

Introduction: Tourism and Development: A Decade of Change

In the first edition of this book, we suggested that, at that time, a ‘conceptual leap’ existed between the recognised economic benefits of tourism and its potential contribution to development more generally. Putting it another way, by the end of the 20th century, not only were most, if not all, nations promoting themselves as tourist destinations but also, for many, tourism had emerged both as an integral element of development policy and as a significant economic sector. Nevertheless, despite this widespread adoption of tourism as a catalyst of development (and, of course, equally widespread adherence within both policy and academic circles to the notion that tourism represents an effective means of achieving development), relatively little attention had been paid to the inherent processes, influences, objectives and outcomes of tourism-related development – or, more precisely, few if any attempts had been made to draw together existing work on tourism and development into a cohesive, theoretically informed body of knowledge. In short, although tourism had at that time come to be viewed widely, though not universally, as a developmental panacea, a broad understanding of the assumed positive relationship between tourism and development remained relatively elusive.

This is not to say that awareness of what we refer to elsewhere as the ‘tourism development dilemma’ did not then exist (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008). The economic benefits (and costs) that flow from the development of tourism had long been researched and understood, as had the environmental, social and cultural consequences of tourism that represent, in a sense, both debits and credits on the tourism ‘balance sheet’. Thus, it had long been recognised that reliance on tourism as an agent of development requires a trade-off between the (primarily economic) benefits of tourism and its costs, the assumption being that the former outweigh the latter – though some commentators have long argued otherwise (Croall, 1995; Hickman, 2007; Mishan, 1969; Turner & Ash, 1975; Young, 1973). Moreover, by the early 2000s, the concept of sustainable tourism had assumed the position as the dominant

tourism development paradigm, widely considered to be the most appropriate means of optimising the benefits of tourism to the destination, the tourism 'industry' and tourists themselves, though not necessarily to wider socio-economic development. Nevertheless, the lack of academic attention paid to the relationship between tourism and development in general, and of a rigorous theoretical framework within which the objectives and processes of tourism development could be analysed in particular, meant that a number of fundamental issues and questions remained unanswered or, indeed, unanswerable. Hence, the purpose of the first edition of this book, which located the analysis of tourism as an agent of development within the disciplinary context of development studies, was to bridge the conceptual leap between tourism and development. In so doing, it sought to challenge, or at least consider from a more robust, theoretically informed position, the then popular assumption that tourism is an effective means of achieving development, that the creation of a tourism sector will inevitably result in the flow of developmental benefits to destination areas and communities.

In the Introduction to the first edition, we proposed a model that conceptualised the relationship between tourism and development studies and the consequential implications for the study and understanding of the potential contribution of tourism to the development of destination areas. This model is reproduced in Figure 1. Demonstrating the interdependence between not only tourism and the broader socio-cultural, economic and political environment within which it operates but also between the various consequences of tourism that collectively result in 'development', it represents a dynamic tourism–development system and, as such, remains relevant to the contemporary study of tourism and development. The point that deserves emphasis, however, is the *dynamic* nature of this tourism–development system; its constituent elements are not fixed but subject to transformation, as is the relationship between them. Thus, the study of tourism and development should itself be dynamic, not only recognising but responding to such transformations.

In the 10 plus years since the first edition was published, a number of significant transformations have indeed occurred within this dynamic tourism–development system. Not only has the nature and scale of tourism, in terms of both demand and supply, continued to evolve and change, but the world within which tourism occurs and with which it interacts has also experienced a variety of specific events, political-economic change, technological innovation and socio-cultural transformations, all of which, to a greater or lesser extent, represent either opportunities for or challenges to tourism and development. Moreover, the last 10 plus years have also witnessed increasing academic attention being paid to the relationship between tourism and development in general – and to specific forms of 'pro-development' tourism in particular – to the extent that it has become an increasingly significant theme within the tourism literature. At the same time, debates

