FAIR TRADE IN TOURISM: A REFLEXIVE APPRAISAL OF THE ACTIVISM/ACADEME NEXUS IN THE MOVEMENT TOWARDS SOCIAL JUSTICE IN TOURISM

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ABSTRACT

This Ph.D. thesis critically reviews the relationship between activism and academe in the inquiry on fairly traded tourism and the role of reflexivity in assisting with that inquiry. It includes published material, part activist, part academic research outputs, on the concept of Fair Trade in Tourism (FTinT), spanning a time period from 2000 to 2013. From my present academic perspective, it critically engages with some of the personal and socio-political complexities surrounding the organisation, which initiated the investigation into FTinT, and my position within the organisation as a key actor and change agent.

Applying reflexivity as a method for deconstruction and dialectical critique of my activist and academic engagement, this thesis uses the FTinT research to explore the interface between activism and academe in tourism research. Accordingly, the writing style is predominantly personal, interwoven with reflections on theoretical currents to inform the analysis. Such personal, reflexive engagement illuminates the underlying mechanisms and processes employed in the quest for developing increased public awareness and tangible, applicable criteria and strategies for fairer trade in tourism at a time when such ideas were entirely original.

The analysis in this thesis includes application of several approaches to reflexivity and application of concepts of trustworthiness in qualitative research to accredit the scholarly significance of such activist endeavour. Reflexivity and activism are generally under-researched areas in the tourism academy, even more so in relation to trade justice. In particular, there is no evidence of research on these areas as interconnected entities. This study therefore provides an original contribution to knowledge in tourism research on a number of different levels.

In this inquiry, I am arguing the case for a more concentrated, though critical engagement with activist and participatory action research as a way of addressing issues of inequity and injustice in the tourism trade. In that context, reflexivity approaches can provide important insights into researchers' underlying values and beliefs which inflect their choices and decision-making and their relationships within the research environment. However, my research also reveals some serious challenges, both in the application of reflexivity and in the engagement with the activist/academic interface. Such challenges relate to issues of ethical and political integrity, cultural sensitivity, memory-work, and the acceptance of the value of the reciprocal relationship between activism and academe within tourism scholarship.

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I declare that the work in this thesis was carried out in accordance with the regulations of the University of Gloucestershire and is original except where indicated by specific reference in the text. No part of the thesis has been submitted as part of any other academic award. The thesis has not been presented to any other education institution in the United Kingdom or overseas.

Any views expressed in the thesis are those of the author and in no way represent those of the University.

Signed…………………………………...Date…………………….

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CHAPTER 1 Introduction

1.1 Context

This Ph.D. thesis critically reviews the relationship between activism and academe in the inquiry on fairly traded tourism and the role of reflexivity in assisting with that inquiry. It includes published material, part activist, part academic research outputs, on the concept of Fair Trade in Tourism (FTinT), spanning a time period from 2000 to 2013. This material represents both evidence of the development of the idea of Fair Trade in Tourism and a reflection of my changing analysis as I moved from the realm of activism to academe.

Activism is a policy or action of using campaigns to bring about political or social change (Oxford University Press, 2014). The activism that I have been involved with generally, and within tourism specifically, has focused on gender equality, human rights and trade justice for people in tourism destinations, within a development context. Whilst several scholars have addressed activism from an academic perspective, including most recently contributions from the Critical Tourism network (Pritchard *et al.*, 2011; Hales *et al.*, 2013; Klein, 2013; Higgins-Desbiolles and Powys Whyte, 2013; 2014), there is (to my knowledge) no research available from an activist perspective of academe, certainly not in the tourism field. The activism/academe interface has been widely discussed in other disciplines, such as anthropology and geography, in the context of critical and activist research. Activist research engages with the 'root causes' of inequality, exploitation and the consequent human suffering (Hale, 2001:13). It collaborates with groups struggling with such conditions to transform these and to shift power relations in their favour (Hale, 2001). Reflexivity and reflexive methodology have emerged as credible disciplines within qualitative social research (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2009; Alasuutari *et al.*, 2008; Ateljevic *et al.*, 2007). Within activist research this practice is of prime importance: *'The*

practice of activist research asks us to identify our deepest ethical-political convictions, and to let them drive the formulation of our research objectives' (Hale, 2001:14).

The first three of the publications presented in this thesis, date from 2000 to 2002. They relate to a period of empirical qualitative research and policy development on Fair Trade in Tourism between 1996 and 2002. During this time, I was employed variously as consultant and as policy-co-ordinator, responsible for researching and co-ordinating a European funded project on 'Fair Trade in Tourism' for a UK non-governmental campaign organisation, called Tourism Concern (TC). Without any empirical basis in fair trade in services and tourism, the research project was developed in the context of a multi-stakeholder consultation process, embodied by an International Network on Fair Trade in Tourism (INFTT). As such, it was innovative and pioneering at the time. Following my entry into the academic world in 2003, two book chapters, expanding on the inquiry from a critical academic perspective for an academic audience, were published in 2010 and 2013.

The thesis takes a critically reflexive approach in presenting the context leading to the publications. Reflexive analysis *'explores the situated nature of knowledge; the institutional, social and political processes whereby research is conducted and knowledge is produced'* (Alvesson *et al.,* 2008: 480). Thus the thesis charts the journey of my political and social consciousness, which shaped my input into the project as a member of an activist organisation, followed by entry into academe at the conclusion of the project. From my present academic perspective, it critically engages with some of the personal and socio-political complexities surrounding Tourism Concern as a campaign body and my position within the organisation as a key actor and change agent. Using reflexivity as a method for deconstruction and dialectical critique of my activist and academic engagement, this thesis explores the interface between activism and academe in tourism research. Accordingly, the writing style is predominantly personal, interwoven with reflections on theoretical currents to inform the analysis. Such personal, critically reflexive

engagement is intended to illuminate the underlying mechanisms and processes employed in the quest for developing increased public awareness and tangible, applicable criteria and strategies for fairer trade in tourism at a time when such ideas were entirely original. Moreover, it charts some of the intellectual, conceptual and emotional processes of a tourism activist joining the scholarly community. In this context, the underlying questions, addressed in this inquiry, are:

1. How has my personal and intellectual development influenced the way I created the knowledge embraced in the research design of the Project and the publications included in this thesis?
2. Where do the two worlds of activism and academia meet, personally and professionally? Are they reconcilable (disconnected, in conflict or symbiosis)? Do they creatively integrate? If so, how? and
3. How does the inquiry into this relationship benefit the inquiry into equitable trade in tourism?

These questions are revisited in Chapter Six, following the reflexive deconstruction process in Chapters Three to Five.

1.2 Thesis Aim, Objectives and Research Question

From the perspective of an activist academic and through the lens of relevant social science theory, such as social constructivism, and reflexivity as a methodological approach, the wider, overarching aim of this thesis is:

To analyse the significance of the dynamic activism/academe interface in relation to research on socio-economic justice in tourism, with a view to informing future work in this area.

Objectives:

1. Explore the value of reflexive critique in such tourism research;

2. Analyse the benefits and challenges of activist/academic research in the movement towards greater socio-economic justice in tourism;

Research question:

How effective is a reflexivity approach in furthering the analysis of the relationship between activism and academe in equitable tourism research?

1.3 Rationale and Statement of Intent

The research question emanates from the following premise: in the context of what I perceive to be some of the most current challenges in the global trade in tourism, related to human rights and justice issues, it is important to highlight the value of and need for activist research in tourism, in terms of a) more recognition within academe of research undertaken by activists within civil society and non-governmental organisations (NGOs); b) greater collaboration between academics and activists to maximise the impact of research outcomes (activist or action research); and c) acknowledgement of research priorities being set by the priorities of communities struggling against inappropriate tourism development. Inappropriate tourism development can be interpreted by the affected communities themselves as, for example, relating to human rights abuses through forced displacement of livelihoods, sexual and labour exploitation, and irreversible environmental degradation of social, cultural and natural resources. I have arrived at this premise as part of the process of critical reflexivity, which served to reappraise my activist involvement in the investigation of Fair Trade in Tourism and the resultant published outputs from an academic perspective. This thesis critically evaluates the potency of reflexivity in the process of understanding the activist/academe confluence in Fair Trade in Tourism and thereby helping to advance equitable tourism research in general.

This is linked to initiating a debate on a shift in focus in social science research towards more activist research on grassroots struggles around human rights in tourism. To support this shift, it is intended that the thesis should present:

a) A critical retrospective appraisal of the Fair Trade in Tourism project from my current perspective as an academic, including reflexive personal and organisational positioning. This is intended to strengthen arguments for the trustworthiness of the FTinT research;
b) As part of that, an analysis of lessons learnt from the research methodology of the project, in particular the international multi-stakeholder process at the core of the conceptual development of Fair Trade in Tourism;
c) A focus on the importance of the linkages between activism and academe, in particular in research on equitable tourism;
d) An analysis of criteria for developing a more justice-based approach in tourism research; and
e) A critique of reflexivity *per se* and in tourism research specifically, to enhance the knowledge of qualitative research methodology in social science research.

The thesis makes a contribution to knowledge in tourism research in three areas:

1) The application of selected reflexivity approaches to the research process on Fair Trade in Tourism;
2) The analysis of the activism/academe nexus in tourism, particularly equitable tourism research; and
3) The analysis of Fair Trade in Tourism, exemplified in five publications, over a period of thirteen years.

1.4 Trustworthiness in Qualitative Research

The publications, included in this thesis, emanate from both activist and academic contexts, including a mixture of peer-and non-peer-reviewed work and book chapters in edited academic publications. They represent a longitudinal process of conceptual and active engagement on the subject of Fair Trade in Tourism. The reflexive process, including theoretically underpinned analysis, is therefore aimed at offering a critical explanation and transparency in relation to the researcher’s position and the research processes surrounding these papers. It is intended that this will add theoretical robustness, credibility and trustworthiness to the outcomes and, additionally, provide some pointers for future research in this field. After all, the publications are the only publicly available evidence of the FTinT project. As such, by themselves, they are limited in providing a true, holistic record of the seven year period, in which research, consultation and consultancy were undertaken on this particular subject. This thesis aims to complement this record and enhance it to inform future research on socio-economic justice in tourism.

Furthermore, although Network members were involved in the research design and invited to plan, discuss and comment on drafts, I had no opportunity to achieve ultimate closure by checking with the participants whether the results, contained in the publications, presented a valid and useful representation of views within the International Network. They were essentially my analysis and interpretation of what I perceived were the views of the Network and the outcomes of discussions, based on meeting reports and electronic feedback, and enhanced by detailed desk research. In reality, checking with the 200 members on the Network would have proved difficult. However, the research design could have reasonably included a focus group with key representatives, particularly from the majority South to discuss the final outcomes. Yet, logistical, financial, time and resource constraints prevented such an undertaking.

Validation in qualitative Social Science research is a contested concept. According to Hale (2001), activist research is *'use-oriented basic research'*, validated by answering questions on the practicality and usefulness of research: '*has it helped to resolve the problem? Has it guided some social transformation? 'Is the knowledge useful? If so, to whom?'* (Hale , 2001:15),

I intend to address these questions in my inquiry. However, I also contend that to be able to fully answer these questions comprehensively, additional, detailed primary research on the impacts of the FTinT project would be necessary, including ideally some of the original participants in the project. I suggest that this goes beyond the premise of this thesis and might be part of a proposal for future research.

In a conventional sense, validation of quantitative and qualitative research occurs through rigorous synthesis of literature review and methodology, as well as critical review by the scholarly community. Objectivity, reliability and generalisability are traditionally seen as essential criteria within the evaluation of validity. In essence the term emanates from positivist, quantitative natural science research and has arguably less significance in research strategies, based on phenomenology. Hammersley (2008) and Denzin and Lincoln (2008) argue that the achievement of objectivity is a myth in the context of the complex and dynamic interplay between the cognitive, affective, and behavioural aspects that constitute a human being and her social environment. Researchers cannot claim immunity from these interrelationships. *'Objectivity is a chimera: a mythological creature that never existed, save in the imaginations of those who believe that knowing can be separated from the knower'* (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008:275).

Debates on the concept of validity in qualitative social science research revolve around the appropriateness of the term in the context of a dynamic, constantly changing social research environment, and innovative participatory, democratic approaches to methodology. Such approaches have been particularly prominent within the feminist and action research

movements, where measurement and generalisation are less important than research ethics and transparency (Hammersley, 2008). In a sense, the discussion on objectivity and validity in the context of a completely different paradigmatic approach, such as democracy, participation, community empowerment and social change, becomes meaningless, as it belongs to a different worldview on the purpose of research (Guba and Lincoln, 2008). Guba and Lincoln cite a number of analysts who are sceptical of absolutist views on validity, such as Schwandt (1996) who proposes to judge social inquiry according to a form of *'practical philosophy'* which leans on moral critique of the research encounter, and making judgements about the *'social inquirer'*, evaluating her *'capacity for practical wisdom'* (Guba and Lincoln, 2008:273).

A moral critique or ethical approach to the research might openly address the limiting determinants for researchers' objectivity and authority, such as personal bias, prejudice, recognition of unequal power relationships, political persuasion, and the researcher's, as well as co-researchers' own tendency towards fallibility (Hammersley, 2008). However, this leads into the debate on relativism, which precludes any generalisable, comparative criteria that, from a positivist perspective, could accredit the scientific value of knowledge. According to Hammersley (2008) fallibilism provides the middle ground between polarised positivist and relativist positions. Fallibilism acknowledges that humans are imperfect; consequently the science generated by humans is also potentially imperfect:

> *…while science can provide us with knowledge that is less likely to be false than that from other sources, it cannot give us a whole perspective on the world that can serve as a replacement for practical forms of knowledge. Nor, in the event of a clash between the latter and scientific findings, can it be assumed that science must always be trusted* (Hammersley, 2008:48)

Whilst this view helps to guard against elitist arrogance and misplaced perfectionism, I would argue that it is still important for a researcher to ensure that her work has followed certain criteria of rigour and integrity, which have been justified on a scholarly basis. After all, as Guba and Lincoln point out, we need to ask ourselves whether we feel sufficiently *'secure about these findings to construct social policy or legislation based on them'* (Guba and Lincoln, 2008:272). Whilst the Fair Trade in Tourism project was not intended to formulate social policy or legislation, it was nevertheless conceived as a campaign to influence tourism policy and trade policy, and as such we had a responsibility to ensure that our findings were robust and trustworthy.

Qualitative researchers have developed a number of criteria for ensuring rigour that would lend themselves more appropriately to qualitative research, even to some of the more transgressive borderline approaches entailed in participatory action research or activist research. These include, for example, *'standards for evaluation of the overall significance, relevance, impact, and utility of completed research'* (Morse *et al*. 2002:14). Following a call for *'radical reformulation'* of terminology of validity to serve phenomenological research (Smith, 1993, cited in Guba and Lincoln, 2008:273), Guba (1981), cited in Shenton (2004) proposed a list of criteria to ensure trustworthiness of research, which translate positivist terminology into the qualitative framework of social inquiry: Credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (see Shenton (2004) for application of these criteria and detailed description).

For the purpose of this thesis, I aim to demonstrate the trustworthiness and credibility of the research on Fair Trade in Tourism through the medium of reflexivity and retrospective critical evaluative analysis in the context of a contemporary scholarly research base. However, I embark on this endeavour with a caveat. The Fair Trade in Tourism project was not explicitly conceived as an academic research inquiry. Whether it should have been approached more methodically within scholarly parameters is a question that has outlived

its currency and may be relevant as a lesson to learn from. Arising from an activist, praxis oriented context, enshrined in the funding criteria and within the limitations of my academic competency, the project developed outside the norms dictated by, what I now know as, academic rigour and could therefore not be judged according to academic notions of validity. The methods employed were steeped in academic practice, such as desk research, collaborative research, case studies, field research and focus groups. Yet, if the data collection and data analysis were judged academically, they might have benefited from a stricter methodical approach.

Nevertheless, I anticipate that my approach for this Ph.D. research will generate new insights on a creative relationship between academia and activism in the field of socio-economic justice and equitable trade in tourism. Furthermore, it will extend the boundaries of qualitative research methodology in tourism through the use of reflexive methodology, which is currently under applied in tourism research, and through addressing questions of trustworthiness of activist research.

1.5 Publications included in this Thesis

The publications represent the catalyst for this thesis. They are included in this thesis on DVD and analysed in Chapter Five. They consist of one peer reviewed co-authored academic journal article (Cleverdon and Kalisch, 2000), two monographs, published by Tourism Concern for a NGO and Industry audience (Kalisch, 2001; Kalisch, 2002) and two more recently published book chapters for an academic audience (Kalisch, 2010; Kalisch, 2013).

They constitute milestones of conceptual development of FTinT, influenced by different contexts, along my journey from activism to academe and are therefore integral to this thesis. The different contexts are elaborated in Chapters Three and Four, using a variety of reflexive approaches in terms of personal and organisational positioning and critical reflexive analysis of the

multi-stakeholder process at the basis of the first three papers. A reflexive introductory narrative forms the thread that links them into a coherent whole in Chapter Five. Early publications on Fair Trade in Tourism (Cleverdon and Kalisch, 2000; Kalisch, 2001) and Corporate Social Responsibility in the Tourism Industry (Kalisch, 2002) incorporate the outcomes of the international multi-stakeholder consultation process and the INFTT; later publications (Kalisch, 2010; Kalisch, 2013) build on and contextualise this work in the light of more contemporary research, offering a synthesis of previous work and further conceptual development.

In that sense, they reflect the historical development of an idea, the idea of Fair Trade in Tourism, and the author's own understanding of this idea as part of her personal and professional development. The idea is rooted in activism. It originates from a grassroots organisation in one of the poorest developing countries, the Kathmandu Environmental Education Project (KEEP) in Nepal. KEEP sought to gain socio-economic justice for poor mountain communities from trekking and mountaineering tourism, promoted in rich, developed countries for wealthy tourists. Socio-economic justice was intended not only to address the depletion of scarce natural resources through deforestation and erosion from trekking and mountaineering and the degradation of the social fabric of local communities from the tourist presence, but also enable them to benefit economically and lift them out of poverty.

The idea was subsequently supported and further developed by two London-based NGOs, Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) and Tourism Concern, and an academic institution, the then University of North London, now London Metropolitan University. VSO spearheaded the idea with its WorldWise campaign in 1999 (proposing that tourism consumers benefit from closer involvement with local communities), having provided financial support to Tourism Concern in 1997 for a research project to begin a consultation process in the UK on what Fair Trade in Tourism would mean to relevant stakeholders in the UK, and in less economically developed countries

(LEDCs). In 1996, Tourism Concern had already published research on the implications of the newly implemented General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) for tourism in developing countries. This provided the macro perspective of trade in tourism and the global backcloth to the micro environments of tourism activity in destinations, such as Nepal (Badger *et al.*, 1996).

A three year grant from the European Social Fund in 1999, with matching funding from the UK Government's Department for International Development (DFID), secured the establishment of a Fair Trade in Tourism research and campaign programme. The first three publications (Cleverdon and Kalisch, 2000; Kalisch, 2001; Kalisch, 2002) were written partly to comply with the requirements of the programme aims and additionally represented a particular interpretation and analysis of the research and consultation outcomes.

Cleverdon and Kalisch (2000) identify and contextualise the problem and the challenges presented by the concept for an academic audience (please see Appendix D for letter of confirmation of my authorship contribution of 90%). Kalisch (2001) was aimed at NGOs as key stakeholders in the movement for social and economic justice. The report analyses the initial outcomes of the stakeholder consultation process of the International Network on Fair Trade in Tourism, with practical reference to international case studies on community-based tourism as a potential pointer to how Fair Trade in Tourism might work in practice. It contains the definition and criteria for Fair Trade in Tourism as well as specific policy and action recommendations focused on the key policy areas of NGO intervention on Fair Trade in Tourism, identified through the consultation process: 1) International trade agreements, such as the GATS (and governments by implications), 2) destination governments' policies in relation to the GATS, 3) the tourism industry, in the context of Corporate Social Responsibility, and 4) ethical consumer behaviour. This publication was aimed at raising awareness of the issues of unequal terms of trade in tourism and providing policy recommendations for international and

locally based NGOs in developing countries to incorporate into their campaigning agenda. However, a study of NGO involvement with tourism and development issues, outlined in the report, shows a dearth of NGOs under this category in the UK and Europe. This indicated the potential challenge of implementing any of the policy recommendations stated in the document in a way that could mobilise a European and UK-based audience.

The third key text emanating from the requirements of the project's programme aims was directed at the mass package tour operator and airline sectors as a guide for action. It translated the development context and criteria of Fair Trade in Tourism into the specific business context in tourism through an analysis of the newly emerging concept of Corporate Social Responsibility (Kalisch, 2002). This was the first publication making the case for CSR in tourism directed at a business audience, with specific guidelines for implementation.

Finally, the fourth and fifth publications, Kalisch (2010) and Kalisch (2013), are book chapters, conceived from an academic perspective, which explain, expand and contextualise the idea of Fair Trade in Tourism in light of contemporary research and developments.

The following Table 1 details the individual publications.

Table 1.1 List of Publications

Author(s) and Year of Publication	Percentage Contribution to Publication	Publication Title	Type of Publication	Audience	Word count (excluding reference lists and notes)	Brief Summary
Cleverdon, R. and Kalisch, A. (2000)	90%	Fair Trade in Tourism,	Peer-reviewed journal article: *International Journal of Tourism Research,* 2: 171-187	academic	6,000	Analysis of feasibility, challenges and opportunities of developing criteria for and implementing FTinT
Kalisch, A. (2001)	100%	*Tourism as Fair Trade: NGO Perspectives*	Non-academic book, London: Tourism Concern	NGOs	23,530	Development of FTinT principles, criteria and policy options for the attention of NGOs, based on the outcomes of the first meeting of the International Network on Fair trade in Tourism, concerning work with Industry (CSR), governments (Destinations), international trade rules (GATS), consumer behaviour and local communities.
Kalisch, A. (2002)	100%	*Corporate Futures: Social Responsibility in the Tourism Industry*	Non-academic book, London: Tourism Concern; reviewed in academic journal: *Tourism Management*, 2005, 26, 291-300	Industry	16,912	Recommendations for implementation of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) for the tourism industry, translating the development objectives of Fair Trade in Tourism principles into commercial reality
Kalisch, A. (2010)	100%	Fair Trade in Tourism: A Marketing Tool for Transformation?,	Book chapter, in: Cole, S. and Morgan, N., *Tourism and Inequality – Problems and Prospects*, Oxford: CABI	academic	10,000	Critical analysis of FTinT as a marketing tool addressing inequality and justice in tourism in the context of capitalism and globalisation.
Kalisch, A. (2013)	100%	Fair Trade in Tourism: Critical Shifts and Perspectives,	Book chapter, in: Holden, A. and Fennell, D. *The Routledge Handbook of Tourism and the Environment*, Abingdon: Routledge Taylor Francis	academic	5,000	Explores the complexities of applying the concept of Fairtrade labelling to tourism and attempts to provide some perspectives for the way forward, using the case study of Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa (FTTSA).

1.6 Thesis Structure

The Fair Trade in Tourism project and the published material will be theoretically contextualised in **Chapter Two** by a literature review on the activism/academe nexus, the role of NGOs and multi-stakeholder processes in the development context, social constructionism as the underlying theory, and reflexivity as a methodological approach for validating the outcomes.

Chapter Three embodies the application of the reflexivity approach in respect of positioning myself and Tourism Concern in the context of the project. It includes aspects of biography, and introspection, and autoethnography to create transparency and increased understanding of the ideological and socio-political undercurrents that shaped the design, execution and outcomes of the project.

Chapter Four provides a critical evaluation of the Fair Trade in Tourism Project, including the multi-stakeholder process of the International Network on Fair Trade in Tourism. This is intended to inform an analysis of the relevant publications, as well as future directions in similar forms of participatory action research.

Chapter Five presents the published material, chronologically structured, to enable a narrative that charts the progress of ideas and their influence on policy and practice within changing socio-political and economic conditions in the UK and globally. Each publication is set in its historical context reflexively, providing the basis for a critical analysis of its content and conclusions.

Chapter Six concludes the thesis, offering the synthesis of the process of reflexivity and the analysis of the activism/academe nexus in the context of a movement towards social justice in tourism. It addresses the answer to the research question of this thesis. The impact of the outcomes from the reflexive analysis on the research is analysed to gain new insights in terms of the contribution to knowledge of this thesis and creative prospects for future tourism research.

1.7 Terminology

Terminology in relation to development and social transformation tends to be controversial. The linguistic dimension of (in)equitable tourism and its research offers extensive scope for inquiry, which is yet to be explored. Whilst the concept of 'Third World' is still in use in some parts of the tourism literature (such as Mowforth and Munt, 2009), it has generally been overtaken with more equitable terms. However, there is still no consensus on how to express the social, political, economic and cultural complexities of historic, post-colonial relationships within the neo-liberal paradigm. The literature reflects terms such as 'less (or least) economically developed countries' (LEDCs), (the global) 'South' and 'North', the 'majority world', or 'developing countries'. In this thesis, I use the terms 'developing countries' or 'majority South' and 'North', 'less economically developed countries' interchangeably, aware that none of these reflect satisfactorily the existing unequal global structures and geographies, which, in any case, are constantly shifting. However, they are in use in the literature and in praxis and seem reasonably uncomplicated to me. I also use the term 'Western' in relation to cultural geography, as this is in use in the literature, such as in Cater, (2006) 'Ecotourism as a Western Construct'.

'Fair Trade in Tourism' with capitals denotes Tourism Concern's project under discussion in this thesis; 'fair(er) trade in tourism' in lower case appears in a more general discussion on fairness in tourism trade; 'Fair Trade Tourism' applies to the current certified label, promoted by the Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa (FTTSA) initiative, which is currently extended to a wider spectrum of Southern African countries. The more general terms 'equitable tourism' and 'socio-economic justice in tourism' are used as a way of incorporating and moving beyond the concept of Fair Trade in Tourism, which is a specific inquiry, related to a specific context of international trade rules and market oriented strategies.

Tourism Industry: I am aware of the debate on whether tourism could be called an industry. However, in this thesis I use this term as an aggregate expression for the commercial private, for profit tourism sector, as it was used in Tourism Concern terminology.

The term ‘reflexivity’ is closely related to ‘reflection’ and discussed interchangeably in some literature sources. The differences are not always clearly defined. However, reflexivity, as applied in this thesis, moves beyond reflection. It embraces ontological, epistemological and methodological dimensions, which frame critical philosophical, political and social positions in the context of democratic and participatory research strategies.

1.8 Word Count

This thesis includes published material, which is part activist, praxis-based, part academic. The academic publications (Kalisch, 2000; 2010; 2013) have a word count of 21,000. Since this Ph.D. presents a reflexive analysis and theoretical contextualisation, using all the publications as an active component for this purpose, I have decided to reflect this in the word count to increase it over the 40,000 limit to an amount between 40,000 and 80,000. '

1.9 Summary of Chapter One

This chapter sets out the thesis context, the research rationale, which leads into the research aim, objectives, and research question.

The thesis makes the case for greater prominence of activist research in tourism knowledge creation. Activist research addresses social and environmental justice issues and seeks to redress inequality and exploitation. It is undertaken either by activists or in participatory, democratic collaboration between activists and academics. I argue that reflexivity represents a key component within such research. In the process of my analysis I use my own experience as an activist who eventually joined academe, the case study of Tourism Concern as the organisation initiating the research, and the longitudinal multi-stakeholder consultation process on Fair Trade in Tourism, which I co-ordinated and which generated several published outputs, as a basis for analysing the activism/academe interface in tourism research. Additionally, this process is intended to confirm the trustworthiness of the Fair Trade in Tourism investigation and provide some pointers for future research into socio-economic justice in tourism.

The thesis aim is thus:

To analyse the significance of the dynamic activism/academe interface in relation to research on socio-economic justice in tourism, with a view to informing future work in this area.

This leads into the research question:

How effective is a reflexivity approach in furthering the analysis of the relationship between activism and academe in equitable tourism research?

For the purpose of theoretical contextualisation of the key research themes integral to this inquiry, Chapter Two offers a critical discussion of previous research that informs this analysis and introduces the methodological approach of reflexivity applied in this study.

CHAPTER 2 Activism and Reflexivity – An Integral Relationship

2.1 Introduction

As part of the academic underpinning of this thesis, the following chapter aims to provide a discussion on the underlying paradigm and theoretical framework for this study. It provides the theoretical contextualisation of the core themes embodied in the analysis of the Fair Trade in Tourism project:

- the significance of the activism/academe nexus in tourism;
- the role of NGOs and multi-stakeholder processes in developing equitable governance;
- social constructionism as the philosophy central to an academic inquiry of this kind, which leads into a discussion on the paradigm of this study; and
- reflexivity as a methodological approach, leading to new insights on the activism/academe nexus in the quest for social justice in tourism.

The theoretical analysis in this chapter underpins the reflexive personal and organisational positioning in Chapter Three, the critical reflexive appraisal of the multi-stakeholder process in Chapter Four and the critical appraisal of the publications in Chapter Five.

The catalyst for this thesis is a body of five publications, authored and co-authored by myself, which symbolise my conceptual journey from activism to academe in the context of several years of international policy research on fair trade in tourism. They bear witness to a small London-based campaign

NGO, setting in motion an international social movement on creating the building blocks for more equitable international trade in tourism.

The first three publications were not originally intended for a thesis or an academic study. They served a practical purpose of raising public consciousness on the implications of tourism as a trade export strategy. Furthermore, they provided an indicative roadmap for a variety of relevant stakeholders towards achieving fairer outcomes for disadvantaged communities, involved in tourism trade, in developing countries. The publications' primary purpose was social and political transformation in the context of trade and sustainable development in tourism. As such, the most recent book chapters (Kalisch, 2010 and 2013) develop the original ideas further, within a more explicit theoretical academic research context. For the purpose of this thesis, I want to demonstrate that the publications present an original and valuable contribution to knowledge. Their contribution to knowledge is emphasised in this thesis by using a critically reflexive approach in exploring the interface between activist and academic research on socio-economic justice in tourism.

Ever since joining academia, it has been imperative for me to re-evaluate the research process, methodology and the outcomes of this project in the light of a fresh academic analysis, emanating from the personal and professional development I have experienced as part of my academic affiliation. Following my transition to academia, an initial self-reflective analysis illuminated for me complex internal and external conditions and processes, underlying and influencing my early involvement with intellectual inquiry into FTinT. For example, I became more conscious of the complexities, contradictions and discrepancies that I had struggled with in managing and implementing an innovative, politically sensitive project as an organisational insider within a small, resource-poor NGO, part activist researcher and policy analyst, part practitioner, in terms of co-ordinating and facilitating the international multi-stakeholder process on Fair Trade in Tourism. Having joined academe, these considerations led me to re-evaluate the outcomes of the project in the

light of the personal and socio-political complexities of my position as policy-coordinator. Activist research in a development context in tourism raises numerous issues in relation to the position of the researcher, research design, power relationships and the political controversies of NGO and industry activity. Such issues require critical analysis, as they will have a bearing on the interpretation of the research outcomes. Reflexivity offers a practical framework for this process.

This thesis aims to unravel such complexities, using a range of reflexive approaches, such as positioning practice, extending and deepening the analysis of Fair Trade in Tourism with the help of a more critical, transparent and systematic inquiry within a theoretical social science context. Section 2.4 in this Chapter analyses the meaning of reflexivity in depth, and Chapters Three to Five contain the application of a reflexive critical inquiry, which aims to clarify the outputs of the Fair Trade in Tourism Project in relation to my position and the socio-political environments, in which I found myself.

2.2 The Activism/Academe Nexus in Tourism Research

2.2.1 Activism in Tourism Research

The debate on sustainable tourism has been actively pursued by academics, NGOs and policy-makers for over two decades. Since the late 1990s it has shifted from an overemphasis on natural resource efficiency to incorporate debates on human rights, development, poverty and power in the face of increasing polarisation between transnational corporate interests (often in collusion with government agents) and indigenous civil society or small-scale business aspirations in tourism destinations (Kalisch, 2010). Tourism corporations have embraced sustainable tourism principles in the form of the establishments of charitable trusts, such as the Travel Foundation (www.travelfoundation.org.uk), certification programmes, such as Travelife (www.travelife.org), engagement of sustainable development consultants, such as Forum for the Future, the UK think tank, whom First Choice enlisted to assist them with their sustainable tourism policy (Forum for the Future, 2006), UN-led industry initiatives (Tour Operators Initiative [TOI],

www.toinitiative.org), or development oriented pro-poor tourism ventures (Ashley *et al.*, 2000; Cattarinich, 2001). 'Responsible Tourism' has replaced the more ambiguous concept of 'sustainable tourism' (Goodwin, 2005) to make the ethical dimension of tourism development more palatable and tangible to business and government leaders.

Nevertheless, progress is slow, and it is debatable whether all these developments herald an optimistic future, in which tourism does justice to the least advantaged members of global society in destinations. Justice is generally not granted freely. Historically, any gains in freedom and democracy, justice, equality, and ethics have been made through activism in hard fought struggles at grassroots level (Hale, 2008; Fulcher, 2004). For example, the environmental agenda in the 1990s was driven by the creative collaboration between activism, scientific research and the media, not through the generosity of capitalist markets, nor through enlightened politicians. Where substantial advances in sustainable development and human rights gains have been made, it will primarily be the result of tireless activism amongst a diversity of groupings in both tourism generating and receiving countries.

As the global promotion of tourism gains ever greater momentum through economic and political integration and liberalisation of markets, with new destinations emerging continually, mobilisation at grassroots level is becoming vital to stem undemocratic or oppressive corporate and government-led strategies. Such strategies usually entail aggressive land acquisition for tourism related real estate, sometimes on the pre-text of developing ecotourism, causing displacement of coastal and rural communities, as well as loss of biodiversity and wildlife (Johnston, 2006; Minority Rights Group International, 2007). They include acquisition, privatisation and contamination of natural resources, such as water and forests (Stonich, 1998; Cole, 2012; Gössling *et al.*, 2012; Meiying and Wensheng, 2013), and expanding child sex tourism (Montgomery, 2008; Bandyopadhyay, 2012). Indigenous communities are struggling against land acquisition for tourism by governments and business interests in Argentina

(Seymoure and Roberg, 2012), Tanzania and Kenya, as in the case of the Maasai and Endorois (Elliot and Sher-Mei, !997; Minority Rights Group International, 2007), South Africa (Cousins and Kepe, 2004), Brazil (Perry, 2004), Cambodia (Land Watch Asia, 2009; Titthara and Boyle, 2014), Sri Lanka and Thailand (Rice, 2005).

In this thesis I am arguing the case for a more concentrated, though critical engagement with activist and participatory action research as a way of addressing issues of inequity and injustice in the tourism trade (Cole and Morgan, 2010). Reflexivity approaches should form an integral part of such research. In my view, there is a need to balance the predominantly industry and consumer-oriented agenda of tourism research with more focused social research with communities at the receiving end of tourism expansion, critiquing oppressive structures (Bianchi, 2009; Pritchard *et al*., 2011). This requires a rethinking of tourism research, which creatively and critically explores the interrelationship between academe and activism for social, economic and environmental justice (Higgins- Desbiolles, 2008; Higgins-Desbiolles *et al*., 2013). Curtin *et al*. (2010) define activism as *'any behaviour undertaken with the intention of creating some kind of social improvement'*. Concern about social improvement implies a worldview that stretches beyond selfish gain, embracing an ethical consciousness. It relies on joining with fellow citizens (local or global) collectively, in solidarity, to challenge oppressive power structures, causing or threatening to cause exploitation and human rights violations. Such violations in tourism have been well documented by activist organisations, such as Tourism Concern (Keefe and Wheat, 1998; Eriksson *et al*., 2009), War on Want (Mather, 2002), Equations (Chanchani *et al*., 2007) and Survival International (2014). They have to some extent pervaded tourism impact literature and critiques of tourism's role in the neo-liberal expansion of capitalism and globalisation (Wood, 2000; Bianchi, 2006, 2009; Mowforth and Munt, 2009). Activist organisations, such as Tourism Concern and War on Want, are grounded in grassroots advocacy and often carry out extremely valuable research, often with limited financial resources. Tourism Concern has published research, such as on labour

rights, human rights, fair trade, water equity, post-tsunami reconstruction, all-inclusive holidays, and displacement (see www.tourismconcern.org). War on Want published an extensive report on labour conditions in the cruise industry, called 'Sweatships' (Mather, 2002), jointly produced with the International Transport Workers' Federation (ITF). However, as such research tends not to be peer-reviewed; it may not be regarded as methodologically and conceptually trustworthy enough by a scholarly community to be cited in academic writing. Yet, for the purpose of social action it may well present a useful tool.

In view of tourism's relationship with injustice, I agree with Fuller and Kitchin (2004) and Maxey (2004) who argue that academics have a social responsibility to make their skills and knowledge networks available to marginalised groups to make a difference on the ground and:

> *expose the socio-spatial processes that (re)produce inequalities between people and places; challenge and change those inequalities; and bridge the divide between theorisation and praxis* (Fuller and Kitchin, 2004:5).

This, they argue, places the academic in the community, as a change agent.

Maxey (2004), in the context of critical geography, considers activism as everyday practice, referring to Gandhi's concept of 'Satyagraha', the search for truth in everyday practice (Gandhi also considered it to be related to action for truth through love and suffering, converting the opponent peacefully). In his discussion on the *'boundary between activism and academe'*, Maxey (2004:161) argues for reflexivity as an integral part of this activist process to maintain a critical position towards *'our own values and assumptions and the various boundaries surrounding us and our work'.* He calls it *'reflexive activism'*. For Maxey, this everyday reflexive activism extends internally to the academic teaching environment and externally to the engagement with civil society action groups.

However, due to tourism's overwhelming global significance as a tool for economic growth and as a presumed panacea for development, particularly

in controversial environments of restrictive, undemocratic governance (Smeltzer, 2012), the political risks and complexities for researchers operating in spheres of grassroots struggle are considerable. For example, violent evictions for land grab by powerful developers can sometimes be a matter of life and death (Titthara and Boyle, 2014) placing the researchers into a battle zone, where their research could potentially endanger them and the very people they are trying to help (Smeltzer, 2012). I myself experienced such dichotomies during my research in post-tsunami Thailand (Rice, 2005). The role of the activist researcher thus requires careful consideration and analysis, in particular ethical consideration. This is especially important, if the researcher is an outsider to culture and country, which could potentially invoke neo-colonial development, class, caste, race or gender conflicts (Chacko, 2004). However, Chacko states that outsider/insider categorisations should not preclude social activism or scholars speaking out on behalf of marginalised communities. Such notions should instead be used to strengthen the linkages between presumed outsider/insider groups (Chacko, 2004). These issues deserve detailed discussion, which goes beyond the parameters of this thesis. I would argue here briefly that collaboration with local partners and a sincere engagement with reflexivity, to expose motives, assumptions and biases, are imperative elements in that context. Chapter Six explores collaboration in greater detail, in the context of my conclusions on the activism/academe nexus.

2.2.2 Activist Research

The key aspect of the activism/academe nexus is social, collective action for democratically improving social and environmental justice. According to academic analysts, activist research combines active political commitment with scholarly research (Hale 2001). Charles Hale, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Texas at Austin, proposes the following meaning of activist research (2001:13): It

> a) *helps us better to understand the root causes of inequality, oppression, violence and related conditions of human suffering;*

b) *is carried out, at each phase, from conception through to dissemination, in direct cooperation with an organised collective of people, who themselves are subject to these conditions; and*

c) *is used together with the people in question, to formulate strategies for transforming these conditions and to achieve power necessary to make these strategies effective.*

He continues: *'activist research methods present a frontal challenge to the deeply ingrained dichotomy between "pure" and "applied" social sciences'* (Hale, 2001:13). Hale does not suggest that the scholar necessarily becomes an activist, but that s/he operates in a world of dual accountability, to the activist collective on the one hand and the academic collective on the other, with different goals to fulfil. Hale's (2001) definition builds on the tenets of participatory action research, as pioneered by Paolo Freire (1972) and Orlando Fals-Borda (1987). Hale's approach underpins my references to 'activist research', 'participatory action research' or 'action research' in this thesis.

There is little evidence of academic tourism research being driven by the priorities of grassroots organisations related to tourism. This divide between activism and academe results in an overly theoretical, instrumentalist analysis of controversial issues, lacking practical relevance in advancing grassroots struggles or a research base primarily dominated by the economically advanced nations US, UK, Canada, Japan, China, New Zealand and Australia (see for example the content analysis of 341 papers in the *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* by Lu and Nepal, 2009, over a 15 year period since its inception; although more up-to-date research might reveal an increase of research from emerging economies). Whilst some published academics in tourism have referenced research by activists in their writing, including research by Kalisch, 2001 and 2002 and various Tourism Concern publications (including Scheyvens, 2002; Hudson and Miller, 2005; Fennell, 2006; Hall and Brown, 2006; Mowforth and Munt, 2009, Telfer and Sharpley,

2008; Horner and Swarbrooke, 2004; Boluk, 2011; Coles *et al.*, 2013; Higgins-Desbiolles *et al.*, 2013), many tourism scholars, in my experience, will only reference academic sources, even if research by activist organisations on the issues discussed exists. Understandably, there may be a concern that activist writing is biased and partisan, taking sides with the 'Other', that methodologies lack rigour, tainting the outcomes and rendering them questionable. On the other hand, one could argue, in a social constructionist, interpretivist sense, that no writing, not even academic or scientific treatise, can be entirely objective, neutral or flawless. There is always a subjective mind behind the writing and the conceptual development, the research and action; there are funder priorities, power issues and political goals, which shape the research agenda of the academic community (Chatterton, 2008; Tribe, 2003). I would argue that, increasingly, the urgency of human rights and justice concerns in many tourism destinations requires a closer, transdisciplinary and collaborative synergy between activist and academic expertise in the praxis field. Transdisciplinary research strategies take account of the interconnectedness of the life world and aim to overcome scientific fragmentation, such as across natural and social sciences, to link abstract and practical knowledge in the quest for social transformation (Hoffman-Riehm *et al.*, 2008). This is an appropriate approach to investigate, because tourism issues are seldom separated from other social, political, ecological, economic or cultural issues, and local community groups experience tourism as part of an interconnected system, not in isolation. The early tourism critics in the 1970s and 80s were anthropologists, sociologists, geographers and ecologists (MacCannell, 1976; 1992; Cohen, 1979; De Kadt, 1979; Budowski, 1976; Urry, 1990). Collaboration with those disciplines in the field can ensure a more integrated approach to any research programme. These are also the disciplines, which have pioneered activist research and participatory action research. There is thus a wealth of experience and knowledge that tourism research can draw on.

Activist research has the potential to provide practical relevance and theoretical credibility, which in turns provides credibility and substance for the activist cause. This process is not without its challenges and contradictions. Hale (2006), addresses these in his piece on 'Activist Research v. Cultural Critique', which relates to his work on land rights with indigenous people in Central America, campaigning against government concessions of logging rights to a multi-national company. He refers to the dual loyalties generated by being a scholar practising activist research, which can create contradictions, compromises and confusion. However, Hale (2006:105) believes activist research can also create *'new insight and knowledge that challenge and transform conventional academic wisdom'*. He argues that activist research by scholars, such as research in support of indigenous people's land claims, can only be justified within the academic community if it promotes scholarly understanding, new knowledge and theoretical innovation. In the context of activism, however, it needs to further the efficacy and relevance of the political struggle:

> *academic rigour of activist research must be justified by the claim that it yields privileged scholarly understanding, …generates new knowledge and theoretical innovation in questions of identity politics, on the questions of using the law to advance indigenous rights, and more broadly, the challenges of such struggles in the face of neo-liberal multiculturalism*.' (Hale, 2006:100).

Dual loyalties could also be reconciled creatively by 'audiencing' (Harris *et al.*, 2007) the research outcomes, i.e. communicating and disseminating the results in a way in which they are relevant to different stakeholders, such as grassroots communities, industry and governments.

In such a highly politically charged, controversial atmosphere, systematic self-critical and socially conscious reflexive analysis by both the academic and the activist protagonists is of primary importance (see section 2.4 in this Chapter for in-depth analysis of this concept). Reflexive praxis, if carried out

honestly and critically, can identify and analyse bias, prejudice and hidden motives. Increased consciousness on these issues in relation to one's own thinking and action can hone and strengthen complex arguments in the face of controversy, particularly in a development context. However, such a systematic approach, which extends beyond self-reflection, requires an objectivised, methodical and distanced stance by the activist, who essentially has to turn themselves into the object of reflexive research. This requires time to think, which is usually not available in a pressurised advocacy environment, as well as knowledge of reflexive practices, which normally tend to exist in the domain of scholarly research. In this instance, activist/academic collaboration can be fruitful. In any case, within activist and participatory action research, the borderlines between activist and academic become blurred because activists/participants turn into co-researchers, and the activist scholar is dealing with the duality of scholarly and activist priorities. In this way, activist research generates a process of coalescing and amalgamation of different roles, allegiances and worldviews, which requires careful analytical attention and where the praxis of reflexivity can help to make this process transparent.

Academe thus has a valuable contribution to make to activism. Conversely, activism can progress thinking in academe, ensuring a practical foundation of theoretical concepts. Botterill (1991), drawing on Touraine's (1981) concept of 'sociological intervention', argues that activist/academic collaboration can assist with raising the activist's action to *'a higher level of struggle'* (Botterill, 1991:204). In practice, as a member of the Tourism Concern management committee, this meant for Botterill helping the organisation achieve a clearer set of aims, a greater sense of overall purpose (D. Botterill, 2021, pers. comm., 10 Dec.).

In the context of NGO collaboration with academic institutions, Roper (2002) and Aniekwe *et al*. (2012) outline a number of merging interests between academic institutions and NGOs. Aniekwe *et al*. (2012) note:

> *helping to expose and frame research questions, allowing interaction throughout the research process, supporting data collection and analysis, and providing outlets for sharing, feedback and dissemination* (Aniekwe *et al.*, 2012:4).

They call it *'co-production of research'* (Aniekwe *et al*. 2012:5). This relies on mutual sharing of the different organisational strengths to achieve a common goal; that is:

> *The underlying premise is one of a win-win situation in which NGOs provide access to empirical experience and evidence, and the academic partner brings theoretical framing and methodological expertise* (Aniekwe *et al*. 2012:4).

However, activist research reaches beyond NGO/academic collaboration, as some grassroots struggles do not always occur in conjunction with NGOs or any other organised form, when they arise spontaneously, and when organisation can be costly (Rootes, 1990). Moreover, as I shall point out later, NGOs are not always representative of grassroots concerns.

The following sections provide an analysis and critique of NGOs as the embodiment of organised forms of activism. This serves to contextualise Tourism Concern's role as an NGO in Chapter Three against the general background of NGO advocacy in international development and tourism.

2.2.3 NGOs: Embodiment of Altruism or Political Tool?

NGOs are key actors in representing civil society and generating activism and advocacy for environmental and social justice. Civil society encompasses social groupings and networks in public life, with diverse interests, excluding government activities, but making demands on governments through common purpose and actions. In particular, since the emergence of the anti-globalisation movement in the mid-1990s NGOs have become key stakeholders in global governance through multi-stakeholder

processes (Gemmill and Bamidele-Izu, 2002; Hemmati, 2002). They are increasingly influential in determining corporate agendas, directly and indirectly, either through confrontational or collaborative means (Kalisch, 2002; Burchell and Cook, 2013). In the context of a global focus on environmental sustainability and ethical trade, NGOs have been instrumental in influencing the international agenda of governments, the United Nations, and multi-national corporations in fora, such as the negotiations on climate change and on international trade rules at the World Trade Organisation (Gemmill and Bamidele-Izu, 2002; McGann and Johnstone, 2006). NGOs have an important function in championing innovative perspectives and creating a greater equilibrium of power within society by providing channels for otherwise unheard voices (Gemmill and Bamidele-Izu, 2002; Lewis and Opoku-Mansah, 2006). In Chapter Three, Tourism Concern is positioned as an NGO in its socio-political environment. This highlights the dichotomy for the organisation as a small, isolated, independent charity, campaigning in a development context to influence the enormous 'machine' of the tourism industry and governments both nationally and globally, without being a development NGO and donor organisation. However, many of the issues affecting development NGOs also affected Tourism Concern. These issues concern funding and resource issues, effectiveness, accountability, power imbalance, strategic and ideological ambiguity and relationships with other agencies. Chapters Three and Four will critically expand on these issues in greater depth.

The next section provides a theoretical contextualisation of these issues in terms of development and tourism research.

2.2.4 NGOs and Development

As a result of global neo-liberal economic policy, NGOs in more developed economies have been a key instrument in promoting a Western approach to development, in particular with a view to achieving the Millennium Development Goals, instigated by the United Nations in 2002 (Edwards, 1993). According to Edwards (1993:164):

> *The basic rationale for Northern NGO advocacy is identified as an attempt to alter the ways in which power, resources, and ideas are created, consumed, and distributed at global level, so that people and their organisations in the South have a more realistic chance of controlling their own development.*

However, Edwards believed that development NGOs have largely failed to influence global processes in the context of advocacy due to a failure in achieving synergy between an overall strategy for change and a combination of different forms of action, mutually reinforcing the goals of such a strategy. Such actions might mean

> *working simultaneously and in co-ordinated fashion at local, national and international levels, both in detailed policy work, and public campaigning, educational and media activity. NGOs need to build their activities into a single system in which each activity supports and draws from the other.* (Edwards, 1993:165).

A key concern for NGOs involved with development issues relates to achieving a balance between the critique of global structural inequalities, the effects of capitalist neo-liberal policies on poverty and human rights, and the focus on positive alternatives, reflecting, in tangible ways, a more equitable vision of socio-economic systems, be it in international trade or social policy (Edwards, 1993; Lewis and Kanji, 2009). Edwards (1993) believes that advocacy might have greater credibility and efficacy if *'positive suggestions are included alongside NGO critiques'* (Edwards, 1993:172). From this perspective the FTinT project should have been effective. As outlined in Kalisch (2010), the FTinT project attempted to provide a concrete, practical roadmap to more equitable trade in tourism, specifically designed for the different audiences, who are the key stakeholders in this process, such as NGOs, the tourism industry, national governments and local communities. The problematique arising from this is the paradox of having to use the same tools as the very system that one seeks to change. Fair Trade certification is

a market instrument attempting to transform unequal terms of trade for 'Third World' producers, which situate them in a dependency relationship with the controllers of capital and capitalist markets. Its original goal was to create an alternative trading system, using Alternative Trading Organisations, by *'bringing the producer to the consumer'* (Barratt-Brown, 1993:158), a system based on honesty, equitable partnership and trust, telling the real story about the producer's lives and the production processes and paying the producers a price that would reflect the costs of production and investment. As such, the Fair Trade Movement has to rely on capitalist consumption patterns, consumer good will and buying power within a neo-liberal capitalist trading system (Jaffee, 2007). According to Barratt-Brown (1993), this is not a mutually exclusive phenomenon. Alternative trading was conceived to transform structural inequalities from within the system. He calls this *'in and against the market'*, Barratt-Brown (1993:156). Transformative strategists therefore have to operate within this dichotomy in a creative and innovative way. This equally applies to the process of sustainable development or any other reformist movement. The challenge consists in analysing to what extent such movements can generate structural change, without eventually being absorbed into neoliberal mainstream thinking (McGann and Johnstone, 2006; Lewis and Opoku-Mensah, 2006). Conversely, this raises the question whether the adoption of innovative approaches, pioneered by NGOs and adopted by mainstream agencies, would necessarily have negative consequences. The answer to this question has multiple strands. It would depend on the analysis of the factors that cause social transformation and greater social, economic and political equity for marginalised groups in global society, and this would depend on the specific circumstances of individual struggles. Such questions may be relevant in an ideological debate for academic and activist professionals, but are hardly uppermost in the minds of poor farmers or small business owners, eking out a subsistence livelihood or fighting for their livelihood in the face of real estate encroachment for tourism development.

Based on the experience of the ZAPATISTA movement in Chiapas and Mexico, Reygadas *et al*. (2009:227) conclude that:

> *Social movements can alter the existing balance of power, weakening structures based on local political strongmen (caciques), clientelism, and promoting the empowerment of traditionally excluded groups. These movements can also promote the introduction of gender, ethnic, and social equity considerations in public policy and development programs*.

However, they concede that such struggles have created *'isolation and over-politicization'* of local experiences, resulting in the lack of improved productive capacity for farmers and access to national and international markets on 'fairer terms' (Reygadas *et al*., 2009:231). This means that achievements in social and political equity need to be linked to practical measures, which can increase economic independence and self-sufficiency. Edwards (1993:165) calls this the complementarity of *'gradual reform'* and *'paradigm shift'*; for example, critique of neoliberal orthodoxy being supported by evidence-based research and practical alternative solutions.

2.2.5 NGOs and Tourism

Given the significance of NGO leadership in initiating policy change on sustainable development and sustainable tourism, a strategic analysis of the role of NGOs, pressure groups of charities, particularly in relation to development issues in tourism, has not featured widely in academic tourism literature. Botterill (1991) analysed the role of Tourism Concern in starting a new social movement, a special issue on tourism NGOs appeared in the *Tourism Recreation Research Journal* 24 (2) in 1999 and in the *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 13(5), edited by Holden and Mason (2005). The latter features Wearing et *al*.'s (2005) exposé on the contribution of NGOs to a decommodified research paradigm for tourism, which attracted an intense debate when Butcher (2006) critiqued the paper, followed in return by a defence from Wearing *et al*. (2006).

Wearing *et al.* (2005) argue that NGOs embody an alternative research paradigm for tourism research and practice, in contrast to the predominant positivist, reductionist analysis of tourism determined by government and transnational corporate interests. Such analysis, they argue, is mainly framed by the commercialisation or 'commodification' of every aspect of human endeavour and natural asset for the material benefit of touristic interests. They contend that tourism researchers need to utilise the full range of social science research paradigms, way marked by feminist theory, ecocentrism, community development and post-structuralism, in creating alternative philosophies for developing future sustainable theory and practice. NGOs are perceived as symbolising a decommodified paradigm for developing 'best practice' in tourism by practising social ethics, empowerment of local communities to control resources, and equitable access to benefits from tourism.

Butcher's (2006) critique to this position focuses on the view that poor rural communities need increased access to trade in commodities or services (as in the case of tourism) to be viable, rather than a *'charity that replaces the market'* (Butcher, 2006:308). In his view, Wearing *et al.*'s (2005) stance would foster increased dependency among rural communities on environmental NGOs, distancing them further from access to world markets. Opposed to the *'moral superiority of ecocentrism',* he favours a *'humanist proposition'* (Butcher, 2006:309), that the '*benefits of modernist society should be made available to all'*. He agrees that the market is flawed, but he does not offer a more enlightening discussion on the details of his perspective on such a *'humanist proposition'.*

Whilst Wearing *et al.* (2005) are correct in their analysis that tourism research would benefit from a more inclusive approach to interpretive social science paradigms, in this debate they adopt an overly uncritical, generalised position on NGOs. Their argument is based on experience of a selected number of conservation NGOs, idealising them as the ultimate protagonists of a decommodified future for sustainable tourism. Butcher (2006) on the

other hand seems to idealise the benefits of modernism and markets, which are equally questionable dimensions in the pursuit of justice and equity and a better life for poor societies through sustainable tourism.

Fair Trade in Tourism might be considered a middle path between these two positions. It is not charity, but a more responsible form of trade: using market strategies to create a more just form of commercial exchange, a confluence between commercial and ethical values, in the context of social enterprise.

It is not within the parameters of this thesis to delve more deeply into this debate other than to clarify my own position on this issue within the activism/academe inquiry. NGOs, as non-profit organisations, have the potential to provide cornerstones for innovative, equitable and participative practice, challenging the status quo and mobilising public awareness. They perform an important antidote to a profit-driven, self-interested, privatised and market oriented philosophy, when their roots are with the people, whose needs they claim to represent, and when their motives are shaped by benefiting wider societal goals, rather than narrow individualist agendas. However, NGOs come in many different shapes and guises, and in proclaiming their value one must also adopt a cautious, critical approach. As outlined in section 2.2.4, NGOs, which seek systemic, structural change, have to operate within a paradox of financial dependency on the neoliberal free market environment, whilst mobilising against the oppressive forces of that very same environment. Wearing *et al.*'s (2005) and Butcher's (2006) debate reflect the dilemma, discussed in section 2.2.4 in terms of the need for ideological gains to be complemented by practical solutions.

2.2.6 Critique of NGOs

NGOs are essentially privately initiated bodies, often started by one or two individuals with a passionate commitment to a particular cause. This could be a cause linked to any ideological persuasion, to the left or right of the political spectrum. Some environmental NGOs have been criticised for claiming to represent 'civil society' and to give a voice to the voiceless

powerless and poor, when in certain cases they have used this argument mainly to pursue their own political goals in the name of conservation (Holmén and Jirström, 2009). Others, even small, locally-based NGOs, have been found to impose Western constructs of development or economic activities alien or unwelcome to indigenous communities (Henshall-Momsen, 2002). Bäckstrand (2006:469) recognises the valuable contribution that civil society and NGOs can make, but also cautions against a *'naïve'* view that depicts them as free from self-interest and inherently altruistic.

Representation, legitimacy (in terms of effectiveness), transparency and accountability are some of the key issues which have recently come under scrutiny in the analysis of NGOs (Holmén and Jirström, 2009; Bäckstrand, 2006; Lewis and Opoku-Mensah, 2006; Blood, 2004; McGann and Johnstone, 2006). In some cases, NGOs have been compared to multinational 'political corporations' (Blood, 2004) with the power to de-stabilise governments and industry by holding them to account on their impact on human and environmental justice in the interest of public awareness. On the other hand they can be found to represent the charitable face of the industry, as for example the Travel Foundation in the UK, funded by tourism business and consumer donations, or Friends of Conservation, which has exclusive corporate and travel company support. Moreover, NGOs are increasingly engaging with the market themselves by branching out into tour operations or joining up with tour operators to organise 'charity challenges', volunteer or poverty tourism. However many single issue NGOs, such as Tourism Concern in the UK and others, particularly in developing countries, struggle with inadequate funding, particularly when they want to remain independent of donor ideology, whilst being accountable for the use of funding.

Yet, accountability responsibilities can be confusing in the competitive world of NGO funding, which can include a wide diversity of sources, such as membership contributions, grants from governments, supranationals, academic institutions and/or other NGOs, and individual or company

donations. The question is: who is an NGO, such as Tourism Concern expected to be accountable to? The variety of donors would be the natural answer, but they all have different demands and priorities. Similarly it could be argued it is accountable to the groups, on whose behalf it is campaigning, and to its members. However, their priorities might be substantially different from those of the donors. On the other hand, being in receipt of a diversity of funding sources could be used as an argument for political independence, as in the case of Tourism Concern. However, for Tourism Concern this has always come at a price of constant resource insecurity. Such insecurity could result in strategic and organisational volatility, such as strategic short-termism, lack of technical expertise, human resource shortage, and dependence on volunteer contributions. One way of ensuring accountability, transparency and credibility is the use of multi-stakeholder consultation, which was the strategy of the International Network on Fair Trade in Tourism. Section 2.2.7 contextualises the INFTT within empirical and theoretical constructs of multi-stakeholder processes.

During my inquiry on NGO activism for this thesis, I have become familiar with social movement research, and it appears that Resource Mobilisation Theory (Rootes, 1990; McCarthy and Zald, 1977; Edwards and Gillham, 2013) would usefully lend itself to analysing Tourism Concern's role in development advocacy and campaign work. Such an analysis might help to find some answers to some of the challenges the organisation has experienced in its two decades of existence. Resource Mobilisation Theory suggests a systematic analysis of the variety of resources available to a social movement organisation (SMO) for determining its potential for success. The analysis would include human, moral, material and cultural resources, social-organisational resources in respect of its relationship with other societal actors, its dependence on external support, and the nature of the establishment's response to the NGO's activist challenge for social and political change. An analysis of this kind would go beyond the brief for this thesis. However, in the context of a more strategic theoretical analysis of a

social movement for equitable tourism, it might constitute a worthwhile proposition for future research.

2.2.7 Multi-stakeholder Processes

For over two decades, multi-stakeholder processes (MSPs) and multi-stakeholder dialogue have increasingly become regarded as important tools in sustainable development and environmental governance (Gemmill and Bamidele-Izu, 2002; Bäckstrand, 2006). Following the 1992 Earth Summit and the agreement of Agenda 21, the United Nations have been instrumental in using this process with the formal inclusion of NGO and industry representatives as a way of progressing the aims of Agenda 21 and the Millennium Development Goals (Susskind *et al.*, 2003). Stakeholder engagement is also a key aspect of Corporate Accountability, where NGOs have become influential in collaborating with corporate bodies to assist with sustainable development policies (Kalisch, 2002; Fransen and Kolk, 2007; Arnold, 2010).

The rationale for multi-stakeholder engagement includes widening access to information and participation, knowledge and decision-making, integrating diverse viewpoints, developing shared power and ownership of decisions and courses of action, and thus increasing the likelihood of effective strategic implementation (Hemmati, 2002; Markopoulos, 2012). The impacts of this process are variably effective. Tangible outputs depend on resource capacity, organisational efficiency and skilful leadership. They can be limited, but evaluations and comparisons of international multi-stakeholder dialogue processes have established that positive process-related impacts can manifest themselves on individual, organisational and social levels. They include personal transformation through dialogue and debate, increased understanding of different viewpoints, collective problem solving, changed mind sets, creation of networks beyond the MSD, formation of trust relationships, social and technological learning, and deepened or renewed commitment to sustainability or political/ethical action (Ferenz, 2002; Njie and Yocarini, 2006; Retolaza and Diez Pinto, 2007; Markopoulos, 2012).

Multi-stakeholder dialogue and partnerships for sustainable and responsible tourism (apart from the FTinT project) include:

- the UN-led Committee for Sustainable Development (CSD) on Sustainable Tourism in New York in 1999;

- the Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa, who set up the FTTSA certification initiative in 2001, after a two-year multi-stakeholder consultation process on a Fair Trade Tourism label;

- the Travel Foundation in the UK, set up as part of a multi-stakeholder process in 2003, and guided by a charitable trust in the interests of its (largely) commercial donor membership;
- the Sustainable Tourism Stewardship Council, which developed the Sustainable Tourism Criteria over a number of years as a wide-reaching global multi-stakeholder consultation exercise; and

- the Responsible Tourism Partnership (RTP), based in the Gambia and led by The Gambian Tourism Authority (GTA), an exemplary collaboration between tourism SMEs, various Gambian Tourism Associations and the British Federation of Tour Operators (FTO) (Carlisle *et al*., 2013).

There is thus a fair range of multi-stakeholder consultation and partnerships in tourism including professional profit and non-profit organisations. However, there is as yet little research evidence of multi-stakeholder engagement around tourism issues with disadvantaged groups at grassroots level, and this might be an area to develop within activist research. There is also a lack of research on the effectiveness of these processes in transforming inequitable conditions in tourism.

According to Hemmati (2002), fundamental values and ideologies of MSPs include good governance, democracy, participation, equity and justice, unity

in diversity, leadership, credibility, trust and public esteem. Concepts and strategies derived from these values include partnership, collaboration and solidarity, transparency, access to information and informed consent, inclusiveness, legitimacy, accountability, ground rules for communication, and mechanisms for consensus building and conflict resolution. However, Edmunds and Wollenberg (2001), in the context of forest management, caution against the pressure to reach neutrality and consensus, particularly in the context of multi-stakeholder negotiations with disadvantaged groups, such as indigenous and tribal peoples. They believe that many approaches to multi-stakeholder negotiations *'mask abuses of power and more structural enduring inequity'*, which tend to *'exaggerate the level of consensus reached'* (Edmunds and Wollenberg, 2001:232). They contend that agreements reached tend to be a *'more or less workable conglomeration of meanings'* which can be used by powerful interests to divide and manipulate local people. Instead, within the theoretical framework of feminist post-structuralism and radical pluralism, they argue for the creation of alliances within negotiations amongst a select group of stakeholders. Such alliances would enable them to become credible and *'legitimate actors'*, able to lobby and influence decision-making, particularly if capacity-building accompanied the negotiation process (Edmunds and Wollenberg, 2001:247).

A process that brings together a wide variety of individual and institutional worldviews from different cultures around complex and controversial policy issues clearly requires substantial experience, expertise and resource efficiency, as well as a sound theoretical and philosophical grounding from the organisers to enable positive and effective outcomes. They require among others i) a realistic timeline; ii) careful preparation; iii) sufficient resource capacity; iv) cross- cultural competency; v) independent facilitation and vi) linkage into relevant decision-and policy making structures (Hemmati, 2002; Markopoulos, 2012) (see Appendix B for further details on these terms). Although Markopoulos (2012) indicates that Hemmati's guidelines on MSPs lack any assessment of their effectiveness, I have chosen to adapt a selection of them as benchmarks for evaluating the multi-stakeholder

process of the International Network on Fair Trade in Tourism in Chapter Four.

The following sections introduce the concept of reflexivity as a phenomenon of post-modern social science research and the theory of Social Constructionism. I focus on Social Constructionism as a theory informing my analysis, because I identify with its assumptions in terms of my values and beliefs and, as such, I recognise the importance of reflexivity within a social constructionist view. Furthermore, as the INFTT was a medium for the social construction of knowledge on FTinT, Social Constructionism provides a relevant framework for its analysis.

2.3 Social Constructionism and the 'Reflexivity Problem'

In the 1990s, when the idea of Fair Trade in Tourism was conceived, and community-based tourism was on the rise, social science research was emerging from the controversies on the divide between qualitative and quantitative research, post positivism and post modernism, and increasingly engaged with the *'neo-liberal turn and mode 2 science'* (Sulkunen, 2008:72). 'Mode 2 science' was epitomised by social constructionism, which questions positivist claims to neutrality in scientific research (mode 1 science) and contends that the nature of reality is socially relative and socially constructed. Human thought and action are thus inherently interlinked with the social context and social interaction; a socialisation process at different levels, extending from early childhood through different life cycle stages of institutional *'internalisation'* (Berger and Luckmann, 1971:158) and structuration (Giddens, 1984).

Within a social constructionist perspective, as part of the socialisation process, the researcher becomes the object of the research as much as the research environment under investigation. It focuses on the researcher as an integral part of the research process rather than as an objective observer. Within the dynamic relationship between the researcher as a human being and the research environment, knowledge gained, created, interpreted and presented by the researcher therefore becomes a synthesis of her own reality, influenced by the reality of the research environment as well as other social processes. If the researcher is recognised as being part of the research process, the same stock of shared knowledge as the research participants, issues of power and objectivity become part of the inquiry, proffering a more democratic and participatory interpretation of methodology and research analysis. However, this also invokes a so-called *'reflexivity problem'* (Sulkunen, 2008:73): if social scientists are of the same stock of knowledge as the research participants, they contribute to the shaping of the research reality in a way that reflects their interests and values; there is therefore a need for the researcher to illuminate and expose her own personal involvement in the development of the research process and the

interpretation of the outcomes. Consequently, the problem is whether a sociologist could ever claim that their knowledge is somehow superior, neutral, objective or *'less influenced by their situation than other knowledge'*, (Sulkunen, 2009:73). This question has fuelled an on-going debate, not only challenging positivist and post-positivist worldviews but also positions on quantitative and qualitative social research, in the context of so-called *'paradigm wars'* (Bryman, 2008:13) and the emergence of mixed methods research, the mixing of methods across the quantitative-qualitative divide (Bryman, 2008).

Transparency and accountability are key characteristics of the post-modernist social science investigator, contributing to the trustworthiness and credibility of her claims to knowledge. Social research incorporates a dynamic multifarious reciprocal process delineated by the influences of a multiplicity of relationships between the research protagonist, her professional, political and social environment and the structures and systems shaping that environment. The resulting analysis of this process thus needs to embrace and expose the underlying internal and external subtleties that have shaped this process leading to specific research results.

Within the context of sociology and social constructionism, knowledge is not seen as the privilege of an educated elite but is as much created by the *'common man in the street'* as by the philosopher; the only difference between the two being a matter of degrees in that the philosopher differentiates between valid and invalid assertions about the world, whereas the *'common man'* (or woman) *'take their reality for granted'* (Berger and Luckmann, 1971:14).This stance, in conjunction with Marxist ideas of exploitation and alienation through capitalism, infused the participative action research approaches in the 1970s, pioneered by Paolo Freire (1972) and Orlando Fals Borda (1987), for whom Berger and Luckmann's 'common man in the street' were the oppressed peasants and indigenous peoples of South America. Their focus was the liberation of communities oppressed by an unjust social order through education, reflection and political struggle.

Analysing the theoretical context of my work on Fair Trade in Tourism within a social science framework enables me to become conscious of and make sense of my political and intellectual approach to this work, which, at the time, only subconsciously guided me in my thinking and actions. As I shall elaborate more explicitly in my positionality statement in Chapter Three, my view of the world has always been critical of capitalism as a force that creates oppression and exploitation, with the power to use science for this purpose. I have been influenced by Marx's view that consciousness within human beings is to a large extent determined by their social being (Arthur, 1970) and that they therefore have the power to change their social being and society by changing their consciousness.

I believe that liberation can only unfold from within an individual, a community or a society, and that democratic, participative and transformative education and knowledge creation hold the key to enabling such a process. Thus, strongly influenced by the work of authors, such as Paolo Freire, my focus in life has been work with underprivileged groups, in particular young people and women, as a facilitator and collaborator in the process of maximising their own potential and striving towards equality of opportunity, as well as social and political recognition. Social constructionism, as outlined above, and the concept of participative action research thus can be seen to form part of my approach to the Fair Trade in Tourism project. This was exemplified by the focus on representatives from the majority South as the key participants in determining the meaning of fair trade in tourism and setting up collective stakeholder consultation mechanisms in the form of the International Network on Fair Trade in Tourism. However, this was a network of professionals rather than the very people who were meant to benefit from fair trade and, as I shall explore later, in Chapter Three, this approach was not without its problems.

2.4 The Reflexivity Debate

2.4.1 Reflexivity in Social Science Research

Reflexivity has its origins in social science disciplines, such as anthropology, geography, social psychology and sociology, emphasising the interrelationship between the self and society, the self and the social, economic, cultural and spiritual environment that contributes to the emotional, cognitive and behavioural identity of the individual. Recognising this inherent dynamic, researchers, even those aiming to conform to a scientific norm of producing reliable, verifiable, and testable research outcomes have to concede that any research processes and resultant outcomes will tend to be imbued with their own worldview and the assumptions, interpretations and beliefs that they themselves bring to the process and to the analysis of data, where *'we never see single-sense data but always interpreted data'* (Hanson, 1958, cited in Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2009:6). Feminist theory, in particular, has pioneered reflexive practice, questioning power relations and oppression (England, 1994; Rose, 1997; Mauthner and Doucet, 2003; Nagar, 2003; Sultana, 2007).

Reflexivity goes beyond critical self-awareness or critical reflection; it raises philosophical questions about the nature of reality and knowledge. Reflexivity questions the existence of absolute truth. It is a 'crisis of truth'. It exposes the

> *instability of knowledge, ...and also raises fundamental questions about our ability as researchers to capture the complex, interactional and emergent nature of our social experience, philosophical positions and research practice* (Cunliffe, 2003:984).

The concept of reflexivity assumes that a) all research processes and outcomes are inflected by subjective interpretation of the researcher and research participants and b) that this interpretation needs to be transparently and critically conveyed, taking into account the context of the personal,

socio-political and cultural circumstances in which they were conceived. Reflexivity contends that research findings are infused by the social reality, constructed by the researcher, in the process of interaction within a social and professional field (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2009; Mauthner and Doucet, 2003; Cunliffe, 2003). It challenges basic assumptions, underpinning the interpretation of research outcomes, and questions the *'distinctions we make between what is fact or fiction, the nature of knowledge, and ultimately our purpose and practice as researchers'* (Cunliffe, 2003:985).

Whilst reflexivity as a concept within social sciences consciously places the researcher in a historical context, with more or less reference to the self and to the importance of subjective knowledge creation, Giddens (1991:75) calls attention to the increasing role of self-identity, self-actualisation, the self as a *'reflexive project'* as an integral development within modernity. Autobiography, the narrative of the self in the form of journals and video diaries, has become a socially acceptable form of expression in contemporary society. Personal growth through self-therapy and personal challenge has become an acceptable aspect of human activity, life-style and consumption in Western society. This helps to understand the development of publicly projected personal inquiry, even within social science research.

Archer (2010b) asserts that in post-modern times of globalisation and increased global mobility, society is faced with ever 'shifting horizons' of cultural transformations and livelihood challenges, where tradition and routine no longer offer certainty for the future; there is a 'lack of durability', i.e. jobs are no longer for life. The rapidity of social and technological change prioritises constant *'innovative action',* but there is no certainty where it will lead (Archer, 2010b:42). In this context reflexivity has crucial importance for engendering personal and thereby social stability, as this rapidly changing environment requires more self-critical and self-evaluative capacities from both structure and agency.

Giddens' and Archer's positions have strong resonances in tourism, which is inherently about mobility (Hall, 2005), and where tourists' reflexivity plays an important part. This is expressed in the context of social media, travel and journal writing, video diaries, personal search for challenge and self-actualisation (Maslow, 1943, 1954; Weber, 2008), and re-orientation through acculturation, involving personal development and, sometimes, complete life change (as in my case) (Noy, 2004; Sowards, 2012). This equally applies to the tourism researcher, who is never far from being a tourist.

A researcher's engagement with reflexivity concurs with the fourth and fifth 'moments' (or phases) of qualitative research, identified by Denzin and Lincoln in 1998 (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998, cited in Phillimore and Goodson, 2004. The fourth moment represents the beginning of the *'crisis in representation'* (Phillimore and Goodson, 2004:15) and the questioning of the authority of the researcher, bringing the self into methodological considerations. The fifth moment denotes the recognition that the researcher's *'standpoint'*, including values and biases, cultural and intellectual background, gender, race, sexuality, age, personal disposition influence the interpretation of phenomena and the construction of knowledge (Phillimore and Goodson, 2004:17).

According to Denzin and Lincoln (2005), shifts in tourism research have been delineated in moments, moving ever further away from 'disembodied' positivist research towards 'embodied' social science research, with the emergence of the eighth and ninth moments as the 'fractured future', incorporating *'critical conversations about democracy, race, gender, class, nation-states, globalisation, freedom and communit*y' (cited in Harris *et al*., 2007:41). Such focus needs to place greater emphasis on creative research approaches within fields such as development, social anthropology, human geography or political economy, incorporating the researcher's 'lifeworld' and worldview as an integral dynamic within the research process. According to Feighery (2006:273), *'reflexive strategies are implicated with issues of inequality and power'*. They imply a researcher willing to develop a critical awareness of how cognitive, behavioural and affective personal domains are

socially, culturally and politically constructed and are thus shaping the research project.

Contemporary approaches to reflexivity have built on early theories developed by social behaviourists, such as George Herbert Mead. As early as 1934, in his examination of the 'Mind, Self and Society', Mead (1934) contends that the self is shaped in relationship to its social environment, in essence a *'social self (*Mead, 1934:204)*'*. He further asserts that reflexiveness is a crucial part of the development and maturation of the mind: it constitutes the *'essential condition within the social process for the development of the mind'* (Mead, 1934:134). If one believes that personal experience is inherently linked to social experience and therefore far from unique, reflexivity, in the analysis of the research object, takes on a social rather than personal character and becomes an inherent part of the scientific inquiry into the social phenomenon in question.

Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) contextualises reflexivity within the academic discipline of sociology, arguing for a *'reflexive sociology'* (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:68), a view which requires the sociologist to live as part of the world that she is objectifying, to 'objectify the interests that a sociologist has in objectifying others without taking up an

> *absolute point of view upon the object of study…*
> *What distresses me when I read some works by sociologists is that the people whose profession it is to objectivise the social world prove so rarely able to objectivise themselves, and fail so often to realize that what their apparently scientific discourse talks about is not the object but their relation to the object* (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:.68/69).

Reflexivity is part of an analysis that deconstructs the ideological landscape and social reality of the researcher inasmuch as it could be perceived as influencing the process and outcomes of a particular research project. Such

introspection also allows space for an honest exposure of failure, bias or prejudice, self-critical questioning of one's own motives and intentions, a recognition that as researchers we are fallible. A constructive outcome of this process might be the emergence of new insights and analyses; a new conceptual direction, emanating from the reflexive learning process, which can lead to methodological and epistemological innovation. Reflexivity is said to *'loosen'* the rigid *'methodological moorings'* of disembodied, disengaged, supposedly objective research practice, as it creates more adventurous, creative spaces for a new scientific discovery (Feighery, 2006:279). However, as such, Feighery believes, it tends to be marginalised as it threatens established traditions of scientific inquiry. In my view, such marginalisation may also have its roots in a psychological fear among researchers of publicly exposing biographical details, inner conflicts and struggles that may be interpreted and used to harm them and discredit their research. I believe such considerations to be justified and worthy of analysis (I discuss this further in Chapter Six, in section 6.4.5). However, if biographies and the analysis of inner questioning is situated within a scholarly context and explicitly linked to the analysis of the research project, enhancing its transparency and trustworthiness, it would surely enrich the value of knowledge creation.

Reflexivity offers a theoretical framework within which an inquiry on complex reciprocal relations with a social and political environment can be exercised in a methodical manner. It allows a shedding of light on the specific topic of inquiry whilst providing a safety net against inappropriate solipsism. Other methods, such as autoethnography and narrative inquiry through personal stories could be considered in the same category (Ellis and Bochner, 2000). Autoethnography is centred on the human experience, the moral and ethical choices we face, the *'complexities of lived moments of struggle, resisting the intrusions of chaos, disconnections, fragmentation, marginalisation and incoherence...'* (Ellis and Bochner, 2000:744). These are certainly elements within reflexivity. However, I have chosen to work with other reflexivity approaches, as I want to highlight not only the personal but also the social

and political context that shaped the personal reality, i.e. the interplay between the objective and subjective reality (Berger and Luckmann, 1971) and the way this process has shaped the analysis contained in my research. In other words my reflexive inquiry is inherently linked to illuminating the values, conceptual process and political beliefs that have shaped a specific research project. It could be called *epistemic reflexivity,* which relates to reflection on the social conditions under which disciplinary knowledge comes into being and gains credence (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

2.4.2 Memory Work within Reflexivity

It seems obvious that an investigation of memory should be a crucial aspect of reflexivity. Yet, I was surprised to find no research that specifically links the two concepts, and certainly not within the tourism field, although memory-work has been applied as a methodology in tourism research and social science research generally, particularly in feminist research, since Haug's (1987) work on female sexualisation. Memory research is a key aspect of exploring the social construction of individual and collective identities. It includes collective memory-work (Haug, 1987; Small, 1999; 2004; Onyx and Small, 2001; Small *et al*., 2007); oral history and socio-cultural inquiry in anthropology (Keightley, 2010), and self-interview (Keightley *et al*., 2012). The question of how I would deal with reflexivity honestly and transparently was important in my engagement with the subject, as I was trying to recall events, which occurred between eleven and twenty years ago, and, in the case of my early years of cognitive and affective development of social and political consciousness, a much longer 'herstory'. At the same time, the subject of memory is evidently highly complex and impenetrable for a lay person outside the fields of psychology or neurological science. Memory research also extends to anthropology in the social and cultural context, including practices, technologies and traditions of remembering (Berliner, 2005; Brockmeier, 2012). I shall therefore limit myself at this stage to a brief discussion, based on what I consider significant landmarks on the canvass of my reflexive adventure.

As I explained in Chapter Two, the underlying, associated reason for writing this thesis, was the awareness of a constant personal struggle that I had experienced in the development of the Fair Trade in Tourism project, a sense of frustration and failure, inadequacy and fallibility on the one hand; on the other elation, satisfaction and excitement at being in the centre of an innovative undertaking. The involvement with the project had a deep effect on me, and I clearly could not distance myself from it to move on in my analysis of equitable tourism. The memory of it stayed with me, an impression, which shaped my identity and outlook. I needed to analyse and deconstruct it to understand its meaning, both for myself as well as in the context of understanding whether and how the ideas, which we developed during the years of research and campaigns, had actually made a difference in terms of improving tourism practice and theory.

'Memory is a lived process of making sense of time and the experience of it' (Keightley, 2010:56). Keightley considers the use of memory as valuable in social research, because it can *'illuminate social and cultural experience'* (Keightley, 2010:56). Prebble *et al*. (2013) conceptualise autobiography as inherently linked with the sense of self. In that context they distinguish between two psychological processes: the I-self (knowing and experiencing) and the me-self (the object of this awareness). They contend that *'the capacity for self-reflective thought (self awareness) is conceived as being part of the I-self, whereas the content of reflective thought (self-concept) forms part of the me-self.'* (Prebble *et al*. 2013:817). The second distinction exists between episodic memory and semantic memory:

> *Episodic memory allows detailed sensory-perceptual re-experiencing from one's past, located in a particular place and time, whereas the semantic memory system consists of knowledge and facts, and conceptual information about the world* (Prebble, 2013:818).

Klein (2013:231) concurs, stating '*that episodic memory makes it possible for the individual to recollect previously experienced events as such'.* According

to these definitions the trigger for my reflexive analysis must have been my episodic memory, which made me relive the sense of both frustration and excitement during certain times of the project and which remained a continual insidious aspect of my professional identity, following the end of the project.

Prebble *et al*. (2013) also discuss the importance of narrative continuity and life stories by which individuals construct their sense of continuity, always *in response to particular social-contextual demands, for particular purposes and within a particular, cultural context'* (Prebble *et al*. 2013:831). A life story is considered as the highest level of organisation for autobiographical memory and can also provide '*integration at the highest and most complex cognitive level'* (Prebble *et al*. 2013:831). Brockmeier (2012) points out the influence of culture and migration (global mobility) on memory and autobiographical narrative. Citing Ritivoi (2002) he states:

> *Immigrants are commonly more aware than most people of their on-going autobiographical efforts. In leaving the original settings of their life, they are led to understand, perhaps more urgently than others, that one's identity is never finished, but always an open story…with autobiographical remembering playing a central role in this work [in progress] .*

Klein (2013:223), argues that memory is prospective. It is not about the past but about the future. He suggests that *'from an evolutionary perspective, memory's function is to enable its owner to face life as it comes, rather than to look back as it recedes'*. Memory is used to support future decisions and judgements which are uncertain. The accuracy of memory is less important than whether what is remembered will *'get the job done'*. Memory is *'re-constructive, rather than re-productive'* (Klein, 2013:229). Keightley (2010) values the relationship between memory and the construction of the present as an *'invaluable'* methodological tool in social and cultural research:

> *memory as the mode by which we represent experiences to ourselves and to others is an invaluable resource for researching the construction and communication of meaning in the present* (Keightley, 2010:59)

Klein (2013) also contends that it is not possible to clearly distinguish between memory and imagination as the conceptual and neurological demarcations are blurred. In this context, analysts often discuss the significance of *'false memory'*, where imagination can be used to '*create memories of events that did not actually occur*' (Loftus, 1997:71). Drawing on testimony, triangulation or symbolic representations of the past, such as photographs, films, news reports, collective verification or historic evidence can help to guard against misinformation engendered by imagination (Keightley, 2010).

Keightley (2010) celebrates memory-work as a sense-making process of *'constructing and navigating complex temporal narratives and structures'.* However, she cautions against overstating the importance of memory in assessing historical evidence and as a *'pre-condition for social and cultural progress'* (Keightley, 2010:56). Oral history, collective memory-work and eyewitness statements are crucial within an historic, political, social or cultural inquiry, but only in relation to the way in which they are integrated within a wider theoretical context of such research, rather than as stand-alone evidence. Keightley (2010:56) reminds of the need to address the *'limits and partialities'* of memory. Such limits are imposed by the potential for fantasy and *'false memory'* (Loftus, 1997), and also by the choices and exclusions that participants make in the process of remembering, which to Keightley (2010:57) suggests that *'other versions of the past may have been possible'*. Moreover, remembered events or emotions are influenced by present psychological states, which can distort the actual experience in the past. As such, *'the relationship between memory and experience is contingent and fleeting',* the process of reconstruction is not neutral. This renders it vulnerable to critique, raising the question as to its value in social research methodology (Keightley, 2010:60). Keightley proposes a more

extensive, as well as intensive, structured debate on different methodologies related to memory and remembering; a call, which was preceded by Berliner (2005) in his discussion on abuses of memory in anthropology, where he advocates greater clarity and rigour in defining memory and its use across a variety of disciplines. Reflexivity provides a crucial medium to assure rigour within memory methods (Keightly, 2010). Keightley suggests that transparency and accountability through contextualising memory-work in relation to theory and to positioning of the researcher and the research project can assist in evidencing the evolution of research outcomes from this process.

In the case of this thesis, I have not applied the specific method of collective memory-work, as developed by feminist researchers, nor have I applied self-interview practice (Keightley *et al*., 2012). My engagement with memory emerged as a result of the process of reflexivity, and as such has been an integral part of that process. Recognising that sole dependency on memory for the purpose of a theoretical social analysis imposes limitations, as outlined by Keightley (2010), I have sought to contain such risks in the following way: I am referring to my past in order to draw conclusions for the present and future of tourism research, for a sense of 'continuity' within the equitable tourism paradigm. In this process I am using both episodic and semantic memory, whereby episodic memory has been supported by semantic memory. Episodic memory has been strengthened and verified by autobiographical accounts and corroboration of events with other witnesses, who have been contemporaries related to the events in the past and present (in the case of the FTinT project, see Chapters Three and Four). I have used evidence from the research process, in the form of meeting, conference and progress reports, evaluations, on-line discussions email and fax correspondence, briefing papers, and personal and work/research diary entries to verify and underpin my reflexive account. Earlier autobiographical episodic memory has been related to historical documentation and literary sources in my possession, which indicate my cognitive influences and

development. I have used the integration of key formative events in my personal positioning practice as both a mnemonic and a structuring tool to focus and delineate the narrative within the confines of the thesis aim. Moreover, I have used specific methods of reflexivity, such as personal and organisational positioning and the application of multi-perspectives and multi-voicing, as well as aspects of emotional intelligence (EI) (Farh *et al*. 2012) to manage episodic memory, inflected with emotional content. I am thus positing that, for the purpose of this thesis, I have integrated memory research within reflexivity in both a creative and scholarly credible manner. However, I did not set out to apply memory as a method for analysis when I started my thesis, and as an integral method within reflexivity it requires further, in-depth analysis to enrich future research frameworks.

2.4.3 Tourism Research and Reflexivity

Considering the international, 'transboundary', cross-cultural and widely controversial socio-political nature of tourism activity in the context of globalisation, a shift in focus, a critical reflexive turn in tourism research is of primary importance. Yet, an overview of research in tourism related academic journals and books reveals a dearth of references in relation to tourism and reflexivity, in particular in the context of tourism and social justice or inequality. They are more likely to appear (albeit sparsely) in social science literature, in the context of anthropology, social work or environmental planning, rather than in the tourism literature. Reflexivity, as part of the research process hardly features at all. This is confirmed by Tribe, who states:

> *It is notable that although reflexivity is becoming more common in interpretivist research, the self is generally ignored (or often banished) in tourism research. For example the "I" word is proscribed from many journals (including Annals), presumably in deference to scientific objectivity* (Tribe, 2006:364).

Positions on reflexivity in the tourism literature could be summarised within philosophical and methodological parameters. Philosophical arguments,

such as in Tribe (2006) and Hall (2004) centre around the need for more embodied research, which endorses the person and their position as integral elements of the tourism *'knowledge force field'*; positions, which *'mediate in the process where the phenomenal world of tourism is translated into the known world of tourism'* (Tribe, 2006:2). Tribe emphasises the role of feminist perspectives in social science research, which have helped with the shift from 'disembodied' to embodied research, incorporating critical analyses of the researcher's own stance on gender, power, race and class in the knowledge creation process. Other authors, such as Franklin and Crang (2001) bemoan the predominance of policy-led and industry sponsored work, which tends to *'internalize industry led priorities and perspectives'* (Franklin and Crang, 2001:5). This is echoed by Bianchi (2009), in his exposé on a radical critique of tourism studies, where he suggests that it is time for critical tourism research to scrutinise and challenge the inequalities created by state and corporate power relations in tourism destinations, in the context of a political economy analysis. Whilst he supports critical tourism scholars in their efforts to focus on social justice and inequality, and to *'embrace reflexivity in the course of knowledge production'* as a means for emancipating the spirit from such servitude (Bianchi, 2009:486), he is more concerned with *'historical materialist methods of inquiry'* (Bianchi, 2009:487). He argues that critical tourism analysis should move on to a more radical approach *'grounded in a structural analysis of the material forces of power and inequality within globalizing capitalism and liberalized modes of tourism development'* (Bianchi, 2009:498).

Similar debates rage within business management research generally, with many management analysts such as Mats Alvesson, Kaj Sköldberg and Linda Perriton (see Alvesson *et al*. 2004; Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2009; Alvesson and Deetz, 2000; Perriton, 2001), arguing for post-positivist management and organisational research from a sociological perspective, including a greater engagement with reflexivity and reflexive methodology. Since Hall (2004) and Tribe (2006), reflexivity has gradually emerged in chapters of edited books on methodology in tourism, such as in Ateljevic *et*

al., 2007, where Harris *et al*. (2007) discuss reflexivity in terms of *'audiencing'* our work, *'a concept, which encapsulates the complexities and issues involved in speaking about our research in different voices, and to different audiences'* (Harris, 2007:42), and in Phillimore and Goodson (2004), with discussions by Humberstone (2004) on *'stand-point epistemology'*, which she describes as, *'a move towards local, contextualised, situated knowledge, as represented by fifth moment research'*, starting with the lives of marginalised peoples (Humberstone, 2004:120).

From an ontological perspective, according to Humberstone (2004):

> *Standpoint perspectives hold that reality lies in the lived experience of people within their situations and contexts. For tourism research, this means exploring the lived experiences of the host community, its environment and the tourists* (Humberstone, 2004:123).

As such it incorporates positioning practice and ethnographic research within a social constructionist paradigm. Critical and 'post'-stand-point researchers recognise credibility, trustworthiness and authenticity as criteria for validity. Credibility lies in texts that are plausible to those who constructed them, the participants and the researcher (Humberstone, 2004). In focusing on marginalised groups, collaborative research and reflexivity, standpoint research importantly also relates to activist research and the concerns of the FTinT project.

