Tourism as a Form of International Relations: an introduction

In February 2022, the Russian army performed a military intervention in Ukraine, resulting in numerous fatalities, infrastructural damage, and millions of Ukrainians forcibly displaced from their homes. What has thereafter been referred to as the 2022 Russia–Ukraine war is underway for over a year without a peace settlement in sight. In response to Russia's offensive military action against its sovereign neighbour, Western alliances and individual states have aligned with Ukraine on a political, military, and social level and responded with sanctions and criticism to the Russian government, led by President Vladimir Putin. One of the responses to Russia's military intervention was a range of sanctions from the European Union targeting the Russian government, its businesses, and individual citizens, with one measure being the decision on increased visa restrictions for Russian citizens travelling to the European Union (Turner, 2022).

The Russia–Ukraine war is undoubtedly a catalytic event in contemporary international relations. It is a benchmark in the discourse of contemporary international affairs, one that directly involves state actors, but at the same time affects supranational and non-governmental entities, civil society, and individual citizens. Petr Lovigin, a Russian travel vlogger with more than half a million followers, and Leanid Pashkouski, a Belarusian travel vlogger with over one million followers, suggest that international political decisions aimed at states do not only affect the state actors targeted, but also their citizens, who should be treated as separate non-state actors with the capacity to influence global affairs in a direction different from their affiliated state.

> [EU] sanctions [against Russia] target those [Russians that are] against the war. […] this is completely unfair because at least among young Russians, I've hardly met anyone who supports the war. The European Union thereby makes life as difficult as possible for those who are trying to fight the regime. It won't help. I still do not see a single sanction from the West that would stop this war and Putin's actions. (Petr Lovigin, Russian Travel Vlogger; Turner, 2022)

> [The EU] often equates Russia and Belarus. I think these restrictions are just senseless, ineffective moves made by the EU authorities instead of doing real things. In reality it won't stop Putin, it won't help to win the war, it won't even prevent the Russians from travelling. Instead, such sanctions could definitely have an opposite

effect: people in Russia will consolidate more and more around Putin's ideology – because they see the whole world hating and cancelling them. Those who have the possibility to travel are in opposition to the regime most of the time, so the EU is hitting its allies. (Leanid Pashkouski, Belarusian Travel Vlogger; Turner, 2022)

The statements made by Lovigin and Pashkouski explain that a state-centric political response does not effectively encapsulate the diversity of state and non-state actors involved in contemporary international relations and in conflict more specifically. The assumption that states are unitary bodies overlooks the impact of their citizens as separate political actors, an impact often generated – as these vloggers suggest – through the act of travel.

Contemporary international relations call for a reconceptualization of who is a political actor and who is affected by international political discourse. Did the EU falsely respond to the war in a state-centric approach? Do individual citizens have the capacity to shape global affairs and, if so, in what ways? Does tourism and international travel have a role to play in shaping international relations and in engaging unconventional political actors such as citizens? This book is set to examine these questions and discuss international affairs, contemporary global phenomena, and international tourism dynamics to identify the impact of tourists as emerging political actors. Through the deconstruction of conventional international relations, this book is set to reconceptualize tourism as a form of international relations.

TOURISM THROUGH THE IR LENS

Scholarship has defined tourism as the temporary visitation of people to destinations and therefore much of this scholarship has focused on exploring the relationship between people and places. Admittedly, this is a central component of tourism. Nevertheless, tourism is also the exchange of information across people. It is an activity that allows people to become transmitters of knowledge and emotions, agents of intercultural dialogue, illustrators of social norms from across the globe. Conceptualizing tourism in its broader capacity as a people-to-people exchange reveals the bigger picture of tourist activity and its impact beyond the conventional focus on tourism as an activity of leisure and recreation. Seeing tourism as a transnational practice with political, economic, social, and ethical repercussions allows tourism to be redefined beyond individual travel preferences and motivations. It goes beyond the person and what they do for recreation, and it goes well beyond the relationship between people and places. Today tourism is a form of transnational networking enabling the exchange of information across individuals and communities. Tourism has become, to a great extent, about the relationships formed and exchanges made between people; and the socio-political impacts

arising from these relations and interactions today lie at the forefront of tourism research. In other words, the study of tourism has evolved enough to deviate from a destination-centric starting point to become more focused on people-to-people socio-political interaction. The study of tourism as an international activity is, therefore, a component of international studies.

To reconceptualize tourism from this perspective, paying attention to the socio-political impacts it generates, introduces tourism as a novel and yet basic form of international relations. The study of tourism as a socio-political activity within the scope of international studies places tourism at the heart of International Relations, or IR. An interdisciplinary field within the Political Sciences, studies of International Relations examine international socio-political activity, and although its engagement with tourism has thus far been limited, there is a direct connection between contemporary international affairs and tourism as a contemporary socio-political phenomenon that can be incorporated within the IR field of study.

International Relations has been conventionally about the study of interstate relations, treating states as the principal political actors of the world stage. Through a continuously evolving scholarly discourse, IR today is no longer about the relations between states, and to an analogous extent the study of tourism is no longer confined to examining the interaction between people and destinations within the realm of leisure and escapism. The field of International Relations has become concerned with political agents, institutional entities, organization representatives, and individuals, interacting on a transnational scale. It thus entails the interaction between people from other cultures and other communities, and tourism engages with exactly that. In its contemporary form, tourism conducts international relations in the modern era. It is for this reason that understanding Tourism as a form of International Relations is crucial for the evolution and advancement of both fields.

Tourism has evolved as an academic field that is not only informed by, but also informs conflict resolution, foreign affairs, media, communication, geography, and social psychology. Tourism has evolved to become central to the very exchange of socio-political information, an exchange that was interrupted during the 2020 COVID-19 pandemic and, as a result, the effortless, interpersonal exchange of information, cultures, concepts, and trends was also halted. As tourism revives in a post-pandemic era, we have the responsibility to examine it beyond its conventional, destination-centric version; a version that is outdated. Tourism is not simply the activity of holidaymaking and vacationing. Tourism is about shaping the world dynamically, organically, and constantly.

Rourke and Boyer (2008) insightfully reference Shakespeare's words that "the world is a stage and all the men and women merely players" to highlight the scope of international relations, and to emphasize the range of characters,

incentives and dynamics involved in world politics. Besides examining the actors involved on the international political stage, the field of International Relations reviews the structures and conditions through which these actors interact. These structures, perspectives and overall ontological standpoints of IR provide the lens(es) through which tourism can be revisited. This book uses theories, conceptual frameworks, methodologies, and levels of analysis employed within the IR field to discuss contemporary tourist activity, and accordingly, view tourism through the IR lens.

Why IR as a Lens?

International Relations is a field that has been intricately linked with Political Sciences and has been defined as the examination of political activity on an international scale across state and non-state actors. States have been conventionally considered the primary actors of the international political stage, and as such the actors that shape international politics. The emergence of global phenomena, the ever-increasing interconnectedness and interdependence of international political actors, and the undertaking of international activity from a plethora of both state and non-state actors has reshaped the field dramatically in the modern era. Today, the field of IR does not automatically imply inter-state relations and dynamics. That is simply a component of the discipline that has been studied "the longest" (Aydınlı and Biltekin, 2018).

What is undoubtedly a commonality between Tourism and IR is their inherently interdisciplinary nature. Tourism research informs and is informed by various academic disciplines, with the field illustrating an interconnectedness to social science disciplines such as Sociology, Anthropology, Economic Sciences, Business and Management, Social Psychology and Geography. In an analogous manner, IR and its emergence as a distinct academic field was characterized by a frequent exchange of scholarly ideas with other fields, primarily the ones informing Tourism as well. According to Aydınlı and Biltekin (2018), IR scholarship has widened in scope and has become more sophisticated over the decades by welcoming input from other disciplines. To draw distinct boundaries between disciplines of the social sciences is futile, as each discipline provides a distinct perspective through which socio-political activities, interactions and phenomena can be examined. If more work within the social sciences is conducted in an interdisciplinary manner, scholars will acknowledge the benefits that come with the interconnectedness of these fields, and will more comprehensively understand the socio-political activities, interactions, and phenomena these disciplines examine.

A question worth asking is why is tourism not already incorporated within the scholarly spectrum of International Relations? A discipline examining intercultural exchanges with evident socio-political impact is oddly margin-

alized from the study of international political discourse. This is primarily because IR has traditionally focused on states as the principal political actors and has only recently revisited its scope to include non-state actors. Tourism is still considered a predominantly socioeconomic activity and remains disconnected from international political affairs. This book seeks to contest this discrepancy by introducing the ways in which the tourist holds the capacity to perform political acts and shape international affairs.

One of the criticisms received by the field of International Relations in recent decades is that it has failed to explain and predict emerging trends and phenomena on the world stage. Widening the IR scope and revisiting the actors engaging in international political affairs is not only an approach that reveals the political contributions of tourism, but a scholarly innovation that will assist the IR field to escape its conceptual stalemate and engage with the study of international affairs more comprehensively. In bridging the gap between Tourism and IR, this book introduces Tourism as a form of International Relations and examines the magnitude and implications of its socio-political impact through the lens of IR theories, and levels of analysis.

The IR field offers three levels of analysis, or three perspectives with a separate focus to identify, explain, and evaluate political activity in the international stage. These are namely (1) the individual/organizational level, (2) the state level, which has been a dominant level of analysis in the field, and (3) the systemic level. When considering the three levels of analysis in reference to the study of non-state political actors, the systemic level has been considered as the most applicable to their examination, due to the approach's attention to global dynamics and phenomena. For examining the tourist as a non-state political actor, the individual level of analysis becomes an insightful tool that can attend to personal motivations and individual political acts that mount up to inform global movements. The three levels are more extensively examined in Chapter 1, as an analytical approach to understanding the role of tourism in contemporary diplomacy.

TOURISM AS AN EVOLVING INTERNATIONAL PRACTICE

A key reference for discussing the evolution of modern tourism is the twentieth century's Fordism period. The era of Fordism developed following the Industrial Revolution and was identified as the era of mass production (Amin, 1994). Despite its reference to the economic structures of the twentieth century, Fordism has also referred to other parameters of society, such as culture and social change, and has been linked to individual behaviour, such as consumerism and travelling, as well as collective identity (Hall, 1988).

The 1970s saw a new trend in tourism that emerged in the United States, and it was the development of tourist environmental bubbles. Stors and Kagermeier (2013) define tourist bubbles as tourist-designated infrastructure separated from the city and isolated from what were considered as unhospitable and threatening urban environments. Tourist bubbles were designed as "leisure and entertainment districts" (2013: 117), with the purpose of providing safety to the visitors. Ironically, tourist bubbles enabled visitors to access new destinations without coming into direct contact with them.

The twentieth century was not only characterized by Fordism's industrial revolution paving the way for mass production and consumption, it was also defined by a bipolar political system of two superpowers – the United States and the Soviet Union – and the ideological warfare they engaged in during the Cold War. The end of the Cold War saw the collapse of the Soviet Union and the reshaping of the world stage with the US as the acting global hegemon. A prominent approach for describing the international scene during the late twentieth century and specifically within the post-Cold War era is the distinction between Western vs other political actors. Stemming not only from economic performance, but also from socio-political, ideological, and geographical parameters, the "West vs the rest" classification acknowledges how Western political ideology and socioeconomic activity overwhelmingly spread across the globe in the post-Cold War era of US political hegemony. A Western culture of mass consumerism, and what was critiqued as West's aggressive economic imperialism, was characterized by resource exploitation, unfair economic interactions, and political domination (Petras, 1994; Kapur, 1997; Easterly, 2002; Friedman, 2005). The phenomenon that was characterized as Westernization was interlinked with the process of globalization, or the ability of states and actors across the globe to become closely interconnected. Technological growth, transnational trade, political stability, and financially viable travel options made the world come closer together, as if it were "flat" (Friedman, 2005).

Like other US-based trends, the tourist environmental bubble phenomenon spread widely on a global scale soon after the amplification of globalization in the late 1990s. When tourist bubbles grew into a global phenomenon, they featured standardized amenities and utilities, often through known western brands, hotel chains, and restaurant/cafe franchises. They therefore provided not only a safe zone for visitors, but also a westernized area in each destination. Touristification, or the process through which segments of urban settings developed into "complete tourist zones" (Stors and Kagermeier, 2013: 118), became a process of destination Westernization. International tourist bubbles offered western tourist infrastructure across the world, including known fast food and coffeeshop chains and created a sense of comfort through recognizable providers and expected quality of service. They endorsed a type of tourism

that was more convenient and superficial and less engaging with local attitudes and trends.

During the 1980s and 1990s, scholarship spoke of the end of the Fordist era, substituted by a post-Fordist organizational model, characterized by new forms of economic and political governance that deviated from the mass production model. Amin (1994) identifies three approaches to the transition from Fordism to post-Fordism – or neo-Fordism – which can be seen as contemporary mechanisms of economic governance. The regulatory approach speaks of a norm that started in the 1970s in France and attempted to establish institutional regulations over the capitalist economic model to provide increased economic stability and prolonged growth. The second approach is defined as the neo-Schumpeterian and shares aspirations analogous to the regulatory approach, including the aim to prolong the cycle of economic growth, with the difference in the latter's emphasis on technology and technical standards (ibid.). The third approach, flexible specialization, deviates from mass production through unskilled labour by endorsing skilled, specialized labour of customized goods (Piore and Sabel, 1984; Amin, 1994). According to Hirst and Zeitlin (1991), the flexible specialization approach acknowledges multiple connections between institutions, politics, and technology.

The progression experienced by industrial discourse over the twentieth century, evolving from Fordism to post-Fordism was also mirrored by tourism discourse. International travel assumed, during the Fordist period, a character of mass consumption of the tourist product through mass tourism, travel packages organized in bulk, and trends of generic – and often superficial – interactions with a travel destination. This trend resulted in large inflows of tourism to designated destinations that featured adequate infrastructure to accommodate mass inflows of visitors, primarily engaging in seasonal vacationing and causing the phenomenon of seasonality in tourism. The economic trends of specialization, differentiation, and market segmentation that followed during the post-Fordism era were echoed by the tourist industry and paved the way for alternative forms of tourism to arise. These forms of tourism differentiated in the types of activities they incorporated and were often delivered in smaller groups – or at an individual traveller's level – making tourist experiences more customized and spreading tourist activity more widely across available destinations and throughout seasons. Today, the tourism scene is characterized by an ever-growing variety of options for both organized mass travel and customized individual experiences, making the diversity of tourist activity wider than ever before.

In the early 1990s, at the dawn of the globalization phenomenon and considering the shift towards a post-Cold War era, Huntington developed what is considered a fundamental text for the systemic analysis of global world order, the Clash of Civilizations. Huntington's (1993) account, following

the demand of the 1990s, attempted to address the shift from a bi-polar Cold War international system to a new era, and predicted that the main source of conflict would be ideological and would occur between the major civilizations of the world. These included the Western, the Latin American, the Orthodox, the Eastern, the Muslim, and the Sub-Saharan. Huntington's approach was contradicted by literature that spoke of a unipolar world having emerged from the end of the Cold War, with the US acting as a global hegemon (Heisbourg, 1999; Cameron, 2002), while a third perspective replaced the US hegemony rhetoric with a multipolar international system of multiple global powers and emerging new hegemons (Buzan and Wæver, 2003; Colin et al., 2007; Lennon and Kozlowski, 2008; Bulmer and Paterson, 2013).

In the decades that followed and led up to the 2020 Coronavirus pandemic, the field of International Relations witnessed the emergence of non-state political actors. While international affairs were dominated by the discussions on terrorism as a transnational, non-state threat to state sovereignty, additional non-state political influencers of the world stage were also introduced, including global movements and global civil society (Kaldor, 2003, 2020; Keane, 2003). Kaldor (2020) highlights that civil society is a consensual form of citizen participation in international politics, it has transnational impact, and can directly inform global governance and international security. Global civil society movements are directly interlinked with voluntary, short-term mobility across state borders, and hence hold a direct connection to patterns of international tourist activity.

From terrorism to economic and environmental crises, to a pandemic, the world witnessed many threats occurring at an international scale, and as such security responses have also moved beyond national fronts to multiple forms of international security. Buzan et al. (1998) presented five sectors for the effective analysis of contemporary international security within the framework of the Copenhagen School of Security Studies. The sectors of security identified are military, environmental, economic, societal, and political and they each entail the capacity of receiving existential threats articulated and constructed by a securitizing agent. The Copenhagen School effectively introduced the socially constructed nature of international security with succeeding securitization scholarship indicating that threats can be both constructed and deconstructed by political actors (Butler, 2020). The contribution of tourism to processes of securitization, desecuritization, and international security is identified and discussed subsequently in this book with direct reference to Buzan et al.'s five sectors of international security.

Understanding tourism as a form of international relations requires placing Tourism within the IR theoretical framework, and in doing that effectively it is vital to understand the dominant IR theories as separate viewpoints within the field, each providing its distinct set of assumptions and expectations

regarding international political activity. Some IR theoretical frameworks are more state-centric, others attend to individual capacities, and some put an emphasis on the international stage and its ability to engage multiple actors. State-centric theories assume the unchanging dominance of state actors and the static nature of their goals and encounters, making them less effective in capturing the emergence of new political actors with a differentiated approach to international relations. The following section reviews key IR theories and their ability to understand tourism as a contemporary form of international political activity.

THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND TOURISM

The Realist school of thought was one of the initial theoretical frameworks developed for understanding international relations (Rourke and Boyer, 2008; Burchill et al., 2009). Niccolo Machiavelli and Thomas Hobbes are the early theorists of Realism, while prominent figures of the twentieth century include Morgenthau, Waltz, Carr, Mearsheimer, Niebuhr, and Kennan (Donnelly, 2009). Realism focuses on the constraints of international politics imposed by inherent human egoism, acting in the absence of an international world system and instead operating within the Westphalian system of state anarchy (ibid.). Realism understands the interaction across political actors as the inevitable egoistic quest for survival, one that will inevitably lead to antagonism and conflict.

The theory of Neorealism, which emerged through basic principles of realism, distinguishes the behaviouralist attributes of old realism from Neorealism's attention to structure. While old realism explains international relations through state behaviour and decision-making, Neorealism puts this behavioural approach in context by identifying the structural framework that restricts or enables state behaviour (Waltz, 2004).

Realism is viewed as one of the two primary theoretical frameworks that have defined the IR field's course of evolution. The second of the two is Liberalism. Liberal scholars, including Rousseau, Kant, Schumpeter, and Doyle, argue that peace, not war, is the natural state of being (Burchill, 2009). Kant's 1975 account on Perpetual Peace has been an emblematic account for the theory of Liberalism, which emphasizes human ability to operate under win–win situations and to seek cooperation and interdependent prosperity.

The liberal model of cooperation placed an early emphasis on economic interdependence, which evolved to the notion of Neoliberalism, supporting free trade and emphasizing democratic values as a prerequisite for transnational cooperation. Neoliberalism advocates for increased collaboration among international political actors, acknowledging the notion of self-sufficient

states as unrealistic (ibid.). Powell (1994) argues that both Neoliberalism and Neorealism face fundamental internal limitations that prevent them from contributing to the IR field in full magnitude.

When it comes to Realism, which looks at international relations as a zero-sum game, then looking at tourism from a realist perspective implies that tourism is to be considered as a zero-sum game activity within the realm of international relations. This perspective would emphasize the antagonistic relationship between host communities and visitor audiences: finite resources of destinations, space, infrastructure, and activities provided to tourists are perceived to be taken away from locals. In other words, the realist assumption poses the risk of heightening rival relations between the host and visitor populations in a particular destination. Additionally, government funds dispensed for supporting tourist structures and services could be perceived as taken away from attending to local needs. From a neorealist perspective, the tourist as a non-state actor would formulate their political contribution within the structures provided, which may hinder or prevent any tourist-driven political momentum from unfolding in an organic and unrestricted manner.

On the contrary, looking at tourism from a liberal perspective means that any form of tourist activity can be assumed as a solution from which everyone benefits. Through tourism, both tourists and local populations can benefit at the same time, considering that conditions are optimal for a win–win scenario to emerge. For example, infrastructures built for tourists are open to and accessible by locals. Enhancement of the arts and culture through the restoration of local architecture, the beautification of public spaces and the protection of heritage and archaeological sites is also of direct benefit to the host population. The economic and consumerist activity of tourists can support a wider range of shops and merchandise available to locals, while tourists also create higher demand for local events, exhibitions, and festivals, contributing to an improved standard of living and enhancing local well-being.

While Liberalism highlights the virtues of mutual benefits that could arise from international tourist activity, optimal conditions may not always be upheld, with discrepancies in host-visitor motivations, host-visitor expectations, and host-visitor cultural and ethical frameworks making win-win scenarios more complex to achieve. Both Realism and Liberalism present international affairs from opposite ends of a spectrum, with additional IR theories, such as the English School and Constructivism, seeking to bridge the gap between the two ends.

Constructivism and the English School are two theories that evolved subsequently to Realism and Liberalism and lie somewhere in the middle of the theoretical spectrum between the Realism and Liberalism extremes. From its commencement in the mid-twentieth century until today, the English School shows a direct connection to political theory, an aspect that strongly influences

its methodological nature. Initially introduced by the British Committee during the 1950s, it focused primarily on the concept of international society. Hedley Bull's (1977) Anarchical Society and Martin Wight's (1977) Systems of States developed as part of the English School's second phase and are considered foundational for the English School philosophy for further developing Western international society and placing the idea in historical context (ibid.).

Founding English School figures, such as Wight and Bull, developed their theoretical work in consideration of the normative debate between pluralism and solidarism, with subsequent English School literature developing under one of the two approaches (Buzan, 2004). The debate between pluralism and solidarism lies within international political theory and is concerned with the concept of international society. It refers, on the one hand, to the importance of the state as a sovereign institution within a diverse community of state actors and, on the other hand, to the respect of human rights within a cosmopolitan environment of universalism (Nardin, 2009). Pluralist rhetoric embraces the anarchical model to emphasize the heterogeneous coexistence of states under no formal superior authority, while solidarists reject this model of contemporary international society, calling for the necessity to institutionalize global order and international justice (ibid.).

In addition to the pluralist–solidarist distinction, English School thinkers can be identified according to their influences as realist, rationalist, or revolutionist. On one hand, the realist branch, including Hedley Bull and Robert Jackson, is directly influenced by Hobbesian realism, supporting that international society is more of a "social contract" rather than a natural, pre-defined condition (Wight in Buzan, 2004). On the other hand, revolutionist thinkers such as John Vincent, Nicholas Wheeler, and Timothy Dunne were inspired by Kantian idealism to endorse the idea of gradually transitioning from an international to a world society, further emphasizing the idea of progress and change within international relations. Consequently, revolutionists focus more on domestic politics, rejecting the idea of a society of states in aspiration of the world society of individuals (Buzan, 2004). It is accurate to assume that realist English School thinkers lie on the pluralist side of the theory's spectrum, while the revolutionists associate their views with the solidarist end of English School literature. With realist and revolutionist thinkers adopting contradictory arguments to one another, the rationalist position – adopted by Wight – comes to serve as the "via media" between the other two (Linklater, 2009: 97). Rationalist scholarship more accurately corresponds to the general philosophy of the English School as it rejects the utopianism of revolutionists and the real politik of realism, and at the same time provides the bridge between state-centric realist ideas and domestically focused revolutionists (ibid.: 88).

Constructivism, a theory that is close to the English School's philosophy, emerged long afterwards, at the end of the Cold War. In Guzzini's (2000: 147)

words, Constructivism is "epistemologically about the social construction of knowledge and ontologically about the construction of social reality". The theory was soon welcomed as part of mainstream American IR (Reus-Smit, 2009). The end of the Cold War was an unexpected development within International Relations which rationalist mainstream IR theories, such as Neorealism and Neoliberalism, seemed incapable of explaining. The alternative to rationalist theories was critical theory, whose normative, non-empirical nature was often criticized as unsuitable to account for contemporary global politics. Consequently, Constructivism was soon welcomed as a middle-ground theoretical alternative: it was a non-rationalist perspective that was more empirical than critical theory (Rourke and Boyer, 2008; Reus-Smit, 2009).

Constructivist scholars are primarily divided into two streams: modernists and post-modernists. The post-modernist adopts a meta-theoretical approach with an emphasis on sociology and language to deconstruct basic structural assumptions and question accepted realities such as power, knowledge, sovereignty, and hierarchy (Bradley Phillips, 2007). Conversely, modern constructivists accept the existing social structures and provide an explanatory approach to international relations instead of a critique to the objectivity of "social truths" (Bradley Phillips, 2007: 64). The modernist approach is rejected by post-modernists as it affiliates with rationalist thinking and, hence, contradicts the non-rationalist nature of Constructivism that was a benchmark to its emergence. Post-modern constructivists, such as Martha Finnemore and Harald Müller, affiliate closely with post-structuralist ideas, such as the subjectivity of all knowledge, whereas modern constructivist figures such as Stephen Krasner and Alexander Wendt are more consistent with mainstream IR.

Alexander Wendt is a prominent constructivist scholar; his account of *Anarchy is What States Make of It* (1992) being considered a foundational text for Constructivism. Wendt contradicts the inevitability of human nature as portrayed by realism, and rationalism as embraced through Neoliberalism. More importantly, Wendt deconstructed the neorealist approach to anarchy, to argue that anarchical structures are not inherently constraining, but instead have been constructed through institutions that reflect social processes. Wendt's emphasis on structure evolved independently from other constructivist literature, gradually forming one of three theoretical branches, systemic constructivism. Until today, Wendt remains the most prominent supporter of systemic constructivism, emphasizing the importance of normative – or ideational – structures within international relations (Reus-Smit, 2009).

In contrast, a second theoretical branch referred to as unit-level constructivism pays more attention to international actors such as states and focuses on the legal and social norms developed within them (ibid.). To bridge the two approaches, the third branch, known as holistic constructivism, uses the

concept of ideational structure, while at the same time reflecting on social change and the impact of human agency (ibid.).

Although there are multiple divisions and branches of constructivist theory, the School's essence of philosophy can be summarized under three logics: consequences, appropriateness, and arguing. Firstly, the logic of consequences makes the claim of rational consequentialism, under which a certain action is bound to generate a specific outcome (Krasner, 1999). Hence, people choose to act according to the results they expect to produce, formulating human activity accordingly. In contrast, the logic of appropriateness emphasizes the impact of social practices and norms in shaping human activity. According to this logic, human activity is instead affected by a societal normative framework that indicates what is appropriate and acceptable to do (Onuf, 1995). March and Olsen (2008) discuss the logic of appropriateness as rule-based action, fulfilling the obligations incorporated within social roles, identities, and institutional or political memberships. Müller (2004) and Risse (2000) introduce the third and most recent of these logics, the logic of argument. A meta-theoretical and postmodernist logic, the logic of argument supports that if an argument is convincing and accepted over other arguments, then it can shape human activity, regardless of whether it is objectively correct. When human activity is defined by "the better argument" (Müller, 2004: 397), if parties engage in communication with a readiness to accept the better argument, it can contradict both one's rational interests – logic of consequences – as well as normative structures and social practices – logic of appropriateness (Risse, 2000).

The middle ground provided by the English School and Constructivism in the study of global affairs can also act as a framework of reference for the reconceptualization of tourist activity. Looking at tourism from the English School perspective – or multiple perspectives within the theory – one component to highlight is that the world is a society of states, within which states as political entities coexist and interact with one another. This approach, although heavily state-centric, can explain international tourist activity as one of the many forms of interaction between individuals as ambassadors of states – an activity that falls within the spectrum of public diplomacy.

The English School's universalist approaches provided by solidarist thinkers move beyond state-oriented philosophy. The theory's cosmopolitan underpinnings enable it to view tourism as an organic activity that occurs on a global scale and can be further eased through universal values and regulations – or a more cosmopolitan version of the world. With international tourist activity expected to continue its expansion as a form of unrestricted transnational movement, revolutionist streams of the English School provide an appropriate theoretical framework to undertake its examination in the future, as revolutionist English School viewpoints speak of a world society of individuals and echo Kantian cosmopolitanism.

Wendt (1987) highlights that International Relations theories present contrasting perspectives towards the examination of international political discourse, with realist and other positivist streams adopting a structure-oriented approach, and constructivist theorists focusing more on the agents within the international system. Wendt's (1987) structure–agent differentiation is particularly relevant to this study's attentiveness to non-state political actors, and more specifically to the tourist as a non-state political actor. Risse (2007) further expands on the necessity to bring more attention to political agents vs. structures by explaining that twentieth-century literature on transnational actors maintained a focus on state structures, whereas the attitudes and interactions of non-state political actors remained underexplored. Like the English School, Constructivism also provides components of epistemology that are appropriate for the effective examination of the tourist as a non-state political actor.

When it comes to Constructivism, what is emphasized from its ontological, epistemological, and theoretical standpoint is the social construction of norms, regulations, assumptions, beliefs, and values each society adheres to. Understanding tourism from this perspective allows us to see tourist activity as an exchange of norms, a cross-cultural communication that informs individual travellers on the context of their own beliefs and assumptions in reference to those values and norms their host society brings forward. Tourism, therefore, is an ongoing, transnational, inter-societal process through which the individual as a non-state political actor informs and is informed by societal phenomena and dynamics that exist in various patterns across the globe.

Acknowledging notions of interstate equality, inclusion, and emancipation is most effectively achieved through Critical Theory. The theoretical stream was introduced by Robert W. Cox in 1981 and was critical to the assumption that world order remains unchanged over time (Moolakkattu, 2009). According to Devetak (2009), Critical Theory does not take the state as a standard form of political organization and employs three perspectives to reconceptualizing political community: (1) the normative, (2) the sociological, and (3) the praxeological (ibid.). Through the normative dimension, the state is considered an exclusionary political structure, while the sociological one attends to the origins and evolution of the current political system. The praxeological dimension incorporates notions of cosmopolitanism and dialogue and calls for a more inclusive political order that grants agency and emancipation to both advantaged and marginalized political actors.

A key component of Critical Theory is its attention to the epistemological foundations of political activity. How do we know what we know about politics, and are there other perspectives, structures, and assumptions to consider? As Devetak (2009) explains, Critical Theory embraces the evolution of international politics through inclusive, unconstrained dialogue across the entire

humanity, by acknowledging both the sociological origins of international political order and the personal bias of the researcher examining it. Critical Theory is also effective in adopting a reflexive character, by questioning existing structures, deconstructing the origins of existing power dynamics, and identifying the role and agency of non-state actors in international politics. The latter characteristic is directly relevant to the understanding of tourism as a form of international relations, and to this end Critical Theory, similarly to the English School and Constructivism, encapsulates epistemological assumptions that establish it as a suitable theoretical framework for examining tourist-performed international political activity.

In line with the basic principles of reflexivity in Critical Theory, placing tourism at the heart of International Relations requires reflection and evaluation over the appropriateness of the epistemological and theoretical approaches employed to perform this scholarly objective. A reconceptualization of conventional theories, as well as entirely new theoretical angles offer a plethora of opportunities for expanding the epistemological and theoretical spectrum of the IR field, and thus more effectively incorporating emergent forms of international relations, such as tourism.

One challenge that recent literature has identified with regards to the theoretical analysis of International Relations is the angle from which this analysis has been conducted. Much of the theory within the field was developed in an exclusively Western perspective and having realized this, scholars today are trying to incorporate non-Western perspectives into the analysis of the field and enable a post-Western IR theory to develop. This has also been referred to as the "global angle" (Acharya, 2014). A risk that lies within this realization is the dichotomy between Western and non-Western perspectives that would further emphasize rather than eliminate the disparity of the two approaches (Aydınlı and Biltekin, 2018). This can be addressed by adopting the term post-Western to describe theoretical frameworks that cross Western and non-Western boundaries of IR theory and research.

Acharya (2014) suggests that to effectively reimagine IR from a global viewpoint, it is important to diffuse norms and ideas in a reciprocal manner across Western and non-Western agents, and not consider non-Western societies as passive "norm takers" (2014: 655). IR scholarship, which has conventionally adopted a Western-oriented perspective, has overlooked the agency of non-Western beliefs, aspirations, and input, creating an imbalanced account of world affairs. Revisiting international relations by paying equal attention to norms from across the world's societies and civilizations can better account for the interaction and coexistence of these societies – which lies at the core of international relations studies. Undoubtedly, and as highlighted from the constructivist theoretical perspective, tourists are catalytic agents for the exchange of norms across societies. Reconceptualizing IR from a global epistemological

perspective will thus require acknowledging the tourist agency and its leading role in inter-societal interaction and exchange.

An overview of IR's key theories illustrates that conventional, state-centric theories, such as Realism and Liberalism, are weaker in corresponding to non-state political activity such as tourism. To the contrary, the theories acknowledging the interconnectedness of state and non-state actors on the world stage and the sociological context that influences their decision-making are more able to correspond to contemporary political phenomena. Through this realization, the book's methodological and research design for the effective study of tourism as a form of international relations is illustrated accordingly.

METHODOLOGY

The book draws its ontological and epistemological assumptions from a combination of three International Relations theories: the English School and its notion of a cosmopolitan world order, Constructivism, and its understanding of international relations as a socially constructed dialectical process shaped by the actors involved, and Critical Theory, with its focus on power dynamics, hierarchy, multi-perspectivity, and emancipation. While the English School also incorporates state-oriented strands that restrict its capacity to identify and assess the tourist as a political agent, its revolutionist and solidarist strands incorporate cosmopolitan assumptions that are appropriate within the context of international tourist activity. On the other end, Critical Theory is inherently cosmopolitan, as its reflexive character questions existing structural realities and looks beyond conventional boundaries of political order. These theories provide not only the theoretical framework for discussing tourist activity within the international political arena, but additionally provide recommendations on the methodological directions to be taken in its analysis.

