Socialising tourism for social and ecological justice after COVID-19

Freya Higgins-Desbiolles

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Freya Higgins-Desbiolles

Business School, University of South Australia, Adelaide, SA, Australia

ABSTRACT

The COVID-19 pandemic of 2019–2020 has the potential to transform the tourism industry as well as the context in which it operates. This global crisis in which travel, tourism, hospitality and events have been shut down in many parts of the world, provides an opportunity to uncover the possibilities in this historic transformative moment. A critical tourism analysis of these events briefly uncovers the ways in which tourism has supported neoliberal injustices and exploitation. The COVID-19 pandemic crisis may offer a rare and invaluable opportunity to rethink and reset tourism toward a better pathway for the future. 'Responsible' approaches to tourism alone, however, will not offer sufficient capacity to enable such a reset. Instead, such a vision requires a community-centred tourism framework that redefines and reorients tourism based on the rights and interests of local communities and local peoples. Theoretically, such an approach includes a way tourism could be 'socialised' by being recentred on the public good. This is essential for tourism to be made accountable to social and ecological limits of the planet.

摘要

2019–2020年的新型冠状病毒肺炎（COVID-19）疫情有可能改变旅游业及其运营环境。这场使得全世界许多地方的旅游、旅行、接待和事件活动都被迫停止的全球危机, 提供了一个在这历史性变革时刻发现各种可能性的机会。对这些情况的批判性旅游学分析简要地揭示了旅游业对新自由主义下的不公正和剥削的支持方式。新冠（COVID-19）疫情危机提供了一个难能可贵的契机, 让大家可以进行反思, 让旅游业重新走上更好的、面向未来的发展路径。然而, 仅有"负责任"旅游方式这一种途径还不能为实现这种调整提供足够的能力。相反, 这种愿景需要以社区为中心的旅游框架, 即根据当地社区和当地人民的权益来对旅游业进行重新的定义和定位。理论上, 这个框架包括了通过重新关注旅游的公益性而使其实现"社会化"的方式。对于让旅游业承担起对地球社会和生态极限的责任而言, 这是至关重要的。

CONTACT Freya Higgins-Desbiolles ✉ Freya.HigginsDesbiolles@unisa.edu.au

Introduction

The arrival of COVID-19 has been viewed as a watershed moment. In terms of tourism, the unthinkable has happened. While previously the industry was grappling with concerns of overtourism, we suddenly have been catapulted into a collapse of the entire sector. This is because the tourism, hospitality and events sectors have been crippled by government efforts to curtail and control the pandemic. Borders have been shut, travel has been banned, social activities have been curtailed, and people have been told to stay in their homes. In undertaking these actions, governments around the world are trying to strike a balance between keeping their economy going and preventing dangerous levels of unemployment and deprivation, while trying to respond to dire public health imperatives that are necessary to prevent collapse of health systems and mass deaths. In such difficult circumstances, it is clear that one era is passing, but it is too early to identify what will emerge. In a world where growing inequality has led to massive numbers of vulnerable populations, it is clear that the COVID-19 pandemic and actions to address its spread are impacting these vulnerable communities in disproportionate and deadly fashion (see, for instance, Evelyn, 2020; Kazmin, 2020).

While it might seem that the concerns of tourism are of secondary importance in the middle of such a global crisis, this may not necessarily be true due to the significant role tourism has come to play in the economic growth and development plans of many nations. International and domestic tourism have been effectively shut down as unfortunate casualties of the crisis. The World Tourism Organization (UNWTO, 2020a) claimed 'ours has been the sector hardest hit by the crisis' and has proposed an agenda for recovery. The rising unemployment, the economic damage and instability, and the unprecedented size of government interventions to address the economic crisis all point to travel, tourism and hospitality being pillars of many economies around the world.