Pritchard *et al.*'s (2011) proposed paradigm shift towards 'Hopeful Tourism' as a new transformative perspective captures the meeting ground between social justice, activism and reflexivity in tourism research, guided by anti-oppressive, feminist perspectives, which include spiritual, emotional and emancipatory parameters. It represents an affirmative framework for more political grassroots oriented research, as a balance to the predominant neo-liberal industry oriented agenda, enabling ethical transformative action without necessarily eschewing the importance of markets and business. In

the pursuit of answers for Fair Trade in Tourism, it represents a welcome foundation for inquiry. On the other hand, Higgins-Desbiolles and Powys Whyte (2013) have vigorously critiqued Pritchard *et al.*'s position as an analysis of the privileged, hoping for *'the well-being of others [who] may not wish to be hoped for by those who have not suffered under the same…circumstances'* (Higgins-Desbiolles and Powys Whyte, 2013:429). They argue for a deeper engagement with critical theory to deconstruct hegemonic powers using tourism as a tool for oppression and exploitation. This is comparable to Bianchi's (2009) position on engaging with historical materialism, although he also supports cultural discourses in relation to oppression. However, Pritchard *et al*. (2011) do refer to critical theory in critical tourism research as part of the 'Hopeful Tourism' agenda, although perhaps not specifically enough in relation to revolutionary grassroots activism. Yet, the nature of the research depends on the analysis of the powers of oppression; revolutions can happen in many different ways, and Higgins-Desbiolles and Powys Whyte do not expand on their vision of a revolution. The most important point to emphasise here is that privileged and powerful as they are, academics collaborate with marginalised groups in the struggle for social justice. However, they do so mindful of their different positions and scholarly duality (Hale, 2006) rather than either pretending to share the group's destiny or making decisions *for* them from a position of power. This complex, paradoxical dynamic of collaboration from different social, cultural, class and institutional positions needs to be further researched and debated. Reflexivity and critical confrontation with one's own motives, biases and prejudices would need to play an inherent part in such an inquiry.

The engagement with critical theory is something that pre-occupied me in relation to this thesis. The journey I have taken in writing this thesis over the past seven years has taken many twists and turns, as is normal with any doctoral work, particularly on a part-time basis. As this particular thesis is somewhat unconventional, being based on published material, it was more difficult to find clear starting points for analysis. I have considered a number

of different theories that might be appropriate for this inquiry, and I have been aware that critical theory might be the most suitable one. However, I decided not to base my study on it at this point for the following reason: I have become consciously clear about my paradigm (Kuhn, 1962) and political, ideological position only following the reflexive process included in this thesis. I can therefore state that this has been an infinitely enlightening process, which has enriched me as a researcher. The research has led me to a multitude of different theoretical positions, which I had never been aware of. As shall be clear in Chapter Three, I am not a Sociologist, Anthropologist, or Political Scientist by training, and have therefore not had the opportunity to systematically engage with the epistemologies of those disciplines. Rather than misinterpreting key philosophical positions and theories, I decided to acknowledge that I am aware of those that would encompass my research interests; however, a more in-depth engagement with critical theory, or critical realism, with essential philosophers and analysts, such as Habermas, Bourdieu, or Touraine would need to be a post-doctoral project in my research journey.

2.4.4 Critical Perspectives on Reflexivity

It is to be expected that the strongest criticism of reflexivity as a research component would come from the positivist oriented camp in the academic community. Reflexivity challenges traditional scientific standards with regard to the positivist tenets of reliability, validity and generalisability. However, in a sense, this really just represents an element of the debate on *'paradigm wars'* (Bryman, 2008:13) and qualitative research as a whole. It could be argued that this type of research needs to invent a different language for different terms and standards, since it reflects a different mindset and philosophy, which cannot be compared to the traditional positivist, functionalist approaches (see Hammersley, 2008; Guba and Lincoln, 2008 and my earlier discussion on validity in Chapter One). Nevertheless, the debate on reflexivity raises a number of questions, relating to relativism, narcissism and credibility: if research and the analysis of its outcomes are relative, if indeed knowledge cannot be objective, how relevant is such

research to the wider research or policy community? What gives it legitimacy? How can data and theories be questioned or critiqued when they relate to a specific context which is personal and individualistic and can therefore not be refuted as subjective or unscientific. For example, Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992), on the one hand, considers reflexivity in social science research an absolute necessity in the process of, what he calls, *'objectivation'* and critical analysis. He does not see it as narcissistic or self-fascinated observation, but as a reflexive analysis of the researcher's *'relation to the object'* of research, i.e. *'objectivation'* (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 69). In fact he goes so far as to call it *'anti-narcissistic'* (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:72). On the other hand, he warns that *'bovaristic confessions'* about the private life of a researcher could provide critics of sociology with *'the most elementary weapon there is: relativism',* in the most simplistic form (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:203). He is highly critical of the *'complacent and intimist return upon the private person of the sociologist or with a search for the intellectual Zeitgeist'* (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:72), which is intended to glorify the personal experience as unique data in the pursuit of scientific knowledge (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

Bourdieu rightly cautions against the risk of critique on relativism. However, in a sense, by doing so, he seems to give in to traditionalist views, at the risk of internalising their prejudices and their tendency to marginalise this form of research practice. As discussed earlier in section 2.3, in the context of Social Constructionism the personal is inherently connected with the social dimension; thus it could be argued that awareness of the personal experience, increases awareness of social and sociological phenomena. Lynch (2000) equally cautions that reflexive statements will not necessarily provide a guarantee for insightful and innovative discoveries, which could herald new and generally ground-breaking knowledge; what might be illuminating to the researcher could be pretentious or silly to the reader. Salzman's (2002) critique of reflexivity, related to positioning in anthropology, focuses on three main themes: 1) his doubt of the honesty, credibility and

reliability of researchers' reflexive accounts, the danger of false representation and self-deception; 2) the influence of events changing positions of the researcher; and 3) the dubious value of knowledge derived from reflexivity. He cautions against accepting insights and impressions as knowledge rather than paths to investigation. He defends the value of an atmosphere of mutual criticism, a *'vital and vigorous marketplace of ideas'* (Salzman, 2002:812), collaborative research and external validation as key determinants of new scientific knowledge.

Reflexivity as a method integral to social science research does not preclude Salzman's (2002) position. Indeed, the main purpose of reflexivity appears to be to expose the underlying assumptions of research strategies to enable external validators to interpret, judge or critique research outcomes and analyses. Honesty, credibility and reliability should be essential elements of any researcher's approach, no matter what the method or methodology. Salzman (2002) rightly suggests caution but accepting Salzman's argument does not necessarily mean refuting the praxis of reflexivity. Introspection is only one aspect of reflexive praxis, and the approach to this should be as rigorous and systematic, closely related to the 'object' of inquiry (see Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992), as any other interpretive data analysis. In this sense, Finlay (2002) maintains that reflexivity has moved from introspection to critical realist and subjectivist accounts, *'highlighting the socio-political, post-modern context through deconstructing the research encounter'* (Finlay, 2002:210).

Macbeth (2001) defends positional reflexivity as an 'obliged topic' within qualitative research. As ego-analytic knowledge production it provides the opportunity for a rigorous ethnographic process, which *'links the social process of engagement in the field with the technical process of data collection and the decisions that that linking involves'* (Ball, 1990, cited in Macbeth, 2001:38). The association of reflexivity with rigour in the research process is a useful argument to allay concerns about the validity of such a methodological approach.

Considering the critical positions discussed in this section and summarised in the table below, I am mindful of the fact that my approach to reflexivity should address some of those concerns.

Table 2.1 Summary of Critical Positions on Reflexivity

Authors	Comments
Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992)	Beware of *'bovaristic confessions'* about private life to avoid criticism of relativism.
Ellis and Bochner (2000)	Critics say that personal narratives amount to reality TV within a culture of confession and victimisation, spectacles that sentimentalise, humiliate and take pleasure in revealing anguish and pain (Ellis and Bochner, 2000:749).
Lynch (2000)	Reflexive statements are no guarantee for insightful and innovative discoveries. Revelations might be illuminating to researcher, but silly to the reader.
Salzmann (2002	1) danger of false representation and deception; 2) influence of events changing researcher's position; 3) dubious value of knowledge derived from reflexivity;

2.4.5 My Response to Critical Positions on Reflexivity

My approach to reflexivity is closely linked to the object of inquiry, i.e. the activism/academe nexus and Fair Trade in Tourism, and the implications of the reflexive discourse for the interpretation of the publications' outcomes. There is also the potential for some generic significance in relation to the activism/academe interface and tourism research for equitable tourism.

Any personal revelations of *'anguish and pain'* (Ellis and Bochner, 2000:749) will focus on events that might have influenced the interpretation and implementation of the design of the project and its outcomes. The reflexive narrative will reveal my social, cultural and political allegiances to provide a credible and transparent backdrop to the execution of the project and its subsequent academic interpretation.

2.4.6 Reflexivity in Praxis

The concept of reflexivity has evolved through time for over a century, from modernism, through to post-modernism and now possibly to new interpretations within 'digimodernism' in the form of reality shows, video diaries on TV and YouTube and internet blogs (Kirby 2009). When it comes to applying it in practice, it can seem like a confusing labyrinth of different

approaches and interpretations (Finlay, 2002). The question is how should it be applied appropriately in the context of the research topic for this thesis?

Harris et *al*.'s (2007) vision of reflexivity suggests a process of entanglement within a dynamic interactive force field (or symbolised as an atom) of essentially four interrelated and interacting themes:

> *the dominant* ***ideologies and legitimacies*** *which govern and guide our research outputs; the* ***research accountability*** *environment, which decides what is 'acceptable' as tourism research; our* ***positionality*** *as embodied tourism researchers …and our* ***intersectionality with the researched***. (Harris et *al*., 2007:44).

Harris *et al*. (2007) consider '*intersectionality with the researched'* as being both the most important and the most complex and challenging field of inquiry. On a side note, the use of the metaphor of an atom in relation to the discourse on the *'messy and frustrating'* entanglement process of reflexivity (Harris *et al*., 2007:44) is interesting but might require some review, as one could argue that the charged particles within an atom move too fast to become entangled. However, Harris *et al*. (2007:44) are justified in the use of the metaphor when they suggest that this provisionally *'messy'* process could yield an *'empowering and rich dialogue'* with the potential to unfold diverse, innovative and socially relevant research formations.

2.4.7 Creative Analytic Practices within Reflexivity

The following section discusses several academic positions on interpretations of reflexivity that have influenced the approach I am taking for the purpose of this thesis.

Reflexivity concepts offer a wide range of different avenues for critical exploration and further development in creative research approaches. For example, Richardson, (2000) refers to such approaches as Creative Analytic Practice (CAP), which defy categorisation through a blurring of different art or

text forms, such as autoethnography, short stories, personal narratives and histories, poetic representation and performance (among others).

Marshall's (2006) self-reflective inquiry could be related to 'introspective reflexivity'. Her practice oscillates between, what she calls, the *'inner and outer arcs of attention'* within a constant, highly intensive process of *'multiple associations'*, of questioning and calling into awareness assumptions, patterns, dilemmas, key phrases and meanings (Marshall, 2006:336). Simultaneously, she captures the intellectual and emotional intricacies of her engagement with the outer world of her professional field in respect of discussions, collaboration, negotiations. At another, more systematic level of inquiry she alternates between cycles of action and reflection, concurrently framed by her inner and outer arcs of attention. However, my thesis analyses a research process retrospectively, in hindsight; a process that started more than a decade ago. Marshall's practice might have been useful had I consciously applied it at the time of writing each of the publications, but at present could be applied through the memory process, i.e. through analysis of my *'inner and outer arcs of attention'* during the FTinT research.

Perriton (2001:39-41) suggests a number of typologies of reflexive writing, and discusses the pros and cons of each of these, in particular in relation to the issue of validity and credibility within the academic research community. She identifies *'seemingly accidental reflexivity'*, for the articulate, *'playful'* writer, a way of slipping reflexive meaning imperceptibly into a traditional text of so called *'author evacuated'* representation of data. She argues that most research incorporates reflexivity as a *'safe space'* in the *'methodological chapter'* or conclusion, as an accepted form of critical self-awareness in relation to the research object, as a technical tool, without affecting the rest of the thesis. *'Benign reflexivity'* relates to research embracing issues of *'difference'* in terms of race, gender and class; an emerging factor primarily evident in feminist writing to position the researcher in self-confessional terms (sometimes shame-faced) in the race, gender, class categories. Critics caution against a tokenistic and opportunist use of this method when such

professions have no bearing on the remainder of the analysis. Perriton (2001:42/43) further outlines *'textual guerrilla warfare'* intended to disrupt the realist tale with reflexive text, and *'socio-political reflexivity'*, which openly declares its political and policy allegiances using the research to campaign for the *'Other'*. This approach, she contends, carries the greatest risk of rejection by the research community for being biased and partisan. Seeking to speak from the position of the *'Other'* seems to represent the most subversive threat to validity amongst the *'conservative forces'* of the intellectual elite. In this thesis, I argue that campaigning from the position of the 'Other' can lead to academically worthwhile insights and knowledge in the context of the activism/academe nexus. However, according to Perriton, (2001) this would run an *'extremely high risk'* of being ignored by the Research Excellence *'panoptical'* or *'silenced by the strictures of good academic journal writing' (*Perriton, 2001:47). I am optimistic that in the years since Perriton's research, social science methodology has moved on progressively to acknowledge and embrace positions of the *'Other',* as evidenced by the body of literature in this thesis.

Alvesson *et al*. (2004) distinguish between D-reflexivity and R-reflexivity, D for a process of deconstruction, before moving on to R for *'reconstruction, reframing, reclaiming and re-presentation'* (Alvesson *et al*., 2004:16); an iterative dialectic between the professional and the personal, as well as between pragmatism and idealism. They highlight four sets of reflective practices: destabilising practices (researcher as outsider, making incursions across the research project), multi-perspective practices (researcher as outsider, above the research, viewing it through juxtaposed paradigms), multi-voicing practices (researcher as insider, part of the research project, on par with other subjects, and positioning practices (researcher as insider, part of the social landscape in which research is conducted).

Table 2.2 Reflexivity in Praxis

Authors	General statements on reflexivity in praxis
Finlay (2002:210)	'highlighting the socio-political, post-modern context through deconstructing the research encounter'
Macbeth (2001:38)	'Rigorous ethnographic process: links the social process of engagement in the field with the technical process of data collection and the decisions that linking involves'
Harris *et al.* (2007)	Forcefield of four interrelated themes (process of entanglement): Ideologies and legitimacies, research and accountability, positionality and intersectionality with the researched
	Specific methods:
Richardson (2000)	Creative Analytic Practice (CAP): resists categorisation through blurring of arts forms: personal narrative, short stories, autoethnography, performance, poetic representation
Marshall (2006)	Introspective reflexivity: inner and outer arcs of attention, highly intensive process of questioning and calling into awareness assumption, patterns, dilemmas, key phrases and meanings
Perriton (2001)	Accidental: slipping reflexive meaning into traditional text Methodological: – safe space, self-critical awareness in relation to research object Benign reflexivity: mostly in feminist research, self-confessional in relation to gender, race and class; Textual guerrilla warfare: disrupts the realist tale with reflexive text Socio-political: openly declares political and policy allegiances, campaign for the 'Other'. Greatest subversive threat to conservative forces in research community
Alvesson *et al.*(2004)	D-reflexivity and R-reflexivity: process of deconstruction before moving into reconstruction, reframing, reclaiming and re-presentation; iterative dialectic between the professional and the personal, pragmatism and idealism; 4 practices: destabilising, multi-perspectives, multi-voicing, positioning practices. Use a combination of these to reflect the complexity of particular research project.

A comparison of the different theoretical approaches to reflexivity praxis, as shown above, reveals many similarities and overlaps, approached from the same philosophical position but with different nuances and emphases, emanating from different research contexts and disciplines. For example, Marshall's (2006) self-reflective, 'introspective inquiry' could be compared to autoethnography, Alvesson *et al.*'s (2004) 'multi-voicing practice' and Perriton's (2001) 'benign reflexivity'. Alvesson *et al.*'s (2004) 'positioning practice' is not dissimilar to Perriton's (2001) 'socio-political reflexivity', and Perriton's (2001) 'textual guerrilla warfare' reminds of Alvesson *et al.*'s (2004) 'destabilising practice'. In a sense, this is not surprising, as different authors influence and inspire each other within and across disciplines at different points in time, in the same way as I have been inspired to apply sociological concepts from different disciplines to my particular research subject.

The table overleaf, adapted from Alvesson *et al.* (2004:5) (I included the more detailed content) identifies the differences between Alvesson *et al.*'s (2004) reflexive practices.

Table 2.3 D-reflexivity and R-reflexivity Practices

	Destabilizing Practices	**Multi-perspective Practices**	**Multi-voicing Practices**	**Positioning Practices**
Content	Undermining the idea that research is ultimately a progressive path towards universal truths. Points to possibility of infinite number of interpretations of research. Challenges epistemological assumptions of other forms of theorising.	Applying different paradigms to a particular phenomenon or study, different ways of understanding the same phenomenon. Juxtaposition of perspectives to expose limitations of single interpretation. Creating dialectic between different viewpoints. By getting up and moving to another place, we can see things differently.	Decentres author as authority figure; involves participants, readers, and audiences in the production of research. Asks questions about relationship between author and Other. Reader is given more active role in interpreting meaning. Focuses on various researcher selves that are active in the process. Self is turned into field site.	Knowledge is collectively constructed; developed in a societal context imprinted on the researcher and researched. Identifies political and rhetorical processes by which knowledge claims are accepted as true or false in the particular institutional setting. Draws attention to political, cultural and institutional constraints, embedded in academic community.
Paradox	Omnipotence: ends up being the "final" word using an epistemology which stresses there is no final word.	Pantheism: ends up using a range of perspectives when grounds for choice are problematic.	Narcissism: ends up drawing all attention to the researcher when trying to "downplay" the researcher.	Heroism: ends up implying an astute researcher can negotiate system constraints while repudiating agency.
Limits	Can only be used to undermine theory, difficult to use to develop theory.	Nature of the way in which paradigms are juxtaposed remains highly contested.	It is impossible to give everyone a voice (let alone an equal voice).	Solutions for navigating the research process are highly individualistic.

Source: Adapted from Alvesson *et al.* (2004:5)

Destabilising practice challenges the idea of absolute truth in any theory and opposes it with alternative theories; multi-perspective practice attempts to understand the same phenomenon from different paradigmatic standpoints; within multi-voicing practices the researcher herself is the object of inquiry in relation to the research environment, including other voices from the research site. Positioning practice is concerned with the researcher's relationship within a broader network or field, as opposed to the relationship between researcher and research subject. It takes into account the social and institutional processes that shape knowledge and suggests that the *'researcher can construct knowledge only in the context of a particular research community or society'* (Alvesson, 2004:11).

The comparison of the different models of reflexive practice in Alvesson, (2004) reveals that the key differences between them consist in the focus of the research and the means used. However, there are some overlaps and their application varies depending on the nature of the research inquiry. For example, there are associations between multi-voicing and positioning practice. An analysis of the researcher's self can hardly be undertaken without addressing the social, political, cultural and temporal context of the research endeavour. Additionally, positioning practice can help to deconstruct the choice of paradigms used in multi-perspective practice. Alvesson *et al.* (2004) suggest that the different practices can be combined in different shapes or forms to construct a lively and varied canvass of accounts, which reflect the complexity of a particular social research project.

2.4.8 My Methodological Approach in this Thesis

Following on from this discussion, the following section outlines my approach to reflexivity in this thesis, presented in Chapters Three and Four. The 'object of my inquiry' (as in Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) revolves around the use of reflexivity to analyse the interface between activism and academe in the quest for fairer trade in tourism. As the author responsible for the outcomes in the publications presented in this thesis, I am initially concerned about deconstructing the 'knowledge forcefield' at the hub of the Fair Trade in

Tourism project from the retrospective perspective of my present position as an academic (I refer the reader to Appendix One for a timeline of the research project, including some reflexive commentary on the process).

The intention is twofold:

1) to offer accountability and transparency and justify the legitimacy of the research outcomes; and
2) to gain new insights from this process, which can then lead to a reframing and re-claiming of the body of work in question (Chapter Five).

My approach to reflexivity primarily draws on Alvesson *et al*. (2004), as it embraces in one way or another all the other approaches discussed in section 2.4.6. Alvesson *et al*. also provide a more comprehensive exposition regarding the application of the different practices they discuss and the theory underpinning them. In that context, the approach I am taking in this thesis as a whole could be classed as 'multi-perspective practice'. I am analysing past research, undertaken within a practice-based activist paradigm from an academically informed perspective several decades later, seeking to create a new perspective on Fair Trade in Tourism specifically and equitable tourism more generally within an activist/academic paradigm.

In Chapter Three, my focus is firstly on analysing my position as the author at the core of the process of knowledge creation. This includes combinations of multi-voicing and positioning practices (Alvesson *et al*, 2004) in the form of personal narrative and autoethnography, introspective reflexivity (Marshall, 2006) and socio-political reflexivity, which exposes my social and political allegiances (Perriton, 2001) in relation to the object of my inquiry (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992), the campaign for Fair Trade in Tourism and my position within the Tourism Concern circle of influence.

Secondly, the analysis will proceed to the socio-political position of Tourism Concern, the NGO at the centre of the Fair Trade in Tourism inquiry. I shall

analyse its role in creating ethical awareness on tourism impacts and good practice mechanisms in the UK and in tourist destinations, its relationships with national, European and international agencies, including NGOs, and the tourism industry. Both these positioning narratives will relate to the process and production of the publications at the core of this thesis. Here I am using positioning practice and multi-voicing practice to highlight my relationship with the so-called 'Other' and the political, cultural and institutional constraints embedded in the activist and academic communities, which have framed my research and my journey from adventure tour operator to academic, via activism. This approach continues in Chapter Four, where I am critically evaluating the multi-stakeholder process of the International Network on Fair Trade in Tourism, as the prime vehicle for the outcomes in the publications and the configuration of the FTinT concept. This leads into Chapter Five, which introduces the publications. I anticipate that the reader will understand these against the background of the reflexive narrative in Chapters Three and Four. The process in Chapters Three to Five could be related to Alvesson *et al.*'s (2004:16) concept of '*D-reflexivity'*, in terms of deconstructing the research process on FTinT, questioning the design and 'paradigmatic roots' of the process and the robustness of the outcomes. I am consciously not using 'destabilising practices' (or 'textual guerrilla warfare'), as I have concluded that this would not serve to fulfil the purpose of this particular thesis.

Chapter Six incorporates the process of *'R-reflexivity'* (Alvesson *et al.*, 2004:17): reframing, rebalancing, reconstruction of *'fundamental elements of the research process'*, independently of the data. This will entail the view of the academic looking back on her work in the context of contemporary theory and practice on fair trade in tourism. The Chapter will seek to include an analysis of trustworthiness of the outcomes in the publications, in respect of their practical usefulness, effectiveness and contribution to knowledge within both the academic and activist fields. This analysis builds on the emphasis within mode 2 science and mode 2 knowledge creations on the researcher's

accountability as being determined by the practical usefulness of her research.

> *Mode 2 knowledge production takes place in the context of application; it is transdisciplinary and it is directly accountable also on grounds of its practical usefulness.'* (Nowotny *et al.* 2001, cited in Sulkunen, 2008:74).

Moreover, it draws on Hale's (2001) definition of validity within activist research which asks:

> *Has the research produced knowledge that helps to resolve the problem, to guide some transformation, which formed part of the research objectives from the start?* (Hale, 2001:13).

In other words, do the research outcomes resolve the problems identified in the original funding application documents to the European Union and the Department of International Development? As a publicly funded project, these questions are imperative in the context of transparency and accountability.

Chapter Six also addresses the research question of this thesis and analyses the value of reflexivity in progressing the debate on the activism/academe nexus in the context of investigations into equitable tourism. As such, it relates to Alvesson *et al*.'s (2004) idea of *'refractions'*, where the *'reflexive loop'* should lead to *'some novel (re)descriptions, (re)interpretations or (re)problematization that add some quality to the text and the results it communicates'* (Alvesson *et al*., 2004:18). This should complete the jigsaw puzzle created by D-reflexivity, only with new insights, *'some kind of tangible result…such as ideas, concepts, challenges to conventional thinking, or suggestions for new research'* (Alvesson *et al*., 2004:18).

Criticisms levelled at reflexivity are considered in this approach, in that the intention is to engage in introspection and personal analysis by focussing on

the goals of transparency and accountability in *'relation to the object'* (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:68/69), which is the Fair Trade in Tourism project and the activism/academe inquiry. Furthermore, I am intending to provide an honest account of bias or prejudice, which might have inflected the process and outcomes of the project. I am hoping that the insights gained from this process will assist members of the activist and academic communities to develop effective research and action strategies to further knowledge and praxis in trade justice in tourism.

2.5 Ethical Issues of the Reflexivity Approach in this Thesis

Concerns around ethics in research centre on causing harm to oneself and others, informed consent, deception, confidentiality, anonymity, transparency, abuse of power, exploitation, particularly of vulnerable participants, and data protection. Reflexivity needs to be critical in respect of how researchers conduct and represent research. It is therefore said to be part of the researcher's commitment to ethical research practice (Clayton, 2013).

This study represents a retrospective analysis of a research project, which ended in 2003. However, the research project of Fair Trade in Tourism was never intended to be constructed as an academic study, nor was it conducted at the time for the purpose of a Ph.D. thesis. This means that the process of the original research, on which this thesis is based, was not enshrined within a framework of institutional research ethics guidelines. Nevertheless, the project was executed according to democratic and ethical principles: the participative and consultative nature of the research ensured a high regard for informed consent. Material to be published was always presented for comment by the relevant participants before publication, conference reports, focus group outcomes, and electronic network discussions were always made available in the public domain. As far as possible, strong endeavours were made to create utmost transparency within the process, although there was no agreement on confidentiality in any of the sources or materials.

In respect of this particular study, participants at the time were not consulted on the details. I have not had a chance to gain approval and informed consent from all the protagonists in the Fair Trade in Tourism project for the way I am using the data from the project to construct my arguments around the publications, in the context of reflexivity, the activism/academe nexus and equitable tourism research. It is fair to state, though, that this study does not include 'researched' participants. It is based partly on a case study, using secondary analysis, and partly on primary research, where the researcher is the object of study.

I had originally planned to incorporate in this thesis some qualitative primary research on memory-work with some of the original participants of the project. However, due to the time lapse since the end of the project, the difficulty of tracing relevant participants, and due to the focus of this study around secondary, published material, I decided, in consultation with my supervisors, to consider such primary research as a post-doctoral project.

Nevertheless, once I had completed my reflexions in Chapters Three to Five, I began to feel uncomfortable about a number of issues that needed attention, questions that needed answers:

1) In the process of critical positional reflexivity, honest introspection and self-critical analysis in relation to the self and the relevant socio-political and cultural environment is imperative. But this raises several ethical questions for me:

    i) How do I prevent being psychologically and professionally harmed and stereotyped by publicly exposing my political beliefs and personal values, inner conflicts and concerns about failure and fallibility?

    ii) What will be the effect on other participants when they read my interpretations? How do I prevent those individuals and organisations who feature in my analysis and inner conflicts, and whom I cannot adequately protect through anonymity, from being psychologically and professionally harmed? If I

have to modify my account in order to respect the feelings of my colleagues, how will this affect the truthful representation of my analysis? Clayton (2013) suggests that being honest and open in order to be respectful could cause harm, but equally, remaining silent could be deemed unfair and secretive.

2) An important aspect of trustworthiness in reflexivity research is member checking. However, in this study, where there are no research participants being researched, who are the members that need to be involved? Hastings (2010) also asks: *'how far should member checking go? At what point do I not share my writing?'* (Hastings, 2010:314)

3) The drive for transparency in reflexivity stands in contrast to the need for confidentiality – how is it possible to reconcile these two opposites?

2.5.1 Mitigating Strategies for Ethical Concerns in this Inquiry

For the purpose of this thesis, I addressed the questions above in the following way:

I followed ethical procedures by obtaining informed consent from the former director of Tourism Concern, from the former director of the Indian NGO Equations, Rosemary Viswanath to include her e-mail communication in Chapter Three and from Michelle Parlevliet to cite her comments of being an activist within academia in Chapter Three. In other individual cases, where it was not possible to trace participants, and where there was no explicit request for confidentiality in the communication, I have anonymised the sources. In all cases, I have considered whether my representation could cause psychological harm or affect organisations negatively. Chapter Six analyses these issues in greater depth in relation to the freedom and responsibility of the researcher.

2.6 Summary of Chapter Two

This chapter argues the case for increased focus on grassroots-led activism and activist research in tourism in the context of the hegemony of globalised corporate and government-led tourism expansion. It provides a critical analysis of NGOs as organisational instruments for activism and the potential for a social movement in tourism. It outlines some of the critical issues they confront, particularly in the context of development. This is followed by a critical discussion of a new direction in tourism research proposed by Wearing *et al.* (2005) incorporating NGOs as symbols for a decommodified research agenda as opposed to a seemingly predominantly commodified approach, determined by corporate interests. This position is fiercely critiqued by Butler (2006), who questions the rationale for a predominance of charity over market realities. Whilst there are valid points in both positions, I caution against an overly uncritical acceptance of either NGO or market virtues and highlight the value of collaborative multi-stakeholder engagement as a context to the International Network on Fair Trade in Tourism and as a means for progressing democracy and accountability in the debate on equitable tourism. The chapter concludes with an exposition on social constructionism as the philosophical foundation for this thesis and an analysis of reflexivity as a methodological approach for this thesis.

My approach in this thesis, in particular Chapters Three to Five, primarily draws on reflexivity practices discussed by Alvesson *et al*. (2004), such as multi-perspectives, multi-voicing and position practices, which also incorporate elements of introspection and socio-political reflexivity (Marshall, 2006; Perriton, 2001) in order to make my personal and political values influencing the Fair Trade in Tourism project transparent. With reference to Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, I am mindful to relate my reflexive accounts to the research process, which led to the production of the publications on Fair Trade in Tourism, included in this thesis.

The following chapter, Chapter Three, begins the reflexive account with personal positioning practice. It also includes a critical analysis of the

organisation's position at the centre of this inquiry, Tourism Concern, which is important for the understanding of the background to the FTinT project and the production of the publications.

CHAPTER 3 Personal and Organisational Positioning

3.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to systematically unravel some of the 'complexities, contradictions and discrepancies', which I mentioned in section 2.1 in Chapter Two, through the application of a mixture of positioning practices, including personal narrative and introspective elements, multi-voicing practices, and socio-political reflexivity (Perriton, 2001; Alvesson *et al*., 2004; Marshall, 2006; Harris *et al*., 2007). This account is intended to engender transparency, accountability, trustworthiness and credibility as the researcher at the centre of the FTinT research project and the interpreter of the data that it generated, which are represented in the publications, included in this thesis (Hale, 2001; Mauthner and Doucet, 2003; Shenton, 2004; Humberstone, 2004). Moreover, I aim to highlight the cognitive and affective influences on the research design of the FTinT project, on the interpretations, in the form of the publications, and on the current analysis of the thesis topic. As such, this chapter entails the practical application of the reflexivity approach outlined in Chapter Two. It provides an analysis of the relationship between tourism activism and academe in the development context, by way of a theoretical contextualisation of the Fair Trade in Tourism Project, Tourism Concern's role as an NGO and its socio-political environment, and a critically reflexive analysis of both my position as the creator/co-ordinator of the process and the producer of the publications, and of the context in which the publications were created. Linked to this is a critical reflexion on the significance of the shift from activist to academic, and thus the shift in perspective in relation to the interpretation of the FTinT project, which relates to Alvesson *et al*.'s (2004) multi-perspective practices. The publications are mentioned in these reflexions, as references, delineating the respective stages of the project process and outcomes, as well as my own life and career cycle.

This chapter begins with a personal positional narrative. This situates me at the axis of the inquiry, influencing the research and action process on the basis of my worldview and my emotional, spiritual, social and political relationship with the key constituents of the Fair Trade in Tourism project. It is underpinned by questions on what it means to be an adventure travel operator, who develops her critique of tourism impacts in one of the poorest destinations in the world into an activist context, campaigning for and developing new approaches to international tourism policy, and finally transferring such knowledge, skills and experience into an academic environment. Personal content is augmented by reference to relevant theory, which helps to contextualise my personal journey within a wider scholarly knowledge base. The positional narrative continues with an analysis of the NGO Tourism Concern, which acted as the catalyst for the project. Tourism Concern's position is charted in relation to the socio-political complexities of its field of action, influencing the outcomes of the project and my role within it. Theoretical material also supports this narrative, setting it within a wider scholarly context.

3.2 Personal Positioning

3.2.1 Journeys of Transformation

The practical environment in which the Fair Trade in Tourism project was conceived was a small NGO with an advocacy campaign and development education focus, operating at UK and European level on behalf of social justice in tourism for grassroots communities in developing countries. Its mission at the time was to change tourist industry practice in developing countries. As such it operated in a contested space, challenging industry practice and government policies. On the one hand it was respected and valued as an important voice on sustainable tourism by industry, governments, NGOs and academia, and on the other many within influential tourism industry quarters considered it either too radical or too marginal to be accepted as an influential source for change (see section 3.3.3). As policy co-ordinator I was engaged in a variety of roles in addition to research, including, conference organiser, conference facilitator, conference speaker, representative of Tourism Concern in national and international fora, co-ordinator of an international network, and facilitator of stakeholder consultation. The analysis and the outcomes of the Fair Trade in Tourism research were thus influenced by the historical, socio-economic and political contexts of the work of the NGO, my own position and ideological stance, the relationships between me and my environment and the political and socio-economic context of international tourism development at the time.

Some of the issues I want to resolve through critical reflexion in this thesis are related to (what I felt at the time) my inexperience as a researcher, a development activist, or policy analyst. I had no intellectual background in any social science discipline; my academic background was in modern languages and education, and not specifically in political science, economics or trade. Yet, I was involved with developing new strategies on international trade in tourism. Whilst it is possible to have a fresh and innovative perspective on the issues (which I feel I was able to develop), more in-depth knowledge of all or some of these areas might have been useful and might

have inflected my analysis of the issues, the research design and research outcomes. Whilst my MA in International Tourism Policy, which I completed in 1997, provided a valuable academic grounding, there were times during the project when I felt the need for more in-depth expertise to assist with a more robust analysis, particularly in relation to trade and development issues. As it was, I had to find my own research path in a short and pressurised space of time through an array of complex and challenging multi-sectoral political issues and research material, whilst concurrently running the consultation process.

Similarly, my approach to international multi-stakeholder consultation on developing specific, tangible strategies for fair trade in tourism, seemingly from a blank page, was largely based on my experience of organising national conferences and workshops on women's training issues, and, later into the job, on training workshops on stakeholder dialogue and social accountability and auditing at the Environment Council and Warwick University. Had I been a more experienced international multi-stakeholder facilitator, I might have been able to apply more focused, innovative techniques in the Network and conference discussions to achieve more specific outcomes. Additionally, there were many aspects of the project that were beyond my control: I was working towards programme aims embodied in a proposal to the European Union and the UK Government's Department for International Development, submitted by Tourism Concern. I was bound by the funding criteria enshrined in this application, and prescribed by the funding bodies. Although there was some degree of flexibility in applying these criteria, they acted to constrain research and campaign strategy.

Within the context of social psychology, Curtin *et al.* (2010) believe that personality is a crucial factor within an analysis of social activism. They argue that Openness to Experience is a personal trait that predicts liberal social attitudes and includes a disposition to an individual's tendency to attach personal importance and meaning to social and political events, i.e. Personal and Political Salience (PPS). Their research demonstrates a direct

correlation between Openness to Experience and activism in both young and middle aged adults. In the case of middle aged adults, in addition to Openness, key events that shape their lives provide an added impetus to their engagement with activism. Openness to Experience means preference for new exciting and intense experiences, enjoyment of engaging in abstract thought and philosophising, valuing imagination and non-conformity. This affects how people understand the world and process information; it affects their values and social interactions. Curtin *et al.* (2010) argue that it makes people more emotionally engaged in supporting social welfare and equality, with fewer tendencies towards general or racial prejudice. Another predictor of social movement participation is self-efficacy, which helps to overcome adversity in life (Knoke, 1988; McGehee, 2002).

Whilst it could be argued that not everyone with those attributes might become a political or social activist, applied to my personal circumstances, these theories provide some explanation for my involvement with activism. Freedom, adventure, unconventionality and innovation have been constant threads in my approach to life and career. Self-efficacy is a key characteristic for engagement with adventure and wilderness activities (Paxton and McAvoy, 2000) and is substantially increased by lengthy sojourns abroad and dealing with the challenge of culture shock (Milstein, 2005). Travel and study abroad can also contribute to personal growth and fundamentally change one's worldview (Milstein, 2005). I left Germany after school to study in England and pursue a career that was determined by my activism and my political commitment to transformative education and gender and racial equality. In a career change move, unconventional for most people in mid-life, seeking personal and spiritual fulfilment and adventure, I gave it all up to pursue my interest in climbing and adventure travel, setting up my own business in 1991. This eventually led me to Tourism Concern and the FTinT project, extending my activism to tourism.

Following Curtin *et al.*'s (2010) analysis, the next section thus maps my personal and conceptual journey, highlighting five key transformative stages

that shaped my political and social consciousness. I have chosen these particular stages because they indicate crucial thresholds in my cognitive and affective development, directly relating to the FTinT project. The analysis serves to contextualise the critical appraisal and interpretation of the research strategy and project process outcomes outlined in Chapter Four.
This approach forms an integral part of reflexivity (see Chapter Two). It is supported by Takacs (2003), who states:

> *Simply acknowledging that one's views are not inevitable – that one's positionality can bias one's epistemology-is itself a leap…that can make us more open to the world's possibilities. When we develop the skill of understanding how we know what we know, we acquire a key to lifelong learning* (Takacs, 2003:27).

Mauthner and Doucet (2003), in their reflexive account on qualitative data analysis, acknowledge the importance of biography in the choice of academic texts and research design and how this combination of personal life and academic texts can lead to particular ways of *'seeing'* and *'hearing'* during data analysis (Mauthner and Doucet, 2003:421).

3.2.2 Key Formative Event No. 1: Alternative Education and Feminism

During my formative years as a developing adult in the 1960s, in post-war West Germany, I was naturally exposed to political conflict and tension. In the 1960s following the end of World War II, Germany was a divided country: the capitalist West (the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG); in German: Bundesrepublik Deutschland, BRD) and the communist East, (the German Democratic Republic (GDR); in German: Deutsche Demokratische Republik, DDR). In 1961, the Berlin Wall had been erected, as part of the 'Iron Curtain', separating West and East Berlin and the rest of the country. The 'Iron Curtain' was an ideological, political, but also physical barrier of barbed wire, brick and watch towers, stretching from the Baltic Sea in the North of Germany, to the Adriatic. It was erected by the Soviet Union after the end of

World War II to seal off the communist East from the capitalist West to stop the exodus of refugees from East to West and prevent any contact between the two ideologically opposed worlds (Keylor, 2011). It divided families and friends preventing them from seeing each other, with many being killed, trying to flee from the East to the West. During World War II, my own family had had to flee from the Russian advances into Prussia and Pomerania, the eastern Baltic regions, and I used to be fascinated by their stories of this dramatic escape. My generation grew up with the tensions of this division, fuelled internationally by the ‘Cold War’ between the capitalist and communist superpowers, the Unites States of America and the then Soviet Union, the constant threat of nuclear war, and Soviet invasion (May, 2013). In the 1960s, West Germany was enjoying a period of capitalist economic boom, the *Wirtshaftswunder*, shored up by American financial assistance in the form of the Marshall Plan and a refugee immigrant workforce from the communist East, providing skilled labour (Payne, 2011). However, in the midst of this post-war economic euphoria and increasing international unrest connected to the Vietnam War, Civil Rights and anti-nuclear protest campaigns, German intellectuals were beginning to caution against the capitalist panacea exerting new forms of control over West German society, causing alienation and repression.

I was thus exposed to the ideological influences of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (1848), and Herbert Marcuse (1967) and radical ideas of the West European student movement for freedom of speech and democracy, denouncing state oppression and police brutality. The 1968 student protests, erupting in Europe and America, coincided with my final stage at school; it was impossible to remain unaffected. For example, in the summer of 1968, during a school field trip to Paris, I found myself surrounded as a passive bystander by students being charged by police during a demonstration in the city centre. The fact that I mention this experience here demonstrates that it left a lasting impression with me. Up until then, I had not fully registered the extent and meaning of the protests. I would never condone violence, militant resistance or protest of any kind. Reflecting on it now, I was impressed by

the courage of the students to oppose police and state force for the achievement of their ideals. As they were educated people, I gathered (maybe naively) that they must have analysed the reasons for their actions carefully, so much so that they were prepared to put themselves in danger of injury or arrest. I learnt the importance of empowerment through solidarity. The Communist Manifesto (Marx/Engels, 1848) had been a prescribed text at school, together with other philosophical texts, including Nietzsche and Kant. In the post-war Federal Republic of Germany, where the trials of former members of the fascist National Socialist Party were a constant feature of daily life, the process of coming to terms with collective guilt and shame about the Holocaust and the abomination of two world wars was an inherent factor of growing up. This might be one reason why I developed a deeply critical mind and mistrust of state power and a commitment to stand up against oppressive forces. The euphoria of new ideas and spontaneous action, emanating from university campuses in Germany, eventually influenced me to investigate the philosophical ideas behind these protests, gaining a heightened awareness of the differences between capitalist and socialist systems, without committing myself to a particular ideology or theory at the time. After school, my adventurous spirit led me to England, partly to perfect my English, and partly because I wanted to do something unusual with my life, a quest for freedom and independence. I eventually embarked on a BA degree course in Modern Languages (French and German), as I was unable to pursue my ambition of studying Social Pedagogy (Sozial Pädagogik), an accepted academic undergraduate award in Germany but not in Britain. Social Pedagogy has its roots in the educational philosophy of thinkers such as Jean-Jaques Rousseau (1712-1778) and Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827), which positions the learner (child or adult) in an interactive, mutually influential relationship with a social group or community. Education in this sense takes on a holistic character, acknowledging the individual as a whole person, learning through action, ‘head, heart and hand’, concurrently shaped by and shaping the social environment, which forms the young person’s field of reference. In Britain, this avenue was seemingly only

available if I studied a subject first, then completed a Post graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) and worked in Education.

During my studies, as a mature student, I became involved with socialist feminism, which found its expression in the organisation of women's support groups, attendance at demonstrations and research for the completion of my final dissertation in France (written in French) on the role of women in French trade unions. During this time I developed a critique of capitalism and an increased consciousness of the deliberate forces that shape the capitalist system and as part of that, social and political oppression, including gender and racial oppression. As a consequence, I rejected any involvement in support of that system, such as a professional career in industry. Instead, I committed myself optimistically to contributing my part in changing the system through education, empowerment of disadvantaged groups, and political involvement for an ideal vision of a more just society; a society striving for equality of opportunity, respect, tolerance, compassion and co-operation. My commitment to feminism and to political education at grassroots level with disadvantaged young people in an inner city context (North London) led me from adventure playground leader and youth worker in the 1970s to the completion of a PGCE and three years of disillusionment in Secondary Education; finally, in the mid-eighties, to a political appointment of Women's Training and Employment Officer in the Economic Development department of Sheffield City Council, encouraging women into non-traditional areas of training and employment, such as construction, engineering and computer technology. I had turned my activist interests into a career. My activism had become institutionalised, using institutional, political structures to promote women's equality as part of economic regeneration. The women I was working with were from a variety of racial and cultural backgrounds, often exiled from war torn regions, such as Yemen, Somalia and Pakistan, competing for continuously dwindling public resources under the pressure of Conservative government cuts to local authorities; in particular radical Labour authorities, such as Sheffield, which was termed the *'Socialist*

Republic of South Yorkshire' under the leadership of David Blunkett. (Panitch and Leys, 2001:266)

My experience in youth work and gender equality was crucial in shaping my awareness of grassroots politics and racial issues in the context of community development. For six years, as Women's Training and Strategy officer I was in the two pronged position of, on the one hand representing the City Council to the local community, and, on the other representing women's interests at Council level, influencing policy and strategy to reflect their needs by developing knowledge and experience from new and innovative projects, promoting equal opportunities. For example, I set up a women's construction training workshop, in conjunction with the local building college, which is still in operation today. The development of this workshop, with political support from the City Council, reflects a creative and intrepid interest in putting innovative ideas into practice and changing traditional views against all odds.

Stringent public sector cuts in the early 1990s led to the eventual restructuring of Sheffield's Employment and Economic Development Department. The highly charged political atmosphere of my position in the context of the erosion of public sector provision caused me to resign and follow my passion as a rock climber and mountaineer in setting up my own adventure trekking business to the Nepalese Himalaya as a sole trader. As a feminist, I had been involved in self-help and support groups to overcome my own struggle with internalised oppression and had eventually developed an interest in spiritual practice, such as Buddhism. This helped me to face up to the challenge of a complete life change. However, I soon realised that it is impossible to escape from politics and from a critical, inquisitive mind, even in the mountains of the Himalaya.

3.2.3 Formative Event No. 2: Trekking in Nepal

On my first trek ever, to the Nepal Himalaya, in 1989, my first ever visit to a developing country, as a tourist, in support of a climbing expedition, I had my first experience of tourism and the development quandary. I was enchanted

by the cultural wealth and diversity of this incredibly poor country (ruled at the time by a very rich Royal Family), the kindness of the people, and the harsh, challenging beauty of the Himalaya. The Nepalese team (mostly from the Bhotiya tribes, originating in Tibet), which also included women, guided us, cooked for us, served us and carried our luggage for us (in baskets of 30 kg plus, tied around their heads). They worked extremely hard, in some of the most adverse environmental conditions of high altitude, treacherous, mountainous terrain, intense cold, snow and ice and torrential rain. I had the deepest admiration for their resilience, loyalty and strength, combined with constant good humour. Yet, the UK trek leader, who was also the director of the trekking company, with most of his experience in Pakistan and on his first visit to Nepal, under pressure to please his clients in challenging climatic conditions, continually expressed his dissatisfaction with the service provided by the head Sherpa in the rudest manner, calling him an 'idiot' at one point. I was appalled and embarrassed at, what I perceived as the cultural ignorance and the disrespectful behaviour of this trek leader, seemingly on my behalf, towards the diligent work ethic of the Nepalese head trekking guide and his team.

As an academic, I have been able to reflect on this in the context of researching adventure tourism, which helped me to realise that this had been my first personal experience of the paradox that characterises tourism in the development context. I had come to Nepal as a rock climber and mountaineer, with the selfish ambition for a once in a lifetime experience of the highest mountain range in the world, trekking to, and possibly climbing (with the help of the climbing team) in the region of the fifth highest mountain on earth, Makalu. I had no knowledge or experience of developing countries, South Asia or Nepal. The only reasons that my visit was possible and affordable were the poverty of Nepal (meaning low costs and low paid labour), the skills and resilience of the local people and the neo-colonial format of the trekking organisation, which enabled me to walk, eat and sleep in comfort, so that I merely had to focus on getting there and back, remaining as healthy as possible. I was not rich. I had borrowed the money for this

seemingly ‘once in a lifetime experience’. Like most tourists, I had paid the trip costs to the trekking agency in the UK, and I expected a decent return. At the same time, I was also conscious of being a guest in a completely different culture and of the need to respect this culture and its people who were key stakeholders in ensuring our well-being on this trip. Yet, compared to how much we paid for the trip, these people were earning a paltry wage for extremely hard work, essentially serving our selfish desire for self-actualisation, personal development and achievement (Maslow, 1943, 1954; Weber, 2008) status and social recognition (Holden, 2008; Swarbrooke *et al.*, 2003). As someone with a social consciousness, this situation induced a measure of discomfort in me. On the other hand the Nepalese team were happy to have work and payment, however small; pay from tourism, which could include substantial tips, was usually far higher than the average daily wage in Nepal. They were happy to work hard in harsh conditions because the season was short and work was scarce. This created a situation of dependency. In the absence of any other means of income, apart from subsistence agriculture, and the prospect of starvation for the six months of the year when agriculture failed to provide enough food for the family, tourism provided a welcome opportunity for additional income, as well as knowledge and skills development. However, poverty and dependency also tend to breed exploitation and greed, and this was evident in the way that both Western and Nepalese trekking agencies treated the Nepalese support teams. Lack of training, low pay, lack of health insurance, harsh working conditions, inadequate equipment for the harsh high altitude environment were the order of the day in the early 1990s, which sometimes resulted in death and ill-health amongst porters and trek support staff. In addition to social and cultural transformation, caused by trekking and climbing tourism, the footfall and behaviour of thousands of trekkers and their support staff during an intensive, short autumn season, in a limited geographical area around the most attractive routes, leading to the highest mountains, had caused serious degradation of natural resources, in terms of deforestation, litter and water pollution.

3.2.4 Formative Event No. 3: The Kathmandu Environmental Education Project (KEEP)

In addition to a sense for social justice, my love of climbing and mountains had induced in me a strong passion for protecting nature as a source for spiritual enrichment and livelihood sustenance. Once I had set up my own trekking business in 1991, I joined the Kathmandu Environmental Education Project (KEEP), a Nepalese NGO, equally established in 1991. KEEP was raising awareness on minimising the negative impacts from trekking tourism in rural mountainous regions amongst trekkers, staff and the Nepalese authorities. KEEP saw itself as the 'interface' between all the players in the Nepal trekking industry and local communities. My reasons for joining were a mixture of guilt and optimistic belief in the positive power of tourism. I needed to relieve my sense of guilt by accepting responsibility for being one of the potential causes of the negative impacts of tourism by bringing in the tourists and increasing pressure on scarce local resources. Conversely, I had a strong belief that tourism could act as a positive force, if the tourism activity was managed sensitively and sustainably, bringing benefits to local communities, whose economic poverty had deeply shocked me. At the same, the depth and richness of their culture had left a deep impression on me.

Involvement with tourism, particularly adventure tourism, can have life-changing consequences. Overcoming personal, physical challenges, encounter with different cultures, immersion in stunningly beautiful, remote and challenging environments, different from any other life experiences (as perceived through European eyes) can have profound emotional and transformational effects on the traveller (Noy, 2004; Sowards, 2012).

As such, my initial involvement with tourism, with justice in tourism and with tourism and development had a deeply emotional and somewhat romantic, albeit guilt-driven core, emanating from a selfish desire to protect a world that had opened new doors for me towards a new gentle culture, provided me with new hope and a new, more rewarding life. My engagement with Fair Trade Tourism was thus not based on an intellectual academic analysis of

the gaps in tourism research but on an emotional attachment and my deeply held beliefs to help improve trading and living conditions for people in developing countries. From the micro-world of a trekking operator, adopting a social responsibility for benefiting the people along a trekking route, my dormant political consciousness caused me to become eventually involved with the complex and bewildering, yet fascinating macro-world of global trade and development through involvement with KEEP and Tourism Concern.
Ultimately, it is intellectual academic and political analysis as a basis for rigorously executed research, which removes the rose coloured glasses, tinted with romantic notions of the so-called exotic *'Other'* (Said, 1991:1). The key for me, at this point in my reflexion as an academic, is to find the synergy between a passionate drive for seeking justice for people far removed from my own culture and environment, and sober academic analysis. This includes a self-critical analysis of my relationship with 'Development' and a critical, scholarly engagement with the debates on neo/post-colonialism and cultural imperialism, as it relates tourism expansion, including Said's ideas on *'Orientalism'* (Said, 1991). I believe this is an important part of an inquiry into activist tourism research, when it is conducted in countries of the global South. This belief is influenced by my current perspective as an academic, having had the chance to undertake more intensive, critical research on the issues of development. At the time of leading the FTinT project, I had not been able to develop a more in-depth self-critical and politically shrewd position on those issues. My motives were more intuitively driven by a humanist vision of a just society, as mentioned under 3.2.1, and by an intellectual critique of the capitalist system that creates the conditions for dependency, inequality and poverty.

First Fair Trade in Tourism Meeting (KEEP) – July 1994

Early in 1994, KEEP's British co-founder and UK representative approached me with the idea of organising a meeting with tour operators to discuss the possibility of fair trade in tourism for the mountain communities of Nepal. This meeting represented the seeding ground for the investigation into Fair Trade in Tourism over the years to come. By that time, Fair Trade was beginning to

make its mark in the UK with the development of Green & Black's Maya Gold Chocolate, Cafedirect coffee and Clipper tea. According to KEEP, Fair Trade in Tourism was to be achieved by encouraging UK trekking operators to Nepal to acknowledge their responsibility for ensuring environmental sustainability and maximisation of benefits and control to local people in rural areas by supporting KEEP financially. It was suggested that funds could be raised by imposing a £10 levy on trekking clients, which would support KEEP, working at grassroots level, to recover the costs of environmental depletion and raise the productive capacity of rural communities. The meeting was attended by seven trek operators (out of 39 invitees), including myself, representing High Places (a Sheffield-based adventure travel operator that I had joined following the introduction of the EU Package Travel Directive in 1992), the then Director of the NGO Tourism Concern and the KEEP representative.

KEEP's activities originally extended to education and advice for independent travellers, as well as Nepalese support staff, and the promotion of environmental projects. At this meeting, it was announced that it was broadening its remit to a more political commitment to promoting social and economic justice through 'Trade not Aid', i.e. Fair Trade. It required tour operators to engage with development issues and take active responsibility for the impacts of their activities and to contribute to wider social justice goals. However, understandably, the meeting felt that such goals could not be achieved by tour operator's actions or trekkers alone and the trek operators present responded cautiously to KEEP's proposal.

The meeting concluded with

a) an appeal to clarify the implementation of Fair Trade in terms of practical examples and further research; and
b) a recommendation to set up a 'Himalayan Trekking Association' in the UK, bringing together tour operators and tourism issues and implementing useful objectives (Kathmandu Environmental Education Project (KEEP), 1994).

However, the key question for implementing such recommendations was: who would fund and administer such an undertaking? This was clearly not on the agenda of the trek operators, and the Himalayan Trekking Association never materialised.

3.2.5 Formative Event No. 4: Tourism Concern and the Fair Trade in Tourism Research and Campaign Project

At the same meeting, the Director of Tourism Concern presented a research paper, which opened my eyes to the macro-economic and political development background of what I had experienced at the micro-level in Nepal. The research concerned the implications of the implementation of the General Agreement of Trade in Services (GATS) for tourism in developing economies in the context of Structural Adjustment policies. The research was eventually published in 1996 by Tourism Concern (Badger *et al.*, 1996), including a short chapter by myself with first ideas on Fair Trade in Tourism. It was this paper and my studies for the MA in International Tourism Policy, which incorporated a political economy approach that formed my activist commitment to equitable tourism.

In 1996, Tourism Concern invited me to lead a project on Fair Trade in Tourism, for which funding had been made available by the then University of North London and Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO). Meanwhile, after a serious climbing accident in 1994, I had embarked on the full-time MA in International Tourism Policy at the University of North London in 1996. This academic exposure to tourism and international politics enabled me to contextualise my practical experience in the field within a wider socio-political environment, moving from the personal, emotional level to an intellectual level of sense-making. However, whilst on the course, I was still engaged as trek leader, and working part-time on the Fair Trade in Tourism project. As such, I was moving within a manifold interface of different worlds: i) the world of a trek operator, facing real practical challenges of leading groups in harsh, high altitude environments in a development context; ii) the world of an academic student, battling with literature reviews (a completely new concept for me); and iii) the world of an activist, developing new ideas and writing for

both academic and campaign purposes; the latter two being juxtaposed as complete opposites in thinking, style and intention. My academic tradition had finished many years before, with my French dissertation on the role of women in French trade unions and my PGCE. Thus my academic assignments were influenced by a campaign perspective, acquired by exposure to Tourism Concern. They were informed by academic study of globalisation and dependency theory, as well as my emotional concern with injustice and sustainability, acquired in the field. Under normal circumstances, as I know now, one might have expected them to be based on a more systematic, theoretical dissection of a wide range of relevant literature.

However, in my view, social academic research, which affects and involves the people it claims to benefit, should be accessible to a wide and diverse audience, including the key participants. Therefore, the question this raises for me is: How can one strike the right balance between writing a lively and convincing campaign document, which is also a credible research piece, and does not intimidate and mystify the reader with abstract, academic jargon? The answer may be found in 'audiencing' (Harris, 2007:42): academic research needs to be translateable into different social contexts to be disseminated to the people, whom it affects or who could benefit from it. Critics of such style might caution against diluting the research. However, it needs to be remembered that material used for campaigning needs to be doubly sound in order to avoid being vulnerable to attack by those whom the campaigns target. The skill is in the writing and in the approach of the writer.

In 1999, after an initial pilot project with funding from the then University of North London and VSO, a long term grant became available from the EU and the Department for International Development (DFID) for a three-year educational and campaign programme on Fair Trade in Tourism, which gave rise to three of the publications, included in this thesis (see Chapter Five).

Before analysing this project in detail in Chapter Four, I conclude my personal position statement with a reflection on my shift from activism to academe. Finally, this chapter concludes with positioning Tourism Concern and its role in the historical and socio-political environment at the time of the project.

3.2.6 Formative Event No. 5: My Shift from Activism to Academe

In 2002, the EU funding for the FTinT project ceased, and I continued the work in a consultancy capacity through Tourism Concern, with a grant from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office for the development of Corporate Social Responsibility policies with three industry organisations: First Choice, Co-op Travel and ABTA. This work followed on from the 2002 publication on Corporate Futures (Kalisch, 2002), implementing some of the tenets discussed in it.

When this grant ceased in 2003, I decided to join Higher Education. This decision was primarily influenced by my personal requirement for a more stable professional position, which, I thought, would allow me to continue with research and consultancy in the field of fair trade in tourism, following on from where I left with Tourism Concern. In my view, enough research and conceptual work had been carried out since 1996, and it was time to test some of the outcomes in practice. One option would have been to develop a pilot project to implement the Fair Trade principles and criteria developed in Kalisch (2001). However, this would have compromised Tourism Concern's position as a campaign organisation, as it would have had to become involved with certification, a deeply contested issue among researchers and NGOs; particularly those in developing countries, where the ostensible beneficiaries of fair trade in tourism were based. Another option would have been to work with NGOs and industry organisations to implement the recommendations elaborated in Kalisch, 2001 and 2002, respectively. Any of these options would have required raising considerable financial resources, which would have involved a period of financial insecurity for me. On another level, I was tired of being (what felt like) at the frontline of conflict, of feeling

powerless and angry at injustice (Rodgers, 2010), tired of feeling as though I was responsible for resolving the problems of development. Rodgers (2010) notes that, more than in other spheres of work, emotion, arising from empathy and optimism are important motivators for involvement in activism. At the same time, a high measure of emotional control is necessary for working within an environment of political controversy, which can cause 'burn out' and discouragement after some time.

I chose to leave Tourism Concern and activism and immerse myself in the new world of academia at a late stage in my career. My experience at Tourism Concern had shown me the volatility of charitable work and the problems of obtaining and managing funding for a small, resource-poor NGO, such as Tourism Concern. I wanted to deepen my research and apply my knowledge and experience in a higher educational setting. I believed that through rigorous academic research, and removed from the politically charged environment of confrontational activism or dubious collaboration with industry, it would be possible to reach the root of the problem, sharpen the arguments on socio-economic justice in tourism and develop more thoroughly considered options for change. I felt it was important to state conclusively through academic research, more rigorously and critically than it had been possible through activist research, whether and how a certified Fair Trade Tourism product could be a reality and whether and how it would create a more equitable trading system in tourism (see Kalisch, 2010; 2013).

Challenges of reconciling activist and academic identities

I have always embraced academia with some degree of caution and discernment, preferring active engagement and adventure challenges to pure theoretical deliberation. At the same time, I have been in awe of academe and Higher Education, realising the importance of peer reviewed publication and achieving academic credibility through critical debate. I am also aware of the potential influence research can exert in the public domain, considering the power of the written word and rigorous methodology.

Amongst activists and industry professionals, there is, in my experience, a tendency towards a lack of trust of academia. Their impression of academics is one of being removed from practice, embroiled in abstract jargon, which only the members of the same 'club' could understand, unable to respond appropriately to the speedy, pressured environment of profit-maximisation or the fight against injustice. This perception is supported by Rootes (1990), who notes that activists tend to be suspicious of theorists. Theorists are seen to develop theories on social movements because this kind of higher order thinking bolsters their power and academic standing.

It is interesting to note that the Oxford Thesaurus states as one of the synonyms of the word 'academic' in colloquial use: *irrelevant, beside the point, hypothetical, speculative, conjectural* (Hawker, 2008:6). One can speculate to what extent this perception of academia prevails within private and non-profit sectors. A critical, internally oriented perspective on academia might also surmise how applicable these terms might be in the context of the 'ivory tower' mentality, or at least aloofness from practical reality (sometimes enforced by cumbersome bureaucratic and quality assurance institutional regulatory processes). Nevertheless, there is a strong body of critical scholarly work bridging the activist/academe gap in activist anthropology, geography and sociology, and in development studies (Hale, 2001; 2006 and 2008; Pain, 2003; Fuller and Kitchin, 2004; Shivji, 2004; Chatterton, 2008; Blomley, 2008). In tourism studies, there have been emerging debates on this area of inquiry as part of the Critical Tourism Studies (CTS) series of conferences and publications, since 2007, and in particular since 2013, including journal articles and conference papers by Hales *et al.* (2013), and Klein (2013). I would argue that such approaches need to become more prominent in tourism research, not just in tourism studies but also in the applied tourism management field.

Optimistically, having straddled the different worlds of business, NGOs and academia, my aim has always been to achieve a synergy between those worlds, a reconciliation, which respects the achievements that each have to

offer and the benefits their different disciplines can present to each other, primarily in the context of a responsible and ethical approach in tourism. At the same time, I regard it as important to retain a critical perspective, which recognises the structural inequalities of capitalism and guards against the risk of compromising the integrity of any one side. I strive towards assuring opportunities for open debate and greater awareness, as well as personal and organisational change. Nonetheless, the transition from an activist environment to a new career as full-time academic has not been easy for me, even though I was not entirely new to academia. I had been Associate Visiting Lecturer at Sheffield Hallam University, whilst working for Tourism Concern, and I had been funded during 1996/7 by the then University of North London, in collaboration with Tourism Concern and VSO, to research Fair Trade in Tourism, which resulted in the first journal article, Cleverdon and Kalisch (2000). As I mentioned above, my decision to join academia had been guided by my wish to pursue more in-depth evidence-based research, particularly primary field research. I was cautiously hopeful that my practical experience as an activist and a consultant in a ground-breaking area of knowledge creation and my ideas for further research would be recognised as an asset to the University research strategy and worthy of financial and development support. However, the pressurised institutional context of academic bureaucracy and institutional financial constraints presented me with substantial challenges to this objective. My research for this thesis reveals that my personal experience in academia in this respect is far from unique. It resonates with many colleagues across different disciplines in academe, both nationally and internationally (Davies *et al.* 2006; Gill, 2010). However, my experience differs to the extent that I am not a life-long academic. I have a substantial background in other fields, which affects my experience and outlook. Whilst activism is not without its challenges (as discussed elsewhere in Chapters Three and Four), I found that joining academe from an activist environment can be a daunting experience. Few academics have joined academia as activists and, whilst I have discovered a considerable trove of literature on academic activism (though not in tourism research); I have found no evidence of research on this issue from the

perspective of activists, particularly tourism activists who have joined academia. Evidence from conference presentations and discussions with development activists, turned academics suggests that it can require considerable cultural adaptation. It can be an intimidating experience, causing in some cases an identity crisis in terms of questioning where one belongs, and feeling undervalued by colleagues, who tend to view practitioner research as biased (Parlevliet, 2011).

Transition to academia presented me with the following challenges:

1) No time for research

The position offered to me was predominantly a teaching position, which left me with limited time for research, beyond module and lecture preparation.
I have always found it difficult to combine the mundane bureaucratic demands of module administration and other university related responsibilities, with the creative and time-consuming, and mostly lonely task of research and writing, which is expected to be undertaken during leisure time. Yet, as a rule, I was already working over my allocated time, simply to maintain my responsibilities for teaching and course administration. Denning (2005), Davies *et al.* (2006) and Gill (2010) echo this dilemma for academics in the context of, as they see it, the neo-liberal take-over of universities and the unquestioned adoption of corporate managerial models into university life. In her book chapter on 'Breaking the silence: The hidden injuries of neo-liberal academia', Gill (2010) extends the practice of reflexivity to our experiences as academics and the institutional context of academic knowledge production. She asks: *'What would we find if, instead of studying others, we gaze upon our own community?'* (Gill, 2010:229) and our own labour processes. In doing so, she highlights an increasingly alienating process of overwork and stress, *'a punishing intensification of work'* as *'an endemic feature of academic life'…'a profession overloaded to breaking point'* (Gill, 2010:234/235) caused by underfunding, increasing demands on academics, an overly bureaucratised audit culture, and aggravated by an

insidious privatisation of Higher Education as part of the neo-liberal economic paradigm (Denning, 2005; Davies *et al.*, 2006; Gill, 2010).

2) Lack of experience to create research and writing profile

Since my position was predominantly a teaching position, the development of research and writing capacity was largely reliant on my own initiative. Yet, I lacked the experience to apply for research funding and to turn existing research into publications.

Within academe, the focus of ambition tends to be on research and writing for publication. It appears that publication, rather than active engagement for social change or excellence in teaching, is necessary for career advancement and kudos (Klein, 2013). The number of publications in high ranking academic journals determines an academic's seniority, career progression and influence in the field (Baumann, 2003). This raises issues for researchers with diverse career structures, such as, for example, a practitioner who enters academe at a later stage in their working life, women, who take maternity leave and career breaks, and researchers, whose culture is non-western and whose native language is not English. It also raises issues for the purpose of diversity in research and academic excellence.

In 2005, I was fortunate to receive a grant from the University of Gloucestershire to undertake a week of field research in Thailand, researching post-tsunami reconstruction for tourism development in Phuket and Ko Phi Phi. This was a result of collaboration with Tourism Concern, who, at the time, were engaged in a research project on the issues for displaced coastal communities and tourism development in the post-tsunami Indian Ocean tourism destinations (Rice, 2005). I wrote 10,000 words worth of data, of which a small amount was used by Tourism Concern, due to limited space, but I did not take it any further into the publications domain. In hindsight, I could have used the report to write several publications, which would have been highly topical and original. However, I lacked the time, incentive, confidence, experience and support to turn a rich dataset into a

theoretically framed analysis, convincing and acceptable to peer review. Several years earlier, I had experienced a serious rebuttal, when a paper I submitted for peer-review for a special issue on Fair Trade in Tourism, edited by Robert Cleverdon, following the first academic conference on the topic in 1999, was returned for substantial re-writing, with a long list of comments. This considerably affected my self-confidence as an academic researcher. The paper had been based on several weeks of field research in 1998 in Kerala (South India) on the feasibility of FTinT in communities dealing with recently introduced mass tourism in beach destinations. The reviewer's comments represent an example of the scepticism in the academic community at the time towards the realistic potential of FTinT and the idea that large scale international tour operators should be expected to work in partnership with local communities, i.e. rescinding some of their powers. The views represented a strongly pragmatic and business oriented approach, prevalent at the time within academia, and could have provided me with a welcome challenge for debate. However, the paper required substantial re-working in a short space of time, more rigorous theoretical argument and a more sceptical approach to Fair Trade in Tourism. I could have achieved this with more academic peer support, which was not available, and for which I had neither the time, as I had started my position as Policy-co-ordinator with Tourism Concern, nor the inclination. It left me feeling considerably demoralised about my ability to provide the necessary sharply tuned, persuasive academic argument. In a sense, the paper on Corporate Social Responsibility in the Tourism Industry, Corporate Futures, three years later in 2002, provided a response to some of those criticisms. I now realise that this is a painful but normal part of the process of academic publication. Accepting critical comments on one's writing and research, without giving in to self-doubt and insecurity is an important aspect of survival and success in academe.

3) Lack of opportunity for critical debate and action for social change

Activism is about being active and initiating action, and I am a person who likes to do primary research in the field, combined with action and reflection

in an iterative process, as, for example, in Action Research (Reason and Bradbury, 2006).

Working on the Fair Trade in Tourism project was exciting, as well as extremely challenging. I was involved in a constant interchange between praxis (i.e. meetings at national, European and international levels, debates in industry, NGO and government fora, lobbying governments, field research, organising conferences) and research, which is evidenced in the project outputs and the publications. In this process, I was constantly reflecting on my motives, strengths and ways to overcome my weaknesses and lack of confidence, for the most part subconsciously, as there was little time for systematic reflection. This dynamic interchange between praxis and research helped to strengthen and hone my arguments. It was rewarding when our work influenced both NGO and grassroots practice and policies at the United Nations, the World Tourism Organisation and even the World Bank. From my current position in academe, this dynamic has been missing for me: the debates at international fora, the close knit, supportive but critical circle of colleagues at Tourism Concern and within the international network, the input into international policy and the chance to be an active agent in helping to transform unjust tourism practice. Within activist research, it is this synergy between, participatory, reflexive praxis and scholarly research that I aspire.

Solidarity, commitment to a common goal, collective, democratic working and mutual support are key factors for success in activism, joining like-minded people (though not always in consensus) into a potent force. In contrast, academic departments tend to combine a variety of individual often competing ambitions, driven by deadlines and the pressures of meeting bureaucratic demands of quality assurance, in addition to generating research funding and publications. Such pressures tend to create an atmosphere of competitive, corporate individualism rather than collectivism, potentially stifling any cooperative spirit for creative innovation (Davies *et al.*, 2006). Where collaboration exists, there may be less personal investment at stake than in activist endeavour.

Critical face-to-face debate is limited within university circles, where deadlines and bureaucracy determine a pressurised work load. Maybe I have a limited experience of academic conferences, but most of those that I have attended, abounded with research presentations, with a minimum of time available for discussion. Critical debate generally happens in writing, in publications or via email list servers. Whilst writing is an invaluable, creative tool for the considered formulation, articulation and dissemination of ideas, particularly in an international environment, where face to face contact is difficult, I have found it limiting and stifling in the context of debate. Such method lacks the dynamic and inclusive element of a diversity of stakeholders and the discipline of instant, respectful face-to-face riposte, helping to learn from each other and to refine and hone one's arguments.

Reconciling activism with academe

Given these challenges, how can activist and academic worlds be reconciled to create a new shape for research and action for social change in tourism?

In relation to being an activist in academia, Maxey (2004) notes, the boundaries between our activist and academic personalities are generally blurred. I am sure most activists or academics would agree that their profession is more a question of life style and vocation than a job. It should thus be possible to carry our activism into academia and vice versa. There are some academics involved with activism inside and outside their profession (as noted above), and there are activists who publish peer-reviewed work (for example, see Roper, 2002, and other authors in the academic journal *Development in Practice*). When I joined Higher Education I did not automatically shed the activist mind-set. Rather, I was aware of a process where the two worlds intermingled and enhanced each other. As an academic, I am still a change agent, active on a different plain. Being in academia has allowed me, to gain substantial benefit from developing Higher Education pedagogic expertise, and from sharing my knowledge and experience with students as budding tourism professionals and potential agents of change. For me, critical pedagogy and participatory research have

always been crucial tools for social and political transformation, a means for emancipation and social action. I have carried my values and beliefs into my scholarship and pedagogic practice, such as curriculum development for tourism courses, and promoting transformative education for ethical and sustainable futures, developing a track record of critical pedagogy.
Examples of this include:

a) Post-tsunami field research in Thailand in collaboration with Tourism Concern (Rice, 2006);
b) Collaboration with Tourism Concern and the Rainforest Alliance on seeking joint funding and research opportunities;
c) Organisation of field trips for students to The Gambia in 2007 and 2008, in collaboration with contacts from the FTinT network, extending my work on fair trade in tourism in the context of experiential, transformative pedagogy through cultural encounter and exchange;
d) Conference presentations on these subjects (Kalisch, 2007; 2009): i) ATHE Annual Conference, 5th – 7th December, 2007, *Sustainable Tourism in Developing Countries – Transformative Learning through Fieldtrips; ii)* ATHE Annual Conference, 2nd-4th December, 2009, *Transformative Learning through Cultural Encounter – A path to ethical action?*
e) Delivering keynote speeches on Tourism and Development (Kalisch, 2005) at a conference at the University of Leuven, Belgium, on CSR at a collaborative workshop between TC and ABTA in 2005, on Trade Justice and FTinT at an ESRC funded seminar at the University of the West of England (Kalisch, 2008); and guest lectures on Master courses at the University of the West of England;
f) Embedding sustainability in the tourism curriculum (Kalisch, 2007; 2015 forthcoming);
g) Creating a new module on ‘Sustainability and Ethics in Tourism Management’;
h) Teaching on adventure tourism, international destination management, tourism impacts, cultural diversity, sustainability, corporate social responsibility, and human rights; and

i) After several years of trying, and motivated by my editor colleagues, I have been able to extend and deepen my thinking on Fair Trade in Tourism in the development of two further publications (Kalisch, 2010; 2013), and, in particular, in researching and writing this thesis. The development of this thesis, through the medium of reflexivity, has enabled me to reconnect with and reshape my activist and academic engagement to develop an activism/academe confluence. I have conducted profound discussions with former activist colleagues, as part of the reflexive analysis, and have refined my research and analysis on the subject, improving my academic competencies. Being an academic has allowed me to write this thesis, to gain substantial benefit from developing Higher Education pedagogic expertise, and from sharing my knowledge and experience with students as budding tourism professionals and potential agents of change.

The next section situates the reflexions above, on my personal positionality, into the organisational environment of the FTinT project. Personal positionality thus forms the background to my relationship with the organisational structures that were driving the project. Furthermore, the organisation and its socio-political environment is analysed in order to make transparent institutional, structural and structure/agency relationships, which may have influenced the research process and outcomes.

3.3 Organisational Positioning

The following narrative represents my particular personal interpretation of Tourism Concern's position and relationships with external agencies. The purpose of this organisational positioning is twofold:

1. To focus on the socio-political and institutional environment, framing the research and the publications;

2. To focus on my position as activist researcher within that environment.

This process can be related to Alvesson *et al.*'s (2004) reflexivity practices of multi-voicing and positioning. I intend to demonstrate some of the complexities that I was working with in the context of Fair Trade in Tourism activism, which may have had a bearing on the research process and outcomes. Moreover, in the context of an analysis of activist research and activism/academe collaboration, it is crucial to understand the organisational pressures and complexities of an activist tourism organisation, and how these might influence a collaborative undertaking.

My interpretations are based partly on evidence from publications and project data sets (for example reports, email correspondence, list server discussions, progress reports, annual reports and network meeting reports), and partly on my own experience and perceptions at the time of my involvement with Tourism Concern, memorised at the point of writing this thesis. The process of reviewing the above data sets after several years helped to rekindle dormant memories (please, see section 2.4.2 on 'Memory-work within Reflexivity'). My interpretations were supplemented by recorded structured conversations with three former key players within Tourism Concern:

1) Between 19th and 21st August 2012, I met with the former director of TC, Tricia Barnett. For several hours, over the period of two days, she responded to my questions with her memories and perspectives on the socio-cultural context of the first three publications. For each of the papers, my questions to her were structured around

   i. Historical context
   ii. My position
   iii. Relationships between me and my environment

iv. Political and socio-economic context/forces of international tourism development/policy at the time.

This meeting was invaluable not only in assisting with the process of remembering, cross-checking details of events, and gaining her perspective on some of my ideas, but also to clarify in my own mind how to structure my ideas in this thesis.

On 13 June 2014, I met with her again, checking with her my findings and interpretations in Chapter Three (Organisational Positioning) and Chapter Four over a four hour period. She confirmed the majority of my account, complementing it with her observations or minor corrections. I have incorporated her contributions into my narrative and, where appropriate, I have referenced her comments.

2) On 10 December 2012, I met with Professor David Botterill, who was one of the first trustees on the steering committee of TC in 1989, to discuss his perspectives on TC, outlined in his 1991 journal article (Botterill, 1991). This meeting lasted two hours.

3) Additionally, I conducted a telephone conversation on 23 May, 2014 with the founder of TC to gauge her views on the impact of the FTinT project in global terms.

3.3.1 Tourism Concern

Tourism Concern was created in 1988, as a response to increasing reports from NGOs and religious organisations in developing countries of exploitation, land grab and child sex tourism (O'Grady, 1990; Patterson, 1992). Its initial focus was development education, which was later complemented with campaign and advocacy work. It was set up to join a European and international network of organisations raising awareness in tourism impacts in developing countries, particularly focussed on human

rights issues (Stancliffe, 2013). The Network (TEN –Third World Tourism European Ecumenical Network) comprised of organisations in Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, Italy, Belgium, with partners in the (now defunct) Ecumenical Coalition on Third World Tourism, based in Thailand.

By the time I joined the team in 1996, Tourism Concern's portfolio, with its strap line 'Putting People in the Picture', included campaigns supporting NGOs in Goa to stop illegal tourism development, campaigns on displacement of indigenous peoples for tourism development, such as the Maasai and other indigenous groups in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, supporting the Free Burma campaign to stop tourism to Burma, and the creation of the Himalayan Tourist Code. It had made a particular impact in 1992 with the publication of 'Beyond the Green Horizon' in collaboration with WWF, in response to the 1992 Rio Earth summit, which extended the focus of sustainability in tourism from the physical (green) environment to justice for people, in particular host communities. In comparison to many NGOs that Tourism Concern was collaborating with in the UK, such as WWF, VSO, CAFOD, Christian Aid, Traidcraft, and Oxfam, it was very small and more recently established, with a maximum of 3-5 full-time and part-time staff, depending on volunteers for a large part of its programme and a fluctuating budget, constantly in need of fundraising; a drop in the ocean of global change. The relationship of collaboration was thus usually founded upon inequality, not only in terms of size but also in terms of power dynamic, as Tourism Concern was dependent on several of the larger NGOs for its core funding. This often caused TC to feel like a 'Third World' NGO in a dependency relationship for its continued existence with 'First World' development NGOs (T. Barnett, 2014, former Director of Tourism Concern, pers. comm., 13 June).

Fundraising was the biggest challenge for the organisation. Tourism Concern's priority was to be independent of any commercial donors, and its programme was largely determined by the unpredictable and uncertain availability of project grants of varying sizes from varying public and non-

profit donors. Whilst project funding could often be found, the main problem concerned the attraction of funding for its running costs, covering salaries and overheads. This created problems for developing future plans and strategies and made it vulnerable in the face of opposition, as well as critical donors who expected sound business plans. Barnett (2014) explains that the subject of tourism was not seen as a development issue in the donor world, and TC constantly found itself on the back foot, having to justify that there was a problem with tourism. Even though, in general, the quality of TC's research could be exemplary (such as on displacement and human rights), this was insufficient to impress donors, for whom TC's target stakeholders were somehow never poor enough. Donors presumed TC in the same category as a development agency, expecting TC to have the same ground knowledge and contacts with grassroots organisations. However, it did not have that kind of intelligence as it was not a development agency. Indeed, TC was critical of the power of development aid to create fundamental change (T. Barnett, 2014, pers. comm., 13 June). Whilst this ambiguous situation was unique to Tourism Concern, funding problems were regular dilemmas for most NGOs. Wallace (2003) highlights the changing donor strategies and trends in NGO funding at that time. She confirms the decrease in donor funding for UK NGOs from European as well as lottery-based charity sources in the UK, often in tandem with an increase in direct funding for NGOs in the South. This downward trend in available resources for development-oriented work particularly affected the smaller and medium-sized NGOs in the UK.

I was introduced to a considerable network of national and international contacts with NGOs, government and industry representatives, which eventually formed the basis of the International Network on Fair Trade in Tourism in 1999. Within this formation of working relationships, there could also be some conflictual elements of a personal and political nature. In the process of taking certain positions and actions, Tourism Concern had both attracted praise and criticism. Political intervention through public campaigns necessarily generates reaction and critical positions from other parties. In

pursuing its goal of raising awareness of conditions for local people in tourism destinations, its stance might have often seemed too radical and oppositional, particularly to members of the tourism industry. In a sense that was to be expected, some might say even desirable, because it meant that it was successful as a pressure group. However, in creating a collaborative multi-stakeholder approach on FTinT, which included the industry, this dynamic sometimes prejudiced my work, when I sought industry support. My style was conciliatory; my aim was to convince doubters or 'disbelievers' (Weiser and Zadek, 2000) with the power of a rational, well-researched, convincing business case rather than by invoking the moral high ground (see Kalisch, 2002). However, in trying to win allies, there were times when I found it difficult to assert my own separate identity and position in relation to the arguments and the stakeholders we were dealing with, particularly the industry. A radical organisational position can generate antagonism and hostility, which can make it difficult for a representative from that organisation to create a trusting collaborative relationship and achieve positive outcomes. This was part of the constant inside/outside tightrope balance for Tourism Concern (Botterill, 1991); it is a difficult challenge for an organisation in that position to assert itself as both constructive and provocative at the same time. This tension, however, represents an important, creative and indispensable part of a transformative process. Nonetheless, I have to concede that, had I felt more confident in my political and professional position, somewhat braver and vocal as a critical partner in challenging prejudice, this might have been less problematic for me. Barnett (2014) states that TC's first industry policy officer was unable to deal successfully with this 'cleavage' and had to leave as a result (T. Barnett, 2014, pers. comm., 13 June). Writing the publications thus presented an opportunity for me to share my own analysis, to imprint my position in the context of the consultation outcomes. I should mention that this was always thoroughly discussed within Tourism Concern, and the director respected and wholly endorsed my analysis (please, refer to her letter in Appendix E).

The following section explores the relationship between Tourism Concern and other organisations, which were crucial in contributing to and influencing the progress of the FTinT project.

3.3.2 Relationships with UK and International NGOs, Development Organisations and Academe

In the UK, Tourism Concern's relationship with other NGOs revolved around collaboration and/or seeking collaboration on campaigns, seeking funding assistance, or seeking support for conceptual innovation. TC recognised that the subject matter of tourism impacts and human rights was too complex to deal with on their own. For example, with regard to the 'Beyond the Green Horizon' publication in 1992, it collaborated with WWF; with regard to the Fair Trade in Tourism project, Tourism Concern initially collaborated with VSO and the then University of North London who both provided a small amount of project funding to undertake some initial research on the subject. In return, the University required the publication of a journal article, while VSO integrated the outcomes of this initial phase first into the training and communications systems for their volunteers in overseas locations, and then into their two-year Worldwise campaign. The journal article included in this thesis is the product of that collaboration (Cleverdon and Kalisch, 2000).

Whilst collaboration and partnership is generally a key factor amongst NGOs for gaining maximum public momentum for campaigns, evidenced, for example, by the NGO coalitions that drove the 'Make Poverty History' campaign in 2005, competition is equally an important aspect in this sphere. In a world where public funding for non-profit organisations is a scarce resource, with ever changing, politically induced priorities, NGOs are fiercely competing for an ever shrinking supply of funding (Wallace, 2003; Britton, 2005; Goodey and Pharoah, 2005), with serious skills and human resources gaps in fundraising, marketing and IT. This is particularly pronounced in smaller NGOs, where low salaries and lack of career opportunities tend to deter graduate and experienced applicants (Goodey and Pharoah, 2005). Linked to this is the pressure to be the most innovative, imaginative and

creative, the best researched and organised to impress the donors. Tourism Concern, as the only tourism-related NGO in the UK, often found itself in a vicious circle, where it certainly had some of the most innovative and creative ideas. Yet, the lack of marketing power and lack of resources for doing the necessary groundwork to fulfil donor requirements invariably prevented it from succeeding in raising adequate finance. During the work of the INFTT, NGO members contributed a great deal but also gained considerably from the ideas that were generated in the discussions, organised by TC, which they then implemented to generate publicity and funding for their own projects. This was to be welcomed on the one hand, as it cascaded the ideas throughout a wider part of society; on the other hand, Tourism Concern, who was initiating this process was struggling to maintain its own critical mass. Moreover, organisations were not always as transparent in their intentions as Tourism Concern who communicated openly through the INFTT and regular news and information bulletins. For example, the book on Corporate Social Responsibility 'Corporate Futures' was published by Tourism Concern in February 2002 (Kalisch, 2002), nominally as an action guide (albeit for consultation) for the mass tour operators in the UK. This plan had been transparently discussed in Network meetings and news bulletins during 2001, including industry members. One month previously, in January 2002, Tearfund, a Christian evangelical relief and development charity, represented on the International Network, published their own report on Corporate Social Responsibility 'Worlds Apart' (Tearfund, 2002). Worded like a campaign leaflet, it contained consumer research on ethical tourism and ten action points for ethical consumer behaviour and for tour operators to implement and report on responsible tourism activities. The Corporate Futures book (Kalisch, 2002) had been thoroughly researched in conjunction with industry experts and comprehensively argued, with policy related recommendations for tour operators. In a review in the journal *Tourism Management*, Schwartz (2005) hailed it as the first publication on CSR in tourism, and a crucial landmark in furthering the debate on CSR in the tourism industry. Yet, in November 2002, it was Tearfund's report that was taken on by the tourism industry (ABTA and the UN Tour Operators' Initiative for Sustainable

Development [TOI]) to launch an eight page guide for tour operators on Corporate Social Responsibility (Travelmole, 2002). Even though Tourism Concern had held launch events and workshops with the Tourism Society and ABTA, Tearfund was possibly regarded as a less controversial and political option than Tourism Concern to encourage tour operators to adopt socially responsible practices. Tearfund is a well-known, established charity and has a wider dissemination base. Moreover, the focus on consumer research, which indicated that consumers want responsible tourism, may also have presented a strong argument for the industry.

This example reflects the dilemma for a resource poor NGO: there is pressure to be in the vanguard with ideas, and be marketed as such, needing a head start in terms of intellectual property and publicity to obtain valuable funding. In the name of raising public consciousness, of transparency, democracy, and accountability, it cannot afford to be possessive about its ideas; it needs to share them, changing mind sets, policies and structures. It requires a wide social movement that can disseminate the ideas to become socially and publicly internalized. Yet, such transparency can also be a disadvantage in the ideological power game of equitable tourism. As far as media coverage was concerned, TC, however, seemed to have the upper hand. Its media coverage was prodigious. Barnett (2014) states that this was one of TC's strengths, while the tourism industry experienced it as an irritant; especially before the arrival of the internet, when TC was frequently asked to comment publicly on tourism issues. TC's media breaks were like 'external flurries into enemy territory', before the industry had a chance to present its own perspective (T. Barnett, 2014, pers. comm. 13 June). However, such a high public profile makes it vulnerable to competition and ideological challenge.

Whilst Tourism Concern is not a development NGO, it is campaigning in the UK and internationally on tourism issues in less developed economies. This has placed the organisation in a politically and culturally sensitive position of ambiguity and dichotomy, in terms of operating within a contested area of

different 'historicities' and 'political and cultural milieu' (Botterill, 1991:209). On the one hand it seems embroiled in capitalist values of a tourism generating country with all the historic and ideological connotations of colonialism and metropolitan core, funded through a small UK/EU based membership and a variety of donor agencies. On the other, it is campaigning in collaboration and in solidarity with groups in economically less developed countries (or 'periphery' in dependency terms), constantly having to balance the views based on its own 'historicity' with the strategies and perspectives of NGOs, industry and governments in different development contexts.

For example, some members of the tourism industry have tended to critique Tourism Concern for adopting a neo-colonial approach by appearing to speak on behalf of groups in less economically developed countries. Similarly, individual radical activists in those very countries have at times levelled similar arguments against Tourism Concern. In the context of Fair Trade in Tourism, they saw TC defending a consumer oriented niche strategy, which, in their eyes, neglected a focus on the deeper issues of structural inequality in development. When, in April 1999, I presented the freshly printed leaflet, launching the international Network on Fair Trade in Tourism at an NGO gathering in preparation for the multi-stakeholder events of the Committee for Sustainable Development (CSD) at the United Nations in New York (shortly after my appointment as Policy Co-ordinator in February 1999) an activist from India remarked that it sounded 'patronising'. It was possibly a passing remark, she did not elaborate on the reasons for it, and I never had the chance to discuss it with her, although she later became an important ally to TC. I presume, her remark related to the opening words of '…extending the gains from tourism to eradicate poverty in developing economies…' and that 'Fair Trade Tourism could provide small-scale service providers with the tools to access the international market while creating more healthy and prosperous economic conditions for local people...'

This stance was not the most skilfully worded. It stood in contrast to further text inside the leaflet, which related to tourism as a trade export item, the need for equitable partnerships between tourism organisations in the North

and destination communities in the South and the need for a platform for debate on equitable tourism, provided by the prospective international Network. In hindsight, from my present position, I realise that the leaflet reflected an undeveloped analysis, an unfounded presumption that Fair Trade Tourism could be a panacea for remedying all the ills of neo-liberal corporate expansion and historic inequality, could ‘eradicate poverty’ and create ‘healthy and prosperous conditions’ in developing countries. At such an early stage in the project, it reflected on the one hand a lack of marketing experience on my part and the ability to put complex arguments into a brief public relations announcement. On the other hand, in the context of a participatory strategy, it reveals the dilemma for Tourism Concern of attracting a membership to a future process, which was intangible and uncertain at the time and, as yet, had to be co-created by its (as yet unknown) membership. Those dynamics presented a constant challenge threatening to impede the Fair Trade in Tourism project from gaining international acceptance in mainstream as well as activist circles. They reflect the contested nature of my work. As a new member of the NGO development advocacy community, this experience left its mark on me.

Following the CSD meeting in New York, I made a diary entry in the form of a letter to the Indian activist, which justified my position on FTinT. My comments convey my determination to find practical solutions in the here and now, rather than just be against something, without there being a convincing alternative to capitalism:

> *I can’t believe that it isn’t possible to find something positive and constructive in a negative situation, while keeping in mind the overall need for structural change. I want to work on it here and now, not just ideologically, but in practice* (Kalisch, 1999; extract from diary entry).

More recently, in 2008, after joining academe, I was involved in an email exchange with another activist from an Indian Tourism NGO. I had been asked to write some ‘thoughts’ (not a research report) on Responsible

Tourism in Kerala for TC's In Focus magazine (Spring, 2008), in the context of a campaign they were running in conjunction with a Kerala-based NGO on the misuse of Tsunami reconstruction funds for tourism development. I have a close long-term personal and professional relationship with Kerala, as a tour guide, running adventure trips in Kerala for many years, as a researcher on tourism impacts and FTinT, and with family connections in Kerala. I therefore agreed to write a short piece, which was intended to be critical, but balanced and fair, highlighting the political, economic and social complexities that Kerala faces, i.e. not one-sided campaign material. However, Tourism Concern only printed a short critical comment from the piece, which was isolated from the context of the more balanced remainder (In Focus, 2008, Spring). This attracted a small number of critiques from various sources in the UK and India, namely the promoters of Responsible Tourism and the Indian tourism NGO, Equations. Consequently, I wrote a letter for Tourism Concern to publish in the subsequent In Focus issue to explain the context. TC published an apology in response to my letter (In Focus, 2008, Summer). This episode reflects the complexity of the activist advocacy cause, which often has to be partisan and hard-hitting to balance out the predominant establishment's view. Botterill (2003), who was associated with Tourism Concern for five years since its inception, refers in his 'autoethnographic narrative' to being sceptical of the *'ill-defined, absolutist notions of just, participatory and sustainable forms of tourism that were the effects sought by Tourism Concern'* (Botterill, 2003:103). He suggests this increasing scepticism was one of the reasons behind his epistemological move from constructivism to critical realism. However, according to Barnett (2014), Tourism Concern, had not invented such *'notions'*. It had committed to following the path laid out by the global movement on sustainable development, which had begun prior to its inception (T. Barnett, 2014, pers. comm. 13 June).