Combining the principal philosophies that emerge from these theories allows a set of assumptions to be made with regards to the international political stage and the role of tourism:

• Positivist and state-oriented assumptions of the international political stage should be deconstructed and re-evaluated to reflect the dynamic and evolving nature of contemporary global affairs.
• International affairs are conducted by an amalgamation of state and non-state actors that share the capacity to shape global phenomena.
• Processes of globalization have drastically expanded the world's interconnectedness and interdependency, to a level that socio-political phenomena occur on a global and not on a national scale.
• Addressing global challenges can be more effective through cosmopolitan rather than state-centric versions of international relations, to provide

unconventional political actors with more agency and make the international political stage more inclusive and effective.

The optimal approach to incorporate these assumptions into the discussion and analysis of this book is by adopting a theoretical angle of critical cosmopolitanism, an approach defined in more detail through Chapter 1. Beck (2007) calls cosmopolitanism the new critical theory of the twenty-first century. Delanty and Harris (2018) highlight the critical angle of cosmopolitanism and present critical cosmopolitanism as a scholarly perspective that wishes to identify the present's transformational capabilities. Informed from a selection of IR theories that each – including Realism and Liberalism – articulates the tourist's political capacities from different angles and to different degrees, critical cosmopolitanism is employed within the context of this book as an inter-theoretical IR framework set to assess an emergent political actor, the tourist, and pave the way for new and more inclusive IR theories to develop.

With critical cosmopolitanism as a reference point of analysis, each book chapter is set to employ additional theoretical models and analytical tools derived from Tourism studies, such as the Push and Pull Factor model (Dann, 1977), models of Tourist Typology (Cohen, 1972; Plog, 1974), and the Big Five categories of personality – as employed for tourist behaviour (McCrae and Costa, 1985). The book utilizes contemporary examples and case studies to provide practical insights and give context to theoretical discussions. Through this methodological approach, the reader has access to insights, practices, and phenomena that advance this notion of multi-perspectivity.

OVERVIEW AND STRUCTURE

Non-state actors have emerged in contemporary IR research as catalytic players in the international political and economic stage. Chapter 1 discusses tourism as a non-state actor to identify the influence of global tourist activity on international development and sustainable practice. The chapter places the theoretical framework of cosmopolitanism at the forefront and examines cosmopolitan forms of tourism in association with sustainable development. Through the case studies the chapter presents, it highlights global power dynamics and opportunities for tourism to either emancipate or disadvantage marginalized populations. More specifically, it discusses the forms of tourist activity that bring advantaged, high-income visitors to communities of disadvantaged populations living under the poverty line – a type of global intergroup interaction that may generate patterns of oppression or leave room for unethical, non-consensual interaction between hosts and visitors. The notion of critical cosmopolitanism provides an insight as to how this intergroup exchange can generate empowerment rather than prejudice. Looking at

tourism as a catalytic activity for developing intergroup relations of inequality on a global scale suggests that tourism can also be seen as a tool for global governance and international development.

The discussion on tourism, cosmopolitanism, and international development is followed by an overview of international security and its evolution in Chapter 2. This chapter, titled "Tourism and diplomacy", focuses on the act of international diplomacy in reference to the stakeholders performing it and distinguishes between two categories of diplomatic discourse. The first one is state-oriented diplomacy, undertaken either by state or non-state actors to advance the interests of state actors, their image abroad, and their foreign policy. The second one is cosmopolitan diplomacy, which, like state-oriented diplomacy, can be performed by both state and non-state political actors. Cosmopolitan diplomacy addresses international political affairs from a transnational rather than a state-oriented angle to resolve global challenges and enable political agents to coordinate their efforts irrespectively of their national affiliations. The distinction between state-oriented and cosmopolitan diplomacy is employed to discuss the ways in which tourism informs contemporary diplomacy, and how tourist-performed diplomacy engages unconventional actors in the act of political negotiation both as representatives of institutions or organized communities, as well as in their capacity as individual travellers.

Chapter 3 on "Tourism and international security" offers a timeline of international events that shaped perceptions and measures towards international security, while discussing how international tourist activity affected and was affected by these events. An initial point of reference is the end of the Cold War, discussed through a selection of key texts on the implications of the post-Cold War era towards globalization, interconnectedness, and travel. This is followed by a discussion on the case study of the 9/11 attacks and the War on Terror, with the significant changes that were imposed on security screenings for cross-border travel. A third key reference is the COVID-19 pandemic and how international security is redefined through the threat of a global health crisis. The chapter assesses the role of international tourist activity in shaping five key areas of international security: the military, the political, the societal, the environmental, and the economic.

With an understanding of how tourism can be a driver of sustainable development, an unconventional actor in diplomacy, and a determinant of international security, Chapter 4 proceeds to discuss the popular relationship between Tourism and Peace and consider the ways in which tourism can be a contributor to peace within – but more so beyond – the framework of conflict resolution. With numerous scholarly accounts attempting to establish and measure the relationship between tourist activity and the successful implementation of sustainable peace, this chapter deviates from the question "Does tourism lead to peace?" and instead asks "Which forms of tourism contribute to peace and

how?". These questions are addressed by going beyond the establishment of peace through processes of conflict resolution to consider indirect routes to peace, such as though development, security, and diplomacy.

CONCLUSION

International Relations is a historically state-centric field moving beyond state actors and attempting to understand international affairs more holistically and comprehensively from a multitude of angles. To view tourism through International Relations requires first to identify the approaches used within the field for examining and analysing the world. This allows us to identify current viewpoints, perspectives, and assumptions within the field of International Relations, acknowledge them as part of the author's starting point, and apply this lens in the discussion of international and contemporary tourist activity.

To see tourism beyond its capacity as an industry performing transnational economic activity allows scholars to directly embrace the complexity and multifaceted nature of tourism. Acknowledging its socio-economic nature provides an opportunity to identify and measure tourism's contribution to global phenomena and dynamics, and to consider individual tourists as potential non-state actors with the ability to engage in and shape international affairs.

With this objective in mind, it is imperative that this book adopts appropriate ontological, epistemological, and theoretical frameworks. Through a review of prominent IR theories, this chapter differentiates between state-centric and cosmopolitan frameworks, deeming the latter as more appropriate in identifying, discussing, and evaluating tourists as emergent non-state political actors. To this end, employing a critical theoretical angle to cosmopolitanism enables the analysis of the tourist as a non-state actor to deconstruct conventional assumptions in international relations, critique relationships of inequality and injustice, and seek for the avenues that enable the recognition and empowerment of historically overlooked political agents.

Why is tourism an international socio-political activity worth exploring? The exponential growth of this activity of voluntary transnational movement is here to stay, even after a severe pandemic. Tourism is becoming more frequent, more widespread, and even more embedded in our everyday lifestyle across Western, Westernized, and non-Western societies. This activity is also influenced by our constant exposure to news and information from across the globe and our access to social media platforms that engage everyday citizens in politically informed communication. It is, therefore, more likely for the contemporary tourist today to perform travel not solely as a leisure activity to escape the daily routine, but as a politically informed and even politically driven activity that enhances cosmopolitan values, in an era when our lifestyles are already shaped by global phenomena beyond our doorstep. Through

the theoretical angle of critical cosmopolitanism, this book is set to reveal those forms of tourism that are expected to have significant contributions to international affairs and evaluate the nature of these contributions as they are introduced through the widened scope of the new International Relations.

In its diversity of forms, tourism as a political act can yield socio-political implications through a diversity of international political processes. The quest for sustainable development, coordinated global action, diplomatic communication across political actors, and measures for increased international security are only a few of the areas of international political discourse that can engage tourists as non-state political contributors. Through the lens of critical cosmopolitanism, the following chapters examine international tourism trends and redefine tourist activity within the facets of international development, diplomacy, international security, and peace. To commence this discussion, the following chapter introduces a spectrum of tourist typologies and discusses how each engages with notions of sustainable development, as well as transnational and intergenerational equity.

1. Tourism and international development

AN INTRODUCTION TO INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The study of International Development has been closely linked to economic growth and has, often exclusively, been assessed through economic terms. Defining development is a challenging task and one that has yielded over 70 different definitions as development studies progressed through the years (Sharpley, 2000). This has led scholars to bestow various meanings to the term as they apply it to a range of contexts across disciplines. Todaro and Smith (2009) attempt to capture the multifaceted character of development through the following definition:

> Development [is] a multidimensional process involving major changes in social structures, popular attitudes, and national institutions, as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality and the eradication of poverty. Development, in its essence, must represent the whole gamut of change by which an entire social system, tuned to the diverse basic needs and desires of individuals and social groups within that system, moves away from a condition of life widely perceived as unsatisfactory toward a situation or condition of life regarded as materially and spiritually better.

Todaro and Smith's (2009) definition speaks of a life spiritually and materially better through indicators of economic growth, poverty reduction and – economic – inequality. According to Daly (2006), development is defined as global economic growth. The conventional focus of development scholars on economic factors and indicators has, until recently, overlooked the parameters of environmental sustainability and – to some extent – social equity. The three pillars of the environment, the economy, and society are principal determinants in making development processes sustainable. Today, the concept of sustainable development has gained significant attention in development scholarship and is a concept that proposes achieving economic growth while ensuring environmental conservation and societal welfare.

Alkire (2010) discusses the notion of human development and offers a human-centred approach to development that deviates from economic indicators: human development is about expanding people's freedoms and addresses three objectives in doing so: (1) well-being, (2) agency, and (3) justice. Development can be understood both as an end goal and as a process (Sharpley, 2000); it is a process that continues to improve living conditions, choices, and freedoms in societies across the world, and at the same time the process is comprised of agreed developmental landmarks and outputs that make progress measurable and time-specific. Evidently, the end goal of development is the advancement of individuals as distinct units and of society on a collective scale, with economic performance service as one of multiple indicators towards achieving this goal.

Approaches to the study and examination of development have evolved over the decades, with a set of development paradigms illustrating the evolution of development theory. Two prominent development paradigms that emerged in the 1950s and 1960s are the *modernization* and *dependency* paradigms, that focus on indicators of economic growth (Telfer, 2002). The modernization paradigm uses Western development stages as points of reference applicable on both Western and non-Western societies globally, whereas the dependency paradigm acknowledges that colonialism and structures of global economic activity have enabled developed nations to exploit developing ones and result in their under-development (ibid.). According to Telfer's (2015) evolution of development theory, these models were replaced by the model of *economic Neoliberalism* in the 1970s, characterized by economic deregulation and free market policies. Around the same period, the model of *alternative development* also emerged and introduced a less economic-centric approach to development, incorporating social and environmental parameters such as education, shelter, health, gender equality, people empowerment through grassroot movements, and sustainability (ibid.). The model of alternative development is considered, as Sharpley (2000: 6) puts it, "the current end-point of the development paradigm continuum".

Today, the examination of development entails the component of sustainability; for any developmental process and goal to be considered successful, they ought to entail durability across time and refrain from any counter side effects. International development should therefore be assessed with regards to economic, social, and environmental outputs. Yet to jointly pursue economic development and resource conservation has been viewed as an oxymoron and an unrealistic goal (Sharpley, 2000). Nevertheless, it is equally unrealistic that to aspire to long-term economic development without ensuring resource availability and quality of life might also be seen as an evident oxymoron, making economic development achievable only in the short run.

Development and Globalization

Looking at international development from an International Relations perspective, the examination of development was directly affected by the realization that the post-Cold War international political arena was becoming increasingly interconnected. IR research during the 1990s and thereafter was heavily centred around speculations of the political order that would replace the world's bipolar structure (Fukuyama, 1989; Huntington, 1993), while social and economic studies of the time were discussing how post-Cold War realities would shape development and power dynamics on a global scale (Ritzer, 1992; Brown and Lauder, 1996). A common acknowledgement across scholarship in the social sciences was that the world was characterized by increased interconnectedness, interdependence, and increased global access; this process was labelled *globalization*.

While the dawn of the post-Cold War era revealed a world that was more politically stable and safer to navigate, the processes of globalization that were underway were flagged as threatening to non-Western socio-political and cultural authenticity. Smith (2018) admits that globalization was heavily US-led, and as such it was a one-way relationship of spreading global capitalism and engaging non-Western societies in processes of assimilation. What was initially labelled as globalization was in fact an unfiltered process of spreading the world's dominant political and economic ideologies and cultural practices; a phenomenon soon redefined as Americanization (Smith, 2018), McDonaldization (Ritzer, 1992), and Westernization (Bozkurt, 2012). While Americanization described globalization as a US-initiated spread of socio-political, cultural, and economic trends, the term Westernization placed the phenomenon within the broader Western civilization and labelled it as the spread of Western values and ideas over non-Western practices.

A key component of Westernization and the global spread of American ideologies was the capitalist ideology of free trade – an ideology that advocated for less governmental regulations and more open competition across businesses, suppliers, products, and service providers. The post-Cold War globalized era featured a global spread of free trade, capitalist ideologies, and transnational economic activity. As such, alongside the socio-political changes delivered by globalization, a notable change is observed in international economic processes. An iconic account of this new reality was provided by Thomas Friedman's *The World is Flat* (2005), which highlighted the international co-dependency of economic processes, the global competitiveness of products and services, and the inevitability of a global economic shift towards this direction.

Globalization undoubtedly came with practical and visible societal changes. McDonaldization, an equally popular term in the study of globalization, was

used to emphasize the spread of US-based fast-food culture, embodying not only fast-paced urban environments, but also heavy standardization of culinary experiences (Ritzer, 1992). The standardized American fast-food experience was soon available on a global scale, and particularly through the tourist segments of cities and destinations – otherwise referred to as tourist bubbles. An analogous process of standardization was also adopted by international hotel franchises which, in addition to fast-food chains, comprised most of a tourist bubble's infrastructure.
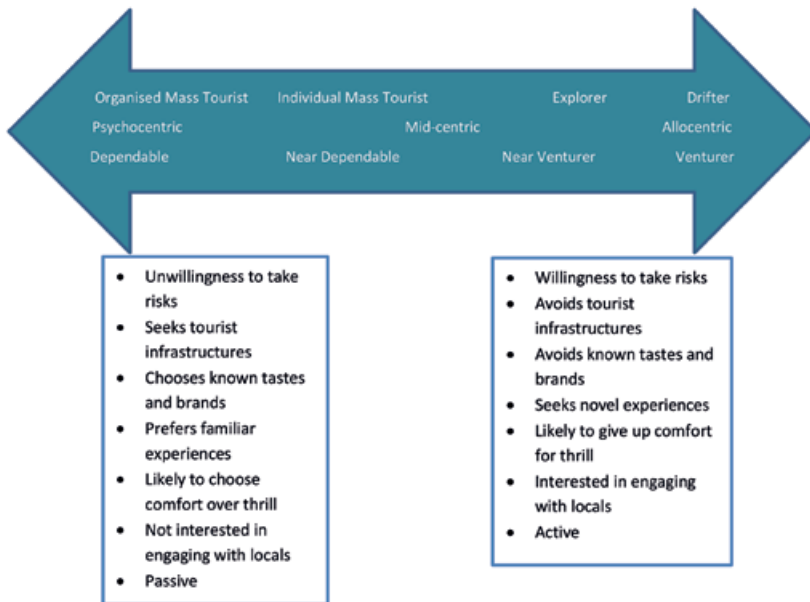
TOURISM IN THE ERA OF GLOBALIZATION

As a multifaceted and ongoing process, globalization has been central to the evolution of international tourist activity in the post-Cold War era and beyond. While the end of the Cold War and the fall of the Berlin Wall eased and enabled travel across Soviet-aligned and Western-aligned territories from a perspective of political security, additional advancements in the areas of technology and transportation made travel easier, more frequently attainable, and gradually more affordable. For the aspiring traveller, the world started to appear more accessible, even its mysterious or lesser-known corners. The evolution of internet technologies and the web became a primary reference point for gathering information for potential destinations and minimizing the risk of the unknown. Globalization thus was not only characterized by the expansion of a prevalent western political ideology internationally that monopolized global politics, but it also enabled the voluminous exchange of information at a global scale, shaping tourist decision-making in unprecedented ways.

Understanding tourist behaviour and its evolution during the past five decades starts from the conception of tourist typologies that Cohen (1972) and Plog (1974) delivered in the early 1970s. The two scholars provide a spectrum of tourist behaviour that predicts tourist activity based on tourist psychographic information and individual preferences. At one end of the spectrum lie tourists with little interest in novelty and a strong preference for familiarity. Plog (1974, 2001) identified this end of the spectrum as the *dependable* and *psychocentric* tourists, who are more cautious and conservative towards their travel choices and depend on tourist infrastructure to ensure a more passive and accustomed experience. Cohen (1972) calls this tourist typology as the *organized mass tourist.* At the opposite end of the spectrum, Cohen presents the *drifter*, and Plog the *venturer* – or *allocentric* – tourist, who share similar characteristics and travel choices. The drifter seeks the authenticity of novelty, prefers to move outside the tourist zones of destinations, and is attracted by the adventure attached to an open and flexible itinerary. Within the same context of preferences, Plog's venturer and allocentric tourists are curious, driven by a desire to explore and actively engage with new – and hidden – destinations as

appealing fresh products on the marketplace. They are confident of their own assessment capabilities and avoid any reliance on tourist providers. Within the middle of the spectrum lie consecutively Cohen's *individual mass tourist* and the *explorer*, respectively to Plog's *mid-centric* tourist, the *near dependable*, and the *near venturer* as shown in Figure 1.1.