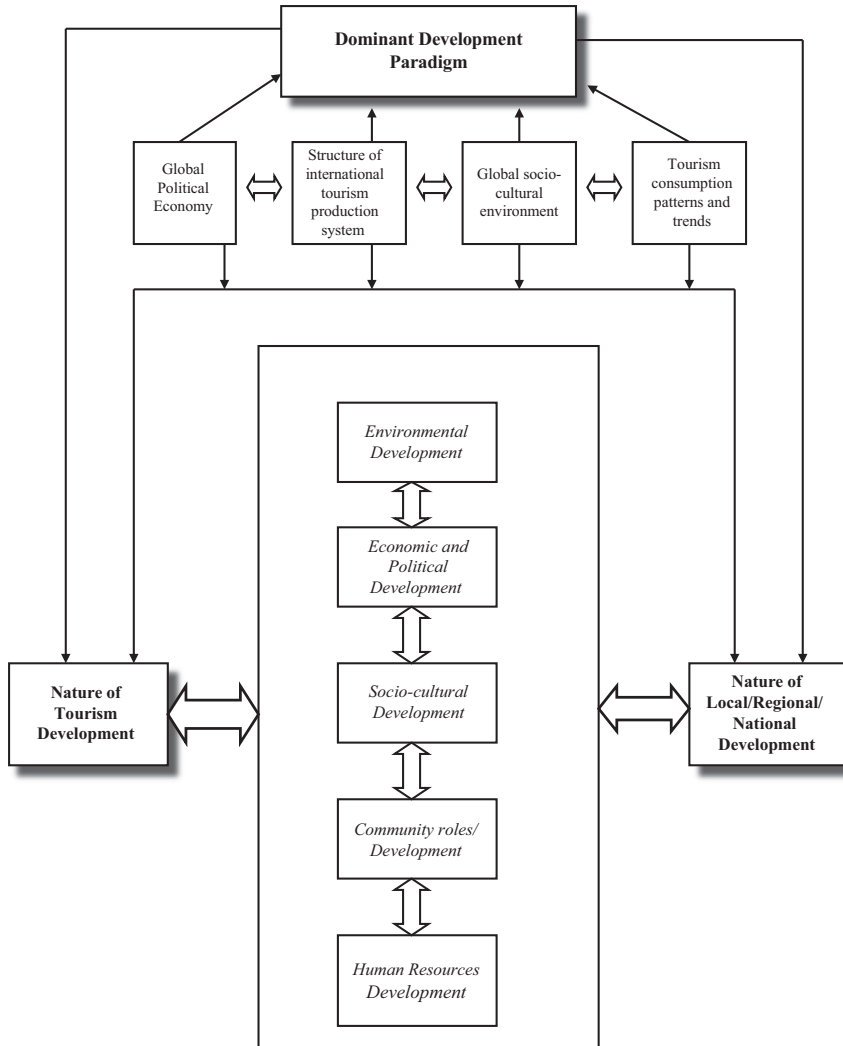


Figure 1 Model showing the relationship between tourism and development studies

surrounding the meaning, objectives, processes and validity of ‘development’ itself, both as a concept and as an activity that individuals, organisations and governments engage in, have continued unabated within academic and policy circles. Those in the post-development school argue, for example, that more than half a century of effort directed towards global development has been largely futile. What is clear is that there has been an expansion of new (and old) perspectives on the nature of development into what Knutsson (2009) refers to as a widening potential repertoire in the intellectual history

of development. In short, the 10 plus years since the first edition of this book was published undoubtedly represent a decade of change.

The purpose of this second edition, therefore, is to consider advances in knowledge and understanding of the relationship between tourism and development and, in particular, to explore the implications of the trends and transformations that have occurred within the tourism–development system over the last decade. Indeed, a number of new chapters have been written for this new edition that reflect significant issues for tourism development, such as the increasing focus on poverty reduction as a fundamental goal of global development and, inevitably, the challenges of climate change. At the same time, however, a number of questions posed in the first edition still remain relevant to tourism and development today, such as: What *is* ‘development’? Through what process may development be achieved, if indeed it is a realistic objective? Is tourism an appropriate vehicle of development? Who should be responsible for encouraging or supporting development? Are different forms of tourism development more or less suitable to different countries, societies or developmental needs and objectives? Can tourism contribute to development on its own or should it be considered in combination with other economic sectors or activities? At what scale is tourism likely to contribute most to development – at the international, national, regional or local level? And, what are the influences and forces that determine the extent to which tourism can play an effective developmental role?