For me, the ensuing email discussion between myself and the then Director of Equations turned into a very frank, respectful and constructive debate. At the core of the discussion was the argument made by Equations of the

preponderance of Northern activists and academics critiquing foreign governments in developing countries, in this case in the context of tourism, with generalised, unsubstantiated comments for campaign purposes. This was seen as undermining the important and sensitive, more specific work that activists in those countries are doing with their own governments. It is beyond the parameters of this thesis to delve into the complex specifics of this discussion. However, I do consider this an important debate in the context of my argument for collaborative, cross-cultural activist/academic engagement in the international tourism field. It raises the issues of the boundaries of collaboration and to what extent they have been negotiated and agreed to allow critique of foreign governments independent of the collaborators' agreement.

In the same e-mail discussion, the Equations activist expressed precisely the same dilemma that I had deliberated on in my diary entry in 1999, regarding the dichotomy between ideology and practice:

> *What I am often concerned about ….is that as activists we have not often had models of what we believe is desirable – we expend so much of energy in critique – that we have not much left to work with communities to build a vision of a more responsible form of tourism – or to explore with them – if no to tourism …..then what are the alternatives that make sense in order that they may have reasonably dignified livelihood options – do the fisher folk in Kovalam want tourism at all – if not, is fishing a viable livelihood option – if not what – these are the questions that need to be addressed. Sometimes – we only say that everything is wrong – but we have no clue about the nature of the transformations we seek or the processes we must adopt - …this is often my own dilemma* (R. Viswanath, 2008; formerly Director of Equations, India, pers. e-mail comm., 25 April).

3.3.3 Tourism Concern's Relationship with the Tourism Industry

In terms of size and power, Tourism Concern, together with its network partners, represented a miniscule stalling mechanism within a gigantic and powerful tourism machine, advancing unstoppably and unquestioned worldwide. Barnett (2008) described the relationship between Tourism Concern and the tourism industry *'as being like a mosquito nestling into an elephant's hide—not much hope of any bite making its mark'* (Barnett, 2008:995).

As I mentioned before, Tourism Concern was treading a delicate path between contradictions: it had to adopt, on the one hand, a critical, confrontational and, at times, radical campaign and advocacy approach, exposing human rights abuses and questionable industry practice, in collusion with governments, in terms of sustainable tourism in developing countries. On the other hand, it had decided to take a positive, constructive, yet reformist approach in collaborating with the industry to implement best practice in terms of ethical codes and later Corporate Social Responsibility and Fair Trade in Tourism.

Professor David Botterill, a founder member of Tourism Concern had already aptly highlighted this contradiction in his 1991 article in the Leisure Studies journal on 'A new social movement: Tourism Concern, the first two years', referring to the emerging trend of 'alternative tourism', the soft or green approach to tourism:

> *….in no sense could the proposed alternative be seen to be challenging the existing power relations in the organisation of the industry. So, how can forms of tourism be developed in conjunction with current operators who control access to the resources upon which tourism is predicated, i.e. marketing mechanisms, transport stock, etc. that in any measure satisfy the just, participatory and sustainable 'alternative'' that Tourism Concern seeks to promote?* (Botterill, 1991:208).

The implications of this were manifold; Tourism Concern was both a thorn and a tool in the industry's eye. On the one hand Tourism Concern was either shunned or criticised by elements within the industry, obstructing its efforts to collaborate, on the other hand progressive elements within the industry privately endorsed and encouraged Tourism Concern to publish critiques, which they themselves were unable to articulate publicly. And finally, in some cases, the industry were taking credit publicly for making progress in sustainable tourism, such as CSR; credit which should also have been attributed to Tourism Concern as the instigating organisation. For example, in 2002, Tourism Concern obtained a grant from the Foreign and Commonwealth office to assist industry organisations with the development of a CSR policy. TC, led by me, collaborated with First Choice, the Co-operative Travel (then called 'Co-operative Travelcare') and ABTA on this project. ABTA consequently organised a workshop for its members on CSR. However, in publicity statements to the press, it was highlighted at the time as ABTA's initiative, rather than collaboration with Tourism Concern. It was followed in 2005 with another collaborative event, with my participation, this time as a representative of my University. As part of the same grant, I collaborated with First Choice on the development of a training module for resort representatives on sustainable tourism, following workshops with First Choice resort staff in Tunisia. However, when this work was presented to the company at a corporate event, Tourism Concern was not invited; it had to be presented by First Choice staff as a First Choice project, even though it had been Tourism Concern's initiative and funding.

In 1997, Tourism Concern's then industry liaison officer provided a very poignant analysis of the industry's potential interest in Fair Trade in Tourism in the UK, indicating that there would be very scant prospect of gaining industry support for this undertaking. I quote from her fax message:

> *To suggest that profits will need to be reduced and redistributed at the expense of corporate growth is more than RADICAL – it*

> *will be widely viewed as academic rubbish or bordering on the lunatic* (pers. comm. fax, 01 May, 1997).

Regarding the response by one of the tourism trade associations, she notes:

> *Tourism Concern is viewed* [by the trade association] *as an irrelevant irritant. They* [TC] *are not perceived as a powerful lobby that can influence decision-makers. …..SH* [initials changed] *commented to me at the recent BA Tourism for Tomorrow Awards: "I was in need of a good holiday, if I was into wasting my skills at TC!"* (pers. comm., fax, 01 May, 1997).

These views indicate the uphill struggle for TC, and us as activists, in gaining credibility for our initiatives from the commercial community. This does not come as a surprise, of course, and has to be taken account of in any strategy, challenging ingrained mind sets and traditionally capitalist business practices. It was precisely this dichotomy that I was addressing in the Kalisch (2002) publication 'Corporate Futures' in the context of making a strong business case for CSR (I shall analyse this more thoroughly in Chapter Five). I believed that only by involving the very stakeholders that are expected to implement any new policies, possibly seemingly radical at the time, could real change happen. In fact, after the start of the FTinT project in 1999, both the then Director of TC and I were invited as judges on the BA Tourism for Tomorrow Awards, which had begun to incorporate social criteria in the assessment for the award.

To move the industry means to move the consumers on whom the industry depends. To some extent, the proposed Fair Trade in Tourism agenda was attempting to do just that, together with an alternative vision of a more equitable trading system in tourism; a system that would empower small tourism providers to challenge the neo-liberal forces of control over resources in solidarity with consumers. However, in order to move consumers towards more ethical demand and fair trade buying behaviour,

one needs a desirable, efficient, good quality, value for money ethical product, which did not exist in tourism at the time (South Africa's Fair Trade in Tourism certification programme was still in the consultation stage) (Kalisch, 2013). Moreover, unlike consumer outrage against the fur trade or for animal rights, tourism and leisure (pleasure) consumers were unlikely to join boycotts or go on the barricades for social justice in tourism, due to the complexity of the tourism experience and development issues. Campaigning for policy change or best practice codes was thus considered the most appropriate option for Tourism Concern.

It is fair to say that by 2003, the industry's stance had moved on substantially: British Airways Holidays had been a committed supporter to the INFTT, including close collaboration with their representative on including equitable criteria in their holidays, provision of funding assistance in the form of a small grant and flight tickets. Furthermore, as I mentioned above, they had begun to include social criteria in its Tourism for Tomorrow Awards (now managed by the World Travel and Tourism Council [WTTC]). The Travel Foundation (including all the top UK mass tour operators) had been established as an industry trust fund through lobbying of the UK government by TC and with seed funding from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office as part of a multi-stakeholder process. ABTA, First Choice and the then Co-operative Travelcare had a sustainable tourism policy, the Association for Independent Tour Operators (AITO) had developed Responsible Tourism criteria, mandatory for membership, whereby each company was mandated to appoint a Responsible Tourism Manager. responsibletravel.com (the founder was a member of the INFTT) was established, and the UN driven international Tour Operators' Initiative (TOI) had initiated research into poverty and sustainable supply chain management. Whilst it obviously cannot be predicated that this was all a result of Tourism Concern's work, it could nevertheless be contended that the work of TC generally, and the INFTT specifically, provided an important lynchpin for a shift in industry attitude to ethical issues in tourism and travel, and, in particular, a shift in awareness on socio-economic sustainability, in addition to eco-sustainability.

In 2013, key organisations, such as ABTA, are providing leadership on sustainability by recruiting a new generation of thinkers, who have come through colleges and universities, which have been influenced by the global initiatives on sustainable development, as well as organisations, such as TC, and its international Network. The Kuoni Group, a major international tour operator based in Switzerland, is running Fair Trade Travel Packages to South Africa in conjunction with Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa (Kalisch, 2013) and has collaborated since 2011 with Tourism Concern on a major Human Rights Impact Assessment initiative for its company, starting with a research pilot project in Kenya, followed by another impact report in India in 2013 (Kuoni, 2012; Kuoni, 2014). Kuoni representatives, in conjunction with NGOs, are now putting peer pressure on other stakeholders in the industry, such as Online Travel Agencies (OTAs) and emerging source markets, such as China, India and Russia, to address human rights issues in tourism promotion. Their call for corporate responsibility in that respect has been followed by eight other Swiss and German travel businesses, who in October 2013 signed a *'commitment to human rights in tourism'* (Taylor, 2014a).

Returning to Botterill's question posed in his article (Botterill, 1991), one could conclude that by 2014 parts of the tourism industry in the UK and Western Europe have taken on board what Tourism Concern, and similar international tourism NGOs have been seeking. Admittedly, it has taken more than twenty years to get to this point, supported by various initiatives of the United Nations, namely their recent 'Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights' (United Nations, 2011). The international market share of the operators engaged in this way is still considerably small, and emerging destination markets still need to subscribe to similar strategies.

Additionally, more in-depth research is required to analyse the impacts of this evolution in tourism destinations. Such research crucially needs to include a sharper focus on the nature of power relations within the tourism system and their dynamic in relation to sustainability and human rights in tourism destinations. Violations of human rights are still happening to a large extent.

The German Federal Institute for International Co-operation (GIZ) is currently working on a study, which will cite 145 cases of human rights violations in tourism and 106 with sufficient evidence to prosecute (Taylor, 2014b). Therefore, even considering some positive signs of improvement for human rights and ecological sustainability in tourism, some activist and academic analysts could argue that the traditional elitist power bases residing with corporate and government interests will not be substantially altered within the current capitalist, neo-liberal economic framework of globalisation, favouring the dominance of the free market, profit accumulation at all costs and privatisation of public property (Stieglitz, 2002; Bianchi, 2009; Mowforth and Munt, 2009).

3.4 Summary of Chapter Three

Positional contextualisation of research process and outcomes forms an integral part of reflexivity. This Chapter has focused on personal and organisational positioning to contextualise the publications analysed in Chapter Five and to underpin the analysis of the interface between activism and academe in the research on Fair Trade in Tourism. Five key formative biographical events frame the personal positioning narrative, analysing the shifts of social and political consciousness, which have led me to the Fair Trade in Tourism project and my eventual transition to academia.

The five formative events delineate my development from educator and feminist activist to trekking operator with a social conscience, based on my passion for mountains and the natural environment, to tourism activist for social justice and finally to academic.

The charity, Tourism Concern, is analysed in the context of its relationships with other NGOs and the tourism industry. Tourism Concern is a small, resource-poor pressure group with a big ambition to change the business practices of the tourism industry in a highly contested, political environment of development advocacy.

The chapter highlights the following conclusions from this reflexion on activism and academe:

My interest in social justice can be traced back to my early experiences of the student protest movement in West Germany and my subsequent development as a feminist and youth worker. Experience of policy and community development work was consolidated as a council officer, responsible for equal opportunities for women, a move, which translated my activist tendencies into a professional context.

As an adventure travel operator to the Himalayas, I gained awareness of development issues and tourism impacts, which was the catalyst for my involvement with Tourism Concern, through the Kathmandu Environmental Education Project and its focus on Fair Trade in Tourism. The relationship with Tourism Concern led to a long period of collaboration and the Fair Trade in Tourism project, which is at the centre of this inquiry.

My reflexions highlight my feeling of inexperience, and at times failure, in the light of the contested nature of the project and the complexity of development advocacy. In addition, Tourism Concern, whilst successfully leading some major campaigns, gaining important international credibility, tended to struggle with minimal resources, critique and competition from some NGO and key industry circles. The account puts into perspective the challenges of such an innovative and ambitious undertaking. Yet, changes towards greater corporate social responsibility within the tourism industry over the past two decades indicate that Tourism Concern's work has gained in credibility and importance to exert considerable influence on education, business and governments.

CHAPTER 4 FTinT Multi-stakeholder Consultation Process

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a critically reflexive evaluation of the Fair Trade in Tourism project and key aspects of this learning curve. The purpose of this evaluation is to explain the background to the publications, presented in Chapter Five and to provide some critical comments on lessons learnt. The evaluation relates to the research question in that multi-stakeholder processes are important elements within community action and participatory research. As such it is useful to analyse the FTinT consultation process as a case study, to provide some useful pointers for future research on social justice in tourism.

The evaluation is inspired by Minu Hemmati's book on multi-stakeholder processes (MSPs) (2002) and uses a selection of the benchmarks she developed for conducting such processes as criteria for analysis. Minu Hemmati was a member of the INFTT, though generally as a tacit observer. Her book includes detailed research and guidelines on how to set up and conduct multi-stakeholder consultation processes, although critics argue that she offers little information on their effectiveness (Markopoulos, 2012). I have only recently become aware of her book during my research for this thesis. Even if I had been aware of it at the time, as it was published in 2002, after the end of the project, it would have been too late for me to benefit from it. From my current academic perspective, her approach is detailed and analytic and presents a relevant framework for a retrospective appraisal of the FTinT consultation process. As a guideline for conducting MSPs and as a method for focusing this evaluation, it presents some useful entry points. However, I have to concede that her criteria represent an ideal to aspire to, one that would be difficult to achieve in the complex political and institutional environment of a small pressure group, such as Tourism Concern. I therefore

have to be cautious in my critique, if it seems, retrospectively, that we may not have achieved the ideal she advocates. In the following narrative, I focus specifically on those criteria, which I consider directly relevant to the core of this reflexive inquiry, as they a) indicate the key areas that I was most concerned about; b) provide the most instructive background to the research process and the production of the publications, and c) assist with informing future research.

The key areas are:

1. Funding;
2. Methodology;
3. Process;
4. Issue Identification and Goals;
5. Facilitation;
6. Stakeholder Management;
7. Implementation; and
8. Closure.

For the purposes of brevity and conciseness, I refer the reader to Appendices A and B, which outline a selection of Hemmati's criteria as key cornerstones for the process, from which the above criteria have been chosen. The timeline for the events in Appendix A is chronologically described under the heading 'Process Design' to highlight the evolution of ideas and events as a context to the publications. Appendix A also outlines the financial details and the goals enshrined in the funding proposal. The reflexions in this Chapter are based on the analysis of primary data produced during the project, such as conference reports, progress reports, electronic correspondence and discussions, project evaluations, as well as material directly relevant to the methodology underlying the production of the publications. The reflexion focuses on issues that have influenced the approach, progression of ideas and events, and the outcomes of the project.

In the late 1990s, the management of the INFTT was ambitious and innovative on several levels: 1) as an international multi-stakeholder consultation process; 2) consulting on (fair) trade in tourism in the context of sustainable development; 3) creating an international network; and 4) fronted by a tiny, resource-poor UK charity. As the policy-co-ordinator (or project manager), I was challenged on all four of those levels. Heralded by the United Nations, multi-stakeholder consultation was only just beginning to take hold as a democratic tool for influence, legitimacy and accountability in global governance for sustainable development (Bäckstrand, 2006). There was little guidance or experience in this field, neither in NGO, nor in academic circles. Tourism as a trade export item in developing countries had only just emerged as a topic among NGOs through Tourism Concern's publication in 1996: *Trading Places.* Fair trade in complex service products (such as tourism) was a wholly new concept. The world of NGOs and the idea of managing and resourcing an international network around policy intervention on trade and development issues were part of a steep learning curve for me.

4.2 Funding for the Fair Trade in Tourism Project

As outlined in Appendix A, Tourism Concern obtained three-year funding of £250,000 from the European Commission Social Fund, with 50% matching funding from the UK Government's Department of International Development (DFID) under the 'Development Awareness Fund', and a small grant from the UK based Baring Foundation. The latter provides grants to the Third Sector for the Arts, international development and for strengthening voluntary organisations. The application was devised by TC's Fundraising Officer and the then Director of TC, without my involvement, as I was not employed at TC at the time. It was informed by the outcomes of the focus group meetings in 1994, 1995 and 1997, as well as the research project, initiated in 1996 by VSO, TC and the then University of North London.

On paper, the project appears sufficiently resourced. However, at the same time as running the FTinT project, Tourism Concern was also engaged in

other campaigns, such as the porters' rights campaign, the Burma boycott and a Youth Travellers conference, which required the input from the TC workers assigned to the FTinT project on a part-time or voluntary basis. As I mentioned before, resources were stretched. In the initial stages, I was engaged with project development and policy work as well as admin tasks, connected to setting up the International Network. I was no expert in IT or database design, relying on self-taught, amateur knowledge. In 2000, I succeeded in receiving additional assistance for six months from TC for a brief campaign on GATS and some assistance with the database and listserver administration (Yahoo electronic e-mail group list, the only electronic group communication tool available at the time). In the later stages of the Project, TC also developed the work with consumers, using their own members to run focus groups in different regions of the UK (of which I facilitated one in Scotland). Our publicity for consumers was based on creating the idea that FTinT was 'fun'. I was involved in commissioning a colourful leaflet called: *'All the Fun of the Fair',* a funny cartoon story for travel agents to disseminate to their clients. Additionally, TC created a glossy and colourful consumer magazine, called *'Being There'*. It was disseminated through Bodyshop stores. Both publications presented the concerns of FTinT (i.e benefiting local communities, consuming local produce, using local trade and facilities) in a fun-focused, light-hearted context, suggesting the benefits of FTinT for the tourist experience. They were extremely successful. However, due to budget restraints, distribution was limited to one run, even though there was demand for more. This presented a serious impediment for raising consumer awareness on a large scale through marketing material.

Apart from the establishment of a FTinT standard, the anticipated results, outlined in the funding application, were difficult to measure. How is it possible, for example, to measure raised public awareness? Whilst there was mention of evaluating the progress of the project, there was no specific provision in the application for monitoring and measuring the outcomes. My personal evaluation of the first year of operation of the project reflects a deep sense of frustration and perception of failure, even though, objectively, the

achievements during the initial period were reasonably substantial and reflected the targets we had set for the first year. My disenchantment was due to the intangible and elusive nature of the project aims and its resource allocation, my own high ambitions to achieve a sea change in public consciousness (yet, mostly feeling overwhelmed with the enormity and complexity of the task), the high expectations from all the stakeholders involved (including myself) to produce tangible and workable outcomes, and the nebulous idea of a 'network' and what it could be expected to achieve. In addition, the intransigent attitude of the industry towards TC and the reluctance of key organisations in the non-profit sector to commit substantial resources in support of this project were undermining the accomplishment of any concrete results.

4.3 Methodology

The methodology outlined in the funding application consisted of elaborating on and justifying the rationale for the campaign and the network. It did not provide a methodology in the sense of a detailed academically argued account. This is because it was not conceived as a research project, but as a campaign and policy/practice intervention process, including research activities to inform this process. However, apart from the establishment of the NGO network as a 'methodological approach', no other methodological discussion or analysis of specific methods was mentioned. It was therefore up to me to develop my own methodology, in consultation with the TC Director, in view of our analysis of the issues and the reality of the social and political priorities at the time[1].

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1 A note on terminology: I need to emphasise that, during my involvement with Tourism Concern's Fair Trade in Tourism programme, between 1995 and 2003, I worked in close collaboration with the Director of Tourism Concern, including the conceptual and operational structure of the programme. Whilst I was in charge of the overall conceptual and creative direction of the programme, in particular during the period 1999-2003, all decisions were discussed and taken in consultation with the Director; mostly, but not always, based on consensus, always based on mutual trust and thorough, inspirational deliberation. Therefore, from this point onwards, for the purpose of the reflexive narrative on the multi-stakeholder process, the term 'Tourism Concern' or 'TC' or 'we' denotes the essence of this relationship. Where this relates to Tourism Concern as an organisational structure, I shall use 'Tourism Concern (the organisation)'.

The research strategies were initially informed by my previous experience in policy and community work and my limited literature and methodological knowledge as an MA graduate of 'International Tourism Policy' (see Chapter Three). They were rapidly enhanced throughout the project through training and experience, as I was progressing into the realms of stakeholder management and international trade.

As summarised in Kalisch (2010), the outcomes of the FTinT project were the result of desk and empirical research, crucially underpinned by project management of the three-year (longitudinal) process of international multi-stakeholder consultation and decision-making, the International Network on Fair Trade in Tourism.

Desk research consisted of an eclectic mix of academic literature on political economy, international trade and development, fair trade, ethical marketing, tourism, environment, and ethical business management, complemented by consultancy, government and NGO reports, and media sources.

The international multi-stakeholder consultation process included:

- the Network, supported by an electronic 200 member strong group list ('listserver') and by annual face-to-face fora/conferences (between 45 and 80 participants at international meetings);
- Focus groups (stakeholder groups: NGOs, industry, academics/consultants, consumers, with 10-23 participants at individual meetings);
- Semi-structured interviews with relevant experts;
- Empirical research, including three two-week field visits to Nepal and Namibia (by me) and the Philippines (by the TC Director), in each case to learn lessons from community-based tourism projects for the development of fair trade tourism. Fieldwork included site visits, semi-structured interviews and participant observation;
- Qualitative questionnaires to tour operators and trade associations for industry guide (10); and

- Evaluation questionnaires (consumers, based on the magazine *'Being There'*);

The establishment of a NGO network, 'involving representatives from Southern and Northern NGOs, community organisations and groups, involved in tourism and development', was enshrined in the funding application. However, we (Director of TC and I) decided that it should be a multi-stakeholder network, which had to include the tourism industry, and give priority to input from Southern voices, as the main beneficiaries (potentially) of Fair Trade in Tourism. The primary objective was to engage in a transparent, equitable, democratic consultative process, including the very stakeholders who would be responsible for the implementation of FTinT, i.e. a) the potential (so-called) *'beneficiaries'* of FTinT (even though, at that stage, the benefits were presumed), i.e. stakeholders from the South (Kalisch, 2001:11); b) the industry; c) the consumers; and d) NGOs, as enablers, in North and South (Kalisch, 2001). Kalisch (2010) offers further comments on the rationale for the project methodology.

Strategies were aimed at attaining practical, workable guidelines, raising public awareness and achieving political change at international level, in the context of a small, resource-poor London-based pressure group on tourism (albeit highly respected in some circles for its development education and its international campaign presence). They were not primarily aimed at an academic, scholarly outcome of developing theory and contributing to knowledge, because the funding was granted on the basis of developing an awareness-raising campaign on Fair Trade in Tourism (see 'Funding' in Appendix A). The methodology that defined the project therefore needs to be judged according to its relevance, practical usefulness, credibility, and transformative impact (Hale, 2001; Morse *et al.*, 2002; see Chapter One).

Couched in academic terms, I would argue that the research strategies were inspired by a philosophical stance on social constructivism, founded upon a radical humanist paradigm (Burrell and Morgan, 1979), intent on social and political change. The research used longitudinal participatory discourse and

‘democratic dialogue’ in the context of Action Research (Gustavsen, 2006:19), apart from a multitude of other qualitative methods, over a time horizon of seven years, at national and international, cross-sectoral policy development level.

4.4 Process

As mentioned in the introduction, the problem for us was that we started from an entirely blank sheet, as far as Fair Trade in Tourism, and to a large extent Fair Trade in Services, was concerned. In the initial stages of the research, from 1995 onwards, we focused the inquiry on the practical and theoretical evidence of Fair Trade in commodities, to learn from the experiences in coffee, handicrafts, and ethical services, such as banking and insurance. Having established links with several Fair Trade organisations, I held interviews with representatives from the Fair Trade Foundation, Cafedirect, Twin Trading, and Traidcraft, the Co-operative bank, The Co-operative Travelcare (now called The Co-operative Travel), the Ethical Trading Initiative (ETI), the International Federation for Alternative Trade (IFAT, recently renamed as ‘World Fair Trade Organisation’), and the European Fair Trade Association (EFTA) in Brussels in June 2001.

By the time we had included the representatives from Southern organisations in the research, as we had intended, beginning with the 1997 meeting and the launch of the Network in June 1999, it was clear that our approach had unwittingly adopted an overly Northern, consumer/industry oriented bias, focused on FTinT as a market instrument. The Southern NGO activists, attending the meetings, were adamant that Fair Trade in Tourism was desperately needed in the South, and even a matter of ‘survival’. Yet, they asserted that FTinT needed to address above all the structural deficiencies of the neo-liberal, global economic system in tourism for the poorest in their countries, such as human rights abuses, worker exploitation, and lack of access to land and resources (as outlined in Cleverdon and Kalisch, 2000). Indeed, these issues had already been highlighted in Tourism Concern’s 1996 publication ‘Trading Places’, which gave rise to the FTinT inquiry.

Consequently, their input had switched the emphasis from FTinT as a certified marketing tool to FTinT as a policy intervention and campaign strategy (see Appendix A). In actual fact, the debates were happening at a number of different levels:

- The political, ideological macro-level, organising input into policy decision-making in international fora in respect of structural change in the trading system (GATS), which included tourism, but also other sectors, linked to tourism, such as agriculture, real estate, health, education and public services, and; this involved the formation of coalitions between TC (the organisation) and other more powerful players, large development NGOs, such as the UKNGO Trade Network or IFAT;
- The practical, commercially driven frontline reality level for those members of disadvantaged communities in developing countries who wanted to be involved with tourism, but found themselves unable to compete or gain market access (to an unequally structured market);
- The human rights/exploitation level for communities, not directly involved with, but affected by tourism; and
- The labour rights level;

In my estimation, Tourism Concern wanted to do justice to them all. However, in doing so, it partly succumbed to the problem of two *'historicities'*, mentioned in Botterill (1991:209) (see also Chapter Three, section 3.3.2). It was caught in the middle between the North and the South, not a development NGO, with donor influence, but a pressure and advocacy group, developing educational tools and codes of practice for social justice in tourism and development for a UK consumer base, and also for UK industry and government stakeholders. The power of its message was dependent on a complex interplay of political forces in both the UK and the globalising development arena, too complex for the Network to resolve through a three-year multi-stakeholder project. The INFTT had galvanised an optimistic vision of how trade in tourism could be fairer, following the bleak prospect of

the GATS for sustainable tourism development. However, the project was a process and an investigation, not a solution. The creation of the Fair Trade in Tourism criteria as part of an international participatory process were a substantial achievement, but they were just a beginning, and their implementation was beyond Tourism Concern's jurisdiction.

4.4.1 Process Design

According to my records, on 18th March 1999, I set out an initial strategy outline for the realisation of the network, including the procedure for setting it up, its purpose, objectives, audience, and points for initial discussions. These embraced issues of the operation and structure of the Network, including procedures of consultation, democratic decision-making, representation, strategies for action, conflict management, and the potential need for a core group.

In the process of the Network discussions and an overwhelming work load, these points were not satisfactorily addressed. Although some analysts argue that collaboration can take on many different forms, from formally constituted partnerships to loose, informal networks (Bramwell and Lane, 2000; Mason, 2008; Jamal and Stronza, 2009), I believe that appropriate, collectively agreed and implemented Terms of Reference would have been a crucial aspect in building a group identity and setting out the purpose and boundaries of the process. I now realise that it would have been my responsibility to make recommendations for discussion under all those headings rather than expect the Network to develop these. As it was, the Network functioned without a clear mandate, loosely composed, with 200 people on the listserver, and smaller groups of participants at three international fora. These changed at each meeting, because each one had a different context: the first (8-10 June 1999) was the launch of the Network and the discussion on the FTinT components; the second (21-22 November 2000) was themed around ethical marketing, as a way of capacity building for community-based projects; the third (24-27 May 2002) was held in Africa (The Gambia) for the purpose of including destination-based governments and grassroots tourism organisations and potentially setting up an African

(South-South) FTinT network to counteract the Northern dominated approach (see Appendix A). It was therefore difficult to reach any tangible, actionable conclusions, acting as building blocks for the next meeting. Apart from a small, informal core group, it was not always possible for network members, particularly those coming from international locations, to attend every annual meeting. Their absence tended to affect the dynamics and direction of the discussions, as well as the chances of decisions being successfully implemented in various constituencies, since absent members would not have the same ownership and commitment to the meeting outcomes as those who contributed to the decision-making process. These issues are reflected in Mason (2008:198), who describes the lack of *'continuity'* as a key problem for the multi-stakeholder consultation process of the WWF Arctic Tourism project between 1996 and 1998. Although consultation is a process for the purpose of democracy and inclusion, it is not always possible to include all the voices that should be included. On a positive note, it is important to emphasise that the Fair Trade in Tourism criteria and the NGO and industry 'action guides' (Kalisch, 2001 and 2002) were clearly influenced by the Network discussions. They were consulted upon in meetings and on the listserver in terms of their direction and content, even if final drafts could not be published on the listserver for comments, due to their size and complexity. Draft executive summaries were disseminated and any comments received were incorporated. However, I should note that feedback on the publications on the listserver was not prolific. It tended to be dominated by contributions from Northern members. This may be related to a cultural issue: Southern members generally either preferred face-to-face communication, or were constrained by lack of time or power cuts. However, they informed me that, had they disagreed with any of the content they would have informed me. Moreover, the publications had been discussed in detail at the annual international fora, and Southern members had used those face-to-face spaces to contribute their comments.

Aside from representational issues, the mere fact of providing a unique opportunity for networking on fair trade in tourism, creative sharing of ideas

and experience, fostering debate and enhanced understanding among a multitude of different stakeholders from diverse international and cultural domains over an extended period of time, was generally considered beneficial in its own right by all members. This was confirmed by the fact that there was a positive response at the end of the project in 2002 to continue the operation of the Network. Yet, this was impossible without further funding.

Consultation with stakeholders, as culturally, politically and ideologically diverse as the Network, is complex and time intensive. It requires clear objectives, timelines, and culturally and politically sensitive project management, including leadership competency to decide on a cut-off point, when consultation and analysis end, and implementation of the discussion outcomes in the publications begins.

4.5 Issue Identification and Goals

According to Hemmati (2002) it is important to avoid unilateral decision on issues to be discussed in stakeholder meetings by the facilitating body, as this would compromise the ownership of the process. This was difficult to achieve in the case of the FTinT project, as the 'issues' were clearly defined in the funding proposal and previous research on Fair Trade in Tourism by TC. This helped to create clarity of purpose.

The issues relating to unequal terms of trade in tourism, the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) in developing countries, and Fair Trade in Tourism were initially raised by Tourism Concern (the organisation), as the facilitating body. They had been discussed in 1995 with the Fair Trade Foundation and other stakeholders, disseminated in the TC In Focus magazine (Kalisch, 1996) and in the 1997 meeting, then consolidated in the 1999 International Forum and in Network meetings, particularly in consultation with Southern delegates. These meetings confirmed the importance of considering the global structural context of FTinT as part of the capitalist, neo-liberal economic system, including international trade

agreements, and mass promotion of international tourism, rather than as a market instrument for a certified niche product.

Further scoping evolved transparently during the Network discussions on the listserver and in the Network bulletins (four altogether), which consisted of contributions from TC and Network members: 1) Introduction to FTinT (Spring 2000); 2) Corporate Social Responsibility in the Tourism Industry (Autumn 2000); 3) Consumers and FTinT (Spring 2001); 4) GATS and the Tourism Industry (Winter 2001/Spring 2002). Articles on all these issues also appeared in the TC In Focus magazine. Network members were always encouraged to contribute to these and make their comments known. The outcomes contained in Cleverdon and Kalisch, 2000, Kalisch, 2001 and Kalisch, 2002 are a reflection of my analysis and interpretation of all these discussions and debates.

Goals of meetings were always clearly spelt out in Network meetings and in briefing papers, which I wrote. The listserver, once in place in 2000, served as a tool for stakeholder preparations, agenda setting and post-meeting discussions. Agenda and programmes for meetings were finalised by TC. Common vision exercises, as mentioned by Hemmati (2002) did not happen in a systematic way, and may have been useful for bonding the group and setting common goals. Ideas were exchanged and developed in small workshops during the forum meetings and discussed in plenaries. The plenaries could have possibly been more tightly structured and focused to enable tangible and achievable outcomes. More realistic boundaries could have been established more clearly from the beginning. TC should have clarified more clearly what it could and could not achieve how far its resources could be stretched. Expectations of TC were high, but TC was unable to fulfil all of them at all times due to resource limitations. As a social learning process, the MSP could have included reflective learning activities during the annual international meetings to address unfulfilled expectations,

or potential tension and frustration among participants, when consensus or resolution of issues could not be achieved.

TC did not actively require commitment to procedures or goals. This was something that might have been useful to consider. Participants could have been asked to clarify their level of commitment to the project, particularly in terms of developing and implementing the components of FTinT with subsequent feedback. A major omission and a methodological limitation was the fact that there was no explicit strategy for stakeholders to consult with their constituencies and feedback the results. The Southern participants were largely professional NGO activists, some from campaign organisations, others from umbrella organisations for community-based tourism enterprises. Therefore, it is not possible to ascertain what the position of grassroots communities or tourism providers in the front line of tourism promotion in the actual destinations might have been at these meetings. This highlights one of the flaws in the methodology, in the context of stakeholder identification: in order to obtain a more balanced range of positions, we could have invited at least two representatives from each Southern group, including the director of the relevant NGO, as well as representatives from a) relevant small-scale tourism providers, actively involved in the tourism trade, and/or b) from community groups fighting against land grab and exploitation. However, the logistics of this strategy were too complicated and costly, if the meetings were to happen in London and include a diversity of international stakeholders. It would have been difficult to stretch the project budget accordingly, in terms of TC sponsoring overseas travel to London and accommodation costs. Therefore, whilst this could be considered a weakness in the methodology, conversely, it could be regarded as a genuine challenge and limitation for a Northern NGO to capture all the relevant voices outside their geographical area as part of an international consultation process. It would require a more extensive undertaking, with regional/local consultation processes, feeding into an international process to reflect more authentic representation at grassroots level.

To some extent, the final international conference in The Gambia in May 2002 offered the opportunity of grassroots consultation for Gambian traders and tourism providers. It was attended by 80 participants over four days (see Appendix A), including fruit sellers, bumsters (Gambian term for beach boys, offering their services to tourists on an informal basis), and tour guides, as well as professional NGO activists from other African countries. This was an extremely successful first ever event organised in collaboration between TC and its Gambian partner ASSET (Association for Small-scale Enterprises in Tourism), bringing together a highly diverse audience around the issues of Fair Trade in Tourism. I need to stress that the organisation of it was highly complex from a logistical perspective. TC was fortunate in obtaining sponsorship from British Airways to fund the flights for the eight delegates from other African countries to The Gambia. However, it was impossible to find adequate connections across Africa to the west coast. All these delegates had to fly to London first where we had to organise accommodation for them, before they continued on UK tour operator flights to The Gambia. Such is the predominance of Northern tourism generated international transport systems, which seem to exist for the convenience of tourists, linking destinations rather than habitats. This experience demonstrates the difficulties for regional network organisation in Africa around tourism. Unfortunately, due to the timing of the conference towards the end of the FTinT project, in May 2002, its outcomes have not been reflected in any publications.

4.6 Facilitation and its Impact on Outcomes of Meetings

Hemmati (2002) considers that facilitators should ideally not be stakeholders and have no direct interest in the outcome of the process, or: be explicit about (possible) interests; made up of representatives from various stakeholders and acceptable to everybody.

Organisation of process and content, facilitation and analysis of the outcomes of all these meetings were my responsibility (apart from the

meeting in The Gambia, where some of these responsibilities were shared). I considered it as such, and it therefore never occurred to me to involve an external, independent facilitator. Moreover, the budget was limited and we could not have justified paying someone a large consultancy fee for facilitation. I was used to organising conferences and facilitating meetings in my previous position as Women's Training and Strategy Officer with Sheffield City Council, I also had a good idea of what we wanted to achieve from the meetings. However, this project was different from my previous work and far more challenging due to the complexity and enormity of the issues, the diversity of inputs from a diversity of stakeholders with different cultural perspectives at different points of a longitudinal and multifaceted project, based on complex funding criteria. Whilst I had overall responsibility, different individuals were also involved as workshop leaders and eventually as rapporteurs, although for the first few meetings, I was the only rapporteur. Since I devised the structure of the process and the meetings, I was emotionally and conceptually entangled with the development of the discussions and had a stake in shaping the outcomes. This meant that the interpretation of the outcomes could not be declared as entirely value-free. Yet, as I have argued in Chapter Two, in the context of social constructivism, it is unrealistic to expect any agent in a social inquiry process to be disembodied or value free, particularly as the inquiry into FTinT was determined by the funding objectives for the project, and I had the responsibility for accomplishing these. I would contend that in the case of the FTinT Network, which comprised a notably disparate and diverse group of people, with a great variety of goals and motivations, it was necessary to provide some direction and structure in shaping the conceptual outputs.

The analysis of the discussions' content was conducted according to (what I would now describe in theoretical terms) thematic coding and conclusions drawn from data reduction (Silverman, 2010). Whilst I synthesised the conclusions, the meeting participants had the opportunity to comment on post-meeting reports on the listserver in relation to the accuracy of interpretations. Nevertheless, the stakeholders involved knew and respected

TC as a transparent and independent, democratically oriented facilitator from past experience. They welcomed and accepted the facilitation process.

Yet, I was aware of an enormous responsibility to create a successful process, leading to constructive outcomes, while at the same time conscious that the events could have been organised and facilitated in a more focused and more tightly structured and unbiased way; particularly for those stakeholders in the North, who wanted to proceed with greater clarity and definite achievable action points. Stakeholders in the South seemed to welcome the space for networking, presenting their projects to each other, and exchange ideas and experiences, which, at that time, was a rare opportunity for them. They particularly valued the opportunity to meet amongst themselves one or two days before the joint meeting with Northern delegates. Differences in the group dynamics, possibly induced by cultural differences during joint meetings sometimes meant that Southern delegates held back their views more than we had expected. Consciously inclusive facilitation was thus an important aspect. Reassuringly, the former Director of TC asserts that I was successful in that respect, ensuring an equitable dynamic during Network conference discussions and achieving effective outcomes (T. Barnett, 2013, pers. comm. 20 August, and 2014, pers. comm. 13 June). Future facilitation processes of this kind would need to anticipate and prepare methods for potential nuances in group dynamics as a result of political and/or cultural differences.

The interest, positive energy and inspiration created by the Network, with 200 members on the group list, also provided some confirmation that my facilitation methods were appropriate, even though I lacked the technological know-how and time to act as an efficient moderator for the listserver. My intention was to generate a space for freedom to explore new ideas, whilst being watchful when discussions needed to be reined in. Hemmati (2002:232) states that there should be a rule that, *'when an idea is put forward it becomes the property of the group. This can reduce impact of personal pride and make it easier for others to adopt an idea'*. I have to admit, however, that there were times when I may have been overly attached

to my own analysis, whilst at other times, I may have too readily and uncritically accepted the ideas of others. There is a fine balance between providing leadership on initiating ideas and rescinding to the group's conclusions. Facilitation in such a complex context is an exceptional, finely tuned skill. Yet, I remember that in this dynamic process of collective deliberation, individual ideas and arguments are imperceptibly sculpted by the interplay of participant contributions, and the perceived lines between subjective and collective thinking become blurred. The end result will be a set of functional minutes, interpreted by me, and disseminated in a meeting report, which, by bureaucratic necessity, bears little resemblance to the dynamic in the meeting. A discourse analysis approach at the time might have been appropriate to disentangle such dynamics.

4.7 Stakeholder Management

Stakeholders at international fora were identified on the basis of TCs relationships and networks. It was not a systematic, theoretically underpinned process. There was no need for social mapping. Participants either self-selected through the INFTT, or were invited by TC (myself and the Director) as experts with a particular breadth of knowledge and experience on the subject area. Participants from overseas were invited and funded on the basis of their relationship with TC and their experience in Community-based Tourism (CBT) and innovative Community-based (CB) practices. The number of these was obviously determined by the size of the budget. Attendance at all meetings was free (apart from the academic conference on 9th June, 1999). There was a conscious awareness of opening up invitations to relevant stakeholder groups, such as industry (corporate and independent operators), NGOs, academics and consultants and interested individuals. All participants were individuals who were able to shape the ideas, disseminate them and put them into practice. The majority had to consist of individuals attached to organisations, with the responsibility of feeding back and influencing policy. It was not possible for TC to decide how accountable they were, or how they would feedback and consult with their organisations. As previously mentioned, this was a weakness in our organisation of

stakeholder management. The group was not a group as such; it was a loosely connected network of individuals, most of them linked to organisations. The majority had an interest but no stake as such in the process. There was a consistent group of committed Network members who made valuable contributions, some from the South, most from the North, primarily NGOs and independent tour operators. This group should have been formally constituted through Terms of Reference or a Memorandum of Understanding. At one point on the listserver discussion it was suggested to set up working groups. However, this did not happen, as no one in the Network wanted to take responsibility for the co-ordination of these. Moreover, the technical limitations of the listserver made group discussion difficult. In 2000, the technology of on-line discussion fora was still in its infancy. The main responsibility for progressing actions and following up on forum outcomes was considered to lie with Tourism Concern (the organisation), which in reality meant me, as the Policy Co-ordinator. Yet, my workload and my limited technological expertise did not permit me to accept this additional responsibility.

I now realise, as result of this reflexion, we should have made sure that consultation did not just involve the professionals but reached deep into the grassroots groups, who were ultimately supposed to be the beneficiaries. We might have insisted that the invited and funded delegates from the South provided systematic feedback from their organisations at grassroots level within an agreed predetermined timeline on particular issues, such as the outcomes from the annual meetings, the FTinT principles and criteria and the proposals contained in the NGO perspectives publication. However, we did not regard it as fair to impose such rigid conditions on participants, making the effort to travel long distances and taking considerable time away from their normal work load. It was important that delegates had autonomy in deciding how best to consult within their constituencies.

Ideally, a well-structured preparatory process with clearly formatted position papers, including statements on who was represented and how outcomes

would be consulted on in respective constituencies could have rendered the meetings more productive, particularly if those papers had been required to be the outcome of prior consultation at grassroots level, with people who could not attend the meetings or speak English.

4.8 Implementation of Outcomes

The reports, such as the NGO and industry action guides, were widely disseminated, to the members of the Network and key policy-makers; attendance at conferences and key note speeches were used to spread the message, nationally and internationally. However, a strategy for implementation of the publications could have been more effectively developed. For example, in June 2001, I went to Belgium to speak at a conference on Sustainable Tourism in Mechelen, to meet with the European Fair Trade Association (EFTA) and with officials at the European Commission. During the same visit, I also discussed the project with the UK MEP of the time, Glynnis Kinnock. However, due to my inexperience in political campaigning and international lobbying, I had not prepared any specific campaign demands that she could have taken into the European political system. I handed her the NGO Perspectives report (Kalisch, 2001), but I realised too late that what she needed were specific campaign demands for action, directed at government officials in Europe and the UK. Meeting her had presented an opportunity to use the report for engaging government representatives at international level in discussions on the implications of the GATS for tourism. Regrettably, missing this chance might have reduced the campaign impact of the publication.

Major NGOs in the UK were approached to discuss the content of the action guide, but the response was generally non-committal and disappointingly vague. A more systematic and intensive approach to engaging them in the ideas and in collaboration, through public launch events, follow-up meetings and action plans, could have potentially created more active commitment from the sector. This raises the issue for Tourism Concern of strategic alliances and partnerships with other NGOs. The proposal in the original

funding application covered the setting up of an NGO network to engage *in dialogue with* the tourism industry and international organisations. However, our strategy for the INFTT *included* the tourism industry and other stakeholders. The question is whether this diffused the political influence that the Network was able to exert and caused us to lose out on a more committed involvement from the larger, more influential NGOs. On the other hand, the inclusion of industry stakeholders, supportive of the Fair Trade in Tourism concept, from the start of the discussions avoided polarisation and created peer pressure on the more sceptical elements within the sector.

The industry guide was publicly launched in collaboration with the Tourism Society and disseminated extensively through national and international channels. Further funding from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office in 2002 enabled us to continue the work on Corporate Social Responsibility with the industry for a short period, on a consultancy basis, organising workshops with ABTA, and assisting the then Co-operative Travelcare and First Choice with embedding CSR into their policy and practice processes. This was largely successful as a stimulus, albeit limited in scope due to funding constraints (see also my comments on Tourism Concern's (the organisation) relationship with the industry in Chapter Three).

4.9 Closure

As I mentioned in Chapter One, from my perspective, the project was unfinished business. There was no identifiable process of closure and the way the project was left to peter out after the last international forum, held in The Gambia in May 2002, was unsatisfactory to me, contributing to a sense of failure, rather than a sense of achievement. I was not solely responsible for this, but as Policy Co-ordinator, I should have insisted on an exit strategy to be agreed by TC and the Network. Such a strategy would have consisted of an in-depth evaluation of the achievements and challenges of the project, including contributions from Network members, with recommendations for future research and project work. This could have presented a useful publication, with evidence of ownership of the process by the Network. When

I suggested this to TC management, it was not deemed possible as it had not been enshrined in the funding application and funding for my post had been exhausted. It is possible to surmise that our physical and creative energy had also been exhausted. As it was, we submitted a number of funding applications for the continuation of the project, which were rejected, apart from an application from TC for research on labour rights, coming into effect one year after the end of the FTinT project in 2004 (Beddoe, 2004). My last communication with the Network included a message on the listserver, informing members of the end of the project funding, including a suggestion that the continuation of the Network could be assured with a membership fee. However, whilst members found the Network greatly beneficial, they were either not inclined or able to pay for its continuance. A group of independent tour operators, who had also been on the Network, set up the 'Ethical Tour Operators Group' (see Kalisch, 2013), chaired and promoted by Tourism Concern (the organisation). However, this was not directly connected to the continuation of the Fair Trade in Tourism work. Following the outcomes of the international forum in The Gambia, members in The Gambia proceeded with plans to set up an African Network on FTinT, with the secretariat based in The Gambia. However, after initial meetings and workshops, the plan had to be abandoned due to lack of funding and logistical complexities.

For the purposes of the donor organisations (EU, DFID and Baring), Tourism Concern (the organisation) commissioned an independent review of the project in 2003, to ascertain the project's achievements, value created, and demand/interest for continuing this work. However, the reviewer (a consultant) had limited resources and access to Network members, having to base their findings on an insufficiently small sample of undefined respondents. Whilst the review offers positive comments on the achievement of the funding objectives, an overall, in-depth analysis is missing. In a sense, this thesis is intended to close this gap, albeit from my own subjective, insider perspective, balanced with critical reflexion.

4.10 Summary of Chapter Four

This chapter presents a critical, reflexive evaluation of the Fair Trade in Tourism Project as a multi-stakeholder process. Using Hemmati's guidelines for multi-stakeholder processes (2002) the evaluation finds that the multi-stakeholder process achieved the objectives of the project and created a valuable and credible knowledge base for Fair Trade in Tourism. Subsequent to the end of the project, this knowledge base served as a foundation for further international research on that subject and influenced practical initiatives on sustainable tourism, such as the Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa certification programme. Moreover, it initiated an international agenda on tourism and trade and Corporate Social Responsibility within the tourism industry. The conceptual development of FTinT and the multi-stakeholder process of the INFTT were underpinned by academic methodology. However, since the three-year public funding from the EU and the UK government (DFID) granted in 1999 related to the development of a practical campaign and a NGO Network, the methodology was based on the practical needs of a public awareness raising campaign and development of a FTinT standard, rather than an academic research project. It was therefore not appropriate to develop the project according to academic criteria. The process included a diversity of participatory methods, of which several focus groups, network meetings and international fora comprised the most constructive forms of consultation from 1995 onwards over a period of seven years. These were supported by an on-line discussion group between 1999 and 2002, which assisted with the transparent and democratic development of project outputs. The consultation process generated an enthusiastic response from all 200 Network members, but, due to the innovative nature of the project and the extensive and complex nature of the issues, there was a risk that Tourism Concern had too ambitiously taken on more than its resources permitted.

With the benefit of research informed hindsight, the following critical issues, which may have influenced the process and outcomes of the project, can be summarised as follows:

1) The funding application should have incorporated
   a) a more specific methodology and tools for measuring the effectiveness of the outcomes;
   b) a strategy for implementation of outcomes; and
   c) more strategically targeted resource allocation;

2) The process would have benefited from a more formally constituted core group with concrete agreed Terms of Reference and more formal consultation and feedback procedures, assuring continuity of representation. This could have also included greater commitment from the group for accountability and opportunities for input from grassroots communities in destination countries;

3) Facilitation of Network meetings was appropriate but might have benefited from greater capacity to achieve tangible and realistic outcomes within the constraints of Tourism Concern's resources. Facilitation methods could have included common vision exercises, goals setting and meta reflection;

4) Boundaries of responsibility and accountability of the project needed to be made explicit to the Network to address and manage expectations and deal with implementation of meeting outcomes; outcomes needed to be anticipated and managed within the constraints of the funding application;

5) More effective implementation of the project outcomes would have been achieved if funding for continuing the consultation process, based on the two action guides, had been integrated into the original funding application; and

6) Closure of the project would have been more constructive with the production of a final evaluation, formally agreed and owned by the INFTT.

Nevertheless, I need to emphasise that a complex process, such as international multi-stakeholder dialogue is dynamic and unpredictable, constantly in flux, with inherent uncertainties of outcome, and unique to its context. Whatever guidelines one may want to apply or whichever lessons one hopes to have learnt for the future may falter in a different MSP context. Therefore, in order to achieve its objectives, the managers of such a process need to rely on finely tuned facilitation skills, experience and knowledge of democratic decision-making processes, cultural and social competency, and last but not least intuitive flair.

The next chapter presents the individual publications, exemplifying the results from the FTinT process. Each paper is introduced with a brief narrative to highlight the background to their production and offer a critical evaluation from an academic perspective.

CHAPTER 5 Critical Evaluation of the Publications

5.1 Introduction

This chapter critically evaluates the publications emanating from the Fair Trade in Tourism Project. They stretch over a time span of 12 years and cover academic and policy oriented work, reflecting a focus on different audiences and changing contexts. This thesis aims to contextualise them within a reflexive framework and an analysis of the interface between activism and academe. They need to be considered in view of the personal and organisational positioning in Chapter Three and the evaluation of the multi-stakeholder process in Chapter Four. They represent a crucial component of this thesis as they illustrate my professional, conceptual and scholarly development on the ideas and implementation of Fair Trade in Tourism, taking into account progress in research on tourism, fair trade and emerging ethical approaches in the industry.

In this chapter, each of the publications is framed by a reflexive and evaluative narrative. This retrospective narrative applies a critical approach from the current position of my academic development. It addresses the purpose, methodology and key arguments in the papers, and makes recommendations for future research based on those arguments.

The first three papers (Kalisch, 2000, 2001; and 2002) incorporate the research, undertaken by Tourism Concern and the International Network on Fair Trade in Tourism, in terms of the initial focus groups, held in 1995 and 1997, the stakeholder meetings with academics/consultants, NGOs and industry and international forum meetings of the Network. The two book chapters (Kalisch, 2010; 2013) update the research body and provide a more elaborate theoretical analysis of Fair Trade in Tourism and its socio-political background.

The publications have to be considered in the context of their time. Whilst sociological and anthropological approaches to tourism studies had been

penetrating tourism research since the 1970s, a critical socio-political approach to tourism and development, in particular in relation to trade, had not been embraced. To this day, not until recent publications on justice and inequality in tourism (Cole and Morgan, 2010, Pritchard *et al.,* 2011; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2008) and political economy (Bianchi, 2002) the issues of tourism, trade and development in the neo-liberal global economy have received little attention from a sociological and political economy perspective. Tourism research at the time was generally steeped in government and business oriented planning and marketing perspectives. The first three papers were written in a period where the internet was only just beginning to gain a foothold; we had no access to electronic databases, *e*-books or social media. Academics have ease of access to a huge knowledge bank in the form of subscriptions to media, which would be inaccessible to a small NGO, such as Tourism Concern, even though the Tourism Concern library was outstanding in offering original material in relation to tourism impacts and development, including a significant amount of academic sources. The concept of sustainability in tourism was limited to natural resource issues, ecotourism and conservation; human rights, especially race, gender and labour issues in the tourism industry, had no particular prominence.

Development NGOs were concerned with global poverty and debt, and, in the context of debates on the winners and losers of globalisation, pro-poor policies, including pro-poor tourism, were enthusiastically welcomed by development agencies, particularly in response to critiques of neo-liberal reforms (Structural Adjustment Policies, for example). Fair Trade in Tourism appeared, ostensibly, as yet another interpretation, if not critique of sustainable development. Sustainable Development (SD) attained elevated prominence in the UK under the then Labour Prime Minister Tony Blair in the run up to the Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg, in 2000. The government's commitment to sustainable development in tourism eventually led to the setting up of the Travel Foundation in the UK, as a result of lobbying from NGOs, including primarily Tourism Concern.

5.2 Cleverdon, R. and Kalisch, A. (2000)

Fair Trade in Tourism, International *Journal of Tourism Research*, (2), 171-187

As discussed in previous chapters, this peer reviewed academic journal article was a result of a collaboration between Tourism Concern, VSO and the then University of North London, who were co-sponsoring the initial research project on Fair Trade in Tourism between 1996 and 1998. I was a Master student at the time and started writing the article in 1997, between running commercial trips to India and Nepal, researching for and writing my MA dissertation on International Tourism Policy (Kalisch, 1997) and working on the FTinT research project. By the time the article was published, I was the Policy-Co-ordinator for the 3-year EU funded project, which had started in 1999. By then, I had given up my trekking business. The article was written in collaboration with Robert Cleverdon, Senior Lecturer at the Centre for Tourism Studies (CELTS) at the then University of North London Business School. The research and argument were principally my work, overseen and endorsed by Robert Cleverdon (please, see Mr. Cleverdon's letter in Appendix D, confirming my contribution). The impetus for the paper was threefold: 1) the University had co-funded the Fair Trade in Tourism research project and required an output; 2) the outcomes of the research project needed to be publicised to generate support for the ideas; and 3) the paper was a key contribution to an academic conference organised by the research project at the then University of North London, on 9 June 1999. The conference was aimed at the tourism sector, multilateral aid agencies, NGOs, universities and consultants. It launched the concept of Fair Trade in Tourism at UK level and incorporated discussions on the role of tour operators and communities in implementing fair trade practice. The conference outcome was a special issue on Fair Trade in Tourism of the International Journal of Tourism Research, published in 2001, (3), 5, and edited by Robert Cleverdon. Unfortunately, I was unable to make a contribution to this issue (please, refer to Chapter Three, section 3.2.6 for the background to this matter).

The article contains a combination of desk research and the outcomes of the initial forum meetings, held between 1995 and 1997 (see Appendix A and Chapter Four). Its theoretical stance is grounded in development and dependency theory, which is also at the core of the fair trade concept. At the time of writing, research on fair trade, ethical consumerism and ethical tourism was scarce. It therefore takes as its premise the only available and tangible knowledge base of Fair Trade in commodities and its rising popularity with consumers, and sets out to analyse its feasibility, the obstacles and opportunities in the context of services and tourism. Drawing on the experience of Fair Trade in commodities, it argues that the very existence of fair trade products on the market, creating an expansion of consumer choice can move mainstream companies *'to review their practices and implement change',* p. 181. However, it also critically examines the differences between fair trade in commodities and fair trade in an intangible export service product, such as tourism, and the challenges entailed in this. It implies that a direct comparison with commodities needs to be approached with caution.

The paper contains three claims, which would warrant more detailed analysis and could have been pursued further in subsequent publications. I would suggest that they provide some pointers for future research directions in the context of contemporary developments in fair trade in tourism:

1) It alludes to the contradictory elements of operating fair trade within a free trade mass market system, the very system that creates the oppressive structures that makes fair trade necessary in the first place. However, these contradictions are not further analysed in the paper. Yet, such an analysis is imperative to create a credible argument for fair trade in tourism and to critically evaluate existing Fair Trade Tourism initiatives.

2) Following an analysis of the obstacles and opportunities of fair trade in tourism, in its conclusion, the article argues that tourism

trends are changing through globalisation and technological innovation, providing opportunities for grassroots communities to access international markets. It refers to the notion of maturation of tourism markets generally, drawing on Urry's (1995) argument that a more fragmented pattern of mobility signals the end of mass tourism and tourism *per se,* potentially opening the path to alternative, more ethical forms of tourism. This argument would need to be critically substantiated through further research and analysis in the light of contemporary research and shifting global markets.

3) As a concluding thought, attempting to indicate a path for change in the context of globalisation and technological innovation, it highlights the increasing opportunities for communities in the 'South to match the North' and to determine the process of trade justice. It suggests that the development of fair trade in tourism would require a more activist than market oriented approach. The paper concludes by emphasising the need for a combination of grassroots activism as a means for empowerment and collaboration between responsible sources in North and South to achieve fair trade in tourism. Further research would need to analyse grassroots activism in tourism and the implications of this argument. As I have argued in Chapter Two, activist research could present a valid methodology for this work.

The paper presents a first attempt at introducing the concept of fair trade in tourism to a wider academic audience. Its academic focus was determined by the financial involvement of the then University of North London. However, its tenor is not overly academic, in terms of its reference to theory, in order to enable a diverse audience of industry, consultant and activist practitioners access to the ideas.

The next two papers, following this initial theoretical baseline analysis, published in 2001 and 2002 respectively, are reports aimed at a practitioner audience: NGOs and tourism companies. Both were conceived as ‘action guides’, as proposed in the funding document, but also contained a theoretical analysis to inform such practice. They were intended as consultation papers; particularly the industry guide, since Tourism Concern was cognisant of its outsider position as a campaign organisation and did not want to be perceived as making prescriptive propositions when it was not actually responsible for implementing those.

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Fair Trade In Tourism

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ABSTRACT

Tourism as an industry is increasing rapidly in developing countries. Due to historical inequality in global trading relationships on the basis of 'core–periphery' dependency, globalisation and liberalised free trade, mainstream mass tourism reinforces the social and economic disadvantages of southern destinations. The 'Fair Trade Movement' has sought to redress unequal trading by promoting fair trade in commodities with small producers in the South, enabling them to take control over the production and marketing process and challenging the power of transnational corporations. This paper examines the feasibility of fair trade in tourism. It explores the obstacles and opportunities that might lead to establishing a definition of fair trade in tourism, incorporating criteria that would be workable and practical for both partners in the South and North. Copyright © 2000 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

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INTRODUCTION

Increase of tourism in developing countries

Tourism in developing countries is on the increase, with growth rates exceeding those of developed countries. Between 1980 and 1992, tourism receipts in developing countries increased from 3.0% to 12.5%, which makes an average of 8.4%. World Tourism Organization (WTO) in Burns and Holden, 1995). Although the developed countries still dominate the main world share of tourism receipts at 60%, arrivals and receipts are decreasing, particularly in Europe. Europe's share of international tourist arrivals has dropped from 65.56% in 1980 to 60.13% in 1993, North America's share of arrivals in the same period has dropped from 16.65% to 15.11%. The sharpest rise has been recorded in the Asia–Pacific region, from 7.37% in 1980 to 13.58% in 1993 (WTO, 1995 in Tourism Concern, 1996). As short-haul destinations in the Mediterranean have begun the process of saturation, western Europeans are attracted by cheap long-haul package tours to destinations in tropical, exotic locations, frequently marketed by the industry in the North as paradise. Africa, Asia and the Pacific have become fashionable, affordable and easily accessible to the average middle-income European citizen. The hedonistic sun, sea and sand mentality of those cheap short-haul charters with the emphasis on lowest price rather than quality threatens to infiltrate the developing South. Recent reports indicate that beaches in Goa, Thailand (already under considerable environmental threat) and South Africa are beginning to be appropriated by fun-seeking all-night ravers, high on drugs such as hashish and ecstasy. Although environmental groups are trying to fight against this trend to retain some ecological balance and cultural integrity, ra-

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vers and 'clubbers' (the majority from Britain) state that 'the world is our oyster'. There are a million beautiful beaches. It's a free world and it's our money to spend where we like' (Williamson, 1997).

Tourism reinforces social and economic inequality

Tourism has become the most important earner of foreign currency in most developing countries. For those who have no other competitive export commodity base it has become the only export, the mono-crop (Tourism Concern, 1996). The arguments condoning mass tourism in developing countries emphasise that any money spent by tourists there is benefiting the economy and bringing some wealth to the people there. However, there is ample evidence that although some of the more fortunate sections of the society, ruling elites, landowners, government officials or private businesses might benefit, the poor, landless, rural societies are getting poorer, not just materially but also in terms of their culture and resources. Eviction and displacement for construction of tourism resorts, rising land, food and fuel prices, and commoditisation of cultural assets are just some examples (de Kadt, 1979; Kent, 1983; O'Grady, 1990; Patterson, 1992; Monbiot, 1994; Equations, 1995). Far from bringing economic prosperity to the developing world, tourism has great potential to reinforce social inequality and economic dependency. Contemporary mainstream tourism has to be seen as a part of the existing trade system built on classic liberal economic theories of 'comparative advantage', the 'trickle down effect' and modernisation (Bauer, 1983; Rostow, 1991). Opposing theories of dependency and underdevelopment elaborate the historical relationships of the core to the periphery—the industrialised metropoles to the agricultural economies of the developing countries (Hall, 1994). 'Centres or metropoles exploit peripheries or satellites through the mechanism of unequal exchange' (Harrison, 1992 p. 9). This unequal exchange is fostered by the co-operation between wealthy and powerful elites in developing countries and the metropolitan centres and economic benefits being either repatriated to metropolitan centres or directed into channels controlled by the elites (Lea, 1988; Barrat-Brown, 1993. Peet (1991 p. 48) highlights the unfavourable terms of trade for developing countries as a result of 'classical economic theory of trade' whereby products of the centre have higher costs attached, 'while devaluing the exports of the periphery'. He concludes that 'unequal exchange is 'a hidden mechanism of surplus extraction and economic stagnation in the periphery'. Barratt-Brown (1993 p. 43) states that unequal trading relations 'have become incorporated in the operations of the large transnational company' throughout the Third World, who 'with their control over both buying and selling of the goods entering international trade, provide the final explanation for the weakness of the millions of small Third World producers in the world market'.

FAIR TRADE

Within the current climate of free trade and globalisation, where transnationals from the 'metropoles' dominate the tourism industry as any other industry in the developing countries, concepts of ethical trading and investment practices, human rights issues, social and environmental accountability of corporations are slowly appearing on the agenda of boardroom discussions. Consumer and media pressure, spurred by the initiatives of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) such as the Global Supermarkets Campaign by Christian Aid (Bellos, 1997) and the possibility of competitive advantage, not to forget a basis of social consciousness on the part of some of the companies, represent the driving forces of a change in trading relationships with producers in the South.

The concept

The concept of fair trade as a mark of distinction for a particular trading process and product, and distinguished from free trade, is beginning to make inroads into the mainstream business world. In the UK, the Fair Trade Foundation (FTF) assists companies in implementing fair trade practices in the development of their products in order to grant them a licence for the use of the Fair Trade

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Mark.

Products such as coffee, tea, chocolate, nuts and handicrafts have developed from a niche market in the early 1990s to a place on the supermarket shelf. Cafedirect, a fair trade coffee brand commands 3% of the market. It worked its way into supermarkets just 2 years after its inception in 1989, when Safeways in Scotland began to stock it as a result of consumer pressure. The British Supermarket Companies, Sainsbury's and the Co-op (CWS —Co-operative Wholesale Society) are in close negotiation with the FTF to develop ethical trading practices with their suppliers in the South (FTF, personal communication, 24 June 1997). Tesco, albeit after pressure from NGOs and the media, have set up an ethical trading monitoring group. B&Q, the do-it-yourself store, 'have introduced independent monitoring of foreign labour conditions and from 1999 will only buy timber from sustainable sources approved by an independent certifier' (Bellos, 1997). The Bodyshop, a multinational corporation set up in Britain in the 1970s, selling hair and skin care products, has long prided itself on being established along socially and environmentally responsible policy guidelines incorporating fair trade (The Bodyshop, 1996).

Consumer Response

Market research indicates that consumers are beginning to demand more responsibility and ethical standards in business. A Gallup poll in 1996 established that 74% and 92% of consumers believe that standards of honesty and of behaviour, respectively, are getting worse. Sixty-seven per cent of adults claim to consider a company's ethical stance when buying products and 57% of adults believe corporate ethics have declined over the past 5 years. An NOP survey, commissioned by Christian Aid in 1993 found that 68% claimed that they 'would pay more for fair trade products' and 85% agreed that 'workers in the Third World are exploited and do not get enough for their produce' (Ogilvy and Mather, 1996). Whether such statements made at a particular point in time would translate into action and result in a boom in fair trade products would have to be seen.

Further research into attitudes and behaviour patterns of tourism consumers in relation to ethical issues needs to identify whether good intentions and ethical awareness would be translated into actual purchasing decisions. Price, performance and convenience are deemed to be the prime criteria for consumers' decisions. Existing research in psychological studies recognises a discrepancy between attitudes and behaviour amongst so-called green consumers (Balooni, 1997). This means that a consumer, concerned about poverty in the Third World might support fair trade in a questionnaire survey, but when it comes to booking a holiday, old habits and considerations of finance and convenience could well determine their purchasing decision.

Nevertheless, the figures above reveal a general mistrust in business and corporate behaviour among consumers that needs to be built on by fair trade in tourism supporters.

Definition of Fair Trade

The Fair Trade Movement is represented by organisations at European and international level: International Federation for Alternative Trade (IFTA)/and the European Fair Trade Association (EFTA).

According to EFTA, the definition of fair trade is:

(1) to support efforts of partners in the South who by means of co-operation, production and trade strive for a better standard of living and fairness in the distribution of income and influence;
(2) to take initiatives and participate in activities aimed at establishing fair production and trade structures in the South and on the global market (EFTA, 1996).

The Max Havelaar Organisation, the Fair Trade Mark Organisation in countries such as The Netherlands, Switzerland and France and the Fair Trade Foundation in the UK, set up by a number of NGOs, including Christian Aid, Traidcraft Exchange and Oxfam conclude that: 'Fair trade aims to ensure a fairer deal for Third World Producers in international trade … by influencing mainstream commercial practices and consumer attitudes, so that consumer demand in the UK for a greater availability of more equitably traded products

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can be both stimulated and met. It is hoped that resources may be available to … encourage discussion and action on fair trade issues among manufacturers, retailers and the public' (Tourism Concern, 1996).

Fair Trade criteria

The Fair Trade Foundation in its Third World Supplies Charter lays down the criteria used for assessing suppliers and trading relationships. Apart from minimum standards that should be met relating to international labour standards on working conditions, health and safety, equality of treatment and forced labour, more precise criteria have been developed that might be adapted to different product groups.

The following are based on the Cafedirect criteria.

(1) *Fair Price*: should be fixed by producers (service providers) in consultation with purchasing partners, allow a decent standard of living, 'internalise' any social, cultural and environmental degradation and reflect a long-term trading relationship.
(2) *Premium*: added to basic price to consumer, which providers can use to develop community infrastructure, such as schools, hospitals or training programmes to improve skills.
(3) *Advance payments*: deposits or payments of 50% of the price in advance are a crucial component to enable local small-scale businesses with no access to capital to invest in their 'product'. Present practices among tour operators of paying too late or not at all in the case of cancellations cause serious debts and degradation of the product.
(4) *Long-term relationship*: contracts incorporating future commitment provide security and enhance credibility of partners in the South for obtaining credit from conventional lending institutions. It allows for a gradual improvement of product, skills, experience and business acumen for local people.
(5) *Direct trading relationship*: fair trade partnerships cut out the 'middle men' ('coyotes' in the coffee trade). In tourism an analysis of the operations would have to reveal to what extent this aspect affects the trading relationship.

Factors of distinction from free trade

Although the term 'fair' used in the free trade context is semantically similar to that used by the Fair Trade Movement it is essential to highlight the features that make it distinct from a free trade approach.

(1) The main aim of fair trade is to *fight against poverty in the Third World*. The intention is to redress historical trade imbalances created by colonial practices and by the politics of dependency, which have produced a comparative disadvantage to developing countries in relation to the industrialised metropoles, rather than a 'comparative advantage'. This disadvantage embodied by the low level of prices and demand of their primary export commodities and the high prices of imported manufactured goods from the metropoles has actually been caused by the free trade ideology. It is considered to be the root of the extreme levels of poverty in those countries.

> 'Famines do not occur, they are organised by the grain trade' (Berthold Brecht, quoted in George, 1986).

(2) *It brings the consumer in touch with the producer* (especially so in tourism). Normally, the consumer knows little about the people behind the production process. Most products are made by large impersonal multinationals, with the labour of hundreds of people in standardised conditions, people who usually have no say in the production process. The only information consumers have of those companies is through highly sophisticated advertising. Fair trade products attempt to provide the consumer with honest information about the producers and the details of the production process. It gives consumers a chance to be actively involved in fighting against poverty, not through charity or donations but by means of a just exchange of goods.
(3) Fair trade *targets small-scale producers*. They

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are people at the bottom of the economic scale of productivity who would otherwise be waiting in vain for the 'trickle down effect'. They have few or no assets but enough skills to sell a product or their labour to earn a living. Fair trade offers them fair wages and working conditions, credit and loans at affordable interest rates, as well as advance payments and professional assistance with product and skills development. As such it not only brings the consumer and producer closer into contact but also creates a symbiotic relationship between the purchasing partner and producer. It creates a framework for collaboration and improvement rather than exploitation. Without fair trade these small-scale businesses would have little chance of gaining access to a world market, dominated by transnational corporations.

(4) The components of the trading method are intended *to strengthen the partner's position* in a proactive way, to increase their bargaining position. This includes assistance from northern partners with product development, access to marketing techniques and control over image and representation.

Fair trade in services/tourism — characteristics of difference to commodities

So far, all the products that carry the Fair Trade Mark are primary commodities. Little or nothing is known about fair trade in services, let alone fair trade in the hospitality sector. Ethical investment policies have been developed in the banking and investment sector, such as the Co-operative and Triodos Banks, and Shared Interest which is organised along the lines of a building society, providing credit for producer groups in the South. Considering that the service sector has been outgrowing the manufacturing sector and that tourism, a 'multi-sectoral service activity' (Jenkins, 1994) is claimed to be the largest industry and the leading job creator in the 21st century (WTTC, 1995, 1997) it may be high time to examine how fair trade could become an integral part of the tourism industry's partnerships with southern host destinations.

The initial experience of fair trade in commodities helps to determine to what extent it could be adapted in tourism. On a broad level, the fair trade criteria that have been developed for commodities are also relevant to tourism. However, the economic implications and the feasibility of issues such as the fixing of price levels or long-term relationships in an economic climate where the success of the industry is determined by price wars and short-term, flexible investments in fashionable destinations, will require careful research.

Fair trading organisations are non-profit making. With the exception of the Bodyshop, most of the trading organisations based in the North are non-profit making, mostly NGOs, many with a religious mission. They have been motivated by social and moral responsibility and are committed to the principle of using trade as a means of relieving poverty by increasing self-reliance in grassroots communities in the South. Cafedirect operates as a company and the trading arm of NGOs such as Traidcraft and Oxfam. Although Traidcraft and Oxfam, with a strong tradition in fair trade in commodities, have run holidays for their members to the projects they operate abroad none of them have as yet been active in the professional promotion of holidays to the broader public along fair trade criteria.

Small and medium independent tour operators who practice some of the fair trade policies, such as direct trading relationships, equitable partnerships and community benefits, currently exist in the UK. The issue for them, however, in contrast to grant receiving NGOs is one of economic viability and survival rather than of altruism or a moral commitment to equality and poverty alleviation. They could, on the other hand, represent a starting point for a more intensive development process of an economically viable fair trade operation in tourism, which could eventually influence mainstream tour operators.

Tourism's 'product' is intangible and invisible. Commodities such as tea and coffee are easily definable and tangible. Tourism, however, is a multisectoral service activity, incorporating many diverse service functions and overlapping with many different sectors, such as transport and agriculture. As a 'product' it is

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intangible. It is an invisible export trade item, the raw material of which is the living organism and dynamic of people (generally called 'hosts'), cultures and natural resources (Tourism Concern, 1996). The product that is being traded on the world market therefore is different from any other product within the world trading system. In fact, the people who are part of this living organism might question whether they would want to be regarded as a product. Nevertheless, it is packaged as such for profit maximisation.

Burns and Holden (1995) list a number of definitions that have evolved in the past 20 years in tourism studies. It is a seen as a 'system' (Mill and Morrison, 1985), a 'study of man away from his usual habitat, the industry and impacts' (Jafari, 1977) a 'pan-humanistic process' (Nash and Smith, 1991) or an industry. Burns and Holden (1995) come to the conclusion that in view of its complexity it should be regarded as a 'traded commodity, displaying some of the characteristics of the trade in commodities (prices set in metropoles, being subject to market manipulation, and the tenuous links between cost of production and selling price)'. As such it has been transformed from pilgrimage and education into a standardised global consumer mass product.

Under normal circumstances a product for sale would be processed from raw materials. The raw materials and the processing know-how constitute the asset and the capital of the producers, which gives them the competitive edge on the market. In tourism it could be argued that the capital itself is for sale, it is then processed by the purchasers, the tour operators, into a packaged commodity and sold to their customers, who consume the product on the producers' soil, the raw material of the product. Selling the capital makes little business sense (Schumacher, 1974; Goodland *et al.*, 1992). Surrendering the components of the process that make it competitive to the purchaser is economically unviable for the producer and deprives them of any bargaining power. The capital is used up gradually, because the producers are not gaining enough from the sale to replenish it, if indeed it is replenishable. Some natural resources, such as ground water and topsoil, sometimes cannot be replaced (ECOMOST, 1994).

The success of the tourism industry depends on low, flexible prices. Coffee has a *world price*, which can be used as a means of setting a fair price. Cafedirect have pledged to pitch their price at a certain percentage above the world price whatever it might be. In tourism no such ceiling exists. The implications of standardising prices on a global level would need serious attention. Indeed, the question might arise whether price is actually the most important issue in the discussion on fair trade in tourism or whether other issues, such as the distribution of benefits and democratic control at local level, are of greater relevance.

The quality of the product is of utmost importance for its commercial viability, both in commodities as in tourism. Consumers will not buy a product purely for ethical reasons. It has to correspond with their taste, with 'trends and fashions' (EFTA, 1995). The price difference to conventional products (or premium) needs to be carefully evaluated. If the price is too high it will not sell.

Commercialisation of hospitality — a new concept in developing countries. All the fair trade commodities, such as bananas, coffee, tea and handicrafts, have historically been export products by the countries involved. The tradition of agricultural and craft production in developing countries has thus created a wealth of experience and skills among local communities that assists them in managing and controlling their own production processes.

Tourism is not a traditional industrial activity in most developing countries. The concept of hospitality as a free gift to a travelling guest or friend is centuries old in many cultures and a particular aspect of rural and remote societies. Commercialising such a gift in monetary forms, commercialising the relationship between host and guest is a new process to which most people who do not belong to local elites are initially unaccustomed (Zarkia, 1996). Analysing the socio-cultural and psychological effects of this process is not the purpose of this paper. Suffice to say, however, that the difference between trading a traditional commodity such as sugar or tea and trading tourism is substantial. If fair trade targets grass-roots communities that have little experience of using tourism as an

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export trade item, this needs to be addressed. It involves a profound learning and development process not just on an economic level but also in terms of psychological adjustment.

No history of collective organisation. Producer communities in the South are usually organised as collectives in the form of co-operatives, many of which have been in existence when fair trade purchasers from the North approached them. Oxfam deals with many groups who are linked to the development work they do. Some of the fair trade coffee producers also deal with conventional partners, in some cases transnationals. Approximately 25% of their business might be with fair trade partners (Cafedirect, personal communication, 30 September 1996).

In structural terms, the collective organisation of tourism operations for small-scale tourism providers and producers is a new and unaccustomed concept. Tourism is normally based on competitive entrepreneurship. Collective co-ordination of and decision-making over the diversity of tourism activities in any location, the promotion and marketing process, product development and financial planning would need to be approached differently from a co-operative selling coffee. Creating a professional high quality leisure and pleasure product which is acceptable to western taste and western expectations within the context of Third World underdevelopment is a difficult and sometimes impossible task. Satisfying the conflicting needs of the western tourist for a certain level of familiarity, comfort and security combined with the need for the exotic, strange, mysterious and adventurous is a sophisticated skill. Any fair trade in tourism policy needs to address that, either in the context of how western expectations are shaped or how communities are going to respond to the demand. Whatever the definition of fair trade in tourism, the 'product' or the tourist 'experience' that is for sale has to be attractive to the consumer and commercially viable so that it can bring the desired benefits for all stakeholders involved.

Social and cultural intrusion. Commodities are transported out of the producer community. Producers will not usually come into contact with the consumer or the culture where their product is sold. The fact that tourism is consumed in the place of origin puts it into a substantially different realm from any other commodity. Exporting coffee or tea might have environmental implications. The effects of certain planting methods and the 'carrying capacity' of a plantation can be measured and addressed with some degree of scientific planning. However, the 'demonstration effect' and the social implications of encountering the consumer face to face is not something that needs to be taken into account in coffee production. The effects of this encounter have been analysed in detail by sociologists and anthropologists (de Kadt, 1979; Smith, 1989; Cohen, 1993; Hitchcock *et al.*, 1993; Crick, 1994; Boissevain, 1996; Selwyn, 1996). Although their analysis as to the changes that can be directly attributed to tourism and those which might be exacerbated by tourism varies, they all come to the conclusion that the presence of the tourist in a developing country is an important factor in changing cultures and social structures.

A positive consequence of this encounter in fair trade terms could be the fact that the consumer is able to see the benefits of his/her particular contribution in buying a fair trade holiday, while also monitoring whether fair trade criteria are being implemented.

Definition of fair trade in tourism

As yet a definition of fair trade in tourism does not exist. At present, research is being undertaken in a joint initiative by the University of North London, Volunteer Service Overseas (VSO) and Tourism Concern (TC), an NGO campaigning for just and responsible tourism, to achieve a definition of fair trade in tourism for the industry that reflects a North–South collaboration, is realistic and workable in practice. It is intended that it should not just be conceived as a theoretical statement merely to be used as a public relations exercise and a marketing ploy to provide a competitive edge.

The term 'fair' in the classic economic free trade and modernisation context, is used to ensure fairness in competition among businesses in the North. In the UK, the Fair Trading Office has been charged with overseeing that

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process. On a global scale, the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) is intended as 'a negotiated freedom of fair trade in services' in the context of 'obstacle-free competition' for the countries involved. 'Level playing fields' should thus be created to enable foreign companies 'equal access' to natural resources and investment nationally and internationally (WTO, 1995).

'Fair Trade' as examined in this paper is about providing a better deal for producers or, in the case of tourism, service providers in the South. This approach could be seen as emanating from theories of underdevelopment and dependency in the 1970s, which were based in the premise that the 'existing economic structures had been strongly stacked against the economic interests of developing countries' (Cho, 1995). Thus, in formulating a definition for fair trade in tourism, the South needs to play a determinant role. Industry practices in the North need to be examined as to whether and how they might create or reinforce unequal trading patterns. Company policies and codes of conduct can be expected to refer to principles of responsibility and accountability not just to shareholders but also to the public and to trading partners in the southern destinations. Developing and implementing fair trade policies, however, has to be done in collaboration with stakeholders in the South to ensure a southern perspective in all aspects of the trading operation. At present, the concept of fair trade is largely infused by a northern perspective.

Preliminary consultation with representatives from southern organisations involved in tourism has resulted in a more concise awareness as to the prerequisites for fair trade in tourism. It needs to address the root causes of inequality in tourism as perceived by grassroots communities in the South: i.e. *access to capital, ownership of resources, distribution of benefits and control over representation of the destination in tourist-generating countries, and it needs to ensure transparency of tourism operations, including price and working conditions*. Research into 'fair trade tourism' needs to establish who benefits by how much and in what way. This needs to be examined against a background of historic structures of benefit distribution and of the political and social dynamics in a particular location. (Richter 1993, p. 192)

Access to capital. As outlined earlier, developing economies as a whole have been submitted on a global level to an 'unequal exchange' through the concept of comparative advantage. Any benefits that do flow into countries, in the form of foreign investment, aid or loans generally do not reach communities at grass-roots level that are involved in a daily struggle to overcome often extreme levels of poverty. They are too poor to qualify for credit or loan and are unable to make any investments enabling them to escape from the poverty trap. Barratt-Brown (1993, p. 43) considers the 'real inequality' in trade to be based on the fact that

> the machinery and the new technology together with the capital available for investment to increase productivity, are in the hands of the capitalists in the developed First World economies. Third World industrialists must find their capital and equipment mainly from outside their frontiers and pay for both at First World prices or borrow at First World interest rates.

By making credit available at favourable interest rates or in return for goods or services, fair trade can break the 'vicious circle of poverty'.

Burns and Holden (1995, p. 92) create a 'virtuous circle of economic development' as opposed to the 'vicious circle of poverty'. In the virtuous circle the escape route from the poverty trap is marked by an injection of capital as a pump-priming initiative. The result is an increase in capital and higher productivity. The ideas inherent in fair trade of advance payments and microcredit or credit directly paid to producer organisations by ethical investment companies in the North, such as Shared Interest, could provide an answer to this issue.

Ownership. Land ownership, land use and rising land prices as a result of tourism development are among the most contentious issues in tourism in the South. Land is the most precious and sought after resource by rich capitalists seeking to invest and by governments seeking to gain from the investment. In

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this process of land acquisition the beaches occupied for centuries by fisherfolk, the forests nurtured by tribals and the savannahs and deserts guarded by nomads who traditionally have had unquestioned land rights as part of their livelihood have been taken away without consultation or compensation. Such compensation as has been granted has often been inappropriate. Groups such as the Maasai in Kenya have been excluded from National Parks and fertile land to make room for tourism developments and conservation projects (Monbiot, 1994). Fair trade would need to ensure that people's livelihoods are enhanced rather than destroyed. 'Land must … serve all people rather than simply those who control it. Development must become the tool of those who need development most—the homeless and the dispossessed—rather than benefiting only the developers' (Monbiot, 1997).

Distribution of benefits. Hoogvelt (1982) argues that economic growth and development depend on who owns the 'productive activities'. If they are owned by foreigners income will be remitted abroad rather than invested in the country of production. Even if they are owned by the state, it will depend on the political and social development policies of national and local governments whether the poorest section of society or the people involved (either actively or passively) in the tourism process will reap the benefits of the trading process. Research indicates that all too often it serves to 'deepen social inequalities' and widen the gap between those with access to capital and those who are landless and on the threshold of subsistence (Hoogvelt, 1982; Richter, 1993).

In tourism, distribution of benefits and the control over the distribution process is largely in the hands of northern business, in particular the transnationals. The way in which most package, charter and 'all-inclusive' tours are organised, none of the money ever paid by the consumer in the North even touches the host destination. The tour operators have the power to determine where they send their customers and how they portray the destination in their brochures without being obliged to consult with any stakeholders in the destination (Jenkins, 1994).

Stakeholders. Fair trade targets small-scale producers, without the means to gain access to the world market. In order to ensure that benefits do reach the people who need them most these producers or providers need to be identified. Owing to the complexity and diversity of tourism operations in the destinations, owned privately or publicly, locally or foreign, often incorporating a substantial informal sector such as ungraded family-run hotels, guest houses, paying guest accommodation or taxis and rickshaws, it is often hard to establish who to make business with. In many developing countries tourism has developed on the basis of private sector initiative, often in an unplanned, fragmented and uncoordinated manner by a government lacking the professional experience and understanding of modern tourism development (Pattullo, 1996). Even if tourism has begun to be incorporated into national economic development plans, lack of funding and experience has placed tourism development largely into the realm of private sector initiative and investment. If issues of distribution and ownership are to be addressed, an analysis of who is involved or affected and how any benefits are distributed in any given location needs to take place.

The terms 'local' or 'community' are often used in the context of people who are living in a tourist resort. For the purpose of Fair Trade, they need to be clearly identified as 'interest groups' or 'stakeholders' involved in or affected by tourism.

Transparency of trading operations. One of the strongest criticisms levelled at transnational corporations is the fact that they have a great deal of power over the economic resources and the stability of a country, yet they are in no way accountable to either the government or the people (Korten, 1996; Vidal, 1997; Clarke, 1995). Most companies consider the responsibility to their shareholders, their dividends and profit levels, but not to the public or their trading partners.

Fair trade in tourism could introduce a process of opening up trading operations to an independent monitoring and verification process against a set of bench marks covering minimum labour standards, fair trade criteria

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and the development of an ethical code of conduct (NEF/CIIR, 1997).

The idea of environmental accounting has begun to capture the imagination of innovative and concerned businesses, added to this a system of social accounting would introduce a method of examining the validity of a people-centred approach by way of a stakeholder consultation (Traidcraft Exchange, 1996; The Bodyshop, 1996).

Representation of southern tourist destinations in tourist-generating countries. In order to sell conventional mass tourism, or in many cases even specialised ecotourism to long-haul destinations in the South, the industry in the North uses images and descriptions of destinations that tend to mystify and romanticise by playing on the consumers' dreams and fantasies. This representation often provides a distorted and unrealistic impression of the country. In many cases, stereotypes, racism, sexism and colonial behaviour structures are reinforced (Dann, 1996; Hutt, 1996; Crick, 1996). It is usually developed for the purpose of profit-maximisation for the company to influence customer choice without consultation of stakeholders in tourist resorts. Such marketing also substantially tends to influence tourist attitudes to people and cultures in the destinations.

Equality in the trading partnership would mean that stakeholders in the South, including 'small-scale' stakeholders, have a voice and control over the way they are represented to potential visitors from the North. In this context, the issue of intellectual property rights would need to be more closely examined (Aotearoa Maori Tourism Federation, 1994).

OBSTACLES TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF FAIR TRADE IN TOURISM

International trade agreements

Discussion on fair trade in tourism must take into account the global economic context, which, it could be argued, is moving in the opposite direction. Although the GATS is hailed as introducing fairer trading practices between nations, which should give developing countries free market access to developed countries, the practical reality does not always bear this out. The negotiations of the Uruguay Round were permeated with criticisms from developing countries with respect to the advantageous position of the rich industrial nations, which they claimed would be maintained with the implementation of the GATS. According to these criticisms, the GATS was designed to make it easier for foreign companies, particularly transnationals, to gain access to developing countries, encouraged by favourable incentives, whereas developing economies could be denied similar advantages in developed countries because most transnationals are based in the North and restrictive trade and immigration policies, expensive set-up costs and uncompetitive business practices would impede southern nations from gaining mutual advantages (Equations, 1995; Tourism Concern, 1996). The Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), currently under negotiation, within the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), will in effect give investors a free hand to create a business climate that will essentially obliterate any regulations that could hamper the capital accumulation of a company investing in any foreign country. The agreement gives legal authority to investors to repatriate profits, acquire ownership over resources and capital assets in the host country, ban performance requirements in exchange for market access, such as investment in the local economy and responsible behaviour, and to lower wages, working conditions, environmental and consumer-safety standards. Governments of nation states will have little control over such trading practices. They will, in fact find themselves having to repeal and modify their own national laws to fit in with the requirements of this agreement (Monbiot, 1997; WWF, 1997.

Competition within the tourism industry

Competition in the UK tourism industry is fierce. The three largest companies, dominating the mass market, Thomson, Airtours and First Choice command 80% of all package tours (Madeley, 1995). Vertical integration has enabled them to gain a stronghold over the cheapest possible prices, including increas-

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ingly holidays to long-haul destinations, such as Goa, Kenya and Thailand. Their success relies on keeping the price low and keeping ahead of the price war game with their competitors. Small and medium-sized tour operators complain about the stranglehold these companies exert over them through, for example, ownership of the travel agents which demand high commissions for displaying their brochures and discriminate in favour of the owners in the sale of their holidays (Farrell *et al.*, 1996). As fair trade requires raising the price in favour of the producers and implementing an environmental and social code of conduct, thus raising the quality of the product, it might seem difficult to convince mainstream tour operators of the commercial advantage of such an initiative. Critical voices from within the industry state that the conventional tour operator pays little attention to ethical principles and believes in shifting the responsibility and accountability for the company's trading practices on to host destinations and governments (Focus Group FTinT, 1997[1]). This is borne out by research, which indicates that tour operators and other components of the industry are aware of the need for sustainable practices but would only be encouraged to implement them if they were cost-saving devices (Forsyth, 1996). 'Profit-maximisation remains paramount in the decision-making of tourism enterprises' (Cater, 1991), and Rees, in an argument supported by Mehmet (1995), states that 'historic levels of profit are not compatible with sustainable development' (Rees, 1990, in Cater, 1991).

The Niche Product

Fair trade products currently comprise around 3% of the commodity market. Small and medium-sized tour operators comprise about 12% of the tourism market. Considering this small market position and the competitive pressures of those operators, the question arises whether the development of fair trade tourism as a niche product could be viable, both in commercial terms but also in terms of making an impact on the world trading system. Should the priority be for large-scale companies to adopt a code of conduct incorporating fair trade, and implementing it with the help of publicly approved independent monitoring procedures? Or would it be more efficient to develop exemplary fair trade holidays, which could be used to act as catalysts and be adopted by mainstream tour operators in the same way that supermarkets are beginning to stock fair trade products?

Experience in primary commodities demonstrates that creating competitive and public pressure by the introduction of a fair trade product on the market does move mainstream companies to review their practices and implement change. It also creates a choice and an alternative for the consumer, who can actively evaluate the different trading processes through personal experience. However, if one argues that in mass tourism the product currently traded on the world market is inherently inequitable, it would follow that not only the trading relationship and the method would have to be changed, but *the nature of the 'product' itself* and the way it is promoted by the industry. Less emphasis should be placed on the one hand on cheapness relying on low price and low wage economies in the South, and on the other on expensive, capital intensive investments inappropriate to the local ecosystem and culture but attractive to high-spending, high-quality tourists. More emphasis needs to be placed on quality and equality, with lower levels of western consumption patterns. This will require a more complex and thorough development and public education process. One of the determinant factors in the quality of the tourism product should be the economic well-being of the host community.