Organised Mass Tourist	Individual Mass Tourist		Explorer	Drifter
Psychocentric		Mid-centric		Allocentric
Dependable	Near Dependable		Near Venturer	Venturer

- Unwillingness to take risks
- Seeks tourist infrastructures
- Chooses known tastes and brands
- Prefers familiar experiences
- Likely to choose comfort over thrill
- Not interested in engaging with locals
- Passive

- Willingness to take risks
- Avoids tourist infrastructures
- Avoids known tastes and brands
- Seeks novel experiences
- Likely to give up comfort for thrill
- Interested in engaging with locals
- Active

Source: Author (adapted from Cohen, 1972 and Plog, 1974).

Figure 1.1   A spectrum of tourist typologies

Using this spectrum of tourist motivation and preferences as a reference point allows the tourism scholar to see how trends in tourist activity shifted over the years and moved from the left side of the spectrum to the right.

The tourist bubble, or the designated tourist zone of destinations, is the popular choice for psychocentric visitors and organized mass tourists. They provide a safety net over the uncertainty of novelty. Cohen (1972) introduces the phenomenon of the *tourist environmental bubble* as the familiar microenvironment that the tourist remains confined within for the duration of their time abroad; one that resembles home to the greatest extent possible. The standardized nature of tourist bubbles, being comprised primarily of international food and hotel chains, created a direct association to globalization, with

tourist bubbles being regarded as yet another product of Westernization and standardization in tourism. Interestingly, the phenomenon of tourist bubbles emerged during the 1970s (Cohen, 1972; Stors and Kagermeier, 2013), when the lack of information, online connectivity, and instant news left new destinations in the shadows. Urban environments across the US – where this trend began – appeared as threatening crime hubs, inhospitable to the visitor (ibid.). One can therefore argue that standardization emerged in a pre-globalization era, when information for tourist destinations was scattered and unreliable. Yet the phenomenon of tourist infrastructure development following the model of the environmental bubble continued until today, at a time when the expansion of information and the increase in available outlets has led to an increase in familiarity with new destinations and to the formation of more realistic expectations.

Cohen (2008), alongside a plethora of other scholars, has flagged globalization as a key determinant of the standardization of destinations, their commodification, and consequently their loss of authenticity. While authenticity is difficult to identify and measure, particularly for "immaterial elements" such as tourist experiences (Heitmann, 2011: 45), it is seen as a primary factor in tourist motivation and decision-making (MacCannell, 1973; Waller and Lea, 1999; Nguyen and Cheung, 2016). The search for authenticity as a principal motivator in tourism encouraged destinations to "bring" authenticity to the visitor and produce staged or Westernized versions of authenticity for tourist consumption. While this phenomenon was detected in the early 1970s (McCannell, 1973) and as such was not an outcome of post-Cold War globalization, processes of post-Cold War standardization were linked to staged and commodified versions of culture, a process that Solomon (2015) referred to as authenticity simulation for the post-tourist. Ironically, the centrality of authenticity in post-modern tourist experiences led to the in-authentication of authentic experiences through their commodification.

Can one argue that post-Westernized destinations are less authentic? Perhaps the sight of familiar brands and standardized services, processes, and flavours comes to contest local tastes, customs, and dynamics. Additionally, simulated and commodified cultures within tourist zones are far from organic cultural performances and illustrations. Authenticity, however, has also been sought beyond tourist zones and outside of tourist bubbles, not only in the performance and illustration of inherited cultural rituals and customs, but also in the organic embodiment of contemporary aspects of culture in a destination, such as contemporary lifestyles, fusion cuisines, locally adapted global trends, contemporary music, film, and arts. While forms of cultural expression across destinations may have evolved and been influenced by globalization, Americanization, and Westernization, there is a distinction to be made

between globalized cultures and cultures staged solely for the purpose of tourist consumption.

Scholarship raised the concern of cultural assimilation as a phenomenon driven by international tourist demand in the era of globalization. At the same time, it acknowledges the contribution of globalization in forming new markets and making new tourist experiences available (Dwyer, 2015). Interestingly, new market realities and its opportunities left room for market segmentation to occur. Tourists started travelling not only through pre-arranged organized packages, but according to individual interests and personal desires. The same destination would accept visitors for different purposes, ranging from culture-oriented travel to educational tourism, or for visiting friends and relatives (VFR). The segmentation of the market revealed the plethora of preferences and motivations behind the tourist's decision-making process, illustrating more clearly than ever before Cohen's and Plog's tourist typologies.

Globalization has enabled tourists to deviate from the organized mass tourist model and adopt more allocentric behaviours, customizing their own travel experiences and daring to navigate beyond the tourist bubble (Stors and Kagermeier, 2013). As tourism was reinvented and reconceptualized throughout the years, the realities globalization created enabled an increased sense of safety and familiarity with novel destinations, shifted tourist activity trends towards the drifter end of the tourist typology spectrum, and enabled the unconventional exploration of new destinations beyond designated zones of tourist infrastructure. Reconceptualizing the contribution of globalization to tourism from the angle of information provision and not from the standardization perspective redefines the tourist's exposure to authenticity and culture.

Today, the inevitability of an interconnected world as projected in the 1990s has been thoroughly reaffirmed. The decades that followed the end of the Cold War reinforced the trends of globalization by making the world even smaller, and even more accessible. They were characterized by increased diversification of air transportation options, including an increase in air travel suppliers, and a wider range of prices – including lower fare options. In addition to evident changes in the frequency of travel and the availability of destinations, tourism observed a shift in the ways travellers chose to engage with their destination. While tourist activity in the 1990s was primarily performed through the organized, visual consumption of destinations – with Urry (1990) coining the term *the tourist gaze* to describe this phenomenon – the globalized, or post-modern tourist sought for more performative, hands-on, experiential ways of engaging with short-term travel. Everett (2008: 337) explains that post-modern tourists pursue "embodied experiences", in contrast with the tourism of visual and passive consumption of previous decades. While in the twentieth century, the conventional tourist sought a venue of escaping the fast-paced industrialized Fordist lifestyle by accessing exotic

and romanticized settings (Dujmović and Vitasović, 2015), the tourist of the twenty-first century engages in frequent travel for multiple purposes (leisure and non-leisure), shifting travel from a purpose of escapism to making it part of one's routine and fast-paced lifestyle. The tourist in post-modernity, or the post-tourist, is one that finds authenticity through organic interactions with the locals and one that achieves a sense of locality away from tourist infrastructure and tourist-specific affiliations.

Whether a destructive or beneficial force, globalization's catalytic role in the evolution of international tourist activity is indisputable. The transnational interconnectedness of the world became even more evident in the years of the COVID-19 pandemic, which erupted in 2020 and spread on a global scale within a matter of weeks. The globalized world, which holds the ability to share instant information, global accessibility, and increased mobility, was also catalytic in enabling the COVID-19 virus to become a pandemic (Ducharme, 2020). As a response, a political act taken to halt the spread of the virus was to impose travel restrictions across national and intrastate borders, forcibly minimizing tourist activity on a global scale. Transnational, intercultural, and any form of distant physical interaction and contact was interrupted in search of a medical response to the pandemic, which came approximately a year afterwards through globally available vaccination (European Commission, 2020). On the brink of 2022, and with global vaccination well underway, the pandemic is still an ongoing health threat, yet projections on post-pandemic travel are starting to emerge. The projections agree that transnational mobility and short-term travel will resurface as an integral component of contemporary lifestyle; however, a renewed appreciation of the ability to travel may prioritize certain forms of tourism over others. Carbone (2020) and Antoniou (2021) project that post-pandemic trends in tourism will be anthropocentric, while forms of tourism that promote individual well-being or societal development will be prioritized over superficial and consumption-oriented engagements with destinations.

Following decades of evident globalization with both positive and negative outcomes, the question one ought to ask today is how to enable the positive and productive elements of globalization to flourish, minimize the negative, and conduct globalization ethically for the mutual benefit of all actors affected. Globalization can be delivered in a healthier and more sustainable – and emancipatory – manner, by shifting it from the one-way communication process that was described as Americanization and Westernization, to a reciprocal, two-way exchange of information (Smith, 2018). In doing so, it is important to conceptualize the world as one unit of interconnected and interdependent equal parts. An effective scholarly approach that achieves this worldview – and can assist in redefining the world through universal values and mutual benefits for all – is cosmopolitanism.

COSMOPOLITANISM AND INTERNATIONAL GOVERNANCE

Linklater (2009) defines cosmopolitanism as a world order where universal moral values are adhered to and the gap between domestic and international politics is minimized. An initial conceptualization of cosmopolitanism, which then gave way to additional variations of the term, was coined by Kant, and finds its roots in the IR theory of Liberalism as a notion of cosmopolitan democracy enabled through regional bodies and institutions (Burchill, 2009). The essence of cosmopolitanism lies at the philosophy of world citizenship, being citizens of a joint *cosmos* that connects beyond state boundaries.

Cosmopolitanism is the notion of political governance and world order that looks beyond state loyalty and state boundedness and has been conceptualized from a variety of standpoints within IR theory. Critical theory refers to the concept of *thin cosmopolitanism*, which acknowledges that loyalty to the state exists, but it is not absolute. If a state-centric world order gives moral hierarchy to the state, thin cosmopolitanism suggests that there is no fixed hierarchy of allegiance to the state versus loyalty to humanity globally. Critical theory speaks of thin cosmopolitanism as an expanded political community beyond the state (Devetak, 2009), a notion analogous to the English School's international society, characterized by cosmopolitan culture and modernity. As Devetak (2009) admits, a cosmopolitan world order implies that the state is no longer the central actor and agent of international political organization. From the English School perspective, Linklater (2009) admits a growing demand for what Bull (1984) had previously referred to as cosmopolitan moral awareness, considering increased concerns for individual human rights that have put the right to state sovereignty in question. Principal English School figures Bull and Wight agree that cosmopolitanism is about the importance of all states and international actors being on the same page, or effectively adopting a common framework of universal values.

Latour (2004) moves beyond thin cosmopolitanism to suggest that thinking of a common world is inaccurate, as there is no collective understanding or a universal viewpoint of the world, or *cosmos.* Therefore, thinking of multiple worlds – or multiple perspectives – coexisting is more appropriate. Blaser (2016) highlights Latour's and Stengers' contributions to the study of cosmopolitanism, as they deviate away from the notion of universal values, or common worldviews, and instead discuss the process through which divergent political values can coexist in a stable yet diverse common world. The process of creating a common cosmos is referred to as cosmopolitics, and it has come to the forefront of international politics through phenomena of increased interconnectedness and globalization.

If the goal of cosmopolitics is to achieve peaceful coexistence among diverse agents in an increasingly globalized world of unavoidable coexistence, the practice of global governance comes into question. Discussing global governance has become inevitable as emergent global issues and new actors in international affairs transcend state boundaries and reaffirm a global interdependence. Finkelstein (1995) speaks of an internationalization of challenges to human rights and democracy, which were previously considered state-bound issues. Finkelstein (ibid.: 368) reiterates that the world in the post-Cold War era is an "expanding universe of actors, issues, and activities", and global governance is what occurs in the absence of a world government. This is exponentially more evident today, approximately three decades after Finkelstein's 1995 realization. Global governance is exercised by actors with global influence, both state and non-state ones.

It is, therefore, possible for tourists as non-state agents of international affairs to influence processes of global governance and contribute to the process of cosmopolitics, for shaping a more cosmopolitan world of shared – or different yet respected – values. According to Molz (2006), aspects of cosmopolitanism such as adaptability and openness are best embodied by mobile individuals, such as tourists. To that end, tourism embodies cosmopolitanism, and due to this embodiment, cosmopolitanism escapes the abstract character it assumes in the absence of a concrete global governance framework. While Molz (ibid.) calls Kant's notion of a global citizenship utopian and current understandings of cosmopolitanism as typified and idealized, she advocates that cosmopolitanism can be materialized and can escape its "detached idealization" (ibid.: 2) by revisiting its applicability through the act of tourism.

Critical Cosmopolitanism through Tourism

Swain (2009) discusses the contribution of tourism to cosmopolitanism as a hopeful pursuit that has the potential to generate positive outputs. Tourism, as an interactive activity between hosts and visitors at an expansive international scale, holds the capacity to foster both oppressive and empowering relations across these two groups. As Swain (ibid.) explains, tourism as an international practice embraces cosmopolitan ideas. Yet, some argue that upholding these values is not a prerequisite for travel, and thus there is a possibility for tourist activity to move towards oppressive dynamics and cultivate power imbalances and inequalities.

Relationships of inequality across hosts and visitors are not uncommon, especially when visitors of developed, technologically advanced, and high-income nations meet host communities in developing, low-income communities. As Urry (1996) highlighted in the 1990s, the visual consumption of the host by the visitor in the form of the tourist gaze highlighted patterns of

social inequality, particularly when members of non-industrialized communities were seen as the exotic native. An emblematic characteristic of the tourist gaze was the collection of photographs – often with an assumed or involuntary consent by the host communities. Urry (ibid.) also gives the example of sexual gazing at Asian girls by male visitors, which illustrates a power imbalance not only in economic or national terms, but also in the aspect of gender.

Phillips et al. (2021) use critical discourse analysis to highlight how Western outlets romanticize poverty and inequality in non-Western, developing destinations, such as Fiji, and prolong colonial stereotypes of happy, colourful and exotic, uneducated natives. A risky pattern arises when, in developing destinations such as non-industrialized Pacific islands, economic inequality and the status of developing economics becomes linked to authenticity and timelessness. If locals of these destinations were to engage in industrialized or technologically advanced sectors and escape the image of a hospitable, non-urbanized native, they would somehow lose their authenticity – an authenticity granted to the hosts by the Western standards of visitors.

In an analogous case, Western tourists rushed to visit Cuba in the 2010s before the island state embraced a more capitalist and commercialized character – a projection that was fuelled when the Obama administration took steps to ease restrictions to Cuba, restoring their diplomatic relations and enabling commercial flights and cruise ships from the US to Cuba; steps that allowed tourism to increase exponentially. As travel blogger Vicky Brown mentions in a pre-pandemic article on tourism to Cuba, "communism slowly eases its grip on Cuba, allowing imported technology and private enterprise, [and] there is an increasing sense amongst travellers that you must 'go there now, before it all changes'". Visitors were eager to visit and access the "*real*" Cuba before losing its authenticity through economic advancements, urbanization, and increased opportunities of cross-cultural exchanges. The authenticity of Cuba from this Western visitor perspective was directly associated with the embargo status of the nation, and the fact that the state of limbo the local population was in for decades, preventing international trade and development, was romanticized as authentic culture to the eyes of urbanized, advantaged visitors.

Visiting the disadvantaged: slum and volunteer tourism
The unequal relationship between urbanized visitors and struggling hosts, accompanied by a reconceptualization of poverty and inequality as romanticized simplicity and an opportunity for resourcefulness, is further exacerbated in the case of slum tourism, for which the destinations of slums provide visitors with access to conditions of extreme impoverishment, over-crowdedness, and questionable shelter and sanitation.

According to Nisbett (2017) the issue of romanticizing poverty – a condition that endangers lives and is linked to political decisions and international

relations – starts from treating impoverished communities as a phenomenon that simply exists. The tourist detaches themselves from the politics of poverty and treats it as an externally developed reality with no political character. The western tourist assumes the role of an observer that simply passes by to visually consume poverty as a ground-breaking, life-changing experience, but without engaging directly with it. Nevertheless, slums are a vivid representation of the international patterns of extreme economic inequality, and as such their up-close examination by members of wealthier societies is a political act.

India, a country of over a billion inhabitants, is a primary example of intra-state economic inequality, and is home to multiple, densely populated slums. Dharavi is an internationally known slum in Mumbai, that receives frequent foreign visitors through organized tours. A simple search online markets Dharavi as Asia's largest slum, an authentic location from the internationally known film *Slumdog Millionaire*, and offers a plethora of options for booking a tour of the slum. While the ethics of marketing the visual consumption of impoverished communities in the Global South by economically independent visitors from the Global North are put in question, the main tour operator for Dharavi's slum tourism, *Reality Tours*, claims to address concerns of unethical engagement with slums by using mechanisms that bring slum tourism profits back into the community (Nisbett, 2017; Reality Tours and Travel, 2020).

When viewing tourism as a non-politicized act, one can argue that slum visitors are simply observers of the phenomenon of poverty generated by global economic policies and local governance inadequacy. On the other hand, slum tourism becomes a political act by commercializing and romanticizing poverty to advantaged, wealthy visitors and leaving impoverished hosts as disempowered subjects in an exchange of benign power imbalance that reaffirms and extenuates the factors that lead to this vast economic divergence. According to Nisbett (2017), Dharavi is presented as a business hub, with handcrafted products provided to visitors, and visitors seeing it less as an impoverished community and more as an economically active community that they can contribute to. This perspective allows the Western visitors to perceive their engagement with the slum as positive and depoliticize their slum tourism experience by ignoring phenomena of extreme poverty and injustice (ibid.). Nisbett (2017: 43) reviewed opinions from slum tourists to Dharavi that found the experience life-changing and eye-opening, an observation that, as the author admits, shows that slum tourism empowers "the wrong people", the "privileged white, Western middle classes" and not the slum inhabitants.