This second edition continues to attempt to address these questions within the context of the trends and transformations that have occurred over the last decade. These are identified and discussed throughout this book but, for the purposes of this introduction, the following are notable:

- The demand for tourism (and, hence, the value of tourism-related expenditure or receipts) has continued its inexorable growth. In 1990, just over 439.5 million international arrivals were recorded. By, 2000, this figure had risen to 687.3 million, representing an average annual increase of 4.6%. Since then, a number of factors, in particular the global economic downturn in the latter part of the decade, have potentially limited further growth in tourism, yet, by 2010, international arrivals amounted to 940 million, representing a remarkable 7% increase on the previous year (UNWTO, 2011e). A significant milestone was reached in 2012 when international tourist arrivals exceeded the 1 billion mark for the first time (UNWTO, 2013b). In 2013 international arrivals reached 1,087 million, a 5% increase on the 2012 figure (UNWTO, 2013b). Tourism-related expenditure has enjoyed equal, if not more rapid, growth; from a figure of US\$268.9 billion in 1990, international tourism receipts rose to US\$481.6 billion in 2000, reaching US\$1,075 billion in 2012 (UNWTO, 2013b). Moreover, these figures exclude domestic tourism which, for many countries, is significantly larger in volume and value

than international (incoming) tourism and globally represents some 85% of total tourist activity (Bigano *et al.*, 2007).

What these figures demonstrate is not only the resilience of tourism to external forces and influences, but also its continually increasing significance as the voluntary transfer of wealth to and, hence, the basis for economic growth and development in destination areas. They also suggest that the UN World Tourism Organisation's long-standing and rather daunting forecast of 1.6 billion international arrivals by 2020 will be easily met, if not exceeded (WTO, 1998a). Nevertheless, assumptions of such continued growth should be questioned, if not challenged. Not only will enormous investment in infrastructure be required to sustain such growth, but a variety of factors, such as oil price rises, political interventions, environmental concerns and economic uncertainty, may serve to restrict the growth in tourism. This, in turn, has implications for the future role of tourism as an agent of development and, consequently, the need for some, if not all, destinations to reconsider their dependence on tourism.

- The continuing growth in tourism has underpinned or, perhaps, been stimulated by the emergence of new destinations around the world, whilst more countries are becoming important generators of international tourism. In other words, not only has international tourism demonstrated continuing growth over the last decade but, more importantly, the patterns of growth have been transformed. Traditionally, of course, the major flows of international tourism have been within defined regions, with Europe in particular both generating and receiving the highest proportion of international tourists. This still remains the case. In 2012, Europe attracted 52% of total international arrivals, though this share has been steadily falling from 72.6% in 1960 and 61.6% in 1990 (UNWTO, 2011e; UNWTO, 2013b). In contrast, the Asia Pacific region has enjoyed a rapid increase in their share of global arrivals whilst, in particular, a number of least developed countries, such as Tanzania and Cambodia, have in recent years experienced growth rates in tourist arrivals well in excess of the global average. Moreover, over 70 countries now attract more than 1 million international tourists each year, with recent entrants to the '1 million club' including Jordan, Cuba, Peru, Chile, Costa Rica, Vietnam and Cambodia, as well as a number of former USSR states, such as Latvia, Estonia and Azerbaijan.

Much of the increase in tourist arrivals in the Asia Pacific is the result of intra-regional travel underpinned by economic growth in those regions whilst, in particular, China, Russia and India have become major tourism markets. China has become the number one source market of international tourists with many countries actively marketing to the Chinese. In February of 2014, Jamaica for example, removed the visa requirement for Chinese tourists.