Any fair trade tourism operation would currently have to survive in a free-market context. In order to be economically viable, it would have to be promoted as professionally as mainstream holidays but according to a different set of quality criteria. Mass tourism has made travel accessible to a wide section of

[1] This was a meeting hosted by Tourism Concern, University of North London and Voluntary Service Overseas. Representatives from developing countries were brought together with European Travel Industry Representatives to find common links and mutual interest in developing Fair Trade. 'FTinT' means Fair Trade in Tourism.

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low and middle income people who would otherwise never have been able to afford to travel abroad. Ethics in tourism should not be confined to an expensive niche market for sophisticated 'ego-tourists' (Wheeller, 1993; Munt, 1994). It has to permeate all operations not as an option but as a matter of principle.

OPPORTUNITIES

The climate is right

Over the past 20 years, a commitment to environmental responsibility has become an integral part of many companies' policies. Environmental pressure groups have raised the level of public awareness and mobilised public opinion to exert an influence on economic and political decision-makers. European and national government legislation has proved an important motivating force for businesses to make the necessary resources available to affect change. The media can exert an important influence over a company's public image. Recent publicity of the environmental and human rights practices of large transnationals such as BP and Shell in developing countries have caused enough concern amongst corporate directors to consider policy changes not just to improve their environmental performance but also their human rights record (Beavis and Brown, 1996). The libel case in the UK against McDonalds has demonstrated that it is possible to challenge the power of transnationals and to compel them to make themselves more accountable to the public. These examples also show that in addition to environmental policy, social policy is beginning to become a considered entity in corporate decision-making. The political climate in the UK is beginning to change in such a way that ethics in business are becoming an integral part of discussions on trade.

Sustainable tourism and the industry

In tourism, the World Travel and Tourism Environmental Research Council (WTTERC) has published a comprehensive policy document on 'Environment and Development' (1993), incorporating 'consideration of the local community in development decisions' and the 'development of forms of tourism appropriate to the local area' (p. 36). The successful implementation of such mission statements would depend on a detailed definition of those concepts.

The World Tourism Organisation has recently published indicators designed to measure social impact and levels of satisfaction among both visitors and local people (Croall, 1996). British Airways (1994) and British Airways Holidays (1997) are addressing environmental issues through impact assessments and guidelines in their brochures to encourage their clients' environmental responsibility and a commitment to support the local economy. These are all initiatives that could be confirmed by an independent monitoring process and built upon to include fair trade criteria.

As with all policy statements, however, there is generally a tendency to pay lip-service and make token gestures, primarily for marketing and promotion purposes (Cater, 1991 p. 19; Forsyth 1996). In relation to fair trade in tourism, concern for the environmental sphere needs to be extended to include issues of human rights, distribution of economic benefits control and ownership, as outlined earlier in this paper. Terms such as 'community participation' and 'consultation' sound politically correct from a northern perspective, but overall little understanding and experience exists (even among the Fair Trade Movement) about the successful implementation of such concepts particularly in tourism. Knowledge of a community-centred approach in tourism, initiated by communities of tourism resorts in the South, particularly in undemocratic political structures, is scant. A superficial approach can lead to confusion, token gestures and disappointment among those communities (Wahab and Pigram, 1997; Betz, 1998). Until such terms are backed up by an integrated action plan, genuine political and financial commitment, necessary resources and practical evidence on the ground it will be difficult to give credence to any such statements on paper.

Open Trading

Amongst alternative trading circles there is now a movement emerging to encourage mainstream businesses to add social account-

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ing and auditing procedures to their existing financial and environmental accounting processes. Any policy statements relating to social objectives would have to be measured against the company's actual track record, by means of independent monitoring and verification procedures currently under discussion among NGOs (Traidcraft, 1996; NEF/CIIR, 1997). Such a transparent and open trading process would have to determine *measurable targets* that would reflect equitable trading criteria. Organisations such as The Fair Trade Foundation (although resources are limited) and relevant consultancies would be assisting companies in the development process to achieve this, as is currently happening with supermarkets. The aim would not necessarily need to be a Fair Trade Mark as such but a more general seal of approval on the basis of achievable targets. The Fair Trade Foundation believe that the effect that such accreditation would have on business performance and the company's public image with the support of consumer pressure would be sufficient encouragement for companies to become involved in this process (FTF, personal communication, 24 June 1997). Increasingly, a synergy between the business community and NGOs will have to take place recognising their interdependence in creating more responsible and publicly accountable trading patterns.

In tourism, 'measurable' targets for fair trade as yet do not exist. For this to happen, stakeholders in the South at public, private and local community level might have to create a collective consultation and planning process determining fair trade criteria in tourism acceptable to all stakeholders in a particular resort and then become actively involved in specifying the terms of the trading relationship with tourism organisers in the North. Targets would have to embrace a general global dimension, a minimum set of criteria followed by the whole of the industry as well as a set of location-specific criteria, taking into consideration that the organisation and structure of tourism varies considerably in different destinations. They could also allow for a specific alternative fair trade operation to be developed.

Minimum fair trade policies would address a commitment to the following:

(1) creating *social, cultural and economic benefits* for host destinations, in particular economically stressed communities, and minimising leakage;
(2) being aware of and *respecting national laws* addressing environmental and sociocultural sustainability (the GATS needs to be reviewed with regard to making this possible, without contravening 'free market access' rules);
(3) developing *strong structures of consultation* both between northern tourism organisers and 'host communities' and among key stakeholders in the 'host community', including local people affected but not involved in tourism;
(4) *transparent and open trading operations*, including social and environmental audits independently verified;
(5) *ecological sustainability* on the basis of scientific advice to governments and local people;
(6) *respect for human rights*, including decent working conditions, equality between men and women, avoidance of forced labour, child labour and prostitution.

The possibility for appropriate legislation and regulation of the tourism industry to underpin these objectives might need to be considered.

Fair trade eliminates poverty

One of the main goals of sustainable development discussed at the recent Earth Summit in New York is to relieve (if possible eradicate) poverty in the developing world. There is evidence that fair trade achieves this goal in some areas. Co-operatives in Nicaragua producing fair trade coffee for Cafedirect claim that although unemployment in their country is as high as 60%, their members have employment and have been able to pay off all their debts (Tourism Concern, 1996).

The elements of advance payments, credit and long-term relationship have provided small-scale producer groups with the credibility to obtain loans from conventional lending institutions at favourable interest rates

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in their locality. They have thus been able to raise their business viability (Cafedirect, personal communication, 1996). Whether similar successes can be achieved by fair trade in tourism has to be seen.

Community-based tourism

Evidence suggests that there are many small-scale initiatives around the world where people in villages or small communities are trying to join the tourism business and make a modest living with scarce resources, sometimes not only out of economic need but also to counter discrimination and abuse of their cultures.

The Maori in New Zealand set up the Aotearoa Maori Tourism Federation in 1988 to 'support the aspirations and needs' of Maori involved in tourism as operators, as investors and as employees' and to research and promote a 'Maori Tourism Product' that reflects Maori culture authentically, interpreted by Maori who have a direct relationship with that culture (Aotearoa Maori Tourism Federation, 1997).

In Venezuela the number of micro-enterprises in tourism is growing. An important sector of grass-roots tourism are the so-called posadas, guest houses 'run by a family or as a small business and providing rooms and food' (Pattullo, 1996).

The Inuit in the Canadian Arctic have taken control over the management of their visitor industry after their land rights were restored by the Canadian Government (Smith, 1996).

The major challenge of such enterprises is the competition and the threat posed by large-scale tourism resorts in their vicinity, who with their rich resources and their sophisticated marketing techniques often not only take away the business but also copy any new ideas that might be developed by those small entrepreneurs (Ascher, 1985; Afrikan Heritage, personal communication 1996). The challenge for the tourism industry and policy makers is to find a way in which large mass tourism and small-scale grass-roots tourism projects can co-exist, feeding into each other and assisting each other in a positive way as part of an integrated local economic development policy, in the knowledge that the market needs not just one but a diversity of tourism provision that is of a high quality and can reflect changing consumer demand.

CONCLUSION

Poon (1993) and Urry (1995) both argue that the age of mass tourism is coming to an end. Poon (1993) believes that modern tourists are by now experienced travellers, well educated, world wise and informed and ready for a change from the traditional sun, sand and sea mentality. She thinks that there will be a need for more natural, more authentic and 'down-to-earth' vacations (p. 120). Urry (1995) points out that 'there seems to be a move away from the organised tourism characteristic of the modern period to a much more differentiated and fragmented pattern of mobility which one could almost describe as the end of tourism per se'. These views seem to be echoed by the industry, who have to either resort to ever cheaper prices to attract customers or become much more 'sophisticated in the way the market is segmented' Poon (1993). If this analysis is right then these are signs of a social transformation that augurs well for the proponents of fair trade in tourism as a more sophisticated and more 'authentic' tourism experience. As yet the process of determining what exactly fair trade in tourism means in practice and whether it can be implemented successfully has only recently started. Initially, it will be a question of challenging the priorities of the existing trade system and making the case for a different kind of tourism experience in countries where the poverty levels of the population are high and ecosystems are fragile. This might also mean challenging the western view that as long as one has money to spend, one has the right to use the world as a playground and an amusement centre. Although the Earth Summit in June 1997 has brought few concrete commitments, the fair trade concept offers a concrete and practical opportunity for business operations in the North and South to make sustainability in tourism a reality and a way of life. It is recognised that control, ownership and land use are not likely to be relinquished with ease by power wielding forces in North or South. Historically, the concept of fair trade as

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providing a better deal for producers in the South has emerged from development theories directly opposed to the existing dominant economic theory. However, the economic dynamics of the world are changing rapidly. Globalisation and technological advances are increasing the ability of the South to match the North. These modern tools need to be used in a positive way to enhance communication and information procedures that could create 'level playing fields' for grass-roots communities in remote societies. It is those communities that will have to take the lead in determining how fair trade in tourism could provide them with a better chance in life. '... it is grassroots activism and not lobbying that provides the muscle' (Athanasiou, 1997). One could argue that it is a combination of both and that responsible sources in the North have to collaborate with responsible sources in the South to effect change.

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5.3 Kalisch, A. (2001)

Tourism as Fair Trade – NGO Perspectives, London: Tourism Concern

This report incorporates the outcomes from the 1999 international forum, stakeholder meetings with industry, NGOs and academics/consultants, field visits to community-based tourism projects in Namibia, Nepal and Philippines, which were members of Tourism Concern's international network on Fair Trade in Tourism, research on tourism NGOs and desk research (see Appendix A, and Chapter Four). As such, it is densely filled with a large amount of information relating to a number of themes relevant to NGOs and the exploration of Fair Trade in Tourism: the FTinT and CSR principles and criteria, recommendations for action, international case studies on NGO-community partnerships and lessons learnt from these, and a database of NGOs working on tourism in the UK and Europe to underpin the role of Northern NGOs in tourism advocacy.

Its original purpose was to serve as a NGO action guide for a NGO audience, as required by the funding proposal. However, as the writing evolved, it provided more than a straightforward action guide: it included background research and information on trade in tourism and fair trade to justify the significance of the topic and the need for action, raising key issues for the different stakeholders considered responsible for implementing fair trade in tourism, with starting points for NGO action.

We considered Community-based Tourism (CBT) a model that could provide some initial understanding of how fair trade in tourism could work in practice. It embodied several of the criteria that were seen as integral components of fair trade in tourism, such as community benefit, supporting the local economy, local employment, and community control of the product. Furthermore, we believed that community-based enterprises could potentially offer themselves as initial partners in a fair trade in tourism relationship. In 1999, when we started the research, the academic resource base on CBT that we might have been able to draw on, was very limited. There were few academic case study analyses of this nascent trend. Those that existed

related largely to natural resource and wildlife management and were evident in journals, other than tourism, such as sociology and international development (Belsky, 1999; Jones, 1999; Koch *et al.*, 1998). As I mentioned previously, for activists, access to academic research is more constrained than for academics, who are able to benefit from a wide range of electronic databases through their University subscriptions; even more so nowadays than at the time of the Fair Trade in Tourism project. It therefore seemed imperative to us to gain first-hand experience of community-based tourism operations for a more informed analysis of the practical implications and challenges. The case studies represent TCs collaboration with all the included NGOs and CBTs and provide a descriptive account of useful data on NGO-community partnerships. It was problematic to offer more critical accounts of the projects, as the project representatives were reluctant to agree to an analysis that could potentially attract negative publicity for the project and thus, by implication, impede future funding opportunities. Such caution is understandable in a climate of fierce competition for scarce resources.

From my present-day critical academic perspective, I have to contend that the purpose of studies in the context of this report, indeed, the purpose of the whole report, could have been more clearly set out. The one-page analysis on page 30, resulting from the field work data and practitioner accounts, provides a useful outcome in terms of the requirements for enabling community-based sustainable tourism organisations to become efficient, equitable and viable operations and partners in a fair trade relationship. With more space available, in an academic context, this could have been followed up with a more in-depth critical discussion. Given the dearth of research in the academic tourism literature at the time, the case studies, contextualised with a more focused discussion on fair trade in tourism, would have offered an ideal opportunity for a peer-reviewed academic publication.

The report was meant to galvanise international NGOs into action to, on the one hand, support Tourism Concern in its campaign and on the other to make the campaign sustainable long-term, on a wider global level, by taking

over the torch when Tourism Concern's funding would cease. However, this did not quite happen as we imagined (see Chapter Four, section 4.8). As stated in the report, there were not enough NGOs in the UK and overseas that were active on tourism campaigns. The larger development NGOs, such as Oxfam and Action Aid, were focusing their campaigns in different directions.

Whilst the report has been cited in a number of academic publications, even most recently (Higgins-Desbiolles et al, 2013; Weeden and Boluk, 2014), as mentioned in Chapter Four, it did not motivate international non-tourism NGOs, such as Action Aid, Christian Aid and Oxfam, to take up a campaign on trade justice in tourism, however much we tried to promote the report and embark on consultation with them.

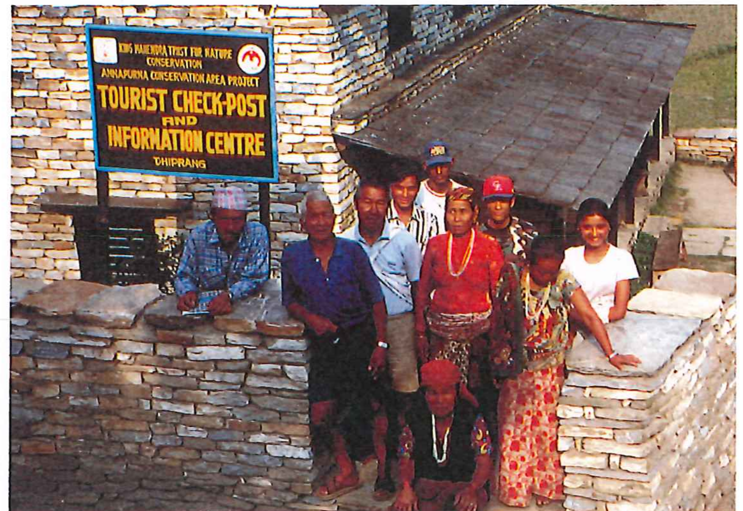
As part of a reflexive critical appraisal of the report, I would make the following comments:

The document is extensive and dense, with several layers of research and information, an ambitious undertaking in expecting the reader to absorb a huge amount of complex information. This is not helped by the layout and design, which would have been more effective with bigger, bolder font. However, this was dictated by budget limitations.

The report would have been more cogent with a clearer aim and objectives, a clearer structure and focus, enabled by more informative introductions and signposts within the document, guiding the reader through the maze of information. Recommendations for action would have needed further clarification and elaboration; potentially a follow-up document after consultation with NGOs to substantiate and develop the recommendations further with more detailed action points. However, there were no funds available for such work.

Tourism as Fair Trade

NGO Perspectives



A report by
Angela Kalisch

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Cover photo: *Community-owned lodge at Dhiprang, Nepal*

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Tourism Concern is a campaigning group founded in 1989 to focus concern on the impact of tourism, particularly in developing countries. It aims to promote greater understanding of the impact of tourism on environments and host communities; to raise awareness of the forms of tourism that respect the rights and interests of people living in tourist receiving areas, to promote tourism that is just, sustainable and participatory; to work for change in current tourism practices; and to enable tourists and travellers to travel with critical insight and understanding. Tourism Concern is not opposed to tourism. It is for people who care about the quality of tourism for both tourists and hosts. Its members come from the tourism industry, NGOs, academia and the general public.

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Foreword

Tourism is powerful and widespread. It is arguably the world's biggest industry and is said to be the world's fastest growing industry. However, tourism is not just about pleasure, leisure and time off, it's about export trade and the impact this has on people's lives and livelihoods – local people are often not the beneficiaries of tourism. At Tourism Concern we work to make tourism equitable, just and sustainable, and therefore, more fairly traded.

During the course of our work on how to put the concept of fair trade in to the practice of tourism, we have been very conscious of how, Tourism Concern and the international Fair Trade in Tourism Network would need the support of the multi-faceted tourism industry itself, local and national governments and NGOs if we were to resolve the development and management of this undertaking. There is still much to do.

This publication is a first step in the direction of opening out this rather specialist subject to others, and in particular to NGOs and people's organisations, both in the North and South. If your organisation is not already involved we would like to see whether we can encourage you to begin to get involved. If you are already working on tourism we hope the contents of this work will be helpful to you. Your feedback is important to us.

We would like to convince you that fairly-traded tourism is a vehicle that can offer opportunities for positive change for poor communities to develop alternative livelihood opportunities – whether it's through handicraft production, agricultural and fishery production or through the direct exchange between tourist and provider through a tourism service such as accommodation or meals. In fact, very often NGOs are already embedded in tourism, but not necessarily consciously so. This is clear with environmental organisations dealing with conservation issues; development organisations dealing with displaced and marginalised people –something which tourism development is prone to be responsible for; human rights organisations working on child sexual abuse, forced labour and migration; indigenous people's organisations dealing with land issues; women's and other people's organisations working on handicraft production, sustainable management of resources and employment issues.

It is often the only time that people, as tourists, (in many cases your supporters) come face to face with poverty and development issues.

At local level there is a great deal of scope for fair practice in tourism in terms of employment, a fairer share of economic returns staying in the destinations and local people becoming decision makers in the development of projects. At international level there is also considerable opportunity to explore trade agreements and their effects on equitable and sustainable tourism. With the industry there is a great deal of work still to be done.

We very much hope that this publication might be of use to you in developing your own organisational agenda, in understanding tourism better and in working towards Fair Trade in Tourism.

Tricia Barnett
Director

International Trade in Tourism 1

1.1 International Tourism and Sustainability

International tourism has been called a system, an experience, a phenomenon, a tool for development, and an industry. It has been analysed and romanticised, but there is no escape from one fact: it is a business transaction, a commodity for sale, traded on the world market. A life-changing experience in a tropical paradise for one tourist may mean hard cash for the providers of that experience, but in many cases loss of livelihood for a poor local standing in the way. Stock markets and share prices determine business conduct and priorities, the rules of free trade and the free market determine the fashion destination of tomorrow when governments commit themselves to liberalise their economies and facilitate foreign direct investment in tourism. Fashion conscious consumer-tourists, who believe that 'the world is our oyster' determine where the money is spent. Ravers and clubbers from Britain and elsewhere descend on islands, beaches and bars, bold and ambitious climbers pay fortunes to scale the highest mountains, ocean loving cruisers sail the seas. It seems we all have the right to a holiday, the freedom to roam.

There is a catch, however: the problem with tourism is similar to that of resource consumption in general:

> *One quarter of the world's people that lives in the countries of the North (excluding China) consume eighty per cent of total global resources, leaving the three quarters that live in the South to share out the remaining twenty per cent.*
> **(Porritt,1984).**

Growing tourism to developing countries means that one quarter of the world's people of the North not only consumes eighty per cent of the world's resources but is now travelling to the South and consuming the remaining twenty per cent as well. Whilst they can return home to running water and limitless electricity, the majority of people in the South, who do not belong to rich local elites and who depend on the land for survival, are unable to leave. Instead they have to bear the consequences of dry or polluted wells, of power cuts, of eroded beaches and displacement (*Tourism Concern, 1996; O'Grady, 1990*). This is clearly unsustainable.

1.2 Tourism and Free Trade

1.2.1 Globalisation

Tourism in post-modern times is a global cross-border activity, an invisible and intangible export service product, consumed at the place of 'production'. As a global industry, tourism is growing fast. International tourism receipts more than tripled in the decade up to 1995. With an average annual growth rate of 13 percent, tourism outgrew the merchandise export trade and the total of the trade in services (*World Tourism Organisation, 1998*).

In 1999, the number of international tourists reached 664 million, an increase of 4.5 per cent over the previous year (*World Tourism Organisation, 2001*).

This rapid growth has been aided by the deregulation of airlines, the advancement of air transportation technologies, plastic money, Computer Reservation Systems (CRSs)[1] and millions of travellers, looking for comfort and familiarity in far-flung, exotic and sun-drenched places.

Increasingly-sophisticated technology allows UK operators to have instant access to all the major global reservation systems and to have all its ticketing done on a different continent.

Globalisation in general is characterised by the increased mobility of capital and transport while tourism entails the mobility of tourists around the globe. As such, tourism is a major driver of mobility and globalisation.

1.2.2 Liberalisation

Tour operators from the tourist-generating countries of the industrialised world are in the powerful position of controlling both demand and supply. The value of foreign currency from international tourism such as the Dollar and Pound Sterling for the payment of national debts and imports has encouraged governments to open their markets to foreign investment in tourism, even before free market access in services was enshrined within the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS)[2] in 1995. This has particularly happened in tourism as many poorer developing economies have had little or no tourism infrastructure, knowledge, or expertise and have relied on foreign companies to develop their tourism potential. For example, according to a recent study by WWF International, the government of Turkey has undertaken greater liberalisation in respect of foreign direct investment (FDI) than provided in its GATS schedules. Foreign capital invested in the tourism sector in 1997 represented 14% of total FDI invested in Turkey (*WWF International, 2001*)[3]. In Hawaii, in 1991, 66% of the existing hotel rooms in the state were owned by foreign investors, of which (61%) were Japanese (*Economic Intelligence Unit, 1993*).

1.3 Effects of international tourism in developing countries

Tourism to developing countries is increasing rapidly. From the package tour destinations in Southern Europe, such as Spain and Greece,

---

1 *Database that enables a tourism organisation to manage its inventory and improve accessibility to information within and between its partners.*

2 *The GATS binds signatory nations to either eliminate or freeze measures that limit foreign access to particular service sectors.*

3 *The report: 'Preliminary assessment of the environmental and social effects of liberalisation in tourism services' provides excellent information on the issues of trade, liberalisation, GATS, tourism and sustainability and is recommended for further reading.* *See References on page 41.*

long-haul package holidays from the UK are now extending to Africa, Asia and Latin America, with a strong emphasis on all-inclusive holidays, run by transnational tourism corporations.

Between 1980 and 1992, tourism receipts in developing countries increased from 3.0% to 12.5%, an average of 8.4% (*WTO in Burns and Holden, 1995*). On the basis of growth patterns between 1955 and 2000, East Asia and the Pacific, South Asia, the Middle East, and Africa are forecasted to record growth rates of over 5 per cent, compared to the world average of 4.1 per cent (*World Tourism Organisation, 2001*). Tourism is the leading source of foreign exchange in at least one in every three developing countries (*World Tourism Organisation, 1998*).

There is ample evidence that whilst some of the more fortunate sections of the society, ruling elites, landowners, government officials or private businesses might benefit, the poor, landless, rural societies are getting poorer, not only in material terms but also in terms of their livelihood resources and their culture (*de Kadt, 1979; Kent, 1983; O'Grady, 1990, Patterson, 1992*).

International tourism in developing countries has been largely promoted as part of Structural Adjustment and Poverty Reduction Strategies imposed on heavily indebted countries by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Measures under these strategies have included export promotion, the devaluation of national currencies, public spending cuts and wage freezes. As a result, civil society organisations in those countries report an increase in prices, unemployment, greater inequality in the distribution of income, and greater hardship for women, particularly in the rural sector. Local industry has suffered, and priority has not been given to reorienting and strengthening local productive capacity (*Social Watch, 1999*). Eviction and displacement for construction of tourism resorts, rising land, food and fuel prices, and commoditisation of cultural assets are some examples of the way that tourism has affected the poor in those countries.

Global tourism is driven by powerful transnational corporations (TNCs). Eighty per cent of the mass tourism market is dominated by TNCs. Some European tourism TNCs such as the German Operator Touristik Union International (TUI) have committed a whole department to environmental management issues and are beginning to take action towards greater sustainability. However, many others continue with practices, such as the building of golf courses in fragile ecosystems, using abundant water in dry residential and agricultural areas, and erecting hotels on sacred sites.

On the economic front, centralised systems of resourcing staff, materials, food and beverages and specific internal pricing methods can contribute to the leakage of financial benefits from local communities to the TNC and its home country. In addition to the loss of financial benefits, the lack of access to higher level employment opportunities deprives poor communities of the opportunity to develop fully their human, social and economic potential. Foreign tour operators control tourist flows and tourism infrastructure. By dominating the bed capacity and other related distribution channels in one resort, one big operator can in some cases determine the lives of a whole community (*Buhalis, 2000*). Once the tourism infrastructure exists, governments often find themselves powerless to enforce restrictions of any kind on tour operators on their own soil (*Forsyth, 1996*). The monopolistic power, generated by vertical integration of foreign transnational mass tourism corporations, reduces the negotiating power of smaller, independent domestic businesses in the destination, jeopardising their competitiveness. For example, in Greece large operators from Northern European countries use their power to push down prices of hotel beds, causing hoteliers to make substantial losses, and preventing them from maintaining the quality of their services (*Buhalis, 2000*).

1.4 Poverty *and* tourism

In 1993, twelve countries in the world accounted for 80% of the world's poor, including some major tourism destinations like Kenya, Peru and Nepal, all of which had between 50 and 54% of their population living below the poverty line in 1997 (*Todaro, 2000*). But instead of receipts from tourism contributing to the eradication of such poverty, financial leakage means that between 70 and 85 % of tourism income leaves a tourism destination such as Kenya or never even arrives there because it is absorbed by foreign-owned airlines, tour operators, and hotels. The little that does remain in the destination often leaks out again to pay for goods and national debt repayments. In Nepal, for example, where climbers, trekkers and tourists compete with local people for the same scarce resources, it has been estimated that approximately 69% of the total expenditure of a mountaineering expedition (about $23,000 in 1992) was spent outside Nepal and that only around 1.2% of the total remained in the mountain communities (*Sharma, 1992*).

There is a growing consensus of opinion that believes that poverty contributes to environmental and cultural degradation and that addressing sustainability of the planet means addressing poverty.

Poverty arises from injustice and economic inequality and from unequal terms of trade between industrialised and developing countries. This results from higher costs being attached to products and services from industrialised countries while the prices of export commodities from developing countries are constantly low and declining (*Lea, 1988; Barratt-Brown, 1993; Peet 1991*). The control over this system lies primarily in the hands of the seven richest countries in the world and is reinforced by international trade agreements.

1.5 Fair Trade

The Fair Trade Movement worldwide has sought to address this inequality by creating a Fair Trade label, fair trade partnerships and ethical trading initiatives, which are designed to provide producers in developing countries with a fair share of the returns from the sale of their products.

In the UK, the Fair Trade Foundation, and the Ethical Trading Initiative, supported by NGOs and the UK Government, work with UK companies to develop ethical trading policies.

The Movement is based on the principle that the terms of trade between industrialised and developing countries have historically created an inherent inequality and disadvantage for developing countries.

Fair Trade products have been driven mainly by non-governmental organisations, which have developed trading 'arms', such as Traidcraft and Oxfam in the UK. Primary commodity products, such as coffee and tea, have in the last few years been developed according to fair trade criteria and have successfully been sold by mainstream supermarkets. They have created a competitive force, challenging exploitative trade practices of supermarket chains and department stores.

1.6 Issues *for* NGOs

This experience has shown that NGOs have become crucial players in influencing international trade and market systems in primary commodities raising awareness and moving closer to a fairer trade structure. Tourism Concern believes that the expertise that exists in the fair trade movement and in development NGOs are vital building blocks in advancing the work on Fair Trade in Tourism. Many of the work programmes undertaken by NGOs overlap and interrelate with tourism in significant ways, such as poverty and debt, globalisation, Transnational Corporations, GATS, HIV and AIDS, Human Rights, food security, and climate change. Fair trade in tourism would support positive change in any of these areas.

Fair Trade in Tourism 2

DEFINITION FAIR TRADE IN TOURISM *is a key aspect of sustainable tourism. It aims to maximise the benefits from tourism for local destination stakeholders through mutually beneficial and equitable partnerships between national and international tourism stakeholders in the destination. It also supports the right of indigenous host communities, whether involved in tourism or not, to participate as equal stakeholders and beneficiaries in the tourism development process.*

PREMISE THE MAIN PREMISE OF FAIR TRADE IN TOURISM *is that:*

- *the people who live in the places that tourists frequent should be consulted and in control of the process*
- *the tourism operation and development should incorporate partnerships between service purchasers, developers, service providers and communities (as essential interest groups) based on mutual respect and equitable sharing of the costs and benefits of the investment (taking into account that the investment can be both financial and non-financial)*

Fair Trade in Tourism is closely interlinked with sustainable tourism. Without fair and ethical trade practice it is not possible to achieve sustainable tourism. A fair return of investment for local host destinations is necessary to enable them to re-invest in the social and environmental regeneration of their community.

2.1 Development *of the concept of* 'Fair Trade *in* Tourism'

In 1996, Tourism Concern, examined the implications of international trade, debt and Structural Adjustment Programmes for tourism to developing countries in their publication 'Trading Places – Tourism as Trade'. Experience and research suggested that the trade in tourism had the potential to reinforce social and economic inequality in the developing world because of the competitive, globalised nature of the western dominated tourism industry, poverty, Structural Adjustment Programmes and core-periphery dependency[4]. The concept of whether tourism could be fairly traded, 'Fair Trade in Tourism', was then developed by Tourism Concern, VSO and the University of North London. It created an opportunity to explore whether the experience of fair trade in primary products could serve as a model for a service industry such as tourism.

2.2 The International *Fair Trade in Tourism* Network

In 1999, Tourism Concern set up the International Network on Fair Trade in Tourism. By 2001 the Network's membership has grown to around 200 members, including NGOs, industry and community tourism initiatives and academic research institutions from the UK, Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Its purpose has been to:

- **exchange information and experience** on tourism and its effects, and to provide a **southern perspective** on the criteria for more equitable tourism development.
- provide **support** to groups and organisations with emerging equitable tourism[5] practices.
- include a **policy development** content, providing a platform for debate and analysis on equitable tourism which could be fed into tourism industry codes of conduct, national governments, the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and other international development agencies.

In this way, the International Network on Fair Trade in Tourism was intended to provide the means for a more co-ordinated, international response, at grassroots level, to the issues arising from the globalisation of tourism.

The guiding principle for Tourism Concern in setting up the Network was to ensure that members from the South were crucial in determining Fair Trade in Tourism.

It was recognised in its first year of operation that it was difficult to compress the complexity of socio-cultural and economic issues in different tourism locations, and the heterogeneous nature of the tourism industry into a compact set of criteria and indicators that could be monitored and verified to produce a niche fair trade tourism[6] product.

However, without some kind of understanding of the cornerstones of Fair Trade in Tourism it would have been difficult to find the common strands of the Network.

A definition, principles and criteria on Fair Trade in Tourism have therefore been drafted, consulted on and accepted as a working document by the most recent international annual forum of the Network on 20–22 November 2000 in London.

2.3 Implementation *of Fair Trade in Tourism*

The principles outlined on page 11 identify five areas of implementation described on the following pages.

This section presents some of the issues in each of these areas and discusses some of the implications for NGOs.

4 *See Glossary on page 40*

5 *ibid*

6 *'fair trade tourism' is used in relation to the product, 'Fair Trade in Tourism' in relation to the concept as a whole and to the 'Movement'.*

2.3.1 International Trade Agreements

OBJECTIVE

OVERALL OBJECTIVE FOR ACHIEVING FAIR TRADE IN TOURISM
International Trade Agreements should serve as a means of eradicating poverty, of empowering local and indigenous communities to be self-sufficient and to be recognised stakeholders in the sustainable economic development of their environment.

The movement for Fair Trade in Tourism has to be seen in the context of the global trade system and the trade agreements governing it. The decisions that are taken at international level affect what happens at local level in tourism destinations. They also affect whatever decisions or strategies might be decided in terms of ensuring greater benefits for local people in the destination.

The General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS)[7]

The General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) is administered by the Geneva-based World Trade Organisation (WTO/OMC) which became operational in 1995 with the implementation of GATS.

This highly complex and controversial agreement is the first multilateral and legally enforceable agreement governing trade and investment in services and is seen as the main instrument to facilitate free market access through liberalisation.

It introduces rules and obligations into the process of liberalisation for all the partners involved in the trade process. On paper it is intended to ensure a 'transparent' and 'anti-discriminatory level playing' field, as well as the opportunity for countries to benefit from reciprocal rights when making commitments to liberalise certain sectors under GATS. These reciprocal rights are particularly important for developing countries in order to gain market access to developed countries. They are an improvement in tourism as the sector was largely liberalised in developing countries before GATS when these rights did not exist. However, as will be explained, this also comes at a cost.

Under the agreement, companies can set up business in any signatory country that has made commitments in tourism under GATS under an obligation called 'most-favoured nation'. According to another obligation, called 'national treatment', foreign businesses have to be treated by governments in the same way as domestic businesses. This is designed to ensure that host governments, confronted with powerful transnational corporations who import both their own staff and the majority of goods needed for their tourism operation, cannot compel them to use local materials and products to enhance the 'multiplier effect', or to take special measures to secure a competitive base for their domestic businesses.

There is considerable apprehension amongst NGOs and social and environmental analysts that a 'level playing field' may not be operative in a world where a large number of countries are at different stages of development with economies highly dependent on the developed countries and international finance institutions.

GATS will provide legal leverage to large corporations who may operate against the interests of the host country, while the power of governments to pass legislation in the national interest may be undermined and challenged by the World Trade Organisation because the regulation may be regarded as 'trade-restrictive'. Although GATS imposes obligations on governments to prevent barriers to trade, it entails no specific obligation on companies to trade in host countries according to internationally agreed conventions relating to environmental sustainability and human rights, including labour rights.

This Agreement is expected to pose problems in some developing country destinations where the domestically owned stake in tourism services is small or underdeveloped and concentrated in the informal sector, where the technological and capital resource base is lacking, and where weak, political and democratic governance prevents poor communities from gaining access to national and international markets.

Thus, far from reducing poverty, liberalisation under GATS has meant that developing countries are bracing themselves against an onslaught of foreign investment in the form of take-overs and acquisitions within their newly budding tourism industry. Developed countries are, however, not reciprocating equally by opening up their markets to the service exports of developing countries. In tourism, this is particularly the case under the mode of supply of natural persons (for example, when the presence of a manager or a tour guide is necessary in another member country to supply a specific service), where trade barriers are created by developed countries through restrictive immigration rules. Other barriers consist of subsidies granted by developed countries for their domestic sectors (such as technology), licensing and technical standard setting, discriminatory access to information channels and distribution networks such as computer reservation systems (CRS) and global distribution systems (GDS). This, for example, may affect the air transport sector where discrimination in the availability and cost of ancillary services may reduce the competitiveness of an airline, slot allocations, and access to CRS and GDS (*Southcentre.org, 1999*).

As tourism is a major export sector contributing to foreign income in developing countries it is one of the main sectors where the majority (114) of the 134 governments in the WTO/OMC have made commitments.

GATS and Tourism

GATS incorporates tourism under the heading of 'Tourism and Travel-Related Services', under the categories of hotels and restaurants, travel agencies and tour operator services, tourist guides, and other unspecified groups. Since tourism overlaps with other service sectors, such as business and financial services, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador and Honduras have proposed to extend the travel and tourism categories by including a 'cluster' agreement in an annex. The annex will facilitate liberalisation of certain sub-categories in other service sectors that specifically relate to tourism, such as accommodation, food and beverage, passenger transport, cultural services (recreation and entertainment). The proposal is developed by the World Tourism Organisation (WTO/OMT)[8]. It calls for the recognition of tourism as a development issue and advocates the '**sustainable development of tourism**' by:

- *meeting the needs for additional capacity to supply tourism services in the future*
- *implementing and enforcing internationally-agreed quality and environmental standards*
- *integrating local communities*

(World Tourism Organisation, 1999)

7 *The specific details of the agreement are available on the Websites of the* wto.org *and* unctad.org*. Critiques and interpretation of the effects of the GATS are available on the* oneworld.org *and the World Development Movement* wdm.org.uk *websites. The potential implications of the GATS for developing countries in the tourism sector were discussed in Tourism Concern's 'Trading Places – Tourism as Trade'.*

8 *WTO/OMT: World Tourism Organisation a member organisation specifically supporting governments in the development of their tourism policies. The acronym OMT is French for WTO:* Organisation Mondiale de Tourisme, *as opposed to WTO/OMC: World Trade Organisation:* Organisation Mondiale de Commerce.

The General Agreement on Trade In Services

The General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS)

Liberalisation under GATS is based on **three specific pillars:**

- **Market Access**
  Foreign owned companies have free access to domestic markets.
- **Most Favoured Nation Status**
  Concessions granted to any one country must also be made available on a non-discriminatory basis to all other signatories of the Agreement.
- **National Treatment**
  Foreign investors must be treated on an equal basis with domestic investors, domestic investors must not receive any favourable treatment that could be conceived as protectionist.

GATS has identified **four modes of supply** for services which represent different forms of international trade:

- **Cross-border**
  Services that are provided from abroad into the territory of another member country
- **Consumption abroad**
  Services consumed by nationals of one country travelling to another country
- **Commercial Presence**
  Opportunities for foreign tourism businesses to establish a presence in another country, such as hotels, restaurants and tour operators
- **Presence of natural persons**
  Opportunities to move key personnel, such as managers and chefs, or tourist guides into foreign markets in order to provide a service)

Tourism in the context of GATS has been defined in a sector called '*Tourism and Travel-related Services*' (TTRS).
The four modes apply in tourism only in the following sectors:

- Hotels and restaurants
- Travel agencies and tour operator services
- Tourist guide services
- Other (unspecified)

Developing countries, particularly the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) are given special attention through provision for technical assistance and specific market opening commitments to industrialised countries in the area of technology transfer and access to computerised networks.

Although this can be seen as a positive step towards addressing certain issues in tourism for developing countries, both northern and southern NGOs regard it as a vague token gesture, failing to tackle in depth the serious effects of liberalisation in tourism on poor communities.

Awareness at local level of the implications of GATS for tourism and for future negotiations covering an even wider spectrum of services (including health and education) is still low among NGOs, local communities, local businesses, and the public. This applies to the UK as elsewhere.

Once tourism commitments have been made under GATS, it is difficult for an enlightened government to favour local communities and local small traders through subsidies, contract compliance or investment rules for foreign companies and enable domestic suppliers to compete successfully with international business.

It is important to be aware that it would be impossible for a government to impose on foreign companies practices to limit negative environmental, social and cultural impacts in their country, such as restricting the mushrooming of foreign owned development, (including all-inclusive hotel developments, which are highly controversial among local people because they contribute almost nothing to the local economy), and making the employment of local workers, the use of local products and materials a condition of their investment. It could also render a government powerless to stop tourism developments on indigenous land, including sacred sites, in response to community protests. If governments were to attempt to control foreign investment in that way, once they had committed to GATS, the rules could be legally challenged by investing companies under the dispute settlement procedure within the World Trade Organisation as being 'trade restrictive'.

Since the beneficiaries of Fair Trade in Tourism are poor communities, for whom the informal sector (vendors, traders, guides) is an important source of income, as well as small entrepreneurs and workers employed in the tourism industry, it is important to asses to what extent this GATS obligation will affect them and their chances of escaping from poverty.

The only way in which local people and domestic businesses can hope to benefit from foreign investment is if companies commit themselves to ethical trading practices as part of corporate social and environmental responsibility and accountability.

Tourism Concern's position on GATS:
Tourism Concern supports fair trade as a means of eradicating poverty, of empowering local and indigenous communities to be self-sufficient and to be recognised stakeholders in the sustainable economic development of their environment. In that context, Tourism Concern recognises the need for an international trade agreement, including tourism, that promotes those objectives.

In theory, Tourism Concern regards the basic idea of the GATS as positive, as long as it offers a way of monitoring and balancing the power of corporations in line with national interest in favour of the poor, creating a transparent, fair and non-discriminatory, level-playing field for all the partners involved, giving particular attention to the needs of developing countries to strengthen their capacity, and to gain market access to industrialised countries.

However, we, at Tourism Concern have reservations for the following reasons:

1. The present structure of the World Trade Organisation and the way in which negotiations are carried out hampers transparency. Many developing countries and civil society organisations are disadvantaged and marginalised in the discussions due to their lack of economic bargaining power, resources and expertise in a highly technical and complex field of negotiations.
2. GATS does not integrate sustainable development as identified in major international treaties and agreements, such as the Convention on Biological Diversity[8] which includes decisions on Tourism (May 2000).

8 *Website address on page 43*

3. It does not address the specific environmental, social, economic and cultural impacts of tourism in a destination. As such, it does not allow for the harmonisation of the tension between implementation of environmental standards and protectionism. The application of internationally agreed environmental standards by a government can thus be construed by foreign investors as a non-tariff trade barrier and as such can be legally challenged (*WWF-UK, 1999*).

   - Indigenous world views and expertise are not taken into consideration when policies and decision-making regarding the trade of indigenous medicines and plants for scientific purposes are made. Expanding global tourism increases the threat of biopiracy under the guise of ecotourism, when tour operators, clients and support staff collect rare medicinal plants (*Pera and McLaren, 1999*).
   - GATS does not provide for the monitoring and regulation of TNCs to ensure that they implement internationally agreed policy commitments on sustainability and include greater transparency, accountability and social responsibility in their trade practices.

Therefore Tourism Concern joins other agencies, through its Fair Trade in Tourism work and supports:

- Institutional reform of the World Trade Organisation to integrate greater democracy and accountability, including consultation of civil society.
- A review of the GATS to include:
  - provision for adherence to internationally agreed policy commitments on biological diversity and sustainable tourism;
  - provision for adherence to internationally agreed conventions on Labour Standards and Human Rights;
  - provision for poverty reduction objectives through tourism;
  - provision to allow developing countries to retain flexibility in assisting vulnerable and/or newly emerging sectors to become efficient competitors with foreign tourism businesses;
  - provision to respect the rights of indigenous peoples to self-determination.
- The suspension of discussions on further extended liberalisation of tourism services until
  - a relevant body of research is available to assess the impact of GATS in tourism services according to sustainable development criteria in a selected number of developing countries
  - market access for developing countries to industrialised countries is increased.
  - international laws on the responsibilities of tourism investors with respect to human rights, environmental objectives, restrictive business practices, tax avoidance, technology transfer have been multi-laterally agreed.

The value of NGOs in achieving Fair Trade in Tourism in international trade:

- Addressing international agreements (such as GATS, UN CSD decision on Sustainable Tourism, the Human Rights Convention, ILO labour standards and so on)[9] in relation to tourism on an ongoing basis in terms of reviews, research, analysis, public awareness campaigns, lobbying, community education.
- Involving international trade experts and lawyers in the analysis of the implications of these agreements in tourism is essential.
- Linking with established networks such as the UK NGO Trade Network should assist with strategic responses to government and WTO policy.
- Lobbying governments in North and South for increased consultation of grassroots communities and assessments of the impacts of GATS and liberalisation in tourism on poverty reduction.

2.3.2 The Tourism Industry

OBJECTIVE

OVERALL OBJECTIVE FOR ACHIEVING FAIR TRADE IN TOURISM
To achieve a transparent and accountable commitment to ethical and fairly traded practices in relation to the workforce, suppliers, resident host community and consumer.

'All is not well in paradise. I have seen the oppression and the exploitation of an 'out-of-control global industry that has no understanding of limits or responsibility or concern for the host people of a land.' **(Patterson 1992)**

The growth of mass tourism through corporate integration

Tourism displays many of the characteristics that distinguish other industries in an economic climate based on free trade and economic growth theory. In an atmosphere of fierce, cut-throat, global competition where economies of scale (large size and high volume) predominate, concentration and integration are vital for staying competitive in tourism.

Mergers and take-overs have determined the face of the tourism industry in the last 10 years as in any other industry. However, in an attempt to take control of the many different distribution channels and service operations that make up a holiday the most important facet of transnationalism in the tourism industry has been that of vertical and horizontal integration.

'Transnationalism is the integration of a firm's global operation around vertically integrated supplier networks'. **(Korten, 1995)**

Computer reservation systems (CRS), the internet, facsimiles and mobile phones have been at the heart of the growth in international tourism and of TNCs, facilitating global communication, a reduction in unit costs with respect to production and efficient management of different aspects of the operational structure. TNCs dominate the tourism industry in three areas:

1. transport (mainly airlines)
2. hotels and
3. tour operators.

In the UK, the four biggest companies own all these components as well as the travel agents through vertical integration: Thomson, Airtours, Thomas Cook and First Choice (*Madeley,1995; Cater,1991*).

No other industry displays as many different service components, distribution channels and overlapping sectors as tourism. Apart from the services directly related to tourism such as transport, accommodation, catering, travel agencies, tourist information and guiding there are others, such as telecommunications, finance and insurance which are of importance to a tourism consumer not only during the holiday but also during the rest of his/her lifetime. It is no surprise then that one can find transnational finance and telecommunications companies wanting to get in on the business of tourism through diagonal integration.

Small and Medium sized Enterprises struggle to compete

Small and medium size companies (SMEs), which constitute the majority of tourism businesses, experience serious problems in remaining competitive. Only the skillful use of new technology, including the internet, and cutting edge marketing expertise may present an opportunity to them to survive successfully. The large

9 *Website address on page 43*

Integration in the tourism industry

Integration

Integration can be undertaken at horizontal, vertical or diagonal level via acquisitions (involving the purchase of one firm by another), friendly or hostile mergers and take-overs in the same industry (*Gomez and Sinclair, 1992*)

Horizontal Integration:

This is when companies at the same stage of production, such as airlines, come together to affect the level of concentration within the industry, as when Caledonian (ex-BA subsidiary) and Flying Colours (which was itself formed from the merging of Sunworld and Sunset) merged. The purpose is to increase buying power and control distribution, and sale of their product in the market place, such as the alliance between British Airways and American Airlines.

Vertical Integration:

This is the most common way of taking control over the different distribution channels making up a holiday, for example: airline – tour operator – hotel – travel agent. It includes

a backward integration (control of inputs and raw materials), and

b forward integration (control of market, distribution and sales).

In the UK, 70 percent of charter seats are owned by five airlines, belonging to five different tour operators – Air 2000 (First Choice), Airtours International (Airtours), Britannia (Thomson/Preussag), JMC (Thomas Cook/C&N), and Monarch (Cosmos/Avro).

Three tour operators also control 70 percent of travel agencies in the UK: Going Places and Travelworld (Airtours), Thomas Cook (JMC and also linked with First Choice), Lunn Poly (Thomson Travel Group).

Diagonal Integration:

Diagonal integration provides a dazzling web of linkages and mergers. It highlights the integration of airlines, financial service suppliers, tour operators, travel agencies and on-site service suppliers.

Its objective is to produce a range of different services and to sell them to a target group of consumers. The consumers targeted are expected to consume simultaneously these services at regular intervals over their lifetime (for example: travel+insurance+holiday+personal banking) (*Poon, 1996*).

The relevance of diagonal integration particularly in the equity structure of the German tourism industry has implications for the British tourism industry The most powerful group consists of Hapag Touristik Union with a 50.1 percent stake, Preussag AG 25 percent and Westdeutsche Landesbank 24.9 percent. They are in turn affiliated to other leading German and American service providers. Westdeutsche Landesbank exerts major influence on the European tourist business through its 25 percent interest in TUI and LTU Airways. Other German banks are also associated with Hapag Lloyd and department stores via minority interests (*Seifert-Granzin and Jesupatham, 1999*).

Preussag's bid for Thomson holidays in Britain with a market share of around 25 percent, was approved by the European Commission in the summer of 2000 under the condition that Preussag sell its 50.1 percent share in the Thomas Cook group. The Westdeutsche Landesbank also had to sell its share because it has ties with Preussag. Carlson Industries (US travel company) who currently own a 22 percent stake in Thomas Cook have bought Preussag's share.

operators are increasingly appropriating their niche activity markets, particularly in the sports and adventure field.

Small and medium-sized tour operators in the UK complain that large transnational corporations own most of the travel agents. They are therefore powerful enough to dominate sales by demanding high commission fees for displaying the brochures of smaller operators in their agencies (*Farrell et al, 1996*).

Integration promotes mass tourism. Through the above mentioned integration process it has been possible to make international long-haul holidays affordable to a mass market. Massive price reductions for holidays are achieved due to the enhanced bargaining power of tour operators who own airlines, accommodation and other services, and who are able to make guaranteed block bookings. This has facilitated the growth in package holidays to developing countries where tourism infrastructure has been lacking.

2.3.3 The Alternatives

Ecotourism

Ecotourism had been promoted as the answer to sustainable tourism by the tourism industry and by governments in the aftermath of the Rio Earth Summit in 1992 as it aims to benefit the environment and local people. Although well-meaning and promising at its core, it has lost its credibility in many quarters. Critics have exposed the way in which the industry has been using it as a marketing tool and a public relations exercise. Worse still, ecotourism has often introduced excessive carrying capacity into fragile undeveloped ecosystems, undermining the rights of indigenous peoples and paying lip service rather than fair prices or a share of tourism revenues to the local people (*Pera and McLaren, 1999; Johnston, 1999; Cater, 1993*).

Ecotourism has failed to address the structural causes of economic inequality, reinforced by unfair trade practices of powerful tour operators and hotel chains from tourist-generating countries: these include ownership and land use issues, unfair payment and employment terms, low wages and discriminatory working conditions, pricing systems causing high leakages, management and marketing control concentrated in the hands of foreign operators.

Such practices are hardly compensated for by charitable donations or other philanthropic gestures which are generally considered ethical and socially responsible by the operators involved.

Pro-poor Tourism

Pro-poor tourism is an approach that focuses on tourism as a development tool towards the eradication of poverty. The term has emerged from a report in 1999 for the UK Department for International Development (DFID) on 'Tourism and Poverty-Elimination' in an effort to focus on pro-poor growth and on poverty objectives within tourism initiatives. It recognises that tourism, particularly mass tourism, is a growing phenomenon in many developing countries where poverty levels are the highest in the world, and that poor people require special resources to gain access to the benefits of tourism (*Todaro, 2000; Ashley, Boyd and Goodwin, 2000*). It highlights integrated strategies that address the impacts of tourism on the livelihoods of the poor, such as lack of access to natural resources, economic benefits and socio-cultural development. Strategies are primarily directed at three different levels: at destination, national policy and international levels. The principles at the core of pro-poor tourism underline the need for the participation of poor people in decision-making and planning, for a holistic approach to the development of alternative livelihoods, and the importance of commercial realism in creating viable economic opportunities (*Ashley, Boyd and Goodwin, 2000*).

One difference between Fair Trade in Tourism and pro-poor tourism is that the former starts from the premise that poverty arises

from unequal terms of trade between industrialised and developing countries and unless the injustices and inequalities arising from that are addressed, the chances of poverty reduction and sustainable tourism are low.

Community-based tourism

Community-based tourism has been emerging as a less theoretical form of grassroots tourism, originating within communities and people's organisations in the South rather than within the industry or non-governmental organisations in the North. Community-based sustainable tourism (CBST) is built on the concept of using tourism as a development tool to achieve self-determination through a process of community participation and empowerment, and as a tool for income generation to conserve wildlife and natural assets, and to develop community infrastructure.

Since the Fair Trade Movement focuses on the empowerment and economic equality of the poorest communities in the South, community-based tourism, which channels income from tourism directly into communities, provides important lessons as to how Fair Trade in Tourism could work in practice. It also provides important clues as to how southern communities actively involved in such initiatives would define fair trade in tourism on their terms.

Fair Trade Tourism as a Label

It is too early to create a Fair Trade Tourism label in addition to 'eco-tourism', 'pro-poor tourism' and 'community-based tourism'. There are risks of causing further confusion, added to the possibility of abuse of such a label for marketing and public relations purposes. Without proper criteria, indicators, a monitoring system and independent verifying and certifying organisations in place, such as the Fair Trade Foundation or the Ethical Trading initiative, the danger is that any tour operation with philanthropic components could claim to be a fair trade operation. To date the international Fair Trade in Tourism Network has not been able to solve this dilemma because the issues around monitoring and verification are complicated and require long-term collaborative development work. This has been confirmed by the Fair and Ethical Trade organisations in the primary commodities sector (*ETI, 1999*). It particularly applies to the service sector and even more so in tourism, which incorporates a wide variety of different, constantly changing service and commodity components, closely interconnected with other sectors. If it is to benefit the poorest people in local destination communities, the informal sector, would also have to be addressed, which poses additional challenges.

Developing a fair trade holiday is more complex than producing coffee, and buying a jar of coffee from a supermarket shelf in Safeways is different from choosing a fair trade community-based holiday in Thailand from a fair trade tour operator. In any event governments in the South tend to view kite marking and certification sceptically as a non-tariff trade barrier.

In the absence of a kite mark, Fair Trade in Tourism needs to be considered as a long-term process towards a global shift in favour of more equitable tourism trade policy and stakeholder behaviour.

2.3.4 Corporate Social Responsibility in the Tourism Industry

The tourism industry's 'product'[11] which is used as a trade export item at international level is living material: natural and human resources, wildlife, culture, history and heritage, and social exchange. In addition to environmental sustainability governing the industry's behaviour in host destinations, ethical principles should therefore be at the forefront of corporate trade policy.

This includes a commitment to: human rights, employee rights, environmental protection, community Involvement, supplier relations, stakeholder rights and monitoring (*World Business Council for Sustainable Development, 1998*).

Sustainable tourism is being addressed by some parts of the UK industry, particularly SMEs and some of the trade associations, such as ABTA and AITO[12]. However, research reveals that, overall, responsibility ranks low within the tourism industry, even on issues of environmental impact in the destination community. Companies are said to take a short-term view, to sell as many holidays as possible, and to place the responsibility for sustainable development on host governments. Profit margins are apparently small and the fear of being undercut as a result of ethical practices is high (*Forsyth, 1996*).

The realistic prospect of the mass tourism industry putting ethical concerns into practice is as yet questionable. In a climate of merciless price warfare and mergers the tourism industry is extremely vulnerable and volatile. Hence sustainability and ethics run the risk of being submerged by material, profit oriented concerns (*Curtin and Busby, 1999; Forsyth, 1996; Cater, 1991; Mehmet, 1995, Hertz, 2001*).

It remains to be seen whether the budding, but so far hesitant response from the industry to the demands of sustainable and socially responsible tourism will grow and translate into substantial, verifiable improvements for local communities in destinations. There is some cause for hope because unless the tourism industry is committed to caring for its 'product' it will rapidly lose its capital base.

Governments may need to give a lead in encouraging tourism corporations to trade responsibly through regulation and incentives. Unless regulation is imposed that requires all operations to include fair and ethical trade components, tourism businesses will always be afraid of being undercut and of losing their clientele to competitors.

In the same vein there is a need for the tourism industry, both foreign and domestic to become more familiar with community values,

Integration in the tourism industry

Opportunities *for* **greater corporate responsibility:**

The German company Preussag (historically a large German steel corporation) has become the largest travel group in the world. It purchased TUI (Touristik Union International), the largest German tour operator during the 1990s and in 2000 acquired the Thomson Travel Group, which at the time was the UK's largest tour operator Thomson Holidays.

Thomson appointed an Environment Manager in 1995, but this was largely a Public Relations exercise and he was moved to another role in 1996. In 1998, a Manager for Sustainable Tourism & Special Projects was appointed, who is now developing strategy with TUI, which has well developed policy in environmental sustainability and an environmental department with a team of around 7 specialists. TUI was a founding signatory of the UNEP Tour Operators' Initiative for Sustainable Tourism Development†. Being part of the same large group presents an opportunity for Thomson to become more intensively involved in corporate responsibility with the backing and the experience of its new owner.

† Website address on page 43

11 *The word 'product' is used here as it is used by the industry and it applies to the way that tourism is marketed and sold in the trade. It is important to note, however, that local people in destinations would not see their lives, culture and heritage as a product for sale in the same way.*

12 *ABTA: Association of British Travel Agents & Tour Operators*
AiTO: Association of Independent Tour Operators

Principles, Definition & Criteria

Corporate Social Responsibility *for* the Tourism Industry – *Criteria*

Benefits to destination stakeholders

- **Equitable consultation and negotiation** taking into account the interests of local community stakeholders, including tourism enterprises, and indigenous residents not involved in tourism
- **Fair price**, negotiated in partnership with local suppliers.
- **Fair competition** between foreign and domestic investors to enhance opportunities for domestic investment and competitiveness.
- **Shared tourism revenues** to ensure that the return from the use of public assets for tourism, be they natural resources or basic infrastructure, benefits and enhances public social and environmental resources in the destination.
- **Use of local products and materials** where appropriate and ecologically sustainable.
- **Training and development** at local community level for managerial positions, if appropriate as part of a public, private and civil society partnership.
- **Employment of local** resident and indigenous people to provide opportunities for developing their human potential.
- **Transparent** and **accountable** business operations through environmental and social audits

Compliance with government regulations

- Investors **aware of** and **adhering** to international, national and local regulations on planning, environment and corruption.
- **Compliance by foreign investors** with destinations' **tax regulations.** Present transfer pricing policies of transnational corporations should be reviewed to ensure adequate liability.

Methods *for* implementation *within the* Tourism Industry

- Commitment among tourism industry stakeholders to regard ethical and fair trade principles as crucial for securing long-term business success
- Commitment to creating consumer demand for ethical/fair trade holidays
- Tourism and Hospitality enterprises make financial and human resources available to create and implement ethical and fair trade policies.
- Staff training and development programmes incorporate implementation of ethical/fair trade principles
- Collaboration is sought between enterprises and civil society, and between enterprises and host governments
- Investment into research and pilot initiatives
- Social and environmental audits of tourism businesses
- Establishment of industry advisory body
- Guidebooks
  a. incorporate community-based tourism initiatives and tourism operations that aim to implement the fair trade approach
  b. inform travellers of fair trade in tourism

Pre-condition for the tourism industry:

Acceptance of responsibility of any tourism investor, domestic or foreign, for

- the impact of their operations in destinations, with emphasis on the socio-cultural, economic and environmental impact in developing countries.
- commitment to reducing negative impact by adopting an ethical and fair trade code which addresses the implementation of international agreements, such as on Human Rights, ILO labour standards, the World Tourism Organisation Code of Ethics and UN resolutions on sustainable tourism.
- commitment to high quality (this does not necessarily mean expensive) rather than lowest price through quantity.

to understand the interrelationship between a strong community as a partner and a successful tourism product. It needs to be recognised that the development of negotiation skills with local community stakeholders is just as important as the development of other business management skills.

The Value of NGOs in promoting Corporate Social Responsibility as part of Fair Trade in Tourism:
The gulf between the tourism industry in all its various sizes and demeanours and genuine engagement with local people, and between Fair Trade in Tourism objectives and the corporate world can be bridged by NGOs through:

- Campaigning and lobbying the tourism industry through monitoring big operators, engaging in shareholder activism and promoting consumer education.
- Developing partnerships with corporate sector to encourage high quality, ethical tourism products.
- Lobbying the UK and the European Union to provide a lead in terms of regulation on corporate social and environmental responsibility and accountability.
- Assisting destination communities to increase their self-determination and control over tourism development.

2.3.5 Destination Community Stakeholders

OBJECTIVE

OVERALL OBJECTIVE FOR ACHIEVING FAIR TRADE IN TOURISM
To assist communities to build up their capacity for the purpose of self-empowerment and control in tourism development.

'Global redistribution of wealth through Fair Trade in Tourism is a matter of survival not charity'
Adama Bah, Association for Small-scale Enterprises in Tourism (ASSET), The Gambia.

From the point of view of Fair Trade in Tourism, the destination stakeholders that tourism should benefit are poor people with little or no access to capital assets and credit, indigenous people, women, workers in tourism and the informal sector (such as vendors, boat owners, traders, guides), small private as well as community-based enterprises, and those living in the area not involved in tourism but affected by it. In addition, linkages need to be made with those working in the handicraft sector, building workers, agriculture and fishing.

Communities are not heterogeneous but have complex dynamics. The way they are composed and the way they interact varies according to the economic and social history of a particular location, according to the history and nature of tourism development. In some locations tourism development is imposed from outside without consultation; in others it happens slowly with local people initially providing basic facilities and gradually more outsiders joining in as the life cycle of the destination progresses to maturity, until in some locations outsiders become the dominant stakeholders.

Indigenous People
Indigenous people have found that their traditional land rights, not legally confirmed in deeds or contracts, have been violated by property development, such as hotels, or national parks and conservation areas. Such tourism developments have prevented tribal and fisher people from using the land and gaining a livelihood for themselves.

Having been particularly exploited by tourism indigenous people in some countries are now organising themselves into powerful stakeholders: examples include the Maori in New Zealand who have set up their own tourism association, the First Nation tribes in America who

are developing mechanisms and agreements to protect their intellectual property rights, and the Adivasis in India who have successfully made a stand against hotel chains building on their land without consultation.

The knowledge and value systems prevalent in any community must determine the model for development. Indigenous people usually have a close relationship to the land they inhabit and the animals they live with. 'Spirituality is at the heart of the indigenous concept of development...' (*Johnston 1999*).

Women

Tourism often commodifies women's traditional activities: souvenirs and handicrafts represent traditional utensils, clothing, decorations and jewellery. Women are the first to bear the brunt of environmental damage caused by tourism: their work load increases when water and fuel become scarce and they bear the brunt of social degradation when social values are negatively affected by tourist behaviour. However, it is true that women can find increased economic power through tourism entrepreneurship and as employees within the industry, depending on societal values. On the other hand access to jobs in tourism can be restricted to them due to traditional codes of behaviour in relation to social interaction with visitors, such as Moslem women who would traditionally cover their heads being refused work in public environments such as hotels.

At the core of Fair Trade in Tourism is the prospect of women enhancing their position and developing their empowerment through improved social and economic circumstances.

Workers in Tourism

Wages in tourism can sometimes be higher than in agriculture, but conditions are often poor. People tend to be mainly employed in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs with limited promotion opportunities. Workers are usually not unionised, jobs are insecure and child labour in tourism is a wide spread phenomenon. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) estimated in 1995 that children and young people under the age of 18 constituted 10–15% of the tourism industry's labour market amounting to between 13 and 19 million worldwide (*Plüss 1999*).

Workers must receive decent living wages and work in conditions according to human rights and international labour standards. Children require special attention as many of them work in the informal sector which often escapes public concern.

The Value of NGOs in relation to destination community stakeholders and Fair Trade in Tourism:

- Assisting with capacity building process[13]:
- Creating institutional frameworks for democratic participation and decision-making process, access to information, knowledge and professional expertise, access to funding, to technology, access to contacts for the building of partnerships, liaison with other agencies
- Initiating action research and pilot initiatives
- Developing and marketing community-based tourism businesses
- Building networks to exchange information and experience
- Lobbying and campaigning

[13] *The case studies in Chapter 3 offer an insight into the priorities that might arise for NGOs in working with communities in building capacity for equitable distribution of benefits from tourism*

2.3.6 Consumer Behaviour

OVERALL OBJECTIVE FOR ACHIEVING FAIR TRADE IN TOURISM

To provide information and raise awareness with respect to their responsibility and opportunities in supporting the economic well being of the host community.

Consumers are increasingly concerned about ethical values in business and corporate social responsibility or so-called 'corporate citizenship'. (*Cleverdon and Kalisch, 2000*).

Research in the UK into consumer behaviour in tourism, commissioned by the Christian relief and developmental agency Tearfund, found that over half of 2032 adults interviewed would be willing to pay on average 5 percent more for their overseas holiday, if they were guaranteed that the money goes towards the environment, decent wages and working conditions, and in support of local charities (*Tearfund, 2000*). A Mori consumer survey commissioned by the Association of British Travel Agents (ABTA) found that 71 percent of holidaymakers feel that tourism should benefit the people of the destination visited, through jobs and business opportunities (*ABTA 2000*). However, small tour operators committed to fair trade and to marketing community-based tourism projects note how difficult it is to attract customers to tours that specifically benefit local communities (*Fair Trade in Tourism Network consultation, 2000*).

This apparent contradiction can be explained in several ways: price, performance and convenience are still deemed to be the prime criteria for consumers' decisions; consumers respond in unpredictable ways; psychological studies recognise a discrepancy between attitudes and behaviour amongst so-called green consumers (*Balooni, 1997*). This means that a consumer, concerned about poverty in the developing world might support Fair Trade in a questionnaire survey, but when it comes to booking a holiday, old habits and considerations of finance and convenience tend to determine their purchasing decision.

The Value of NGOs in influencing consumer behaviour towards Fair Trade in Tourism:

- Informing and mobilising their supporter base
- Collaborating and sharing resources for running campaigns
- Including tourism issues in public campaigns on Fair Trade, Aids, food security, poverty, debt, international trade agreements and the WTO
- Employing tourism specialists
- Monitoring the tourism industry to provide the public with information
- Carrying out market research

2.3.7 Destination Government Policies

OVERALL OBJECTIVE FOR ACHIEVING FAIR TRADE IN TOURISM

To develop community-based tourism policies and make resources available for democratic bottom-up policy and planning processes in tourism.

Governments are crucial in providing the enabling framework for Fair Trade in Tourism by placing the rights of local communities at the heart of the tourism development policy and process. Legislation on land use favouring local communities, giving them legal authority over public land, people-based consultation processes on local and national economic planning, community-based natural resource management, and democratic, anti-corrupt practices will provide the basis for Fair Trade in Tourism policy.

International Network on Fair Trade in Tourism

Fair Trade in Tourism

Principles *and* Definition

What *is* Fair Trade?

The Fair Trade Movement in Europe and in the UK has created a Fair Trade Label and ethical trading initiatives, which are designed to provide producers in developing countries with a fair share of the returns from the sale of their products. The Movement is based on the principle that the terms of trade between industrialised and developing countries have historically created an inherent inequality and disadvantage for developing countries. This is due to higher costs being attached to products and services from industrialised countries while the prices that developing countries gain for their exported commodities are constantly low and even falling. The control over this system lies primarily in the hands of the seven richest countries in the world and is underpinned by international trade agreements.

Why Fair Trade *in* Tourism?

Tourism in developing countries is growing. From the package tour destinations in Southern Europe, such as Spain and Greece, long-haul package holidays from the UK are now extending to Africa, Asia and Latin America, with a strong emphasis on all-inclusive holidays, run by transnational tourism corporations. Existing historic inequalities in the terms of trade are now in danger of being re-enforced due to the fact that many of the developing countries have little or no tourism infrastructure or tourism expertise, and that poverty is a dominant factor in most of the tourism destinations in the South. This can mean that most of the profits from tourism flow back to the industrialised nations, and the people in destinations, who offer their natural, social and cultural resources to make the 'tourism product' successful, receive either an unfairly low return or suffer from a deterioration of their livelihood as a result of negative environmental, social and cultural effects from the tourism activity.

Beneficiaries

Fair Trade in Tourism prioritises those groups and sections of a community in host destinations which

- have not previously had a voice in the decision-making process on tourism;
- are economically and socially at a disadvantage or discriminated against, particularly through existing or planned tourism developments;
- are involved in emerging tourism-linked initiatives;
- are ready to engage with the national/international market but need the necessary technical and organisational support to be successful;
- are employed in tourism in the formal and/or informal sector.

Tourism Concern's international Fair Trade in Tourism Network aims to strengthen the bargaining position of local destination interest groups, facilitate equitable market access for small stakeholders, raise awareness amongst consumers and influence international trade policy.

Fair Trade in Tourism can be conceived as

- an integrated development process in the destination within the framework of a public/private and civil society partnership;
- a corporate ethical code of conduct and/or trade partnership agreement;
- a fair trade product, monitored and certified.†

Implementation

Fair Trade in Tourism incorporates five areas where change is necessary in order to achieve greater equality for destination communities:

1. International Trade Agreements
2. Tourism Industry
   (Transnational Corporations and Independent Investors)
3. Destination Community Stakeholders
4. Consumer Behaviour
5. Destination Government Policies

It is recognised that due to the diversity of local destination circumstances and the complexity of the tourism system, there is no one single model of implementation. However, a general framework can be provided to guide adaptation at local level and within different industrial sectors.

DEFINITION FAIR TRADE IN TOURISM ***is a key aspect of sustainable tourism. It aims to maximise the benefits from tourism for local destination stakeholders through mutually beneficial and equitable partnerships between national and international tourism stakeholders in the destination. It also supports the right of indigenous host communities, whether involved in tourism or not, to participate as equal stakeholders and beneficiaries in the tourism development process.***

† A Fair Trade kite mark certified by inspectors currently exists for certain commodities such as tea, coffee, and handicrafts. It is based on criteria including fair price, fair working conditions, and allowing for community development and environmental sustainability. Fair Trade in Tourism aims to achieve this but a kitemark does not yet exist. As such 'Fair Trade Holidays' or certified fair trade operators also do not yet exist. A monitoring and verification process has to be in place before a mark can exist. In the absence of a kitemark, Fair Trade in Tourism needs to be considered as a **process** towards a global shift in favour of more equitable tourism trade policy and stakeholder behaviour.

World governments have made a commitment to sustainable tourism at the UN Commission for Sustainable Development in April 1999. This includes a commitment to consult with local communities in policy and planning formulation and in sharing the benefits from tourism. It also includes the commitment to capacity-building work with indigenous and local communities 'to facilitate their active participation at all levels of the tourism development process…'

The Global Code of Ethics for Tourism, developed by the World Tourism Organisation is another instrument intended to raise issues for governments on how to address an ethical tourism policy. It places responsibility on governments to promote human rights and anti-exploitative practices in tourism.

Governments may feel restricted by obligations to GATS in passing legislation that may favour local communities but may be regarded as 'trade-restrictive' by the World Trade Organisation. However, by providing good basic sustainable infrastructure, such as transport, electricity, and sanitation, a government can assist communities to be more competitive. There are also structural systems that can be put in place, such as licensing or funding mechanisms that would not discriminate against foreign companies but would increase access and capacity for local people. These options need to be explored in an imaginative and innovative way. At the same time, governments need to be responsive to grassroot concerns in carrying out trade negotiations at the World Trade Organisation.

The Value of NGOs in influencing destination government policies towards Fair Trade in Tourism:

- Developing collaborative partnerships with government departments
- Gaining access to information on trade negotiations

International Network on Fair Trade in Tourism

Main Criteria of Fair Trade in Tourism

1. **Fair Trade partnerships between tourism and hospitality investors and local communities**
   - **Equitable consultation and negotiation** taking into account the interests of local community stakeholders, including tourism enterprises, and indigenous residents not involved in tourism
   - **Transparent** and accountable business operations through environmental and social audits
   - **Employment of local** resident and indigenous people to provide opportunities for developing their human potential.
   - **Training and development** at local community level for managerial positions, if appropriate as part of a public, private and civil society partnership.
   - Investors **aware of and adhering to** international, national and local regulations on planning, environment and corruption
   - Anti-corruption practices
2. **Fair share of benefits for local stakeholders**
   Reduction of leakage – increase of linkages:
   - **Fair price**, negotiated in partnership with local suppliers.
   - **Fair competition** between foreign and domestic investors to enhance opportunities for domestic investment and competitiveness.
   - **Shared tourism revenues** to ensure that the return from the use of public assets for tourism, be they natural resources or basic infrastructure, benefits and enhances public social and environmental resources in the destination.
   - **Use of local products and materials** where appropriate and ecologically sustainable.
   - **Compliance by foreign investors** with destinations' **tax regulations**. Present transfer pricing policies of transnational corporations should be reviewed to ensure adequate liability.
   - **Open and transparent information and education** as part of the marketing process to the consumer as to
     a. the way in which the tourist activity benefits local people
     b. the way in which tourists/travellers can assist in respecting the socio-cultural, economic and environmental priorities of the destination community

   Respect for Cultural Assets:
   - Intellectual Property and Human Rights should be observed in the marketing and representation of the destination image.
   - Commodification of local and indigenous culture for tourism purposes should only happen on the basis of consultation and control by the local communities involved.
   - Public land and access rights, sacred sites and traditional community livelihoods should be recognised and protected from tourism development.
3. **Fair Trade between tourists and local people**
   - Informed and responsible tourists foster a mutually beneficial exchange with local people, respecting their culture
   - Tourists pay a fair price
   - Local people charge a fair price
4. **Fair and sustainable use of natural resources**
   Tourism investment and development ensures that all the players in the distribution chain have the relevant knowledge and resources to reduce the pressures on the environment arising from tourism activity and to actively implement measures that will enhance the natural assets of the host location according to internationally agreed conventions and guidelines.
5. **Fair wages and working conditions**
   Wages and working conditions reflect relevant international labour standards with regard to for ex. national minimum wages, freedom of association, health and safety, no child and slave labour, no discrimination, within the context of UN Declarations on Human Rights.

- Lobbying governments for representation of civil society at the World Trade Organisation
- Initiating research on the implications of GATS in tourism on poverty elimination
- Regularly briefing government departments on issues for local communities
- Regularly briefing communities as to the implications of government policies in tourism
- Monitoring implications of GATS in tourism at grassroots level
- Working with communities on lobby and campaign issues

2.4 Summary

International tourism reinforces increased resource consumption and economic inequality in developing countries where poverty surrounding tourism resorts and enclaves is often a dominant feature.

Poverty arises from unequal terms of trade between industrialised and developing countries, reinforced by the tourism system which originates in and is controlled by developed countries. The present international trading system does not include mechanisms to address this imbalance. Transnational corporations which dominate the tourism industry, compete with each other through lowest price and volume, and are becoming ever more powerful through vertical and diagonal integration. Without mechanisms for either transparency or accountability for social and environmental impacts in destinations, poor people in destination communities experience these negative effects with little opportunity to share in the benefits.

The Fair Trade Movement has made important inroads into tackling poverty by providing a practical alternative for changing the terms of trade and positively influencing mainstream practice.

Tourism Concern has examined the feasibility of Fair Trade in Tourism and has set up the International Network on Fair Trade in Tourism to consult at international level on how a fairer tourism system could be achieved.

In addition to exploring the feasibility of creating a fair trade tourism product label, campaign and development, work has to extend to five levels covering international trade agreements, the tourism industry, destination community stakeholders, consumer behaviour and destination government policies.

Tourism interrelates with many areas that NGOs are involved in as part of poverty eradication programmes. Tourism Concern considers it very important that NGOs are informed of the issues of Fair Trade in Tourism and that these are examined as to how they might be taken into account within current work programmes.

The following chapter demonstrates the way in which some northern and southern NGOs are working with communities to increase their active participation in tourism.

Case Studies 3

INTRODUCTION THE CASE STUDIES *in this section demonstrate positive examples of NGO partnerships in tourism with poor local and indigenous communities. The contexts of these case studies include both mass and niche tourism, and reveal both challenges and successes.*

The case studies on the Philippines, Nepal and Namibia were researched and written by Tricia Barnett and Angela Kalisch during field visits in April/May 2000.

The other case studies were adapted from the following sources with the kind permission of the authors:

***Tanzania:** Report on Cultural Tourism in Tanzania, Marcel Leijzer*

***The Gambia:** Reports by Halifa Sallah and Adama Bah*

***Ecuador:** Report for the UN CSD, April 1999, on Gender and Tourism, Gail Y.B. Lash, Shannon W. Parsons and Rebecca Justicia*

***South Africa:** Report on workshop and conference 23rd–25th May 2000*

Tanzania

SNV

Netherlands Development Organisation Cultural Tourism Programme (CTP)

3.1

Since the mid-1990s, SNV has supported the establishment of tourism projects in Tanzania, Botswana, Nepal, Laos, Vietnam, Uganda, Ghana, Cameroon, in response to community requests. In its latest strategy paper, SNV has identified three areas in which it is active: local governance, natural resource management and private sector development. Tourism has a prominent place within the organisation as its projects often have close links to both natural resource management and private sector development.

SNV works mainly through advisors on short or long-term placements who provide advice about a wide range of activities leading to structural improvements in the living conditions of marginalised groups. In the case of tourism advisors, funding comes mainly from donors such as UNDP and USAID.

The example given here is of a five-year Cultural Tourism Programme (CTP) that was developed from 1995 onwards, led by an SNV tourism advisor in Tanzania in collaboration with the Tanzanian Tourism Board. The CTP now consists of ten separate programmes or modules across Tanzania, representing small-scale tourism activities in which the local population participates fully and reaps the benefits. These programmes consist of different trails and visits to beauty spots or heritage sites ranging in duration from a single morning or afternoon to five full days.

Based on his four year experience with the CTP in Tanzania, the advisor (Marcel Leijzer) raises three questions for NGOs to consider when planning initiatives in community tourism:

1. **Issues of efficiency:** How can you ensure that communities benefit in an efficient way from all the investments by NGOs and donors to start a tourism project?
2. **Issues of equity:** How can you ensure that the whole community or at least a large part of the community, including women, benefits from tourism rather than only a few wealthier community members?
3. **Issues of financial sustainability:** How can you ensure that a community can continue with the tourism project after the end of support from the NGO or donor?

Although sustainability of the tourism operation is the last question on this list, experience shows that it is the first issue that must be addressed by an NGO when beginning to work on community tourism projects. SNV provide a clear piece of advice.

The temporary nature of your presence should be your point of departure. Make an effort to set up the projects in such a way that the population will be able to continue independently in the reasonably near future.

(TIPS, p.13, Number 5)

The more solid the links with existing local organisations and (government) agencies, at all levels, the more chance the project has to go beyond the involvement and funding of the particular NGO. Relationship-building is at the heart of SNV's understanding of sustainable tourism and the foundation of the Cultural Tourism Programme. With that in mind, close consultation took place with various stakeholders from the start of the programme in Tanzania. The Tanzania Tourist Board (TTB) was considered a stakeholder because of its close common interests with SNV. who were able to complement the TTB's unmet goal of developing community tourism in return for the increased prospect of he programme lasting beyond SNV's involvement. In fact, the entire Cultural Tourism Programme became a joint TTB-SNV project, and agreements about inputs were formalised in a Memorandum of Understanding.

SNV saw it as important to talk with the national and district authorities at an early stage of project development. While political support for alternative forms of tourism to the mainstream has increased at national level in Tanzania, SNV found that district level support relied on the interest of individual district officers, rather than on policy. Whilst interested individuals may not exist in large numbers, it is important to maintain a flow of information at this level as it does much to forestall problems.

A sense of community ownership was fostered from the outset through SNV's implementation of a process-oriented approach. In the Cultural Tourism Programme, this included brainstorming with people in villages, organising workshops for the local population and for tour operators to assess the needs of different groups and to identify the possibilities. Institutional development was dealt with as a topic within the workshops, opening up the issue of how to root the project within the community to enable it to continue once SNV left.

The strategic cooperation required in tourism projects such as CTP extends beyond the communities and the political context to include other development organisations working in that region, including existing tourism enterprises, educational institutions and others. Operational sustainability is a driving force as the more local organisations are involved, the more likely it is that the project will become well grounded For example, SNV made a close link with a local school teacher as a result of an introductory visit for tour guides to the school. A mutually beneficial relationship developed in which the teacher trains the project guides during his weekends and in return, takes his own students to visit SNV-supported projects as part of their studies.

The Cultural Tourism Programme learned a lot through liaison with tour operators and agents in the area who have practical experience of working with tourists and knowledge of what will and will not work. During their workshop, SNV found that many local tour operators are trying to run their business responsibly, and SNV had to revise its presumption that it is only NGOs who are responding to concerns about the negative aspects of tourism. Relationships between NGOs and the tourism industry go some way towards ensuring that the the interests of related parties are taken into account, always with a view to getting as many people involved in and aware of the project as possible.

However, SNV warns against an NGO becoming an intermediary between tour operators and local guides in the community project. The NGO's part in making new contacts with the industry, or even taking bookings, may evolve naturally because of their location in a town, or because they have ready access to means of communication. This may result in the NGO becoming a crucial link in the business itself – something that SNV say should be avoided if the project is to be truly locally owned.

3.1.1 Expectations

Of vital importance in the development of community tourism projects is the issue of expectations on all sides. The belief that tourism offers a 'get-rich-quick' option needs to be tempered with the understanding that there are at least as many uncertainties in tourism as in other income-generating activities or projects. An NGO must also be realistic about the extent of the assistance it is prepared to contribute which might be necessary for establishing a workable community tourism project.

It is crucial, therefore, to create realistic expectations about the time and investment needed by the communities, and the scale of the returns that might or might not result. By 1999, the CTP programmes in Tanzania were attracting 3000 tourists, employing (either full or part-time) nearly one hundred people, and were providing income indirectly to many small businesses. This has been a positive experience, not least for the communities who now see their part of the tourism profits that previously passed them by.

3.1.2 Equity

It is a feature of CTP that part of the revenue goes towards a community development objective in the area; this is the motivation behind the development fee charged to tourists. An amount varying between US$1.5 to $7.5 is taken from the fee paid by the tourist for a single trip or package tour. An independent commission, consisting of a combination of people from the community, carries out the administration and distribution of the accumulated money within the Tanzanian communities. A potential problem associated with this system is that such an independent commission does not have direct interests in the further development of tourism. Marcel. Leijzer suggests that the co-ordination of such fees may best reside with the direct stakeholders in tourism activities as they have vested interests in furthering its development. However, the fee has succeeded in directing income to the communities so they can see the tangible benefits of tourism.

This highlights a wider issue of equity in the distribution of economic benefits. For example, SNV points out that many western NGOs expect equality between men and women in a traditional rural community. Women's skills can play a large part in developing services for the tourism trade in their community, and in Tanzania, existing women's groups did come forward with initiatives that supported their economic independence. However, a woman from an individual household running a tourism service might be constrained by a dominant husband. This would confront the NGO with the dilemma of either stopping this source of income to the household, or continuing tourists' visits on the husband's terms, with the uncertainty of who was benefiting from the money. NGOs have to work positively within the framework of local traditions, acknowledging the social hierarchies that exist.

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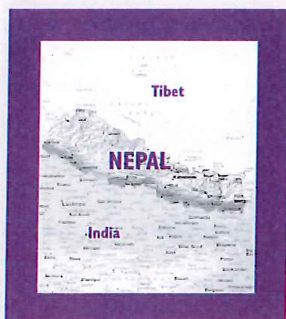

NEPAL
Annapurna Conservation Area Project (ACAP)

3.2

Nepal is a small, landlocked country, in South Asia wedged between India and Tibet, covering 137.000 square kilometres. Its population is approaching 20 million, with an annual growth rate of 2.6 per cent. About 83 per cent of its land is mountainous. The first ascent of Mount Everest, or Sagarmartha, catapulted this small nation to world fame in 1953.

As a result of its history, its lack of raw materials, and its inhospitable and remote mountainous terrain, Nepal is the fourth poorest country in the world, ranking 154th in terms of the Human Development Index in 1996. Forty per cent of its population lives below the poverty line. Only 32 families hold fifty per cent of Nepal's wealth (*The World Business and Economic Review, 1996*).

In Nepal, most tourism development has been on an *ad hoc* basis. Individuals with assets such as land and buildings have turned their homes into lodges, and as tourist numbers increased, development has expanded rapidly to keep up with the demand. Most land is privately owned, making it difficult to impose planning regulations. Many of the benefits from tourism are therefore directed into private hands, with lodge owners as a powerful economic force. In 1987, only 20 cents out of three dollars spent by an average trekker per day contributed to local village economies. Yet, tourists were degrading the environment and using up scarce, local resources, such as fuel wood, without contributing to their replenishment

NGOs, from all over the globe, play an important role in Nepal. They operate in a largely uncoordinated fashion with questionable accountability and effectiveness The government has always relied heavily on foreign aid and as the government has neither the financial nor the institutional means to govern in favour of its poor, it sometimes appears that NGOs have taken over the social and economic development of the country.

> *The wide divergence in NGOs nature, functions, character and commitment on the one hand, and the lack of clarity in the policy of the government and procedures for ensuring accountability on the other have been costing them their credibility.* **(Panday, 1999:135)**

In recent years, national NGOs have been created which are involved in progressive work. This includes the Annapurna Area Conservation Project (ACAP), which was set up in 1986 under the mandate of the King Mahendra Trust for Nature Conservation, to preserve dwindling wildlife and natural resources under the impact of the emerging tourism.

3.2.1 The Annapurna Conservation Area Project (ACAP)

The Annapurna Conservation Project covers an area of 7,629 sq. km in central Nepal, including the Annapurna range (8091m), the world's deepest gorge (Kali Gandaki) and highest lake (Tilicho). The area is home to 120,000 local people of different ethnic backgrounds and is the first and largest conservation area in Nepal, established in 1986.

ACAP is one of the world's most progressive conservation NGOs because it considers local communities as both principal actors and beneficiaries of the conservation strategy, and aims to strengthen the linkage between ethics and environment. It is unique in that it has authority to collect park fees from tourists and to use the money to fund its initiatives. In addition, it receives project funding from a variety of donors, such as the Nepalese Ministry of Tourism, the Asian Development Bank, and the United Nations Development Programme.

ACAP has adopted three guidelines towards its goal:

1. **People's participation:**
   ACAP involves local residents in planning, decision-making and implementing processes. It encourages the incorporation of indigenous practices into management strategies and policies for resource conservation and socio-economic development. It considers local communities to be the experts in environmental conservation.
2. **Catalytic role:**
   ACAP's role is to meet both the needs of local inhabitants as well as those of visitors. It bridges the gap between local communities and international agencies to appropriate expertise and resources. After assessing the viability of a project, ACAP approaches an NGO or government agency with specialist skills, for technical advice or financial support.
3. **Sustainability of programmes:**
   ACAP will only implement those projects which people can still manage once external support is withdrawn. Encouraging people to participate and invest in conservation and development ensures sustainability.

Tourism management is undertaken through community development to support conservation and by ensuring the fair distribution of economic benefits from tourism to individual households and to the area as a whole. ACAP's programme includes the empowerment of women, organisation of tourism awareness camps and exchange visits, training lodge owners to tackle litter and pollution, skills development, tourist education and development of tourism infrastructure.

Community Tourism Management

Conservation Area Management Committees (CAMCs), overseen by ACAP, democratically manage conservation and tourism issues in the Annapurna area. Village Development Committees (VDCs), the political structure of decision-making in Nepal, feed into these committees and the chair of a VDC is automatically an executive member of the CAMC. Every ward selects a representative for the CAMC. CAMCs have statutory powers relating to conservation legislation on the management of resources and wildlife. Thus, ACAP is not separate from the community and is itself a community-based organisation, managing and funding community development from tourism income.

Since 1997, ACAP has been taking a more pro-active role in determining the tourism structure in the region than in the past. In order to ease the pressure that has traditionally concentrated in one area – the Annapurna Sanctuary and the Kali Gandaki region – ACAP has developed an alternative neighbouring region, around the village of Sikles, as an ecotourism area. It has worked with the community in establishing community-owned lodges and campsites, kerosene depots and micro-hydropower plants, involving all sections of the community in the tourism planning process.

Lodges are sited at appropriate distances instead of allowing them to spread randomly and trekkers are encouraged to walk in one direction only to avoid congestion, to allow adequate pollution and litter control, and to minimise the socio-cultural impact. By the year 2000, one community-owned lodge and seven community-owned campsites had been established.

Challenges

ACAP faces significant challenges with regard to growing tourist numbers using traditional trekking routes around Annapurna. These tourists increasingly demand high levels of comfort (such as attached bathrooms) at the lowest, haggled-over prices. In addition, the industry is becoming more competitive, with tour operators who do not always observe the conservation code, and a government pre-occupied with insurgency and political divisions.

The ecotourism route which ACAP has developed in an area neighbouring the busy Annapurna trails, has enormous tourism potential for a different market that seeks Nepalese culture, ecological diversity, and solitude. Since many Nepalese pilgrims also use facilities such as the community lodge and the campsites, this route requires careful and selective marketing to encourage responsible and environmentally aware international visitors into the area to make it successful for the communities. It has the potential to be developed into a fair trade operation.

ACAP has made enormous advances in terms of innovative conservation policy, using resources from tourism for developing the human and environmental potential of the area. It has also improved the basic infrastructure, developed community awareness and control, and provided education on conservation and tourism.

As a result of ACAP's work, in 1994 income for local communities had improved, with 50 per cent of every five dollars per trekker being channelled into the local economy through standardised prices and community organisation (*ACAP 1986–1996*). Research also revealed that in 1994 most mature forests were intact and a great deal of vegetation had re-grown despite scientific predictions in 1976 that within 25 years the area would be totally deforested. (*Shresta, 1995*).

The entire Annapurna conservation area has benefited immensely from the existence of ACAP and the income from tourism in terms of social and environmental regeneration.

The government is now developing more conservation areas based on the example of ACAP. This will contribute to the well-being of the people living in those areas. In addition, the government will also need to approach in a more co-ordinated fashion the issue of the well-being of communities that live immediately outside designated conservation and tourist attraction areas, in order to spread the benefits from tourism more evenly among the poorest sections of Nepalese society.

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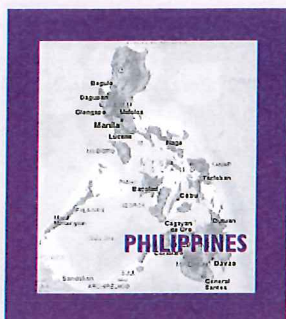

PHILIPPINES

Accessing Support Services and Entrepreneurial Technology (ASSET)

3.3

3.3.1 Country profile:

The 1998 Philippines tourism master plan contains guidelines on ecotourism development and has identified five clusters as targets for short-term development over a period of 15 years. This short-term thinking is indicative of the government's approach, which does little to promote the concept of community participation. In fact, the local communities have not been consulted at all. Such participation is left to committed NGOs determined to raise the standard of living in marginalised areas of the country through community based sustainable tourism.

In reality, ever since Marcos decided to develop tourism between 1970–79 the focus has been on providing incentives to big investors by financing large-scale infrastructure development for luxury tourism, and the promulgation of conservation decrees that limit community control over natural resources.