From an analogous standpoint, volunteer tourism – or voluntourism – comes to merge the Global North with the Global South with what is theoretically a relationship of giving to the disadvantaged; a form of tourism that escapes the passive visual consumption and ad-hoc economic support of slum tourism by directly addressing the needs of disadvantaged and impoverished commu-

nities. Yet, like slum tourism, it is questionable whether volunteer tourism is about offering to the community more than it is about transforming and empowering the visitor through an out-of-the-ordinary experience. Superficial and controversial applications of voluntourism have resulted in the display of extraordinary travel as an achievement by young, white, Western visitors; a display that does not guarantee fruitful contributions to the communities visited. University students taking a break from school to do good in a less developed community are not necessarily equipped with the knowledge, skills, and cultural familiarity with their destination of choice to deliver socially sustainable results. Blogs, talks, and opinion articles have criticized the superficiality of volunteer tourism as an extracurricular learning experience and not as an act of meaningful philanthropy (Rosenberg, 2018; Nedyalkov, 2019). Others also make mention of the white saviour complex, or the perception of advantaged, white, Western voluntourists that they know how to save a challenged community without necessarily working alongside the locals to help them craft sustainable solutions (Biddle, 2014; Gould, 2019).

McGehee (2014) asks whether voluntourism is about altruism or about self-development. Luh Sin et al. (2015) view volunteer tourism as a social and political phenomenon that reflects worldviews and ethical predispositions. With the popularity and frequency of volunteer tourism on the rise, it has come to be considered a new non-state form of international development, giving agency to volunteer tourists as shapers of global socio-economic realities and potential contributors to social justice (ibid.). Volunteer tourism is, therefore, theoretically expected to contribute to international development and social justice; yet, in practice, it is uncertain whether individuals who undertake voluntourism are motivated by a sense of altruism or a focus on personal transformation. McGehee (2014) notes that acknowledging the expectations of volunteer tourists to engage in transformational experiences should not be overlooked, and with appropriate mechanisms, voluntourism can become an ultimate form of sustainable tourism, contributing positively to hosts and visitors alike, and embracing their environmental, social, and economic sustainability.

Tourist–host interaction: under what conditions?
Unequal interaction across people and communities runs an elevated risk of breeding animosity and contributing to negative stereotypes, prejudice, and hostility (Allport, 1954). Unequal interaction between hosts and visitors, or tourists and the local population, can lead to controversy and antagonism (Swain, 2009). A pre-condition for tourism as a contributor to social justice and international development should be tourist activity to be conducted on equal and reciprocal terms, providing agency to both hosts and visitors and ensuring consent by those directly or otherwise involved. According to Swain

(2009), critical cosmopolitan theory is an appropriate theoretical spectrum for understanding and advancing the political influences of international tourist activity and gearing tourism towards a more equal world of "hope".

To identify and isolate relationships of inequality allows tourism scholars and practitioners to encourage tourist activity that empowers over tourist activity that oppresses. According to Swain (2009), the critical application of cosmopolitanism can ensure that international tourist activity enables equality, emancipation, and empowerment, over continuing and reinforcing global inequalities. Critical cosmopolitanism establishes the conditions in which tourists can embody and perform cosmopolitics and contribute to individuals' abilities to "understand each other and create equitable lives" (ibid.: 505) on a global scale.

Globalization is a key phenomenon to acknowledge when discussing cosmopolitan political activity and more specifically when applying critical cosmopolitanism in tourism. Globalization has set the stage for international political activity to occur; a stage characterized by high interconnectivity, interdependency, but also an unequal balance of power across Western and non-Western societies. According to Swain (2009), applying critical cosmopolitanism in the contemporary globalized world creates opportunities for shifting unbalanced power dynamics by promoting global citizenship, human rights, and cultural diversity. This abstract vision becomes more applicable through tourist activity. Tourism can affect attitudes, transform destinations, and shape cultural practice by enabling the organic amalgamation of host and tourist worldviews. It can yield transformational experiences to hosts and visitors alike, and to this end tourism assumes the ability to shape worldviews.

Critical cosmopolitanism acknowledges multiple stakeholders in tourism – not a simple binary relationship between hosts and visitors. The multi-perspectivity of stakeholders in tourism more effectively grasps both Western and non-Western perspectives, allowing a plethora of opinions and voices to be heard on an international scale, including previously marginalized voices by disadvantaged host communities. Examples of slum and volunteer tourist activity have illustrated that tourist interactions between members of advantaged and disadvantaged communities are prone to unequal and unethical interactions, in which host communities become commodified for privileged visitors, and consent is problematic. Yet encounters between the Global North and Global South can be ethical, if the tourist activity ensures consent by host stakeholders involved and enables them to equally shape their interaction – a point also raised by Swain (2009).

At the same time, tourist expectations of authenticity in a visited destination should realistically depict contemporary dynamics of that community, instead of a romanticized, non-industrialized version of an isolated community of *natives*. Experiencing an interconnected and globalized world of constant

technological advancements, while expecting *exotic* destinations to remain unchanged, can be a utopian expectation and can create a harmful demand for tourism-dependent destinations to force a false version of where their culture and authenticity lie. On the other hand, escaping colonial expectations of what exotic destinations should portray, it is possible for cultural exchanges through tourist activity to adopt an ethical character and occur under conditions of equal, respectful, and reciprocal encounters, allowing host and tourist stakeholders alike to acquire positive depictions of the other's culture.

While Swain (2009) insightfully presents tourism as a mechanism for achieving critical cosmopolitanism for a world of fewer inequalities, Johnson (2014) further details how this can be measured more effectively, enabling cosmopolitan action through tourism to adopt a more applicable and comprehensible form. Johnson argues that *cultural literacy* is an interpretive analytical tool that can address the gap Swain (2009) identifies in cosmopolitan methodology. She provides a traditional and a contemporary definition of cultural literacy, with the former referring to someone's literacy of their own culture; a culture that is understood as singular and one that exists within national boundaries. The contemporary conceptualization of cultural literacy refers to literacy over a compilation of cultures, an understanding of someone's own identities and their multiplicity, coexisting with and being exposed to other identities and cultural practices. Cultural literacy can therefore be understood as one's ability to put their own cultural affiliation in a global context, including both inherited cultures (through identities of ethnicity, race, religion etc.), as well as acquired ones (through assumed practices, affiliations, and transformational experiences). Johnson (2014) argues that cultural literacy is key in measuring cosmopolitanism, as it is a concept that was initially introduced to enhance nationalism – through mono-cultural literacy – and evolved to acknowledge someone's ability to be literate for multiple cultures.

Undoubtedly, travel is an act that can enhance cultural literacy, yet travelling does not automatically translate into a better understanding of other cultures. Differentiating between emancipatory and harmful tourist encounters, authentic and superficial ones, consensual and unethical ones, can determine the quality of the tourist encounter and its ability to provide accurate insight to a new culture. Johnson (2014) links cultural literacy with cosmopolitan capital, which refers to the ability to acquire comprehensive and realistic representations of other cultures and accordingly shape informed worldviews. Using cultural literacy to measure cosmopolitan capital, cosmopolitanism becomes a tangible and measurable indicator for assessing the contribution of tourist activity to respectful, ethical, and equal intercultural relations globally. Cosmopolitan tourist activity can be identified and differentiated from forms of travel that fail to acknowledge, respect, and empower other communities and cultures in their contemporary authenticity.

Revisiting Figure 1.1 from this perspective, there is an evident divergence in the way one end of the tourist typology spectrum conducts tourism in comparison to the other end. Psychocentric and organized mass tourists prioritize personal comfort and deviate from opportunities of organic interaction with local populations in the destination they are visiting, indicating a preference for tourist zones and staged experiences. This form of engagement is superficial in nature and has little capacity to endorse the visitor's cultural literacy, since there is minimal engagement with authentic forms of local contemporary cultural expression. On the other hand, drifters and allocentric visitors representing the opposite extreme of tourist typologies prioritize this kind of organic engagement with locals and are thus more prone to increase their cultural literacy in reference to the host population, while avoiding tourist zones and other

Source: Author (adapted from Cohen, 1972 and Plog, 1974).

Figure 1.2   *Tourist typologies, cosmopolitanism, and international development*

staged settings. Through this observation, it is safe for the tourist typology spectrum offered in Figure 1.1 to serve as an indicator of tourist typologies more prone to increasing their cultural literacy through travel, and as such show increased likelihood for spreading cosmopolitan values and engaging in critical cosmopolitanism through their travels – as illustrated in Figure 1.2.

TOURISM AS A DRIVER FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Through cosmopolitan values, we can redefine and refine tourist activity as a political act that is more anthropocentric and less place oriented. According to Carbone (2020), the anthropocentric character of tourism is only expected to grow within the post-pandemic era, putting more emphasis on intercultural dialogue, peace, and development. Carbone (ibid.) highlights the opportunity that the pandemic brought to the tourism industry to restart in a post-pandemic era as a vehicle for human development, and accordingly embrace values of critical cosmopolitanism. Carbone's projection reaffirms the centrality of cosmopolitan values in the future of international tourist activity and endorses the critical aspects of cosmopolitanism that seek to foster emancipation and equality – aspects that will be pursued in the post-pandemic era more intentionally and not merely coincidentally.

To this end, the human-centred approach of tourism and its global contribution through cosmopolitan values can be directly applicable to the pursuit of international development. Through Alkire's (2010) human development definition, development is assessed through its ability to enhance (1) well-being, (2) agency, and (3) justice on a global scale; objectives directly incorporated in critical cosmopolitanism. To pursue critical cosmopolitanism through tourism is, therefore, a pursuit of human development and a priority for post-pandemic tourism development.

It is important to differentiate the anthropocentric character of tourism in reference to human development from forms of anthropocentric tourism that disregard ecosystem and non-human needs. Tourism studies addressing sustainability have identified a need for post-anthropocentric theorizing in examining tourist activity and motivation (Valtonen et al., 2020). Flower et al. (2021) challenge the notion of an anthropocentric worldview with an ecocentric one, through which the former views animals, habitats, and ecosystems in reference to their use for humans. In the context of this book, the anthropocentric character of tourism is established as the priority tourist activities give to interpersonal relations and does not imply a disregard to a destination's non-human inhabitants and ecosystems.

International tourist activity is therefore a catalyst in international development and in the implementation of emancipation and agency through the

reduction of inequality and dependency. It is vital to prioritize forms of tourism that endorse cosmopolitan-oriented tourist typologies and promote opportunities for acquiring cultural literacy on a multicultural scale.

Nevertheless, discussions on cosmopolitan worldviews and international development cannot be comprehensive if attention is paid only to the human factor. As Valtonen et al. (2020) and Flower et al. (2021) admit, the examination of tourism and its contribution to development should be post-anthropocentric, considering the world's fauna and ecosystems. While tourism has been projected to adopt more anthropocentric trends to attend to what Todaro and Smith (2009) define as development, contemporary definitions of development have adopted post-anthropocentric perspectives to address not only socio-economic components of development, but also ecological ones. Revisiting the ways in which we understand development from post-anthropocentric perspectives implies a reconstruction of development as a comprehensively sustainable practice.

Sharpley (2020) sees the notion of sustainable development as an oxymoron, a problematic pursuit that is characterized by terminological ambiguity and is comprised of contradictory goals. Robert et al. (2005: 9) admit that there is a malleability to the definition of sustainable development as development that "meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs". This definition emphasizes sustainability as a form of intergenerational equity (ibid.), with the authors differentiating between what is to be sustained – the environment, nature, ecosystems, diversity, community, and culture – and what is to be developed – societies, economies, and people's standard of living.

To develop sustainably is a quest that expands the economic-oriented scope of development to acknowledge and consider additional factors of life, resources, and opportunities across communities and generations. Johnsen et al. (2017) visually portray sustainability as three circles consecutively larger, with the economy being the smallest, human societies representing the second circle that fully encompasses the economic one, and the Earth's life support system – the environment and its ecosystems – being illustrated as the largest circle, fully incorporating human societies and their economies. Engelmann et al. (2019) extend the understanding of sustainable development by illustrating how the UN's Sustainable Development Goals address development through six areas: (1) economic added value, (2) environmental protection, (3) social equity, (4) eco-innovation, (5) resource efficiency, and (6) low carbon.

To make sustainable development tangible, measurable, and attainable, the United Nations issued the framework of the Sustainable Development Goals, a set of 17 goals consisting of a total of 169 targets (United Nations, 2022). The goals outline the desired status to be achieved for 17 thematic areas in a manner of intergenerational equity, addressing, among others, poverty,

inequality, and economic growth, and additionally education, gender equality, sanitation, innovation, peace, responsible consumption and production, life on land and under water (ibid.).

The Sustainable Development Goals provide a measurable framework for sustainable development that make it a tangible roadmap and end goal. To this end, to discuss tourism as a contributor to development today requires examining which forms of tourist activity can contribute to sustainable development through these elaborate 17 thematic areas. Sharpley (2020) discusses tourism's capacity as an industrial activity; one that may contribute economically to a destination, but is otherwise confined from contributing to sustainable growth and social equity. Revisiting tourism from the perspective of critical cosmopolitanism allows us to re-evaluate this position and reconsider tourism's input to development through its contribution to ecological awareness, community emancipation, and local agency.

The 17 goals can therefore be used as a reference point for evaluating tourism's contribution to each one separately and thus to international development collectively. Forms of tourist activity that follow the drifter/allocentric/venturer tourist typologies are characterized by high likelihood to promote cosmopolitan values and apply them in a critical manner to foster local agency and emancipation. These forms of tourist activity require little to no tourist infrastructure and are easily adaptable to foreign landscapes, cultures, and dynamics. They are not likely to generate negative interactions with locals as the increased cultural literacy of the tourists performing them allows them to address host communities with respect and reciprocity. Such forms of tourist activity can therefore effectively address the 17 goals through niche tourist experiences that meet their specializations, interests, and areas through which they can contribute to the destination, as illustrated in Table 1.1.

The niche tourist activities included in Table 1.1 have been identified through extant scholarship as activities that can contribute positively to one or more aspects of sustainable development across destinations, in ways that acknowledge and respect host input and agency. Responsible tourism is a conscious social act and incorporates actions that make tourism more sustainable (Goodwin, 2022). Ecotourism is a form of responsible tourism to areas of nature and environmental conservation (Ruhanen and Axelsen, 2022), while slow travel is also seen as an environmentally sustainable form of travel that avoids air transportation and instead utilizes slower and more environmentally friendly means of transport (Dickinson, 2022). Inclusive tourism enables marginalized groups to engage in the "ethical production or consumption of tourism and the sharing of its benefits" (Scheyvens and Biddulph, 2018: 592), while social tourism refers to the ability of economically disadvantaged individuals and families to engage in tourism through external support (McGrath, 2022). The emancipatory character of inclusive

Table 1.1   *Tourism and sustainable development*

Sustainable Development Goal	Niche Tourist Activity (for drifter/allocentric/venturer visitors with increased cultural literacy)
Goal 1: No Poverty	**Inclusive Tourism, Community-based Tourism**
Goal 2: Zero Hunger	**Inclusive Tourism, Community-based Tourism**
Goal 3: Good Health and Well-being	**Social Tourism, Holistic Tourism, Health Tourism, Inclusive Tourism, Community-based Tourism**
Goal 4: Quality Education	**Voluntourism, Educational Tourism, Social Tourism**
Goal 5: Gender Equality	**Inclusive Tourism, Community-based Tourism, Social Tourism, Peacebuilding Tourism, Language Tourism**
Goal 6: Clean Water and Sanitation	**Responsible Tourism, Slow Travel, Voluntourism**
Goal 7: Affordable and Clean Energy	**Responsible Tourism, Slow Travel, Voluntourism**
Goal 8: Decent Work and Economic Growth	**Inclusive Tourism, Community-based Tourism, Social Tourism**
Goal 9: Industry, Innovation, and Infrastructure	**Inclusive Tourism, Community-based Tourism, Social Tourism**
Goal 10: Reduced Inequality	**Inclusive Tourism, Community-based Tourism, Social Tourism, Language Tourism**
Goal 11: Sustainable Cities and Communities	**Responsible Tourism, Slow Tourism**
Goal 12: Responsible Consumption and Production	**Inclusive Tourism, Community-based Tourism**
Goal 13: Climate Action	**Responsible Tourism, Ecotourism, Slow Travel, Voluntourism**
Goal 14: Life Below Water	**Ecotourism, Slow Travel, Voluntourism**
Goal 15: Life on Land	**Ecotourism, Slow Travel, Voluntourism**
Goal 16: Peace and Justice Strong Institutions	**Peace Tourism, Peacebuilding Tourism**
Goal 17: Partnerships to Achieve the Goals	**Inclusive Tourism, Community-based Tourism, Peacebuilding Tourism**

Source: Author (terms adapted from the *Encyclopedia of Tourism Management and Marketing*, 2022).

tourism is also reflected in community-based tourism, which according to Kepher-Gona and Atieno (2022) ensures community ownership of tourist initiatives and thus directly benefits the host community. Alongside the more known voluntourism and educational tourism, language tourism is a sub-form of educational tourism that is characterized by language learning as a principal tourist activity in the destination visited (Iglesias, 2022). Respectively, holistic tourism is a sub-form of health tourism that incorporates a holistic philosophy towards wellness, spirituality, and well-being (Rahmani and Carr, 2022). Peace tourism is characterized by the traveller's motivation to learn about

a destination's roadmap to peace and potentially contribute to it (Antoniou, 2022a). Peacebuilding tourism is a form of peace tourism undertaken by peace professionals and therefore more actively engages with conflict resolution initiatives (Antoniou, 2022b).