Collectively, these trends point to a fundamental shift in the political economy of international tourism. The (Western) centre-periphery dependency model of tourism popularised in the 1970s and 1980s no longer holds true as new regional economic powers have emerged; the demand for and supply of tourism has become global, if not globalised, with the consequence that destinations operate in an increasingly diverse and competitive market. Thus, for some, tourism has become an increasingly attractive developmental option; for others, tourism can no longer be relied upon as a source of economic growth and development.

- A significant factor in the continued growth of tourism, beyond economic growth in tourism-generating countries, has been the deregulation or liberalisation of international air transport in general, and the emergence of low-cost airlines in particular. The latter phenomenon, though occurring globally, has been particularly prevalent in Europe over the last decade, contributing to a significant growth in intra-regional tourism. Moreover, whilst the cost of air travel globally has declined in real terms since 1990, low-cost airlines have not only enabled more people to travel (or people to travel more frequently), but have also played an influential role in the development of new destinations within their sphere of operations. Ryanair, for example, carried over 74 million passengers to 27 different countries in 2010, making it the world's largest international airline. More importantly, however, numerous new destinations have emerged directly as a result of Ryanair's operations, but remain dependent on the airline for their supply of tourists. In addition to the emergence of the low-cost airlines, the cruise line industry has also seen tremendous growth. Cruise Lines International Association forecasts 21.7 million passengers in 2014 on their 63 member lines which, collectively, will be introducing 24 new ships in 2014–2015, representing capital investment of approximately \$US8 billion (CLIA, 2014). Questions have been raised over cruise lines flying flags of convenience whereby ships are registered in other, often developing, countries in efforts to reduce their operating costs.
- Over the last decade or so, the world within which tourism exists has in some respects become a more uncertain place. Of all the events that have occurred during this period, the '9/11' terrorist attacks in the USA have, in all likelihood, had the most far-reaching impact on travel and tourism, although successive terrorist activity, such as the infamous 'shoe bomber' and the '7/7' bombings on London's underground train network, have contributed further to the imposition of heightened security measures on air travel. However, tourists have in general become seemingly more vulnerable to terrorist or criminal activity – in recent years, for example, a British tourist in Kenya was murdered and his wife kidnapped allegedly by an armed gang from neighbouring Somalia – whilst political upheavals, notably the 'Arab Spring' of 2011, have had significant impacts on

tourism throughout the Middle East. At the same time, natural events, such as the devastating Indian Ocean tsunami of 2004, the eruption of Eyjafjallajökull, the Icelandic volcano, which led to closure of much of Europe's airspace for a period of six days in April 2010 and the Tōhoku earthquake, tsunami and nuclear disaster in Japan in 2011 have also impacted on tourism, albeit in evidently different ways. The 2009 Mexican swine flu crisis, though having a relatively limited and short-term effect on tourist flows, served to demonstrate (as did the SARS outbreak in 2003 and the 2014 Ebola outbreak) how tourism can both contribute to and be influenced by international health scares, whilst the continuing turmoil in the global economy, in addition to having an immediate impact on tourist flows, has contributed further to a contemporary sense of uncertainty. That is, the 'triumph' of capitalism in the years following the collapse of communism in the late 1980s has been followed in recent years by evident failings in the capitalist system; and tourism is, fundamentally, a form of capitalist endeavour. The global economic crisis beginning in 2007–2008 and the Eurozone crisis starting in 2009 have had significant impacts on the global economy resulting in greater involvement of state governments and international lending agencies.

Of course, tourism has always been vulnerable to external events; equally, such events have long occurred. However, the increasing pervasiveness of tourism, particularly its penetration into more 'risky' countries and regions, has perhaps rendered it more susceptible to political, economic, environmental and other events, whilst in an increasingly inter-connected, inter-dependent (or globalised?) world, such events may have a much more far-reaching impact. Thus, not only is risk or crisis management becoming more prevalent in tourism, but also enthusiasm for tourism's developmental potential must be tempered by recognition of its lack of immunity from external uncertainties and challenges.