3.3.2 Fair Trade

The Philippines is unusual for a southern country inasmuch as it has been working on fair trade since the mid-1980s. It was developed as an off-shoot of north-south solidarity, beginning with capital assistance to support agricultural producers and organised groups of manufacturers.

The fair trade international relationship created an alternative market that could only survive through solidarity with Europe. By 1997, global turnover of fairly traded products was estimated at US$400 million of 0.01 per cent of global trade. This might seem negligible but was highly significant in terms of growth and survival. Fair trade advocates in the Philippines argue that this has now diminished partly because southern producers cannot easily meet the requirements for volume, quality and consistency demanded by the European market. Fair Traders in the Philippines also feel disadvantaged by the growth in fair trade principles and criteria from the North that tend to be set as preconditions for assistance.

3.3.3 Accessing Support Services and Entrepreneurial Technology (ASSET)

Community-based Sustainable Tourism (CBST) was developed in Bali in 1995, during a workshop of NGOs and consultants from Indonesia, Thailand, Sri Lanka and the Philippines, organised by the Netherlands Organisation for International Development Co-operation (NOVIB).

The Philippines Community Based Sustainable Tourism Association was established as a result. It encourages participating NGOs to adopt the CBST model that empowers communities to manage their own resources to maximise benefits. The association has 11 NGOs as members. It was supported for two years by the Dutch agency, NOVIB.

Accessing Support Services and Entrepreneurial Technology (ASSET) was set up by NOVIB as their successor in the work. ASSET is the secretariat for the Philippines CBST association. It aims to assist organisations to enhance their capacities, efficiency, and effectiveness as agents of social change and participants, leaders and

managers of people-driven development and entrepreneurship. ASSET is a non-profit organisation supporting the development of tourism businesses within local communities. Business is viewed as enhancing the 'people driven development' mission of the organisation.

ASSET recognises that this creates unfamiliar and challenging demands. NGOs need to understand the industry and the risks involved, including competition, business acumen, knowledge of specific trade, demand for the product, sales and income projections, marketing and management skills, and expertise in manufacturing. For this reason they work closely with a pool of diverse specialists to support the development of community-based tourism.

ASSET now has two complementary arms: a professional service-oriented advocacy, and an entrepreneurial/business activity. The latter handles income-generating projects such as micro-lending, domestic and international airline ticketing, including health insurance for travellers, marketing, and trading. They also arrange package tours for inbound tourists to their members community based sustainable tourism initiatives.

All NGOs working on CBST have worked with the villages on agricultural and coastal management programmes and are known to the villagers, but some NGOs do not have a specialist CBST worker; ASSET, through its pool of professional consultants, can bring such tourism expertise to its member NGOs.

The tourism initiatives include home-stays, visiting projects, eating meals with local participants and day trips to local beauty spots, conservation projects, historical monuments and also river trips and hikes.

The projects vary immensely in terms of their tourism potential, attraction, and stage of development. Some are far advanced and professionally managed and others are at an early stage. All projects have had the input of specialist training.

3.3.4 Funding

All projects need funding and support to get on their feet and become self sufficient. ASSET argues that donors sometimes expect too much too quickly and expect the projects to become self-sufficient much faster than is possible. It is complex linking the circumstances of the community to the professional and competitive demands of the tourism industry. ASSET's work is recognised by the Department of Tourism but the government is unable to provide funding because it is in financial difficulties.

Amongst a number of different projects, ASSET highlights the following venture:

Coastal Resort Management Project (CRMP)
Olango Island, Cebu Province, Central Philippines
Olango Birds and Seascape Tour

Development of the project started in 1998 and was originated by the agency CRMP to promote community involvement in the management of coastal resources.

The venture is owned and run by the fishing community organised under the Suba, Olango Ecotourism Co-operative (SOEC). SOEC was organised in June 1998 after a seminar for the group on co-operatives. Membership consists of individuals from 55 families. It has an elected board of officers and is registered with the Co-operative Development Authority. The project's intention was to develop the tourism potential of Olango and thus encourage residents to give up their destructive cyanide and dynamite fishing practices, which have already severely damaged the area's coastal resources. All services are performed by community members, apart from the naturalist interpreter who is hired by the co-operative on a per tour basis.

A Filipino enterprise development specialist, Monina Flores, worked with the Olango community to develop the initiative. She has also worked with key institutional partners: the local government unit of Lapu-Lapu City; the Department of Environment and Natural Resources – Region 7; Department of Tourism – Region 7; Cebu Association of Tour Operators and with the Protected Areas Management Board (PAMB).

3.3.5 Funding/community benefit

The co-operative runs the financial management systems. In 1999 the co-operative had a sales revenue of 340,796 pesos net profit to the community being 73,079 pesos (a rise of 22 percent over the previous year). Thirty-three tours were operated with 367 tourist arrivals, of which 112 were foreign. Profits accrue in a bank account.

The workers in the co-operative are employed on a rota basis. Payment is on a tour basis to each individual with a proportion going back to the co-operative. The project has had no direct funding, apart from the expert time of the enterprise development worker and other support workers from CRMP. There has been no capital outlay and the boat ferrying the visitors to the island is rented. The naturalist/guide is hired by the co-operative on a daily basis. The Co-operative also pays five per cent in user fees to the protected sanctuary. These are the biggest earnings that the sanctuary has ever had.

- The Olango project stands out in the Philippines as a venture that has succeeded in integrating community participation, environmental conservation, market competitiveness and accessibility, environmental education, promotion of local culture, and financial viability.
- The Department of Tourism regards this as the main ecotourism project in the country.
- CRMP argues that the project has helped to empower the community. There is a growing sense of pride in their achievements, renewed confidence in their abilities to acquire technical skills and reach their goals, spontaneity in expressing their ideas, and creativity, and last but not least, extra income.

Key factors for the success, of the Olango project are:

- The product itself is a good natural resource. In addition, it is imaginatively composed and thus desirable to visitors
- Easy access because of good transport infrastructure
- Good technical assistance from the NGO
- The small enterprise specialist taught the group through role-play and drama techniques
- Lack of donor funding has increased stakeholder investment and thereby stakeholder commitment
- Investment and overheads are kept to a minimum
- Land tenure is secured
- Considerable thought has been put into backward and forward linkages.

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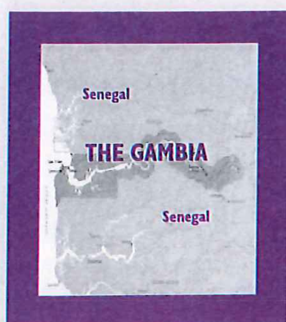

THE GAMBIA

Gambia Tourism Concern and The Association of Small-Scale Enterprises in Tourism (ASSET)

3.4

In a country where it is estimated that 40 percent of the population live below the food poverty line (FPL) and 60 percent below an overall poverty line (OPL), tourism is fast becoming the highest foreign exchange earner and is the main employer after the government. It is estimated that 100,000 tourists visit The Gambia every year. With a population of a little over 1 million, it means one tourist for every 10 Gambians.

In July 1994 a military coup occurred in The Gambia (West Africa). The UK government issued travel advice warning British citizens against travelling there. This was followed by Scandinavian travel advice; together these European countries constitute over 70 percent of tourist arrivals. The new realities that emerged from the travel advice made local service providers more vulnerable from the effects of mass tourism. International tour operators took advantage of the desperation of the Gambian tourism industry for markets.

It was against this background that a few individuals in the tourism industry formed Gambia Tourism Concern (GTC). Following the restoration of normalcy in international tourism, one of the founding members facilitated the restructuring of the organisation. Recognising the vulnerability of the tourism industry to international manipulation and its subsequent lack of a sustainable base, Gambia Tourism Concern developed the following aims and objectives:

- To raise awareness of the issues affecting the Gambian tourism industry
- To address the needs of the unemployed youth in the tourism development areas
- To increase cultural awareness and sensitivity of visitors to The Gambia
- To help promote greater Gambian involvement and control in the tourism industry
- To work with Government and NGOs in developing sustainable tourism

In the Gambia, unemployed youth in particular become very vulnerable to inappropriate cultural practices brought about by tourism development. Most hotels and tourist facilities in The Gambia are situated on the beach front known as the Tourism Development Area (TDA). Here on the beaches one find hundreds of unemployed youngsters hassling tourists or satisfying tourists desires, from gratifying European mature women, to providing drugs or prostitutes, to performing the more noble task of guiding tourists to interesting sites. These young men who, it seems, will do anything to survive, are generally referred to as 'beach boys', 'professional friends' or 'bumsters'.

In 1995, Adama Bah, the Executive Secretary of GTC travelled to the UK. He was introduced to a Gambian initiative based in London, Afrikan Heritage.

In the UK, Afrikan Heritage had discovered a market that was interested in coming to the Gambia to learn more about the culture and interact with the people. They saw the need to develop a linkage between such people and the small-scale tourism sector in The Gam-

bia, especially those that provide accommodation. The initiators saw the need to develop linkages with institutions in Britain that could facilitate greater promotional relevance to the alternative tourism idea and support development needs in The Gambia. This brought them into contact with Tourism Concern and VSO who were interested in promoting fair trade in tourism.

African Heritage resolved that the key method of confronting the challenges before small-scale providers of tourism in the Gambia was to organise a workshop of stakeholders in tourism in the Gambia.

Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) and Tourism Concern became partners in the venture and VSO provided a volunteer to help organise the workshop.

The workshop attracted sixty participants including representatives of accommodation providers, bar and restaurant owners, ground tour operators, taxi drivers, fruit sellers, bicycle and other equipment hirers, craft suppliers, entertainers, guides, NGOs, government and the media.

It was resolved to establish an association of small-scale tourism enterprises and providers known as DEEGO as an instrument to confront the challenges facing their branch of the industry.

The association did not have its own headquarters or its own independent source of finance. The officers of the executive committee were holding permanent paid positions in tourism establishments, yet, the membership comprised diverse and vulnerable small-scale enterprises, most of which depended on sun and beach tourism to provide them with a meagre income. This caused a deep conflict of interest.

The enthusiasm shown by the participants indicated clearly that a mechanism was needed to enable the small scale enterprises to derive greater benefits from the industry. What mechanism was both viable and indispensable constituted the key challenge. Without funding and without an institutional framework, DEEGO was unable to function solely with the support of a VSO volunteer. External assistance can only be a supplement and not an alternative. However, VSO was able to offer valuable support to Gambia Tourism Concern which integrated GTC into the world of fairer trade in tourism advocates.

Ultimately DEEGO provided a stepping stone towards a more viable body that was developed to co-ordinate periodic multi-sectoral consultations between stakeholders, ASSET, The Association of Small Scale Enterprises in Tourism.

It was resolved at a workshop in 1999 to plan the fairer more sustainable development of tourism for the various stakeholders, explore marketing outlets, engineer mechanisms for influencing consumer behaviour and work out programmes to deal with mutual problems.

The NGO, Gambia Tourism Concern, was to be strengthened and encouraged to develop the administrative capacity, evolve the instruments through which information about tourism products, sources of finances, markets and consumer trends could be documented and made accessible to all the stakeholders.

It was through such mutual consultations that ASSET was formally launched in 2000 with the following objectives:

- To provide assistance to members for product development, marketing, training and access to finance;
- To co-ordinate any activities members may wish to undertake jointly;
- To represent the association to government, other agencies and organisations;
- To identify appropriate standards of service and facilities for this sector of tourism;
- To pursue any matters of common interest relating to tourism.

3.4.1 Small informal enterprise development

Gambia Tourism Concern together with the Centre for Tourism Conservation and Sustainable Development of the University of Greenwich and with the support of ASSET is currently collaborating towards the development of small, informal tourism enterprises in The Gambia. The project is funded by DFID through its Tourism Challenge Fund.

The venture seeks to increase revenues and employment by integrating small informal enterprises into the mainstream tourism industry. It includes training on the quality and sale of handicrafts together with other initiatives aimed at increasing employment for the poor and marginalised, and increasing informal sector revenues. The project, which started in September 2000, runs for 20 months and the project manager is the Executive Secretary of GTC.

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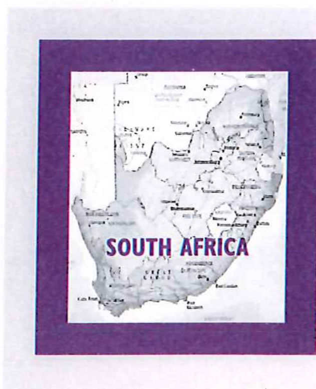

CASE studies 3.5

SOUTH AFRICA

Fair Trade in Tourism Initiative

In January 1999, a Fair Trade in Tourism Initiative was launched in South Africa under the auspices of IUCN, The World Conservation Union, as a one-year pilot and participative action research project. It created a network of tourism providers and served as a co-ordinating entity between all the different actors in tourism. In addition, it acted as facilitator for communities and small and micro tourism service providers to enable them to gain access to national and international markets and tourism providers.

Its purpose was to assess the potential, constraints and needs of the communities and the small and micro service providers for the introduction of a fair trade in tourism sector and to prepare appropriate institutional and marketing strategies. The pilot ended with a workshop and conference in May 2000, hosted by IUCN. Its main aim was to assess the feasibility of the 'fair trade in tourism' approach and the potential for its implementation in South Africa. The findings of the project's first pilot phase and of the workshop and case studies of community tourism projects are contained in a report published by the Fair Trade in Tourism Initiative and the IUCN South Africa Country Office[14].

Below are some excerpts from the report's findings:

3.5.1 Tourism in General

South Africa's government tourism marketing department needs to promote community based tourism (CBT) and local small-scale tourism.

- A national CBT policy would empower communities and small and medium tourism enterprises (SMTEs) to develop an implementation strategy on provincial and local levels. This would give CBT/SMTEs a legitimate national role in exerting influence on resource allocation within government departments.
- The SMTE sector in general is underdeveloped and a tradition of entrepreneurial skills in disadvantaged communities is almost non-existent. Tourism is the sector with the highest number of micro and small enterprises, but they are almost all white-owned.

3.5.2 Fair Trade in Tourism in South Africa

In order for the initial Fair Trade in Tourism pilots to be successful, they should be clustered around prime tourism destinations.

- Fair Trade in Tourism does not necessarily equate with CBT or community-linked enterprises, as they may not be attempting to create equity for all stakeholders. The Fair Trade in Tourism concept is a feasible approach of bringing communities and disadvantaged groups into tourism on an equitable and fair basis.
- The big advantage in tourism is that the tourist meets the host and is therefore probably more receptive to the arguments of fair trade.
- It is too early to initiate a full Fair Trade in Tourism certification process of centrally registered service providers. However the building up of a national Fair Trade in Tourism membership organisation with its own brand should be started. The pilot character of the process should be clearly defined.
- Local membership organisations should be created to monitor the application of the Fair Trade in Tourism principles and include tourists in the monitoring and adjustments.
- Adequate information about the tourism offer is crucial for Fair Trade in Tourism to succeed. Communities and small-scale enterprises have to be trained to give this information to tourists. Leaflets of brochures for that purpose will require extra resources.
- Fair Trade in Tourism must campaign for a better awareness of domestic tourists to support the local economy and communities.

3.5.3 Networking

- Networking gives marketing a higher impact and is cost-efficient.
- It will give communities and small-scale enterprises a bigger voice and impact in the tourism market at lower cost. It creates an enabling environment through workshops, exchange, training and exposure visits of the members.
- Local networks also guarantee mutual monitoring.
- Strategic partnerships have to be fostered with NGOs in the sectors of women and youth, rural and community development, trade unions, churches and supportive private enterprises.

3.5.4 CBT/SMT projects and enterprises

There are many feasible community-based projects in South Africa that could provide a useful income to local communities. Fair Trade in Tourism is at an early stage in South Africa and there is still a long way to go. There is a commitment from government to help make it work. What the network members are urgently looking for is support from European partners to help with labelling and providing tourists. However, this has to be carefully planned in a staged process. If too many tourists suddenly start to arrive and communities or small-scale enterprises are unable to fulfil their needs, it would be self-defeating. The initiative is now developing a trademark and a marketing organisation for Fair Trade in Tourism principles and activities called 'Fair Trade in Tourism in South Africa'.

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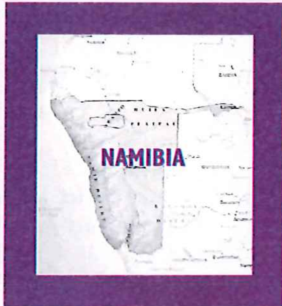
14 *Reference: 'Report – Workshop with Conference 23 –25 May 2000', IUCN South Africa Country Office, PO Box 11536 Hatfield, Pretoria 0028 (12) 420–4115/6 (phone) 420–3917 (fax), e-mail:* sfakir@icon.co.za



Namibia

Namibia Community-based Tourism Association (NACOBTA)

3.6

3.6.1 Country Profile

The Republic of Namibia is located in south-west Africa bordered by the Atlantic Ocean in the West, Botswana in the east, Angola and a small section of Zambia in the north, and South Africa in the south. It is larger in area than the UK and Germany combined and has a population of only 1.6 million people, 93.4 per cent of whom are black and mixed race, and 6.6 per cent are of white European origin.

After a century of colonisation by the Germans and apartheid under South African rule, Namibia finally gained independence in 1990. Though there is overall political equality between the white and black population, it is off-set by deep economic inequality with most of the country's wealth still in the hands of a powerful white elite.

Up to independence three quarters of agricultural production was in the hands of white farmers on commercial or 'freehold' land. The black populations had been pushed into largely barren and unproductive 'communal' areas, surviving on subsistence agriculture and livestock, particularly in the north-west, behind a so-called veterinary line.

Tourism in Namibia is internationally relatively small-scale, though an important economic sector for the country; it is the third largest behind fishing and mining, and first in terms of foreign exchange earnings. Tourism is primarily based on wildlife safaris and hunting, including some climbing and trekking in isolated locations, and cultural tourism. What attracts visitors to this country is its rugged terrain and emptiness, together with key wildlife species such as the desert elephant and the black rhino.

Tourism has increased by nine per cent since 1993, with 502,012 visitors per year in 1997. Seventy-five per cent of tourists are from within Africa, mainly from South Africa and Angola, visiting friends and family. Consequently, their contribution to tourism revenues is limited. Only 22 per cent of visitors are from Europe, bringing precious foreign currency. The private sector in Namibia believes that the number of 'true tourists' is approximately 150,000. The tourism industry is predominantly managed by white Namibians, who have contacts in South Africa and Europe, particularly Germany, which is the main tourist generating country. Black Namibians are generally employed in the sector, though very few are involved through ownership or investment and therefore overall gain little from tourism.

3.6.2 Community

The popularity of wildlife tourism and trophy hunting has offered an opportunity for diversification for poor rural communities dependent on subsistence farming. In 1995, the government approved a community-based tourism policy. In addition, through an amendment to the Nature Conservation Act, rural communities were given the rights to develop conservancies. The right had been given to commercial farmers since 1975. The change in legislation resulted from concerns about the high unemployment rate (30–40 percent) amongst rural Namibians, about resource management and wildlife conservation. In particular, key species, such as the desert elephant, black rhino and other protected wildlife, were threatened with extinction through poaching or killing by farmers protecting crops. These two measures have helped to create one of the most progressive tourism policies in the world.

The Nature Conservation Act enables communities to manage government-owned land within the framework of a registered communal area conservancy. It grants registered conservancies exclusive rights over consumptive and non-consumptive use of wildlife in their area. Although not yet legislated, government policy supports the rights of conservancies to control and/or operate commercial tourism activities, in particular enterprise development. The resources remain state-owned, whereas the benefits from economic utilisation go directly to the community. The conservancy is a self-sufficient democratic structure, bound by a constitution and run by the community. It has the legal authority to enter into contracts with private sector tourism operators.

3.6.3 NGOs in Namibia

Namibia Community-based Tourism Association (NACOBTA) is the major NGO supporting and promoting community-based tourism in Namibia. It was set up with NGO and government support in 1995, by communities involved in tourism.

It is a membership organisation assisting conservancies and community-owned tourism enterprises with business advice and training, including product development, marketing, development of human resources within communities and democratic management and responsibility. It also advocates on their behalf and establishes links with the private sector to increase their involvement. With a staff of ten people, the organisation has to service up to 45 community projects all over Namibia, which stretches it to the limit. Enterprises include campsites, joint venture lodges, craft centres, heritage sites, traditional villages and museums, and guide and information centres.

The main NGO in the north west of Namibia (where this consultation visit took place) is Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation (IRDNC). IRDNC is a Namibian NGO credited with initiating Community-based Resource Management (CBNRM) in Namibia in the early 1980s to protect the black rhino. The CBNRM programme involves communities in the sustainable management of natural resources for their own economic benefit. IRDNC's involvement with community-based tourism arose as an extension of this engagement.

Other NGOs, such as the Rural Institute for Social Empowerment (RISE), work in the southern Kunene and Erongo regions to assist communities to develop conservancies and then provide support for the management committee. On tourism related issues, NACOBTA provides the technical input and RISE the institutional support.

The Rossing Foundation is the 'socially responsible' arm of the Rossing Mining Company. Their role in the national CBNRM programme is to provide training support for conservancies. In addition they are instrumental in developing the craft industry by working with local communities, promoting, marketing and selling fair trade arts and handicrafts. Rossing is also a partner with NACOBTA in a new development project in the North Central area. The project comprises three main components; CBNRM, crafts and tourism – Rossing will manage the first two components and NACOBTA the tourism.

Legal assistance in the development of constitutions and contracts is provided by the Legal Assistance Centre (LAC). The Community Tourism Liaison Officer, based within the government provides the link between NGOs and the government.

3.6.4 Project Evaluation

Eight NACOBTA member projects were visited in the North West Region of Namibia (now known as Kunene), bordering Angola. It is one of Namibia's least inhabited area, with Damaraland in the south (now known as the Erongo region) and Kaokoland in the north. Owing to the 'Community Guard' scheme which gives communities authority and responsibility over the protection of wildlife, there is an abundance of game in a very wild, rugged area. In addition there are mountain ranges for walking and climbing, and heritage sites in the form of ancient rock paintings. Cultural tourism, including visits to Himba villages, also attracts considerable visitors.

The Tourism Initiatives

All the projects visited have great tourism potential. Namibia's competitive advantage in relation to other regional tourism centres such as South Africa, Botswana and Tanzania is its variety of desert and mountain terrain, its remoteness and low tourist numbers, and its policy of granting land rights to communities to control tourism planning and implementation.

All the projects, except Damaraland Camp, have been initiated by the communities and are at different stages of development. The most successful from the point of view of efficiency and viability, are Spitzkoppe, a campsite at the foot of a spectacular mountain range, Twyfelfontein rock paintings, the Aba Huab campsite and the Damaraland camp, a joint venture initiative between the community and a Southern Africa tour operator.

Development

Spitzkoppe and Twyfelfontein/Aba Huab were set up on the initiative of community members who sought to preserve and capitalise on an existing tourism resource.

The village of Spitzkoppe is situated close to the mountain. Before the development of the campsite, tourists used to come and camp free of charge, anywhere around the mountain, leaving litter and making a lot of noise. Local poverty was widespread and children had no education. The community decided to take control over the area by applying for a PTO[15] (Permission to Occupy) from the government in 1992, which was officially granted in 1994.

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15 Permission to Occupy: *tool for community to engage in economic activity on communal land. Limited to business applied for. If any new business is wanted must re-apply. Obtained through Ministry of Land and Resettlement, linking up with other Ministries such as Ministries for Mines and Energy, Tourism and so on. Process for application takes one year. Ministry inspects 2–3 times per year to ensure that business applied for is operating.*

The campsite at Aba Huab, was initiated by Mr Elias Xoagub. From 1982, he fought alone and then later with the support of the community, to start his camp site and manage the rock paintings as a heritage site. His story reflects the difficulties that a local person faces when starting up a tourism venture, with entrepreneurial flair and innovative ideas but without capital or contacts. In 1989 he became the first black man to be granted a PTO to start his campsite, with a small one-off grant from the Save the Rhino Trust. With the modest amounts of income that this provided he managed to develop the heritage site of 5000-year-old rock paintings by Bushmen at Twyfelfontein.

Demoralised by red tape and government bureaucracy, the community found it difficult to support him, but has now reorganised and has successfully registered as the Uibasen Conservancy, which will benefit from the heritage site in the future. After some initial teething problems with the developers, Elias has finally successfully assisted the conservancy in negotiating a contract for a joint venture lodge with a development company at Twyfelfontein.

The joint 'ecotourism venture' at Damaraland Camp in the Torra Conservancy was developed in a more transparent and equitable way. It was the brainchild of the Managing Director of a successful safari tour operator from South Africa. He was seeking accommodation on a circular route he wanted to develop in the area and recognised the tourism potential of that part of the Erongo region. Another tented camp he had been using at Etendeka was always over-booked. The area was brimming with rare wildlife, such as the desert elephant and black rhino, and visually attractive. This provided a distinct marketing edge and appeal for customers. The potential for profit contained in the quality of the tourism product was the main incentive for the business to invest. Community collaboration had always been important to the operator. A friendly contact within the IRDNC and a consultant from the British government subsequently assisted him and the community throughout a 2-year development process to set up the luxury tented camp in 1997.

Management

Management committees are a central part of the conservancy structure. In addition, committees specifically responsible for the tourism enterprise run most of the community-based initiatives. Enterprise management structures are usually developed in co-operation with NACOBTA, or together with a field based NGO such as IRDNC, RISE, and NDT and sometimes local government staff. At Damaraland Camp IRDNC was the main supporting partner.

Management committees have tackled some difficult problems, with long-term financial implications.

- One recurring problem is the behaviour of tourists at campsites, particularly those from South Africa who still represent a substantial percentage of visitors. An Apartheid attitude was still evident in their relationships with black communities. Consequently, there were reports of intimidation and racial abuse towards community staff by tourists who were asked to pay and comply with certain rules, where previously they had had a free reign.
- Dealing with tourist security remains a sensitive issue for all tourist destinations. Overall, in Namibia levels of personal safety for tourists are high, compared to some other destinations. In one case, the murder of a tourist in a remote area by criminals from a nearby town created a great deal of negative publicity and a decline in tourists to a nearby campsite. In addition, visitor numbers at community enterprises in the northern regions of Namibia along the border with Angola have been affected by the activity of Angolan rebels damaging Namibia's reputation as a safe destination.
- Site management and staffing requires professional knowledge and experience. For example, how should a large area such as a mountain range be controlled in terms of humans and animals? Should rangers be employed? How should they be trained to deal with tourist behaviour and tourist movement in the absence of national regulations? How should waste and pollution be managed? How should grazing animals be stopped from damaging camp equipment and buildings? How should the conservancy deal with independent tourists who caused environmental damage in a concession area used by their joint venture partner?
- As a site develops, important investment decisions need to be taken. Costs and benefits need to be considered as part of a long-term planning framework. It is particularly important to make the right decisions because the amounts of money available for investment are usually small. A wrong decision can be costly and cause serious setbacks.
- Tourism needs to fit in with an overall economic plan for the area. An important decision for one of the more successful conservancies was how to deal with an influx of people from areas with less tourism potential, wanting to benefit from their tourism. The resources to support such an influx were not available to the conservancy.

Community Benefits

In terms of financial benefits, the equitable joint venture contract with a successful community-oriented tour operator such as Wilderness Safaris at Damaraland Camp has yielded the greatest earnings for the community.

Torra Conservancy now has N$200,000[15] from the joint venture, and since 1999, N$100,000 from trophy hunting. Game guards, transport costs and other running costs will be deducted from that. As a result of this income, Torra Conservancy is the first conservancy in the country that is able to cover its own operating costs.

The Joint Venture Contract is for 10 years. The land is in the name of the community and there is a fixed annual rental fee. The percentage of turnover is fixed by the conservancy in consultation with its advisors.

After 10 years the option exists to terminate the contract – if it is extended over five years, community ownership should increase by 20 per cent every year. Thus after 15 years the lodge could be owned by the community with the tour operator paying for the beds.

In addition, the intention is to create income-generating projects for people in the community, unconnected directly with tourism. Employment is already boosting community income. The Camp employs administrative, bar, laundry staff, and guides from the community. Plans are underway to train community members in managerial positions, but apparently this has been less successful than expected. It is thought that it might be more beneficial to train and employ community members from the Torra Conservancy in other camps run by the same operator, where they do not have to deal with being in a superior position to members of their own community.

15 £1 = N$ 10 (Namibian Dollars)

However, what might be perceived as a benefit by businesses and NGOs, might not be perceived as a benefit by the community, owing to the loss of access to land and loss of livestock. Any gains are sometimes off-set by compensation paid to community members not directly involved in the tourism project.

Wild life protection in the Torra Conservancy and at Damaraland Camp has resulted in the multiplication of most game species, particularly Springbok which are culled for money and farmers receive free meat.

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3.6.5 Success Indicators

All of us should have food each day. If only one person has food and the others don't that is wrong. **(Elias Xoagub)**

Community members believe that an increase in knowledge over the last ten years has changed the way local people think. They are more aware of the benefits of nature. Livestock has been decreased as they become less dependent on farming and more involved in tourism. Previously there was a lot of poaching, now wildlife is protected.

There are more opportunities. Education is expensive and previously poor parents had to make sacrifices to educate their children. Afterwards youngsters left for the city, leaving their parents to fend for themselves. Now many of them are returning and putting their knowledge to use in the community. Parents can afford to send their children to school more easily; buy clothes and food for them. They can also now afford transport (three bought old cars) which is important in such a remote area.

Local people have gained more self-esteem, and communities are now in control. They obtain the PTO and investors lease the PTO from them.

Previously investors had carte blanche to invade their land. Negotiations were at the level of the Headmen, who were the main benefactors. Benefits did not accrue to the adjoining communities whose land they occupied. Communities received no compensation for loss of livestock as a result of wild life protection.

3.6.6 Key factors for success

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- Enlightened government policy, empowering local communities with legal authority over public land and natural assets
- Geographic location and viable tourism potential, desirable and attractive tourism 'product'
- Stability and coherence of local community
- Tour operators with long-term commitment to community-based tourism;
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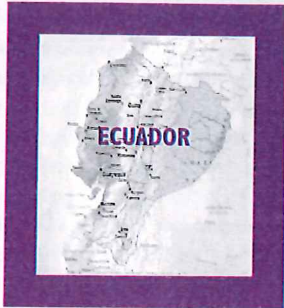

Ecuador
Los Colibrís Crafts Group

CASE 3.7

3.7.1 Background

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The Reserve is owned and managed by Fundación Maquipucuna (FM), an NGO formed in 1988. It operates a Research Station and has an Eco-tourism Lodge at the northern end of the reserve, just four kilometres from Marianitas. The Reserve is characterised by steep mountain slopes of 90 per cent primary rainforest. It is located between two major rivers with hiking trails, and contains many rare and endangered plant and animal species.

The Lodge was opened in 1995 and has facilities to house 30 people. Eleven full-time staff and eight temporary workers are employed in the Reserve. Three hundred and fifty tourists visited in the first year, and by 1997 a total of 1,580 tourists came.

3.7.2 Economy

The main economic activity is agriculture and the production of sugar cane alcohol, as well as small-scale dairy farming. A few services have appeared in the village such as general stores, a small restaurant, transportation, and a women's artisan group, Los Colibrís. Local men or foreigners manage all tourism associated with the Reserve.

In this rural, traditional Spanish culture, women's voices are not heard as loudly as those of men (*Parsons, 1996a*). Typically, women are not the decision-makers and do not have access to funds, skills, or cultural support to change these traditions. Women's duties are usually child-care and household chores while the men attend to the pastures or sugar mills. Few jobs for women are available other than machete work – working pasture and grinding cane. Women want work that allows them to care for their house and children and fits in with their daily time schedules.

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LC enabled women to have access to higher-class jobs, managing and directing a project, and producing and selling crafts. This has given women the opportunity to express their independence in decision-making, and to increase their economic self-sufficiency. The project's success also enhances their status in the eyes of the men and the village.

Los Colibrís is an exemplary model not only for gender issues, but also for sustainable tourism development, being a small-scale, locally run community tourism initiative. It is also a model for community development, entrepreneurship, interactions between NGOs and the community, spousal relationships, and other socio-economic interaction in communities.

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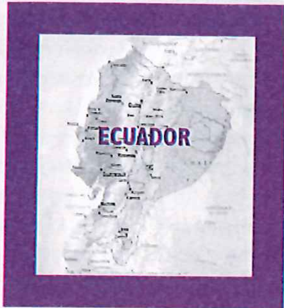

ECUADOR
Los Colibrís Crafts Group

3.7

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ECUADOR
Los Colibrís Crafts Group

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3.7.4 Key Factors

The key goals of Los Colibrís were to provide employment for village women and enable them to learn new skills. The project gives women a sense of pride and equality and enables them to use their money to improve their lives and those of their children. It allows young women to stay and work in the village instead of leaving to work in Quito as maids. It has given birth to a new, private enterprise for women.

Its success is based on market demand and supply, with the tourist season creating incentives to produce crafts. The women of Los Colibrís do not share the profits equally, but they do equally share the costs. Costs include an initial entrance fee for each member, a set monthly payment for rent and electricity, and buying small supplies such as sandpaper, paints, metal earring wires and so on. All machines in the workshop were acquired through grants and are limited in number but are available to all members for use as needed.

Income is distributed directly to the person who made a particular item, minus ten per cent for the 'kitty' – an emergency fund to fix machines and purchase other necessities such as transportation and postage. All money from sales of products to internal and external markets is kept in a joint FM/LC bank account in US dollars, for the purpose of buying a parcel of land and erecting a workshop/showroom for Los Colibrís in the village.

There are five core women members who have worked together since the inception of Los Colibrís, through slow seasons and times when orders could not be filled fast enough. They have gained recognition from the community as a significant force in the workplace.

FM has worked with the community for several years implementing training workshops, environmental education lectures and tourism development meetings. Because of LC's presence in the village, all the women have a voice about community development programmes, such as building a children's day care centre to expand women's work opportunities.

In 1998, FM received, through Rainforest Concern, a three year grant from the UK's National Lottery Charities Board to implement this children's centre, improve artisan training and assist in the formation of additional artisan groups and community programmes. This grant also enabled a Project Co-ordinator to be hired to work full-time with Marianitas and other communities surrounding the Reserve.

LC members agree with the need for environmental conservation and sustainable development. They strive to learn and invent new designs for natural, sustainable handicrafts. The group started by using local vines to make baskets, but this stopped because of the difficulty in obtaining a sustainable supply of vines. The vines grow wild locally, but because of escalating demand, the supply of vines within a short walking distance of the village diminished. The labour costs from the amount of time and effort it took to collect enough vines from further afield, outweighed the benefits from the sale of the product. A similar decision to stop using large snail shells in craft-making was also taken because it encouraged the practice of eating snails, thus causing numbers to dwindle. Most LC products are now made from tagua nuts (a species of palm) and bamboo. This has encouraged the group to plant tagua and bamboo locally for future use.

3.7.5 Challenges

In the beginning LC was open to anyone in town, both men and women, young and old, who wanted to learn how to make handicrafts. By involving everyone, the whole town learned of the enterprise, supported it, and all were given a fair chance to work hard, learn new skills and make money. The size and composition of the group fluctuated over the first nine months but in the tenth month, when new machines arrived for group use, the group closed with a total of ten members (seven adults and three teenagers). This action solved many problems of conflicting interests between groups, but also caused jealousy from some people in town who saw LC making money but who were unable to participate.

The remaining ten members worked well together, and were secure in the knowledge that the rent and electricity would be paid, allowing them to concentrate on work. Nine months later, with only seven members remaining, another major conflict arose when the two men in the group wanted to use the machines for carpentry work instead of crafts. The men left, leaving the current five core women members.

Their main priority is to own their own workshop. This requires purchasing a parcel of land and building a place for their machines, storage of supplies, a place to work and demonstrate techniques, and a showroom for tourists to buy products. Since the women have little experience of such procedures, they have to rely on men and FM for help and advice in accomplishing this goal.

LC members share use of tools and designs and teach each other how to make new products. Their husbands, who at first did not take LC seriously and resented the time wives spent making crafts, see the income generated and now help the women in the evenings to complete orders.

Tapping the expertise of local craftsmen, the Peace Corps Volunteers (PCV) pioneered LC's first craft training workshops using a woman from a nearby village who could teach basket weaving one day a week. The PCV also learned and taught the group how to make recycled paper, cards, envelopes and bookmarks. Using the knowledge and tools of a local man, LC also learned to make painted tagua nut key chains.

A woman artisan from Quito was hired to teach members how to make higher quality tagua and bamboo designs. Despite her skills, her treatment of the village women was less than professional. The women worked long hours doing assembly-line work, to fulfil orders for stores in Quito. The artisan put all the finishing touches to the articles herself, thus no one in LC knew all the steps needed to complete the products.

The artisan promised payment once the orders were finished, but never honoured this agreement. After working with LC for two months she left without paying anyone anything, taking their products with her. This taught the group a salutary lesson and strengthened their resolve. They regrouped and learned how to make completed tagua products.

3.7.6 Community-Based Tourism

The implementation of community-based tourism strategies utilised several types of untapped human resources. One LC woman who had leadership skills was elected president. her role is to listen o the group and help decide what's best for them. Artistic talent was discovered in one man who could paint beautiful birds of high quality. Husbands were involved in drilling holes for key chains, and helped to collect tagua and bamboo. This support demonstrates increased inter-spousal interaction.

A major change in LC policy occurred when the group switched from depending on people's artistic ability to depending on their hard work. This meant that the women needed to find products that everyone could make, so if they worked hard, they could make money. Each product was evaluated with regard to quality control, production costs, pricing levels and marketability, to determine which ones to concentrate on.

After the PCV left, a tourism liaison officer was appointed from FM to help the women continue meetings, sell products at the Reserve, buy supplies from Quito, and deposit money in their bank account.

3.7.7 The Role of FM

Every enterprise needs to be responsive to gender roles and needs. LC members meet frequently to discuss their concerns and successes, monitoring, evaluating and adjusting their process. A survey conducted in 1998 suggests that FM is working well with LC, but it is

recognised that there is a lack of jobs available to women in Marianitas. Most expect FM to provide jobs or community programmes and improvements.

FM has community programmes in six surrounding communities, and is promoting the formation of crafts groups in at least two of these. LC women now provide narrated tours of their workshop and demonstrations of craft making to tourists. These tours give tourists a glimpse of local culture and provide an opportunity for them to buy local crafts.

With FM's support LC women sell their crafts at fairs in major tourist areas. The PCV has also helped by providing support in acquiring markets in the USA. They have received a number of large orders and these moneys have helped substantially with funds for the purchase of LC land and the workshop.

3.7.8 Lessons for the Future

A small community enterprise in Marianitas can be successful on a long-term basis given certain fundamental criteria:

- dedication and determination from group members;
- the presence of a dedicated local NGO, funding organisations and readily accessible markets;
- a project that fits in with women's daily routines.

The evolution of LC has been complex for rural village life. Its triumphs are based on the women's energy and willingness to take risks, while its tribulations can be attributed to their traditional position in society and their lack of business skills.

While craft production falls within cultural norms and are relatively easy to teach or promote other skills such as book-keeping, accountancy, management skills, marketing and business acumen are more difficult to teach. These factors also influence financial incentives and understanding of potential benefits. The decision was made recently to improve the quality of products and this created a change in benefit incentives and distribution. Quality is increased if all women work together in assembly line stages and sell in bulk together, instead of working independently on items where quality varies due to the different skills of each member. Income distribution is then paid by the hour, instead of piece by piece. It is difficult to switch to this change in work patterns, where all women need to be working at the same time, but it is better, in the long run, for LC and their marketing of standardised products.

LC women have a great desire to own their workshop and the land it is built on, but know little about the legal procedures involved. They will either have to learn these skills, or rely on community or FM advice in purchasing the land.

Partnerships with the local community, NGOs and other key players are necessary for a sustainable rural gender tourism programme, like LC. Rural women need the community support of residents, both male and female, to launch a tourism venture. Lack of community support can divide a group, but it can also strengthen its resilience in response to difficult situations. For LC, its NGO partners were the most significant factors contributing to its success. These organisations helped tremendously in obtaining grants, in banking, and in introducing women to craft fairs and other markets.

The drawback to this aid is that the women need ultimately to be trained how to do all these things by themselves, with confidence and professionalism, so that they can become independent and self-sufficient.

It is vital that the support of stakeholders fits in with local customs and traditions. Empowering women, when working with different cultures, requires a careful study of the roles of women, their daily routines, available resources, and the capacity of women to acquire the skills to produce goods for sale to foreign tourists.

It is crucial that the members of a community group have ultimate responsibility over and credit for their initiative. Women need to develop a project for themselves and be in control of it. An NGO can give guidance and training, but credit for their accomplishments should go to the women and not to the NGO. In this way, women acquire pride in their achievements. When women realise their potential to change their lives, this is empowerment.

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Analysis of Case Studies

Capacity Building for Community-based Sustainable Tourism

Community based sustainable tourism (CBST) is a response by rural communities in poverty-stricken areas where few livelihood opportunities exist, to develop new, alternative livelihood opportunities. In some cases it is developed to fend off more damaging industrial development such as, logging or mining. It tends to happen largely within a context of extreme poverty, lack of basic infrastructure, geographical remoteness and political instability. The tourism development is not only a tool for income generation but also for community empowerment and collective benefit.

At the Cutting Edge of Change?

In the face of the overwhelming imbalance of power caused by the dominance of the tourism industry over international markets it would be easy to have high expectations from communities to provide all the answers for equitable and sustainable tourism. Tourism corporations and governments have to accept their due responsibility for redressing this imbalance. However, the existence of viable community-based tourism enterprises can bring the development of a fair trade product within the realm of possibility. They can provide NGOs with tangible examples of good practice for lobbying, advocacy and for marketing purposes, consumers with fair trade alternatives for their holidays and tour operators with products to develop their fair trade practices.

The following are the requirements for ensuring the efficiency, equity, and viability of community-based sustainable tourism that have been extrapolated from the case studies:

EFFICIENCY:

- **'Leading lights'** (Individuals) within the community with education, community development skills, social conscience, commitment to hard work, credibility and integrity, power of persuasion, vision for the future to carry through a difficult period of years of negotiation, learning and set-backs.
- **Stable Communities:** Collaboration between different ethnic groups. Internal conflict and political wrangling can make or break any operation.
- **Democratic, constitutional management structures**
- **Carefully planned preparation process:** feasibility study to assess tourism potential of operation, market research, existing skills in the community and the potential for adapting them to tourism, clarifying the objectives, hopes and expectations of community and matching them with the reality, making relevant contacts.
- **Pilot phase:** minimal investment, training and development, testing the market, learning the lessons, changing tactics, monitoring community response.
- **Input of professional expertise:** from industry, NGOs, consultants.
- **Partnerships with support:** from NGOs, government, industry.
- **Support from international and collaboration among local NGOs** contributing with different skills and expertise.
- **Training of community members** at professional level, not necessarily in their own community, but being able to contribute later as professionals to their own community.
- **Exchange visits** for community members of other enterprises, establishment of networks to learn from each others' experiences.
- **Work and training placements for community member staff** within the tourism industry, both at home and abroad, as well as
- **Placements for tourism industry staff** within community tourism enterprises.
- **Attitude of business realism and professionalism** without reneging on cultural values specific to the community.
- **Adaptation and development of traditional skills** to add value and develop modern production processes.
- **Funding:**
  - A central funding pool specifically earmarked for community-based tourism, availability of start-up grants and low interest loans.
  - Long-term funding for development work.
  - Long-term commitment from donors.
- **Transparency, tolerance, patience, trust and willingness to learn** between community and industry partners.

EQUITY:

- **NGO development work on gender awareness** with women and men separately within existing cultural context
- **Women-only income-generating enterprises** with the support of the rest of the community
- **Democratic representation** of interest groups
- **Constitutional arrangements**
- **Monitoring** of distribution of benefits
- Establishment of collective **community trust fund** for development of community infrastructure
- Distinguish between individual gain for service provision and the need for equitable distribution of **collective benefit** to the whole community

SELF-SUFFICIENCY, VIABILITY, SUSTAINABILITY:

- **Attractiveness and potential** of the tourism initiative together with the efficiency of the operation will determine long-term viability
- **Pre-requisites for attractiveness of the tourism initiative:**
  - Geographic location (remoteness necessitates greater self-sufficiency and greater marketing powers)
  - Nature of the tourism attraction (wildlife tourism attracted different tourists and tour operators, closer to nature, activity based or sightseeing and heritage site tourism attracted less committed tourists and investors)
- Communities that recognise the **seriousness of commitment to investment and long-term nature** of dealing with businesses
- **Natural Resource Management** rather than tourism development is often the starting point. It is the tourism development that is the subsidiary activity of Natural Resource Management, rather than tourism development in its own right that is an important issue.
- All the NGOs involved have a **common goal** in terms of empowering communities and Community-based Natural Resource Management. This common goal is important to achieve for collaboration and co-ordination.
- A **specialist NGO on tourism** and entrepreneurship which widens the knowledge base of the development work and provides important specialist tourism expertise.
- **Community stakeholder investment** ensures long-term commitment.
- Government **recognition of NGOs** as credible intermediaries with the community
- Community Tourism **Liaison Officer** in government with NGO background
- **Investment rules** in rural areas that comply with the Natural Resource Management rules and require/encourage partnerships with the community, ensuring community benefit.

Putting **fair trade** in tourism into **practice** 4

It is important to be aware that the way towards Fair Trade in Tourism is a constant open-ended learning process. It includes strategies on campaigns at the level of international trade agreements and corporate governance as well as engagement with the corporate sector, through partnerships, and at grassroots level in the context of poverty-eradication and capacity-building with communities.

4.1 Survey *of* NGO activity *in* Tourism

A small survey of UK and other European based NGOs undertaken by Tourism Concern reveals a surprisingly low level of strategic involvement in tourism in developing countries. (*See Appendix on page 33*). This is surprising both because of the size and rapid growth of the tourism industry with the resulting implications of its impact on destination communities, many of which have active involvement from NGOs and also because of the potential that it contains for income generation, building skills and empowering communities to redefine their part in the global economy.

The reasons can only be surmised. It may be that for many Fair Trade Organisations and development NGOs, tourism is an unknown area. A number of NGOs have honed skills in campaigning on subjects related to tourism, such as child sex tourism or workers conditions, but frequently it is the impetus and interest of individuals within organisations that drive the campaigns, rather than a strategic positioning of the organisation itself. This experience in the UK is reflected in NGOs elsewhere in Europe where individuals in NOVIB, for example, are driving discussion to take organisational policy in tourism forward in 2001. Whilst Fair Trade activities have become integrated into NGO programmes, the complexities of tourism (both in destination countries and in Europe), and relatively low levels of experience in the sector, compared to other community development initiatives, may mean that NGOs have not given it the same priority. Another important factor may be the dilemma of solving the dynamics between on the one hand campaigning against the negative impacts of tourism and on the other being seen to support tourism development, that is, promoting an activity that may be considered unsustainable at its core. The opportunity still remains for northern NGOs to explore the full potential of fairly traded tourism in developing countries.

4.2 Dialogue *with the* international network

Tourism Concern intends to put fair trade in tourism into practice. A step towards this was taken at the second international annual forum of the international Network on Fair trade in Tourism in November 2000 which explored: Putting Fair Trade in Tourism into Practice: The Role of the Tourism Industry. The forum identified the following as future strategies:

Short-term:

4.2.1 Practical initiatives

- The principles and criteria of Fair Trade in Tourism (outlined on pages 11 and 12) were accepted as a working document to be discussed locally and regionally in the South.
- The development of a pilot project to establish labour rights of workers in lodges and guest houses, initially with a focus on Southern Africa, with a tour operator sub-group, co-ordinated by Tourism Concern's Fair Trade Network. It should resulted in a set of core minimum criteria and a plan which would encourage tourism associations and eventually bigger tour operators to follow suit. It would be tested and evaluated locally and regionally, initially in Southern and East Africa.

Long-term:

4.2.2 Building alliances, networks, trade associations

In the long term, it was considered important to set up networks and associations in the South with a view to learning from each others' practices and experiences and to develop increased capacity and power as stakeholders vis a vis governments and industry. This would include South – South exchange visits among community-based tourism initiatives and North – South exchange placements for businesses in tourism to establish partnerships and increase understanding and knowledge. Tourism Concern was asked to assist with this process, for which further funding would be required.

4.3 Roles *for* NGO involvement *in* Fair Trade *in* Tourism

In determining the future of Fair Trade in Tourism, it would be valuable for southern NGOs to make links with other organisations in the UK and elsewhere in Europe involved in the current debate on ethical trade and corporate accountability. This debate has arisen from the work on labour standards in global supply chains and fair trade in primary commodities. It can be enriched with the experience of NGOs in a service sector as complex as tourism.

It would perhaps be appropriate to establish specific fair and ethical trade associations in tourism in the UK and elsewhere in Europe to assist NGOs, governments and industry to develop fair trade approaches and to make linkages with organisations in the South, such as the Fair Trade in Tourism Initiative in South Africa. On the other hand it may be more effective to integrate such approaches into existing mainstream organisations and develop bottom-up processes. Discussions between NGOs, government, industry and trade unions need to take place on these issues in the UK and at European level.

The following has been adapted for the purpose of informing a strategy on Fair Trade in Tourism for NGOs from the publication Ethical Trading Futures by (*Simon Zadek, 2000*). It embraces the following components:

Full-spectrum alliances

Strengthening civil society organisations involved in the full spectrum from advocacy and corporate campaigning work through to 'deep engagement'. Increased networking, resource sharing and debates with southern colleagues, increased influence of southern perspectives.

> ***Fair Trade starts with fair trade relationships based on trust, respect, equitable sharing and long-term commitment between northern and southern NGOs, and between NGOs and communities.***

Funding challenge-based campaigning

Fostering and promoting the dynamic, arising from engaging with the corporate sector on the one hand and challenging it through campaigns on the other. Campaigning for increased leadership by democratically elected governments for responsible corporate governance.

> ***Funding organisations need to be encouraged to support both strategies of campaign in tourism and engagement industry with equal commitment.***

Learning from practice

Some of the practical experiences on the ground, demonstrate that by addressing the issue of 'empowering' communities through concrete economic means, political awareness at grass roots level can be raised by linking local issues to political issues at macro level. Increasing the economic relevance of community stakeholders through income from tourism and the establishment of trade associations and Tourism Management Committees can create greater influence on government policy.

Although there is evidence that fair trade in commodities has created many benefits and new avenues in trading approaches, it is necessary to maintain a critical view and learn from experiences in applying similar practices to tourism. NGOs also need to be aware of and open about their own organisational limitations in affecting institutional change.

> ***NGOs need to retain an open mind and trust to challenge perceptions, to exchange differing views and to question attitudes. Considerably more practical, action-based research, and hard evidence about existing practices is required to be certain about future direction.***

Building civil accountability

Civil society organisations need to strengthen their legitimacy for engagement with the corporate sector and with governments by being transparent and accountable themselves.

> ***Non-governmental organisations need to have a visible mandate from civil society sections based either in the North or in the South or both, which would determine the content and the objectives of their engagement.***

NGOs *working on* tourism *in the* UK *and the rest of* Europe

Appendix

A.1 Survey *of* NGOs

In order to ascertain the nature and scope of work of UK and other Europe-based NGOs in tourism development in developing countries, contact was made initially with forty four international non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in the UK and sixteen similar organisations in the rest of Europe. These organisations were either already known by Tourism Concern to be working within tourism, or were contacted after a targeted search of BOND (British Overseas NGOs for Development) members and arising from related searches on the Internet. Questionnaires were distributed to 45 of the 60 Europe-based NGOs and associations, and as can be seen in the tables below, responses were received from 22 of them. Feedback was also received from one Australian based organisation, Community Aid Abroad Tours, part of Community Aid Abroad (Oxfam – Australia).

A.1.1 Third World European Tourism Network (TEN)

In addition to the groups contacted for this survey, there are organisations based in Europe, which have a primary aim to raise awareness of tourism as a development issue. These are loosely federated together under the aegis of TEN – The Third World European Tourism Network. Each group is in contact with many individuals and organisations throughout the South that challenge the development of tourism which does not take into account local people and their environments. Each European organisation works independently. Between them they cover areas of advocacy and campaigning, research, community development, capacity building and support, and consultancy. The first organisation to be established was Tourism Watch in Germany in 1975 (previously known as ZEB). In addition there is Transverses in France, Associazione RAM in Italy, Arbeitskreis Tourismus und Entwicklung in Switzerland, Informatie Verre Reizen in Holland, Studienkreis fur Tourismus und Entwicklung in Germany, Respect in Austria and Tourism Concern in the UK.

TABLE A.1: Analysis of the survey of Organisations

	Contacted	Questionnaires distributed	Total no. of responses	Involved with Tourism	Not involved with Tourism
UK NGOs	44	34	19	14	5
Other European NGOs & Associations	16	11	3	3	–
World-wide organisations	1	1	1	1	–

A.2 Analysis *of returned* questionnaires

Although in the UK, 14 out of 19 NGOs are involved with tourism, the nature of this involvement tends to be *ad hoc* or in addition to other activities. In general, it was found that UK NGOs, as represented in this survey, provide relatively limited strategic support to the development of tourism in developing countries when compared with the emphasis and financial support given to it by other European NGOs such as SNV (Netherlands Development Agency) (*see* Table 2). For example, despite involvement in development, tourism only features as a strategic priority for one of the fourteen UK based NGOs (*Action for Conservation through Tourism*) apart from Tourism Concern. The ongoing tourism related work among NGOs falls mainly within the following five categories and summarised in the table below.

A.2.1 Advocacy and Campaigning

Awareness of the issues surrounding tourism are being raised by eight organisations including *Action for Southern Africa, Friends of Conservation* and *Tearfund*, by means of leaflets, Codes of Conduct, videos and reports aimed towards their supporters and catchment groups. It is in the area of advocacy and campaigning in UK that a wide general audience is being sought and similar work is being planned and undertaken in the Netherlands by *SNV* and *Novib*.

A.2.2 Research

To inform these campaigns, several organisations are also involved in research into such aspects as consumer habits, conditions in the tourism industry and internationally recognised certification. SNV is currently strengthening its research by having a tourism advisor assist the Nepal Tourism Board to establish a research department. Through a partnership with a Dutch tourism high school (NHTV), several students have also carried out studies in Nepal.

A.2.3. Development, Capacity Building and Support

Ten organisations are undertaking tourism development work, offering capacity-building support to communities in the South, often using tourism as a means of income-generation in support of wider development initiatives. However, in the case of UK NGOs, the support given to such community initiatives in tourism is thinly spread. Both *VSO* and *Skillshare International* place a small number of individuals and through them, offer capacity-building and support to those immediate communities with which the individuals work. Member organisations of the decentralised *ActionAid* and the *International Alliance of Indigenous & Tribal Peoples of the Tropical Forest* are involved in community tourism in a localised way. Of the remaining organisations, *ACT* and *FARM Africa* concentrate development tourism in one region of Uganda and Ethiopia, and it is only *WWF* that implements ecotourism work with communities in more than one country. This is in contrast with *GTZ* (*German para-statal organisation*), for example, which is working with local partners worldwide in over 50 biodiversity projects including tourism-related work.

TABLE 2: *Table showing organisations' involvement in tourism-related work*

	Organisation	Advocacy/ campaigning	Research	Community Development, Capacity-building and Support	Consultancy	Investment and equity in tourism operations
UK Based Non-Governmental Organisations	Action Aid			✔		
	ACT			✔	✔	
	ACTSA	✔	✔			
	African Initiatives	✔			✔	
	Farm Africa			✔		✔
	Friends of Conservation	✔	✔		✔	
	IFAT					✔
	International Alliance of Indigenous Peoples	✔		✔		
	Skillshare International			✔	✔	
	Survival	✔				
	Tearfund	✔	✔			
	TWIN		✔			
	VSO	✔		✔		
	WWF	✔	✔	✔		✔
European	GTZ	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔
	Novib	✔		✔	✔	
	SNV		✔	✔	✔	
World	OXFAM – CAA Australia	✔			✔	✔

A.2.4 Consultancy:

Two organisations have targeted consultancy to the tourism industry. *Action for Conservation through Tourism* is developing and focusing its energies on VISTA, an umbrella advisory group for the UK industry, whilst *Friends of Conservation* meet with and provide advice to in-country tour operators. A further two UK organisations provide consultancy services to communities (*African Initiatives*) and local authorities (*Skillshare International*) in the South.

All three of the European agencies contacted offer consultancy services to communities or organisations in the South. *Novib* has been closely involved with establishing the umbrella organisation *ASSET* in the Philippines, as well as providing advice to the Dutch Tourist Board. SNV has built up a body of experience through its direct development tourism work with communities in many developing countries. Of late, it has increasingly been providing consultancy services by its (tourism) advisors to various partner and other organisations.

A.2.5 Investment and equity in tourism operations:

A final area of involvement for NGOs is in tourism operations themselves. *FARM Africa* has supported the development of ecotourism to the communities and projects with which they are working in Ethiopia, the aim being to raise awareness but also to generate income to help stabilise the economic basis of those communities. With similar intentions, *WWF* is developing tours to two of their projects and IFAT member organisations link to tourism via small-scale tours visiting their Fair Trade initiatives, for example, in Kenya and Namibia. *GTZ* is also seeking to expand its involvement in this area. However, it is Oxfam Australia (Community Aid Abroad) that has taken this a step further by investing in its own tourism operation and establishing its own not-for-profit tour operator, Community Aid Abroad Tours.

A.3 NGOs working on tourism –
A.3.1 UK-based Non-Governmental Organisations

TABLE 3: Annual Expenditure of Organisations

Category	Annual expenditure of organisation
A	<£100,000
B	£100,000–£499,999
C	£500,000–£1,999,999
D	£2,000,000–£4,999,999
E	£5,000,000+

ActionAid
Third largest development agency in UK with a mission to work with poor and marginalised people.

Annual expenditure
Category E – £5,000,000+

Contact details
Tel: 020 7561 7561
E-mail: mail@actionaid.org.uk

Current involvement in tourism
ActionAid has become decentralised and although tourism is not a strategy of the UK office, individual country offices have included some work on tourism.

Locations
Ecuador, The Gambia, Nepal

Future plans
Action Aid has set its agenda for campaigns from the London office for the next 3 years: food security; HIV and AIDS; right to education. Tourism is not included.

Action *for* Conservation *through* Tourism *(ACT)*
Small development organisation working for sustainable tourism through community action.

Contact details
Sue Hurdle (Director)
Tel: 0117 927 3049
Fax: 0117 930 0901
E-mail: act@gn.apc.org

Current involvement in tourism
1. Assisting six communities initially to develop heritage trails and collectively market a tourism product to Ugandan domestic tour operators. This 3-year project aims to build community capacity through two project partners, one already involved with promoting community tourism (UCOTA) and a newly formed local NGO with a cultural remit.
2. Consultancy to the tourism industry through VISTA: helping tour companies to identify practices that can aid business interests whilst simultaneously helping destination communities.

Locations
1. Uganda – six communities in Phase 1, extending to a further six.
2. Greece and Cyprus VISTA is ACT's focus for the future, drawing from lessons learned in 'bottom-up' demonstration projects in the Mediterranean or Canaries.

Future plans
ACT is collaborating with WWF on these demonstration projects and also with IHEI (International Hotels Environment Initiative).

Action *for* Southern Africa *(ACTSA)*
Membership organisation – lobbying and campaigning in UK on a range of issues affecting Southern Africa.

Annual expenditure
Category A – <£100,000

Contact details
Aditi Sharma (Head of Campaigns and Communications))
Tel: 020 7833 3133
Fax: 020 7837 3001
E-mail: Campaigns@actsa.org
Website: www.actsa.org

Current involvement in tourism
ACTSA have recently completed an NLCB funded advocacy initiative, 'Broader British investment in Southern Africa' focusing on two areas: tourism and mining. Campaigns on tourism have been built on research into staff conditions particularly in UK owned hotel chains, focusing on:

a. Good practice for UK tour operators
b. Working conditions in South African tourism industry, working with trade unions in Swaziland, Zimbabwe, South Africa and then UK.

Locations
Closely linked with the Namibian Community Based Tourism Association (NACOBTA)

Future plans
Although tourism is not the highest priority in ACTSA's plans, in the future they plan to:

a. engage more closely with UK tour specialists (safari/Southern Africa as a destination) lobbying them on Community Based Tourism.
b. highlight specific issues re: conditions for workers involved in tourism in Southern Africa.

African Initiatives
Small NGO supporting African CBOs and NGOs in capacity building and programme activities in Ghana and Tanzania.

Annual expenditure
Category A – <£100,000

Contact details
Mike Sansom (Director)
Tel: 0117 915 0001
E-mail: african.initiatives@gn.apc.org

Current involvement in tourism
Providing consultancy to communities in the South and campaigning in the North regarding issues raised by pastoralists and hunter-gatherers. The link to tourism is through ecotourism, with the threats and opportunities it provides to Maasai communities. African Initiatives is looking to develop tourism work by linking with sympathetic 'rights based' tour companies, specifically Darobo Safaris

Locations
Tanzania: Maasai
Ghana: Mole Game Reserve communities

Future plans
Strengthening communities through capacity building in same areas.

FARM Africa

Working with small farmers and pastoralists of Africa. Also in support of government ministries of agriculture

Annual expenditure
Category D – £2,000,000–£4,999,999

Contact details
Tel: 020 7430 0440
E-mail: Farmafrica@farmafrica.org.uk

Current involvement in tourism
Small-scale eco-tours were implemented as part of work with several communities in one District of Southern Ethiopia (Konso Special Worda).

These tours have now been handed over to an eco-tourism company in London but 10% of the cost still go towards strengthening the economic base of these communities.

Locations
Southern Ethiopia: Konso Special Worda

Future plans
Tourism is not a specific FARM Africa policy. However, FARM are likely to support eco-tourism work in the future as demand emerges from community as a means of income generation, for example in the Kafa Region of Ethiopia.

Friends *of* Conservation

Wildlife Conservation Charity set up by the industry and funded by tour operators.

Annual expenditure
Category B – £100,000–£499,999

Contact details
Jonathan Hodrien
Tel: 020 7731 7803
Fax: 020 7731 8213
E-mail: focint@compuserve.com

Current involvement in tourism
FOC has produced a code of conduct for tourists involved in their projects and has carried out a survey into tourists' habits. They meet with tour operators in-country to highlight good practice and gives advice as part of its work within the industry.

Locations
Programmes in Kenya and East Africa. Also Costa Rica, Sri Lanka and Himalayas.

Future plans
FOC envisage they will continue to raise money from the industry and give advice on sustainable development issues. They hope to provide fora for debate and may hold conferences in the future.

International Alliance *of* Indigenous & Tribal Peoples *of the* Tropical Forests

International co-ordinating body for indigenous peoples' organisations.

Contact details
Dr P Oldham
Tel: 020 7 587 3737
Fax: 020 7 793 8686
E-mail: Morbeb@gn.apc.org

Current involvement in tourism
The Alliance itself has no official policy on tourism, but members have voiced concern about the impact of tourism; the Philippines group, for example, have produced a position paper on tourism.

Locations
Kenya co-ordinating body – working with Maasai.
Amazon includes tourism work.

Future plans
Taken forward by individual member organisations

International Federation *for* Alternative Trade

Independent member –ship organisation of international Fair Trade organisations

Contact details
Kath Anderson
Tel: 01869 249 819
Fax: 01869 246 381
Website:www.ifat.org

Current involvement in tourism
Tourism is an area of interest for many members of the Federation but very few actually work directly within it. Links are made locally between Fair Trade initiatives and community tourism by some members mainly by bringing tourists to see their projects.

Locations
Tours visiting shops in Kenya; link to NACOBTA in Namibia.

Future plans
IFAT are producing a paper on protocols for visiting FairTrade initiatives as a resource for member organisations. This is based on a Traidcraft format.

Skillshare International

Development organisation sharing skills and supporting organisational growth

Annual expenditure
Category C – £500,000–£1,999,999

Future plans

Tourism is a growing issue for WWF, but as yet it is not specifically recognised within the organisation's strategic plan.

A.3.2 World-wide Non-Governmental Organisations

Community Aid Abroad *(CAA)* – OXFAM Australia

Independent, large, secular and voluntary community-based organisation. It is the Australian member of Oxfam International. Areas of work are: development and relief programme, campaigning and advocacy, community involvement, ethical business (including CAA Tours), publications and development consultancy.

Contact details

CAA Tours
Brian Witty
E-mail: info@tours.caa.org.au
Website: http://www.caa.org.au

Current involvement in tourism

Within Oxfam International, the majority of tourism work is being co-ordinated by CAA – OXFAM Australia, which has just produced a tourism guide. They are the parent organisation of Community Aid Abroad Tours a not-for-profit travel agency and founding member of the Responsible Tourism Network (RTN) set up to campaign on issues of tourism responsibility and sustainability, develop materials for individuals and the industry on responsible travel etc.

CAA Tours works through:

- Research and development in consultation with local communities. Study/learning and leisure tourism to Aboriginal communities in Australian and developing countries.
- Marketing the tours
- Evaluating the tours

Locations

CAA organises tours to:
Aboriginal Australia; developing countries such as Cuba, Guatemala, India, Tibet, Malawi and Zambia.

Future plans

1. Continue to develop and market sustainable and responsible community based tourism
2. Direct and indirect influence of the industry and travellers via RTN.

A.3.3 European Non-Governmental Organisations

GTZ

German technical advisory organisation, financed by the German government.

Contact details

Burghard Rauschelbach
Tel: 00 49 6196 79-1356
Fax: 00 49 6196 79-5171
E-mail: Burghard.Rauschelbach@gtz.de
Website: www.gtz.de

Current involvement in tourism

GTZ is involved with tourism in several ways:

1. technical support in regional development projects and research management projects where tourism might play a part as an economic activity, as part of GTZ's biodiversity work.
2. GTZ carries out analysis and applied research, often as the basis for further activities.
3. Furthering discussions in Germany for sustainable tourism, with NGOs, government organisations and ministries and the tourism industry.
4. Tour activities to projects.

Locations

World-wide

Future plans

GTZ is continuing in all of the areas listed and is also looking to expand their involvement in project tourism in response to the projects themselves developing their tourism potential.

Novib *(Netherlands)*

International Development NGO and part of Oxfam International.

Contact details

Jelle Wolthuizen
Tel: 00 31 70 3421 706
Fax: 00 31 70 361 4461
E-mail: jelle.wolthuizen@novib.nl
Website: www.novib.org

Current involvement in tourism

The majority of Novib's support of tourism work is small scale and set within broader development programmes in six or seven countries. The largest investment they have made in alternative tourism is in the Philippines where Novib supported the setting up and registration of ASSET.

In Holland, Novib has attracted the interest of the national Dutch Tourist Board (DTB) and there is a draft agreement between them for 3 year co-operation starting in 2001. The DTB will fund alternative tourism projects in return for Novib leading education work in the Board.

Locations

Novib are working in Latin America, Africa (including Kenya), Thailand and Philippines.

Future plans

Novib's support in the Philippines evolved and the organisation is currently in discussion about their policy towards tourism as a development initiative. This is a crucial time for tourism work in Novib

SNV *(Netherlands)*

Development organisation which began by sending volunteers. Core task remains transferring and exchanging knowledge, skills, ideas and technology in fight against poverty but now offers flexible consultancy work by professional experts.

Contact details

Marcel Leijzer
Tel: 00 31 70 381 9960
Fax: 00 31 70 383 5945
E-mail: Mleijzer@snv.nl
Website: www.snv.nl

Current involvement in tourism

1. **Capacity building** – SNV offer support to community tourism programmes lasting from one year to several years (maximum so far has been eight years). Support includes feasibility studies, helping communities to design tourism products, training and development of marketing strategies. SNV closely co-operates with community-based organisations, local governments, local development organisations and national tourism boards.
2. **Consultancy** – recently SNV has developed its work with flexible advisors to provide advice to various partner organisations in the South.
3. **Research** – in Nepal, an SNV tourism advisor is assisting the Nepal Tourism Board to establish a research department, linked also to a Dutch Tourism High school (NHTV).

Locations

Tanzania, Botswana, Nepal, Laos, Vietnam, Uganda, Ghana, Cameroon (Finalised support: Benin, Bolivia, Albania, Niger)

Future plans

In its latest strategy paper, SNV has identified three sectors in which it aims to improve the living conditions of marginalised groups: local governance; natural resource management; private sector development. Of late, tourism has obtained a prominent place among these activities with its close links to both natural resource management and private sector development. SNV will support tourism-related work in the future set within this framework.

TEN

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Tourism Watch

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Website: www.tourism-watch.org

Transverses

7 Rue Herault
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E-mail: transverses@wanadoo.fr

Glossary

Concepts

Sustainable Tourism is...

tourism and associated infrastructures that, both now and in the future

- operate within natural capacities for the regeneration and future productivity of natural resources
- recognise the contribution that people and communities, customs and lifestyles make to the tourism experience
- accept that these people must have an equitable share in the economic benefits of tourism
- are guided by the wishes of local people and communities in the host areas (from *Beyond the Green Horizon, WWF and Tourism Concern, 1992*)

Fair Trade

targets disadvantaged communities to enable them to be involved in international trade, for the purpose of poverty elimination. (*Traidcraft*)

Ethical Trade

aims at mainstream stores to ensure that internationally recognised minimum labour standards, in particular fundamental human rights in the work place are observed at all stages of the production process.

Fair Trade Movement

Fair Trade importing organisations in Europe and America (mostly NGOs) buying products from small producers in the South, paying them a fair price and assisting them with product development, marketing education and training, sharing skills etc. (*European Fair Trade Association, EFTA*)

Fair Trade Criteria (for commodities, such as coffee)

Fair price, long-term trade relationship, advance payments, premium added to price for community benefit, no middlemen but direct trading relationship.

Equitable trade/tourism

Fair and just trade/tourism that recognises equal importance of financial and non-financial investment from stakeholders, and relies on partnerships based on mutual trust and respect.

Free Trade

Trade in which goods can be imported and exported without any barriers in the form of tariffs, physical quotas or any kind of restriction. (*Cho, 1995*)

Liberalisation

Governments open up domestic sectors and invite foreign investment to compete with domestic businesses.

Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)

FDI in tourism involves ownership of tour operators and travel agencies abroad, either in the form of joint ownership, majority ownership through equity capital or complete ownership. It implies a lasting interest in an enterprise in a host country.

Joint venture

Business partnership based on contractual revenue sharing, co-management and complete transparency between partners.

Economic Growth Theory

Economies of scale (volume and size) determine rapid economic growth for which highly unequal distributions are necessary. The natural trickle-down process deals with poverty alleviation. (*Todaro, 2000*).

Core-periphery dependency theory

Theories of dependency and under-development elaborate the historical relationships of the core to the periphery – the industrialised metropoles to the agricultural economies of the developing countries (Hall, 1994). Centres or metropoles exploit peripheries or satellites through the mechanism of unequal exchange. (*Harrison, 1992*).

Terms

'niche' product

product catering for a minority market.

kite mark

official mark of quality and reliability, in the form of a kite, on articles approved by the British Standards Institution.

eco-label

environmental market information tool (quality label), self-regulating, indicating use of environmental management systems by companies.

trade barrier

a requirement for an eco-label would act as a trade barrier if it prevented a developing country from gaining market access because it lacks the resources to implement expensive environmental production and management procedures.

Organisations

Fair Trade Foundation

licenses and promotes Fair Trade Mark in UK as an indicator that products are giving 'a better deal to Third World Producers' and by developing procedures by which companies can monitor and improve working conditions amongst their Third World suppliers. (*Annual Report 1997/98*)

Ethical Trading Initiative (ETI)

an alliance of companies, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and trade union organisations collaborating on identification and promotion of internationally recognised labour standards (in particular fundamental human rights) throughout global supply chains. (*ETI Membership Information, 1998*)

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www.abta.co.uk
Provides some information about the organisation and its activities, but nothing on ABTA's involvement with Corporate Social Responsibility or Sustainable Tourism. For further information contact ABTA office, Sustainable Tourism Manager.

Association of Independent Tour Operators (AITO)
www.aito.co.uk
Provides information on the Association's Quality Charter. For further information on their policy on responsible tourism contact the AITO office, Responsible Tourism Committee chair.

Department for International Development (DFID)
www.dfid.gov.uk www.challengefunds.org
Website of the British Government Department for International Development (DFID), with a separate listing of the Challenge Funds available from DFID, research on pro-poor tourism.

Pro-poor Tourism
www.pro-poortourism.org.uk

Global Reporting Initiative (GRI)
www.globalreporting.org
Information on sustainability reporting guidelines as part of an international multi-stakeholder effort to create a common framework for voluntary reporting on economic, environmental and social impact of organisation-level activity.

International Hotel Environment Initiative (IHEI)
www.ihei.org
Guidelines and technical assistance with the implementation of social and environmental policies, including case studies, for hotels

International Institute for Environment and Development
www.iied.org
Citing current research being carried out by IIED on tourism and conservation and pro-poor tourism

International Labour Organisation (ILO)
www.ilo.org
Information on International Labour Standards and Human Rights, resources, guidelines for multinational enterprises, gender promotion and social finance.

King Mahendra Trust for Nature Conservation
www.kmtnc.org.np
Website for the work of the KMTNC in Nepal and ACAP

Oneworld
www.oneworld.org
Comprehensive international development, news, information and networking website. Links to many development organisations can be made through this site.

Overseas Development Institute
www.oneworld.org/odi/
Listings of the current research work/working papers of the ODI is available on this site.

Planeta
www.planeta.com
Website filled with information and recent studies regarding eco-tourism in the Americas, and links to organisations working with indigenous peoples.

Tourism Concern
www.tourismconcern.org.uk
Postings of all current work of Tourism Concern can be found on this site, including that of the Fair Trade in Tourism Network.

Tour Operators Initiative for Sustainable Development (UNEP, UNESCO, WTO/OMT)
www.toinitiative.org
www.uneptie.org/tourism
Statement of commitment and Programme of activities

UN Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD)
Department for Economic and Social Affairs
www.un.org\esa\sustdev
Contains information on all previous CSD meetings since 1993, including official reports, background papers, case study and success story collections, reports submitted by governments on their sustainable development activities, papers on Agenda 21 themes and links to partner organisations.

UN Convention in Biological Diversity
www.biodiv.org
Large site providing information, reports and decisions from previous conventions, and notice of forthcoming meetings.

UN Environment Programme (UNEP)
www.unep.org
Information on biodiversity, technical assistance, sustainable development

United Nations Environment and Development UK Committee (UNED-UK)
www.uned-uk.org
Website representing UNED-UK's work and including listings and access to summaries of reports and working papers.

5.4 Kalisch, A. (2002)

Corporate Futures: Social Responsibility in the Tourism Industry, London: Tourism Concern

This book was written as a 'Best Practice' guide for consultation in the tourism industry, specifically tour operators in the UK. Business ethics and CSR had been emerging frameworks at the time in other industries, such as banking, mining and retail. The analysis in the book is based on the argument that the tourism industry, with its increasing global reach, was lagging behind in its engagement with business ethics and CSR. It provides an evaluation of CSR in the practical tourism context for tour operators and practical recommendations for improving and implementing CSR policies, specifically for tourism in developing countries.

The focus on tour operators was intentional, as it was important to narrow down the target audience to the circle of influence that Tourism Concern had access to, as well as prioritising the intermediaries with the responsibility of controlling international tourism flows and relationships within destinations. The International Network on Fair Trade in Tourism had included representatives from ABTA, AITO and individual tour operators, such as Thomson Holidays, British Airways, First Choice and Airtours, as well as a number of representatives from independent operators, such as Exodus, Explore, Sunvil Travel, Tribes Travel and Dragoman. Overall, in 2000, there were 23 representatives from UK and other European companies on the Network, only 4 were based in the South. The publication is informed by an industry focus group meeting in 1999, an international forum in 2000, specifically aimed at industry stakeholders, to discuss putting Fair Trade in Tourism into practice, a steering group of Tourism Concern (myself) and industry representatives to steer the research for the paper, semi-structured interviews with individual practitioners and a qualitative questionnaire sent out to ten selected tour operators and all three trade associations, the then Federation of Tour Operators, the Association of Independent Tour Operators (AITO) and ABTA. The questionnaire focused on the implementation of Corporate Social Responsibility policies. Given the

pioneering nature of this undertaking, it was not surprising that responses to the questionnaire were scarce and, at times, defensive. This is supported by the following quote from one of the trade associations:

> *"I have decided that I will not be answering your questions. I am currently giving this whole issue some thought and until that process has been completed it would be inappropriate to respond. My initial concerns are that too much effort is being expanded by A telling B what C should tell D to do. Also I am concerned at the variety of projects being operated without any co-ordination. Additionally, I am not convinced that some people have sufficient understanding of this extremely complex subject (and that certainly includes me) to ensure that recommendations are soundly based. In all three cases this seems a very unsustainable way of going about a very important topic.*" (pers. e-mail comm., 20 Sept. 2001)

The steering group considered it important to win the support of the industry for CSR with this publication (rather than taking a defensive stance, as Tourism Concern was seen as a threat in some industry circles). The intention was to motivate them into action by celebrating and building on industry achievements in sustainable tourism through the use of case studies of good practice. The original concept of 'fair trade' embodies a conscientisation process (Freire, 1972) on development issues, originated by development organisations. Bringing this process into the profit-making business arena of mass tourism businesses was a pioneering initiative. It was thus important to use a language and conceptual approach that was accessible to a business oriented audience. This publication therefore translates the fair trade in tourism concept into the business understanding of Corporate Social Responsibility. As the publication was initiated by an NGO, albeit in collaboration with industry practitioners, it was intended to provide a starting point for discussion and consultation with the industry. Tourism Concern was wary of seemingly prescribing any action points to the industry,

as they would be able to reject any recommendations from a non-commercial organisation, inexperienced in the commercial pressures of business survival. Furthermore, Tourism Concern had been publicly critical of tourism industry practices and was disposed to running public campaigns against those practices. Cognisant of these sensitivities and the fact that the business community was always busy and not easily persuaded to read lengthy papers in the rush for profit, I was concerned to make it as concise, jargon-free, realistic, positive and user-friendly with colourful and clearly structured design. It had to offer the balanced approach of a practitioner paper with academic credibility, providing relevant evidence to the arguments. However, as explained in Chapter Three, it was obviously not as user-friendly as Tearfund's eight page CSR guide.

The book has been reviewed by Johnson (2004) in the *International Journal of Tourism Research*, Volume 6 and by Schwartz (2005) in the *Tourism Management* journal, Volume 26. Both reviewers praise its practical usefulness and jargon-free style, providing *'unobtrusive, yet readily available references'* (Schwartz, 2005:296). Schwartz states:

> *As the first publication to address CSR issues in tourism, it can also be reasonably expected to become heralded as a landmark publication in furthering debate on CSR* (Schwartz, 2005:297).

Johnson (2004:378) welcomes the *'straightforward and easy to read style'* of the book and the *'simple, yet thorough manner',* in which the concept of CSR is introduced.

As a critique, Schwartz (2005) points out some gaps in the research in relation to conflicting evidence of financial benefits of CSR, the legal implications, and the limited information on methodology (which is related to the fact that it is not an academic document), while Johnson (2004) refers to the need for more detailed costings and a longer document, enabling more detailed discussion. However, as mentioned above, the style was

intentionally succinct for the time-poor business community. Costings are difficult to obtain from businesses, sensitive about commercial confidentiality. Moreover, Tourism Concern's limited budget for the publication would not have allowed a more comprehensive volume.

Judging from anecdotal feedback and personal communication from members of the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC), who asserted that it was an important resource for them, the booklet seems to have achieved its aim. However, only an extensive consultation process following its publication, including a quantitative survey, could have established with certainty the level of its influence on the industry. Even then it is questionable whether many businesses would have conceded being influenced by Tourism Concern.

In 2003, supported by funding from the Foreign and Commonwealth office, it served as a basis for further collaborative work with ABTA, First Choice and the then Co-operative Travelcare, assisting them with first steps of implementing CSR. It is worth noting that, since those first beginnings, key players within the tourism industry have pro-actively adopted explicit ethical discourses and strategies on environmental and social sustainability. Such discourses, however, are constantly exposed to revision, under threat of succumbing to shallow marketing rhetoric and the vagaries of the volatile capitalist markets, which prescribe corporate growth, concentration and expansion, fuelled by a low cost mentality.

corporate futures

Consultation on good practice

SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY IN THE TOURISM INDUSTRY

corporate futures

Consultation on good practice

SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY IN THE TOURISM INDUSTRY

A CONSULTATION PAPER
RESEARCHED AND WRITTEN
BY **ANGELA KALISCH** FOR
TOURISM CONCERN

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Tourism Concern is a membership organisation founded in 1989 to focus concern on the impact of tourism, particularly in developing countries. It aims to promote greater understanding of the impact of tourism on environments and host communities and to promote tourism that is just, sustainable and participatory. Its members come from the tourism industry, non-governmental organisations, academia and the public.

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Foreword

The history of the tourism industry has been riddled with examples of bad practice, inadequate infrastructure, exploitation of those communities receiving visitors and lack of consideration for cultures, people and the environment. However, there is little benefit in pointing to bad practice unless it is to learn what to do better. With the world increasingly focusing on long-term sustainable development there is growing acceptance of the positive role that tourism can play in a sustainable society.

One aspect for any business to consider is that of the triple bottom line as part of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) – the part that social and environmental performance play in corporate well-being alongside financial performance. Whereas profit is the key to business performance, due attention must be paid to these other areas in order to stay in business. The major benefits from corporate responsibility programmes – covering the range of sustainability issues – are in risk management and enhancement of reputation, even though this does not often show up as a positive financial contribution. Many companies who have invested in CSR have particularly found this to be the case when their asset value is linked to brands.

The financial community is becoming more aware. With roughly one in eight dollars invested in funds that are subject to some form of ethical screening and the rapid growth of ethical investment in Europe and initiatives such as the Dow Jones Sustainability Index and the FTSE4Good, business is, like it or not, paying more attention to these sensitive issues.

Of course, tourism is a collective description of a vast range of activities and as such is difficult to deal with under a single heading. Some of those involved in this amalgam of interests might see CSR as a threat, while to many others the concept is still novel. It is certainly true that we do not understand some of the impacts that tourism can have. However, I am also convinced that the opposite holds: that an opportunity is opening up for the industry to make a huge positive contribution. By bringing people into contact with different cultures and environments, tourism improves our understanding of what is needed for responsible practice.

Some might be critical of air travel in terms of its potential impact on climate. This is a major issue that must be addressed and much work is already in hand. Others will be critical of some of the less desirable social aspects such as sex tourism or of economic exploitation. These, too, require more attention.

It is encouraging that there is a real will developing to address these issues on a broad base – for example through the UK's Sustainable Tourism Initiative in which a broad group of stakeholders is participating and which has already identified some key steps forward. Lessons learnt from the past are being taken on board. We should all be aware that in many parts of the world only tourism can provide the initial economic boost to fund basic health and education, which in turn lead to the virtuous cycle of economic growth and a stronger base for sustainability.

It is in this context that this guide provides a clear indication of the way forward.

Hugh Somerville
Head of Sustainable Business Unit
BRITISH AIRWAYS

Executive summary

Abstract:
This report examines the ways in which Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) policy and practice can bring economic success to tourism organisations whilst protecting the earth's resources and providing a better way of life to host communities. Tour operators in particular have a role and responsibility for creating the conditions for positive dynamics in the locations where they operate.

We examine how the principles of Corporate Social Responsibility and the main tool of the CSR framework, 'stakeholder engagement', could assist companies in fulfilling their social responsibility in destination management. Based on existing good practice in the industry and on international consultation, the report provides a range of practical suggestions for implementation of the social and economic responsibility of tour operators to ensure that policies can be matched by practice in the destination.

Corporate Social Responsibility and Tourism

Tourism is a significant contributor to economic growth and human development. It has brought prosperity and higher living standards to many people worldwide who would have had few economic options without tourism. It is widely accepted, however, that tourism can cause significant negative environmental, social and economic outcomes, in particular for those who live in poverty.

A significant number of corporations began to address environmental issues as part of sustainable development and introduced environmental reporting procedures in addition to financial reporting.

The concept of 'Fair Trade in Tourism' emerged in the late 1990s from the work of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) encouraged by the success of fair trade products such as coffee, bananas and crafts. Fair Trade in Tourism addresses the social and economic impacts of tourism in destinations through creating more equitable terms of trade and translates into Corporate Social Responsibility.

Since the mid-1990s, the concept of CSR has become an essential framework for changing management practice. This has happened against a background of decreasing public trust in business standards and ethical behaviour. Experience in a range of business sectors shows that CSR and ethical trade practice can be put into action without jeopardising profit levels and share prices; indeed, they can actually enhance them. The tourism industry has an excellent opportunity to take this on board.

This report examines the ways in which CSR policy and practice can bring economic success to tourism organisations whilst protecting the earth's resources and providing a better way of life to the people in tourist destinations.

Chapter 1 examines the concept of CSR, including its main management tools: stakeholder engagement and environmental and social reporting, and makes the business case for CSR.

Chapter 2 explores the principles of sustainable tourism and fair trade in tourism in relation to CSR, and makes the business case for CSR in tourism as a way of managing risk.

Chapter 3 highlights good practice in the tourism industry in sustainable tourism and points to some of the challenges in the implementation of CSR and sustainability in tourism destinations.

Chapter 4 explores practical tools for implementing CSR as part of tour operators' destination management systems. This is related to the integration of principles for social responsibility in destinations into organisational management structures, consultation and engagement of communities, and supplier relationships.

Introduction

Corporate Social Responsibility

Since the mid-1990s, the concept of Corporate Social Responsibility has become an essential framework for changing management practice. This has happened in order to regain consumer confidence against a background of decreasing public trust in business standards and ethical behaviour. Major industry players see the principles and practice of CSR as a tool and a pre-requisite for responsible and sustainable development of industrial and service operations.

CSR is based on the premise that sustainability[1] cannot be achieved without corporate acceptance of responsibility to society at large as well as to shareholders. Such responsibility has to be integrated into every aspect of corporate policy and practice. Major players in the business world now see this as an essential component of visionary good practice strategy.

The ethical behaviour and accountability of transnational corporations (TNCs) is particularly relevant in the context of foreign investment and liberalisation, enshrined in international trade agreements such as the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). Underlining this, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) has recently published a manual on 'Global Citizenship' for exporting companies[2]. This manual emphasises the need for companies to act responsibly in host countries and to incorporate ethical principles into their business practice, such as respect for human rights and anti-corrupt behaviour[3]. Furthermore the European Parliament passed a resolution in 1999 to create a legally binding framework for regulating European transnational corporations operating in developing countries, including their adherence to human rights principles[4].

In December 2000, the UK government publicly stated its commitment to CSR and to ethical trade, underlining the power and responsibility of TNCs towards economic development in host countries[5]. This commitment was emphasised by the appointment of a government minister specifically responsible for CSR.

A significant number of corporations have begun to rise to the challenge of CSR by addressing their impact on the environment as part of their business strategies and introducing environmental as well as financial reporting procedures. Around 70% of the FTSE 100 corporations now publish formal environmental reports[6]. These are increasingly matched with reports on social responsibility, addressing issues ranging from the rights of producers, workers and local communities to the economic benefits from globalised trade, such as fair competition, fair prices and fair wages and working conditions. Social reporting has been spearheaded by fair and ethical trade organisations, such as Traidcraft, the Fair Trade Foundation (FTF) and the Ethical Trading Initiative (ETI)[7].

Companies whose activities have a high environmental impact (such as the chemical, extractive and nuclear industries) have been forced to examine their environmental and human rights track records, either as a result of pressure from non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and consumers or in the wake of major disasters affecting their workers and local communities. Some have been presented with lawsuits. Retail companies such as Nike and Gap have faced public criticism over human rights issues and poor workers' conditions in the companies they source from; supermarkets,

1| **sustainable develop**
'development that mee
needs of the present w
compromising the abili
future generations to n
their own needs'
'Our Common Future'
Brundtland Report, 198

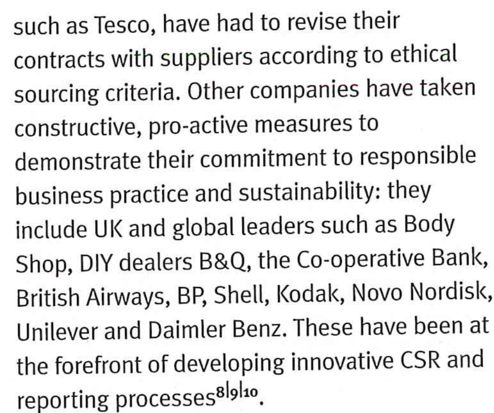
2|3 Recommended as a
concise overview of glo
citizenship for busines
providing many useful
www.fco.gov.uk

4| *Human Rights – Is it your business?* p.80
Amnesty International a
Prince Of Wales Busine
Forum, 2000

5| White Paper on Inter
Development, 2000

6| 'Developing Corpora
Responsibility in the UK
Business and Society, D

7| For further informati
these initiatives see pa



such as Tesco, have had to revise their contracts with suppliers according to ethical sourcing criteria. Other companies have taken constructive, pro-active measures to demonstrate their commitment to responsible business practice and sustainability: they include UK and global leaders such as Body Shop, DIY dealers B&Q, the Co-operative Bank, British Airways, BP, Shell, Kodak, Novo Nordisk, Unilever and Daimler Benz. These have been at the forefront of developing innovative CSR and reporting processes[8|9|10].

CSR in the Tourism Business

While the tourism industry has made some headway in addressing environmental sustainability, major integrated tourism companies in the UK are at present missing from this list. In this report we argue that a CSR framework that incorporates social and economic responsibility as part of destination management provides a useful and profitable tool for the tourism industry to fulfil its sustainable development role in 'meeting the needs of the present' while improving 'the ability of future generations worldwide to meet their own needs'. Owing to tourism's global embrace and its interconnectedness with other sectors, tourism organisations have considerable power to promote positive change worldwide. Their role in demonstrating operational responsibility and accountability is therefore of prime importance.

The experience of major TNCs in other sectors shows that implementing CSR policies and practice can be both a cost-effective and economically viable management strategy that should be taken for granted as good business practice. While it is recognised that generating profit and dividends for shareholders is the prime objective of business, strategies for the re-investment of profits into sustainable development offer an excellent opportunity to apply CSR principles creatively.

This report examines the ways in which CSR policy and practice can bring economic success to tourism organisations whilst protecting the earth's resources and providing a better way of life to the people in destinations.