These niche tourist activities alone do not guarantee a positive impact on the destination. It is vital that these tourist activities are undertaken by visitors embracing the characteristics of the drifter/allocentric/venturer tourist typologies, who engage with local communities and infrastructure in a way that is likely to be more sustainable, respectful, and ethical than tourist behaviours towards the mass tourism end of the spectrum (see Figure 1.2). These tourists are also more likely to embrace cosmopolitan values and assist rather than dictate to the local population how to progress.

Culturally literate and cosmopolitan tourists can directly promote international development sustainably through tourism. Appropriate niche tourist activities as the ones identified here allow the cosmopolitan and culturally literate tourist to enter a destination's society and greater ecosystem without disrupting it. More importantly, this tourist can engage constructively with the locals and, by providing tools, best practices, and cross-cultural insights to the host population, to allow for conducive and organic interactions to positively inform local practices. Tourism's contribution towards the SDGs is not necessarily one-sided but can have mutual benefits towards both the host community and the visitors themselves. Table 1.2 illustrates each example of niche tourist activity and its potential to contribute to sustainable development through specific goals.

Social tourism directly reduces inequalities by providing travel opportunities to those who cannot afford it. Tourism, therefore, becomes an experience for all and not only for financially established travellers, enabling people from across financial capacities to engage in the benefits of cross-cultural awareness and cultural literacy that tourism offers. In a similar manner, inclusive and community-based tourism enables everyone to be a potential host without commodifying their lifestyle, personal struggles, or themselves. These forms of tourism, when delivered responsibly, can contribute to local agency, and foster locally generated growth and prosperity, while ensuring social equity.

Voluntourism has been criticized for its contribution to social equity due to the risk of creating relationships of dependency across wealthy visitors and developing communities. At the same time, voluntourism can offer significant assistance to initiatives of environmental conservation, alongside forms of ecotourism, responsible tourism, and slow travel.

Holistic and language tourism engage travellers directly with aspects of local culture, practices, rituals and heritage, giving them an insight to the local community through meaningful experiences, and thus contributing to their cultural literacy. From an analogous perspective, travellers engaging in peace and

Table 1.2   *Niche tourism and the SDGs*

Niche Tourist Activity	Sustainable Development Goals Addressed
Community-based Tourism	1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 9, 10, 12, 17
Ecotourism	13, 14, 15
Educational Tourism	4
Health Tourism	3
Holistic Tourism	3
Inclusive Tourism	1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 9, 10, 12, 17
Language Tourism	5, 10
Peace Tourism	16
Peacebuilding Tourism	5, 16, 17
Responsible Tourism	6, 7, 11, 13
Slow Travel	6, 7, 13, 14, 15
Social Tourism	3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10
Voluntourism	4, 6, 7, 13, 14, 15

Source: Author.

peacebuilding tourism are directly interested in a destination's prospects for peace and stability, and can both increase their own cultural literacy, and at the same time contribute to the destination's peace, stability, equity, and growth.

CONCLUSION

Today, more than ever, tourism can be conceptualized as a conscious and informed political act of international magnitude. The nature of international tourist activity is no longer considered a symptom of the globalized world stage, but it is a driver in international development, shaping relations and input across the world's developed and developing communities. Redefining tourism from the perspective of international development implies the deconstruction of an activity that was considered passive and understanding it as a purposeful act with political intention and socio-political consequences.

There are two significant issues in international tourist activity that this chapter identifies for their direct contribution to transnational relationships of oppression and inequality. The first issue is the depoliticization of politically charged forms of tourism, such as slum and volunteer tourism. The second issue is the distorted views of authenticity that often refer to the non-urbanized and underdeveloped versions of hosting communities, linking authenticity to the host community's struggle for economic independence, empowerment, and self-reliance. Tourist activity undoubtedly carries ethical responsibilities, and its often-overlooked impact on the political, economic, and social status of

developing and disadvantaged communities can lead to negative contributions to international development.

An effective way of addressing this phenomenon is to first differentiate across forms of tourism with a higher and lower likelihood to have negative encounters with the host communities of visited destinations. Using the parameters of cultural literacy and cosmopolitanism there is a clear distinction between organized mass forms of tourism, which tend to be more passive, less informed, and less sustainable, and forms of tourism that embrace responsible travel and engage with host communities in more organic and respectful ways.

To measure tourism's contribution to development, the chapter employs a tourism typology spectrum and identifies forms of tourism that can apply critical cosmopolitanism and hence positively and sustainably contribute to a destination's human, societal, economic, and ecological development. These forms of tourism can make direct contributions to the development areas outlined by the UN's Sustainable Development Goals, which provide a measurable output for progress on sustainable development internationally. Tourism can contribute to social, environmental, and economic sustainability through forms of tourist activity that entail critical applications of cosmopolitanism. Tourism is, therefore, much more than an industrial activity, as argued by Sharpley (2020), and can be considered an impactful socioeconomic, environmental, ethical, and political act.

4. Tourism and peace

INTRODUCTION

The previous chapters of this book embarked on an exploration of tourism as a political act, and more specifically as a form of international relations. This reconceptualization of international tourist activity from the perspective of international relations deconstructed the conventional approaches to the study of Tourism and identified the ways in which international tourist activity bares socio-political consequences, whether these are intentional or at times coincidental. In Chapter 1, examining the relationship between tourism and international development revealed that cosmopolitan ideologies and indicators of cultural literacy can make an informative distinction between the forms of tourism that contribute to sustainable development – as outlined through the Sustainable Development Goals agenda – and tourist activity that contradicts it. Chapter 2 introduced the concept of cosmopolitan diplomacy as an emerging type of diplomatic discourse that is inclusive and involves unconventional political actors, such as tourists and tourism stakeholders. Chapter 3 established a relationship between tourism and international security, and discussed how international security has affected tourism, as well as how tourism informs five distinct sectors of international security.

This chapter follows the book's pattern of examining tourism's relationship with a specific international political process or end goal and considers the relationship and contribution of tourism to peace. Peace, like development, diplomacy, and security, has the capacity to be conceptualized both as a process and as an end goal, but it can be challenged by the blurry lines around its definition, making it subjective and less straightforward to the audiences wishing to pursue it. Scholarly discussions around peace have conventionally placed it within the realm of conflict resolution, introducing it as the outcome of conflict management and peacebuilding processes. Admittedly, to build peace first requires acknowledging its absence, which occurs most often in the presence of conflict. Nevertheless, to comprehensively examine and understand peace, it is imperative to see it as a stand-alone phenomenon and not as the product of a specific practice – conflict resolution. It is possible to detect peace in communities that have not necessarily engaged in its intentional formation through recovery, reconciliation, and transition from conflict. This realization enables

scholars to look beyond conflict resolution and examine the dynamics of peace through multiple and diverse avenues. This chapter does so by exploring how peace can be achieved, fostered, sustained, and protected by employing an amalgamation of perspectives and primarily diplomacy, development, and security. In doing so, the chapter delves further into the relationship between tourism and peace, to assess the contribution of tourism to peace both within but more so beyond the scope of conflict resolution.

Peace has conventionally been defined as the end goal of peacebuilding and reconciliation processes; the desired outcome sought in conditions of conflict (Farmaki, 2017). When peace is not achieved, it is assumed that conflict endures, and that conflict obtains a protracted or intractable status. The interconnected relationship between conflict and peace has made the absence of one imply the existence of the other; the absence of peace implies a conflict, and a transition away from conflict moves towards peace. Richmond and Mitchell (2011) discuss the notion of hybrid forms of peace, or the ways in which societies transitioning from conflict experience peacebuilding through unconventional processes. The edited volume *Hybrid Forms of Peace* discusses agency, resistance, hybridization, and local representations in processes of liberal peacebuilding that enable societies in transition to cultivate peace in situations of conflict, instability, and insecurity.

Undoubtedly, scholarship has examined peace less as a status quo – to understand it as a phenomenon, as a dynamic, or as a characteristic of social order – and more as a prospect and as a desire, making it less tangible and vaguer as a scientific concept. Processed through the framework of conflict resolution more than any other contextual framework, peace has been examined more in its absence and less as an observable event. Galtung's work on peace has addressed this gap to a great extent, by presenting peace as a spectrum and less as an end goal. Within this spectrum, which ranges from negative to positive peace, various degrees of peace can be achieved, and they can be observed and measured in a tangible manner. While negative peace signifies the absence of violence and the coexistence of rival groups, degrees of positive peace incorporate factors of meaningful interaction, cooperation, and social justice that differentiate it from the mere absence of violence (Galtung, 1969).

It comes as no surprise that examining peace implies the scholarly engagement with processes of conflict resolution. Nevertheless, this approach overlooks ways in which societies can foster, redefine, or revisit dynamics of peace – particularly of positive peace and social justice – which occur beyond mechanisms of conflict resolution and peacebuilding. For example, international tourist activity is a social phenomenon of intergroup interaction that can have a direct impact on the interpersonal and intercommunal relationships of people across and within societies. Tourism has been thoroughly discussed in reference to its correlation to peace yet exploring this relationship solely

through the conflict resolution route may yield confined results. This chapter seeks to identify indirect routes to peace, and accordingly shed light on the thoroughly addressed correlation between peace and tourism.

DEFINING AND MEASURING PEACE

Galtung's work offered new perspectives in understanding peace by identifying two forms of peace, positive and negative (Galtung, 1969). While negative peace is the mere absence of violence, positive peace is the societal state that is free of both physical and structural violence and can effectively embrace equity and social justice. Anderson (2004) highlights the importance of making peace a measurable and tangible concept and defines peace by differentiating between objective vs. subjective measures, and micro vs. macro contexts. Farmaki and Stergiou (2021) highlight that there is a direct relationship between peace, development, security, and human rights. Admittedly, peace is a combination of factors that provide a secure and stable setting for people to coexist, cooperate, and create in safety, equality, and justice irrespective of their affiliations and identities.

A prominent approach to calculating peace has been the development of reports and indices that evaluate a society's performance towards the above conditions, and thus its ability to foster and sustain peace for its members. One of the most acknowledged indices on peace is the Global Peace Index (GPI) by the Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP). Comprised of 23 indicators developed and confirmed in 2007, the GPI calculates the level to which violence is absent, therefore measuring a basic form of negative, or cold peace. The 23 indicators applied are shown in Table 4.1.

Despite its thorough research design and comprehensive indicators, the 2022 GPI report acknowledges the subjectivity around the task of measuring peace, and highlights, when referring to the index methodology, that peace is "notoriously difficult to define" (Vision of Humanity, 2022). IEP issues a set of peace-related indices in addition to the GPI, some being state-specific, such as the Mexico Peace Index. Interestingly, IEP issues the Positive Peace Report (PPR) in addition to the GPI, to measure peace beyond the absence of violence, through established societal structures and institutions that can protect it. The eight factors considered in the PPR are: (1) a well-functioning government, (2) low levels of corruption, (3) a sound business environment, (4) equitable distribution of resources, (5) acceptance of the rights of others, (6) free flow of information, (7) high levels of human capital, and (8) good relations with neighbours (ibid.). According to the 2022 report, seven out of the eight factors considered have been improved on an average global scale, except for the factor of corruption, which deteriorated. Overall, the PPR shows records of increased positive peace globally over the past decade. A comparison between

the GPI indicators and the PPR factors is illustrated in Table 4.1, indicating how the concepts of negative and positive peace apply distinct approaches to measuring peace.

Table 4.1   Measuring negative and positive peace

Negative Peace Indicators			Positive Peace Factors
Ongoing Domestic and International Conflict	Societal Safety and Security	Militarization	
1. Number and duration of internal conflicts	7. Level of perceived criminality in society	18. Military expenditure as a percentage of GDP	1. Well-functioning government
2. Number of deaths from external organized conflict	8. Number of refugees and internally displaced people as a percentage of the population	19. Number of armed services personnel per 100,000 people	2. Low levels of corruption
3. Number of deaths from internal organized conflict	9. Political instability	20. Volume of transfers of major conventional weapons as recipient (imports) per 100,000 people	3. Sound business environment
4. Number, duration, and role of external conflicts	10. Political Terror Scale	21. Volume of transfers of major conventional weapons as supplier (exports) per 100,000 people	4. Equitable distribution of resources
5. Intensity of organized internal conflict	11. Impact of terrorism	22. Financial contribution to UN peacekeeping missions	5. Acceptance of the rights of others
6. Relations with neighbouring countries	12. Number of homicides per 100,000 people	23. Nuclear and heavy weapons capabilities	6. Free flow of information
	13. Level of violent crime		7. High levels of human capital
	14. Violent demonstrations		8. Good relations with neighbours
	15. Number of jailed population per 100,000 people		

	Negative Peace Indicators		Positive Peace Factors
Ongoing Domestic and International Conflict	Societal Safety and Security	Militarization	
	16. Number of internal security officers and police per 100,000 people		
	17. Ease of access to small arms and light weapons		

Source: Author (adapted from the Global Peace Index 2022 report, Vision of Humanity).

According to McConaghy (2012), the GPI has ranked states according to their peacefulness, a factor that directly informs of a society's resilience and ability to flourish. The 23 GPI indicators make peace tangible and measurable despite its intuitive and subjective character (ibid.). At the same time, the eight positive peace factors identified provide the framework for the structural attributes of peaceful, and thus resilient and flourishing societies (ibid.).

Pratt and Liu (2016) chose the GPI rankings to discuss a country's level of peace in reference to tourism and tourist arrivals to that country, in their examination of the tourism and peace relationship. Their approach quantifies the relationship between tourism and peace by associating international tourist arrivals with the destination's GPI scores. Pratt and Liu's examination is one that establishes a direct correlation between non-violent societies and increased tourist activity, but it does not confirm any relationship of causation between the two examined variables. Moreover, the study's focus on negative or cold peace indicators allows for an evaluation of tourist arrivals in the absence of violence – or fear of violence – and does not incorporate components of peace that make it reflective of sustainable and resilient societies. To this end, considering the GPI as an indicator of a lack of violence in combination with factors of positive peace would provide a more comprehensive assessment of a country's structural and systemic levels of peacefulness.

The evident distinction between negative and positive peace is acknowledged in the GPI report, which calculates a country's disparity between its GPI and PPR scores and presents this calculation as the *positive peace deficit*. Countries with the highest positive peace deficit include, for the 2022 calculations, Equatorial Guinea, Timor-Leste, Djibouti, and Rwanda. The positive peace deficit is a fundamental component of the GPI, because it serves as a predictor of violence. Another noteworthy observation derived from the GPI is that Cyprus, a country experiencing a decades-long intractable conflict, has received high ranks in GPI metrics, and is placed in the "High State of Peace" category with a score of 1,903. Although this indicates a low risk of violence,

Cyprus is also calculated to have had an economic cost due to its unresolved conflict. Cyprus' quest for peace is discussed in more detail in this chapter's following sections, with specific reference to international peacebuilding initiatives on the island.

Another set of indicators measuring peace comes from the United Nations and the Sustainable Development Goals framework. Goal 16, which refers to achieving Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions, is assessed through a set of ten targets and 24 indicators, covering access to citizenship, voting, human rights institutions, transparency, and inclusive decision-making. According to Kornioti and Antoniou (2022), the ten targets formulated for reaching Sustainable Development Goal 16 (SDG 16) address five primary thematic areas: (1) violence (targets 1 and 2), (2) justice, corruption, and crime (targets 3, 4, 5, and 9), (3) inclusive and participatory decision-making (target 7), (4) strong local and global institutions (targets 7 and 8), and (5) fundamental freedoms (target 10). Although not identical, some of the SGD 16 indicators reflect indicators of the GPI and factors of the PPR, including violence, conflict, corruption, and access to information. Criticism of SDG 16 highlights that the goal needs to further develop its capacity to measure peace, with the current targets and indicators lacking the ability to do so adequately, particularly for the African continent (Bolaji-Adio, 2015). Despite its lack of a comprehensive measurement approach and its low level of institutionalization, SDG 16 manages to offer a moral reference and an "international ethical norm" for peace that can be further quantified and institutionalized in the future (Ivanovic et al., 2018: 49).

The Role of Tourism

The correlation between tourism and peace has intrigued researchers for decades, who have attempted to confirm whether tourism can be a causal factor to peace, or whether peace is a condition that encourages tourism. D'Amore (1988: 269) advocated for the ability of tourism to act as a force for peace and suggested that tourism enables the world to envision a "positive concept of peace" by experiencing the exchange of ideas and best practices. In a more recent account, Blanchard and Higgins-Desbiolles (2013) present peace as a multidimensional social concept encompassing justice, human rights, and sustainability, presenting tourism as a force that prevents war from unfolding, acting as a protective shield over formerly attained peace.