Tourism and its affiliated industries have experienced numerous crises before, including the 2005 tsunami in the Indian Ocean region, the impacts of the '9/11' terrorist attacks on the USA in 2001 and previous pandemics such as the 2009 swine flu crisis. These experiences have seen the development of toolkits of risk management, risk mitigation and crisis recovery (e.g. Lynch, 2004) as well as a recent focus on resilience (Hall et al., 2018). However, the COVID-19 pandemic is of a much higher magnitude than previous crises because of its global scale and the widespread shutdown of travel, businesses and life activities.

It is predictable that industries such as tourism will be keen to get back to business as usual and are seeking shares of government stimulus packages and interventions. For example, one of the world's largest tourism multinational companies, Tui, is seeking aid from both the UK and German governments and has indicated it is slashing costs in its global operations (Hancock, 2020). Airlines around the world are presenting themselves as facets of critical transport infrastructures and also seeking government bailouts and packages. Qantas Airlines in Australia is one example that has been heavily criticized for harsh cuts to its staff while seeking government aid despite record profits in past years (Butler, 2020). An Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) report noted: 'The industry is now focussed on ensuring business

continuity despite the crisis' (OECD, 2020, p. 6). The question this raises is: what balance will be struck between supporting tourism multinationals, tourism small business, vulnerable tourism workers and destination communities in an environment that challenges the very foundations of current economic systems?

Despite such efforts to enable a return to 'business as usual' as soon as possible, some have identified this as a transformational moment opening up possibilities for resetting tourism. The UNWTO has seized on this rhetoric:

> Tourism has the potential to recover and once again establish itself as a key part of national economies and of the wider sustainable development agenda.

> This crisis may also offer a unique opportunity to shape the sector to ensure it not only grows but it grows better, with inclusivity, sustainability and responsibility prioritized. Furthermore, to build for the future, special attention should be placed on building resilience and on promoting sustainability at all levels (UNWTO, 2020b, p. 33).

We should be critically aware of the purposes of such rhetoric from an industry that has resisted substantial change despite widespread criticism and even protests and unrest (Cassinger, 2019; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2008). This analysis addresses the problem of tourism in neoliberal contexts and offers a case study of the cruise tourism sector to illustrate how this results in ecological and social injustices. Following thinking that the crisis offers an opportunity to reset tourism, this article reveals the false promise of 'responsible' tourism solutions. Instead, this work builds on recent analysis of redefining and reorienting tourism and offers new insights for rethinking tourism by 'socialising' it. Such efforts are important in this moment when possibilities for transformative change are made possible through the pandemic's disruption to business as usual.

Methods

This work is a conceptual analysis that draws on the theory, methods and insights of critical tourism epistemologies. At such a moment as this, critical tourism approaches are vital. Tribe argued 'critical research is essential for setting an agenda for ethical management, governance and coexistence with the wider world' (Tribe, 2008, p. 245). Despite his influential leadership in the tourism academy and the expansion of critical, responsible and transformative approaches to tourism in both the academy and without, we are in fact little closer to placing tourism in a context of sustainable, ethical and just coexistence with the wider world. Before the COVID-19 induced shutdown, the relentless drive for growth, profits and expansion were evident in most parts of the world; overtourism was one well noted symptom (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2018b; Jover & Díaz-Parra, 2020). A critical question to consider is what opportunities does the COVID-19 interruption of business as usual offer to us to rethink tourism?

In her book on *Anti-crisis*, Roitman noted that Marin Luther King had planned a speech titled 'Normalcy-Never Again' for his Lincoln Memorial Speech of 28 August 1963 (Roitman, 2014, p. 1). He amended the speech at the last minute to the 'I have a dream' theme we have come to know well. This decision to emphasise the more positive narrative has inspired many in the decades that have followed. But from a critical

perspective, the demand for 'normalcy-never again' may have had the emancipatory, anti-oppression and justice focus that was required to address profound injustices against the Black American community in that moment of civil rights action and continuing to this day (see Evelyn, 2020). This article draws inspiration from these words 'normalcy-never again' to make a key point that approaches of 'responsible tourism' that are increasingly being touted in this moment will not be sufficient to create the fundamental changes that are required to reorient tourism away from the injustices and oppressions it currently enacts and supports.