Focus of this publication:

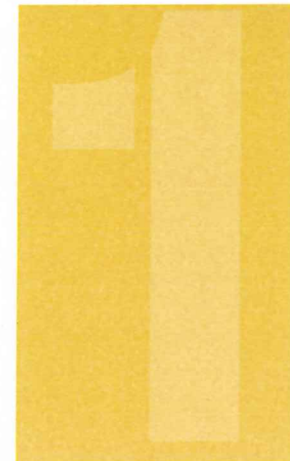
- This publication outlines the business case for Corporate Social Responsibility in the tourism industry. This is discussed in reference to other frameworks, particularly Fair Trade in Tourism.
- It examines corporate social and economic responsibility as well as the environmental aspects of CSR.
- It identifies some of the priority stakeholders in tourism and examines the application of the concepts of stakeholder consultation, stakeholder engagement and stakeholder rights – key elements of CSR and Fair Trade in Tourism.
- It suggests actions that can be taken to implement CSR in tourism, in particular as concerns external social and economic issues in tourism destinations.

It is hoped that this consultation document will encourage the many players in the tourism industry to adopt Corporate Social Responsibility as part of modern progressive management practice in regard to social, economic and environmental sustainability.

8| *Corporate Social Responsibility: Meeting changing expectations* WBCSD, 1998 www.wbcsd.ch

9| *Introduction to CSR*, p.1 Business for Social Responsibility, 2000 www.bsr.org

10| *Engaging with Stakeholders*, p.1 UNEP/SustainAbility, 1996



The **concept** of corporate social **responsibility**

DEFINING CSR

:orporate Social Responsibility (CSR) has
oeen interpreted and defined by a number
of different organisations. For example, the
JS-based global resource centre, Business
'or Social Responsibility, defines CSR as:
*'operating a business in a manner that meets
or exceeds the ethical, legal, commercial
ınd public expectations that society has
of business'.*[11]

The World Business Council for Sustainable
)evelopment (WBCSD), a coalition of 120
nternational companies, conducted a multi-
stakeholder dialogue in the Netherlands in
.998. Their report[12] highlights that CSR is
driven by a commitment to:
*human rights, employee rights,
environmental protection, community
nvolvement, supplier relations,
stakeholder rights and monitoring'*
ınd concludes that:
*Corporate Social Responsibility is the
continuing commitment by business to
behave ethically and contribute to economic
levelopment while improving the quality
of life of the workforce and their families
is well as of the local community and
ociety at large.'*

'hese definitions challenge business values
nd management practices in every area
f a company's activities. CSR involves a
omprehensive set of policies, practices and
rogrammes that are integrated into every
rea of a business's operations through
he support and commitment of top
nanagement.[13] This contrasts with traditional
erceptions in the business world which have
iewed corporate responsibility either as
hilanthropy motivated by public relations
considerations or by the need to maximise
shareholder dividends.

From shareholders to stakeholders

The main shift in emphasis of CSR is from the traditional responsibility of business to its shareholders (owners and financial investors) to a responsibility to stakeholders and society at large. Stakeholders are individuals who have a concerned and vested interest in a company's operations and may include employees, customers, suppliers/partners, local communities and civil society[14] at home or abroad.

CSR incorporates a multi-way, interactive, and ongoing process of engagement and consultation with stakeholders directly and indirectly involved in or affected by the activities of the corporation. This process determines the priorities of a company's policy and practice as well as its approach to accountability[15].

Transparency and accountability[16] are key elements of CSR. Accountability in this context extends beyond the traditional accountability to the owners and to contract partners of the business to include the public and stakeholders. Commitment to accountability within CSR demonstrates the company's acceptance of the fact that its success depends on a complex web of interconnected social and political factors. Annual company reports based on the CSR framework contain not only information on financial but also on environmental and social performance. This is called the 'triple bottom line'[17]. Performance indicators of the triple bottom line are established through a consultation process with a company's stakeholders.

The monitoring and verification of performance can be undertaken both by external verification and by consultation,

11|13 *Introduction to CSR*, p.1
Business for Social Responsibility, 2000
www.bsr.org

12| *Meeting changing expectations: Corporate Social Responsibility*
World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD), Switzerland, 1999
www.wbcsd.ch

14| **civil society:**
non-governmental organisations (NGOs), church groups, residents' associations, women's groups, campaign groups etc.

15| *Engaging with Stakeholders*, UNEP/SustainAbility, 1996

16| **accountability:**
'to explain or justify the acts and omissions for which one is responsible to people with a legitimate interest.'
Also: 'a broader obligation of responsiveness.'
Institute of Social and Ethical Accountability, 2001
www.accountability.org.uk

17| **triple bottom line:**
'performance, measurement and reporting on financial, environmental and social impact'
Accountability Quarterly, 3rd quarter 2000, p.5,
Institute of Social and Ethical Accountability

PRINCIPLES OF CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY[18]

1994 The **Caux principles:** Issued by a roundtable of senior business leaders from Europe, Japan and North America.

1998 The **Principles for Global Corporate Responsibility:** Developed by the Interfaith Centre, they contain around 60 principles and a number of benchmarks for voluntary external verification. www.iccr.org

1999 **Global Sullivan Principles:** Written by Reverend Leon Sullivan and influenced by the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa. Developed further to apply globally with the input of several multi-national companies. www.globalsullivanprinciples.org

2000 The **OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises**, which are binding agreements by governments for enterprises, designed to promote corporate ethical behaviour by companies operating in or from their territory. www.oecd.org

2000 The **Global Compact:** Launched by the UN covering nine principles on human rights, labour and environment. www.unglobalcompact.org

It should be noted that all these principles are voluntary and non-binding and contain no formal mechanisms for compliance. Yet without a credible process of independently monitoring and verifying commitments, any such principles run the risk of becoming marketing ploys rather than sincere changes.

18| Further information: *The OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises and Global Instruments for Corporate Responsibility* Gordon, K., 16 May 2001 www.oecd.org

inviting stakeholders' comments. A gradual staged process of setting targets and providin opportunities for improvement is clearly set o in annual reports.

In the context of CSR, financial priorities are no longer the sole determinants of business success but are backed up by a process of forming partnerships and initiating debate an dialogue with stakeholder groups. The outcon of this process is incorporated into company decision-making processes and strategies.

Recognising the benefits of involving peopl who have no direct financial stake but who ma be affected by a company's activities requires fundamental shift in corporate thinking and organisational culture.

stakeholder:
'a person, group or institution having a stake in the outcome of a situation or decision – employees, owners, suppliers/business partners, customers, and local communities affected by a corporation's activities.'

Environment Council, 200

stakeholder engagement:
'a new form of partnership in support of sustainable development, involving transparent dialogue, debate and change, initiated by organisations as part of a social and environmental reporting procedure.'

UNEP/ Sustainability, 1996[1]

CSR PRINCIPLES

There are a variety of principles relating to CSR which have been developed by different organisations in the private, public and volunta sectors. These principles cover a number of cor areas, primarily relating to environmental and social responsibility (see side bar opposite).

Accountability within CSR

Corporate Environmental Social Reporting

Publishing policy is one thing; implementing it and being able to prove compliance to that policy is harder, but only the latter ultimately forms the basis for credibility and trust among consumers and investors. Environmental and social reporting is crucial for demonstrating compliance to CSR.

'The objective of a social report should be to inform society about the extent to which actions for which an organisation is held responsible have been fulfilled.'

Gray, 1987[19]

Reports can only be credible, however, if they have been verified by an independent organisation. This is all the more important as there is currently no legal obligation for businesses to account for social and environmental impact. Unless reports are adequately verified or alternatively reflect visible honesty, their credibility will have to be questioned. Without legal obligation the incentive lies in increased corporate efficiency, market leadership and enhanced reputation.

Corporate Environmental Reporting has been used since the mid-1990s. The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) describes this as a management tool to measure and report on sustainable environmental performance according to 50 indicators or 'ingredients', included in five core areas:

1. MANAGEMENT POLICY AND SYSTEMS
2. INPUT/OUTPUT INVENTORY
3. FINANCE
4. STAKEHOLDER RELATIONS
5. SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

UNEP/Sustainability[15], 1996

THERE ARE EIGHT CORE ELEMENTS, WHICH UNITE THE PRINCIPLES DEVELOPED BY DIFFERENT ORGANISATIONS:

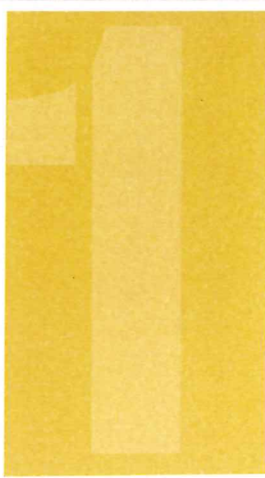
Core areas of CSR use:

1. **Accountability** (in stakeholder engagement, reporting on environmental and human rights issues, performance related to standards)
2. **Business Conduct** (competitive conduct, corruption and bribery, proprietary information, intellectual property rights, political activities)
3. **Community Involvement** (community economic development, employment of local and/or under-utilised workers, philanthropy)
4. **Corporate Governance** (rights of shareholders, conduct of executive boards)
5. **Environment** (Precautionary Principle, input/output, stakeholder engagement, training of employees, management systems, public policy, sustainable development)
6. **Human Rights** (indigenous peoples' rights, health and safety, child/forced labour, freedom of association, wages ('living wage'[20]) and benefits, working conditions, discipline)
7. **Marketplace/Consumers** (marketing/advertising, product quality and/or safety, consumer privacy)
8. **Workplace/Employees** (non-discrimination, training, harassment/abuse, downsizing, child/elder care, maternity/paternity leave)

Source: Gordon, K. (2001)[18]

19| *Corporate Social Reporting. Accounting and Accountability*, Gray, R. et al, London, 1987

20| **living wage:** 'wages and benefits paid for a standard working week meet, at a minimum, national legal standards or industry benchmark standards, whichever are higher. Wages should always be enough to meet basic needs and to provid[e] some discretionary income.' Ethical Trading Initiative, 1998



In the late 1990s, social reporting was added to environmental reporting with the emergence of the concept of the 'triple bottom line' (see page 9).

Programmes for implementation include the Global Reporting Initiative (GRI), a framework of indicators for reporting on economic, environmental and social performance. This international voluntary reporting standard[21] was developed (October 2000) by the Coalition of Environmentally Responsible Economies (CERES) consisting of NGOs, corporations, accounting firms and academics. Other management systems for social and ethical auditing include the new standard for Accountability AA1000 developed by the Institute of Social and Ethical Accountability, which requires stakeholder consultation at each stage of the process of embedding accountability into an organisation[22].

As corporate environmental and social reporting is voluntary, practices differ widely and research conducted by the New Economics Foundation in 2000 found that although large blue chip companies and those in the ethical sector now commonly issue environmental and social reports, there are huge discrepancies between 'what some of them say versus what they actually do'[23]. Moreover, the voluntary nature of these reports makes it difficult to distinguish between a public relations exercise and credible evidence. In Britain, where a review of company law is currently consulting on whether to put stronger emphasis on environmental and social reporting responsibilities for company directors, calls for mandatory reporting are increasing[24].

Clearly, the issue of voluntary accountability and the gap between policy and practice represent major challenges to be addressed by corporations if CSR is to command any credibility with stakeholders and civil society.

Company reports which have been produced as part of an interactive process with stakeholders, based on issues which are of concern to society at large, have many benefits. They are more interesting to the public and the media than financial reports alone. Such reports can provide a company with competitive advantage, enabling business partners, employees and customers to make positive choices for one company in preference to another. Another benefit is that it 'serves as a catalyst for the evolution of internal management systems, the improvement of performance and the emergence of new forms of accountability'[15]. Environmental and social reporting reflects the process of working towards measurable performance targets, encouraging a company to review existing values and procedures and to find new, imaginative and creative ways of making the company more efficient and thus more profitable.

THE BUSINESS CASE FOR CSR

Implementing Corporate Social Responsibility as a progressive management strategy makes common business sense. This is borne out by political and economic developments both in the UK and elsewhere in Europe.

Socially responsible investment (SRI)

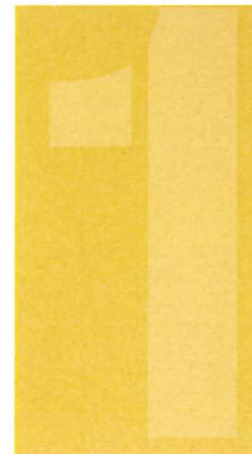
Investment and financial markets now reward ethical trade practice and reporting on the basis of ethical indicators: businesses floated on the London Stock Exchange face the challenge of being monitored against their ethical principles and practices since the release of a new set of ethical investment indices by FTSE International (July 2001).

21| www.globalreporting.org

22| Institute of Social and Ethical Accountability; and *Human Rights – Is it any of your business?* Amnesty International and the Prince of Wales Business Leaders Forum, 2000, p.78

23| *Corporate Spin – the troubled teenage years of social reporting* Doane, D., New Economics Foundation, London, 2000

24| Co-operative Bank pers. communication, 2001



The new 'FTSE4Good Index' is based on the UN Global Compact[25] and the Declaration of Human Rights[26] and lists companies considered suitable for 'socially responsible investment' (SRI).

Already a number of major companies have been taken off the FTSE4Good index because their policy and practices do not comply with the criteria. Their share prices have consequently fallen[27].

According to EIRIS (Ethical Investment Research Service), the amount of UK money in ethical funds has soared from less than £320m ten years ago to £3.7 billion held by more than 500,000 investors today[28]. In the US, ethical and socially responsible investment rose by 82% between 1997 and 1999. The financial returns from such investment are said to be as competitive if not better than investment in funds which have no ethical criteria[29].

Numerous studies in the US and UK show that corporations making a public commitment to an ethical code of practice and using stakeholder engagement outperformed companies that did not do so by two to three times, as measured by market value[11]. One analysis in the US compared 25 companies with ethical policies and regarded as 'stakeholder superstars' over a period of 15 years with companies using solely financial performance (Standard & Poor 500) indicators. The analysis shows that the companies managing stakeholder relationships outperformed the companies using solely financial market indicators by more than double over the past 15 years (43% for 'stakeholder superstars', over 19% for S&P 500)[30].

Consumer demand for fair and ethical trade

Consumers who use ethical criteria in their buying decisions and who are prepared to boycott unethical companies are on the increase. A Mori survey (2000) for the Co-operative Bank found that a quarter of the population have actively sought information on company policies and practices, three in five people said they looked for a product label with ethical qualities and half chose products because of the manufacturers' responsible reputation. About the same proportion has boycotted products because of bad reputations. Among concerns for ethical issues, the treatment of employees and the use of child labour have the highest profiles[31].

The concepts of fair and ethical trade have focused on the need for businesses to secure a fair deal for producers and workers in developing countries. The Fair Trade Foundation (FTF) has been instrumental in developing the fair trade kitemark for products such as coffee, tea and chocolate, based on criteria such as fair price[32], equitable partnerships and a premium for community development. Products labelled 'Fair Trade' are increasingly successful in mainstream markets[33] and provide consumers with tangible ways of benefiting producers and communities in developing countries. Fair Trade ground coffee, for example, had a market share of 7.8% by value in 2001. Fair Trade marked products increased in value by 57% in 2000 over 1999, and the first six months in 2001 indicated 50% growth over the same period in 2000[34].

The Ethical Trading Initiative (ETI), an alliance of companies, non-governmental organisations and trade unions was set up in 1997, supported by the UK government, to improve labour conditions in the global supply chains. Companies such as ASDA stores, Levi Strauss, Marks & Spencer and J Sainsbury are members of the ETI, committed to implementing a base code on wages and working conditions.

25| UN Global Compact: Nine principles for corporations on respect for human rights, labour rights and the environment www.unglobalcompact.org

26| The UN's Core Human Rights Instruments can be found at www.un.org

27| Market Report Clark, M., 11 July 2001 http://uk.biz.yahoo.com

28| Goodway, N., 10 July 2001 http://uk.biz.yahoo.com

29| 'Shareholders acting up', 31 July 2001 http://uk.news.yahoo.com

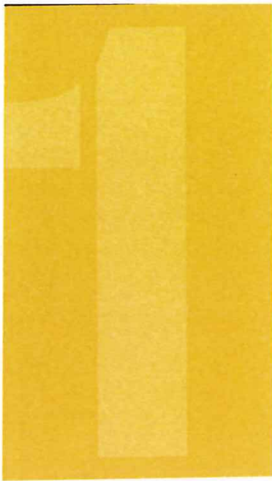
30| Schmidt, J.A. 2000, in *Conversations with Disbelievers: Persuading Companies to address Social Challenges* p.40 Weiser, J. and Zadek, S., 2000

31| *Who are the ethical consumers?* Cowe, R. & Williams, S. The Co-operative Bank, 2000

32| **fair price:** a percentage above the world price

33| One major supermarket chain saw a 121% increase in the volume of Fair Trade products over the last year (1999). *Fair Trade: Overview, Impact, Challenges* (Oxford Policy Management, 2000)

34| FTF pers. communication, 12 November 2001



Fair Trade products are stocked by supermarkets such as Sainsbury, ASDA, Waitrose and Somerfield[35]. Demand for ethical trade increases in line with product availability on the market[34].

The experience of this range of businesses shows that CSR and ethical trade practices can be put into action without jeopardising profit levels and share prices. On the contrary, CSR can actually enhance share prices and economic success. Far from distracting from the main objective of making a profit, CSR is a beneficial and innovative business strategy incorporated into every area of a company's management procedures. The tourism industry has an excellent opportunity to take this on board.

Ethical Trading Initiative (ETI) work base code:

Work with suppliers and service providers to adhere to internationally agreed labour standards, such as

- the right to freedom of association
- safe and hygienic working conditions
- no child labour and/or policies to provide education and training for children
- living wages and reasonable working hours
- no discrimination
- no harsh and inhumane treatment or harassment

Source: ETI, 1998

35| *Facts and figures of the Fair Trade Sector in 16 European Countries* European Fair Trade Association (EFTA), 1998

Corporate social responsibility in tourism

Tourism is a significant contributor to economic growth and human development. It has brought prosperity and higher living standards to many people worldwide who would have had few economic options without it. However, it is widely accepted that tourism, within the context of modern development, can cause significant negative environmental, social and economic outcomes, in particular for people and communities[36] who live in poverty.

The Earth Summit in 1992 put sustainable development in general on the world agenda and the term 'sustainable tourism' came out of that. As with any sustainable development, sustainable tourism combines social, environmental and economic factors.

Most of the positive initiatives by the tourism industry undertaken since 1992 have focused on improving environmental management through technical innovation and energy efficiency. While this is undeniably important, it is not the whole picture. The social and economic effects of tourism in destinations are just as significant, yet have received less attention.

To date, the tourism industry in general and more specifically the major tour operators, have neither been scrutinised under the FTSE4Good Index (see page 13) nor by the media. It is surely only a matter of time before they are called to account by the public for their ethical performance. As we have seen, consumers now demand more ethical behaviour from businesses in general, which have responded by putting CSR policies into practice. In the tourism business, tour operators should, as a matter of urgency, seriously consider implementing social and economic responsibility practices in destinations.

As a service industry using people and environments at national and international level, tourism bears major responsibilities for sustainable development and respect for human rights in destinations. Issues of human rights and economic benefit to local[37] communities within tourism development have largely been neglected in the practice of major tourism corporations in their destination management. Alternatively, they have been shrouded in statements of charitable fundraising and donations.

Sustainable tourism

One of the most influential guidelines on sustainable tourism for the industry is Agenda 21 of the Travel and Tourism Industry, produced by the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC), the World Tourism Organisation (WTO) and the Earth Council in 1995. However, this focuses on guidelines for environmental sustainability in the context of energy efficiency, waste management, pollution reduction and natural resource management. Although the need for a partnership approach, involving and benefiting local host communities and other groups in the implementation of environmental policies is referred to as an essential component of sustainable tourism, little practical advice exists as to how community involvement may be put into action.

Sustainable tourism embraces a systematic and integrated approach to the environmental, as well as social and economic effects of corporate trade activities within destination management. This was emphasised in *Beyond the Green Horizon – Principles for Sustainable Tourism*[38] which highlights the need for tourism development to be:

'guided by the wishes of local people, recognising the contribution that people, customs and lifestyles make to the tourism

36| **community:**
a community can be defi[...] by scale, sector, interest, of power and by numero[...] other features which exp[...] its diversity and heteroge[...] In the context of sustaina[...] tourism and this report t[...] term defines local people interest groups, including not involved in, but affect[...] by, tourism.

37| **local:**
indigenous, resident in th[...] immediate or wider area [...] tourism location, or from [...] country itself.

38| *Beyond the Green Hori[...] Principles for Sustainable Tourism*, Eber, S. ed, 1992 A discussion paper publis[...] Tourism Concern/WWF

Respect for Human Rights

UNITED NATIONS DEFINITION OF HUMAN RIGHTS:

'...those rights which are inherent in our nature and without which we cannot live as human beings. They are rights, which enable people to fully develop and utilize their innate qualities, such as intelligence and talent, and to satisfy deeper needs, such as spirituality. Human rights are the foundation for the quality of life in which each individual's inherent dignity and worth will receive due respect and protection.'

Human Rights relevant to tour operators:

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS:

Article: 13 The right to freedom of movement

Article: 17 The right to land, water and resources

Article: 22 The right to respect and dignity in the economic, social and cultural sphere

Article: 25 The right to a standard of living adequate for good health and well-being

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION ON THE RIGHTS OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES:

Part III, para 14: Indigenous people have the right to maintain their distinctive and profound relationship with their lands.

DECLARATION FOR SOCIAL PROGRESS AND DEVELOPMENT:

Article: 12 Elimination of all forms of economic exploitation, particularly that practised by international monopolies

experience, and recognising that local people must have an equitable share in the economic benefits of tourism'.

Principles of sustainable tourism – *Beyond The Green Horizon*, TourismConcern/WWF

1. Using resources sustainably
2. Reducing over-consumption and waste
3. Maintaining diversity
4. Integrating tourism into planning
5. Supporting local economies
6. Involving local communities
7. Consulting stakeholders and the public
8. Training staff
9. Marketing tourism responsibly
10. Undertaking research

The careful integration of sustainable tourism principles outlined above will lead to improve conditions in the destination, to ethical excellence and to greater commercial efficien and viability.

Social and economic issues in destinations

By examining some of the social and econom issues arising from tourism development in destinations, particularly in developing countries, it is possible to clarify the prioritie for sustainable tourism strategies for the international tourism industry.

International tourism in developing countries, driven by large transnational tourist corporations (TTCs), has been largely promoted as part of 'structural adjustment' and 'poverty reduction strategies'[39] introduced by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Measures under these strategie have included export promotion, the devaluation of national currencies, public spending cuts and wage freezes. The

39| **poverty reduction strategies:** economic measures for countries indebted to the IMF and too far in arrears with their repayments to generate finance for repayment of debts. These measures placed particular emphasis on generating income from exports and cutting back on public expenditure. Since tourism generates valuable foreign currency it has become a major economic sector (in some cases the only export sector) in most of the heavily indebted countries.

PRINCIPLES and criteria of Fair Trade in Tourism	Core elements of CSR
1. Fair Trade partnerships between tourism and hospitality investors and local communities	*accountability, business conduct*
2. Fair share of benefits for local stakeholders	*community involvement* *business conduct* *marketplace/consumers*
3. Fair Trade between tourists and local people	*marketplace/consumers*
4. Fair and sustainable use of natural resources	*environment*
5. Fair wages and working conditions	*human rights* *workplace/employees*

European Commission and the Department for International Development). The network includes over 150 organisations from industry, NGOs and universities. The increasing popularity of the 'Fair Trade' label on products, such as coffee, tea and chocolate, provided an impetus to explore the possibilities for developing a fair trade label for holidays.

Experience, research and consultation within the INFTT show that tour operators can reduce the risk of financial loss by adopting fair trade policies and practices within the framework of CSR. The principles and criteria (above) highlight the areas where operators can make a real difference in improving destination management and reducing risk. As can be seen, the principles of 'Fair Trade in Tourism', overlap significantly with core elements of CSR.

Fair Trade in Tourism is a process which could eventually lead to the development of a verifiable fair trade tourism product and a label[42]. The five levels indicated below demonstrate the interconnectedness in tourism between different players; if tourism is to be fair, all these levels have to be addressed:

1. INTERNATIONAL TRADE AGREEMENTS: structured to enhance and promote sustainable development and to open access for poorer communities to international markets
2. TOURISM INDUSTRY: needs to accept responsibility for the effects it has in destinations and to be accountable to stakeholders
3. DESTINATION COMMUNITY STAKEHOLDERS: need to build their capacity for influencing tourism development and for participating on their own terms
4. CONSUMER BEHAVIOUR: consumers need to be well-informed and respect local communities
5. DESTINATION GOVERNMENT POLICIES: need to facilitate democratic and community-based tourism planning and development

Source: Kalisch, A. (200

42| *Tourism as Fair Trade – NGO Perspectives* Kalisch, A., 2001 Tourism Concern, London

THE BUSINESS CASE FOR CSR IN TOURISM

Some sectors of the tourism industry have begun to address sustainable development but the industry in general is still some way behind other industries in using the framework of CSR to implement sustainability in a holistic way. Considering the ethical and economic imperatives of CSR, this framework is crucially relevant to tourism organisations.

As we have shown in Chapter One, industry leaders in other major industrial sectors have already confirmed that commitment to CSR policies and practice can create 'long-term owner value'[43] in terms of positive returns and market success. They have recognised that the framework of CSR allows them to address business risk through ethical strategies. There is every reason to believe that a positive, strategic and integrated approach to the issue of sustainability can create equally positive outcomes for the tourism industry.

Consumer demand for ethical tourism

As previously mentioned, consumer demand for ethical products is on the increase and demands for more ethical tourism are increasing correspondingly.

Whilst it is argued that the prime objective for many holidaymakers is to enter and enjoy a problem-free world, an interesting Mintel survey[44] on 'What makes an enjoyable holiday' found that 27% of respondents felt their holiday was more enjoyable if they booked with a company with good ethical practices. This indicates a move on the part of tourists towards companies that implement ethical principles in their operations, which benefit local people. Some research studies on tourism consumer behaviour show that consumers are willing to pay more for holidays that benefit workers with ethical labour conditions in the destination[45].

The same report asserts that some 27% of respondents had seen things on holiday which had disturbed them, such as poverty or beach erosion, and a quarter of holidaymaking respondents were concerned about the local environment.

The demand by this significant segment of consumers for greater CSR is an ideal opportunity for the UK tourism industry to capture a growing market and to refine its emerging work on sustainable tourism within the framework of CSR.

Improving the product

CSR in other sectors has been shown to enhance the reputation of the industry, assist it to gain greater stability and credibility, and thereby gain more loyal, educated and committed customers. The tourism industry can equally benefit from integrating CSR policies and practices into its operating procedures. Tour operators, in particular, have a role and responsibility for creating the conditions for positive dynamics in the location where they operate. The implementation of CSR in tourism for tour operators is driven by ethical and economic imperatives.

In practical terms, having systems in place that can ensure financial security and partnership support for hoteliers protects against insolvency and unpleasant repatriation. High standards in hotels and other distribution channels ensure high service quality and customer satisfaction. Support by local people and the enhancement of their economic well-being ensure high quality products and personal fulfilment for customers as well as motivation and commitment from employees (see Chapter Four).

43| *Just Business – Busi[illegible] ethics in action* Sternberg, E., 1994, Lon[illegible]

44| *Ethical Tourism* Mintel Marketing Intellig[illegible] July 2001, London

45| *Tourism – an ethical [illegible]* market research report, Tearfund, 2000; and ABT Consumer Survey, 2000

Business imperatives for tour operators

Tour operators have a responsibility to conduct their business with maximum awareness of the consequences of their actions on destination stakeholders. The business imperatives for doing so are outlined below:

Ethical imperatives:

Tourism is a people-centred industry

The tourism and hospitality industry relies not only on 'sun, sand and sea', but on the service by people for people. The experience of a relaxing, sunny day can be spoilt considerably by an unfriendly waiter, inefficient reception staff, or an unhelpful guide. The customer-staff encounter is the prime aspect of the tourism experience. Tour operators need not just skills and expertise, but the goodwill, commitment, and motivation of local workers and staff at the destination to ensure the success of their operation. Such goodwill comes from being respected, encouraged and adequately rewarded.

Tourism's product is live

The tourism industry uses people and their land, culture, heritage and social fabric as ingredients for its 'product'. People in many destinations struggle with extremes of poverty and scarce resources. Tourists, often used to urban life styles, compete with those resources for their pleasure and relaxation, while local people often get little in return and may resent having little or no say when their cultures, history and heritage are 'sold' as a product on the international tourism market. To avoid this, ethical practices in terms of consultation, participation in decision-making processes and the right to self-determination should be at the core of any tour operation.

Tour operators are paying guests in a foreign country

Tourism would not be possible without hospitality. Tour operators need the hospitality of destinations in order to provide products that they can confidently sell. Although hospitality has now become an industry in itself, it is an integral aspect of peaceful and respectful social exchange in most cultures, which has traditionally always been free. As people and as business partners foreign tour operators can benefit from a meaningful cultural exchange based on a guest-host relationship and incorporating mutual respect and trust.

Tour operators are intermediaries on behalf of customers

Tour operators have a responsibility to ensure that their customers' money is used wisely and that it funds activities which contribute to a respect for human rights and sustainable development. Their responsibility also extends to ensuring that their customers are adequately informed about what their money is used for and how they can individually help to make their holiday a worthwhile experience, not just for themselves but also for their hosts. Customers will trust tour operators as being the experts about their holiday destination, especially in destinations with cultures substantially different to their own. The information that a tour operator can provide about a country and its people is often the only information they have to rely on.

Tour operators are 'ambassadors' of a nation and its people

In spite of integration and mergers, customers connect anything they experience with the name and nationality of the tour

operator with which they booked their holiday. A tour operator that sets an example by conducting operations with responsibility and integrity in the destination will earn respect from local people, business partners and international competitors, not only for themselves but also for customers and their home country.

Tour operators determine the dynamics of a tourism resort

Tour operators play a substantial part in moulding the tourism product and in determining its market value. By making policy decisions on property development and ownership, hotel contracting, the numbers, flow and timing of visitors and on the marketing of the resort, they can have considerable influence in shaping the product.

Tour operators have the luxury to move

Tour operators move around the world and can choose to set up or pull out of business anywhere from one year to another. The arrival or departure of a substantial number of visitors brought by a tour operator on a package holiday can have profound effects on a particular tourism resort. Apart from bringing economic benefits it can spark off unplanned, mushrooming building and development of unsustainable facilities, a rapid influx of migrant workers and their families, property speculation and inflation. Withdrawal of business from a resort by a major tour operator can result in the rapid decline of the resort and lead to local people fighting for survival after having invested heavily in tourism. Many of them will be in debt and not have the luxury to move elsewhere for better business.

Economic imperatives – risk management:

CSR can be seen as an integral part of risk management. The economic imperatives for incorporating CSR for tour operators emerge from the risks within destination management that could incur substantial financial loss if they were ignored. Companies are already aware of health and safety risks or the risk of being linked to human rights abuses such as the sexual exploitation of children, forced labour and child labour.

Other risks can arise as a result of extreme poverty among the population in a resort. The stark difference between affluent tourists visiting a resort for pleasure and poor local people struggling to survive with less than basic resources can polarise and strain customer-host relationships. Poverty is usually the cause for lack of basic infrastructure, lack of training and professional expertise among staff in the destination, or lack of awareness of sustainable management systems among suppliers and service providers. Lack of awareness of local social and economic systems on the part of the tour operator can pose further risk.

Public reputation

The loss of a good reputation because of negative media coverage can be expensive and take years to recoup; while establishing a good reputation through responsible corporate behaviour can guarantee 'long-term owner value'. The likelihood of a tour operator being publicly shamed by either the media, trade unions, NGOs or customers for complicity in the abuse of human rights in the destination must be of concern. Hotels and other accommodation contracted by tour operators could be involved with human rights violations,

Good practice in the tourism industry

This chapter outlines what the tourism industry is currently doing in terms of sustainable development and discusses the challenges facing the industry. The initiatives outlined below demonstrate an increasing awareness of and commitment to sustainable and responsible tourism among some parts of the industry. These models of good practice can be used as a foundation for CSR policy and practice in destinations.

British Airways

British Airways has been instrumental in piloting environmental reporting and has recently produced its first report including social and economic information[46]. In 1999 the company adopted the Global Reporting Initiative guidelines for sustainability and is using the foundation standard for social and ethical accountability, AA1000, as a reference tool[47].

Tourism for Tomorrow Awards

British Airways also led the way in promoting all aspects of sustainable tourism when it took over the 'Tourism for Tomorrow Awards' in 1992. The awards were originally set up by the Federation of Tour Operators (FTO) in 1990 to encourage action from all sectors of the industry to protect the environment[48]. The awards are given to operators of all sizes of hotels, national parks, heritage sites and other tourism-related services for outstanding environmental performance. Winning entries receive much publicity through TV, magazines, and British Airways' worldwide media communications.

For the past decade the awards have had a substantial influence on improving global environmental awareness and practice in tourism. The criteria for the awards are now being extended to include social issues, such as the contribution projects make towards poverty alleviation, culture and tradition, participation and rights' protection, as well as economic benefit to local communities.

International Hotel Environment Initiative (IHEI)

One of the most positive initiatives towards environmental management in the hospitality sector has been the setting up in 1992 of the International Hotel Environment Initiative (IHEI) by some of the major international hotel chains. This initiative offers technical advice and support on energy efficiency and waste management. In 2001, it launched an innovative Internet-based environmental benchmark tool for hotels around the world to assist them with monitoring their environmental performance[49]. The tool was developed jointly with WWF-UK and supported by Biffaward[50].

Some of the 11,000 member hotels have also pioneered innovative work on issues of child labour and community participation in resort design[51].

However, issues of the social responsibility of hoteliers towards the host community are yet to be tackled. Hotel owners do bear some responsibility for community welfare issues and for the behaviour of tourists outside the hotel. Their role as employers and facilitators cannot be underestimated[52]. Many of the smaller hotels, guesthouses and lodges require specialist professional support that would need to be organised at destination level.

Tour Operator Initiative (TOI)

As the drivers of the global expansion of tourism, tour operators are critically influential in determining good practice and sustainable development in destinations. In 2000, they began to take action towards sustainable

46| *From the Ground Up – Social and Environmental Report* British Airways, 2001 www.britishairways.com/responsibility

47| Ibid, 'Verifiers' commentary'

48| 'Tourism for Tomorrow' brochure, British Airways, 2001

49| www.benchmarkhotel.com

50| Biffaward is a fund set up in 1997 by Biffa Waste Services and the Royal Society for Nature Conservation (RSNC) to support environmental projects.

51| *Green Hotelier*, Issue No 21 January 2001, pp.8&9

52| *Sustainable Tourism – Moving From Theory to Practice* Forsyth, T., 1996, Tourism Concern/WWF

development at international level by forming the Tour Operator Initiative (TOI) as a membership organisation with the support of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), the United Nations Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and The World Tourism Organisation (WTO). Membership is underpinned by a statement of commitment to adopt – as part of corporate policy – a number of principles of sustainable development and management of tourism. The principles include compliance with local, national and international laws, opposition to abusive and exploitative forms of tourism, respect for local cultures and co-operation with local communities and people.

Over 20 international members are currently signed up to TOI, including some of the UK's biggest tour operators: Thomson Travel Group, now under the ownership of the German group Preussag, First Choice, and British Airways Holidays (now called Accoladia).

The Tour Operator Initiative is currently tackling the issue of performance measurement through reporting by linking up with the Global Reporting Initiative and developing core environmental, social and economic indicators that could lead the way to a better understanding and implementation of social responsibility in destinations. In addition, it has set up several working groups on supply chain management, co-operation with destinations and on communication on sustainability. Pilot initiatives are envisaged.

Sustainable Tourism Initiative (STI)

The process towards sustainable tourism is currently gaining momentum in the UK with the government-led, multi-stakeholder initiative on sustainable tourism (STI) in preparation for the World Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002. Working groups on the development of government strategy for outbound tourism, stakeholder engagement, capacity building in destinations and the development of practical tools for sustainable tourism are currently in the process of developing an action plan of ongoing work on sustainable outbound tourism for implementation before June 2002. In developing practical tools for implementing sustainable tourism as part of this process the CSR approach can serve as a useful model.

CHALLENGES IN IMPLEMENTING CSR

The initiatives outlined above (and in other case studies in this report), demonstrate an increasing awareness of and commitment to sustainable and responsible tourism among some parts of the industry. These models of good practice can be used to shape CSR policy and practice in destinations. However, as already noted, they largely address the environmental aspects of sustainable tourism and urgent social and economic issues in destinations remain to be tackled.

Below, we outline some of the challenges that need to be addressed in implementing Corporate Social Responsibility in tourism.

Policies

Among the four top UK operators, so far, only the Thomson Travel Group has a published policy, customer information and guidance on sustainable tourism. Thomson Holidays is working towards including environmental and social best practice guidelines into its supplier relationships. Others, like First Choice, are in the process of bringing their management systems into line with sustainability criteria.

Even where there is a commitment to sustainability, it centres mainly on environmental issues and charity. Social issues affecting human rights or economic issues affecting the distribution of tourism income, do not yet have a firm place on the sustainability agenda.

Where policy exists, practice is often dependent on either committed individuals or individual subsidiaries pushing forward innovative ideas on the ground.

The same is true of tourism trade associations. ABTA[53] and the FTO[54] have been involved in a number of initiatives on sustainable tourism and charitable action, but their precise policies and plans for implementation are as yet unclear. AITO[55] takes the lead with an encouraging and ambitious plan to make adherence to their Responsible Tourism Guidelines mandatory for members in the near future.

Most recently, since the launch of the STI in July 2001, there have been encouraging signs that all three UK trade associations might join up to create a more co-ordinated approach to sustainable tourism with a plan for a multi-stakeholder coalition to support the UK tourism industry in the implementation of responsible tourism policies. The plans for this remain to be finalised.

Lines of responsibility

The issue of lines of responsibility for tour operators is difficult since the industry is complex and fragmented. It is clear that currently tour operators firmly place responsibility for creating sustainability in the destination on host governments and local communities, and also on their customers for demanding ethical products[52].

However, operators do have responsibilities: they are responsible for channelling tourist flows to destinations, and their marketing priorities can have a significant impact on sustainability in resorts. Operators also have substantial marketing power to influence consumer decisions to attract them to certain products that have been developed according to ethical criteria.

The concrete areas of responsibility for sustainable development for each of the different stakeholders in destinations, including foreign and domestic tour operators, need to be clearly defined, agreed and implemented as part of an integrated management process in partnership with relevant destination stakeholders. Ideally, this process would be instigated and facilitated by the host government.

Putting policy and performance indicators into practice

As research on environmental reporting in other sectors suggests, environmental reports do not in themselves guarantee that a company is making a significant contribution to sustainable development.

The crucial issue is how to translate policy and the results of stakeholder engagement into tangible, meaningful action, which will have verifiable and lasting results, as opposed to token gestures and public relations exercises. If this is to be addressed, the difference between what constitutes a meaningful, consequential action and what could be exposed as lip service needs to be clarified within a company. Corporate commitment to social responsibility and sustainable development needs to permeate organisational values and business practice at all levels so that it becomes an accepted and integral part of everyday life.

53| ABTA: Association for Tou Operators and Travel Agents

54| FTO: Federation for Tour Operators (comprising the largest operators)

55| AITO: The Association of Independent Tour Operators

Measuring social and economic data

One of the main challenges for tour operators in implementing CSR policies is the measurement of social and economic progress and performance as well as environmental performance.

Indicators for responsible environmental practice can be measured with quantitative data. Products and expertise are available on the market and evidence of how costs can be reduced is widely obtainable. This is not yet the case in the social and economic spheres.

In order to measure social and economic impact, progress and success, base data, which are mostly qualitative, have to be established and compared over an extended period. Research, development and pilot initiatives undertaken in partnership with tourism destination stakeholders and in tandem with local social and economic research organisations and NGOs, can assist with determining social and economic indicators. A set of generic global indicators might have to be adapted and refined according to local differences, since many tourism locations may have different social and economic priorities. Chapter Four of this report provides some ideas for action, which might be considered as useful pointers for social and economic indicators.

Issues of charity

Fundraising for charities and contributing to charitable projects are laudable activities, particularly when they benefit people in destinations and when the recipients have a say in the distribution and management of funds. Charity, however, risks being patronising and tokenistic.

Where, for example, a tour operator ignores sustainable carrying-capacity levels, or does not heed calls from local people to restrict development of golf courses in environmentally sensitive areas, the act of making donations to an environmental group or to a village for building a school is little more than lip service.

Expertise and resource requirements

The development of expertise on implementing CSR and sustainable development in tourism is still in its infancy. Knowledge and experience of dealing with social and economic issues in partnerships with communities need to be developed within any tour operating business. Implementing stakeholder engagement and consulting with communities are complex tasks that need to be sensitively handled and take time.

Commitment to CSR requires long-term planning, knowledge of the destination, understanding of and skills in community development in different cultures, respect for different approaches to life, knowledge and business, and, most importantly, expertise in stakeholder dialogue.

Large corporations are well placed for making such resources available, due to the diversity of their business functions. New appointments could, for instance, reflect new skills requirements, management strategies and priorities.

Working with, involving and benefiting local communities must be recognised as a crucial component of product quality and customer satisfaction, and presents an opportunity for business to develop new strategies for organisational change.

Cost implications

The greatest concern among tour operators over implementing CSR is, of course, related to costs and the effect on narrow profit margins for mass operators. The implementation of sustainable tourism practice is often regarded as a diversion from profit-maximisation. However, practitioners of environmental management systems within tourism companies confirm that procedures and programmes already in existence can be re-prioritised, adapted, complemented or extended to incorporate CSR principles without incurring extra costs[56].

Up-to-date financial, technical and economic expertise within tourism and hospitality organisations and with suppliers can ensure that initial new investment or profits, wisely re-invested in physical, social and human capital, can save costs in the short and long term. Far from incurring extra costs, the implementation of CSR can contribute towards improving existing core business activities, such as Total Quality Management, product quality, diversification and innovation and supply chain management.

The extra cost of production of an environmental and social report would be minimal as it would be incorporated into the ordinary annual report. The only additional costs may arise from appointing an experienced manager for sustainable tourism to oversee and support the implementation process.

Other costs are involved with the external verification and critique of a report that measures environmental and social performance in addition to financial performance. Such verification can cost between £30,000 to £60,000 per year depending on the extent of the report and the size of the organisation. Preparation of the first report might involve 3-4 people over the course of five months initially, but resource input could be reduced in subsequent years, once systems are in place. The whole process should be considered as integral to quality control and delivering value[57].

Such costs, however, should be balanced against the risk of not addressing sustainability issues. In view of the pressure on companies for ethical practices, the positive long-term commercial rewards to be gained from a good reputation and customer and employee loyalty are considerable.

56| Pers. communication, Sunwing, 11 October 2001

57| The Co-operative Bank, 20

Tools for implementing CSR in tourism

In this chapter we examine a range of tools for implementing a CSR framework in tourism as part of destination management and in relation to Fair Trade in Tourism.

The key principles for Fair Trade in Tourism centre on fair and equitable partnerships between purchaser and buyer, consultation with partners and local communities in the development and design of operations and social and economic benefits to communities who form an integral part of the tourism product.

Tourism organisations can integrate these principles into existing organisational structures within the framework of CSR with minimum additional costs. Since environmental issues for tour operators and destination communities have already been examined by other organisations, we focus on the responsibility of tour operators in addressing social and economic issues in overseas destinations.

Responsibilities of tour operators

The exact responsibility of tour operators in destinations in relation to sustainable development is debatable. Host governments do have to assist tour operators by addressing major issues. These include: integrated planning and development; support for the informal sector and for small and medium sized businesses (SMEs); democratic, participative structures for local communities; and facilitating multi-stakeholder partnerships.

However, the responsibilities of tour operators in destinations can be defined as follows: tour operators have a direct and indirect responsibility to make a positive contribution to the social and economic well-being of communities[58] where their customers enjoy their holidays.

This responsibility is on the one hand reactive or preventive, arising from the effects of the presence of their customers in a particular location, such as environmental (e.g. overuse of water), social (e.g. child prostitution) and cultural (e.g. alcohol consumption and modes of dress).

On the other hand it is pro-active, where tour operators can make a positive contribution to improve local conditions in terms of basic infrastructure, the environment and working conditions.

Direct responsibility occurs where tour operators:

a) own facilities and employ their own staff

b) have contractual or non-contractual business relationships with service providers (hotels, ground agents), and suppliers (producers, manufacturers).

Indirect responsibility occurs in relation to product quality and development and destination management where tour operators exert a substantial influence on tourism development and planning. Their responsibility in this context extends to ensuring that their own operation and their presence in the resort contribute to the overall improvement of local sustainable development in consultation with all relevant stakeholders, e.g. other tour operators, local community interest groups, trade associations, and government authorities.

Integrating CSR into core business functions

Sustainable tourism practice is led from the top

The effective implementation of sustainable tourism policy has to be built on three pillars: environmental, social and economic sustainability. Its implementation needs to be integrated into every core area of business

58| Definition of **communities** in this context: 'a community consists of all people who, by reason of their physical proximity to an organisation are socially and environmentally affected by its activities' *Corporate Social Reporting: Accounting and Accountability* Gray, R. et al, London, 1987, p.85

activity from top management through to resort staff. This will require a review of organisational structures and work practices, with a clear set of commitments and a mandatory code of practice for all, instigated and monitored by top management.
This can be done through:

- integrating environmental and social strategy development and performance review at senior management level

EXAMPLE: British Airways set up the Environment and Social Council, a senior level strategy group to discuss policy, and review performance towards objectives and targets. It meets 2-3 times per year. Trade unions are represented on it.

- establishing a Sustainable Business Unit responsible for the integration of environmental and social considerations into everyday business practice

EXAMPLE: British Airways set up the Sustainable Business Unit, which provides advice, support and stimulation, and monitors and measures performance.

- appointing a sustainable or responsible tourism manager to provide expertise and to oversee, co-ordinate and support the implementation process.

The appointment of sustainable tourism managers needs to go hand in hand with improvements in the total management process. It is important to ensure that managers with this brief have clear and achievable targets with sufficient time and resources to address the relevant issues. They should not be seen as the only staff responsible for implementing sustainable policies. In smaller companies, the above tasks may need to be carried out by the directors or chief executive.

EXAMPLES: Some of the biggest tour operators, **Thomson Holidays** and **First Choice**, for example, as well as **Accoladia** (formerly British Airways Holidays) and **Exodus** already employ managers with a responsibility for environment and sustainability.

AITO's Responsible Tourism Committee is in the process of developing advice notes on the implementation of its Responsible Tourism Guidelines for all its members.

Organisational culture reflects environmental and social priorities of the company

Awareness and practice of sustainable development starts within the organisational culture. From there it can be extended into every area of business practice in destinations.

To achieve this, organisations need to:

- promote and actively support sensitive and ethical behaviour among their staff
- promote awareness of social and economic issues in destinations
- promote equal opportunity and diversity in their recruitment and employment processes
- reward staff and management for good practice and performance
- develop tangible projects to illustrate good practice
- support the Fair Trade movement by:
  - **a)** introducing Fair Trade products into the company's activities either for use or for sale at staff functions
  - **b)** making links with fair trade organisations in destinations

- carry out a 'values review' to incorporate sustainable tourism practice

EXAMPLE:
In 2000, **Airtours** Board Members initiated a 'values review' to foster teamwork and co-operation and to encourage employees to 'live the values' of the organisation. It included an awareness-raising campaign, competitions, activities and 'think tank' sessions, which enabled staff to take ownership and responsibility for changing the company culture. Consequently, employee and customer surveys reflect a high degree of support for the company[59]. This could be extended to review the company's 'values' about sustainable tourism.

Sustainable development becomes integral to product development and quality control

Tour operators often refrain from using local businesses or recommending them to their customers because they are dissatisfied with the quality of local provision, particularly where this is dictated by poverty and lack of expertise.

By real collaboration with local stakeholders as part of Corporate Social Responsibility, tour operators can assist local stakeholders to improve their own provision and facilities. This collaboration includes sharing knowledge, assisting with capacity building, ensuring that local people benefit economically from tourism, paying fair prices[60] or simply by communicating effectively with local businesses and local governments. This will have a positive impact on product quality and, in turn, on customer satisfaction.

EXAMPLES:
Exodus, a British tour operator, in conjunction with local people, has developed a trip to Ghana on which their guests stay in local villagers' homes.
Canodros SA, a tour operator in Ecuador, has developed an eco-resort (Kapawi Lodge) in collaboration with the Achuar people who are being trained to operate the business independently after 15 years. Canodros also pay the Achuar a monthly fee as rental for their land.
Porini Ecotourism Ltd, a Kenyan-based tour operator working closely with Tropical Places in the UK, has developed a safari camp and relevant infrastructure with a Maasai community in Amboseli. Porini lease the land from the Maasai, pay the community a bed-night fee and train and employ only local people.

Excellence in service quality through 'Total Quality Management' (TQM)

Environmentally and socially responsible practices can be integrated with TQM as part of maintaining a high service quality. This needs to build on the importance of encounters between employee-customer, customer-host, and employee-host within the tourism service experience.

- **Regular training and awareness raising for management and staff** at all levels is crucial in this context. Existing training modules can include environmental, social and economic issues in destinations, with practical solutions on how to tackle them. It needs to be recognised that the development of negotiation skills with local community stakeholders is just as important as the development of other business management skills.

59| 'Airtours embraces team values' BT Consulting, February 2001

60| Definition of **fair price** in this context: a price that covers the service providers' costs of implementing all the aspects of the agreement and providing the expected service/product quality, covering basic needs, as well as putting something back into the community

- **Recruitment and training of local staff** can improve service and product quality as well as providing a unique and authentic experience for customers wanting a genuine cultural exchange. Local staff are often the first and only people that tourists meet from the local population.
- **Rewarding staff** through good working conditions, career opportunities or through consultation processes will motivate staff and foster high morale, thus creating a high quality service and satisfied customers.

EXAMPLES:
In Malta, **Thomson** employ 20 out of 35 staff from the local workforce and train them alongside other company staff in the UK.
Exodus employ local leaders and hold regular training workshops in guiding skills in destinations. Exodus also emphasises the use of local guides and services in their agreements with ground operators.
British Airways raised awareness of local issues among British staff, who visited South Africa and organised with the Arsenal Football Club an Advanced Coaching Skills programme for young people in several townships.

Destination-based environmental and social reviews

Tour operators can carry out their own life cycle analyses and follow them up with concrete action plans based on the findings.

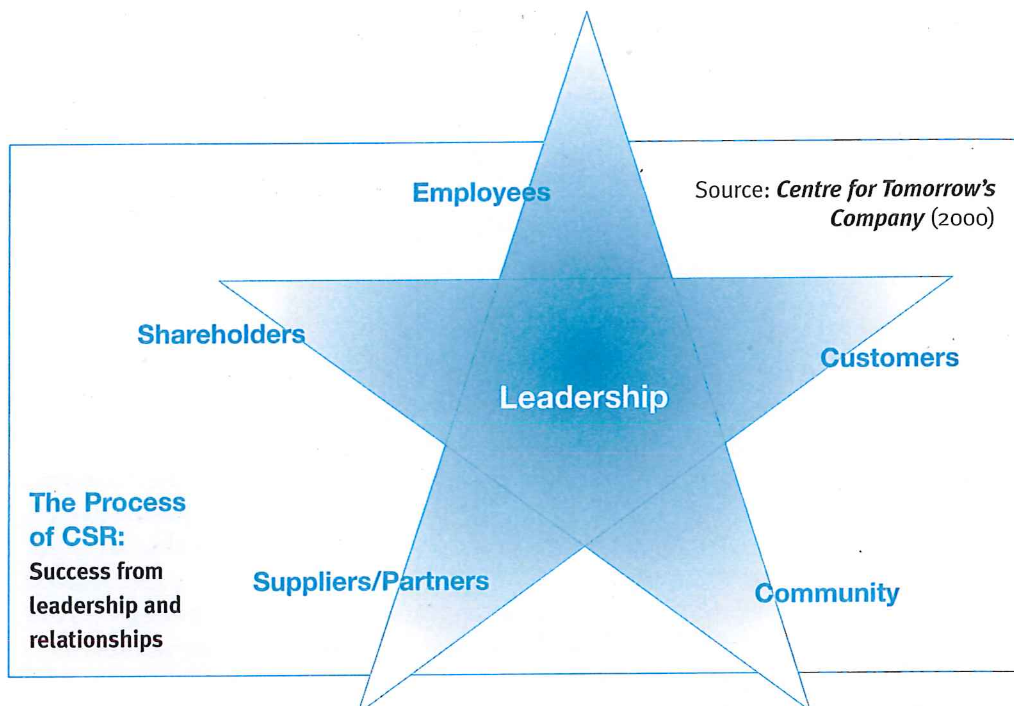
EXAMPLES INCLUDE:
British Airways and **British Airways Holidays** conducted an environmental life-cycle analysis in the Seychelles in 1994.
Airtours' Scandinavian subsidiary **Sunwing Resorts** works with their hotels throughout Europe to develop an ecolabel with them.

Transparent customer information and marketing

Ensuring that customers are well briefed and informed of the cultural norms and socio-economic conditions in the destination, and of the company's policy and practice of sustainable management in any given locality, can enhance the value of the tourism experience and customers' social encounter with local people.

- Consultation and involvement of local stakeholders in the marketing and representation of the destination image can be a productive and challenging process reflecting due respect for local people and their heritage. Presenting a different side of the destination can also provide a competitive edge over other operators.
- Whilst the application of CSR should not merely be used as a marketing ploy, customers should be informed at each stage in the promotion and selling process about the positive steps that tour operators are taking to demonstrate responsible behaviour and business ethics.

  Brochures, country guides, and tourist guidelines should automatically contain information on environmental and socio-economic issues in destinations. Hotels should present the information on their own sustainable policies and practice as part of guest notices and welcome meetings. The tourism product should be as transparent about its 'ingredients' as commodities sold on supermarket shelves.
- Tourists should know about:
  the way in which the tourist activity benefits local people; and
  the way in which tourists/travellers can assist in respecting the socio-cultural, economic and environmental priorities of



the destination community.

- Tour operators and hoteliers can encourage customers, through feedback surveys, to monitor implementation of responsible policies.
- The practice of 'allocation on arrival' for last-minute discount deals is convenient for tour operators to fill empty spaces. However, such practice allows little time to inform customers properly of the destinations, the culture and customs concerned. In order to encourage responsible behaviour, this can be overcome through providing adequate information on flights and at the resort.

Example: First Choice introduced an in-flight video on their flights with Air 2000 to the Gambia, which features advice for tourists about sensitive tourism issues and encourages greater awareness of the needs and wishes of the people of the Gambia. The video had been produced jointly by **Tourism Concern** and **VSO (Voluntary Service Overseas).**

Sustainable Tourism Awards

Sustainable Tourism Awards are an excellent way of disseminating good practice, of gaining public credit and reputation, increasing consumer demand, raising awareness among stakeholders, and of motivating board members and staff to achieve excellence.

Some companies also have their own internal awards to reward staff commitment and good practice among business partners and suppliers.

These initiatives could now also be extended to include social and economic issues, similar to the social criteria for the 'Tourism for Tomorrow' awards with regard to benefiting communities and respecting their rights.

Example: Thomson introduced the 'World Aware' awards in 1991. These are presented annually to those suppliers who are recognised as having made outstanding efforts towards preserving the environment.

Stakeholder engagement and partnerships in tourism

The key aspect of stakeholder engagement is the development of partnerships with groups of people who are relevant to the successful running of business and involving them in open dialogue, debate and processes of change. The outcome of such a process is expected to influence the priorities of the organisation for policy and practice.

Since tourism is complex, fragmented and interrelated with many other sectors, partnerships are an essential element of business practice.

Stakeholder engagement promotes a 'bottom-up' approach by seeking the contribution of non-financial investors in policy and practice, but has to be initiated and supported through leadership and commitment from the 'top'. By establishing relationships and an interactive transparent process of communication with the people who are involved or affected by a company's activities, top management can be constantly aware of the dynamics of its social and human capital and create a sense of shared ownership which improves the efficiency of its operation.

Stakeholder involvement can range from simply giving out information and announcing decisions through to consultation and a 'functional engagement', which can secure the support and assistance from groups in the implementation of decisions, to the ultimate interactive process of 'stakeholder dialogue' where the participating stakeholders feel a strong sense of shared ownership in the results.

It is this last phase that is the most significant one in securing improved relationships, common understanding and long-term sustainable development within the context of Corporate Social Responsibility[61].

It is thus important for tour operators to establish who the stakeholders in the destination are and also their importance and contribution to the efficient functioning of the operation.

The International Network on Fair Trade in Tourism suggests that tour operators need to engage in the destination with the following stakeholders:

1. Staff, directly employed by operator and indirectly by suppliers
2. Businesses that deal directly with operators or have contracts with them: hoteliers, ground agents, suppliers/service providers
3. Local interest groups, including businesses not directly involved with tour operators and local people not involved but affected by the tourism activity
4. Local and regional government
5. Customers

Involving communities through consultation

Tour operators need the co-operation of local interest groups within local communities if their operations and products are to be socially responsible and economically successful. Local interest groups in destinations include: residents, indigenous peoples, non-governmental organisations, community organisations and community-based tourism enterprises[62], small traders, vendors and their associations, farmers, fishermen, guest-house owners etc. Community consultation and involvement in decision-making processes is particularly important before development takes place or in the early stages of tourism development.

These interest groups need to be included as recognised stakeholders in the tourism development process that tour operators undertake in any resort in order that a 'win-win' situation can develop for all stakeholders, including customers.

For any foreign or domestic investor making market entry into a new, known or unknown location with a fundamentally different culture, consultation and negotiation with local interest groups can seem a serious challenge, requiring time, patience, knowledge of community

61| A 'typology of involvement', RJH Associates

62| **Community-based tourism enterprise:** 'a community is the owner/manager or partner of the tourism programme/operation' *Tourism as Fair Trade – NGO Perspectives*, Kalisch, A., 2001, Tourism Concern

development and commitment to collaborative work. It is therefore important to employ and train local staff, and to work in partnership with representative organisations, such as local councils with statutory powers, community-based organisations and tourism enterprises, residents' groups, trade unions and non-governmental organisations. Tour operators should also encourage the democratic involvement of the least advantaged groups such as women, indigenous peoples, the unemployed and young people.

Advantages of consultation

Consultation will provide a stable and long-term foundation for the sustainability of tourism resorts and products. This is achieved through understanding local traditions, lifestyles and land use systems, assisting communities to access relevant knowledge, and training in order to implement modern management methods which are appropriate to their own traditions.

Consultation will:

- increase knowledge of the destination and its socio-cultural and economic dynamics, thereby also improving business efficiency, customer information, marketing and promotion
- yield opportunities for:
  - **a)** product development based on indigenous culture and operational diversity
  - **b)** environmental and ecological innovations that are original and efficient, because they are based on and adapted from local methods and designs
  - **c)** cultural originality by making contacts with local artisans
- promote a positive business environment through co-operation, good will and trust

Complexities of community consultation

Communities have complex dynamics and differing, sometimes opposing, interests. The way they are composed and interact varies from location to location, according to their history and economic and social circumstances.

Clearly, some countries and locations are better placed for instituting planning and development structures than others, due to the nature and stage of tourism and other developments. In Europe, for example, a number of destinations in coastal[63] and rural areas[64] are implementing Integrated Quality Management (IQM) procedures where the government has set up consultation systems and quality standards for tour operators as part of a partnership process[65].

In destinations where there is little government co-ordination and planning, the government may expect the private sector to take the lead in tourism development and here tour operators can set a good example to others through good practice, collaboration with local NGOs, and using local service providers. Through establishing mutually respectful partnerships with local people and operating transparent systems of communication, foreign tour operators can avoid imposing their business systems and views.

Working in partnership with local communities

Working in partnership with local people and service providers through transparent consultation and collaboration can ensure a sustainability agenda based on mutual understanding, democratic dialogue, informed decision-making and acceptance of the values of local communities, particularly indigenous

63| For example: Calvia, Gran Canaria and Fuerteventura (Spain); Tuscan Coast (Italy); Helgoland (Germany); Quiberon (France)

64| For example: Ballyhoura (Ireland); Lungau (Austria); Montana de Navarra (Spain); Trossachs (UK); Vale Do Lima (Portugal)

65| *Towards quality coastal tourism – Integrated Quality Management (IQM) of coastal tourist destinations* and *Towards quality rural tourism – Integrated Quality Management (IQM) of rural tourist destinations* European Commission 1999 & 2000

peoples and women who are often the main users and stewards of natural resources.

Issues addressed through consultation
RESPECT FOR CULTURAL ASSETS:
Adaptation of local and indigenous culture for tourism purposes should only happen on the basis of consultation and control by the local communities involved.
LAND RIGHTS:
Public land use and access rights, sacred sites and traditional community livelihoods should be recognised through consultation and protected from tourism development if required.
SELF-DETERMINATION FOR INDIGENOUS PEOPLE:
Indigenous people should determine the model for development on their land and the tourism experience on offer in collaboration with tour operators.

Collaboration with international organisations, NGOs and trade unions

Multi-stakeholder dialogue with international organisations, including NGOs and trade unions, is a means of building bridges between the profit and non-profit sectors. Companies that are seriously committed to putting sustainable tourism into practice will appreciate the benefits of a partnership approach at home and in destinations.

Both the foreign and domestic tourism industry stand to gain from becoming more familiar with community values and from understanding that a strong community partner will facilitate a successful tourism product. NGOs in turn can benefit from a better understanding of corporate values and the practical implications of implementing sustainable tourism policies in the context of international complexities and commercial pressures. Whilst the priority for most NGOs will be representing the interests of people through advocacy and campaigning, they are increasingly influencing corporate reputations and developing practical tools for corporate change.

Examples of collaboration with NGOs include:
Fritidsresor, a Scandinavian subsidiary of the **Thomson Travel Group,** works with ECPAT to develop and implement a code of conduct on the sexual exploitation of children for hotels and other stakeholders in destinations. Thomson Travel Group have now adopted this code.
ABTA worked with Gambia Tourism Concern, Tourism Concern UK and VSO (Voluntary Service Overseas) to develop an in-flight video on The Gambia.
AITO worked with VSO in developing their Responsible Tourism policy.
Thomson Holidays provided WWF-UK with data on their package tour holidays for the 'Holiday Footprinting' project that developed a practical environmental tool for responsible tourism.
Thomson Malta Ltd has been instrumental in setting up a multi-stakeholder group to foster good relations with NGOs and assist hotels with improvement of their environmental systems.

Collaboration with other tour operators

Collaboration among tour operators from the same or different countries in a destination in conjunction with the local authority and community organisations can be crucial to create a co-ordinated approach to issues of sustainability.

Examples of collaboration in destinations:

Fritidsresor has joined up with other tour operators and stakeholders in Phuket, Thailand, to implement a code of conduct on the sexual exploitation of children in the region.

The **ECOMOST** study in Mallorca was the result of co-operation between the International Federation of Tour Operators (IFTO), the Mallorcan authorities and tourism stakeholders on the island. ECOMOST included a detailed study of the economy, sociology and ecology of Mallorca and Rhodes as they were affected by tourism[66].

Observing local laws and international conventions

National and regional regulations and guidelines for trade practice, particularly concerning human rights, labour conditions, planning, environment, and corruption should be observed[67]. Legal obligations of tour operators in their home countries should guide their business behaviour in the countries in which they trade. Legally binding international conventions, such as the Convention on Biological Diversity[68], should be adhered to.

Improving basic infrastructure

Tourist consumers compete with local people for resources that may be scarce, such as water, fuel, electricity and food. Pre-payments or investment within the context of sustainable policy and practice, based on consultation, can contribute to improving basic infrastructure and to providing a better service for both tourists and local people.

- Pre-payments for investment in sustainable development could include alternative energy systems, waste management tools, recycling systems for waste and water or educational and training facilities for workers.

Employing local staff in key positions

Local people can and should be recruited as resort managers, guides and representatives. This can be achieved by:

- collecting data on human potential (skills) in the location
- instigating local recruitment procedures
- investing in staff training
- collaborating with local authorities and institutions to develop training programmes and promote recruitment
- assisting with guide training and accreditation
- providing placements/internships and exchanges for locally based business partners

Joint ventures

Encouraging equitable joint venture arrangements with domestic tour operators and ground agents and prioritising the use of lodges and hotels that have equitable joint venture contracts with communities or community-based tourism enterprises can allow a marriage of local expertise with the desired product. Thus more of the tourism income can stay in the destination and contribute to an improvement of local infrastructure.

- Contacts with community-based tourism enterprises should be developed directly and/or through NGOs involved in capacity building.

Using local products and materials

Local products and materials should be used and encouraged where this is appropriate and

66| 'Planning for sustainable Tourism' The ECOMOST Project Lewes, 1994, IFTO

67| see: *The OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises and Global Instruments for Corporate Responsibility* OECD, www.oecd.org

68| www.unep.org

ecologically sustainable.
This can be done by:

- encouraging customers to buy locally produced food and goods
- providing customers with adequate advice as to local produce and food preparation
- asking hotels and service providers to prioritise the use of local produce
- developing excursions and holidays around local production and cultivation

Local capacity building

Building the capacity of local businesses includes knowledge and technology transfer, assistance to small private and community investors with product development, assistance with access to markets, information on markets and new technology.
Suggestions include:

- assisting local authorities to develop support mechanisms to small tourism-related businesses in the destination
- sharing relevant computer software
- sharing market information and marketing expertise
- assisting with setting up management systems
- assisting with implementation of ecological design and sustainable environmental procedures
- collaborating with local traders on product design and quality

Enhancing opportunities for local investors

Fair competition between foreign and domestic investors to enhance opportunities for domestic investment and competitiveness.

- establish alliances with local providers and integrate them into the tourism product on offer
- develop products that offer a competitive advantage to domestic operations
- encourage anti-corrupt behaviour in your own company and with suppliers

Developing products/brands that benefit local communities

Products and brands that benefit local communities include excursions managed by local people, community-based tourism enterprises, sustainably managed resorts, and operations based on fair trade criteria.
These can be encouraged by:

- incorporating projects in tourism programmes that have won awards or credits for environmental and social sustainability either nationally or internationally e.g. Tourism for Tomorrow Award, ToDo Awards for Socially Responsible Tourism promoted by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Co-operation and Economic Development and other stakeholders[69], hotels recommended by IHEI or the Caribbean Alliance for Sustainable Tourism (CAST)
- including provision or destinations that have been certified (or are in the process of being certified) by credible organisations
- encouraging and assisting local people to develop their own ideas and products for tour operators to market

Contributing to community development

Contributions to democratically managed community development projects can be made by using a levy on excursions, donations from clients or fundraising events.

69| ToDo Awards
For further information:
www.studienkreis.org

Example: Thomson Services Malta Ltd, a Maltese company owned by Thomson since April 2000, introduced a heritage protection fund in 1998. The fund consists of a 10 cent per person levy on all excursions sold by Thomson representatives. Each year approximately 10,000 Maltese Pounds (£16,000) are collected and granted to a local non-governmental organisation that produces the best proposal for an environmental protection project.

The rules for financial management of the grant stipulate that any heritage site or environmental project must be operated for the benefit of Maltese and foreign visitors alike. It should also create awareness amongst visitors and locals about environmental protection in Malta. Customers are informed of the scheme in a small glossy guidebook on Malta, published by Thomson.

Engaging with suppliers and service providers

A positive and constructive relationship with suppliers and service providers in the destination is a crucial element for success because they are directly responsible for customer satisfaction and thus the future of the business. It is therefore important that tour operators use their bargaining power responsibly and create an atmosphere of mutual learning, respect and trust that allows for constructive business partnerships.

Clearly communicated and transparently agreed contracts can create a constructive relationship and save a great deal of time and problems in the long run because they avoid misunderstandings. Contract requirements backed up by financial or professional support (for example, pre-payments linked to sustainable practices), can ensure that promise is followed by action. Requiring high standards of training and working conditions for local staff can ensure good quality service and operation.

Leakage of financial capital from the destination to tourist generating countries can be reduced by ensuring that suppliers and service providers use local labour, local produce and materials, and that support mechanisms are created to build and increase local capacity for engaging in economic activity. A more healthy, self-sufficient and prosperous local economy is established and this in turn benefits tour operators because it adds value to their tourism product.

○ Prioritising locally owned companies

Tour operators can make a policy decision to give preference to locally owned companies, provided they have the potential to be viable. Such preference can include indigenous people, women, community-based enterprises and particularly those entrepreneurs that are committed to:

- sustainable environmental practices
- putting benefits back into the community on the basis of community-based consultation
- respecting the rights of local stakeholders to land and access to natural resources and sacred sites

If local people realise that tour operators prefer local provision, they will be encouraged to develop their capacity and stay in the area. This will promote local culture, customs and skills and a more 'authentic' tourism product, which is what tourists are now increasingly looking for[70].

- Inform National Tourism Boards and Hotel and Restaurant Associations about your

70| Mintel, July 2001: 37% of holidaymakers feel that experiencing a different culture is important to them enjoying their holiday and 36% that experiencing local cuisine is important.

policy on ownership, and find out about local suppliers and those who are known for good sustainable and community-oriented practice.

- Establish contacts with local or regional NGOs who do development work with local communities, encourage community enterprise development or local economic development generally.
- If the choice is limited, initiate a process to promote local responsible practices and tourism ownership in conjunction with government, NGOs and community organisations.

Ethical negotiation of contracts

Tour operators should use their bargaining power responsibly. Both parties should ensure that contracts adhere to ethical principles and be negotiated on the basis of:

- mutual respect and understanding of respective responsibilities and investment levels within the context of local circumstances
- integrity which avoids deliberately undermining or exploiting the other party
- acceptance of the equal position of both partners
- honesty in disclosing relevant information
- commitment to keeping to agreements
- allowing an adequate and agreed time schedule for each party to consider its options, given that community-based enterprise operators need time to consult with members and professional agencies

Such negotiations require staff training in:

- contract negotiation with small and community-based enterprises
- ethical negotiation processes
- cultural issues, conditions of partnerships and different business practices

Contract content for sustainable development

Tour operators can encourage suppliers and providers to implement good business practice as part of high product quality, including specifications on the voluntary commitment by both parties to fulfilling their social, economic and environmental responsibilities. Mutual responsibilities in the context of their legal obligations with regard to health and safety, observance of local planning and environmental regulations, licensing for ground handlers etc. may also be included.

Environmental responsibilities include:
waste management, resource use (land, water and electricity), reduction of pollution through sustainable use of transport, adherence to planning and environmental regulations.

Social responsibilities include:
human resources issues, such as fair wages and working conditions, training and development, avoidance of child labour and sexual exploitation, equal opportunities for workers regardless of gender, race, creed and ability.

Economic responsibilities include:
commitment to benefiting local communities through adequate recompense for the use of their land and compensation if tourism activity adversely affects their livelihood (e.g. they have to move elsewhere or their land and stock is damaged by wildlife protected for tourism)

Fair price

Tourists often have a considerable impact on fragile ecosystems and scarce resources; the negotiated price between package tour

operators, hoteliers and ground agents should reflect the 'environmental costs of resource inputs, manufacture, use, recycling and disposal subject to country-specific conditions'[71]. It should also allow tourism and hospitality employers to pay their staff a living wage.

It is recognised that price elasticity is a crucial aspect of competitive advantage in tourism both for buyers and suppliers. However, the practice by some tour operators of pushing down prices to the lowest possible level in destinations often leaves suppliers and providers in deficit, preventing them from maintaining the quality of their services

A fair price thus needs to be negotiated between business partners on the basis of trust and transparency. Suggestions for this include raising awareness among suppliers/providers about the operator's policies for CSR, raising awareness among customers as to the added value of facilities and service, and in-depth knowledge among tour operators of local economic conditions.

Collaborative contract implementation

Contracts should ideally contain a long-term commitment (up to three years) on both sides. However, in a fluid world of market forces, natural, political and economic events, this may not be realistic. Contracts should therefore include clauses as to how to deal with emergencies, where a contract might have to be curtailed or amended and all parties will have to protect themselves against such eventualities.

- Indicators for performance measurement, monitoring and review processes can be established through stakeholder consultation to ensure a realistic and mutually agreed process of implementation that takes local and global conditions into account
- Outcomes can be agreed in gradual stages with mutually-agreed time limits for achievement
- Tour operators can share knowledge and expertise with business partners to assist with implementation

Learning from existing management procedures

Based on the experience of implementing Health and Safety procedures, tour operators could collaborate in setting up or contracting an organisation based either in the UK or in destinations, or both, to work with suppliers in implementing and auditing social and economic criteria.

Examples of good practice have already been established in the field of Health and Safety with regard to the support that tour operators are giving local suppliers to bring their knowledge, technology and provision in line with legal requirements.

Examples include:

The independent UK hygiene company **Cristal**, on contract with tour operators in the UK, helps hotels worldwide to implement hygiene systems that conform to European regulations. It trains local hotel staff, local professionals as hygiene inspectors and monitors and audits hotels. Audit results are confidential and are only passed on to tour operators if hotels agree. Its activities are beginning to include hotel suppliers. Food and beverage handling skills acquired by staff extend to other areas of the community, improving infrastructure and public health throughout destinations.

71| Agenda 21 for the Travel and Tourism Industry, p.33 WTTC

Tour operators can encourage and work with hoteliers to implement existing environmental management systems and to employ technology developed by organisations such as the International Hotels Environment Initiative or The Caribbean Alliance for Sustainable Tourism. Some of this experience, together with the auditing and reporting systems that have been set up, can be transferred to voluntary initiatives in the application of social and economic criteria among suppliers and providers.

Addressing some of the social and economic issues (such as paying fair prices and bed levies and providing fair contract terms) can also ensure that hoteliers have sufficient financial capital and well-trained, motivated staff to implement tour operators' requirements and legal obligations.

EXAMPLES INCLUDE: Fritidsresor of the Thomson Travel Group works with hotels and makes their business with them dependent on compliance with a code of conduct on the sexual exploitation of children that is contained in the contract.

Measuring performance – environmental and social reporting

The issue of monitoring and reporting on sustainable performance in tourism is currently being explored by the international Tour Operator Initiative (TOI) and supported by UNEP. The outcome both of this research and the discussions at international level can be used as a learning experience for UK-based tour operators in applying their own methods. Particular attention has to be paid to the development of social and economic performance indicators. These could be based on some of the suggestions in this report.

Development of innovative pilot initiatives and dissemination of good practice

The process of CSR and the implementation and measurement of non-financial criteria can be unknown territory for many corporations. It will be difficult to achieve the objectives of CSR and sustainable tourism overnight.

However, at the same time it is important to develop tangible initiatives and to monitor the practical implications of any strategy so as to be able to improve and progress. Carefully designed and prepared pilot initiatives are a good way of showing commitment and of deploying resources efficiently. A staged process of gradual improvement in a few carefully selected areas, constantly assessed and re-evaluated, never losing sight of the final objective, is a sensible way of using resources. Initiating research and development ensures that companies can be one step ahead, leading with innovative developments in the tourism sector.

At the same time there is an abundance of case studies of good practice on the implementation of CSR in other sectors. These can serve as useful examples to the tourism industry.

Sustainability and tourism are highly complex issues in their own right and are not easily reconciled. They require in-depth research, constant review, discussion and trial projects. Above all, they require a partnership approach, which recognises that the earth's resources are shared and that true sustainability can only be achieved through the equitable distribution of those resources.

Corporate Social Responsibility, integrated into core business values and operations, has been proven to provide a workable framework for the implementation of sustainable development within many industry sectors. Moreover, financial and investment markets increasingly require evidence of social and environmental good practice.

The tourism industry is beginning to take this on board. By now a great deal of experience has been accumulated to aid the implementation of environmental sustainability, but awareness and practical tools for social and economic sustainability still need to be explored in greater depth. Furthermore, corporate commitment, policy and practice need to be synchronised more substantially. This publication has focused on a number of practical ideas to make this possible. It is hoped that this will go some way to providing realistic and positive motivation for tour operators to pursue destination policies that embody the social and economic requirements of sustainable tourism.

METHOD OF RESEARCH

The findings in this report are based on:

- consultation within the International Network on Fair Trade in Tourism between June 1999 and October 2001 through conversations, meetings and conferences in the UK and during overseas visits
- case studies reported by industry managers and members of the FTT Network
- interviews with industry representatives
- returns from questionnaires on Corporate Social Responsibility sent to all members of the Federation of Tour Operators and the heads of the three leisure travel trade associations (FTO, ABTA and AITO)

Recommendations

Tour operators are recommended to:

1. integrate the principles of CSR into core business functions as a way of realising sustainable tourism, built on environmental, social and economic performance indicators.

2. practise stakeholder engagement and social and environmental reporting, as formulated within the new process standard AA1000, for use in their organisations as practical tools for implementing CSR.

3. address issues of social and economic responsibility in destinations regarding local and indigenous communities, small and medium sized domestic businesses and the informal sector, with a view to consultation, working in partnership and benefiting local people (as outlined in this report).

4. respect the principles of Human Rights in destinations, as outlined in the UN Declaration for Human Rights. These should be underpinned by concrete actions regarding indigenous land rights, labour rights and the rights of children.

5. respect national and regional regulations as a minimum or, alternatively, apply good practice arising from regulation in tour operators' home countries, particularly in respect of planning, environmental and social sustainability and corruption.

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TOUR OPERATORS

Accoladia (BA Holidays) Thomas Cook Holidays
www.tcholidays.com

Airtours
www.airtours.co.uk

Airtours – Sunwing Resorts
Scandinavian Leisure Group Resorts & Hotels
www.slg.se

Canodros SA and Kapawi Eco-lodge
www.canodros.com

Exodus
www.exodus.co.uk

First Choice
www.firstchoice.co.uk

Porini Ecotourism Ltd
www.porini.com

Thomson Travel Group,
Thomson Holidays and Thomson Malta Ltd
www.thomson.co.uk

Thomson-Fritidsresor
www.fritidsresor.se

RELATED COMPANIES

Cristal (Health & Safety Hygiene Company)
www.natbrit.com

TRADE ASSOCIATIONS

Association of British Travel Agents and Tour Operators (ABTA)
www.abta.com

Association of Independent Tour Operators (AITO)
www.aito.co.uk

Federation of Tour Operators (FTO) & International Federation of Tour Operators (IFTO)
www.fto.co.uk

AIRLINES

British Airways
www.britishairways.com/responsibility

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS (NGOs)

End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography, and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes (ECPAT)
www.ecpat.net

Tearfund
www.tearfund.org

Tourism Concern
International Network on Fair Trade in Tourism
www.tourismconcern.org.uk

WWF-UK
www.wwf.org,uk

CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

UK:

Business in the Community
www.bitc.org.uk

Centre for Tomorrow's Company
www.tomorrowscompany.com

The Co-operative Bank
www.co-operativebank.co.uk

The Department of Trade and Industry (DTI)
www.societyandbusiness.gov.uk

The Ethical Trading Initiative
www.ethicaltrade.org

The Fair Trade Foundation
www.fairtrade.org.uk

Forum For The Future
www.forumforthefuture.org.uk

Institute of Social and Ethical Accountability
www.accountability.org.uk

New Economics Foundation
www.neweconomics.org

Prince of Wales Business Leaders Forum
www.pwblf.org

Sustainable Tourism Initiative (STI) Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO)
www.fco.gov.uk

SustainAbility
www.sustainability.com

INTERNATIONAL:

❍ Tourism:

International Hotel Environment Initiative (IHEI)
www.ihei.org

Tour Operator Initiative (TOI)
www.toinitiative.org

❍ Human Rights:

Amnesty International
www.amnesty.org.uk/business

United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
www.unhchr.ch

❍ CSR:

Business for Social Responsibility
www.bsr.org

Corporate Social Responsibility Forum
www.csrforum.com

Global Reporting Initiative
www.globalreporting.org

World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD)
www.wbcsd.ch

Notes

Corporate Futures is the first of its kind, explaining why corporate social responsibility (CSR) is needed in the world's largest industry – tourism. Drawing on examples of ethical business and fair trade in other industries, it outlines the route forward for tourism. Examples of good social and environmental practice already being implemented by the tourism industry are given and practical tools suggested for tourism businesses to adopt.

"Congratulations on an excellent, very comprehensive publication. It flows very well and specifically the jargon (which is unavoidable) is clearly explained. The examples, while not being fully fledged case studies, are broad and well enough documented to give readers a feel for the realities of the situation. It is encouraging to see all the various industry initiatives itemised in one place.

This booklet makes a welcome contribution to the emerging discussions on Corporate Social Responsibility in the tourism industry. It should be a useful tool in pushing forward the nascent initiatives on responsible tourism, currently being planned by ABTA, AITO and FTO."

Paul Chandler

Managing Director of Travel Club of Upminster and past Chairman of the Association of Independent Travel Agents (AITO).

TourismConcern is a membership organisation founded in 1989 to focus concern on the impact of tourism, particularly in developing countries. It aims to promote greater understanding of the impact of tourism on environments and host communities and to promote tourism that is just, sustainable and participatory. Its members come from the tourism industry, non-governmental organisations, academia and the public.

www.tourismconcern.org.uk

5.5 Kalisch, A. (2010)

Fair Trade in Tourism – a Marketing Tool for Social Transformation? In: Cole, S. and Morgan, N., *Tourism and Inequality: Problems and Prospects*, CAB International

The catalyst for this paper and the book it appears in, emerged from an ESRC funded seminar on Fair Trade in Tourism in 2008, as part of an ESRC seminar series on 'Tourism, Inequality and Social Justice' at the University of the West of England in Bristol between February 2008 and September 2009. I was a key note speaker at the seminar and was thus invited to contribute to the book.

The purpose of the book chapter was twofold:

1) It had been ten years since the topic had been discussed in an academic publication. In that time, the debate on fair trade in tourism had moved on in the literature and in practice. Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa (FTTSA) had established itself as the front runner in developing a Fair Trade Tourism (FTT) certification process, Responsible Tourism was embedding itself in academic and practitioner circles, and the Travel Foundation had taken over the stewardship of CSR for the mass tour operators in the UK, in the form of training, guidelines and funding for sustainable tourism in destinations. I thought it important to re-enliven the academic debate on FTinT in the context of the original catalyst for the Tourism Concern campaign: on the one hand the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) and the issues of free trade and globalisation in tourism for developing countries, and on the other hand the argument whether certification of a service product could address inequality and injustice in tourism.

2) I was concerned that the original ideas developed as part of the International Network on FTinT and reflected in the two

practitioner papers in 2001 and 2002, should be captured in the academic literature. I designed to analyse these ideas critically and independently, against the historical backcloth of the FTinT project, and contemporary developments on certification, set against scholarly positions on political economy. The last section on the future of Fair Trade in Tourism addresses the arguments on the potential of this concept to create a more equitable trading system in tourism.

The chapter raises issues on public policy, power, and the significance of values in the movement towards greater equity in tourism trade. It could be argued that, since the title suggests an interesting juxtaposition of social transformation engendered by an economic tool, i.e. certification, the chapter might have included an analysis of the concept of social transformation through equitable trade in tourism. This could be a topic for future research.

6 Fair Trade in Tourism – a Marketing Tool for Social Transformation?

Angela Kalisch

Introduction

This chapter critically analyses the potential of a Fair Trade Tourism label to address issues of inequality and injustice in international tourism in less economically developed countries (LEDCs). The analysis is based on the premise that contemporary tourism is integral to the system that drives the global economy, capitalism and free trade. Therefore, the attempt to address injustice in tourism with Fair Trade principles needs to incorporate an analysis of the relationship between capitalism and tourism. The chapter starts with an introduction to tourism as an export trade strategy within the capitalist system, and the key factors contributing to poverty and unequal exchange through tourism development in less developed countries. These factors formed the backcloth to the formation of the ideas on Fair Trade in Tourism in the mid-1990s (Badger *et al.*, 1996; Cleverdon and Kalisch, 2000; Kalisch, 2001, 2002). The approach is thus historical from the outset, underpinning a review of contemporary research on Fair Trade in Tourism that followed on from the earlier work; since Fair Trade is a certification process, the chapter critically explores the issues of certification in tourism, as well as Fair Trade certification in primary commodities.

The International Network on Fair Trade in Tourism, set up in 1999 by the UK non-governmental organization (NGO) Tourism Concern, is used as a case study to highlight the outcomes of an international multi-stakeholder consultation process on Fair Trade in Tourism conducted between 1999 and 2002. The purpose of the case study is to illustrate the complexities of developing an international consensus on the key criteria for such a concept; and to emphasize the need for shifting the decision-making process on trade justice from a Eurocentric to a polycentric approach, originating from within the communities that it aims to benefit. The chapter ends with an analysis of the future for Fair Trade in Tourism and the development of a Fair Trade label. It acknowledges the need for pilot initiatives to explore the feasibility of a Fair Trade Tourism label, which could assist with a greater understanding of the complexities of implementation. It suggests that a label might contribute to changing public values and expectations of social justice, but only in conjunction with a long-term strategy, incorporating a wider global movement for more equitable trade in tourism. It concludes that a Fair Trade Tourism label, conceived solely as a marketing tool, would be unlikely to achieve significant development benefits to the poorest communities in more or less developed regions; nor would it significantly change the underlying structures of socio-economic inequality in the context of the structural imbalances of the capitalist economic system, which has shaped the organization of international tourism.

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The Political and Socio-economic Context of Fair Trade in Tourism

The international promotion of contemporary tourism has been facilitated by neo-liberal capitalist ideals of free markets and free trade in the context of globalization (Harrison, 1994; Bianchi, 2002; Mowforth and Munt, 2003; Reid, 2003). As transnational corporations (TNCs), the vehicles of globalization, penetrate deep into less developed economies, aided by international trade rules, the risks of exploitation and uneven development have been publicly exposed (Ascher, 1985; Barratt-Brown, 1993; Korten 1995; Britton, 1996; Klein, 2000; Hertz, 2001; Pilger, 2002; Madeley, 2003). As a result, an increasing number of critical consumers has started to demand higher ethical standards in business (Cowe and Williams, 2000; Mintel Market Report, 2001; Tallontire *et al.*, 2001). In response to this growing ethical consumer consciousness, NGOs in Europe and North America have created innovative models of fair and ethical trade, combining business priorities with development goals. Fair Trade and organic labelling of products, certifying adherence to various ethical principles of organic and sustainable production and processing are intended to solicit consumer confidence and commitment to a more ethical international trading system (Barratt-Brown, 1993).

'Fair Trade'-certified products are available on the shelves of the bigger supermarkets in northern Europe and America and include a multitude of commodities, such as coffee, tea, fruit, flowers, wine and cotton used for fashionable Fair Trade clothes. Even Fair Trade towns are being created (Fair Trade Labelling Organization, 2009). In the context of rapid tourism growth in less developed economies contributing to human rights abuses and injustices related to certain tourism developments, the question arises of why it should not also be possible to buy Fair Trade certified holidays. This question has been explored since the mid-1990s by an international network of tourism stakeholders, both profit and non-profit making. However, apart from a Fair Trade Tourism initiative in South Africa, there is as yet no Fair Trade Tourism label, comparable with Fair Trade commodities, certified by the European Fair Trade Labelling Organization or the UK-based Fair Trade Foundation. The following sections provide an insight into why this might be the case and whether a Fair Trade Tourism label could be effective in the context of social and economic justice in tourism.

Capitalism, unequal exchange and corporate power

The geopolitical expansion and influence of tourism in terms of socio-economic and political structures at global and local levels is immense. It is interlinked with agriculture and food security, in the context of imports and land uses for tourism development; construction and property development; telecommunications, infrastructure and transport systems; healthcare and sanitation. Policies developed in any of these sectors will affect tourism and vice versa. In 2008, international tourism arrivals worldwide were estimated to have reached 922 million. Although the global financial crisis in 2008 caused a sharp drop in arrivals to 600 million in 2009, the long-term trend is still expected to be on the increase to 1.6 billion in 2020 (UNWTO, 2009). This human migration constitutes 23% of the world's population of 6.7 billion, thus 'capitalism is crucially involved in managing and profiting from this massive, temporary and annual migration' (Harrison, 1994: 239).

The tourism system and its worldwide promotion in contemporary times is an integral component of the capitalist ideology that promotes private capital and wealth accumulation through private enterprise, worldwide free markets and free trade. This is done in conjunction with state authorities and international organizations, such as the United Nations and the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) (Harrison, 1994; Lanfant *et al.*, 1995). Tourism is one of the most important sectors, driving the process of globalization,

which, according to Reid (2003: 3) is a force that 'pursues profits over justice'.

Within capitalism, capital accumulation is expected to lead to economic growth at global and state levels through private ownership and barrier-free trade. Market forces are left to determine economic dynamics and social systems. This in turn is deemed beneficial to a society's development (Barratt-Brown, 1995). Some analysts believe that capitalism benefits from accumulation by exploitation, which creates inequality in wealth distribution and uneven development (Barratt-Brown, 1995; Levine, 1988; Mowforth and Munt, 2003). This in turn affects productive capacity. They argue that 'accumulation by consent would need to replace accumulation by exploitation' (Barratt-Brown, 1995: 182). One of the ways in which this could be achieved would be to 'transfer the means of production into social ownership' (Barratt-Brown, 1995: 184).

In clarifying the term exploitation, Levine (1988: 66) focuses on exploitation in exchange:

> an exploitative exchange is first of all an unequal exchange; an exchange in which the exploited party gets less than the exploiting party, who does better at the exploited party's expense. This is intuitively, the sense in which exploitative exchanges are unjust (unfair).

However, he elaborates by highlighting that not all unfair exchanges are exploitative. 'The exchange must result from social relations of unequal power'. This means that the power inequality underlying unequal exchange is often hidden behind an intricate set of complex political, social and economic relations that need to be unravelled in order to redress the equilibrium from an exploitative (unjust) exchange to an equitable (just) exchange.

The concept of power forms a necessary starting point in the analysis whether equitable exchange in international trade in tourism is possible, or how it might occur (Britton, 1996; Bianchi, 2002; Mowforth and Munt, 2003). Capitalism uses the means of political and economic power to dominate and eliminate weaker human systems, widening the rich–poor divide. Indeed, some ideologues consider inequality as a crucial factor of capitalism's success (Fennell, 2006). As Dr. Michael Iwand, Executive Director of TUI, is quoted as saying: 'Tourism is based on inequality … and we are living comfortably with it. People in the destinations are asking: send us more' (Fernweh, 2004).

Corporate power in tourism

Tourism's growth and popularity has been based on the fact that it is a business transaction, a complex commodity with exchange value (Burns and Holden, 1995; Watson and Kopachevsky, 1996), whose diverse distributional channels and value chains have been skilfully packaged as a product and traded on the world's markets (Kalisch, 2001). TNCs in tourism control the majority of global tourism trade. They own the key components of the tourism value chain through horizontal, vertical and diagonal integration, both in tourism generating as well as receiving countries. Their influence over demand and buying behaviour (Meyer, 2003), as well as supply, means that they can effectively control a country's economy and they particularly exert considerable influence in small countries or island states with a weak infrastructure and a high dependency on tourism.

