and self-efficacy: Exploring links between tourism participation, job-seeking and unemployment. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 65, 108–21. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2017.05.005>
- Latouche, S. (2009). *Farewell to growth*. Oxford: Polity Press.
- Lew, A. A., Cheer, J. C., Haywood, M., Brouder, P., & Salazar, N. B. (2020). Visions of travel and tourism after the global COVID-19 transformation of 2020. *Tourism Geographies*, 22(3), 455–66. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2020.1770326>
- Lovelock, B., & Lovelock, K. (2013). *The ethics of tourism*. London: Routledge.
- Malcolm X (1992). *The autobiography of Malcolm X*, with Alex Haley and Ossie Davies. New York: Ballantine Books.
- Mason, P. (2003). *Tourism impacts, planning and management*. Amsterdam: Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Mason, P. (2007). “No better than a band-aid for a bullet wound!” The effectiveness of tourism codes of conduct. In R. Black & A. Crabtree (Eds.), *Quality assurance and certification in ecotourism* (pp. 46–64). Wallingford: CABI.
- McLaren, D. (1998). *Rethinking tourism and ecotravel* (1st ed.). Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian.
- Minnaert, L., Maitland, R., & Miller, G. (2006). Social tourism and its ethical foundations. *Tourism, Culture and Communication*, 7(12), 7–17.
- Palau Pledge (n.d.). Retrieved 20 October 2020, from <https://palaupledge.com/>

- Parrish, C. (2014). Building character and socialising a revolutionary: Sport and leisure in the life of Ernesto 'Che' Guevara. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 31(7), 747–59. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2014.901757>
- Robinson, M. (1999). Collaboration and cultural consent: Refocusing sustainable tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 7(3–4), 379–97. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669589908667345>
- Schlagwein, F. (2020, 24 July). Budapest moves to make party tourism a thing of the past. *DW Online*. Retrieved 6 August 2020, from <https://www.dw.com/en/budapest-moves-to-make-party-tourism-a-thing-of-the-past/a-54307202>
- Scott, D., Hall, C. M., & Gosling, S. (2012). *Tourism and climate change: Impacts, adaptation and mitigation*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Scott, D., & Hall, S. (2012). Hospitality's others: A conversation. In S. Tallant & P. Domela (Eds.), *The unexpected guest. Art, writing and thinking on hospitality* (pp. 291–8). London: Art Books and Liverpool Biennial of Contemporary Art.
- Scott, D. G. (2006, March). Socialising the stranger: Hospitality as a relational reality (Dissertation). Retrieved 3 April 2020, from <http://hdl.handle.net/10523/1283>
- Seabrook, J. (1995). Far horizons. *New Statesman and Society*, 8, 22.
- Selkirk, D. (2020, 26 May). Why First Nations communities are uninviting visitors. *BBC Online*. Retrieved 5 October 2020, from <http://www.bbc.com/travel/story/20200525-why-first-nations-communities-are-uninviting-visitors>
- Sharpley, R. (2018). *Tourism, tourists and society* (5th ed.). London: Routledge.
- Steffen, W., et al. (2018). Trajectories of the earth system in the anthropocene. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, 115(33), 8252–9. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1810141115>
- Tiaki: Care for New Zealand (n.d.). Retrieved 20 October 2020, from <https://tiakinewzealand.com/>
- UNWTO (1999). Global code of ethics for tourism. Retrieved 20 October 2020, from <https://www.unwto.org/global-code-of-ethics-for-tourism>.
- UNWTO (2019). Global and regional tourism performance. Retrieved 28 October 2020, from <https://www.unwto.org/global-and-regional-tourism-performance>
- Wheeller, B. (1993). Sustaining the ego. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 1(2), 121–9. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669589309450710>
- Williams, A. M., & Balaz, V. (2001). From collective provision to commodification of tourism? *Annals of Tourism Research*, 28(1), 27–49. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383\(00\)00005-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383(00)00005-0)
- Williams, P., Gill, A., & Ponsford, I. (2007). Corporate social responsibility at tourism destinations: Towards a social license to operate. *Tourism Review International*, 11, 133–44.
- Zuo, B., Huang, S., & Liu, L. (2016). Tourism as an agent of political socialisation. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 18(2), 176–85. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jtr.2044>