- Of all the transformations to have occurred over the last decade, the increasing focus on climate change is perhaps the most significant in terms of tourism and development. This is not to say that climate change or, more precisely, global warming is a new phenomenon – the relationship between increased levels of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere and rises in average climatic temperatures has, for example, long been recognised and understood. However, the years since 2002 have witnessed increasing public awareness of and political concern for climate change and, despite continuing debates surrounding climate change in general and global warming in particular, particularly the extent to which it is related to anthropogenic emissions of greenhouse gases (GHCs), it is now generally accepted that there is an upward trend in global temperatures. Moreover, there are clear connections between tourism and the characteristics of and transformations in the global climate, to the extent that global warming undoubtedly presents significant challenges for the

tourism sector. On the one hand, both air and car transport are significant sources of GHGs; therefore both patterns of travel and modes of transport may alter dramatically as individuals and organisations seek to reduce their 'carbon footprint'. On the other hand, destinations will need to respond to both gradual climatic changes related to global warming, such as rising sea levels, and to more frequent extreme events. Either way, in many destinations climate change is likely to have a major impact on tourism and, consequently, its contribution to development.

- Although the issue of climate change, referred to in the preceding section, has increasingly dominated the political and environmental agenda in recent years, the notion of sustainable development, which first came to prominence in the late 1980s, has continued to frame development policies and processes in general, and tourism development policies in particular. However, despite the continuing sustainability rhetoric, there has been increasing criticism and, indeed, rejection of sustainable development as a broad agenda for development with attention turning to more specific concerns such as poverty reduction, the role of non-governmental organisations (NGOs), international aid programmes and issues of national governance. Indeed, over the last decade, under-development has come to be widely associated with the concept of the failing state. To an extent, a similar trend has occurred within the context of tourism. Not only has the broad concept of sustainable tourism development faced increasing criticism, but also alternative approaches, from the optimistically labelled 'responsible tourism' to 'pro-poor' tourism, 'voluntourism' and value-chain analysis have come to the fore as more appropriate means of enhancing tourism's developmental contribution. Global approaches to development, through initiatives such as the UN Millennium Development Goals, illustrate the shift towards poverty reduction and these have been adopted by various tourism organisations including the UN World Tourism Organisation. In other words, as perspectives on and processes of development in general have continued to evolve, so too have new approaches to tourism development in particular evolved. Nevertheless, it still remains unclear to what extent these might contribute more effectively to the broader socio-economic development of destinations.

This is by no means an exhaustive list of the changes that have occurred within the tourism–development system over the last decade. For example, advances in communication technology have transformed the relationship between the supply of and demand for tourism, weakening the traditional role of intermediaries and their consequential influence on destination development. Small tourism operators in developing countries with access to the internet can market directly to new customers and independent travellers are increasingly booking their own holidays online. Small tourism companies can apply online for micro-credits to develop their businesses through

websites such as Kiva Loans. Recent work in the development literature has been focusing on ICT4D (information and communication technologies for development) as a way to bridge the digital divide and alleviate poverty (Unwin, 2009). Nevertheless, they point to the dynamic nature of tourism and development and, as noted earlier, the purpose of this second edition is to highlight and explore the implications of advances in knowledge and understanding of this changing relationship between tourism and development. Original chapters from the first edition have been revised and updated and a number of new chapters have been included.

More specifically, Part 1 introduces the concept of development and establishes a relationship between development theories and tourism theory, thereby setting the theoretical parameters for the more specific issues addressed in the following section. Chapter 1 reviews the popularly held justification for the promotion of tourism as a means of achieving development. The chapter asks the fundamental question: what is development? Making reference to social, economic and political factors that characterise under-development, it argues that the concept of development has evolved from simply economic growth to a broader achievement of the 'good life' that encompasses social, cultural, political, environmental and economic aims and processes. Having considered the 'meaning' of development, Chapter 2 goes on to explore the evolution of seven development paradigms that have evolved since World War II and how they relate to tourism. The chapter provides an overview of the nature of development before reviewing and critiquing seven development paradigms including modernisation, dependency, economic neoliberalism, alternative development, post-development, human development and global development. Parallels are drawn between the changes in development theory and tourism development, assessing the extent that tourism reflects transformations in development thinking.