Conversely, Ap and Var's (1990: 267) quantitative findings indicated that the positive social impact deriving from tourist activity is not substantive for tourism to be viewed as a "significant contributor to world peace". Instead, it should be considered merely as an economic activity with positive outcomes. Farmaki and Stergiou (2021) add to the criticism of tourism as a contributor to

peace and say that tourist activity is considered to reinforce inequalities on the economic, political, and socio-cultural front.

Moufakkir and Kelly (2010) advocate that there is a role for tourism to play in establishing peace, especially since tourism is a major platform for intercultural contact. Nevertheless, there are various obstacles to be resolved before tourism can generate meaningful impact to encourage global peace. Addressing these obstacles requires a purposeful differentiation between tourist activities that enhance and that hinder peace. This responsibility lies across actors in tourism, from state governments to the individual traveller (ibid.).

Farmaki (2017) identifies four facets that tourism comprises of: the economic, the political, the social, and the environmental. Acknowledging all four facets is key in understanding tourism's transformative assets, rather than to define it solely as an economic activity. Farmaki proceeds to assess the reconciliation potential of tourism and establish a model for the peace-through-tourism argument by differentiating the ways in which tourism informs the conflict to peace continuum. Distinguishing between active and passive forms of tourist behaviour, tourism can either be an inhibitor of peace – in its passive forms – a subservient or moderator of positive peace, or a mediator through more active tourist behaviour (ibid.). In both its subservient and mediating capacities, certain forms of tourism can have a direct impact on enhancing intergroup relations, promoting transformative learning, and establishing direct contributions to reconciliatory efforts. Providing an encouraging environment for tourism to facilitate educative and transformational experiences is, therefore, critical for achieving meaningful tourism-led reconciliation and peace.

Farmaki (2022) further delves into the relationship between tourism and peace to identify external determinants to the tourism and peace relationship, including factors such as governmental support, international organization support, and the willingness between rival groups to embrace peace and reconcile. Tourism's potential to encourage positive exchanges between members of adversary communities and engage hosts and visitors in transformational and educative experiences makes tourism a vehicle for peace and reconciliation, and a tool that can be employed purposefully in post-conflict and peacebuilding settings (ibid.). The role of tourism in encouraging peace through processes of conflict resolution is further discussed below.

PEACE THROUGH CONFLICT RESOLUTION

The practice of conflict resolution takes place at three distinct levels: the military one, the political one, and the civil society/grassroots one. Ramsbotham and Woodhouse (1999) present a conflict's stages from escalation to resolution

through three phases: conflict containment, conflict settlement, and conflict transformation. Conflict containment refers to the containment of armed violence, and as such refers to the military level of a conflict. At the same time, conflict settlement aims to develop a peace settlement across the political representatives of each party involved in the conflict, making the conflict settlement stage relevant on a political level. Conflict transformation incorporates a social character and addresses the ability of the people to recover from the conflict and reconcile through a transformation of everyday interactions. Conflict transformation therefore applies at the civil society/grassroots level.

Ramsbotham and Woodhouse (1999) illustrate the conflict stages through the Hourglass model, indicating that each stage in the conflict cycle can be addressed by a respective conflict resolution mechanism: conflict containment is addressed through war limitation and peacekeeping mechanisms, conflict settlement through peacemaking, and conflict transformation through peacebuilding. According to Galtung (1969) peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding are the three angles of the peace triangle model that he employs to illustrate a comprehensive framework of conflict resolution intervention.

Table 4.2 illustrates a comprehensive approach to conflict resolution.

Table 4.2   Levels of conflict resolution

Conflict Stage	Level	Conflict Resolution Mechanism
Conflict Containment	Military	Peacekeeping
Conflict Settlement	Political	Peacemaking
Conflict Transformation	Civil society/Grassroots	Peacebuilding

Source: Author (informed by Galtung, 1969; Ramsbotham and Woodhouse, 1999).

On the military level, Fortna (2008) identifies three consent-based types of peacekeeping missions, which occur with the approval of the parties in conflict: (1) the observational missions, that carry out monitoring operations by either military or civilian observers, (2) the interpositional missions, in which monitoring is conducted by lightly armed troops, and (3) the multidimensional missions, involving both military and civilians that offer complementary services to the smooth implementation of a peace settlement at the political level. A prominent example of peacekeeping missions is the work done by the peacekeeping forces of the United Nations. An additional means of peacekeeping is operations of peace enforcement, which refer to third-party interventions that occur without the consent of the parties in conflict.

On the political level, peacemaking processes address a conflict's political settlement, oftentimes through mediated negotiations or third-party intervention involving Track One leaders, with the aim of establishing state-building processes for a period of political and constitutional transition away from

escalated conflict. The end goal of peacemaking processes is a political settlement that formally reinstates peace across the formerly rival parties (Fisher, 1997). Zartman (2007) defines third party assistance in processes of conflict settlement as the diplomatic efforts taken to resolve a conflict.

Peacebuilding interventions address the stage of conflict transformation and engage civil society and individual citizens in a transition towards peaceful, sustainable, and positive coexistence. Fisher (1993) considers peacebuilding efforts as a vital step for making processes of developing a political settlement viable, by engaging the members of communities in conflict with the idea of reconciliation with former enemies. Developing a peace settlement on the political without addressing the public's needs and concerns through transitional reconciliation could directly hinder the implementation of that settlement and lead the conflict back to escalation.

Tourism, Conflict, and Peace

Much of the discussion on the correlation between tourism and peace through conflict resolution has been about the role tourism has played throughout a conflict's discourse and how it has informed processes of post-conflict transition and reconciliation. In the case of reinstating peace in post-conflict societies, tourism can be seen both as an indicator of restored safety and security in the post-conflict destination, as well as an indicator of improved relations between former rivals (Anastasopoulos, 1992; Bar-Tal and Bennick, 2004).

In its diversity of forms, tourism has been taking place both despite a conflict's occurrence, but also because of it. In the former case, conventional forms of tourist activity and short-term travel, such as recreational or business tourism, take place in destinations that have experienced conflict, but can provide sufficient safety to travellers who wish to complete their priorly planned journeys. In the latter case, a society experiencing conflict may attract visitors that wish to directly experience the ongoing dispute, whether out of recreational curiosity, or for professional reasons.

Conflict-oriented travel has been conceptualized under the umbrella of dark tourism, a phenomenon coined in the late twentieth century to highlight an overlooked incentive within the realm of international travel: the fascination over the portrayal of morbid phenomena and the exploration of the physical remnants of a past tragedy (Foley and Lennon, 1996; Seaton, 1996; Lennon and Foley, 2000; Stone, 2006; Sharpley and Stone, 2009). Like other forms of special interest tourist activity in the post-Fordist era and beyond, authenticity is a key part of the dark tourist experience, manifesting through the trigger of the senses, the ambience, and the site's intensities (Trauer, 2006). A site with an authentic display of its macabre past or morbid present can be identified as a dark tourism destination, with popular examples being the Alcatraz prisons,

the site of the Auschwitz Concentration Camp, the 9/11 Memorial site in Manhattan, New York, as well as active war zones, locations of former battlefields, and cemeteries. Additional examples falling within the dark site realm can be artistic representations or staged settings that entail morbid and macabre elements, such as skeletons or decaying post-mortal human bodies.

According to Stone and Sharpley, elements of tragedy, suffering, death, and decay are the main indicators of a site's "darkness" (Stone, 2005; Stone and Sharpley, 2008) while Biran and Poria (2012) add violence and risk to these indicators. Visiting a dark site may entail an educational component (Cohen, 2011), or can be an emotional experience (Podoshen, 2013), especially in cases where elements of the destination are perceived as heritage or the destination is associated with a community's history (Biran et al., 2011). For conflict and post-conflict destinations, the dark element is derived from the tragedy of the conflict's occurrence and its often-devastating outcomes, including death, division, and displacement. The conflict's remnants and physical manifestations become a form of dissonant, or dark, heritage, and are featured as a component of the destination's local character and identity.

Dark tourism, which has been interpreted as an experience of "deviant leisure" and an opportunity for "social passage", is gaining popularity globally and is increasingly becoming more diverse (Stone and Sharpley, 2013). Nevertheless, it remains, unsurprisingly, a controversial form of tourist activity; the profiling of a destination with a focus on its dark history has often met strong opposition, especially amongst local communities that consider such profiling misleading and disrespectful (Lennon and Foley, 2000). An evident oxymoron is that, although local populations at a destination with a dark affiliation might associate with the dark element negatively, the intrigue of exploring this dark element may assume a positive association for the foreign visitor. According to Stone and Sharpley (2008: 585), "dark tourism allows the re-conceptualization of death and mortality into forms that stimulate something other than primordial terror and dread", a dynamic that makes it inevitable for a tourist–host clash to occur.

There is a distinction to be made between *conflict-oriented* and *peace-oriented* forms of tourism. The former refers to the macabre fascination of experiencing a conflict's authenticity – either while it unfolds or by encountering its aftermath – whereas the latter is driven by an interest in conflict resolution and the prospects of establishing peace in a conflict-ridden destination.

There are two principal forms of peace-oriented tourism: *peace tourism* and *peacebuilding tourism*. Peace tourism refers to the general inclination towards examining a destination's relationship with peace and its prospects for peacefulness in the future. The tourist's motivation is driven by an interest in peace dynamics, transitional processes towards peace, or a current state of peace in a destination that experienced severe conflict or division in the past. This

peace-oriented motivation can cover a vast range of preferences and expecta-
tions, from personal curiosity to professional contributions to the destination's
peace status. Peace tourism can occur either from a community-oriented
or from a self-oriented standpoint (Antoniou, 2022a). In the former case,
the tourist experience is shaped by the desire to contribute to peace for the
destination visited, ideally in ways that complement existing international or
community-based efforts. In the latter case, a self-oriented standpoint would
prioritize the tourist's personal development and self-enhancement over
impacts to the community. The self-oriented peace tourist may have a passive
engagement with the visited communities and yield negligible outputs. At
the same time, however, there is considerable likelihood of unintentionally
generating negative outcomes for the host communities through host–visitor
controversies (ibid.).

Peace tourism can be further divided into recreational vs professionally
motivated forms (Antoniou, 2022b). The second category that distinguishes the
professional capacity through which tourists engage in peace-oriented travel
has been specifically identified as peacebuilding tourism (ibid.). Although it
is a form of niche tourism that is characterized by the tourist's professional
ability to identify, evaluate, and contribute to a destination's prospects of
peace, it can still achieve various levels of impact for the destination. The
peacebuilding tourist can engage in a destination's peace dynamics on an
intentional level, coincidentally, or as a benign peacebuilding tourist, yielding
negligible to no impact.

It is often challenging to engage in the construction and promotion of
peace in a destination transitioning from conflict without focusing on the
occurrence of conflict as well and the factors that brought about tensions
among the members of the host communities. There are, therefore, blurry
lines when attempting to distinguish where conflict-oriented tourism stops and
where peace-oriented tourism begins. A factor, however, that makes forms of
peace-oriented tourism stand out is the intention to identify patterns of peace-
fulness in the destination visited, to envision how peace can be strengthened,
and – where possible – to assist and support it.

Tourism can be employed in the pursuit of peace in settings of conflict
transformation, and this pursuit can take place through multiple avenues.
Carbone and Oosterbeek (2021) suggest that one such avenue is offered
through cultural heritage management, which can create direct links between
tourism and peace. Jamgade (2021) points to tourism's significance in achiev-
ing sustainable peacebuilding, and Farmaki and Stergiou (2021) recommend
exploring the contribution of tourism to peace as an instrument of social
justice. Sustainability and resilience are recurring themes in the discussion
of tourism and peace (Aulet and Tarrés, 2021; Farmaki and Stergiou, 2021;

Jamgade, 2021); themes that are examined in more detail in the section on sustainable development below.

PEACE THROUGH SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Peace and international development have a longstanding relationship of correlation and mutual causation. Peace is considered to enable and advance development, while development, prosperity, and welfare are catalytic in sustaining and preserving peaceful coexistence within and across communities. The Sustainable Development agenda set forth by the UN through 17 goals sets peace as one of these goals, advocating that one of the key avenues for achieving sustainable development is through peace, justice, and strong institutions.

According to Farmaki and Stergiou (2021), tourism can be a reparative and preventive tool in fostering sustainable peace if considered as an agent of justice. Tourism can be more comprehensively understood as a tool in peacebuilding if it is examined in reference to how it impacts global inequalities and injustices. Identifying the ways in which international tourist activity can contribute to equality and a spread of cosmopolitan values to contribute to sustainable development – and thus to sustainable peace – was also a central theme in Chapter 1 on "Tourism and international development".

The United Nations has actively pursued development through peace not only in the case of the SDG agenda, but also by making peacebuilding a central component of its principal development agency, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). UNDP's work focuses on three interconnected areas: sustainable development, democratic governance and peacebuilding, and climate and disaster resilience; the agency's mission to "help people build a better life" is pursued through efforts to establish peacefulness and make it sustainable to achieve community resilience (UNDP, 2022). Examples of peacebuilding interventions undertaken by UNDP include the UNDP-ACT project that was implemented in Cyprus between 2005 and 2015 (UNDP, 2015), as well as the country Programme Development project for Libya, which is planned to be implemented between 2023 and 2025 and focus on sustainable growth and peacebuilding (UNDP Libya, 2022). UNDP's work reaffirms that achieving peace and development are two interrelated and interdependent objectives.

A report issued on the first years of UNDP-ACT's operations – 2005–2008 – highlights the thematic areas addressed by ACT's peacebuilding projects and explains how each initiative under ACT contributed to peacebuilding in Cyprus (UNDP-ACT, 2008). The thematic areas incorporate work on social inclusion, cultural understanding, the environment, and health, while some of these projects address specific audiences from the divided communities: exam-

ples of niche audiences targeted include youth, filmmakers, and journalists. In response to how each initiative achieves peacebuilding in Cyprus, the project on the environment reads:

> It is obvious from the work of UNEP and others around the world that the Environment is an ideal conflict resolution tool. This is very true in Cyprus, where on a small island, environmental priorities are identical in both communities, and problems such as pest control, viral pandemics, and air pollution cannot be contained by the buffer zone. The Cyprus Environmental Stakeholder Forum (CESF) is an unprecedented effort by the environmental community in Cyprus to speak with a common voice. (UNDP-ACT, 2008: 11)

Jarraud and Lordos (2012) use the example of UNDP-ACT's peacebuilding engagement through environmental work to discuss the notion of environmental conflict resolution. They suggest that, like the report above suggests, the environment provides an effective peacebuilding tool, and it can be used as an entry point to conflict resolution work that involves citizen participation. Ironically, although UNDP's 2008 report highlights pandemics as a problem to be addressed jointly by the partitioned communities of Cyprus, the response to the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020 was to halt any form of intercommunal movement across the island's UN-administered Buffer Zone that separates the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities. The restrictions in trans-communal movement were announced by the authorities of both communities as a measure to limit the spread of the virus, and were restored several months later in the summer of 2021, when the pandemic appeared to be under control.

In 2009, UNDP-ACT launched the Economic Interdependence Project involving the chambers of commerce from the island's two partitioned communities (Apostolides et al., 2012). The project's aim was to examine areas of economic interdependence between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities of Cyprus, to foster inter-communal business partnerships, and to draft a joint economic development plan (ibid.). Until its completion in 2015, UNDP-ACT implemented a series of peacebuilding projects that focused on empowering members of the local communities to work together and envision a common future. In doing so, ACT projects and initiatives occurred in reference to areas of sustainable development, addressing the three pillars of sustainable development – environmental conservation, social welfare, and economic progress – as well as additional areas of focus such as cultural heritage, gender, and youth.

Interestingly, the work of UNDP in Cyprus through the UNDP-ACT project has delivered noteworthy contributions to the examination and measurement of peace within and beyond Cyprus. One of the local organizations that were beneficiaries of the UNDP-ACT funding scheme, the Centre for Sustainable Peace and Democratic Development (SeeD), developed a new index that measured

peace through indicators of social cohesion and reconciliation. More specifi-
cally, the Social Cohesion and Reconciliation (SCORE) Index is "a smart and
versatile assessment tool designed to measure different components of social
cohesion as well as resilience capacities and vulnerability factors around the
world in order to inform the efforts of peacebuilding and development actors
with robust and scientific evidence" (SCORE, 2022).

The index was first employed in the Cypriot context to produce the first
SCORE report in 2015 (SCORE, 2015), and has since then expanded to cal-
culate the SCORE of ten countries – including updated metrics for Cyprus.
These countries are Liberia, Nepal, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Moldova, Malaysia,
Armenia, South Sudan, Ivory Coast, and Ukraine – with a separate SCORE
also calculated for Eastern Ukraine. The methodology behind SCORE is
informed through a content framework, a process framework, and an analytical
tool. The index is designed around five indicators that are considered the main
determinants of a society's exposure to positive peace and resilience against
change, as well as indicators of individual and group wellbeing: these are (1)
human security, (2) human capability, (3) meaningful civic participation and
engagement, (4) community cohesion and harmonious intergroup relations,
and (5) institutional and economic development. The SCORE Index design
reaffirms that notions of security, development, social cohesion, and sustain-
ability are interlinked, solidifying the interconnectedness between sustainable
development and peace, but also reinforcing the tangible nature of peace,
through an ability to first measure it, then assess it across destinations, and
finally pursue it, through its key determinants.