The continual process of integration, mergers, take-overs and buy-outs results in the consolidation of a small number of corporate players in command of the majority of tourism markets (Madeley, 1996; Mowforth and Munt, 2003; Souty 2004; Mosedale, 2006). Since 2007, nearly 80% of international tourism trade in the UK is in the hands of just two German conglomerates, who have taken over four of the UK's biggest tourism operators.[1] Such centralized systems, combined with an abundance of competing destinations, translate into unequal trading relationships and overwhelming bargaining power in the negotiation of contracts with local tourism suppliers (Ascher, 1985; Madeley, 1996; Buhalis, 2000; Souty, 2004).

Fig. 6.1. Fair share (see http://www.polyp.org.uk).

A key instrument of power for TNCs, which own a myriad of different operations and companies within the same group, is the method of 'transfer pricing'. Transfer pricing enables integrated corporations to transfer goods and services across frontiers but within the same group. It allows corporations to reduce recorded profits in the countries where they are trading, thus minimizing their tax liabilities and enabling them to repatriate their profits. This system makes it difficult for governments, when calculating tax levels, to verify whether recorded prices relate to world prices or whether they are manipulated for strategic reasons (John, 1997). Recording reduced profits also allows corporations to argue for lowering wage levels in tourism destinations, thereby lowering their prices and increasing their competitive advantage for penetrating new markets. While this method is clearly encouraged and regarded desirable in industry circles (Deloitte, 2008), it is costly for destinations because they can lose out on much needed revenue and on the opportunity to maximize the multiplier effect from tourism income … 'the manipulation of transfer prices is not considered a fair or legal practice' (John, 1997: 59).

Tourism as a 'tool for development'

Maximizing income from tourism can be a matter of survival for many LEDCs. While many countries have benefited from capitalist driven development, and the human condition is said to have improved more in the last century than in the whole of history (World Bank, 2002), the pattern of wealth and well-being is still greatly uneven between and within nations (World Bank, 2002; Mowforth and Munt, 2003; Reid, 2003; Elliott, 2006). Apart from China and the so-called East Asian Tigers (Taiwan, Korea, Hong Kong and Singapore), where poverty has decreased by almost half (White Paper on International Development, 2000), the gap between rich and poor nations and rich and poor in individual states has widened rather than narrowed; a

gap that has doubled since the early 1970s. The average income in the richest 20 countries is 37 times the average in the poorest 20. In Latin America, South and Central Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa, the numbers of poor people have been rising (World Bank, 2002: 3).

Tourism has been promoted as a key economic sector in almost every country of the globe, and, since the 1970s and 1980s, as a 'tool' to generate economic growth and development, particularly in countries at low levels of economic development, with high levels of poverty and limited resources to trade (Scheyvens, 2002; Sharpley and Telfer, 2002; Mowforth and Munt, 2003). Tourism is significant in 11 of the 12 countries that hold 80% of the world's poor living on US$1–2 a day (Cattarinich, 2001). International tourism receipts in developing countries had more than tripled in the decade up to 1995, with an annual average growth rate of 13%. By 2000:

- developing countries had 292.6 million arrivals, an increase since 1990 of nearly 95%;
- the 49 least developed countries (LDCs) had 5.1 million international arrivals and achieved an increase of nearly 75% in the decade; and
- developing countries were attracting an increasing share of global international tourist arrivals up from 20.8% in 1973 to 42% in 2000 (Pro-Poor Tourism, 2004).

Yet, the narrow definition of development in the context of economics and growth has attracted substantial controversy over the past 30 years (de Kadt 1979; Dreze and Sen, 1995; Reid, 2003). Sen (1999), for example, stresses the importance of social support and public regulation in addition to economic interchange. Kanbur suggests that economic growth is crucial for sustaining progress in human development but that such growth appears to be most effective if it is accompanied by an equitable distribution of income (Kanbur, 1990). He argues that social and economic policies, based on criteria of equity and democracy are thus crucial (1990). Britton (1996) contests the promotion of tourism as a highly ambiguous development strategy for less developed economies. His argument is based on the premise that the 'tourist industry is designed to meet, and arose out of the recreational needs of affluent middle class citizens in the world's rich countries', imbuing metropolitan tourism corporations with the power to control the tourist flow chain (1996: 156). He believes that 'the central problem … for Third World destinations, is the essentially inequitable relationship inherent in this international system …' (1996: 160).

International tourism was largely promoted as an export industry, in the context of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) and Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs), introduced in the 1980s and in 1996 respectively, by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank. Ostensibly they were intended to help countries reduce their debt burden. Yet, they were highly controversial and strongly criticized by civil society for increasing rather than alleviating poverty (Mchallo, 1994; Kalisch, 2001; SAPRIN, 2002; Elliott, 2006).

By the 1980s and 1990s, the majority of LEDCs (many of them former colonies, which had achieved political independence in the 1960s and 1970s) were heavily indebted to the IMF and World Bank as a result of several oil crises in the 1970s (Mchallo, 1994; Cho, 1995) and consequently dependent on aid and donations from more economically developed countries (MEDCs) to help run their economies (Mchallo, 1994; Girvan, 1999).

> … Dwindling financial reserves, uncontrolled inflation, rising debt obligations, declining productivity, declining export earning capacity, and growing social instability typified conditions in a number of countries.
>
> (Mchallo, 1994: 90)

Foreign currency was urgently needed to service the debts, and this could only come from the reduction in public expenditure and the promotion of exports. Tourism was considered the obvious solution to expand the export sector. SAPs incorporated

policies for a reduction in public expenditure, increased privatization of public assets, export promotion and foreign investment. The consequences of such policies included greater inequality in the distribution of income, greater hardship for women, increased child labour, and the collapse of domestic industries causing growing unemployment and violation of labour standards (Badger *et al.*, 1996; Social Watch, 1999, cited in Kalisch, 2001; SAPRIN, 2002). In addition, SAPs had a long-term effect on the natural resource-base by increasing the allocation of protected areas to lodge development and hotel construction (Mchallo, 1994).

This was the context in which studies on the impacts of tourism in the 1980s and early 1990s had increasingly focused on the socio-economic and cultural consequences of tourism in LEDCs, where rapid, mostly unplanned and uncontrolled tourism operations and infrastructure development were reported to create inequality and increased poverty among local communities. Reports told of human rights abuses, displacement and eviction, child sex prostitution, child labour, slave labour, resource degradation and high levels of leakage (de Kadt, 1979; O'Grady, 1990; Monbiot, 1994; Equations, 1995; Keefe and Wheat, 1998; Madeley, 1996; Network First, 1996; Akama, 1997; Diaz Benevides, 2001).

Considering the immense socio-cultural, economic and political reach of tourism and its interconnection with a multiplicity of sectors nationally and internationally, some of the tourism impacts in LEDCs described could be explained by the overall structural imbalances that formed the backdrop to tourism development at the time. The majority of LEDCs introduced tourism development from a position of social and economic deficiency. This compounded a power inequality in international trade that already existed as a result of historical factors of unequal exchange.

The General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) – a 'level playing field' for trade in tourism?

Services have been growing in importance in modern economies and are increasingly traded internationally, contributing about 68% of world economy value added in 2003

Fig. 6.2. Spot the difference (see http://www.polyp.org.uk).

(OECD, 2005). The GATS, administered by the World Trade Organization (WTO), is the first multi-lateral and legally enforceable agreement governing trade and investment in services and is considered the main instrument for facilitating free market access through liberalization and privatization of services (Kalisch, 2001).

Liberalization of services is a crucial aspect of globalization. It facilitates cross-border movement of companies, people and capital. The Agreement is intended to ensure a 'transparent' and anti-discriminatory level playing field by offering the opportunity to all its members to benefit from reciprocal rights when making commitments to liberalize their sectors. These reciprocal rights are deemed important for LEDCs in gaining access to industrialized countries' markets. LEDCs particularly the LDCs, are accorded special attention through provision for technical assistance and specific market opening commitments to industrialized countries in the area of technology transfer and access to computerized networks (World Tourism Organization, 1995; Kalisch, 2001).

Travel and tourism services are also included in the Agreement. As a major global export sector, tourism is currently the most open service sector: in 2005, almost 95% of the 160 members of the WTO had made commitments in tourism under GATS, over 115 of them LEDCs or transition countries (Adlung and Roy, 2005). Even before the introduction of the GATS, tourism services in LEDCs were largely liberalized but without such reciprocal rights. In theory, therefore, the GATS should enable those countries to achieve a fairer and mutually beneficial trading system. However, because of the historical power advantage of MEDCs, particularly in services, the GATS has been critiqued for being skewed to benefit mainly TNCs from MEDCs.

Box 6.1. The General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS).

Liberalization

Liberalization under GATS is based on three specific pillars:

- market access (foreign-owned companies have free access to domestic markets);
- most favoured nation status (concessions granted to any one country must also be made available on a non-discriminatory basis to all other signatories of the Agreement); and
- national treatment (foreign investors must be treated on an equal basis with domestic investors, domestic investors must not receive any favourable treatment that could be conceived as protectionist).

Four modes of supply within GATS

GATS has identified four modes of supply for services which represent different forms of international trade:

- cross-border (services that are provided from abroad into the territory of another member country);
- consumption abroad (services consumed by nationals of one country travelling to another country);
- commercial presence (opportunities for foreign tourism businesses to establish a presence in another country, such as hotels, restaurants and tour operators);
- presence of natural persons (opportunities to move key personnel temporarily into foreign markets in order to provide a service there on behalf of the investing company, such as independent, self-employed suppliers or employees in the tourism/hospitality sector).

Tourism within GATS

Tourism in the context of GATS has been defined in a sector called 'Tourism and Travel-related Services' (TTRS). The four modes apply in tourism only in the following sectors:

- hotels and restaurants;
- travel agencies and tour operator services;
- tourist guide services; and
- other (unspecified).

Since the GATS was first launched in 1995, there has been deep concern, particularly among NGOs and civil society organizations, that a 'level playing field' for LEDCs may not be operative in a world where a large number of countries are at different stages of development. A 'level playing field' was considered impossible, when many economies were struggling with debt, economic dependency on MEDCs and the effects of SAPs (or their reformed successor, Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers or PRSPs, debt relief for heavily indebted poor countries; Equations, 1995, 2002; Badger *et al.*, 1996; Pleumarom, 1999; Seifert-Granzin and Jesupatham, 1999; Khor, 2001; Woodroffe, 2002; Font and Bendell, 2004; Plüss and Hochuli/Equations, 2005).

In the tourism sector, critics have levelled the following charges against the GATS (among others):

- The GATS provides legal leverage to large corporations who may operate against the interests of the host country. By incorporating a dispute settlement system whereby corporations can legally challenge government policies or regulation that may be deemed 'trade restrictive', the power of governments to protect their own small business sector, or impose social and environmental obligations on foreign investors is highly constrained (Kalisch, 2001, Plüss and Hochuli/Equations, 2005).
- There is evidence of national laws being adapted to assist foreign companies to invest, to the detriment of domestic providers (Equations, 2002).
- Foreign-owned TNCs are able to take over or eliminate budding smaller domestic providers who lack the resources, experience and expertise to compete with powerful investors (Pleumarom, 1999; Plüss and Hochuli/Equations, 2005). This will particularly affect women who tend to be highly represented in the informal sector of tourism as vendors, craft sellers and caterers (Williams, 2002).
- Investment and competition rules will make it impossible to ensure indigenous and local control over tourism products (Williams, 2002).
- MEDCs are not reciprocating by opening their service sectors, instead they are restricting market access to LEDCs. This is particularly the case in tourism under the mode of supply for 'presence of natural persons' where trade barriers are created through restrictive immigration rules, e.g. when the presence of a professional, such as manager or tour guide from the country seeking market access is necessary to run an operation in another member country, which should provide reciprocal access rights, see 'modes of supply' in Box 6.1 (Kalisch, 2001).
- Subsidies are created by MEDCs for their domestic sectors, in the areas of technology, licensing and technical standard setting. This may affect the air transport sector where discrimination in the availability and cost of ancillary services may reduce the competitiveness of airline slot allocations and access to computer systems (UNCTAD, 1999; Kalisch, 2001).
- Access to communication channels and distribution networks, such as computer reservation systems (CRS) and global distribution systems (GDS) is regarded as discriminatory (UNCTAD, 1999). The main tourism distribution networks, such as Amadeus and Sabre, are essential components of airline marketing strategy. They are highly concentrated, and dominated largely by American and European airlines (Vellas and Bécherel, 1999; Kalisch, 2001).
- The GATS does not integrate sustainable development or human rights as identified in major international treaties and agreements.
- There is no provision for greater corporate transparency and legally binding accountability in trade practices (Kalisch, 2001).

In short, critics could argue that in an environment of uneven development and overwhelming power of TNCs, the agreement has the potential to threaten national sovereignty and increase rather than eliminate poverty and inequality.

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to discuss the GATS and tourism in detail and to analyse more recent research in this area. At this point, the discussion on the GATS mainly serves to illustrate the background that lead to the development of the concept on Fair Trade in Tourism. Since 1995, progressive rounds of negotiations where MEDCs have been urging LEDCs to open up their service sectors more rapidly (such as water, education and health), have failed to yield the desired results, because of opposition from civil society and many LEDC governments. The World Trade Organization has responded to civil society criticisms, emphasizing, for example, that ‘domestic regulations are not considered as barriers to market access and national treatment under the GATS and, therefore, not subjected to trade negotiations’ (World Trade Organization, 2009).

In 2001, a number of Latin American countries, including the Dominican Republic, Ecuador and Peru developed a draft Annex to the WTO’s GATS on Tourism. It covers, among other points, safeguards against anti-competitive practices of tour operators based in tourist-generating countries (mainly industrialized countries). However, there is still a great deal of disagreement on this within the WTO and among civil society organizations (Plüss and Hochuli/Equations, 2005). It may take years to reach a consensus (International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development, 2001).

Agents of Change

A greater awareness of ethical trade

In the 1990s, analyses of sustainable development and sustainable tourism mainly focused on issues of natural resource use and consumption, conservation and protection of biodiversity and ecosystems. The links between poverty, inequality and human rights abuses were rarely explored, particularly in relation to trade. However, globalization and the growing dominance of TNCs in LEDCs were increasingly being questioned and critiqued by NGOs and trade unions. Corporate practices in relation to child labour and sweatshop conditions, providing cheap products for wealthy consumers in MEDCs were exposed in the media, spawning consumer boycotts and consumer demand for more ethics in business. Ethical consumerism was beginning to be a force to be reckoned with by corporations who wanted to keep their reputation intact. The social dimension in terms of human rights and poverty gradually became an integral part of the drive towards sustainable development in key industry sectors. The concept of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) became an essential strategic framework for changing management practice towards greater social and environmental justice (Kalisch, 2002).

However, analysts and practitioners generally agree that there are numerous conflicting and vague definitions of sustainable development and CSR. In the context of perceived pressures from an increasing proportion of ethically influenced consumers (Mintel Market Report, 2001; Tallontire *et al.*, 2001; Kalisch, 2002), and in the fast and highly competitive business world, such ambiguity can often be used as a screen, using politically correct terminology in order to hide unsustainable practices for the purpose of competitive advantage, so-called ‘greenwash’. This serves not only to undercut businesses with genuine credentials but also to bring the concept of sustainability into disrepute. Corporate accountability and reporting, ethical trading, Fair Trade and ecocertification have been voluntary initiatives by business or NGOs (adding business functions to their portfolio) that have spearheaded a more enlightened approach to trade practice in the absence of regulation. This approach aims to integrate ethical principles with business goals, addressing the interests of society as a whole rather than merely the narrow pursuit of profit and economic growth at all costs. It entails concrete methods for implementing, monitoring, measuring and publicly reporting on social and environmental performance, not only in the private sector, i.e. in business, but also in the public and voluntary sectors.

Tourism certification, ecolabelling and the Fair Trade label

In tourism, the social dimension of sustainable development was beginning to be expressed in the late 1990s through the development of community-based tourism, pro-poor tourism, responsible tourism and Fair Trade in tourism. Fair Trade in services, particularly in tourism, is still rare and under researched. The following section thus explores the implications of certification and ecolabelling within the framework of ecotourism and Fair Trade in commodities to assist with an analysis of Fair Trade in tourism.

Tourism certification and ecolabelling

Ecotourism seeks to provide tangible benefits for both conservation and local communities. Certification provides a system for monitoring and measuring those benefits (Honey, 2002), as a guarantee not only for consumers, but also investors, suppliers, employees, NGOs and governments. Certification and ecolabelling in tourism were responses to the challenge of 'greenwash' and corruption (Honey, 2002). They provide a welcome marketing tool for the multitude of small- and medium-sized businesses (SMEs) and microbusinesses that dominate the tourism sector. Ecolabels may help to differentiate them from the increasingly powerful TNCs. The overall aim is that an ecolabel will be recognized by consumers or distribution channels, and considered as added value, providing a competitive advantage in the market-place and creating consumer demand for environmental quality (Font and Harris, 2004). In this sense, an ecolabel can have the same effect as a brand name (Jha and Vossenaar, 1997).

On the positive side, tourism certification can act as a competitive marketing advantage for SMEs. It can serve as a tool for public education, raising awareness of sustainability and responsibility in tourism, as well as the need for more democratic and participative trading relationships, with emphasis on local community control and empowerment rather than domination by corporate or governmental authority. While early approaches to ecolabelling had a focus on environmental issues, comparative studies of tourism certification initiatives carried out in 2003, using pro-poor tourism principles, found an increasing awareness of social standards for sustainability in tourism principles, codes and standards (Roe *et al.*, 2003; Font and Harris, 2004).

However, ecotourism has been critiqued as a 'Western-centric construct' (Cater, 2006) to promote sustainable tourism in the context of mass tourism, economic growth and modernization theory (Duffy, 2006).

Tourism certification programmes have not escaped criticism either. Critics claim that:

- Tourism certification schemes generally do not challenge existing structural inequalities in the international trade in tourism, which could arguably be creating or re-enforcing poverty and environmental degradation (Cleverdon and Kalisch, 2000). There is a risk, in LEDCs that they will be dominated by the interests of large-scale tourism corporations and MEDC agencies (Sasidharan *et al.*, 2002).
- They are deemed to be expensive and inaccessible to the poorest providers in the absence of relevant capital, complicated in terms of verification procedures, and dependent on consumer demand. Such demand is at best volatile, at worst non-existent.
- They have not served as a guarantee against 'greenwash'. Research has found that where the process is industry controlled, certification can be manipulated to suit business priorities (Synergy, 2000).
- The proliferation of different (often overlapping) national and international schemes causes confusion about the credibility of such schemes and consequent mistrust among consumers (Synergy, 2000; Honey, 2002; Fernweh, 2004).

- Certification could be perceived as a trade barrier by LEDC governments and as a tool for discriminating against small and microbusinesses without the resources to comply with the requirements of particular standards (Fernweh, 2004; Font and Bendell, 2004).

Fair Trade certification in commodities

While the success of tourism certification has been doubtful, Fair Trade certified products of primary commodities have attracted growing popularity. Fair Trade criteria for commodities such as coffee focus on a fair price, which includes an added premium to enable re-investment into community infrastructure and the direct relationship with the purchaser, excluding the need for middlemen, advance payments that enable small-scale businesses without assets and collateral to invest in production, and a long-term relationship with trading partners to enable collaboration on training, marketing and product development (Cleverdon and Kalisch, 2000). The standard setting and certification process at the European level is overseen by the Fair Trade Labelling Organization (FLO), in addition to national initiatives, such as the Fair Trade Foundation in the UK. Producers form an important part of the policy and decision-making process.

Fair Trade commodities have been steadily increasing their market share by gaining access to mainstream supermarket shelves, and influencing large corporations, such as the supermarket chains Sainsbury's and Tesco in the UK, to reconsider their trading practices as part of an 'Ethical Trading' initiative (Ethical Trading Initiative, 2000). Fair Trade marked products increased in value by 57% in 2000 over 1999 (Kalisch, 2002). Between 1998 and 2008, estimated UK retail sales in Fair Trade coffee increased tenfold, from 13.7 m to 137.3 m (Fair Trade Foundation, 2009).

The Fair Trade labelling process serves a dual purpose of providing direct market access for disadvantaged producers, thus increasing self-reliance and strengthening their bargaining position, and working towards readjusting the structural power imbalance in North–South trade relationships. In addition, it provides a human dimension to western consumption processes by linking consumers to the lives of producers as part of the marketing process in a world where consumers are increasingly alienated from the origins of the products they are consuming (Cleverdon and Kalisch, 2000; Paul, 2005). It offers consumers the chance to make a difference to global poverty and sustainable development through the choices they make while shopping (Fair Trade Foundation, 2008).

Fair Trading organizations are non-profit making and are motivated by a strong commitment to social equality and sustainable development. In the UK, Fair Trade originated in the collaboration of major NGOs, such as Traidcraft and Oxfam, who established a separate unit for trading operations with developing countries. While Fair Trade certification is a tool for marketing, generating consumer confidence in ethical standards, it is also a development initiative, based on participative principles (Paul, 2005). The concept of Fair Trade in commodities incorporates recognition of the unequal terms of trade for producers in LEDCs as a result of dependency in the North–South trade relationship and the power of corporations and middlemen to exploit small producers in remote locations.

Notwithstanding challenges that still exist for Fair Trade producers (Utting-Chamorro, 2005; Pirotte *et al.*, 2006), Fair Trade (in primary commodities) is regarded as economically efficient and has the potential to relieve poverty, by providing employment, choice and self-reliance (Cleverdon and Kalisch, 2000; Hayes, 2006). The security of a long-term relationship with traders helps to achieve credibility with bankers who are more inclined to provide loans for further investment (Cleverdon and Kalisch, 2000). Such an injection of capital can enable poor producers to turn the 'vicious circle of poverty'

into a 'virtuous circle of economic development' (Gamble, 1989: 9, cited in Burns and Holden, 1995).

Fair Trade in Tourism

In 1996, the London-based NGO Tourism Concern published 'Trading Places: Tourism as Trade'. It was the first study to provide an analysis of international tourism as an invisible service trade export in the context of the GATS and the effects of SAP reforms in developing countries. It argued that tourism development in countries that were implementing SAPs needed to be considered in 'the light of a macro-economic critique' (Badger *et al.*, 1996: 25). Such a critique needed to analyse the effects of liberalization in tourism and other sectors, enacted through the medium of the GATS, from the viewpoint of LEDCs. In its conclusion, the report raised the question whether the concept of Fair Trade in commodities, could feasibly be applied to the tourism sector in order to address globalization, human rights issues, poverty and inequality.

The rationale for the focus on Fair Trade was threefold:

1. The Fair Trade movement had made substantial advances not only in creating market demand for competitive products based on ethical criteria, but also in raising consumer awareness on injustices in trade and developing the argument for a fairer trade system with policy-makers within the arena of international trade negotiations.
2. By taking the abstract idea of ethics in trading into the tangible arena of product development, creatively marketed to an increasingly critical consumer base, it attempted to provide a concrete and practical solutions-based, hands-on business approach to the issues of poverty, injustice and inequality. Such an approach had to be taken account of in the business world (where these issues were generally of little importance at the time), particularly as Fair Trade products were steadily increasing their market share, successfully competing with other conventional products.
3. By focusing on such a practical market-oriented strategy for tourism, Tourism Concern was aiming to combine campaign rhetoric with innovative action.

After initial small grants from Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) and North London University to launch consultation and research on Fair Trade in Tourism in 1997, Tourism Concern was successful in securing a grant from the European Social Fund in 1999 for a 3-year awareness raising project on Fair Trade in Tourism, with matching funding from the UK Department for International Development Tourism Challenge Fund. British Airways later also contributed a small grant, underlining industry support for the undertaking. The project's aims included the development of criteria for Fair Trade in Tourism standards and practice, based on consultation of an NGO network and the creation of a dialogue with the tourism industry, to explore the implementation of Fair Trade components.

Philosophy and methodology

The philosophical foundation for this work was inspired by a critique of Fair Trade as essentially a northern-led development initiative, originated by radical activists and student groups, religious and charitable organizations in Europe and North America. Its aim was, on the one hand, to challenge neo-liberal trading practices of large multinational enterprises in developing countries and, on the other benefiting poor southern producers through 'trade not aid' (Kocker, 2006; Schmelzer, 2006), enabling them to achieve greater self-sufficiency. It was assumed by those groups that the worthy goals of such an approach would naturally lead to more equitable terms of trade and better lives for southern producers (Kocker, 2006). Tourism Concern supported this concept as a potential paradigm for an alternative approach to trade in tourism.

However, it also questioned it for its Eurocentric elitist origins and its niche appeal. The methodology for developing a Fair Trade in tourism paradigm thus focused principally on participative consultation of grassroots stakeholders in LEDCs to establish what Fair Trade in Tourism meant to them. Therefore, Tourism Concern created an international multi stakeholder network on Fair Trade in Tourism, including representatives from industry, government, NGOs, community organizations and academia from both MEDCs and LEDCs.

The International Network on Fair Trade in Tourism

The International Network on Fair Trade in Tourism was formally set up in 1999, attracting 200 members within a year, supported from February 2000 onwards by an electronic group information and discussion tool in the form of a list server, which had 150 members by the time the project ended in October 2002. This process provided the opportunity to create not only a tool for consultation, but crucially a mass base of support, a platform for collaboration, and the exchange of knowledge and ideas. The Network enabled the alliance of groups from a diversity of national and organizational cultures, with a variety of (sometimes conflicting) values and worldviews. It comprised a myriad of different conceptual constructions, experiences and expectations, intent on a common purpose of improving the terms of trade in tourism for communities in LEDCs. As part of that process, Tourism Concern organized annual conferences over the course of the 3 years of the project in 1999, 2000 and 2002 in the UK and Africa, with a total of 175 participants. Representatives from community-based organizations in LEDCs came from The Gambia, Tanzania, Namibia, Philippines, Belize, Nepal, Kenya, India, Uganda, Malaysia and South Africa.

Outcomes from the Fair Trade in Tourism Project/Campaign 1999–2002

Pragmatists and ideologues

The main thrust of the initial discussions centred around the dynamic between the political and the practical level, the issue whether theory drives practice or vice versa, and whether it is possible to develop the one before engaging in the other:

- Should the Network concentrate on: (i) setting up a niche product label with Fair Trade in Tourism criteria; or (ii) influencing mainstream industry and the mass market?
- To what extent should Fair Trade in Tourism focus on political issues in tourism for grassroots communities, in terms of basic democratic rights, and the local impact of globalization, of which tourism is a major tool?

Among the key themes that emerged from the consultation process were the following:

- One of the most unfair aspects of tourism was the fact that the capital/product of tourism is public assets but the profit made from it is private: wealth should be turned into more public resources.
- The commodification of people, cultures and the natural environment, packaged and sold as a tourism product by foreign corporations, creates serious ethical and human rights challenges.
- The root causes of inequality were perceived as: a lack of access to capital, foreign and private ownership of resources, unequal distribution of benefits, control over the representation of the destination in tourism-generating countries, and lack of transparency of tourism operations, including price and working conditions (for further analysis see Cleverdon and Kalisch, 2000).
- It was stressed as important that Fair Trade in Tourism did not represent yet another ‘museum piece’ in tourism, like ‘ecotourism’, another model to be fronted by governments and industry to mollify critics and escape appropriate responsibility.

Other prerequisites for Fair Trade in Tourism were considered, such as:

- Democracy enabling communities to say 'no' to tourism, if they wished.
- Capacity-strengthening of local communities and the small businesses.
- A viable tourism product.
- Consumer pressure for ethical tourism.
- Focus on domestic markets as well as international markets.
- A recognition of the importance of mass tourism in the context of ethical planning and business practice, providing business and income in LEDCs.
- Greater awareness of the impacts of liberalization, whereby social, cultural and environmental standards should not be regarded as trade barriers.

Following the first meeting, Tourism Concern developed a set of draft principles and criteria for Fair Trade in Tourism as a basis for further consultation.

However, taking on board the complexity of development issues in tourism, the emphasis was less on setting up a Fair Trade Tourism kitemark[2] than on developing strategies for structural change, raising public awareness, capacity building among local communities, developing practical instruments for changing values and systems, and influencing government policy. NGOs were considered crucial agents in that process. Tourism Concern thus developed a set of recommendations for NGOs and community-based tourism enterprises in relation to the GATS, industry and governments (Kalisch, 2001). This was followed by a report aimed at mass package tour operators, translating development issues and principles of Fair Trade in Tourism into a business framework, such as the concept of Corporate Social Responsibility (Kalisch, 2002). The outcomes were a reflection of frontline research and an international process of consultation and decision making.

The process of creating principles of Fair Trade in Tourism was evolutionary and wide-ranging, involving a diversity of social and organizational cultures, nationalities and political perspectives. This provided strength to the arguments, which Tourism Concern was presenting to key policy makers in the UK and Europe. It also strengthened the various groups involved in the International Network, who were able to carry the discussions further into the different global and local arenas of decision making on development, inspiring their own research and consultation processes. Many of the proponents of responsible, pro-poor, Fair Trade or community-based tourism were initially involved in the International Network on Fair Trade in Tourism.

Current initiatives on Fair Trade in Tourism

To date, the jury is still out on whether a Fair Trade Tourism certified kitemark would be effective in addressing the 'root causes of inequality' as determined by the International Network on Fair Trade in Tourism, either as a development or marketing tool.

Fair Trade Tourism in South Africa (FTTSA)

Fair Trade certification of tourism establishments has been realized in South Africa (Seif, 2002), ranging from whale-watching operations to game reserves and adventure tours.

Criteria include fair share, democracy, respect, reliability, transparency and sustainability. These criteria were determined on the basis of a 2-year consultation process with industry and local communities and a 1-year pilot and participative action research project (Kalisch, 2001; Seif, 2002). In 2009, FTTSA is planning to embark on a pilot project for Fair Trade travel packages to South Africa with funding from the Swiss government and in collaboration with partner organizations in Switzerland and Germany (Tjolle, 2009).

The International Fair Trade Labelling Organization (FLO)

Recent initiatives by the FLO to explore the feasibility of a Fair Trade label in tourism have revived the debate on this subject in

Europe, since the end of funding for the International Network on Fair Trade in Tourism in 2002. Between 2006 and 2008, FLO engaged in discussions with six NGOs from Europe (including Tourism Concern in the UK) and Africa to determine the extent to which conventional Fair Trade certification and licensing elements could apply to the tourism sector (Beyer/mas/contour, 2007).

FLO commissioned a feasibility report, which suggested various strategies in respect of two particular models: developing a pilot project with community-based tourism enterprises on the one hand and mainstream trade certification on the other, with further development of Fair Trade standards. However, these recommendations were not made without reservations based on the fragmented nature of the tourism supply chain, community-based tourism providers struggling with market access and commercial viability, and the difficulty of monitoring and setting a 'fair price' (Font, 2008).

Another report in 2007 (in response to the FLO consultation) by a group of consultants in Germany uses fair price as the key criterion for a Fair Trade analysis in the context of mainstream package tourism as opposed to community based tourism. They reason that community-based tourism only caters to a niche market and 'thus plays a minor role in international travel to developing countries' (Beyer/mas/contour, 2007: 8). The report highlights the complexities of setting a fair price in an industry as diverse as tourism and argues that 'the fair-trade labelling of package tours can only be considered plausible if all the core services in the destination included in the package deal meet the fair trade criteria' (Beyer/mas/contour, 2007: 17). This they deem doubtful and unrealistic at this point in time. Beyer's concern, is debatable, however, since currently some composite Fair Trade labelled commodity products, can carry the FAIRTRADE Mark even when not all of the ingredients are Fair Trade (Fair Trade Labelling Organization, 2009).

What does the future hold for Fair Trade in Tourism?

Ethical issues arising from the international and global promotion of tourism are closely interlinked with ethical issues arising from the promotion of the global economic system as a whole. Capitalism seems to have triumphed as the predominant world ideology, since the largest communist powers in the world, Russia and China, have opened their economies to the capitalist trading system. However, in the light of recurring economic crises, not least the global credit crisis of 2008, capitalism and free trade have been widely called into question. Critics lament the 'moral vacuum' of the economic system (Sunderland, 2008), which is deemed to promote a casino mentality to trading (Hertz, 2005; Randall, 2008). Calls for a fairer, more inclusive version of capitalism are assuming greater urgency among a movement of analysts from a wide variety of political credence (Hutton, 1996; Zadek, 2000; Sunderland, 2008).

So, in this changing public climate of greater ethical awareness what does the future hold for Fair Trade in Tourism? Is it just another 'museum piece', confusing to consumers and industry in the array of ethical, eco, pro-poor and responsible tourism concepts? Or does it have the potential to make a substantial difference towards creating a more equal and sustainable distribution of resources and a more ethical trading system in tourism, while providing value for customers?

Any approaches with an ethical purpose in tourism are beneficial if carefully researched and consulted upon through democratic participative processes. However, ethical consumers are still in the minority. Price, weather and convenience are still the highest priorities for most holiday-makers. Although the responsible tourism market has been growing, most recent surveys by Mintel (2007) reveal that ethical concerns and beliefs do not appear to be penetrating any further. This may be

Fig. 6.3. Meeting village chief. Photo by Angela Kalisch, The Gambia, March 2008.

related to consumer confusion and a feeling of helplessness rather than being jaded. The lack of a credible and visibly marketed consumer product, widely supported by the media, government, industry and NGOs contributes to such confusion. Yet, Fair Trade in primary commodity products has captured the imagination of a growing number of people seeking more responsible ways of spending their money. Supermarkets with ethical policies, such as Waitrose and the Co-operative in the UK, have contributed to that. Research also suggests that there is potential among ethical grocery consumers for developing an interest in Fair Trade holidays (Mintel, 2007). Therefore, in order to capture this market a product needs to be created, an initiative to establish the mechanisms for changing trading and marketing structures in the tourism industry, possibly leading to Fair Trade certification. However, this is a complex and challenging process. Fair Trade holidays should not only be attractive to consumers but also bring substantial development benefits to local communities who are most affected by poverty and exploitation. In this sense, certification could be less important than effective policy intervention and the responsible marketing of such intervention. For example, in 2007, the UK-based Travel Foundation helped to change the distribution of tourism income to the Maasai in Kenya, who have suffered displacement and exploitation for over 30 years as a result of tourism development. The Travel Foundation worked with ground handlers and tour operators in Kenya to establish a new transparent ticketing and payment system for cultural visits to Maasai villages, which increased income to these villages by 800% during the first 6 months (The Travel Foundation, 2008). This new scheme is now marketed to UK tour operators with the help of practical guidelines to ensure take up of the system and responsible implementation.

Within mass tourism, tourism organizers and investors can be expected, or better still, be regulated to be publicly accountable for their social and environmental practices and performance. Studies on ethical consumerism have found that

> … there is, a strong argument for integrating ethical concerns into the broader operations of a company rather than targeting a particular niche. If company claims can be backed

> up by independently verified reporting, the potential for mainstreaming ethical concerns may be even greater.
>
> (Tallontire, 2001: 27)

Moreover, the perception of tourism as a product deserves some serious critical analysis. On the one hand, the ethical implications of selling cultures, social relationships and the natural environment for private profit require some scrutiny. On the other hand, from the perspective of the consumer it could be argued that there is no tangible product as we know it. Instead, there are only loosely linked experiences. How could they be certified? Notwithstanding the challenges presented by this option, not least the interconnectedness of tourism with other sectors, practical initiatives to develop a Fair Trade Tourism certified product as a pilot project/experiment (with all its questions and complexities, and risk of failure) would advance the debate on market and industry viability, as well as development benefits for communities. '… real alternatives must grow from action and practical development experience, not from the minds of thinkers in the North' (Edwards, 1993: 173).

It would be fundamentally important that such initiatives originate from those stakeholders who are intended to benefit from it, in collaboration with partners in both MEDCs and LEDCs. They would need to incorporate the development of wider support structures for Fair Trade in Tourism, such as capacity-building and awareness raising for service and product providers in tourism receiving countries and inbound operators, as well as awareness raising and public information campaigns for consumers. A Fair Trade Tourism operation would require an institutional mechanism that is separate from but linked to a Fair Trade commodities organization. Research could either focus on the establishment of an alternative trade organization for tourism (or services), possibly modelled on or in collaboration with the newly reformed 'World Fair Trade Organization', formerly International Federation for Alternative Trade, or on a collaboration with a national or European Fair Trade labelling organization. It would need to focus specifically on promoting appropriate social standards and marketing of Fair Trade products in tourism, in conjunction with coordinating campaigns on Fair Trade in Tourism and human rights, linked to the wider issues of uneven development, international trade and sustainable consumption.

A practical initiative could also provide a more tangible basis for conducting more action research particularly with consumers, which is necessary to progress the arguments and to evaluate the potential development benefits of Fair Trade in Tourism. The pilot initiative on Fair Trade package travel spearheaded by FTTSA will make an important contribution in that respect. Ideological arguments are often high flying and conceptually inaccessible to the public and industry; so a tangible economic instrument that embeds such issues and is steeped in empirical evidence, while serving as a public education and marketing tool, helps to give substance to the arguments and build a strong supporter base.

However, in isolation, market instruments are unlikely to change the root causes of poverty and inequality. These originate in the historic patterns of power relations and domination over countries and resources by metropolitan industrialized economies. Fair Trade certification and an ethical niche product by itself, marketed to an elite, will hardly address the root causes of injustice as perceived by grassroots communities in LEDCs, relating to access to capital, ownership of resources, and distribution of benefits. Certification is also unlikely to shift the power dynamics of TNCs in the negotiation process between small and medium-sized domestic providers in developing countries (Buhalis, 2000), nor will it help microbusiness and informal sector traders (the poorest stakeholders that Fair Trade targets) to increase their gains from tourists and obtain access to international markets, because compliance with the financial and contractual requirements of the certification process would be unachievable for them.

The costs and complications of verification procedures would present serious obstacles. In addition, certification will have little meaning to indigenous people displaced from their land and homes by governments and tourism developers, or forced into prostitution through extreme poverty. These issues are all inextricably linked to the capitalist organization of the global economy and need to be addressed at local and global policy level. Governments, for example, need to use appropriate social policies to support measures for social ownership and for small domestic businesses to compete collaboratively in the face of domestic and foreign corporate power. They need to use their regulatory and negotiating powers to require responsible and ethical trading practices from domestic and foreign investors in the context of national and international laws and agreements. International trade agreements would need to incorporate provision for such powers. Policies and procedures within the World Trade Organization (in the context of the GATS) need to reflect the social and cultural issues generated by the trade in tourism. Fair Trade certification or ethical business practice should not be perceived as a trade barrier.

A Fair Trade Tourism label, in combination with a carefully researched mass based strategy might succeed in changing values and power dynamics among consumers, governments and businesses, towards a greater commitment to social justice. Such a strategy would need to include a process of advocacy, public education, capacity building, global networking and activism in equitable partnership between MEDC and LEDC stakeholders. However, it has to be recognized that this will always be an on-going struggle.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to analyse the opportunities for equitable trade in tourism and the developments of Fair Trade in Tourism in LEDCs, as spearheaded by Tourism Concern in the mid-1990s. The chapter argues that the forces of power and control within capitalism, the driving force of the tourism system, militate against an analysis that isolates market forces as a mechanism for greater social equality from the very power relations that are deemed to create that inequality. While the creation of Fair Trade Tourism initiatives may be constructive in progressing the research and debates on this issue, they should only be undertaken following appropriate consultation of the intended benefactors and in conjunction with mass based strategies to improve global policies for greater social justice and equality.

Ethical perspectives in trade and economic development are linked to values and beliefs. Structures that are deemed to promote ethical policies and practices, such as voluntary initiatives, codes of conduct, corporate reporting, or certification and labelling, indeed even regulation, are unlikely to change by themselves the root causes of inequality and injustice in tourism (or any other sector). Substantial structural transformation towards more equitable social, eco- and economic systems will only occur if the very values that lead to such causes change dramatically. It is likely that they will not change rapidly or voluntarily. Ultimately, as poverty, climate change and depletion of social and natural resources take their course, a more responsible approach to managing society will need to prevail by necessity, with or without certification.

Discussion Questions

1. How realistic is the expectation that TNCs in tourism could develop ethical policy and practice in developing countries?
2. How could Fair Trade Tourism certification address human rights issues arising from tourism development?
3. What are the key aspects of the trade in tourism that cause inequality?

Notes

[1]At the time of writing, in 2009, First Choice Holidays and Thomson Travel had been taken over by TUI AG and a German conglomerate Arcandor had a majority stake in Thomas Cook. Thomas Cook and MyTravel merged in 2009, Arcandor went bankrupt and another German corporation Rewe is considering taking over the stake.

[2]The Kitemark is a registered certification mark developed originally, and owned by the British Standards Institution (BSI). It is a symbol of quality and safety for consumers and businesses (BSI, 2009).

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Fair Trade in Tourism: Critical Shifts and Perspectives, In: Holden, A. and Fennell, D. *The Routledge Handbook of Tourism and the Environment*, Abingdon: Routledge Taylor Francis

This chapter analyses Fair Trade in Tourism in the context of contemporary research on fair trade in commodities, fair trade tourism and tourism generally. It uses the case study of Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa (FTTSA) to examine whether this case can illuminate a way forward for addressing the root causes of inequality, identified by the International Network on FTinT in 1997 and 1999 of lack of access to capital, lack of ownership and control of resources, marketing, transparent tourism operations, and unequal distribution of benefits. It takes a critical approach to examining the realistic feasibility of FTT by analysing the core components that form part of an international FTT process: the product, producers/providers, the purchasers, and the consumers. It does so by referring to analysts' positions on FT in commodities, in the context of Fair Trade as a 'site of contestation, conflict and negotiation…' (Schmelzer, 2006:4). In this last piece of writing on the subject, I have moved from making the case for FTinT from an advocacy and campaign platform to a more cautionary, critical approach. This perspective views FTinT as a process worth pursuing for its symbolic contribution to raising social and political consciousness on equitable tourism, whilst being mindful of its limitations. The chapter concludes that, in view of recent global shifts in tourism markets and political power distribution from the historic North-South flow to South-South and South-North (the importance of regional tourism and the emergence of the BRIC countries, Brazil, Russia, India and China on the global tourism market), the dependency, core-periphery analysis at the basis of the original Fair Trade concept might need to be re-assessed. This could present an opportunity for future research.

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Fair Trade in tourism

Critical shifts and perspectives

Angela Kalisch

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Background

The General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), launched in 1995, firmly embedded tourism as a trade export on the agenda of international trade negotiations in the context of liberalisation and free market access. However, the Agreement was severely critiqued for potentially reinforcing environmental degradation, poverty and inequality in developing countries through liberalisation in tourism and other related sectors, such as water and health (Kalisch 2001, 2010). This provided the context in 1996 for the launch of an investigation by the UK based non-governmental organization (NGO) Tourism Concern into the feasibility of Fair Trade in Tourism, modelled on the success of Fair Trade in primary commodities, such as coffee, tea and bananas (Badger *et al.* 1996; Cleverdon and Kalisch 2000; Kalisch 2001, 2010).

The Fair Trade paradigm, initially applied to primary commodities, was used as a basis for developing a new vision on equitable trade in tourism as part of the service sector. Yet, there was no experience of Fair Trade in services. The only models of ethical trade in services in the UK at the time were in the banking and financial investment sectors, such as the Co-operative Bank, and a new ethical investment organisation, called Triodos. Moreover, in their 1996 analysis of the GATS and its implications for tourism in developing countries, Tourism Concern saw the need for a 'macro-economic critique' of liberalisation and free market access in countries affected by Structural Adjustment policies (Badger *et al.* 1996: 25). However, developing a Fair Trade label for tourism would have largely addressed an elite niche market at micro-level; initially, at least. This was hardly an appropriate response to a 'macro-economic critique'.

Thus, in 1999, Tourism Concern, together with an international multistakeholder Network, proceeded on the one hand to raise awareness on the impacts of the GATS in tourism, and on the other to develop criteria for Fair Trade tourism (FTT) policy and practice to be implemented by governments, NGOs and tour operators in the context of Corporate Social Responsibility (Kalisch 2001, 2002, 2010). The Network identified 'root causes of inequality', such as lack of access to capital, ownership of resources, control of marketing and representation, transparency of tourism operations and unequal distribution of benefits (Cleverdon and Kalisch 2000). Therefore, FTT criteria focused on equitable partnerships between the industry and local communities, transparency and accountability, equitable negotiation, fair distribution

of tourism benefits, such as fair price, support of the local economy and sustainable use of natural resources (Kalisch 2001). The development of a label was unfeasible at the time, beyond the organisation's brief and capacity. The criteria were considered work in progress as network members required time to discuss them within their various organisations. In addition, there was concern that the implementation of a certification process was complex, costly and controversial (Kalisch 2001). Only one initiative in South Africa (Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa, FTTSA) developed specific certification criteria from this work. The Network's last international conference in 2002, held in the Gambia, proposed the formation of South-South networks, starting with Africa. Yet, financial and logistical challenges thwarted the realisation of this venture. Nevertheless, the criteria and the consultation process of the International Network influenced many tourism policies and projects around the world to incorporate social justice, human rights issues and corporate social responsibility into debates on sustainability in tourism. However, resolving the relationship between trade and inequality in tourism still requires further empirical investigation.

This chapter explores the complexities of applying the concept of Fair Trade labelling to tourism and attempts to provide some perspectives for the way forward, using the case study of FTTSA.

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The Fair Trade concept

The Fair Trade concept was developed in the 1960s by international citizens' movements from the message 'trade not aid'. It embraces an alliance between consumers and NGOs in Europe and North America, and small producer organisations in less economically developed countries. This alternative vision of international trade thrives on socially conscious business practice, partnership, co-operation and transparency, enshrined in the accreditation of high-quality standards as a consumer guarantee, such as fair price, and promoted by skilful marketing.

The focus on marginalised producers in less developed countries has its roots in an analysis of the development paradigm and the 'core-periphery' dependency relationship, which emerged as a critique of modernisation in the 1960s (Barratt Brown 1993; Sharpley and Telfer 2002; Holden 2005; Telfer and Sharpley 2008).

Fair Trade aims to shift the historic power and trade imbalance, caused by mercantilist and colonial domination, in favour of small producers in predominantly agricultural economies.

Consumers in Europe, America and Australasia have seized this opportunity with enthusiasm. Fair Trade is one of the fastest growing markets in the world. By 2005, Fair Trade sales in Europe had been growing at an average 20 per cent per year since 2000 (Krier 2006) and in 2008, despite the recession, global sales of Fair Trade products grew by 22 per cent (Fairtrade Foundation 2009).

Such success has attracted the attention of large corporations. Since 2005, Fair Trade-certified coffee and chocolate have been adopted by Starbucks and Nestlé. The award of the label to companies, controversial for their human rights practices, has caused consternation and vigorous debates within the Fair Trade movement (Jaffee 2007). This development exposes the contradictions of addressing structural trade inequalities, caused by neo-liberal capitalist free market ideology, by seeking access to those very same markets. Jaffee (2007: 199) discusses this 'paradox' in his excellent work on 'Brewing Justice' in the context of 'dancing with the devil'. As Schmelzer (2006: 4) notes:

> Fair Trade can be analyzed as a complex and multilayered process of social defence against destructive effects of unrestricted market forces that tries to re-embed the economy. As such it is a site of contestation, conflict and negotiation between different actors that brings about multiple and partly contradictory effects on different levels.

Fair Trade in tourism – challenges and contradictions

International tourism has been analysed in the context of dependency theory and exploitation and critiqued for promoting uncontrolled economic growth and neo-liberal expansion. From this perspective it seems feasible to investigate the use of the Fair Trade concept as an ideological basis for more equitable trade in tourism.

However, FTT is just as (if not more) vulnerable to the vagaries of neo-liberal market philosophy as Fair Trade primary commodities. The complexities and contradictions in the Fair Trade process, noted by Schmelzer (2006) and Jaffee (2007), are intensified in the tourism trade, due to the complexity of the tourism production process as a service export and the political and socio-economic tensions resulting from its vigorous international promotion (Cleverdon and Kalisch 2000).

The following section analyses some of these complexities and contradictions in relation to some of the core elements that would need to be part of a FTT certification process: the product, the producers/providers, the purchasers and consumers.

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The tourism product

Compared with primary commodities, which exist with or without Fair Trade, a FTT product would have to be created, materialised from the enormous diversity of tourism products and experiences that exist on the market. These are constantly being increased, reinvented and modified to suit changing cultural trends, consumer expectations and technological innovations. The creation of a FTT product would be a seriously challenging prospect, because in the competitive global market environment, tourism as a product is elusive and contested; elusive because the definition of precisely what constitutes the tourism product can vary according to different analytical approaches: is it the destination or the destination 'concept' (Cooper and Hall 2008)? Does it consist of the supply, commodity or value chain (Clancy 1998; FIAS and OECD 2006; Steck *et al.* 2010)? Does it embrace the whole of the tourism system, including outbound and inbound operators and the transition stage? Or is it all or aspects of the entire tourist experience that should be addressed (Judd 2006)? A tourist experience comprises both tangible (accommodation, flight) and intangible parts (climate, weather, views). Moreover, tourism is inter-connected with other sectors, such as transport, construction and finance. It relies on appropriate governance in destinations. This dependency results in a lack of strategic and quality control over the product. Measuring such a complex product, or bargaining on the basis of fair price would be extremely difficult (Beyer 2007). In New Zealand, for example, research on community benchmarking for Green Globe certification highlights the challenges of measuring tangible environmental indicators, which embrace aspects that are not entirely specific to tourism activity (McNicol *et al.* 2004).

It is contested due to the ethical implications of packaging, marketing and selling people, cultures, heritage and natural resources as raw material of a product; a product to which value is added on the one hand through the mechanisms of the tourism distribution system, owned and controlled largely by foreign companies, and on the other hand by the fashions and trends of the markets.

The producers/providers

Linked to the diversity of the tourism product is the diversity of tourism producers, or rather service providers. Who would be the key stakeholders involved in the certification process, and who would be the beneficiaries?

The definition of Fair Trade in Tourism, developed by Tourism Concern's International Network on Fair Trade in Tourism, contains a focus on 'local small-scale destination stakeholders' and 'indigenous host communities'. Beneficiaries would be employees in the formal and informal sectors and groups in the destination that are ready to engage with domestic and international markets but need technical and organisational support (Kalisch 2001: 11). Community-based tourism enterprises were considered at the time to 'provide consumers with fair trade alternatives for their holidays and tour operators with products to develop their fair trade practice' as they were deemed to demonstrate practical evidence of benefiting the poorest communities through tourism (Kalisch 2001: 30).

However, Kalisch suggests that certain requirements need to be in place before community-based tourism can be viable and 'bring the development of a fair trade product within the realm of possibility' (Kalisch 2001: 30). Such requirements would crucially include the availability of a good-quality tourism product that is attractive to relevant tourism markets. Additionally, communities need to provide stability and continuity, strong leadership, efficiency and realism in business dealings, combined with fund raising skills, equity in terms of gender equality, transparency and democracy, and economic self-sufficiency (Kalisch 2001). Yet, such attributes are usually hard to find. Experience has shown that communities are rarely harmonious, homogeneous units and community-based tourism schemes generally tend to suffer from lack of occupancy, poor market access and poor governance (Goodwin and Santilli 2009). Community-based tourism enterprises (CBTEs), questioned for a feasibility study on a FTT label commissioned by Fair Trade Labelling Organisations International (FLO), were reticent about becoming involved with a complex certification process, because of their struggle with operational deficiencies and economic viability (Font 2008). Commodity producers of coffee, tea or bananas who have started to diversify into eco-or agri-tourism have also been considered for Fair Trade certification. Yet, according to Font (2008), these are equally cautious about becoming involved, due to lack of experience of the tourism sector and the need for additional investment in infrastructure, catering for Western tourists' expectations under FTT criteria.

In contrast to the FLO study, a consultancy report on fair pricing, commissioned by the German NGO Tourism Watch, recommends an exclusive focus on mainstream tourism and package tours. They reason that CBTEs play a minor niche market role in the tourism system and would substantially limit the impact of any FTT label (Beyer 2007). Beyer's report concludes that a 'model calculation' of individual service components of a package offer, based on products in existing tourism markets, would be the only practicable method to address the issue of fair pricing. This should be undertaken in co-operation with large operators or market leaders and should start with hotel businesses in terms of 'overnight stays' (Beyer 2007: 17). Such a calculation would then enable evaluation of other core components at destination level linked to the tourism experience (ibid.).

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The purchasers

Fair Trade primary commodities were initially promoted in the UK through NGO collaboration, setting up non-profit making trading functions to trade with and to market primary producers (Cleverdon and Kalisch 2000). Their marketing policies incorporated not just selling points but, more importantly, elements of awareness raising and public education on development issues, combined with real life stories about the producers. There is scant potential of such a model in tourism. UK NGOs have had neither the power nor the capacity to develop a viable FTT product and the mechanisms required for its certification (Kalisch 2001).

Without a model of NGOs as trading partners in tourism, the focus for developing FTT purchasing mechanisms must be on existing industry structures, possibly collaborating with relevant NGOs. Whether this is a realistic expectation remains to be seen. There are some indicators that the tourism industry has begun to embrace the concepts of sustainable tourism, pro-poor tourism and responsible tourism, even beyond mere rhetoric and promotional mission statements. There is some uncertainty, however, as to whether they would be prepared to take on the challenge of developing and promoting a FTT label.

Since 2000, www.responsibletravel.com (RT.com), the online worldwide travel agent, based in the UK, with a newly created sister site in the USA (www.responsiblevacation.com), represents the hub of a new generation, using electronic marketing to pioneer a more ethical approach to travel. It markets only holidays and tour operators that have undergone a transparent screening process based on a set of minimum responsible travel criteria created by the company. It then requires customers to provide feedback on whether those criteria have been met. In addition, it campaigns for change in the tourism industry and leads debates on controversial issues, such as climate change, carbon offsetting and human rights (www.responsiblet ravel.com 2010a).

Far removed from the rigorous verification procedures embodied by Fair Trade certification, this presents a compromise that frankly acknowledges the problems of developing and verifying universally agreed criteria that suit every aspect of this complex industry.

Indeed, RT.com, in conjunction with the International Centre for Responsible Tourism (ICRT) firmly reject efforts at certification and accreditation, as, for example, embodied by the Partnership for Global Sustainable Tourism Criteria, which has created minimum sustainable tourism standards for the industry in response to the challenge of the Millennium Development Goals. RT.com reason that there 'is no evidence that the criteria will bring market advantage' and reject the 'one size fits all' approach to responsible tourism, given the differences in sustainability issues at destinations (www.responsibletravel.com 2010b).

Critics could argue that customer monitoring provides merely anecdotal evidence of compliance with RT criteria, as holidaymakers lack the time and objective expertise normally required for independent monitoring and verification. On the other hand, if Fair Trade in Tourism is about creating market access for small stakeholders, responsible marketing and representation of destination partners, and creating consumer demand for more ethical tourism, the company has certainly generated an important momentum in the drive towards Fairer Trade in Tourism.

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Large package tour operators in the UK, collaborating since 2002 under the auspices of the charitable trust The Travel Foundation, have created the Travelife Sustainability Store. This is a system created for European tour operators to support suppliers of holiday components, such as hotels, excursions and transportation, with the implementation of sustainability criteria. These include fair wages for employees, use of local produce and energy efficiency. Handbooks, checklists and audits serve as a basis for offering an 'internationally recognised award' in the form of a 'Travelife logo' for top performers (ABTA 2008; Travelife 2010).

In terms of Fair Trade, further research is required to reveal to what extent the Travelife logo helps to empower small producers/providers and local communities in developing countries. The logo promotes sustainability criteria construed by powerful corporations in tourism-generating countries. In view of many of the smaller suppliers in tourism-receiving countries struggling with economic viability in the face of the overwhelming bargaining power of those very same foreign corporations (Bastakis *et al.* 2004), there is a risk of reinforcing such power imbalances.

An interesting example of business and NGO collaboration is the Ethical Tour Operators Group. Co-ordinated by the NGO Tourism Concern, the group includes around 18 small and medium-sized UK-based tour operators, actively committed to Fair Trade. This group could

potentially form the locus of a FTT labelling mechanism in the UK in conjunction with Tourism Concern. However, additional resources would need to be galvanised to support the research and development work essential for such a project.

The consumers

Consumers are the core element of fairtrade labelling. Although the success of Fair Trade primary commodities in the more developed world is quantifiable and measurable, the evidence of consumer demand for potential FTT products is difficult to assess without a comparable product to test market demand. Even FTTSA, who have been certifying tourism businesses since 2004 under Fair Trade criteria, to date only have anecdotal evidence of consumer demand for FTT. They believe that, at this point, the label generates more demand within the value chain, that is when promoting products to tour operators (email communication, 15 December 2010).

Experience suggests that consumer demand for responsible tourism exists in the form of added value and intrinsic quality of the product/service rather than as an objective in its own right (Goodwin and Francis 2003).

Mintel market research on RT in 2007, found that although awareness and interest in local employment and best practice is strong among tourism consumers, only a minority actively seek a holiday with an ethical code of practice, and even fewer would change their holiday plans because of responsible tourism. They conclude that consumers may be feeling confused and helpless, and the availability of tangible consumer options, such as a Fair Trade holiday, accredited by a recognised authority, might increase their willingness to make pro-active ethical choices, even paying an extra premium. Although research indicates that existing tourism certification schemes are failing to attract sufficient consumer demand, the well-known Fair Trade brand could provide that credibility.

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Rather than using terms such as 'responsible' and 'ethical', which may seem too serious and virtuous to an escape-seeking public, there may instead be ways of focusing on Fair Trade criteria as an intrinsic element of product quality, making FTT 'cool' and enjoyable (Kalisch 2003). For poorer people in developing countries, Fair Trade is a matter of survival. For tourism consumers, travel is a matter of life style and well-being. There must be a mutually beneficial way of bringing together the well-being of tourists with the well-being of their 'hosts'. Perhaps such an approach could be a more political extension of the increasing consumer need for self-actualisation through charitable giving.

Travel philanthropy is thriving. A report by ICRT commissioned for the 2009 World Travel Market Responsible Tourism Day, identifies a figure of £160,000,000 raised in the UK alone by travel companies through charitable donations by corporations and individuals (Goodwin *et al*. 2009). Demand for charity challenges and volunteer tourism (or Voluntourism) has grown to a total of 1.6 million volunteer tourists a year since 1990 (Tourism Research and Marketing 2008). These two markets are controversial in their impact on communities. Nevertheless, their growth indicates an increased need by travellers to link recreational activity with personal challenge, benefiting local communities at home or abroad, in the context of social learning, consciousness-raising and personal fulfilment. Volunteer tourism is deemed to promote responsible citizenship, duty and fairness (Sin 2009). McGehee and Santos (2005: 774) emphasise the powerful role of network ties and increased social consciousness developed during volunteer tourism experiences in creating 'social movement participation'. Verbeek and Mommas (2008) surmise that 'citizen-consumers' returning from sustainable holidays may even become 'active change agents' (Verbeek and Mommas 2008: 639) and political consumers in relation to campaigning for ethical corporate practice in tourism. Connolly and Shaw (2006)

emphasise the 'self-symbolic role of fair trade consumption' and social identity as being the 'antecedent to the purchase of fair trade products' (Connolly and Shaw 2006: 361). Quoting Renard (2003), they highlight the power of Fair Trade as the power of social capital in the sense that it creates solidarity not only with disadvantaged communities in remote corners of the globe but also among an imagined community of like-minded people at home. The Fair Trade label thus becomes 'symbolic capital' and buying it a 'symbolic action'.

The question is whether the enthusiasm for social and financial generosity and self-actualisation through ethical consumption will reach the extra mile to pay for a Fair Trade holiday; particularly as a holiday requires a stronger financial commitment than the weekly or monthly purchase of coffee, tea or bananas. Moreover, charitable and volunteer tourism are a double-edged sword. Depending on the motives of the tourists and the management of the operation, they can be either a fulfilling experience for all parties involved, or simply a selfish and superficial act, creating more poverty than they were intended to alleviate (Sin 2009).

Yet, although Volunteer tourism may be organised in an 'apolitical manner' (Sin 2009: 497), Fair Trade, in conjunction with the campaigns of a Fair Trade movement, has the potential to be a more political, educational tool, albeit capturing possibly exclusively a niche market. Nevertheless, even if a certified FTT product may not embrace a price-sensitive mass market, it could still have the potential to influence responsible policy and practice within the mass tourism industry, which would be strengthened by independent verification and possibly legislation.

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Case study

FTTSA

In 1999, IUCN (the International Union for Conservation of Nature), a global membership organisation, based in Geneva, launched a Fair Trade in Tourism Initiative in South Africa with financial support from Switzerland. The initiative was part of a participative action research and pilot project to assess the feasibility of a FTT label (Kalisch 2001) in the context of post-apartheid growth and socio-economic transformation (Mahoney 2007; Seif and Spenceley 2007). Such development was focused on affirmative action to re-dress the legacy of structural socio-economic inequality resulting from the apartheid era (Mahoney 2007).

The project took two years for consultation on the feasibility structure of a FTT label and one year operating as a pilot project before initiating the certification process.

In 2004, it became an independent non-profit company (Seif and Spenceley 2007), awarding the world's only tourism label based on FTT criteria. The criteria are embodied in a set of 16 standards, including labour standards, employment equity, ownership and control, community benefits and environmental management.

The abundance of standards, each broken down into individual indicators, reflects the complexity of the sustainability requirements in tourism. Application of the standards needs to be adapted according to the nature of the business, that is an excursion will have different requirements from a hospitality business. This enables a complicated but rigorous award system, combined with assistance for continuous improvement for companies.

By 2011, it had certified over 70 products, including mostly accommodation establishments, but also adventure activities, attractions and, since 2011, voluntourism programmes.

FTTSA measures its success against the level of media exposure, website visits, the number of tour operators, particularly international operators using FTTSA-certified businesses, and recognition by the tourism industry. To date, there is no available research on how the label influences consumer demand for FTTSA-marked products. Development benefits and gains in human rights as a result of the certification are difficult to measure as it has not been possible for FTTSA to conduct any Social Impact Assessments, due to lack of funding. The industry is currently considered the main beneficiary in relation to ethical credibility, networking, public relations exposure, enhanced staff morale and technology and knowledge transfer. In addition to awarding the FTTSA mark, the company is involved with active advocacy work for the implementation of a code of practice against child sex exploitation in travel and tourism, providing technical assistance and capacity building on responsible tourism, and assisting local communities and farmers with the development and management of appropriate tourism products. Other countries in southern Africa, such as Mozambique, are now exploring the feasibility of replicating the FTTSA model (Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa 2009).

In 2010, FTTSA launched another innovatory pilot initiative aimed at certifying Fair Trade Travel packages as part of the tourism value chain, in collaboration with Swiss NGOs, tour operators and the Swiss State Secretariat for Economic Affairs (SECO). The pilot is endorsed by Fair Trade Labelling Organizations International (FLO). It includes at least two Swiss outbound tour operators who have committed themselves to pay their South African partners fair prices, which cover the costs of production, living wages for the staff and address environmental sustainability. Suppliers will be paid on arrival of the guests, instead of months after the event, and a Fair Trade premium of 5 per cent will be added to the price paid to local service providers. The premium will be used to pay for social development in the destination. This new pilot addresses key areas of concern for suppliers in tourist-receiving countries and will be an important landmark for equalising power relationships between outbound and inbound tourism organisations. Using the 'root causes of inequality' identified by the International Network on Fair Trade in Tourism as indicators for the development benefits of both the FTTSA and FTT mark, it could be asserted that they are all being addressed by both marks in some way. It remains to be seen to what extent this system could be extended to operators in other countries, considering the commitment to transparency involved, and the amount of preparation and negotiation required for successful implementation.

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Conclusion

FTTSA has provided valuable experience in respect to creating a tangible Fair Trade holiday product with the potential to make a step change towards improved living conditions and greater equality for the most disadvantaged groups in South Africa. This now needs to be tested in other policy environments in different countries, to assert whether there is sufficient potential for a global FTT standard. It cannot be assumed that one pilot project in one country could provide the answers for all other countries, or all other types of tourism products. FTTSA was developed on fertile policy ground. The government was focused on creating equitable and responsible development policies, recognising that tourism provided an ideal opportunity to showcase such policies. South Africa's reconstruction was supported European development programmes. In that context, FTTSA received assistance from Swiss government agencies and NGOs, such as IUCN, and Arbeitskreis Tourismus und Entwicklung (akte), who campaign on trade justice in tourism.

As research in the UK suggests, a great deal of development work still has to take place to convince the tourism industry and consumers of the economic and social benefits of

certification in general. Testing consumer demand for a FTT label is imperative to generate public confidence. Only then can speculation turn into certainty about the value of FTT labelling to more equitable socio-economic trading conditions in less developed countries. FTTSA's Fair Trade Travel package, tested in Swiss markets, will provide crucial evidence in this respect, even though different markets vary in their preferences. Due to the diversity of policy and socio-economic contexts in different destinations, a FTT label would need to incorporate the flexibility of being tailored to local contexts within the overall framework of a global standard. Consultation, research, consumer awareness raising and capacity building for small businesses are crucial prerequisites for developing a tourism label. Funding and knowledge transfer need to be available to enable this process. Political, financial and operational support from industry and governments would need to be harnessed. To this end, the establishment of an institutional mechanism specifically oriented towards creating and marketing FTT, separate from but linked to a global Fair Trade organisation, is crucial (Kalisch 2010).

Testing consumer demand is all the more important, as global tourism flows are shifting. With an increasingly affluent customer base in India and China expecting to travel the world, the predominant long haul flows of environment-friendly, socially conscious tourists from the northern to the southern hemisphere can no longer be taken for granted. Moreover, the importance of regional tourism far outweighs the impact of international tourism (Ghimire 2001). A FTT label not only has to appeal to European or American markets, but also to global markets, with their differing cultural perceptions of what fair trade and ethics mean.

Global power shifts also put in question the historic roots of fair trade in dependency theory. The classic North/South core-periphery analysis needs to be re-evaluated to account for the changing, more complex trends in contemporary economic and political globalisation.

Trade injustice and human rights issues in tourism will never be addressed by a FTT label alone. However, in tandem with other policy instruments addressing structural imbalances at political and socio-economic levels, globally and locally, it could embody symbolic value by providing tangible and workable evidence of the social and economic benefits of equitable negotiation, respect, trust and transparency in international trading. This might instil consumer confidence, especially in these times of capitalist crisis and diminishing public trust, and present a catalyst for a more systematic approach to ethical trading in tourism.

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CHAPTER 6 Conclusion

R-Reflexivity

6.1 Introduction

This chapter completes the thesis with an analysis of the contribution of this research to tourism knowledge creation. This thesis charts my journey from adventure travel operator to tourism activist and eventually to tourism academic. It uses five publications as milestones for this journey and reflexivity as a means to reflect on the knowledge creation process entailed in this venture, as well as to add credibility and trustworthiness to the knowledge reflected in the publications. I have now arrived at the point of analysing the knowledge gained from this reflexive process.

This chapter aims to address the thesis objectives and research question in order to achieve the stated thesis aim, and drawing conclusions from the research.

To analyse the significance of the dynamic activism/academe interface in relation to future research on socio-economic justice in tourism.

Objectives:

4 Explore the value of reflexive critique in such tourism research;

5 Analyse the benefits and challenges of activist/academic research in the movement towards greater socio-economic justice in tourism;

Research Question:

How effective is a reflexivity approach in furthering the analysis of the relationship between activism and academe in equitable tourism research?

The chapter opens the opportunity for sense-making and disentangling the 'messy' process of reflexivity (Harris *et al.*, 2007:44) or for R-reflexivity (Alvesson *et al.* 2004), re-balancing, re-framing, re-positioning, *'instances of alternative constructions and reconstruction of fundamental elements of the research project'*, (Alvesson *et al.* 2004:17). The chapter provides the analysis of the findings in Chapters Two to Five and, based on this analysis, attempts to generate new insights and pointers for future directions for research on equitable tourism. The analysis considers the achievement of the thesis objectives and stated intentions; as outlined in Chapter One, and repeated here. The thesis should present:

f) A critical retrospective appraisal of the Fair Trade in Tourism project from my current perspective as an academic, including reflexive personal and organisational positioning. This is also intended to strengthen arguments for the trustworthiness of the FTinT research;
g) As part of that, an analysis of lessons learnt from the research methodology of the project, in particular the international multi-stakeholder process at the core of the conceptual development of Fair Trade in Tourism;
h) A focus on the importance of the linkages between activism and academe, in particular in research on equitable tourism;
i) An analysis of criteria for developing a more justice-based approach in tourism research; and
j) A critique of reflexivity *per se* and in tourism research specifically, to enhance the knowledge on qualitative research methodology.

Accordingly, the chapter is structured into four parts:

1) Explanation of method of data analysis (Chapters Three to Five)
2) Analysis of findings
3) Answers to research question
4) Implications for future research in tourism

Following the explanation of the method used for the analysis of the outcomes, the chapter continues with the analysis of the reflexions in Chapters Three to Five, in relation to the findings in the literature review, and the intention for achieving qualitative validity, i.e. transparency, trustworthiness and credibility of the research on Fair Trade in Tourism. It then moves on to analysing the value of reflexivity for equitable tourism research. It places particular emphasis on the activism/academe nexus in relation to the research question for the thesis, bearing in mind that, as Harris *et al*. (2007:43) state, 'it is the process of reflexivity that is important, not the outcome', while at the same time using this process to gain new insights.

The chapter continues with an analysis of the significance of activist and scholarly research in tourism, its implications for tourism research methodology and epistemology, and finally ends with a consideration of lessons learnt for future research on Fair Trade in Tourism, and more generally equitable tourism.

6.2 Explanation of Method of Data Analysis (Chapters Three to Five)

The disentanglement of the 'messy process' of reflexivity has been approached in the following way:

I have based the process of reflexivity on Alvesson *et al.*'s (2004) reflexivity practices, and the questions raised under the different practices that I have applied will be addressed in the context of the analysis of the outcomes of the process. The questions are:

Multi-perspectives: What are the different ways in which a phenomenon can be understood? How do they produce different knowledge(s)?
Multi-voicing: How do we speak authentically of the experience of the Other? What is the relationship between Self and Other?
Positioning practice: What is the network of beliefs, practices, and interests that favour particular interpretations of knowledge? (Alvesson *et al*., 2004:5)

The outcomes of the process will be analysed on the basis of making transparent my decision-making process on linking the social process of engagement in the field with the data collection, analysis and write-up of the FTinT research (see Ball, 1990 in Macbeth, 2001). I shall also apply Harris *et al.*'s (2007) comments on reflexivity as:

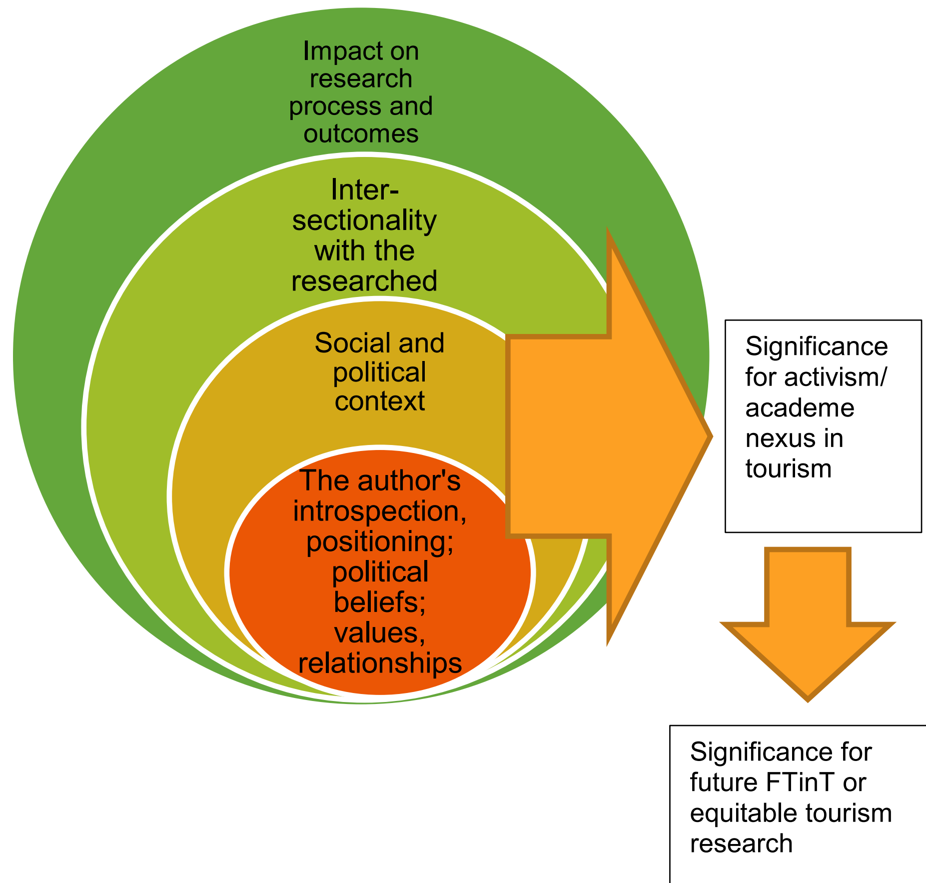
> *the dominant **ideologies and legitimacies** which govern and guide our research outputs; the **research accountability** environment, which decides what is 'acceptable' as tourism research; our **positionality** as embodied tourism researcher …and our **intersectionality with the researched*** …(Harris et *al*., 2007:44).

The purpose of this entire reflexive analysis is to assess its impact on the research process and the outcomes of the FTinT project, in the spirit of Bourdieu's concern for applying reflexivity in relation to the object of research (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

The analysis is structured as presented in the figure overleaf.

My figure 6.1 symbolises the centrality of the author of this thesis (i.e. myself) and the research for the publications, in terms of the key forces determining her decision-making process on the research design and analysis of outcomes. This is set within a dialectic and interacting relationship with the socio-cultural and political research environment. The dynamic dialectical interchange of different levels of self and society is seen to influence research process and outcomes, which are thus the aggregation of all the different levels and relationships. I analyse this aggregate process in relation to the significance of the activism/academe nexus and its impact on future FTinT research. I also refer the reader to Appendix C for evidence of my analysis in the form of a sample from the table, which I used to establish the linkages between the reflexions, their impact on the FTinT process and the implications of this impact for future tourism research. I have included a sample in order to indicate the details of the analytical process that have led me to the outcomes outlined in this chapter.

Figure 6.1 Disentanglement of the 'messy process' of reflexivity



Source: Kalisch (2014), adapted from Alvesson *et al*. 2004; Harris *et al*. 2007; Perriton, 2001)

6.3 Trustworthiness of FTinT Research

As discussed in Chapter One, I seek to validate the research on Fair Trade in Tourism in the qualitative sense, creating transparency, credibility and trustworthiness in the process and results. However, as it was not an academic research project in the conventional sense, which would have used strictly structured academic methodology (its rationale was to find practical solutions to address structural trade injustice in tourism), conventional criteria for qualitative validity in social research do not strictly apply. It is problematic to evaluate such a project according to criteria applied in retrospect. However, my transparent reflexive account, based on my subjective interpretation of the process will allow the reader to make judgements on the qualitative validity of the FTinT project, using a) the criteria proposed by Guba (1981) for trustworthiness of research and cited and interpreted by Shenton (2004); b) Hale's (2001:15) comment on the usefulness of the knowledge gained and whether it has guided some transformation, and c) Schwandt's (1996) proposal cited in (Guba and Lincoln, 2008:273) to judge social inquiry according to a form of 'practical philosophy' and the researcher's capacity for 'practical wisdom'.

I would suggest that I have achieved trustworthiness of the FTinT project, enhanced in this thesis in the form of:
credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability; (as proposed by Guba, 1981, cited and interpreted in Shenton, 2004); *practical* **usefulness of the research** (Hale, 2001); and **practical wisdom** of the researcher (Schwandt, 1996) in the following manner:

Credibility through:

- prolonged engagement and long-term democratic, collaborative, consultative process, including key stakeholders in tourism decision-making and development, in particular those who are working with intended beneficiaries in developing countries;

- Transparency of values, cultural assumptions and beliefs of the researcher, her background, qualifications and experience;
- Transparency and critical evaluation of the organisational complexities of the lead organisation (Tourism Concern) and the collaborative MS consultation process;
- Critical evaluation of research outputs;
- My (the researcher's) retrospective reflective commentary, thick description of phenomenon under scrutiny in Chapters Two to Five; and
- Conclusions on opportunities for future research arising from my reflective commentary and critical evaluations of process and outputs.

Transferability through transparency and critical evaluation of methodology in the context of practical usefulness.

Dependability: transparency and critical analysis of the research project enables a 'lessons learnt' outcome and provides the opportunity to repeat the research, adapting it to different contexts and with improved design.

Confirmability: democratic consultation process of the FTinT and its subsequent transparent reflexive analysis in this thesis enables results to reflect the experiences and ideas of 'the informants' (INFTT) and to understand how personal and organisational dispositions might have inflected the analysis of the results.

Practical usefulness of the research: the FTinT principles and criteria have influenced the FTTSA certification initiative (Seif, 2005) and other strategies for responsible and ethical tourism, such as the Tourism for Tomorrow Awards, the Tour Operators' Initiative, the Travel Foundation, through input from TC in the founding discussions of the Foundation, and in general sustainable tourism policies for stakeholders in the tourism industry and in destinations. There is some evidence that the publication on CSR and

the work of the INFTT have influenced the tourism industry to engage with corporate social responsibility. The aim of the project was to raise public awareness and consciousness on FTinT. However, measuring such an outcome is complex and would have required specific research methods, which were not included in the funding proposal.

Practical wisdom of the researcher: experience in different public, private and non-profit sectors, combined with a multi-perspective approach has enabled me, as a researcher, to apply practical and academic knowledge to make the research accessible to a wide public audience. Additionally, throughout the project, I operated in a reflective, participatory and democratic manner to continuously improve the knowledge base and methodology. Moreover, reflexive analysis, in this thesis has enabled me to critically analyse my own biases and personal challenges during this process.

6.4 Objective 1: The Value of Reflexivity in Equitable Tourism Research

In this thesis, I have used Alvesson *et al.*'s (2004) reflexivity practices, Bourdieu's ideas on 'objectivation', relating reflexivity to the object of the research (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992), and Harris *et al.*'s (2007) notion of reflexivity, which includes positionality and the impact of ideology but also refers to legitimacy and the research accountability environment, which decides what is acceptable tourism research. In the following section, I explore the relevance of these practices in the context of applying them to my research in this thesis. I would argue that, in relation to Alvesson *et al.*'s (2004) work, my approach to reflexivity in this thesis incorporates a combination of reflexivity as multi-perspective, multi-voicing and positioning practices. I outline below my answers to Alvesson et *al.*'s (2004) questions in relation to these three practices.

6.4.1 Multi-perspective Practices

'What are the different ways in which a phenomenon can be understood? How do they produce different knowledge(s)?' (Alvesson *et al.*, 2004:5)

According to Alvesson *et al.* (2004) multi-perspective practices *'can help to understand otherwise "incomplete" research'*, by *'applying different paradigms to a particular phenomenon or study'*. They state: *'by getting up and moving to another place, we can see things differently' (*Alvesson *et al.*, 2004:8). A perspective could be interpreted in different ways. Alvesson *et al.* (2004) refer to different paradigms, such as juxtapositioning Foucault and Habermas. In my case, in this thesis, I have approached the FTinT project from different perspectives, although not quite as theoretical as Alvesson *et al.* might suggest. My perspectives include those of a) adventure tour operator; b) activist; and c) academic.

a) As an adventure tour operator, the paradigm I applied to the 'phenomenon' of Fair Trade in Tourism was influenced by being immersed with the praxis of a business transaction, albeit one that was not entirely founded on profit accumulation but was also driven by idealism and a romantic appreciation of wilderness and foreign cultures. I was an active agent, at the 'coalface' of tourism operation; one could argue, a social enterprise, engaged with social change through ethical business practice, believing that ethical trade in tourism could provide economic, social and environmental benefits and thereby contribute to sustainability. My priorities, however, were mostly self-centred, in terms of a more hedonistic ambition for self-actualisation, and achievement of physical, mental and spiritual resilience.

b) As an activist, business imperatives, idealism and romanticism were not entirely abandoned but gave way to a more critical, politically and academically informed and strategic analysis of the development paradigm and the role of trade within it. Here my

priorities were still self-centred but, as a representative of an internationally networked organisation, the vision of social change gained a wider societal, international dimension, beyond my own interests.

c) As an academic, I have been progressively moving away from praxis and action, and ever closer to a theoretical environment of interpretation or action through pedagogic means and through writing and research for an academic audience; applying, or even developing theory to gain deeper and wider insights into the minutia of social change in tourism.

All these perspectives are, of course, those of the same person and have all influenced each other. However, this process has allowed me to transcend sectorial boundaries and worldviews, and realise the interconnectedness between all of them and the benefits that this interconnectedness entails for equitable tourism research. If, for example, in the context of Action Research, particularly multi-stakeholder community action research (Senge and Scharmer, 2006), we need to understand and appreciate different, sometimes opposing viewpoints and cultures, multi-perspective practice would prove extremely useful. It would highlight the ways in which Fair Trade in Tourism can be understood differently from a Southern or Northern perspective, in development terms; how a business and corporate, profit-oriented perspective understands justice and trade differently from a NGO or grassroots community perspective at the receiving end of tourism development, or how economists see the world differently from environmentalists. Rather than making assumptions about the level of common ground that would (or should) exist, because the participants of a multi-stakeholder process have agreed to gather around a common goal, a multi-perspective approach would expect there to be diversity and potentially conflict. It would encourage participants to become aware of these differences and (possibly in a role play exercise) try to see the world from the perspective of a different world view. This would not necessarily mean

accepting someone else's position but understanding its premises more clearly. Such a process can have deep transformative value. It can lead to greater bonding between participants as well as to more lucid clarity about the path for change (Senge and Scharmer, 2006).

My use of multi-perspective practice has thus identified and applied different perspectives to the same phenomenon, and has highlighted how they can enhance and enrich knowledge by celebrating the interconnectedness between seemingly different positions.

6.4.2 Multi-voicing Practice

'How do we speak authentically of the experience of the Other? What is the relationship between Self and Other?' (Alvesson *et al.*, 2004:5)

Multi-voicing practices *'force the researcher to ask questions about the relationship between the author and the Other, and to consider how the author can speak authentically of the Other'*. They reduce the centrality and power of the researcher to give voice to *'participants, readers and audiences in the production of the research'* (Alvesson *et al.*, 2004:10). The research account is presented as merely one among many. This practice is difficult to understand from Alvesson *et al.*'s argumentation. They do not offer any examples to illustrate their ideas as to how, precisely this would happen, but refer to a multiplicity of sources, which express the essence of their argument. I would argue that the 'power' of the researcher presents a complex area of debate. The meaning of power is manifold; power is dynamic, and in this context needs to be clearly understood. For example, in the context of participatory research, there will be co-researchers, and the question then arises: who is the Other? It also means that responsibility for the research will be shared, and a collective agreement would have to be reached as to whose voices will be represented, and how. In relation to the FTinT project, I interpreted it in the following way: any social research includes a multiplicity of voices, which only comes to life through the medium of the researcher(s) in their formulation of the research problem and

interpretation of the conversations, interrelationships and processes of interaction during the data collection. The FTinT project was a complex interactive enterprise that could only exist through the engagement, commitment, political interpretation and knowledge base of the individuals involved. The outcomes available to the public were written by one person (myself), but their collation and interpretation was based on the contributions of a myriad of people, which had already been expressed through other means, such as the Network bulletins and TC's In Focus magazine. Kalisch, (2001) also contains contributions of case studies from other activists from projects that we had not been able to visit, such as Ecuador, The Gambia and South Africa. Furthermore the implementation of the outcomes relies upon an even greater number of people. A multi-voicing practice as part of reflexivity in any research project would ideally include responses from other voices within the process. Alvesson *et al.* (2004:10) argue that the situatedness of knowledge needs to be redressed '*by opening up any individual research study to allow other research subjects to speak more directly in the text'*. However, they do not offer any suggestions as to how this would happen, what text would be commented on and how that should be presented. As far as the publications emanating from the INFTT are concerned (Kalisch, 2001; Kalisch, 2002), they reflect the feedback obtained from the Network, from initial conception to final draft. The other publications are conceptual papers, based on the FTinT process and concept. As academic papers, they reflect editor and reviewer comments. This raises the question of opening up reflexive introspection and positioning to the participants in the research, and doing so without potentially causing misunderstanding and hostility. An honest subjective account would therefore need to be articulated in a way which is fair and balanced, which takes into account the impact it could have on the participants included in the account. This raises ethical questions with regard to preserving anonymity and respecting the participants' positions. In case of conflict, the arguments might need to be recorded as part of the research process (see section 6.4.5 for further analysis of this issue).

Another way of interpreting multi-voicing could be to pay attention to the different sometimes conflicting voices in our mind, which arise from our social conditioning and psychological disposition and determine our thinking and actions; such as when, for example, as a facilitator, one might be selfishly attached to the appropriateness of one's own analysis rather than ensure a more democratic outcome. On the other hand, one might feel overruled by a more powerful opponent. Introspection and positioning practice offer the opportunity to analyse, balance, manage and contextualise these voices.

6.4.3 Positioning

'What is the network of beliefs, practices, and interests that favour particular interpretations of knowledge?' (Alvesson *et al.*, 2004:5)

The personal positioning under Alvesson *et al.*'s Positioning Practice also addresses the following questions, posed in Chapter One:

1) *How has my personal and intellectual development influenced the way I created the knowledge embraced in the research design of the project and the publications included in this thesis? What is the knowledge gained from this process? What are the hidden assumptions and values that have influenced the research process?*

2) *How do the personal and organisational positioning and the evaluation of the multi-stakeholder process affect the analysis of the research process and outcomes? and*

3) *How do they affect the analysis of the activism/academe nexus in relation to research on social justice in tourism?*

Personal positioning

The influence of culture in the formation of political beliefs and ethical values

The engagement with reflexivity encouraged me to analyse the origins of my political beliefs and my commitment to social justice, which, as I realised,

were partly rooted in my cultural heritage. The study of cultural diversity reveals the importance of culture in our personal and social make-up. Hofstede (2005:2/3) calls this *''mental programming'* or *'software of the mind',* in alliance with the computer oriented environment of his longitudinal research at IBM, the international computer technology company (International Business Machines), which began in the 1950s. According to Hofstede's cultural pyramid, for example (Hofstede, 2005:4), human beings are determined by three levels of uniqueness: '*human nature, culture and personality'*. In this model, human nature is common to all human beings; personality is unique to the individual and incorporates both learned and inherited elements. Culture is learned, deriving from one's social environment as a collective process. It also plays a part in shaping personality traits. Culture has its strongest impact in early childhood under the influences of the family, while in later years, peers, the education system and the wider social milieu enhance this canvas (Hofstede, 2005). Culture gives people a sense of self and belonging, it defines people's beliefs and values, their identity and standing in relation to the rest of the world (Reisinger, 2009).

One of the crucial discoveries I made during the process of personal positioning was the significance of my German heritage and the experience of my formative years as a young adult in post-war West Germany at a time of political re-positioning of the young West German democracy. Politics, the impact of political oppression and power, and political activism were thus an integral aspect of my formative experience as a young adult. This was an aspect in my personal and political development that I had been aware of but had never before addressed nor analysed. It made me realise the importance of my German culture and upbringing, the influence of the collectively induced shame and guilt I felt as a German citizen, growing up as part of the post-war legacy of the First World War, and National Socialism, leading to the Second World War and the Holocaust. The obvious injustice of this, the knowledge that the people, from whom I descended, were capable of committing such atrocities, led me to develop, on the one hand, a strongly

engrained consciousness of justice and human rights, and on the other a deep commitment to critically confronting the forces that perpetuate such injustice, abusing institutionalised power in the form of either a state or corporate apparatus.

As a student within the West German education system, I had been exposed to a tradition of dialectic and logical reasoning, the ideas of Marx, Hegel, Kant, and other German philosophers of the Frankfurt School, existentialists, such as Albert Camus, and radical experiential educationalists, such as Johann-Heinrich Pestalozzi. Analysts of German culture suggest that Germans tend to be serious and sincere people, *'searching long and deep for the true meaning of life'* (Lewis, 2006:227). They value precision and efficiency, and they are prepared to take time to perfect whatever project they are involved in (Gannon and Pillai, 2010). They prepare their positions methodically (in negotiations, for example). German philosophy has had a strong influence on dialectic, rational thinking; in particular the legacy of Georg Hegel, who proposed that every idea (thesis) entails an inherent contradiction (antithesis), which can be reconciled at a higher level of analysis (synthesis) (Ciprian –Beniamin and Adina, 2013). This analytical tradition was particularly prominent during my last few years as a school student, leading up to the 'Abitur' (equivalent to A levels), when every assignment we wrote in German study had to be structured in precisely that format, during six hours of writing in class. This may explain why I have a tendency to a) write long sentences (based on German language structure); b) take a long time to write or am cautious about speaking up in meetings, thoroughly thinking through and preparing arguments; and c) have a reflective, philosophical, possibly existentialist outlook. This may have disposed me to embrace critical reflexivity as applied in this thesis and a critical analysis of my relationship with the FTinT project.

As an undergraduate in England, I had developed these influences into an engagement with social critique and political commitment to social equality, through feminism and a career, starting in youth work, with disadvantaged inner city youth on an adventure playground in London. Leaving West

Germany for England in 1970, shortly after the upheavals of the student protest movement, intent on forgetting anything related to Germany, including the language and culture, was partly the result of a desire for a new and clean start in life. It presented a chance to develop a new identity; an identity, which I now realise, combines elements of acculturation of a German national to English culture, a culture that incorporates a strong emphasis on humour, light-heartedness and, to a degree, informality (Lewis, 2006). This helps to explain why some of the aspects of my personality that have influenced the FTinT project are connected to being philosophical, a romantic idealist of serious but also light-hearted and pragmatic, solution-oriented disposition, self-critical, reflective, with a yearning for independence, adventure, open to new experiences and challenge, and Personal and Political Salience (PPS), which Curtin *et al*. (2010) define as emotionally engaged in supporting social welfare and equality. All these influences provided me with an ideological direction, as well as an ethical and social consciousness that found expression in the way I embraced the research design on the FTinT project, which was idealistic, optimistic, inclusive, and collaborative. Research on memory within reflexivity also emphasises the impact of migration as an ongoing life project of redefinition of identity and the importance of autobiographical narrative in that process (Brockmeier, 2012). This research is important in the context of globalised mobility, in which tourism plays a major role.