The purpose of Part 2 of the book is to explore, within the context of specific themes, the relationship between development and tourism. Thus, each chapter in this part of the book, referring to and building upon the theoretical foundation introduced in Part 1, addresses particular issues or challenges related to the use of tourism as a developmental vehicle. Given that this role of tourism is principally referred to in terms of economic benefits, the section commences by addressing, in Chapter 3, economic development issues. Taking economic growth as the fundamental indicator of (economic) development, the chapter explores tourism consumption as an expenditure-driven economic activity and the economic impacts of tourism. The chapter focuses on a number of issues that may challenge or enhance the economic developmental potential of tourism. This is followed by, in turn, chapters that explore poverty reduction, regional development issues, community development issues, socio-cultural issues, heritage issues and environmental issues.

In the evolution of development thought, poverty alleviation has come to the forefront as is evident in the UN Millennium Development Goals. Chapter 4

explores the emergence of pro-poor tourism as well as a number of practical initiatives that incorporate poverty reduction including Fair Trade, the role of NGOs, the UNWTO 'ST-EP' (Sustainable Tourism – Eliminating Poverty) programme and corporate social responsibility. The chapter argues that the rights and well-being of poorer peoples should be prioritised in all tourism initiatives that seek to reduce poverty as well as ways to address the systematic inequalities that limit the poor from benefiting from tourism. Chapter 5 examines the use of tourism as a regional development tool. Governments around the world have selected tourism as a means to promote development or redevelopment in peripheral or economically disadvantaged regions. The chapter begins by examining regional development concepts including the shift to new regionalism followed by a discussion of innovation, growth poles, agglomeration economies and clusters. The challenge of using tourism as a regional development tool is explored through a number of cases in a variety of different contexts, including urban redevelopment, rural regeneration, island tourism, tourism in peripheral regions and tourism across international regions. It is argued that for tourism to be an effective tool for regional development so that more than multinational corporations or the local elite benefit, there must be strong economic linkages to a variety of sectors in the local economy.

Chapter 6 explores the central question: to what extent can tourism contribute to community development? After examining the issues, challenges and critiques with tourism, community and development, various tourism approaches and forms such as ecotourism and indigenous tourism are explored. Community based tourism planning approaches and mechanisms are then investigated. The chapter raises critical questions on the nature of community, power and politics, empowerment and the fact that communities do not exist in isolation. The chapter argues that under sustainable development, there needs to be a fair distribution of goods and a fair procedure for participation in the context of community based tourism.

Chapter 7 explores the relationship between tourism development and socio-cultural development. Challenging the traditional, Western-centric 'measurement' of development and the resultant inherent bias in assessing the socio-cultural impacts of tourism in particular, the chapter introduces a variety of indices against which development may be measured. It goes on to examine both the positive and negative socio-cultural impacts of tourism before highlighting the contradictions of tourism development and proposing that there is a need to divorce the assessment of tourism's development outcomes from traditional, universalist development paradigms.

Continuing on the theme of society and culture, Chapter 8 explores the relationship between cultural heritage, tourism and socio-economic development. The chapter examines current trends in heritage tourism, including scaling the past, democratisation, new directions in religious tourism and heritage trails, incorporating both tangible and intangible dimensions of heritage resources. While heritages sites represent opportunities for tourism

development, they require careful planning and management to protect them for future generations.

Completing Part 2, Chapter 9 considers the relationship between tourism development and the environment. Critiquing mainstream sustainable development theory which is manifested in deterministic and managerialist approaches to the planning and the use of tourism's environmental resources, this chapter explores the concept of sustainability as a complex interaction of local social, environmental, political and economic processes. It argues that, despite the recognised negative consequences of tourism development, a focus upon local governance embracing ecological sustainability principles may emphasise the environmental benefits that accrue from tourism.