Roitman studied crisis narratives in her *Anti-crisis* work, arguing: '[…] Crisis is mobilized in narrative constructions to mark out or to designate "moments of truth"; it is taken to be a means to access historical truth, and even a means to think "history" itself' (Roitman, 2014, p.3). This article uses the COVID-19 pandemic crisis to search out the truth about tourism and to ask what is revealed in this history-making moment of crisis for travel and tourism. The taken as given notions of tourism as an industry (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006), the push for commodification of peoples and places through tourism (e.g. Kirtsoglou & Theodossopoulos, 2004), the privatisation of commons for profit-making in tourism and the transformation of communities into destinations (Higgins-Desbiolles et al., 2019) are all now open to thoughtful rethinking. Using the anti-oppression and pro-justice theorisation of critical tourism approaches, we can not only sharpen the critique of the moment we find ourselves in but also imagine radical and emancipatory solutions.

The revelatory power of the COVID-19 crisis: neoliberalism undone

The revelatory power of this crisis is enormous. Ideas that are rocked by this pandemic and responses to it include:

- that globalisation is an unstoppable force;
- that we cannot unlink from the logics of continuous economic growth;
- that consumerism is the key to expressing our identity; and
- that neoliberal capitalism is the best system for organising and allocating resources.

Neoliberalism from the 1980s has promoted: reducing government roles and regulations; increasing marketisation and privatization; reducing tax on the wealthy and big businesses; a consumer-based ideology; and radical individualism (Harvey, 2007). As a result of this system, workers' rights and conditions have deteriorated, environmental protection regulations have been attacked, and social safety nets have been reduced or abandoned in many nations (Monbiot, 2016). Importantly, a key outcome from neoliberal transformations is the attempt to diminish society in favour of the economy; as former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, one of the founders of neoliberal politics, once exclaimed 'there is no such thing as society'[1] (2013).

Accompanying this has been an ideology that 'there is no alternative' (TINA), such that opposition and protests have been often sidelined (Flanders, 2013). It is neo-liberalism that has hollowed out societies and their resources, especially healthcare

systems, making the pandemic even harder to address. The experience of the COVID-19 crisis has revealed that neoliberalism has embedded market values in social and welfare institutions that should have been dedicated to meeting the needs of people and society.

This crisis has also revealed the falsehood of TINA as neoliberal governments around the world are having to abandon their ideological positions. In response to the pandemic, these governments are: redeveloping social safety nets; calling on social solidarity in the action to get everyone to stay at home in the attempt to reduce COVID-19 transmission; and printing money and spending taxpayer funds in enormous amounts to maintain economic and social stability. With this crisis, we also can identify whose labour is needed to perpetuate society's wellbeing: the undervalued caring labour of nurses, grocery store workers, aged care, teachers, and gig economy delivery staff – many of whom are women and/or People of Colour.[2] It is neither the 'captains of industry' nor the celebrities that are seeing us through this crisis.

This also matters to the question of whether we return to neoliberal normalcy after the crisis passes, because these workers have been subject to poor pay and conditions, wage theft, job precarity and/or redundancy in the relentless drive to reduce costs and increase profits for the privatised entities that employ them. It is clear that profound change has been possible because of the unique challenges of this globalised crisis and it suggests that a systemic change is underway. Perhaps underscoring the way COVID-19 has caused a break with neoliberalism, the British Prime Minister Boris Johnson on the 30th March 2020 stated that 'there really is such a thing as society' in a message released while suffering with Covid-19 himself (Johnson, 2020).