Re-balancing, re-framing, re-positioning (Alvesson *et al.*, 2004)

One of my perceived weaknesses as a Policy-Co-ordinator, in my regard, was that I felt I lacked a clearly defined political paradigm, a robust theory underpinning my activism for social change, for policy development on trade and human rights, a conceptual guideline or framework, determining my outlook and decision-making. This, I felt, was particularly pronounced in my confusion around development issues. Disentangling such confusion during the reflexive analysis has helped me to realise more distinctly the drivers of my conceptual approach to the FTinT project and the fact that my conceptual framework was more developed than I had been conscious of at the time. I

had learnt about dependency theory on my MA course and I was convinced of its significance in the analysis of capitalism and tourism as a tool for capitalism, even though I had never had the chance to study it in depth. Dependency theory provided many answers for me; it provided a clear explanation for my experiences as a trek leader in Nepal, and for the evidence of inequality in developing countries in tourism. In Nepal, the experience of extreme poverty among the population, especially in mountain communities, was juxtaposed with the comparatively extreme wealth of the tourists, but also the Nepalese royal family and upper castes. I was able to understand the level of dependency on tourism in less developed countries, such as Nepal, where lack of economic development and natural resource poverty offer few alternatives (Pearce, 2002). I realised that, whilst part of the country's economic poverty was due to historic exploitation by generations of the royal family, it was also due to the repatriation of profits from tourism to the developed tourism generating countries, in addition to high levels of debt that the government had to repay to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (Badger *et al.*, 1996).

It was thus a central influence in my approach to the FTinT project. However, as is evident in my last paper (Kalisch, 2013), as an academic, I have begun to review this theory more critically in the context of shifting global political and economic dynamics. Future research into equitable tourism would benefit from a critical reinterpretation of this theory in view of contemporary global developments, as well as complex historical, socio-political and economic circumstances of development in individual countries (Pandey, 1999; Sen, 1999). Nevertheless, an intellectual understanding of dependency relationships does not necessarily guarantee an ability to consciously detach oneself from the influences of social programming in the Orientalist or imperialist traditions. My relationship with development in the context of development advocacy was thus marked by a sub-conscious drive to feel personally responsible for the ills caused by capitalism and imperialism. I was aware of a constant struggle involving compensatory guilt and good will, bordering on patronage; a passion for justice and equality, an

over-enthusiastic and protective commitment to ensuring that the ownership of ideas was firmly located with our colleagues in the South, and a romantic embrace of Eastern culture in preference to my own. My first experience of development and Asian culture in Nepal, as described in the second formative event in my personal positioning statement, was powerful enough to change my life. It induced in me a strong commitment to protect a culture and environment, which I believed to be superior to my own experience of Western culture. In the tourism context, I suspect that my relationship with development at the beginning of the FTinT project might in some respects be comparable to the relationship that participants in Voluntourism might have with development; except, perhaps for the political awareness, the prevalence of guilt and my preference for fair trade rather than charity and philanthropy.

However, currently, my academic study and reflexive analysis of these events, have established a more healthy critical balance in this relationship. I have learnt to value my own European heritage, as well as recognising the values of other cultures and a collective global responsibility to work in solidarity towards greater global justice, always conscious to avoid a Eurocentric approach. I am now more aware that I was more experienced than I thought, even in my relationship with development. It was informed by my practical work experience with partners in India and Nepal, trying to implement equitable partnerships and sustainable working practices, determined by practical priorities in the field rather than use of theory in the analysis.

Whilst I had strong principles of working towards social justice in the context of oppression, I have also become aware that my preferred means for change have always been peaceful, through education, debate, collective organisation, non-violent action and consciousness-raising to create exemplary alternatives of societal organisation. Such beliefs have also been influenced by Buddhist philosophy, which embraces compassion, detachment from self-centred desire, aggression and anger (Tenzin Gyatso,

the 14th Dalai Lama of Tibet, 1990); an ambition, which is not always easily, nor successfully implemented.

Through reflexivity I have learnt that, working in a contested political space, particularly within the participatory context, one should have a robust political analysis, whilst at the same time being open to being challenged. Views, which aim to question or critique the status quo will always be challenged by those who want to maintain it. One has to be psychologically, ideologically, conceptually, as well as institutionally secure to face such a challenge in a constructive manner, which offers a robust defence as well as an alternative solution (Flood *et al*. 2013). As I have demonstrated, reflexivity is a powerful tool to achieve such security. In addition, critical academic research is one way of developing in that direction. Sound critical research can also have transformative power, especially when it complements practical experience and questioning, such as when Badger's (1996) paper on the implications of the GATS for developing countries (presented as a draft at the KEEP meeting in July 1994; see Badger *et al.* 1996) opened up a whole new world of knowledge to me, which answered some of my questions as a trek operator around tourism and development. It was this experience, coinciding with personal circumstances, such as the climbing accident in 1994, i.e. the realisation of my physical and financial vulnerability, engagement with post-graduate study, and Tourism Concern's interest in my ideas on Fair Trade in Tourism, which led me to tourism activism and doctoral research. Thus, the activism developed in conjunction with the practical activity of adventure travel, and, in 1996, with academic study. This reveals a creative, symbiotic relationship between praxis, enhanced by academic research and translated into activism. Thus the activism/academe nexus could be considered as an inseparable, mutually enhancing dynamic, nourished by practical experience, reflexive praxis, collaboration, partnership, cultural and socio-political action and critique, and continual, reasoned ethical debate; I would argue that the inquiry into equitable tourism requires this dynamic for those who research in this area.

Organisational positioning

The organisational positioning reveals that the efficient realisation of the FTinT project was affected by resource poverty, which in turn resulted in organisational and managerial vulnerability, and issues in long-term strategic planning and oversight. This, together with aspects of inexperience on my part in relation to the strategic development of the project, caused some confusion within the Network and on my part about leadership issues and roles and responsibilities for implementation of meeting outcomes.

However, research into the socio-political environment of the non-profit sector in the UK around the time of the project helps to put this into perspective. It indicates that the general trend for small and medium-sized NGOs was one of shrinking funding and narrowing criteria, especially from the EU and the UK government Department for International Development, causing increased competition among NGOs and development agencies (Wallace, 2010; Goodey and Pharoah, 2005). Resource insecurity created future uncertainty and strategic volatility, gaps in professional expertise and dependence on volunteers, including, as with all charities, the management committee. In the UK and Europe, TC was surrounded by more powerful and influential players in both the non-profit and for-profit sectors, dealing with competition for resources and with political controversy.

Despite all these difficulties, TC managed to position itself as a credible and challenging player in the debates on sustainable and fairly traded tourism, at the centre of a dynamic international multi-stakeholder network, driving key aspects of international tourism policy towards a more ethical, social justice-focused agenda. Organisational positioning of Tourism Concern also reveals the importance of relationship dynamics within such a small organisation, in the context of a contested political campaign environment. Its efficacy relied to a large extent on a loyal network of committed individuals, attracted and cultivated, almost like a family, by the social competence, networking ability, charisma, and resolute, political leadership of the Director. Whilst this can be a considerable advantage for such an organisation, it can create a challenge for someone in my position at the time, who needed to establish autonomous

links with external bodies on the basis of a different, less radical personal and professional approach for the purpose of collaboration. In that situation, it is paramount that there is sufficient trust and mutual respect between individuals to accommodate a frank and open debate about the impact of such a dynamic, without allowing it to unsettle the working relationships or efficacy of the project. Such different styles can then successfully complement each other. It requires a certain amount of emotional intelligence. Emotional Intelligence (EI) enables individuals in a work context to monitor and manage their own emotions to the extent that it reduces conflict and fosters positive team work and job performance (Farh *et al.*, 2012).

Reliance on individual leadership power and charisma to drive a small campaign organisation, without adequate strategic and financial back–up can cause a vacuum, when such individuals leave that organisation, causing a break-up of the ties that connected the team. This can be an issue of continuity for many small activist organisations. It relates to a theoretical body of knowledge on structure and agency (Archer, 2010; Akram, 2012), which is worth pursuing in future research on activism and NGO/academe collaboration in tourism.

Multi-stakeholder process

A critical, reflexive, retrospective review of the organisation and the INFTT multi-stakeholder consultation process, based on Hemmati's (2002) criteria and guidelines for MSPs, reveals some complex structural issues and organisational challenges in the management of the FTinT project, as outlined in Chapters Three and Four. A critique of this kind can be exercised with the benefit of hindsight from my current academic perspective, informed by a wealth of research, carried out subsequent to the end of the FTinT project. At the time of the FTinT such knowledge was not available to me, as it was a pioneering, innovative initiative, in the early stages of multi-stakeholder consultation on sustainable development. Furthermore, it was not conceived as an academic research project.

In addition to the project specific comments, outlined in Chapters Three and Four, the reflexive evaluation of the FTinT MSP, applied to a general context, indicates a number of pre-requisites for a small activist organisation, involved in international multi-stakeholder dialogue:

1) **Resource security** and fund raising expertise, which enables professional/efficient management capability;

2) Good **managerial capability** is necessary to manage limited resources effectively and strategically. They need to be seen to support the strategic and political leadership of the organisation's director;

3) **Organisational/institutional strength** and credibility to support the consultation process and to constructively manage external critique;

4) **Long-term vision/strategy**, contextualising the consultation process within a wider socio-political and economic process; the strategy might include periodic reviews/reflections (similar to Action Research strategies), discourse and cultural analysis;

5) Awareness within the organisation of how **political sensitivity of the activist work** affects intra-and inter-organisational relationships; development of strategies and organisational culture that encourage open and honest debate to mitigate conflict;

6) Recognition that **collaboration can also generate competition** with other organisations involved in the consultation process: importance of transparency and trust in network/stakeholder relationships, developed through community-building methods and documented in collectively agreed rules and procedures (e.g. Memorandum of Understanding)

7) **Anticipation of latent or open ideological conflicts/dissonance** among stakeholders, which should generate development of shared guiding principles and conflict

resolution approaches, space for constructive debate, fostering collaboration around targeted initiatives, and opportunity for alliances amongst less powerful stakeholders to balance power relationships, and/or alliances amongst stakeholders with common historical and socio-political circumstances.

8) Need for activist organisation to **clarify its discourses on development**, internally and externally, through discussion and position statements;

9) Need for **public relations strategy;** any external communication and publicity to be agreed by members of network; and

10) Regarding power issues for small organisation challenging a powerful industry, there is a need for **creating strategic alliances and partnerships with more powerful players** (with similar goals), including clear partnership agreements, which secure intellectual property for partners, and a need for robust and rigorous research to establish credibility and pre-empt ideological critique from opponents;

Tourism Concern brought together different national and organisational cultures from the global North and South for an exchange around a common goal of Fair Trade in Tourism. The project was bigger, longer and different from anything that TC had ever embraced. It was almost an organisation in its own right. TC acted as instigator, facilitator and also as implementer. The objectives of the Fair Trade in Tourism project confronted us with the predicament of how to tailor exceedingly complex justice issues into clear and easily executable guidelines or action points, for implementation by a great diversity of different groupings, and in a variety of socio-political contexts. Furthermore, it appeared that, understandably, representatives from the South were more hesitant than Northern participants to simplify complex issues, particularly without consultation of the people who were ultimately the intended beneficiaries. An in-depth cultural analysis at the time might have revealed whether this reluctance was based on differences in

culture (differences in long-term/short-term orientation, see Hofstede, 2005; 2010), or core-periphery historicities, whereby countries in the industrialised core (the global North) have historically tried to determine policies for less economically developed countries in the global South. Moreover, the nature of the beneficiaries was unclear: Fair Trade in commodities targets small producer enterprises, yet, the most pressing issues in mass tourism were related to neo-liberal trade rules, affecting above all the poorest and indigenous people and small traders in the informal sector without access to capital assets, as well as established small and medium-sized enterprises. Therefore the FTinT project had to be clear on how its principles were promoting alternative trading guidelines for the private small business sector in tourism (as in FT in commodities) to counter the dominance of the large and powerful international operators, whilst at the same time providing best practice guidelines for those very same operators. Additionally, it was campaigning for more justice based international trade rules in tourism at the World Trade Organisation. In view of such challenges, the conclusion of the independent review of the project in 2003 that the programme objectives had been achieved is encouraging. The Fair Trade in Tourism strategies, published in Kalisch, 2001, and the guidelines for Corporate Social Responsibility in the tourism industry, published in Kalisch, 2002, are further evidence that the challenges, outlined above, were creatively transformed into opportunities for constructive change. However, the evidence of the relationship between the INFTT process, the publications, and transformative change towards equitable tourism has not been established definitively.

Considering the enormity of this task and TC's resource issues, its lack of power and the reluctance of the more powerful NGO players to join forces, TC might be forgiven, if some of the outcomes of the FTinT project were less tangible or definitive than desired. Since it was neither within our authority, nor our capability to provide binding solutions, we wanted the Network to help us find them. Yet, the Network was too large, imbalanced towards Northern organisations, and too loosely composed for a meaningful decision-making process. Therefore it had to look to TC to provide the leadership.

This raises the question of leadership in collaborative action research and in multi-stakeholder processes, which needs to be further explored outside the parameters of this thesis. Hemmati (2002), citing Markowitz (2000) describes collaborative leadership as *'a style of leadership where leaders view their roles primarily as convincing, catalyzing and facilitating the work of others…helping them to build trust and the skills for collaboration'* (Hemmati, 2002:50). However, there comes a point when the leadership needs to take decisions, determined in large part by responsibility and accountability for public funding, as well as pragmatism to get the job done.

6.4.4 Effectiveness of Reflexivity in Tourism Research

My personal reflexions originally emanated from an overall awareness of failure in bringing the Fair Trade in Tourism project to successful conclusion; a sense that, under my guidance, it had not been implemented as competently as it might have been under the leadership of either a more experienced social scientist or development activist. At the same time, I was also aware that, if it had failed, it was not only due to my perceived inexperience or lack of self-confidence, but that there were also systemic deficiencies that acted as stumbling blocks. This sense of failure was exacerbated when, as an academic, I began to evaluate it according to conventional academic methodology criteria. The project was implemented according to the funding application and a plan, which contained elements of academic methodology, based on my learning on the MA in International Tourism Policy. However, as it was an innovative undertaking as a practical campaign programme and an international multi-stakeholder consultation process in a previously unresearched area, it was rather intuitively developed, according to my judgement of what was required under the predominant circumstances for an activist rather than academic purpose. In general, in spite of my discomfort about the project as unfinished business, I knew that, together with Tourism Concern and the INFTT, I achieved a great deal in progressing the movement towards greater awareness of social and economic justice in tourism. Yet, as an academic there has always been a persistent voice in my mind, doubting the robustness of the research

process, and thereby the credibility of the outcomes. The process of reflexivity and the theoretical analysis in this thesis have allowed me to transform this perception, into a more balanced, theoretically grounded analysis, which satisfies my intention for credibility and closure, and which, in my view, is publicly defensible. Far from negating the value of the knowledge creation process of the FTinT project, this analysis, scrutinised through an honest and critical lens, has created an affirmative outcome, which celebrates the role of activism as an empowering force for innovation in tourism research; all the more empowering if it is joined in a creative, collaborative relationship with innovation in academic methodology and epistemology. At the same time, I have realised that the project formed the beginning of a wider movement on equitable tourism and, as such, entailed certain weaknesses, because it created expectations for change, which could not be met by TC alone. It was a learning process, an investigation, which could not have yielded a finite outcome.

Furthermore, the reflexive process has enabled me to understand why I am who I am and what motivated my thinking and actions in relation to the Project, and I have been able to analyse the systemic complexities that shaped the project. This process has allowed me to make judgements on lessons learnt and move on to make suggestions for future research strategies in tourism. I feel it has enabled me to develop as a stronger, more confident and competent researcher. Whatever critics of reflexivity might argue, this must surely be considered an important, creative process of knowledge production. For example, I had never before addressed the influence of my German heritage and the symbolic importance for my later life of experiences as a young adult in a momentous historic context. It was only in the process of reflexivity in relation to this thesis inquiry that I began to understand its significance in shaping my personal, professional and conceptual journey; a journey, which has led me to this point as a tourism activist/academic, arguing for participatory activist research. This reflexive adventure motivated me to seek answers in academic research, to contextualise and objectify my personal experiences within a theoretical

knowledge base on negotiating the hurdles of migrant identity, of collective responsibility, guilt and shame, and understanding social and political consciousness in the Germany of the 1960s (Hughes, 2012; Frie, 2012). In the same way, learning about the research on ‘Personal Political Salience’ (Curtin *et al.* 2010) helped me to understand how my personal disposition is related to my commitment to social justice. Reflexion on my relationship with Tourism Concern and the FTinT project has led me to wider research on social movements, activism and its interconnectedness with academe.

Critics of reflexivity question the value of narcissistic introspection in respect of the scientific advancement and knowledge creation of research (see Chapter Two). It is fair to question the value of an intensely personal and subjectively unique inquiry in relation to its benefit to wider society, if the motivation for such a process is a selfish one. However, as I have demonstrated, there is currently a rich knowledge bank of research, which enables researchers to apply specific methods that assist with sustaining a focus on the relationship between such introspection and the ‘object’ of the research, a process that Bourdieu calls ‘objectivation’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). In that context, it is not always necessary to expose inner, deeply psychological struggles in the public sphere; however, the mere process of introspection as part of reflexivity can help us to become more conscious of the reasons for our thinking, behaviour and decision-making in our research. This process has the potential to develop us as more competent researchers, creating more rigorous, proficient and innovative research, which we are able to defend convincingly in public. If, as social constructivists, we believe that the individual is inherently interlinked with social conditioning or social construction in a mutually interacting relationship, then the process of construction of the individual and its influence on shaping society (i.e. the relationship between agency and structure) should also be a matter of interest to social science researchers. Whilst this relationship has been extensively explored in a number of traditional social science disciplines, such as sociology, anthropology and social psychology, tourism research has relatively recently begun to engage

with it. This nascent trend in the tourism field needs to gain wider recognition, and it is my view that, in relation to research on equitable tourism, within the sustainable tourism paradigm, reflexivity and reflexive methodologies (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2009) should feature as a constant component of exploration and debate.

Memory and Reflexivity

Memory and reflexivity are evidently inherently intertwined in a mutually enhancing relationship, and the process of remembering as part of my reflexive analysis is worthy of deconstruction. As Keightley (2010) states, transparency and accountability in memory-work are crucial elements of ensuring rigour and theoretical relevance.

My method of elicitation:

There were four key moments in the process of elicitation:

1) Emotive response

   Initially there was overwhelming episodic memory and an emotive response in respect of ambiguous, contradictory post-project impressions: On the one hand I was proud of developing the Fair Trade in Tourism components, the CSR work and consultancies, which made me feel academically strong; on the other hand there was an incipient feeling of failure, perhaps more disappointment, not to have closed the project with a conclusive analysis. As an academic, I lacked confidence in the value of the project. I was self-critical of the project's methodology and process, critical of my role in it, considering the activist publications as inferior, compared to the rigorous theoretical analysis offered by academic publications.

2) Writing for Publication

   The research, for the 2010 publication provided a crucial starting point for a more rational academic analysis. This was followed by my research on reflexivity, choosing a structured approach, key

events and memorable moments as triggers for more in-depth analysis. This lead to examining the development of my critical political and social awareness, my development into activism, remembering the books I read, eliciting memories of school and student years, critical incidents, enriched by the evolving narrative. The narrative was edited and reworked several times, as at first I wrote for myself, which might be called the narcissistic, almost therapeutic stage, but then I realised I needed to write for an audience. I began to consider how my story would be perceived by a critical public audience, both activist and academic, how it would make sense in the context of the focus of the research. This is one of the most difficult tasks: achieving an academically acceptable balance between personal interpretation, and theoretical analysis, which would withstand critical external review. Other concerns related to research ethics: for example, potentially offending any persons mentioned in my honest exposure of my perceptions (see section 6.4.5. 'Ethics and Reflexivity').

3) Reflexivity leading to theoretical research
   The reflexive narrative lead to further research in relation to sense-making of my experience, against a theoretical context. This was important in respect of highlighting the social and academic/political importance of the personal experience. The theoretical contextualisation of my personal reality acted as further prompting material for analysis (for example my German cultural heritage/history, structure and agency, activism/academe, social movements) and increased my understanding of the socio-cultural construction of my personal, activist and academic identity.

4) Artefacts
   After a break of several years between the end of the FTinT project and writing this thesis, a retrospective analysis and the

interpretation of past events may have suffered from occasional gaps.

This has been remedied by reference to a large bank of data (meeting minutes, conference reports, progress reports, evaluations, correspondence, list server statistics and discussions, research diaries etc.), which I and TC had fortunately kept, and which TC had made available to me. The available documents were used partly as evidence, partly as mnemonic prompts. They were organised according to chronological sequence, and according to Hemmati's (2002) benchmarks (see Appendix B). Using these historical and project-related data (see also Appendix A and Chapter 2, section 2.4.2) and cross-checking my memories with other participants in the project, were important aspects of making my account more credible and complete (see Chapter Three). This evidence served to put my emotional memory in perspective and achieve a more balanced, positive analysis, after initial overly critical scrutiny.

My semantic memory was overall fairly reliable, more so than that of my colleagues, mainly because many events were etched in my brain due to their importance to my cognitive and emotional experience, affecting my worldview and analysis. It seems that the more intense the emotional and cognitive experience of lived moments, the more they are inscribed in memory.

I believe this procedure provided more than adequate assurance that events, outcomes and relationships were recorded and commented on responsibly. Beyond that, it was my interpretation of these events and relationships in the context of reflexive positioning that shaped my account, and this is the point at which ethical considerations enter into the analysis.

6.4.5 Limitations of Reflexivity: Culture, Memory and Ethics

There are three main issues that I have encountered in the process of applying reflexivity in my case. These are concerned with the cultural context of reflexivity, memory and ethics (see Chapter Two), all of which are underrepresented in research on reflexivity. Limited space and time preclude a more in-depth debate of these issues here. I would suggest that they warrant closer inquiry in future research.

Culture

Reflexivity can help with cultural analysis and adaptation to unfamiliar cultures, in the context of travel for leisure, study, or migration and expatriation (Mateu, 2005). However, in proposing wider recognition of reflexivity in tourism research, in particular as an integral part of cross-cultural collaborative and participatory activist research, I have to be aware that my perspective on reflexivity has been inflected by my own cultural context, as part of post-modern Western society, a perspective which has been influenced by predominantly Western-based thinking, steeped in individualism, pre-occupation with self-identity, self-actualisation and emancipation (Giddens, 1991). In advocating cross-cultural collaborative research, I therefore need to be aware that researchers and activists from different cultural contexts will respond differently to the ideas, inherent in the concept of reflexivity. Such differences in positions could form an important starting point for debate.

Memory

The data, collected over eight to nine years of work, were extensive but somewhat fragmented. Normally Ph.D. data collection stretches over several months, or a year at the most. Some key documents were available but other information was incomplete. The data were not organised according to predetermined variables, as I had originally not intended to use them for the purpose of writing a Ph.D. thesis. They were therefore not as complete as they would have been had I kept every item of evidence meticulously and

categorised for a specific academic research question. Fortunately, I had saved the majority of files when I left TC. I could easily have disposed of them, which would have made this thesis impossible (or, at least a great deal shorter and possibly less credible).

As Keightley (2010) states, the process of reconstruction is not neutral. My account is based on personal interpretation and *'other versions of the past may have been possible'* (Keightley, 2010:57). The choices and exclusions that I have made in the process of remembering were determined by the research questions and theoretical criteria for evaluation, such as Hemmati's (2002) benchmarks for MSPs.

Moreover, Keightley (2010) asserts that remembered events or emotions are influenced by present psychological states, which can distort the actual experience in the past. My psychological states have changed throughout the process of remembering from an initially overly emotional and critical approach to a more detached, and therefore balanced and positive perspective on the achievements of the project, assisted by a structured reflexivity method.

Ethics

In Chapter Two, section 2.5, I raise some poignant questions in relation to ethical research and reflexivity. I have tried to address these in relation to this particular inquiry. However, they indicate some general dilemmas within the context of a philosophical discussion on the role of research ethics in methodological reflexivity. Reflexivity is generally perceived as a way of ensuring rigour and ethical credibility through self-critical and transparent scrutiny of the research process and participatory inclusion of research participants (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004). Yet, if reflexivity should be honest, authentic and credible, how could it be possible that the publication of this reflexive account could prevent psychological or professional harm both to the researcher and others? How can an account, based on transparency, for reasons of ethical consideration and academic rigour, anonymise the

protagonists in the narrative and avoid harm, particularly if the relationships with the 'researched' were strained or controversial, or organisations are critiqued and organisational revelations could cause embarrassment to the organisation(s) concerned? This is particularly difficult if the researcher is an 'insider', and it is relevant in relation to the *'intersectionality with the researched'* (Harris *et al.* 2007), or the relationship of the researcher with the socio-political environment (Perriton, 2001). It is also relevant in relation to activist research, which is inherently critical of the status quo, and challenges established structures and thinking. The answer might be that a) the account should be fair and balanced and needs to be checked and discussed with the relevant participants (member checking) before publication (Hastings, 2010); even if it might be a painful process, it could yield positive outcomes, which could be recorded in the public account; b) any reference to organisations should be checked with relevant organisational representatives or supported with evidence in the public domain. However, what options does the researcher have if the individuals or organisations veto the researcher's analysis? The problems arising from this relate to a) academic freedom, and b) responsibility and accountability of the researcher.

The right to academic freedom originates in the development of universities in Europe in the Middle Ages and is enshrined in European Union Treaties. It is recognised by international bodies, such as UNESCO, as protecting other human rights, such as freedom of speech (Karran, 2009). Since the work of scholars consists of thought and speech, and is deemed to create innovative ideas, which may arise from critical perspectives, protecting their freedom of expression is considered a crucial aspect of protecting their profession. In a democratic society, this should also include the right to hold societal institutions to account, such as corporations and governments (Karran, 2009). However, in post-representational writing, which supports the use of reflexivity in research, the researcher takes on an active part in the development of the narrative. Her story becomes part of the social construction of the research project, and the lines between fact and fiction are blurred. It creates a new form of analysis and representation, which

Rhodes (2009) argues, results in *'impressionistic fictions'*. Such fictionalised or experimental writing he calls *'poiesis'*, '*the making and performing of a text*', as opposed to *'mimesis'*, which purports to reflect reality as an indisputable objective fact (Rhodes, 2009:656), or proclaim the truth by conforming to traditional conventions of reading and writing. Rhodes contends that *'fictionalization is part and parcel to all research writing – it's just that, in most cases it is implicit rather than explicit'* (Rhodes, 2009:657). Such writing thus allows a great deal of creative freedom. This then raises the question of the limitations of such freedom; limitations, which can uphold scholarly credibility and ethical integrity. In this respect Rhodes (2009) refers to Derrida (1996), who suggests posing the question: *'to whom am I responsible?...writing is a political experience of 'knowing who is responsible for what and before whom*' (Derrida, 1996, cited in Rhodes, 2009:658) to be *'active in deciding rather than proceeding with a pre-determined or other-determined calculus'* (Rhodes, 2009:658). This means that political and ethical responsibility are the response to fictional freedom and emanate from the *'ordeal'* of decision-making, which Derrida calls *'undecidability'* (Derrida, 1988, cited in Rhodes, 2009:658), because we are not able to predict the consequences of this process. Therefore, it is a process that cannot be finite.

In a sense, this reminds us that the subject of ethics is extremely complex and difficult to circumscribe within fixed parameters. It is context and culture dependent, without guarantees for absolute exoneration from individual or social responsibility. Ethical research can be regulated only to some extent by rules and guidelines, *'procedural ethics'* (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004:263), which suggest right or wrong responses. Within the highly subjective, flexible context of reflexivity, as researchers, we also have to be guided by our own values, ethical sensitivities and frameworks for decision-making; our own sense of responsibility, arising from the contextual relational complexities of the research encounter. Guillemin and Gillam (2004:265) call this *'ethics in practice'*, day-to-day ethical issues or *'microethics'*. There may be no clear cut right or wrong decisions beyond the templates of institutional or professional guidelines. We stand alone in this. This is where *'the integrity of*

the researcher is really on the line' (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004:275) and where our research competence is tested, accepting individual responsibility for the decisions we make and for the process that has taken us there; decisions that we have to be prepared to defend before ourselves and others.

6.5 Objective 2: Activism/Academe

6.5.1 The Case for Activist Research in Tourism

Activist academics or academic activists may come in many guises. Some academics have been in academia all their lives and either pursue activist research and teaching as a scholarly pursuit, are involved with activist activity outside their profession or inside academia as trade unionists or campaigners for better conditions for students and staff (Cancian, 1993; Hale, 2001; 2006; 2008; Fuller and Kitchin, 2004; Maxey, 2004; Chatterton, 2008; Flood *et al.*, 2013). In the case of Tourism Concern, academics have been involved from the beginning on the management committee, have contributed research or have drawn from TC's research for their own publications (Botteril, 1991; 2003). The first phase of the research project on FTinT in 1997, which contributed to the Cleverdon and Kalisch, 2000 article was co-funded by a University. Yet, as far as I am aware (and confirmed by the former Director of TC), there has not been a conscious effort from supportive elements within academia to collaborate in a partnership with Tourism Concern on any other specific research projects. Similarly, Tourism Concern may not always have been in a position to consciously involve researchers in their programmes. For example, in the initial stages of investigating the GATS and trade justice during the FTinT project, the Natural Resources Institute offered to assist with research on trade in tourism. However, we were not able to pursue this with concrete ideas for a proposal.

When I began writing this thesis, I felt I had to justify, why I was basing it on publications that were not all peer-reviewed. I was concerned that this might negatively affect the study's academic credibility, since the activist

publications might be regarded as inferior by the scholarly community. Now, I am questioning the meaning of 'peer-review' and its eminent status within academia, designating it as the major indicator for quality research. A peer is someone, belonging to the same social or professional group. I would argue that in academia peers are academics, in activism the peer group are activists. Therefore, the 'non-peer reviewed' activist papers, included in this thesis, could be considered peer reviewed, as they were extensively consulted on with peers in the INFTT, and the book chapters were peer reviewed by the editors. Moreover, I believe criteria for peer review should also address the importance of making research accessible to interested groups outside the respective peer groups. This relates to *'audiencing'* research (Harris *et al.* 2007). However, Flood *et al.* (2013) note that this might be considered as negative and demeaning by some scientists, who want to preserve the high standing of scholarly research.

In the process of critically reflecting on academe, and the priorities in tourism research, which I consider as eminent, I came to realise the important contribution to knowledge that activism in tourism can make to progressing the inquiry into equitable tourism. In other words, critical reflexivity assisted me in reclaiming activism for social justice as a valuable, if not necessary discipline for advancing social science in tourism. As an activist turned academic I am now able to recognise that a synergy between activism and academe could potentially yield substantial benefits for knowledge creation in tourism in relation to social transformation. I consider this synergy necessary for the following reasons:

1) There is ample evidence that the neo-liberal tourism development machine, based on economic growth and privatisation, is advancing relentlessly in destinations. This is happening at the expense of human rights and environmental sustainability, even though advances have been made in the context of sustainable and responsible tourism in some places;

2) Tourism research, which focuses pre-dominantly on business and government oriented agendas, in terms of marketing, policy and planning needs to be balanced with research, which seeks not only to give voice to the concerns of grassroots communities, who are in the path of the neo-liberal tourism advance, but to proactively collaborate with them in developing research agendas that would improve their political and economic capacity;

3) Tourism scholarship is generally dominated by and imbued with Western cultural perspectives, commenting, more often than not on conditions in international tourism destinations, foreign to Western culture. There is a need to increase research conceived, controlled and interpreted within different cultural paradigms, including anti-colonial indigenous perspectives (Bishop, 2008);

4) Many activist organisations are at the forefront of innovative social change, driven by critical analysis of socio-political and economic policies, but lacking resources for strategic and methodological rigour. There is potential for mutual benefit, whereby resources within academia can assist with making activist research and political activity more robust and strategic, and activist innovation can feed into new insights and methodological innovation within scholarship; and

5) Activist research offers scope for intercultural and transdisciplinary collaboration and cross-fertilisation of ideas; influence of practice in theory creation; and empowerment and capacity-building of grassroots communities through the process of taking control of research;

Activist research in tourism has the potential to make an important contribution to a ‘critical turn’ in tourism research. Above all, in conjunction with reflexivity approaches, it provides a medium for challenging oppressive

social and political power relationships in tourism related contexts, and for potentially transforming these into more equitable structural relations. In this respect, activist perspectives combined with activism-oriented academic perspectives should inform a culture change in academia.

More empirically informed research would assist in understanding more comprehensively the intricacies of this approach in tourism environments.

6.5.2 Challenges of Activist Research in Tourism

For the advancement of research on equitable tourism I consider the synergetic relationship between theory and practice in both activism and academe, and the creative interrelationship between (or at least analysis of) activist and academic identity in tourism research of primary importance. I am aware that this will require a considerable culture change in both activism and academic circles. I am also aware that there may be serious political challenges to this approach. I am not suggesting that it should be conceived as a panacea for equitable tourism research. Socio-economic and political conditions in most destinations are very complex and politically sensitive, reliant on historical circumstances, governance structures and economic priorities. As outlined in Chapter Two, activism has many different faces, activist groups in one location can have many different ideological perspectives. Collaboration would therefore require careful deliberation.

Activist research, as proposed by Hale (2001) or Fals Borda (1987) (see Chapter Two) might only suit a minority of researchers, committed to participatory research strategies, and with strong enough convictions to withstand critique and even intimidation from their own peers and from political and industrial establishments. Some activists on their part might also have to overcome prejudices which situate academics in perceived ivory towers and theoretical glass(power)houses (Rootes, 1990).

Cancian (1993) and Flood *et al.*, (2013), highlight the problems that can arise for academics who seek to combine academia with activism, particularly in the context of participatory research. Both authors are experienced sociology academics, engaged with activism for social change in the US and Australia

respectively. They contend that academics might face reprisals and attacks from opponents within the University as well as from external political sources. Often their activist research may be criticised for bias and lack of scientific, scholarly rigour. This may affect their job security or promotional career opportunities. The focus on making the research accessible to activist groups or relevant beneficiaries of the research may limit the amount of outputs eligible for refereed publications, expected by the university. When peer or university support is lacking, there is a risk of feeling demoralised and isolated.

My personal experience of joining academia from an activist environment indicates that the main obstacle for me was the lack of time and support for research and publication, my own lack of self-confidence in conducting academic research, and the institutional barriers for collaboration with external organisations due to career development, teaching and administrative constraints. This is reflected in missed opportunities for a more prolific collection of peer-reviewed academic publications, which could have been included in this thesis. Whilst I was continuing to develop my activist perspectives through critical, transformative pedagogy, and maintaining some of my contacts with previous colleagues (for example, by organising field trips for students to The Gambia), I gradually lost contact with many of my previous peers due to the institutional constraints mentioned above. One of my priorities following completion of this thesis will be to re-establish a network of activists and academics to progress equitable tourism research.

Cancian (1993) and Flood *et al.* (2013) suggest several strategies to deal with the social and political fallout of the activist/academic dichotomy, such as: choosing to work within University departments that support progressive research strategies, or Universities whose mission incorporates community-engagement and social equality; working with research institutes that are both accountable to academia and activists, nurturing supportive relationships with peers, creating networks with other activist researchers,

creating a fruitful balance between academy oriented research and activist research, and if job security is at stake, they suggest it may be preferable to adjust to the demands of the University during work time and engage with activism after work (as long as this does not compromise professional credibility).

Cancian (1993) also cautions that participatory research does not always produce social change or tangible, actionable outcomes. She suggests that its primary value lies in the research *process* rather than the research *product* (Cancian's emphasis). In her experience, traditional quantitative research can sometimes have more *'powerful social impact'* (Cancian, 1993:104), because it can be more convincing and acceptable to policymakers.

However, tourism is a relatively young and non-traditional academic discipline. Its national and international integration with a multiplicity of sectors and stakeholders requires openness to a variety of research approaches. Ethical, sustainable or responsible tourism, incorporating social justice criteria and a move towards *'ethical tourism action'* (Tribe, 2002), have become a serious concern of policymakers and academics. Recent calls for critical, emancipatory tourism scholarship (Bianchi, 2009; Hales *et al.*, 2013; Higgins-Desbiolles and Powys Whyte, 2013; 2014) or an academy of 'Hopeful Tourism' (Pritchard *et al*, 2011:943) to *'push the field's paradigmatic boundaries'* towards a more engaged politicised understanding of oppression within the tourism promotion process, give rise to hope that the tourism academy could be moving towards greater acceptance of activist, grassroots and social change focused research methodologies.

6.5.3 Collaboration between Activists and Academics

Collaboration is the key aspect of this perspective; not only between activists and academics generally, but also between different cultural and political contexts. Tourism Concern has been campaigning to encourage the tourism industry in the UK and Europe to adopt more ethical policy and practices in tourism destinations on the basis of collaboration with activists in developing

countries. As such it has sometimes had to defend itself against critiques based in neo-colonial development discourse. Radical, anti-imperialist critics might therefore conclude that Northern researchers should not engage with research in cultures foreign to their own. I believe, to some extent, this is a valid argument. However, the nature of the trade in tourism is inherently multi-lateral, reciprocal and cross-cultural, with power unequally weighted in favour of large-scale global corporate interests. What is therefore required is a global, collaborative, cross-cultural mind-set amongst researchers in activism and academe, not only in the context of equitable tourism but also in the context of equitable collaboration. Such collaboration needs to capitalise on all available funding opportunities, skills, knowledge, experience and innovative vision in order to thrive. It would necessarily involve conflict (cross-cultural, ideological or political), which would require collectively agreed conflict resolution approaches and it would also need to include space for constructive peer critique. It would involve collaboration between academics and activists within, as well as across destinations and across disciplines. I would argue that this should initially be a focus for debate between tourism academics and activists at international level at some point in the near future.

A key aspect of emancipatory research is critical reflexivity. It takes an inherently ethical approach by questioning traditional power relationships, enabling clarity of personal motives and research goals, transparency of political beliefs, and member checking, all of which would hopefully lead to trust relationships with co-researchers and the wider research environment. Reflexivity has the potential to render research projects more rigorous and robust. However, it also raises some cultural and ethical issues that still require further analysis (see section 6.4.5) and need to be integral to the debate.

6.6 Answer to Research Question

At this point I finally reach the stage of **answering the research question**: How effective is a reflexivity approach in furthering the analysis of the relationship between activism and academe in equitable tourism research? Reflexivity has furthered the analysis of the relationship between activism and academe in equitable tourism in the following way:

My approach to reflexivity in this thesis has generated new insights on the importance of:

a) research and knowledge gained from activism in tourism;

b) lessons learnt from practising activism in tourism as an activist turned academic;

c) the need to integrate such research more productively into academic knowledge creation processes and accredit it with higher importance within the institutional structures promoting research excellence and funding criteria;

d) directing tourism research towards investigating activist/academic synergy in the creation of innovative knowledge on social change practice, methodology and epistemology; and

e) the need for engagement with reflexivity as an integral component for tourism research, in particular in cross-cultural, collaborative and activist tourism research, with consideration of cultural diversity.

Therefore, I conclude that justice-based tourism research requires the following **criteria**:

1. An alliance between activists and academics to advance innovative knowledge creation;
2. Collaborative research, involving a destination-based transdisciplinary, cross-cultural approach, which takes into

account appropriate participatory action research (PAR) methodologies (notwithstanding critical perspectives on PAR, as in Guevara, 1996 and Cleaver, 1999 for example), including social learning and capacity building processes; and

3. Analysis of critical reflexivity appropriate to such an approach.

6.7 Future Research Strategies to Advance the Debate on Equitable Tourism

Analysing the FTinT multi-stakeholder process provides some lessons for future research strategies, incorporating such a process. Hemmati's (2002) guidelines for MSPs can be a useful framework for activist research, as long as it is enhanced by other empirical evidence, such as in Edmunds and Wollenberg (2001) and desk research (Markopoulos, 2012). In respect of gaining empirical evidence, participative action research methodologies offer opportunities for further scrutiny of activist/academic research on fair trade or equitable tourism (Guevara, 1996; Shivji, 2004; Reason and Bradbury, 2006).

For example, the FTinT project incorporated research and learning-in-action. On the basis of the theoretical investigation I have been able to undertake as an academic, I now believe that an academic action research oriented approach to the FTinT project could have created a number of substantial advantages. However, at the time, I was not aware of Action Research (AR) as an acceptable methodology in social sciences. McNiff (2013) states that in the 1990s AR was still struggling for legitimacy. It was largely frowned upon by academic traditionalists as an acceptable methodology for knowledge and theory creation.

A clear longitudinal Action Research (AR) methodology outlined in the funding application, including the iterative AR cycles of 'plan, act, observe and reflect' (Allen, 2001), would have enabled a more systematic, long-term research strategy, including participatory evaluation of results as building blocks for developing transformative thinking and practice. It could also have

included aspects of ‘Learning for Sustainability’, such as envisioning the future and systems thinking.

An AR approach would have interpreted the FTinT multi-stakeholder consultation process as a collaborative participatory social learning process, a mediating discourse, involving ‘dialogue’ or ‘search conferences’ (Gustavsen, 2006:18) with specific dialogue criteria. Taking this one step further, Senge and Scharmer (2006:195) develop ideas of a community of practitioners, consultants and academics in the context of ‘community action research’, which would transcend the institutional walls created between different sectors and create a mutually supportive learning community of a diverse group of people. They would collaborate to *‘nurture and sustain a knowledge-creating system’,* which would incorporate the three interacting domains of *‘research, capacity-building and practice’*, continually creating *‘new theory and method, new tools and new practical know-how’* (Senge and Scharmer, 2006:197). Whilst Senge and Scharmer focus on academics, consultants and managers in the organisational business context, the FTinT community would have additionally included NGO professionals and grassroots activists. The project was an example of ‘cross-institutional’ as well as cross-cultural collaboration. A more conscious effort to create structured opportunities, which explored these dynamics and interactions, where people from different organisations could *‘see themselves in one another’* (Senge and Scharmer, 2006:195) might have fostered more lasting, transformative, committed and productive relationships. It might have potentially enabled participants to take ownership of the process and develop more realistic expectations and commitment as to the implementation of meeting outcomes.

Another potential approach would be the application of ‘Social Choice Theory’ (Sen, 2009). This would presume a philosophical discussion on justice and fairness in the context of ethical theory and openness to philosophical and cultural traditions, which go beyond Eurocentric paradigms. It would also include a debate on the merit of emic or etic

perspectives in tourism research (Sofield, 2000). The following section explains this position.

The knowledge on Fair Trade in Tourism, embraced in the first three papers, included in this thesis (Cleverdon and Kalisch, 2000; Kalisch, 2001 and Kalisch, 2002) reflects the outcomes of an international multi-stakeholder process, interpreted by me but consulted on with the participants of this process. The last two papers (Kalisch, 2010 and 2013) contextualise these outcomes within a theoretical paradigmatic political economy discourse, introducing the role of the INFTT in drawing attention to the relationship between trade and tourism and concretising key precepts of ethical trade in tourism. The last paper (Kalisch, 2013) attempts to further develop the debate by focusing on an analysis of contemporary advances in theory and practice in Fair Trade in Tourism (including the Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa initiative) and an analysis of the key stakeholders in tourism that would need to bring a Fair Trade Tourism certification process into being. In these last two papers, my analysis was influenced by an etic rather than emic perspective. This, I would argue, could be a major impediment in drawing conclusions on normative ethical presumptions in purely academic research (i.e. non-activist research) or within activism. I can therefore understand the occasional frustration among industry stakeholders in tourism generating countries and destination-based stakeholders at academics (or activists) making assumptions about ethical practice, when they are removed from the field of practice and not responsible for implementing the ethical precepts.

The focus on Fair Trade in relation to developing greater socio-economic equity for destination communities in tourism was inspired initially by the growing consumer preference for Fair Trade products in Europe and America. As such Fair Trade, like sustainable tourism and ecotourism, is a Northern concept, dependent on the ethical precepts of Northern consumers and Northern ideas of ethical business practice (Cater, 2006). With the inception of the INFTT, we tried to ensure that FTinT should be shaped on the basis of how grassroots communities in the global South perceived FTinT. Whilst the outputs of the INFTT (the first three papers 2000-2002) are

an aggregation of the contributions from the majority of the network members, activist and industry professionals on the network based in the global South tended to be in the minority in network meetings and on the listserver. This was due to meetings being held in London, and there was a limited budget to invite only a small number of professional activists with wide regional representation, when actually, they should have been in the majority. Moreover, the notion of the 'global South' is highly generalised, and in no way reflects the diversity of perspectives and socio-political complexities in different countries/tourism destinations. Representatives from Asia, Africa and Latin America, who attended the meetings, could hardly be grouped under the same label, even though there might have been substantial common ground in terms of the impacts of globalisation.

It could be suggested that the international focus of FTinT and the ethical dimension entailed in its proposition requires some critical revision in the context of different cultural belief systems in international societies and their approach to ethics and fairness in trade. As tourism in its present form is a Western, capitalist construct, the idea of ethics in tourism is therefore also necessarily a Western construct, although it has to be conceded that the concept of culture in the context of globalisation is undergoing a process of metamorphosis; some have called it 'hybridity' (Meethan, 2003) or 'glocalization' (Salazar, 2005), others termed it 'transculture' (Epstein, 2009).

Sen (2009) argues in his book 'The Idea of Justice', that philosophy and the demands of justice have historically been explored from a Western perspective (such as Plato, Aristotle, Rawls,1972) while there is a plethora of philosophical traditions in many parts of the world which deserve greater attention, including the pursuit of justice. For example, he refers to the Indian traditions of *niti* (organisational propriety) and *nyaya* (concerned with the reality of people's lives) and the Buddhist tradition of reasoning. In Buddhist texts there is no word that could literally be translated as ethics but Buddhism's precepts of refraining from destructive actions and causing harm, of practising compassion, respect and tolerance could be compared to

'virtue ethics' expounded by Plato and Aristotle. Whilst it is apparent that there are many similarities between non-Western and Western philosophical traditions, I would argue that it would also be of benefit to explore non-Western traditions more vigorously in the analysis of fairness in tourism trade. In this context, Sen (2009) proposes 'Social Choice Theory' as a process, which takes as its starting point the real lives of people and includes them in the decision-making process on what is 'right' or 'wrong', and in how they perceive justice.

Sen thus argues for a democratic grassroots approach, whereby justice is achieved through the involvement of the very people that are affected by injustice and their interpretation of the meaning of justice for them. This is achieved through a rational discussion and decision-making process, using relevant informational inputs and rankings of varying social problems leading to injustice. This theory has a strongly mathematical basis in analysing such rankings and has therefore been criticised for its practical irrelevance. However, Sen (2009) contends that, conversely, it is highly practical because it is steeped in people's social lives, *'it takes a "social point of view"* in the light of the assessments of the people involved' (Sen, 2009:95). The concept of justice devised under such circumstances thus has 'emic' character, and therefore stands a greater chance of implementation, creating practically meaningful and relevant ethical conditions for the people involved. This approach would refute a 'one size fits all' model of justice and fairness in tourism, which would question current trends in applying one Fair Trade or Responsible Tourism template on a world-wide basis. Rather than taking for granted that a Western perspective on ethics and justice would prevail in all circumstances it would respect a diversity of perspectives and belief systems. I am aware that this invokes the debate on relativism and universalism, but these two concepts can be understood to be more complementary than is generally assumed in the context of evolving negotiations on the universality of ethical precepts (Camilleri, 1994). Such a debate would form part of the research process.

I am not aware of any examples of application of this theory, but I would suggest that, as a form of a democratic, participatory action research process, this might be one of the theories under consideration for an empirical investigation on fair trade in tourism.

In addition to the proposed research strategies above, I suggest the following directions for future research on tourism on the basis of the reflexive analysis in this thesis:

- Further research to explore the activism/academe interface in advancing equitable tourism research;
  One important strategy would be for funding organisations and publishers to include criteria for research, which values activist scholarship, alternatively to create a fund specifically for such purpose. Seeking funding for a visionary long-term international research project in collaboration between activists and academics would be a useful starting point.

- Analysis of the impact of the FTinT concept on equitable tourism initiatives world-wide, including CSR in tourism;

- Analysis of the contradictory nature of developing Fair Trade in Tourism within a free market trade system;
- Analysis of Fair Trade in Tourism in the context of critical and ethical theory;
- Exploration of contemporary interpretation of dependency theory in tourism and the effects of shifting trends in tourism consumption on FTinT due to globalisation and the economic growth of the BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia, India and China), as well as other Eastern European nations.
- Cross-cultural issues in activism/academe collaboration

6.8 Summary of R-reflexivity

This chapter provides the analysis of the reflexivity process in Chapters Three to Five and offers suggestions for future research on the basis of this analysis. It addresses the aim and objectives and answers the research question of this thesis. The process of the analysis has been clearly set out, and is based on the criteria which guided the application of the reflexive process, with regard to multi-perspective, multi-voicing and positioning practices, analysing the socio-political context of the FTinT project and critically appraising the international multi-stakeholder consultation process that informed the publications. The publications are critically analysed in Chapter Five, and this chapter takes forward the research directions that emanated from the appraisal.

The outcomes of the analysis can be summarised in the following way:
Trustworthiness has been achieved with reference to credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability; practical usefulness of the research and practical wisdom of the researcher. This chapter outlines the details of how this has been achieved.

In relation to Objective 1, the value of reflexive critique has been analysed. The analysis demonstrates that the practices of multi-perspective critique, multi-voicing and positioning enable the researcher to gain trustworthiness for the research, to become a stronger, more focused, confident and emotionally balanced researcher, with ethical integrity, political clarity, and cultural and social competency. The reflexive process enables the realisation of new insights, which can lead to new paradigms and innovative research pathways for the benefit of emancipatory research. Culture has emerged as an important area of interest, both in the formation of political and ethical beliefs but also as a subject for the inquiry into cross-cultural collaboration, particularly in respect of avoiding Eurocentric dominated approaches. The limitations of reflexivity relate to ethical concerns of retrospectively analysing a research process that had not been intended as a doctoral thesis and thus had not been planned according to research ethics guidelines. Another

consideration is the issue of achieving transparency within ethical parameters, i.e. publicising honest, introspective insights in relation to the research environment that could cause psychological or political harm to the researcher herself and/or people and organisations mentioned in the account. Mitigating measures can be devised by using fairness, respect and emotional intelligence in the analysis of the relationships and by ‘member checking’ before publication. However, research suggests that procedural guidelines can only have a limited effect in the context of reflexive narrative, which embraces considerable fictional freedom. The ultimate responsibility must lie with the researcher(s), their courage, research competency, integrity and ethical wisdom in the day-to-day management of the research encounter, and in the defendability of the consequences of their decisions.

Furthermore, the fallible capacity of memory has to be addressed, particularly in retrospective analysis of a project that completed sometime before the reflexive inquiry takes place. Memory can be supported by detailed data scrutiny, but if the research had not been planned in advance, as in my case, the data may have been lost. Fortunately, I retained the majority of all the necessary evidence, which also assisted my memory process in other respects with regard to the project. Reflexivity therefore relies on carefully maintained data, as well as member checking to support a defence against critique of fabrication of events and inner struggles. Memory is not just concerned with the past. It also assists with making sense of the present and future and has a strong significance for the development of individual and collective identity through autobiographical narrative, particularly for migrant adaptation to different cultures.

With reference to Objective 2, reflexivity has generated an understanding of the benefits of the activist/academe nexus in equitable tourism research, which relate to the synergy between theory and practice. Such synergy can generate innovative collaborative research methodologies, knowledge exchange, which can enrich activist and academic epistemologies, deepen cultural consciousness and understanding, and potentially engender emancipatory, political change. However, there are also considerable

challenges that would need to be overcome, such as confronting traditional attitudes in both activist and academic camps, dealing with criticism from peers and public, who are concerned about the concessions to academic rigour or activist independence, grappling with the responsibility of dual accountability for researchers, and with political sensitivities in the field and in institutions. Further research will have to inform more comprehensively how this debate would play out in practice in the context of equitable tourism research.

6.9 Contribution to Knowledge

There are several factors that make the research in this study distinctive and contribute to the advancement of knowledge in tourism research:

1) Activism/academe nexus

The theoretical, critical analysis is applied to a project, which had been planned and funded as a campaign and awareness raising project, with implications for innovative policy development on Fair Trade in Tourism within an activist context. It is not applied to a research project, which is founded upon academic and scholarly conventions of a doctoral thesis. It had never been planned as the focus of a Ph.D. thesis. However, this lived activism has been critically analysed and evaluated from an academic perspective, using academic theory. As such, it represents an original contribution. The analysis links into the wider debate in academia on the activism/academe interface and the impact of the reciprocal relationship between activist praxis and academic theory, more recently within tourism (Pritchard *et al.*, 2011; Hales *et al.*, 2013; Klein, 2013; Higgins-Desbiolles and Powys Whyte, 2013; 2014) and over a longer time span in other social science disciplines (Cancian, 1993; Flood *et al.*, 2013; Hale, 2001; 2006; 2008; Fuller and Kitchin, 2004; Maxey, 2004; Chatterton, 2008). My thesis enhances this debate by analysing activism in tourism in the context of the complex position of a small, resource-poor tourism NGO in the UK, campaigning on ethical practices in the tourism

industry in developing countries. This analysis is enriched by a critical examination of personal and organisational activist experience through the lens of specific reflexivity approaches. Whilst reflexivity has had limited exposure in the tourism literature (Harris, *et al*. 2007), it has been more profoundly developed in disciplines other than tourism, such as applied management research (Alvesson and Deetz, 2002; Alvesson *et al*., 2004; 2008; Perriton, 2001) sociology (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Bourdieu, 2003), social psychology (Mead, 1934), anthropology (Watson, 1987) and geography (Maxey, 2004). My thesis scrutinises and critiques these positions empirically, analysing their limitations and indicating strategies for future research. In particular, my reflexive critique of the FTinT research and the resultant publications proves the potential for trustworthiness of activist research and research by activist organisations for purely activist purposes. Furthermore, by applying a critical socio-political positionality approach, related to Bourdieu's epistemic and scientific reflexivity, or participant objectivation (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Bourdieu, 2003), yielding new insights for equitable tourism, it counteracts any criticisms that reflexivity is inherently a narcissistic exercise.

My contribution addresses Hale's (2006) concept of dual loyalty as activist researcher to both the activist cause and the scholarly requirements of the academy by theorising activist experience in tourism. Concurrently, such theorising leads to the celebration of activist praxis and research and its importance for innovation and rigour in knowledge creation in tourism (scholarly or non-scholarly).

It is worth noting that the topic of my thesis, which started in 2007, has emerged as a result of my activist commitment and research prior to my academic affiliation. The ideas on activist research,

discussed in this thesis, have emerged from my life and work as an activist and from my analysis of FTinT, elaborated in the publications, on which this thesis is based. Only recently have I discovered articles on academic activism emerging from the Critical Tourism Studies (CTS) conference in Sarajevo in 2013 (http://cts.som.surrey.ac.uk/), such as Hales *et al.* (2013) and Klein (2013) and in Higgins-Desbiolles and Powys Whyte (2014). This is in contrast to earlier stages of my research, between 2007 and 2013, when my searches on activism in tourism academe yielded scant results (see Chapter Two, section 2.2.2). It indicates that, during the latter stages of my doctoral research, the tourism academy began to open up to the potential of activism and activist research as part of the Academy of Hope, reflected in the debates on the concepts of 'Hopeful Tourism' (Pritchard *et al.*, 2011) and in relation to critical theory and grassroots oriented, participatory tourism research (Higgins-Desbiolles and Powys Whyte 2013; 2014). The timing of these discussions also suggests that my research on this thesis developed independently, in advance of and, eventually, on a parallel track with other academic colleagues elsewhere, whose work on justice tourism was familiar to me, but with whom (for better or worse) I had no contact on activist research. It comes as a welcome revelation to me that I am now sharing a platform with other colleagues with similar ideas, in the vanguard of an innovative trajectory towards an integration of activism and academe in tourism research on equitable tourism. This bodes well for a new and productive direction on equitable tourism research. The potential formation of a network, which incorporates both tourism academics and activists for the benefit of enriching critical, emancipatory tourism research, should be an important starting point.

In their conference paper on 'Academic activism and the "public good" in tourism studies', Hales *et al.* (2013) outline a number of

lessons learnt, which, they suggest, go beyond the reflexive accounts of their personal approaches to activism. They include references to solidarity rather than charity, resisting neo-liberal priorities for industry-based research, the importance of networking and political reflexivity, and the protection of academic freedom linked to responsibility and accountability. In the context of their analysis, these statements represent starting points for a more elaborate critical analysis. This thesis offers one such elaborate analysis; it provides a theoretically robust and profoundly argued case for the incorporation of activist values within academic inquiry, drawing on a transdisciplinary and cross-cultural theoretical evidence base and a clearly structured process of critical positional de-and reconstruction of the activism/academe nexus. This process has been closely related to the object of the research question on Fair Trade in Tourism.

2) Reflexivity

The analysis includes application of several concepts of reflexivity and concepts of trustworthiness to accredit the scholarly significance of such activist endeavour. The application of theory in this context provides new insights a) into the integration of reflexivity within action oriented research generally, and b) within tourism research specifically, with focus on equitable and emancipatory tourism research, which seeks to enhance social transformation towards greater equity and justice in tourism.

By focusing reflexively on myself as an object for research in relation to the FTinT project, and on my experience as tourism practitioner, activist and academic, the engagement with reflexivity within this framework has yielded new knowledge on the implications for the tourism academy of engaging more pro-actively with activist research for social justice in tourism. Whilst there is evidence that the tourism academy has in various ways drawn on activist knowledge and experience in the past, my

analysis suggests a more strategic emphasis within the academy on a detailed critical exploration of academic/activist collaboration in research on equitable tourism. This can be considered as part of taking the 'critical turn' in tourism research to a critical, *political* level of understanding tourism's role in rebalancing power relationships for communities under pressure from oppressive and undemocratic forms of tourism development.

By focusing on the experience of less powerful, marginalised and/or indigenous groups at the forefront of the tourism development field, in the context of creative and unconventional approaches to research, my thesis demonstrates that activist/academic synergy can make an invaluable contribution to what Tribe (2006:363) describes as the *'knowledge force field of tourism'* in his search for the *'Truth about Tourism'*. Foregrounding the engagement with grassroots struggle for justice in tourism, which is fuelled by a complex array of power relationships, enables the formation of new tourism knowledge. In Tribe's three circles of '*knowledge force field of tourism*', the tourism phenomenon (circle 1) mutates into new tourism knowledge (circle 3) through a dynamic interplay between the five factors of *'person, rules, position, ends and ideology*' (circle 2) (Tribe, 2006:362). This thesis provides the application of these five factors:

i. *Person*: analysis of my identity on my journey from tour operator to activist and to academic, in relation to the personal and socio-political influences on the object of my research.
ii. *Rules*: my analysis is based on a diversity of disciplines and a multi-perspective gaze as tour operator, activist and academic, in the context of an unconventional approach to doctoral research.
iii. *Position:* my reflexive analysis yields a critical perspective on the cultural limitations of my research approach, which leads

to propositions on future participatory research strategies, incorporating different cultural perspectives.

iv. *Ends*: the goal of this research is emancipatory, to assist with strengthening the political and economic capacity of interest groups who are willingly or unwillingly embroiled in the tourism development process, with scant resources to control its course or to withstand its exploitative potential.

v. *Ideology:* I have critically scrutinised my ideological (liberal) influences on the research on Fair Trade in Tourism and argued for a wider spectrum of cultural and political interpretations of equitable notions of tourism. Analysts suggest that such inquiry solicits a paradigm of political economy and critical theory (Britton, 1991; Tribe, 2001; Tribe, 2006; Tribe, 2008; Bianchi, 2009; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2013). Political economy theory guided the campaign on Fair Trade in Tourism and critical theory determined its paradigm, though not explicitly grounded as part of a theoretical analysis, as it was not a theoretical project. Given the parameters of the research question, I consider this thesis as a foundation for further post-doctoral analysis within theoretical frameworks, such as critical theory.

Tribe (2006:375) suggests that as a result of *'selectivity' and 'situatedness'*, tourism researchers' interpretation of the tourism phenomenon is skewed towards their own cultural and political preferences and priorities, which creates a bounded *'truth of tourism',* excluding a wealth of alternative options (circle 3).

This thesis includes such alternative options, enriching the hitherto uncharted field of tourism knowledge (circle 3, AZC, what is systematically denied) (Tribe, 2006) through the critical analysis of the five factors to evaluate a campaign on fair trade practices in tourism for disadvantaged communities, in Tribe's words, to *'facilitate the speech of the powerless'* (Tribe, 2006:377).

Moreover, it focuses on the relationships and dynamics between three key stakeholders in such a campaign: activists, industry and academics, arguing for a greater allegiance between academic and activist perspectives to rebalance the traditional focus on industry-oriented collaboration.

3) Fair Trade in Tourism

The thesis incorporates five publications, which I authored (or co-authored in one case) and which are milestones in the development of the idea of Fair Trade in Tourism over a period of thirteen years. They include changing perspectives on the approach to FTinT, as I moved from a campaign oriented to a critical scholarly environment. The investigation into Fair Trade in Tourism, beginning with the first publication in 2000, was the first of its kind, particularly in the form of an international multi-stakeholder process, addressing fair trade certification in a service sector through fair trade criteria and developing strategies for equitable trade in international tourism, based on a critical evaluation of international trade rules (the GATS) and an analysis of CSR in tourism. Research on human rights, social and trade justice in tourism were under researched areas at the time and still are to this day, both as individual as well as interconnected fields with activism. By the time the first three publications appeared, there was no other analytical work of this kind in the public domain (except for one seminal NGO publication on tourism and the GATS by Seifert-Granzin and Jesupatham, 1999), and it was used by both practitioners and academics as a basis for further research in the UK and internationally.

In answer to the research question, the reflexivity approach in this thesis has promoted a profound analysis of the value of a symbiotic relationship between activism and academe as crucial strategy for advancing knowledge in equitable tourism. The activist/academic nexus is founded upon the recognition that social change research has to evolve as part of an

inseparable, dynamic and iterative cycle of praxis, enhanced by academic research, activist strategy and further empirical knowledge creation, nourished by equitable collaboration, reflexive praxis and reasoned ethical debate.

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Appendix A

The Fair Trade in Tourism Process

Appendix A

The Fair Trade in Tourism Process

Example of benchmarking the Fair Trade in Tourism Process against two criteria of multi-stakeholder consultation (adapted from Hemmati (2002) – Process Design and Funding Details

Purpose: Transparency on process/methodology, which led to the publications, to be evaluated against academic methodology in the context of research on equitable trade in tourism

Note: This material supports the reflexions in Chapter Four with more detailed account. The content is based on a bank of personal and office files, saved by Angela Kalisch and the former Director of TC, following the end of the project. These entail progress reports, forum/conference materials, meeting reports, formal and informal correspondence, listserver discussions, personal notes, research papers, final and draft funding applications, evaluation reports. The records are mostly complete but there are some gaps, where information cannot be evidenced, since not all the documents could be saved. As it was not my intention at the time to use this material as the basis for a Ph.D., I consider it fortunate that at least the bulk of it was saved.

Benchmark
Process Design: Involving stakeholders in every aspect of the design process; agreed time frame, sufficient preparation; include conflict resolution techniques; Terms of Reference for co-operative work

FTinT Process (what actually happened)
Consultation process over 7 years: **1) JULY 1994: KEEP – 7 trek operators to Nepal, start of FTinT concept and discussions (see Chapter 3)** **2) SEPTEMBER 1995 (all day): 'Working Group' meeting at Fair Trade Foundation** ***Participants:*** 9 Participants (apart from TC), from NGOS (Christian Aid, Oxfam), business/social enterprises (Bodyshop, Twin Trading, Out of this World, TRIPS, Lawrence of London, Hotel Direct International), and Fair Trade Foundation. ***Participant Choice****:* TC members, known to TC for being involved or concerned with FT and ethical travel, or recommended. *Briefing Paper:* outlining case for FTinT: Human Rights abuses, environmental damage, GATS, Structural Adjustment Programmes, Tourism industry,

Tourists, Application of FT criteria to Tourism: What is the product; who is the producer; who is the purchaser/supplier; who is the consumer?
Purpose:
Clarify issues in paper; share thoughts and ideas; make suggestions for implementation; propose future action on project. (get the Fair Trade Foundation and Bodyshop on board)
Outcomes:
No record. From my memory: inconclusive. FTF not committing itself to be involved because they were
concerned with focusing on their FT products, which were just beginning to take off. Issues of tourism too big to address with FT criteria.

3) **APRIL 1997: Focus Group on FTinT: Developing FT priorities in Tourism;** following launch of FTinT Research project in 1997, with funding from VSO and Univ of North London

Purpose:
1) To advance awareness (and action) within the tourism industry of the rights and needs of communities affected by tourism in developing countries;
2) To establish a working definition of FT in international tourism;

Objectives:
i)Review the experience of other organisations in establishing FT criteria in commodities and other traded goods; ii) adapt this to suit the tourism industry; iii) to develop, in collaboration with industry, NGOs, communities and governments from the South, a practical policy document as guide to best practice for companies in tourism.
2 days 28/29th April: First day Southern participants, second day South and North. Assigned rapporteurs.
***Participants**: (23, apart from TC):*
1) Southern NGOs: Gambia TC, African Heritage (Gambia), Contours (India/Thailand), Kenya Wildlife Trust, Maasai Environmental Resource Centre (Tanzania), Equations (India), individual consultant (Egypt), Initiatives for International Dialogue (Philippines)
2) UK NGOs: VSO, New Economic Foundation, Fair Trade Foundation
3) UK Travel Business: ABTA (invited but no attendance), RAM, Sunvil Holidays, AITO/Dragoman, Discovery Initiatives
4) Tourist Boards: Cuba, Malawi, Tanzania
5) Academics: Univ of North London
6) Consultant: SustainAbility

Participants Choice:
As meeting in 1995 above and following from the objectives to include various stakeholders. Resulting from contacts made through FTinT Research project (see progress report 29 January 1997). Focus on diversity of sectors.
Briefing Paper:
Letter of invitation and Paper on what is FT? What would FTinT look like? And policy matrix, proposed by VSO.

Outcomes:
1st day:
Southern communities: sharing experiences and ideas, detecting common threads;
FTinT has to address: displacement; commoditisation of people and cultures. Define 'local'. Can we speak for local people? Definition of 'host community originates in North, overseas people don't see themselves like that (ed. Note: how do they see themselves?) Tourism industry exploits these groups then wants to market them as tourism attractions, taking the profit. Employment: do Bedouins make good hotel employees? Need to fight back (tribals in India), need for democratic collective resistance. Industry will only listen to muscle! FT only possible with powerful backing. The fight needs to be fought 'at home'. Cleansing process of colonial practices has to happen from bottom-up, need global solidarity. Need for conscientisation (But: who are we to tell them?) and consultation with local people, also on matrix. Matrix: Code required to lobby industry towards a trade mark.
2nd day:
Definition of Fair Trade in Tourism, based on FT in commodities definition; definition of 'local' and service providers; responsibility in business needs to be clarified; market research on consumer attitudes to FTinT necessary; investigate tourism's difference to commodities; the product of tourism: should not be viewed as a product because of the involvement of people and the environment, but an 'experience'; need to do research to establish viability; need for resources for capacity building for communities for FT;
Presentations:
Southern Perspective (NGOs): face the reality; recognise strategic importance of aid and investment; are conditions conducive to develop FT? Will southern communities get it in view of global developments? Competition not just with North but also South; big investment requirements for 'hosts'.
Industry perspective: Host destination responsible, operators not to blame; legislation better than voluntary codes; otherwise operators don't care, see H&S legislation; FT enforcement will lead to stability and quality; direction needed from top companies, not altruistic, they want queudos and competitive advantage.
Governments: confused, no idea of FT policy; dialogue critical; whose benefit: North or South?
Discussion: shareholder campaign, pension funds; mass tourists to use local food; control over projection of image.
Future research priorities.

1998 - TC prepares funding application, I am in Kerala doing research in August on community relations. Prepared journal article but after very critical feedback, not able to revise, difficult to find answers to mass tourism issues in Kerala through FTinT, even though I organised meeting with local stakeholders on the issue; too descriptive; analysis in context of theory is missing; unable to concentrate on academic context; too busy in 1999 with start of EU project; therefore no contribution from me in special issue on FTinT.

February 1999: EU Funding application approved, start of 3 year project, my appointment.

April 1999: CSD in New York, contribution to UN multi-stakeholder process, particularly on GATS, and dissemination of network info to NGOs, criticism from India rep: tone in leaflet is 'patronising'. Critical of FTinT conceived as a marketing instrument with focus on consumer, rather than on structural inequalities.

Start of THREE-YEAR FTinT PROJECT 1999 – 2002

1) **JUNE 1999: FIRST INTERNATIONAL FORUM** ON 8TH AND 10TH JUNE; ORGANISED AROUND ACADEMIC CONFERENCE ON 9TH JUNE, organised collectively by TC, University of North London and VSO.

Topic: Launch of International Network

Participants:

Conference: academics, travel industry and NGOs (North and South), also aimed at aid and development organisations, finance and construction sector;

Outcome: Special Issue on Fair Trade in Tourism in *International Journal of Tourism Research*, September/October 2001.

International Forum: all of the below.

Meetings on 8th and 10th June:

8th June: Southern delegates only, exchange of information and ideas, initial discussions on FTinT. (10 participants)

10th June: Full Forum meeting with delegates from North and South. (approx.. 30 participants)

Comprehensive Briefing Paper: sets out arguments for FTinT and questions to address for discussion.

Participants:

NGOs (North and South), FT organisations, independent tour operators, CBTs Ecotourism orgs., Academics/consultants).

Purpose:

Launch Network and achieve co-ordinated approach to pursuing fairly traded tourism. Discuss components of FTinT.

Outcome:

Initial ideas for criteria and 4 areas of policy/campaign intervention. Kalisch (2001) includes synthesis of those discussions.

OCTOBER 1999: START OF CONSULTATION PROCESS - NETWORK MEETINGS:

Network meetings: NGOs (North and South) 12, 8th October 1999, Academics/consultants, 26th November, 6; travel industry (SMEs), 13

Participants Choice for Forum and Network meetings:

anybody we knew from the previous fora/workshops, who was available and in England, and who we deemed able to make a valuable contribution.

Purpose:

Introduction of issue, Network and discussion of the draft FTinT definition and principles, research and collaboration, and first ideas on NGO action guide.

Outcomes:

Draft definitions of FTinT principles/criteria, everything that is included in the NGO perspectives paper (Kalisch, 2001). Set up working groups.

PUBLICATIONs:

2000 PUBLICATION OF JOURNAL ARTICLE, Cleverdon and Kalisch, Fair Trade in Tourism

2001 'TOURISM AS FAIR TRADE – NGO PERSPECTIVES.

2) **21-22 NOVEMBER, 2000: 2nd INTERNATIONAL FORUM,**

Topic:

'Putting Fair Trade in Tourism into Practice – The Role of the Tourism Industry'

Participants:

Aimed at Southern and Northern industry and community-based tourism enterprises/social enterprises

45 participants (apart from TC) (19 unable to attend): breakdown:
Industry/small and CBT organisations: 27
NGOs: 8 (plus TC)
Researchers/consultants:9

Participants Choice:

As above
Briefing Paper: No record (provided by presenter on ethical marketing)

Purpose:

Practical focus on networking and making contacts between North and South, capacity-building in terms of ethical marketing and strategies for action.

Outcomes:

Strategies for action:

1) Immediate:

FT definition, principles and criteria will be discussed locally and regionally in South to be accepted as working document;
Core minimum criteria on labour rights:
Set up TO sub group to draft set of criteria, to lobby and influence government and big industry, consult with TOs in South, tested locally as pilot, evaluated and adopted regionally.

2) Long-term:

TC asked to assist regional/local organisations/entrepreneurs in setting up networks/associations;
Find funding to facilitate: South-South exchange for CBTs and North-South exchange placements for businesses in tourism to establish partnerships and increase knowledge. Link up with other similar orgs. to influence operators

PUBLICATION:

2002: CORPORATE FUTURES

3) **24-27 MAY 2002, 3RD INTERNATIONAL FORUM, HELD IN AFRICA**, THE GAMBIA, organised by TC in collaboration with ASSET, The Gambia

Topic:

'Fair Trade in Tourism: A practical tool for development'

Participants:

Over 80, over five days, including field visits. Mostly from The Gambia, ASSET members, industry and government (Director of Gambia Tourism

Authority), the British High Commission in The Gambia, plus delegates from UK development orgs., and from CBT enterprises and NGOs working with CBTEs from Africa (Gambia, Ghana, Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya, South Africa, Senegal, Zambia, Nigeria).

Participants Choice:

Purposive for African delegates, by invitation, funding provided; as well as open calls in the UK, via the International Network and in The Gambia, via Gambia Tourism Concern***.***

Purpose:

To enable South-South exchange, disseminate the learning on tourism and trade (GATS) and FTinT to stakeholders in the South and explore the feasibility of setting up an African Network on FTinT, as TC funding coming to an end.

Outcomes:

The conference acknowledged the need to:

- Undertake thorough research on the international trade agreements that are relevant to tourism and to influence national and international policy makers.
- Establish an African network on fair trade in tourism. The network will seek to develop links with other African networks to promote trade in tourism through the education of all stakeholders regarding trade agreements, fair trade principles, market access, product development and promotion and general advocacy in all sectors comprising the tourism trade.
- The Gambia Tourism Concern to volunteer to host the network initially, until fully established.

First workshop on establishment of network held at the Village Gallery, Kololi, The Gambia, Saturday 17th August 2002,
Purpose: To develop a strategy for taking the Network forward.

Note: Network was not established due to lack of funding, logistical challenges and difficulties of communication with other interested groups in Africa.

Funding for the FTinT Project

<table>
<tr>
<td><u>Funding:</u>
Benchmark (Hemmati, 2002): Include administrative support, expenses for participants for travel, meeting preparation, to consult within their constituencies, to build capacity to input effectively</td>
<td>Funding for the projects was provided by the following organisations:
Fair Trade in Tourism Research Project, 1996-1999: VSO, University of North London and Tourism Concern
Fair Trade in Tourism 3 year awareness raising project, 1999-2002: UK Department for International Development, Development Awareness Fund (£124,361), with matching funding from European Commission (£121,089) and TC (Barings Foundation) £5,171. Total: 250,621
The Funding brief essentially covered 3 areas:

1. Researching and developing public awareness-raising, education and advocacy campaigns on the impacts of tourism and on FTinT
2. Establishment of an NGO Fair Trade in Tourism Network, as a tool for developing the components of FTinT, feeding into the public campaign activity, as well as feeding research and analysis on FTinT into the World Trade Organisation and other agencies.
3. Dialogue between the Network and the tourism industry to explain the relationship between development and tourism and to explore ways of co-operating on the introduction of fair trade aspects in commercial activity.

It aimed to achieve the following results:
• achieve greater co-operation and information exchange between NGO bodies and Southern communities on tourism issues,
• greater awareness of tourism and Fair Trade among the public to encourage consumer initiatives for more ethical tourism and
• recognition of the NGO network on relevant multi-lateral bodies and fora,
• establishment of a recognised Fair Trade in Tourism standard as an incentive for tour operators to pursue more ethical and equitable practice.

The grants included funding for :
Fair Trade worker (myself), 5-4dpw; Project Director 0.5 dpw (Director of Tourism Concern)
Resources, admin workers, database designer, website designer, campaign support work, advocacy support work on a pro-rata and temporary basis.
Materials and printing, network meetings, annual fora, one exhibition, equipment (purchase of computer and exhibitions stands), communication, project design and evaluation.
Key areas of my involvement were (my work programme was agreed between the Director and myself, largely on my own initiative/analysis of what was needed):
• Establishment and running/co-ordination of the International Network</td>
</tr>
</table>

Key areas of my involvement	- Monitoring trade policies and ensuring a tourism input into trade negotiations - Organisation, facilitation and follow-up of network meetings and annual international fora - Developing and consulting on components of FTinT - Relationship with tourism industry - Research, writing, production and dissemination of NGO and industry action guides - Writing for other publications and Network bulletins - Keynote speeches at national and international conferences - Establishment of database and advice on website design for FTinT

Appendix B

Example of Multi-stakeholder Consultation Benchmarks

(relates to Chapter 4)

Appendix B

Example of Multi-stakeholder Process Guidelines

Adapted from Hemmati, M. (2002).

Please, see Chapter 4 for the evaluation against selected benchmarks in this list.

Process Design	**Facilitation/organisational back-up:** Responsibilities need to be marked clearly and be known to all participants; Facilitators should ideally not be stakeholders and have no direct interest in the outcome of the process, OR: be explicit about (possible) interests; made up of reps from various stakeholders; acceptable to everybody
	Issue identification with clear agenda; avoid unilateral decision on issue by facilitating body, which compromises ownership of process; scoping; transparency
	Stakeholder Identification: *Diversity*: relevance; social mapping; balances experts/non experts Inclusion: open calls; clear criteria, voluntary; *Structure*: size/limits; focal groups; hierarchy; feedback loops; *Legitimacy*: accountable; equitable; democratic; expertise
Framing	
	Group composition: *Base*: Representative stakeholders (two from each group, rough symmetry of powers and gender, region or ethnic group, with expertise on these issues), independence (avoid conflict of interest) *Diversity*: Skills, experiences, perspectives, interests, regional balance, gender balance *Commitment*: to rules, procedures and goals
	Goals: Need to be understandable and perceived as achievable. Include a phase to allow people to assess various understandings and possible common ground to work on, consider carefully how far they want their collaboration to go. Goals are defined by initiating body (TC) through inviting sth to take part. Suggested goals should be reviewed by whole group, modified where necessary and adopted. Or: common vision exercises. Time needs to be allowed for stakeholders to consult with their constituencies when new proposals are put forward.
	Agenda: To be agreed by all participants after initial co-ordinating group puts it together. Avoid certain interests dominating the agenda. First point should be to clarify the various representations that stakeholders hold of the issue(s) at hand.

Inputs	**Stakeholder Preparations:** *Information:* Equitable access to information, information sharing *Preparatory Process:* Common vision and/or position papers with agreed common format, submitted well in advance, referenced with background information (risk: fixing members into position, barrier to common ground. Common visioning as group important), consultation, monitoring. Members make clear on whose behalf they are speaking and with what authority. Consultation process with constituencies needs to be clear, incl. access to technology. *Analysis*: Matrix/cognitive mapping, Overview material
	Agreed Rules and Procedures: See p. 232 ' An atmosphere that cultivates directness, openness, objectivity and humility is prerequisite for successful dialogue and consensus-building'. Idea of learning and change. When an idea is put forward it becomes the property of the group. Can reduce impact of personal pride and make it easier for others to adopt an idea. Conflict resolution (possibly work with groups separately), consensus building.
	Power Gaps: *Identify differences:* in terms of knowledge and information, size, nature and amount of resources. Build constructive communication between unlikely partners, slowly and carefully.
	Capacity Building for Participation: Language, equitable access to expertise, information/knowledge, group needs to address this openly.
Dialogue/ Meetings	**Communication channels:** Face to face meetings; email; telephone; fax letters; interactive websites. For building or consensus, electronic communication is not the most useful tool. Should be guided by inclusiveness, equity and transparency. Take into account cultural preferences. Choices to be made by 'group'.
	Facilitation/chairing: Facilitator needs to be accepted by all participants as a suitable person without a direct stake in the process or the decisions to be taken. Facilitator's commitment and integrity, political stature, experience in the political processes, and expertise on the issues, charisma and other personal characteristics can be crucial success factors. Another option: using rotating facilitators or co-chairs. See guidelines for effective facilitation on pp. 237-239. Agreed rules and procedures.
	Decision-making Participants need to agree at the beginning on what kind of decision-making process should be used. Consensus, but not a 'tyranny of consensus'. Willingness to compromise. Minority votes should be recorded when consensus cannot be reached.

	Rapporteuring: Assigned beforehand and agreed by group (impossible).
	Closure: Participants need to develop a sense of ownerships not only of the process but also of the output that they feel comfortable in promoting. A document outlining the different positions, tool kits or agreed actions. Once this point has been reached, process should be brought to an end.
Outputs	**Documentation:** Put draft minutes and reports for preview to group before being published. Give clear deadline for comment. Silence can be taken to mean assent. Endorsements by constituency agreement, takes time. All documentation to be made available to other stakeholders and publicly available.
	Implementation: Crucial test for the quality of the group's decision-making. Action plan to be agreed by the group. Group should also decide how to monitor and evaluate.
	Impacting official decision-making: Important to ensure that MSP documents have high status in the official process and receive desired attention. On the other hand a learning process: knowledge management .
Meta Communication	Space for the group for reflection on that same process. Communicate about the way they communicate.
Relating to non-participating stakeholders	Creating constantly updated interactive website. People will not participate if they don't see where their inputs are going!
Relating to the General Public	Agree on how this will happen. Co-ordinated. Creating effective messages. Release information progressively throughout all stages of the process, not only to present a finished product.

Appendix C

Examples of Analysis of Reflexions

(relates to Chapter 6)

APPENDIX C

Examples of Analysis of Reflexions (relates to Chapter 6)

Personality/values **Predisposition for activism**	[Curtin *et al.* (2010)] Personal and Political Salience (PPS), attaching personal importance and meaning to social and political events. Openness to Experience: preference for new, exciting and intense experiences, enjoyment of engaging in abstract thought and philosophising, valuing imagination, non-conformity; emotionally engaged in supporting social welfare and equality; also, in my case: supporting social and environmental justice; empathy and compassion, democratic, collective organisation; seeking spirituality (Buddhism), freedom and adventure, challenge and self-actualisation, self-efficacy, openness to learning through cultural encounter, valuing nature and metaphysical significance of existence; self-critical evaluation
Culture **Post-war Germany/the 1968 generation**	Growing up with collective guilt and shame of Germany's Nazi past, distant influence of 1968 student movement, developed strong sense of injustice and social responsibility to act against injustice. Means of change through alternative education and feminism.

Analysis from left to right →

Formative Event	Outcomes from Reflexion	Impact on FTinT process and outcomes	Impact on present and future research
Alternative, experiential education and feminism/activism and career	Development of collective guilt, shame, sense of injustice and social responsibility for equitable societal change as a young person growing up in post-war Germany. Awakening of political awareness through 1968 student protests; coming to England was liberating, able to adopt a new identity, forget the shame and guilt; experience English light-heartedness, openness and tolerance, where the war became a comedy (as in Dad's army). That would never have been possible in Germany. Further consolidation of political awareness in the UK through feminism and conscious personal growth and transformation/liberation from oppression. Seeking political and social change through participative means, education and consciousness raising, inner city multi-cultural youth work. Social change and activism for equality becomes work/career. But often	A serious, thorough, philosophical, romantic idealist; but also realist and pragmatic; critical, self-critical, reflective approach. Belief in alternative, experiential education in the context of gaining self-and collective knowledge and liberation, social critique, rational dialectical reasoning and debate as political activism, based on German philosophical influences exposed to at school and as a passive bystander of the student protest movement. Experience of developing practical projects challenging racial and gender oppression. Ability for cultural adaptation to inner city (London), multi-cultural marginalised youth and women's groups in Sheffield, which are very different to my own native culture from a middle-class family, albeit impoverished by WW2. (see paper on immigrant identity, Verkuyten 2012)) Flexible, able to adapt to and understand different contexts: working with charities and NGOs, public sector, industry, academe, dealing with policy	Reflexivity suits my nature; I am naturally reflexive and self-critical, integral to my identity. Relates to Bourdieu's 'HABITUS'? Might feel threatening to someone who avoids internal questioning, denigrated as 'navel gazing'. However, Archer believes that in 21st century, which is faster changing than any other before 'shifting contexts' (Archer, 2010:296), we are bound to be reflexive, as we have to constantly adapt to changing situations, for ex. job insecurity, changing careers, migration, can no longer rely on habit/tradition. Need for constant acculturation through mobility across inner and outer boundaries, requires reflexive disposition. 'Morphogenesis' (Archer 2010). Also relates to Akram (2012), who disputes Archer's view referring to Giddens and Bourdieu in terms of reaffirming the role of Habit and the unconscious in influencing structure, internalised norms and

	political engagement as/in work becomes too intensive, then take distance, change life and start a new career. Immigrant status, but never saw myself as such. However, causes greater insecurity, feeling of being outsider. Lack of confidence on the one hand, fighter mentality on the other.	makers, grass roots communities, due to previous experience in those areas. Belief in positive practical action to exemplify the meaning of equitable tourism, rather than simply critique structural inequalities.	roles, including internalised oppression. Explore further Critical Theory in 21st century, research for social transformation related to tourism. In relation to Activism/academe: what does my personal journey and disposition mean for the activist/academic interface? I was unburdened by family and social baggage, open to learning about new worlds, change, transformation, both myself and social structure at same time, enjoying the challenge and the unknown/uncertainty.
Tourism Concern and the Fair Trade in Tourism Research and Campaign Project	Involvement with research on the GATS and developing countries. Realising the power of research translated into action. Realising the role of passion in academic research. Moving from emotion and the rose-tinted, romantic view of culture, mountains and adventure to an intellectual level of sense-making; mixing tour operation with desk and field research, MA study, campaign culture, the politics of advocacy and development controversy. Commuting between Sheffield, London and Nepal. Causes a certain amount of physical and cultural dislocation, cultural jetlag. Aware of perceived inexperience and lack of knowledge of organising a longitudinal international multi-stakeholder process, lack of knowledge of trade and development issues and strategic development, resulting in lack of confidence and lack of vision; using intuition and strategic thinking in decision-making and planning. Learning by doing. Took part in training on stakeholder engagement and corporate accountability.	Up until 1999, mixing trek operation with project research and finishing my MA dissertation causes some inconsistency in my contribution to the project. Dipping in and out of discussions and concept development causes a certain element of detachment from the project, in terms of the ideas and people. Conversely, the combination of praxis and academic research serves to strengthen the robustness of the ideas. Contextualising practical experience helps with gaining a more rational view of tourism and development. Publications written for different audiences. NGO action guide requires tighter structure, focus and critical analysis. Might have been possible with more academic experience and more rigorous methodology. Raises question of the balance between campaigns oriented literature and academic robustness.	Importance of passion in academic research – importance of academic research in lifting the veil of romantic orientalism and nostalgia. Importance of iterative process of praxis/academic analysis/activism. Contributes to a willingness to understand different mind sets and concerns, such as business; assists with ability to be critical, including NGOs and activism. Create channels for enabling access to research for different audiences, including grassroots communities and public.

Multi stakeholder Process	Innovative process, no experience of such a process generally at the time, apart from UN. Tourism as trade is new topic. **Funding:** Funding limited, initially lack of support for admin, IT, setting up database, campaign work. Feeling of failure on my part, project feels intangible, concept of network nebulous, yet pressure to achieve tangible results. Large network creates high-rising expectations, though more so from Northern members than Southern groups. Southern groups were aware of the structural and political complexity of implementation in their countries. **Expectations from meeting were addressed in first meeting in 1999.** At that stage they were also very vague: Networking, solidarity and support, helping to develop their own organisation's policy, greater understanding of issues, (NRI) offering their resources for research, use tourism as test case for NGO coalition (Action Aid), collaboration	Learning by doing. Resource issues create some confusion as to following up outcomes from meetings and focus of actions. Creates delays and missing momentum. For ex. the independent review, based on 13 responses from members of the Network, out of 26, conducted at the end of the project in 2002, states that one respondent considered that 'post-forum follow-up was not sufficient to drive action and progress'. 'post-conference activities lacked co-ordination and action'. Difficulty: TC 'piggy in the middle': pressure for tangible outcomes, i.e. possible campaign on water (one issue campaign) or certification from groups in North, but TC wants to take direction from South, who emphasise the complexity of the issues. But South does not take part as actively in discussions (in meetings they are always in minority)and any campaign initiated by TC needs to originate in South and be undertaken in collaboration (therefore the last conference in The Gambia). Creates a kind of stalemate, i.e. no to certification, nature of campaign uncertain, GATS and trade, Fair Trade issues too complex in South, need long-term strategy in South, but priorities of groups in South different from TC's project. Fear of drawing clear boundaries and justifying them, when all of it is important.	Funding proposal needs to be more specific as to what is expected to be achieved and how implementation will be resourced. It needs to be anticipated that, once the network takes off, it is difficult to predict which direction it will take. Boundaries need to be clearly marked to address expectations of network and deal with outcomes from meetings. Outcomes need to be anticipated and managed. Try not to be too ambitious. Outcome from 1999 meeting was the 4 areas of policy intervention. These should have been integrated within a timeframe of consultation at grassroots level in the South, the results of this consultation to be further discussed at the next annual meeting. This would have ensured engagement at grassroots level, continuity and involvement of stakeholders not able to come to the meetings in London. This was actually discussed at the 2000 meeting. Network members don't always appreciate the resource issues behind the organisation of the network and the project as a whole. Also, with regard to the follow-up to outcomes from the annual meetings, the outcomes might not always be possible to be addressed immediately due to resource issues, but later TC got a grant to produce the labour standards publication (Beddoe, 2004), which was based on the outcome of the 2000 November meeting. Also the idea of a meeting in the South was discussed, as in Africa, which we then organised.

Appendix D

Letter from R. Cleverdon Regarding Authorship

To whom it may concern

Robert Cleverdon

I herewith confirm that I, Robert Cleverdon, cooperated with Angela Kalisch in my capacity as Programme Leader for the MA International Tourism Policy at the then University of North London on the production of the refereed journal article 'Fair Trade in Tourism' In *International Journal of Tourism Research* ,2 171-187, 2000. Angela Kalisch produced the majority (90%) of the material, which I endorsed.

Robert Cleverdon

Appendix E

Letter from T. Barnett Regarding Authorship

28th June, 2013

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: Angela Kalisch

I herewith confirm that I, Patricia Barnett, Director of Tourism Concern from 1991 - 2011, collaborated with Angela Kalisch in her capacity as Policy Co-ordinator for Fair Trade in Tourism during the establishment of the Fair Trade in Tourism Network in 1999 and the production of the two publications Tourism as Fair Trade – NGO Perspectives in 2001 and Corporate Futures - Social Responsibility in the Tourism Industry, 2002. The publications were entirely researched and written by Angela.

Angela was the project leader and thus developed and executed the strategy for the entire programme over the three years of the project.

Patricia Barnett (Hon PhD, University of Brighton)

Director

EQUALITY IN TOURISM

Creating Change for Women