The case study of UNDP-ACT in Cyprus does not only allow for direct links
to be made between peace and sustainable development, but also provides
insights as to how tourism has played a role in the ACT's implementation.
Findings from the programme's later stages show that the dichotomy between
international and local peacebuilders did not effectively capture the range
of stakeholders involved in ACT (Antoniou, 2021). One overlooked agent
was the programme's visiting peacebuilding professionals, or peacebuilding
tourists (ibid.). In their capacity as external consultants, experts, or individual
professionals interested in the peacebuilding discourse in Cyprus, visiting
peacebuilders contributed positively to the project's peace-oriented initiatives
and were well-received by local peacebuilder audiences (ibid.). Findings
from Cyprus's UNDP-ACT project and the island's peacebuilding discourse
more broadly suggest that international peacebuilding agencies can work
more effectively with local peacebuilders through a more active and direct
engagement of peacebuilding tourist audiences (ibid.). The tourist capacity of
peacebuilding professionals was also employed in the data collection process
for calculating the SCORE Index across ten countries. Developed initially
under the auspices of UNDP-ACT, the initiative for implementing the SCORE

index to a number of conflict-ridden destinations applied the peacebuilder paradigm of a tri-party collaboration between representatives of international peacebuilding institutions, short-term visiting peacebuilding professionals, and local stakeholders (Antoniou, 2021).

PEACE THROUGH DIPLOMACY

Diplomacy has hitherto been acknowledged as the art of negotiation among state actors and their representatives. Interstate negotiations and multilateral state diplomacy have paved the way for peace settlements, ceasefire agreements, memorandums, and frameworks for collaboration, formally establishing meaningful collaboration between the actors involved.

State diplomacy has been a principal form of conflict settlement and a key process for establishing a conflict's political and constitutional resolution. The United Nations is a principal international actor offering third-party intervention for conflict settlement, such as mediated negotiations between actors in conflict. Nevertheless, when diplomacy's contribution to peace is examined through processes of conflict resolution, the results are not encouraging. Peace settlements between state actors often take extended periods to achieve, and at times diplomatic efforts reach dead ends; in the case of active conflicts, a dead end can lead to intractability, leaving the conflict unsettled, whereas in a different scenario, diplomatic efforts among states may leave key non-state actors out of the negotiating table.

Despite the observations in conflict resolution processes, diplomacy has been a prominent tool in establishing multilateral and transnational frameworks of peaceful coexistence. The establishment of the Sustainable Development Goals agenda as a transnational reference point of sustainable development for the member states of the United Nations is the result of multilateral state diplomacy. The SDG framework specifically includes SDG 16 on Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions, and provides internationally accepted indicators for measuring and evaluating peace.

Diplomacy has been employed as a tool not only for resolving, but also for preventing conflict among states and thus protecting their peaceful coexistence. This approach was specifically applied to coordinate the transnational governance of shared water resources, an initiative that has been measured through the Blue Peace Index. Developed by the Economist Intelligence Unit, the Blue Peace Index employs five pillars to measure the effectiveness of shared water resource management across states. Through the pillars of (1) policy and legal frameworks, (2) institutional arrangement and participation, (3) water management instruments, (4) infrastructure and financing, and (5) cooperation, the index assesses the level to which states sharing a common water basin coordinate and collaborate over its distribution, to avoid scenarios

of water scarcity and to eliminate the possibility of resource-oriented conflicts (Economist Impact, 2022). The Blue Peace Index records, which currently account for interstate collaboration across seven river basins, indicate the Sava River as a best practice example for the collaboration and water management practices employed by Croatia, Serbia, Slovenia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The lowest score is calculated for the Tigris-Euphrates River affecting Iran, Iraq, Turkey, and Syria. The profound lack of collaboration among the policy-makers involved has led to a severely challenged management practice of the river basin, which currently relies on ad-hoc measures that fail to effectively address water allocation and pollution control.

Beyond state diplomacy, cosmopolitan diplomacy is a promising avenue for non-state actors to engage in international negotiations and develop coordinated action on global causes and challenges. Cosmopolitan diplomacy is particularly relevant for understanding tourism's contribution to peace, since it is the form of diplomacy that can engage international political actors for global causes and embrace the input of unconventional non-state actors. The tourist as an active citizen has the capacity to perform political acts and, through niche interaction with members of a destination, to examine, negotiate, and act on peace. In the case of challenges that transcend national borders such as environmental crises, water management issues, and resource allocation efficiency, the failure of interstate collaboration can be revisited through channels of global civil society and cosmopolitan political activism that would be enabled through travel. The Tigris Euphrates and the Amu Darya examples that score the lowest on the Blue Peace Index on water management collaboration are crucial global challenges with security risks of regional and international magnitude. There is, therefore, a role for non-state actors to play and, through cosmopolitan platforms and global civil society mobilization, individuals and organized groups to establish alternatives to state misman-agement and lack of cooperation. Another avenue that would be considered unconventional for existing state diplomacy practices would be to establish platforms of diplomatic exchange across individual citizens whose lives are affected by poor state collaboration, and whose resources are mismanaged. Diplomatic avenues for citizens and tourists as non-state political contributors could not only create escape routes from state-level diplomacy when it reaches dead ends. Cosmopolitan forms of citizen diplomacy would also provide a significantly more inclusive, democratic, and comprehensive diplomatic exchange with expectedly more applicable, commonly acceptable, and thus sustainable outcomes.

As discussed in the relationship between tourism, peace, and sustainable development, the environment plays a critical role in engaging communities in conflict with peacebuilding through a common cause. Efforts for environmental protection and measures against climate change have engaged states, civil

society, and individual citizens to mobilize transnationally and work together, achieving environmental progress and peaceful coexistence at the same time. Cosmopolitan diplomacy has the capacity to incorporate the plethora of actors engaged in environmental work and activism and start inclusive discussions on environmental action on a global scale. Peace and peacebuilding tourists can engage in environmental conflict resolution through their short-term travel and apply diplomacy in an inclusive, non-formal way to engage rival communities in the cause of environmental protection. Through the environmental perspective, development and diplomacy offer new and interconnected pathways to achieving sustainable peace, and provide tourists, whether peace tourists, peacebuilding tourists, or cosmopolitan tourist diplomats, with the opportunity to actively engage in these processes.

PEACE THROUGH INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Chapter 3 discussed the relationship between tourism and international security and revealed that tourist activity can be a source of environmental insecurity. With tourism consumption performed in a carbon-intensive manner and through patterns of an unsustainable exploitation of recourses, international tourist activity has challenged perceptions of environmental security and sustainability, particularly for fragile destinations.

Looking at international security through Buzan et al.'s (1998) five security sectors, Chapter 3 revealed that tourism generates substantial influence in all five sectors. While the military, political, and societal sectors can benefit from the contributions of tourism and the activity's growing international influence, the economic and environmental sectors are burdened by the patterns of tourism production and consumption that are applied today. Heightened levels of insecurity in either the economic or the environmental sectors can directly threaten peace and elevate the risk of violence or fear of violence. Nevertheless, as the UNDP-ACT example shows, both the economic and the environmental sector can be utilized as avenues for peacebuilding, with the direct involvement of tourist audiences. For the environmental sector in particular, the notion of environmental conflict resolution could open new pathways to peace simply by connecting like-minded individuals aspiring to shift patterns of environmental degradation. Tourism is, therefore, a practice that has the capacity to both eliminate phenomena of international insecurity, as well as enhance security and peace on a global scale.

Part of what makes tourism a catalyst in global socio-political affairs is, in addition to its ability to bring about positive socio-political change, the realization that some forms of tourism pose a threat to global causes and cosmopolitan values. Distinguishing between forms of tourist activity that can foster positive global change and those that restrict it is a key step towards establish-

ing a targeted and informed global tourism impact. Tourism's significant role in achieving or undermining international security in the environmental sector indicates the capacity tourism holds as a form of International Relations.

PEACE THROUGH TOURISM REVISITED

There is an evident need for any scholarly attempt to unlock the tourism and peace relationship to first ask: which form of tourist activity and tourist behaviour is being assessed? The wide scope of international tourism makes it unrealistic to establish a simplistic bilateral correlation between tourism as a unitary phenomenon and peace as a straightforward objective. From Farmaki's (2017) perspective that tourism occurs through four separate facets and in both active and passive forms, to the multiple indices measuring peace through a diversity of indicator combinations, both tourism and peace need to be further specified before evaluating their association. Figure 4.1 tries to encapsulate how, before identifying a tourist activity and measuring its contribution to certain aspects of peace, a key distinction ought to be made between unsustainable trends of passive tourist activity and tourism that is driven by cosmopolitan values and can lead to community-oriented contributions that will benefit a host destination. This distinction is illustrated in the spectrum of tourist activity below, and it is a key step in identifying the forms of tourism that merely indicate peace – at its various levels from negative to positive – and the forms of tourism that can contribute to peace, build it, and strengthen it further.
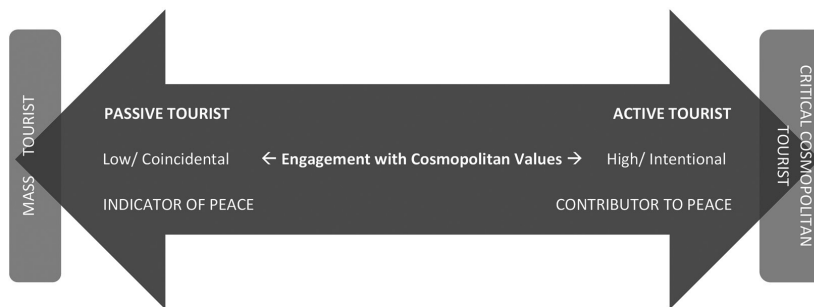
Source: Author (informed by Farmaki, 2017).

Figure 4.1   *The tourist as a contributor to peace*

At the passive end of the spectrum in Figure 4.1, one can find tourists with more self-oriented leisure objectives that can be satisfied through patterns of familiarity and perceived safety. At this end of the spectrum, it is more

likely to find mass tourists and travellers wishing to experience tourist zones and franchised infrastructure to achieve low levels of novelty. The search for familiarity also affects the levels of cross-cultural and intergroup communication, which are expectedly low, leading to low likelihood for the tourist experience to be transformative either for the host community or the tourists themselves. At the same time, the passive forms of tourist activity are expected to be encouraged by a sense of security and stability, and therefore they can be treated as informative indicators of the lack of violence or fear of violence (negative peace). At the extreme end of the passive side of the spectrum lies the mass tourist, as an example of a passive tourist that engages in a packaged vacation that is externally prepared in bulk and, if no measures for economic, societal, or environmental sustainability are taken by the agencies and suppliers providing the mass tourism packages, the tourist will have limited flexibility in engaging with the destination in a sustainable and conscious manner. A key characteristic of the mass tourist category is that it demonstrates significant reliance on tourist-oriented infrastructure, transportation, products, and services, particularly when consuming all-inclusive holiday packages.

Moving further right across the spectrum, forms of tourist activity are more likely to escape their passive engagement with the destination visited and perform coincidental forms of citizen diplomacy, educational peace tourism experiences, and activities that enable more frequent interactions with members of the local communities, escaping tourist-designated zones. The active end of the spectrum features an intentional engagement with local communities from an experiential perspective that incorporates multiple aspects of the locally-performed culture – culinary tastes and habits, language and expression patterns, local choices for entertainment and leisure time, local engagement with the outdoors, and local practices in encountering the destination's landscapes and temperatures. This exposure to locality through cosmopolitan forms of active, experiential tourism is bound to contribute to the cross-cultural literacy of the tourist – and even of the hosts – while it also exposes the tourists to the everyday challenges locals face, whether economic, environmental, political, or societal. As the tourist grasps local dynamics through organic processes of genuine local exchanges beyond the formalities of international peacebuilding projects and labels of foreign state representation, the tourist's contributions to the host community's welfare can assume approaches that are vastly different to state or supranational intervention. Forms of active cosmopolitan tourism – or critical cosmopolitan tourism as the last category of tourist activity this spectrum features – include activities of intentional cosmopolitan diplomacy, peacebuilding tourism, environmental activism, host community empowerment, and engagement with initiatives for sustainable development. The critical cosmopolitan tourist lies at the opposite end of the mass tourist category and articulates the ways in which the two

tourist categories can entail contradictory philosophies, motivations, and actions. The critical cosmopolitan tourist category expands the spectrum of tourist typologies further, which was often portrayed through the tourist vs. traveller distinction, or the mass tourist vs. the special interest tourist – or the niche tourist. Expanding the spectrum to highlight the tourist category that is expected to contribute the most to peace is vital, not only for the scholarly examination of peace, but also for achieving a comprehensive reconceptualization of how tourism can inform the broader practice of international relations.

The differentiation between tourism as an indicator and tourism as a contributor to peace is established around a fundamental characteristic of tourist activity: cosmopolitanism. The cosmopolitan underpinning of tourist motivation and planning suggests the likelihood in which the tourist is expected to engage with the host community and formulate their consumption practices accordingly. Cosmopolitan-informed tourists have an expectedly higher likelihood for direct and meaningful interaction with members of the communities visited, and their consumption practices are expected to unfold in ways that will support rather than undermine local societal needs and environmental capacities. Tourists who engage with cosmopolitan values from a critical angle are also expected to identify patterns of inequalities, exclusion, and social injustice more readily, and in response encourage the empowerment, agency, and emancipation of the local population, particularly for its marginalized members.

As indicated in Chapter 1, tourist typologies are an enlightening indicator as to which forms of tourism are more active and which are more passive. Active forms of tourism tend to share a set of characteristics that include a fondness for novelty, the desire to avoid mass tourism and tourist-oriented infrastructure, and a motivation to explore and experience for purposes of cross-cultural literacy. These characteristics complement the attributes of critical approaches to tourism, which equip the tourist with the potential to intentionally contribute to a destination's peace and stability – whether by positively contributing to a post-conflict transition, or by supporting dynamics that prevent conflicts from escalating. A critical approach to cosmopolitanism through tourism would take place through a host–visitor interaction that would be characterized by reciprocal communication, balanced power dynamics, and meaningful dialogue.

CONCLUSION

When looking at how tourism can be a contributor to peace, the question to ask is *what types of tourist activity can significantly foster a destination's roadmap towards sustainable peace?* To differentiate between conflict-oriented, peace-oriented, and other forms of tourism in destinations pursuing peace

after conflict can be a challenging task. It is, however, an important distinction to make before any attempt to highlight intention and travel motivation, and as such inform the capacity of the tourist to directly become a contributor to peace.

Peace tourism and peacebuilding tourism are direct routes through which the tourist can engage in both educational and professional activities that engage with the potential of a destination to smoothly transition towards positive forms of peacefulness, and, through conflict resolution tools and mechanisms, to contribute to sustainable peace for the host population.

It is equally important to look beyond processes of conflict resolution to define the relationship between tourism and peace from a multiplicity of perspectives, including diplomacy, development, and security. Studying tourism as an international political activity has shown that its contribution can be catalytic to economic progress, social welfare, security, and community resilience. Through this realization, tourism forms a direct relationship with a destination's levels of peacefulness and resilience, which is directly informed by the absence of violence (security), its prospects of international and transnational collaborations (diplomacy), and its ability to establish economic progress and societal welfare while maintaining ecological sustainability (development).

Key observations that surface through this chapter's discussion of the relationship between tourism and peace highlight that the tourist who is most likely to contribute to peace is the tourist with a high and intentional engagement with cosmopolitan values. Mass tourists, who tend to be passive observers of a destination, are more reliant on tourist infrastructure than other tourist categories, and less likely to establish meaningful and transformational exchanges with the local community. Mass tourists lie at the opposite extreme of the critical cosmopolitan tourist – rather than the special interest tourist more broadly – who is the active, informed, and conscious traveller and is more likely to engage in transformational and educative experiences that are beneficial to both the tourist and the locals. Critical cosmopolitan tourist activities are expected to increase cross-cultural literacy and cross-cultural understanding through meaningful contact, support healthy and sustainable economic practices that advance the local communities without exceeding the destination's resource boundaries, and promote patterns of local inclusion and representation, improving the destination's capacity for peace and resilience altogether.

A variety of peace-oriented indices have formulated methodologies to make peace more measurable, and therefore allow its assessment over time to become a tangible objective. As the examination of tourism's contribution to peace continues to evolve, it is important for future studies to employ a combination of peace-oriented indices to evaluate the empirical contribution of active cosmopolitan tourism through intentional activities to peace in selected

destinations. Quantitative approaches to the refined association between cosmopolitan forms of tourism to designated indicators of peace – such as inclusive governance, representation, social justice, and equity – would significantly advance the peace-through-tourism debate, and move beyond tourism's contribution as a passive indicator of peaceful and secure destinations.

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