An illustrative case study: the cruise tourism industry exposed

This article will take the example of the cruise ship as iconic of the conduct of neoliberalism and its failures in terms of human, social, economic and environmental well-being. In fact, the iconic image of the global COVID-19 pandemic and its abrupt shutdown of our hyper-mobile world have been those stranded cruise ships, full of passengers desperate to disembark and destination communities less than keen to receive them (see Cdanowicz, 2020).

The Cruise Lines International Association (CLIA) positions its membership in terms of 'responsibility': 'CLIA cruise lines are leaders and innovators in responsible tourism and offer the best way for travelers to experience the world' (CLIA, n.2020d.) However, many cruise ships sail under a 'Flag of Convenience' (FOC), which does not suggest a commitment to responsibility. FOC describes when some cruise companies register their ships in a country other than the country of ownership. Common FOC nations include Malta, Bermuda, Panama and the Bahamas. Cruise companies choose to use a FOC as part of their economic model, helping their business gain profits by helping them avoid stringent economic, social and environmental regulations (see Tourism Concern, 2016). The practice of using FOC makes the cruise tourism sector emblematic of neoliberal forms of tourism. As Segnini and Rojas (2015) demonstrated in an analysis of the American cruise sector: 'The multi-billion dollar cruise industry is one of the least regulated in the United States, and is shielded under the laws of the tax havens from which it operates.'

In March 2020, when the cruise sector sought access to the $2 trillion USD stimulus plan funds being rolled out in the USA to deal with the economic fallout from the COVID-19 pandemic, these unjust and unsustainable practices were highlighted by opponents. Marcie Keever, Oceans and Vessels Program Director at Friends of the Earth stated:

> The cruise ship industry should not be rewarded for polluting our oceans, breaking laws, harming communities and mistreating workers. Congress must hold the cruise industry accountable for its past abuses and not provide them a single dime before the American people are secure. We must make people and the environment the priority during this health crisis, not cruise industry profits (Friends of the Earth, 2020).

Cruise tourism has also been identified as one culprit in the overtourism crisis in places such as Venice, Barcelona and Dubrovnik (Street, 2019). In this COVID-19 crisis, the health and safety of the thousands of workers trapped on the cruise ships denied port entry was seldom discussed often with only maritime unions speaking out for them (see ABC News, 2020). At the time of writing this, many of them have been forced to stay on infected ships while these arguments raged on, with those falling sick being evacuated to hospitals. This stands in marked contrast to the repatriation of cruise passenger nationals on charter flights by their concerned governments.

This case study of the cruise tourism sector is one example of the injustices and exploitations of the tourism industry operating under neoliberalism. The COVID-19 crisis has revealed often ignored aspects of this system. As the cruise ships became stranded around the world as ports closed to them, the question of exactly where home for them was, as they operated under FOC, began to be discussed. Maritime union advocacy drew attention to the plight of the unfortunate crews, some of whom to date have not been afforded proper protections and care during the pandemic. The cruise sector has benefited from neoliberal ideology and practices and now hopes to benefit from the bonuses of disaster capitalism[3] (see Klein, 2008) to access unprecedented government stimulus funds on offer (see OCCRP, 2020).

In the 'The truth about tourism', Tribe argued: 'The job of critical theory is initially to identify which particular ideological influences are at work. Ideology critique then asks whose interests are being served by a particular ideology' (2006, p. 375). As noted by Tribe (2006, p. 375), Desmond explained how tourism is itself an ideology: 'tourism is not just an aggregate of commercial activities; it is also an ideological framing of history, nature and tradition; a framing that has the power to reshape culture and nature to its own needs' (Desmond, 1999: xiv). The critical questions to ask include: who defines the boundaries and operations of tourism; who benefits from these forms of tourism; how is power exercised; and how is power limited and controlled? With neoliberalism now arguably on the nose, we have an invaluable window of opportunity to overturn the received wisdom on tourism and reorient it in ways that better serve society.