Finally, Part 3 introduces and addresses what are referred to as 'barriers and challenges' to tourism development. It has long been recognised that a variety of externalities serve to limit the growth of tourism and, hence, its economic development potential, such 'limiters' including, for example, government restrictions on inbound/outbound travel, political turbulence, global oil prices, natural disasters, and so on. Beyond these specific factors that impact negatively on tourist flows, normally in the shorter-term and with respect to specific regions or destinations, there are a range of important sets of influences that restrict or present challenges to tourism's contribution to development. First, as discussed in Chapter 10, the political economy of tourism, in terms of both the internal structure of the tourism system itself and the global context within which the tourism system operates, has frequently been explained in relation to neo-colonialist dependency theory. However, with an increasingly globalised political economy, the structure of transnational corporate operations represents a new 'threat' to the achievement of development. The chapter raises the question as to whether the emergent industrial and geographic configurations of tourism production, exchange and consumption challenge or reinforce global distributions of power and inequality. A second emerging and very significant challenge to tourism development is climate change and is the focus of Chapter 11. Many developing countries and, in particular, island destinations often rely on tourists taking long-haul flights or sailing on cruise ships and both of these industries generate emissions contributing to climate change. A central challenge is that in the pursuit of development through tourism, there has not been integration of the implications of climate change. The chapter raises the question: if we travel now, will we pay later?

Third, the very nature of tourism as a form of consumption also militates against development (Chapter 12). As an ego-centric social activity, tourism is principally motivated by twin aims of avoidance/escape and ego-enhancement/reward. Therefore, despite the alleged spread of environmental awareness and the consequential emergence of the 'new' tourist, not only does tourism remain relatively untouched by the phenomenon of green consumerism but also the ways in which tourism is consumed suggest that, beyond financial considerations, tourists contribute little to the development process.

Fourth, the production and consumption of tourism generates a range of human rights issues some of which may go against the very nature of development. Chapter 13 traces the evolution of the concept of human rights and then goes on to examine human rights in tourism development including inhumane treatment of people, employment, displacement, security checks, safety while travelling, multinational business practices, the impacts on the environment and slum tourism. The chapter notes that the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UNUDHR) is not without criticism and that human rights are not only challenges for host populations and societies, but also for tourists and tourism businesses which include multinational corporations.

Fifth, Chapter 14 argues that the tourism development process needs to be better understood within the broader context of global issues as we are living in an increasingly connected or globalised world. The chapter begins by examining global issues and threats (economic, environmental, geopolitical, societal and technological) and the issue–attention cycle that can potentially limit or challenge the role of tourism in the development process. The chapter argues that incorporating the approach of international studies will give a diversity of perspectives and/or explanations which will facilitate a greater understanding of the tourism development process.

The final area of concern is sustainable tourism, which has become the dominant tourism development paradigm but can also be seen as a barrier to development. That is, as Chapter 15 suggests, sustainable tourism development has evolved into a prescriptive and restrictive set of guidelines for tourism development that, whilst offering environmentally appropriate, commercially pragmatic and ethically sound principles for optimising tourism's development role, draws attention away from the potential benefits of other forms of tourism and, indeed, other development agents. The chapter suggests that a destination capitals model of tourism development may be a way forward.

Finally, drawing together the various concepts, themes and issues introduced and discussed throughout the book, the conclusion (Chapter 16) considers the implications for the role of tourism as a means of achieving development. As such, it raises a number of important points and questions that may encourage further debate among students, academics and practitioners of tourism while, more generally, it is hoped that this book as a whole will contribute to further understanding and knowledge of the inherent processes, challenges and benefits of tourism as a vehicle of development. In the 10 plus years since the first edition of this book, the tourism literature has grown at an incredible rate, yet there are still many questions on the role of tourism in the development process.

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