Addressing the problem of tourism: responsible tourism is not the answer

Some will advocate more responsible forms of tourism as the answer to transforming tourism in these circumstances. Article one of the UNWTO's 'Global Code of Ethics for

Tourism' articulates responsible tourism effectively. Titled 'tourism's contribution to mutual understanding and respect between peoples and societies', it states: 'the understanding and promotion of the ethical values common to humanity, with an attitude of tolerance and respect for the diversity of religious, philosophical and moral beliefs, are both the foundation and the consequence of responsible tourism' (UNWTO, 1999). Responsible tourism approaches have been advocated as a way to address the negative social and environmental impacts of tourism. Recently, Jamal et al. (2013) argued that responsible tourism approaches, together with a micro-macro ethical framework, were superior to sustainable tourism approaches that have predominated in recent years.

However, others have disagreed that either 'sustainable' or 'responsible' approaches are sufficient:

> What has occurred has been investigations of inequality and tourism (Cole & Morgan, 2010) and justice tourism (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2008) which have sought to address questions of who benefits from tourism, how tourism can be made fairer and more just, what are the purposes of tourism and at the more extreme end, how tourism can be mobilised as a tool for securing justice (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2018a).

In work on justice issues in tourism, Higgins-Desbiolles (2008) explained how these kinds of efforts aimed at reforming tourism and can easily be co-opted and undermined. We see this co-option in the cruise tourism industry case study above, where CLIA couched the cruise sector clearly as a part of responsible tourism. Higgins-Desbiolles' work (2008) offered an analysis using a continuum to illustrate how various reformist interventions advanced changes to tourism processes, but were not sufficient to address ongoing exploitations and injustices that tourism enacts (see Figure 1).

The problem with responsible tourism approaches are that they merely admonish tourism actors to be a little more caring and responsible and to clean up the sharper edges of their poor practices. Responsible tourism advocates fail to recognise that these businesses are a part of a structure that is set up unjustly and extracts profits through exploitative practices. An illustrative example is offered in Whyte's (2010) analysis of Indigenous tourism. Using an environmental justice frame for analysis, he explains how Indigenous tourism can result in 'mutually beneficial exploitation' when Indigenous communities are compelled by poverty and structural injustices to engage with forms of tourism that often fail to recognise Indigenous sovereignty and lifeways. Responsible tourism proponents might unwittingly identify these forms of tourism as a 'win-win' because Indigenous peoples actively engage with the 'tourism opportunity'. However, Whyte shows how the structural injustices under which tourism operates undermines the possibility for Indigenous peoples' lifeways to thrive under such conditions, and ultimately undermines their sovereignty in the process.

This analysis of the limitations of responsible tourism as one possible tool in this COVID-19 transformative moment underscores the need to employ critical approaches. If this transformative moment is to be seized with the goal of attaining greater social and ecological justice, we must seek a radical break from what has come before, rather than a more simplistic reformist approach.
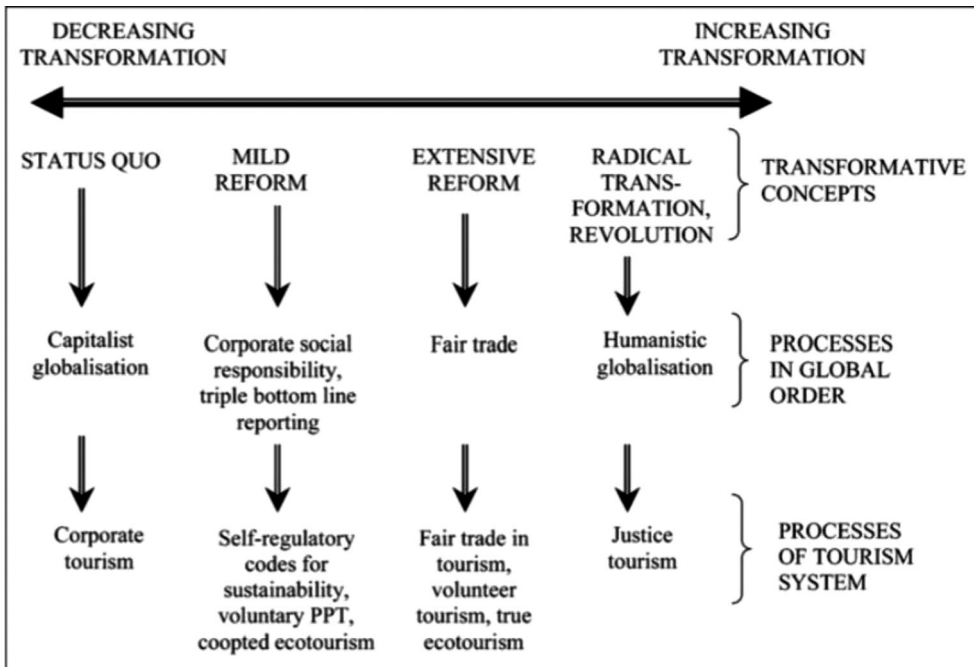
Figure 1. Continuum of transformation possible in global order and tourism system (from Higgins-Desbiolles, 2008, p. 359).

What is to be done: socialising tourism for social and ecological justice

The COVID-19 pandemic crisis has challenged the premises of neoliberalism that smaller government, individualism, and marketisation benefit people and society. Forms of government interventions, the redevelopment of social safety nets, and the significance of social caring and networks have been the primary responses to challenges of this crisis. After COVID-19, we could take up an agenda to properly socialise tourism. The word 'socialise' could hold multiple meanings including: following the principles of socialism; to act socially well in interactions with others; or to guide on proper ways of behaving with regards to society. In his discussion of 'socialising the stranger', Scott provides an insight into the way socialising tourism is meant here. Scott explained: 'Hospitality becomes an initiation of the process that would result in the socialisation and thus integration into the 'local' society' (Scott, 2006, p. 57). It is both tourists and tourism businesses that must be socialised into supporting the ways, needs and interests of the local societies in which they tour or offer tourism services.

Recent COVID-19 analysis has noted how neoliberal governments have willingly adopted 'socialised' policies in their response to the crisis, for instance by creating the health, social and educational measures they had previously white-anted with privatisation in an effort to avoid widespread social unrest. But I use this phrase 'socialise tourism' in a broader way, meaning to make tourism responsive and answerable to the society in which it occurs. The problem with tourism under neoliberal globalisation is that the power of society to manage, control and benefit from tourism businesses

operating in their communities is undermined because the market is outside of their control.

It is well known that governments under neoliberal globalisation have ceded considerable freedom and rights to multinational corporations, which has had profound implications for societies. As Stiglitz reminded us, corporations are created to further society's goals:

> Corporations are legal entities governments create to enhance the well-being of their citizens by producing certain conditions that are conducive to investing and conducting business. Governments grant certain rights-limited liability-but we have argued that these are not 'natural rights' or 'human rights' but only instrumental rights, shaped to further societal goals (2007, p. 553).

Discourses from corporate social responsibility advocates have advocated an approach to business requiring their 'social licence to operate' (Wheeler, 2015; see also Campos et al., 2018).

However, the concept of socialising tourism advocated in this work is a call to place tourism in the context of the society in which it occurs and to harness it for the empowerment and wellbeing of local communities. Recent work by Higgins-Desbiolles et al. (2019, p. 1936) offering a Community-Centred Tourism Framework assists this radical rethinking of tourism:

> If we are to avoid violence, strategies for degrowth in tourism must be progressive, inclusive, just and equitable. This begins with the redefinition of tourism in order to place the rights of local communities above the rights of tourists for holidays and the rights of tourism corporates to make profits.

These authors offered an illustrative model to indicate how such an approach to tourism would radically transform the way tourism could be conducted (see Figure 2).

Key lessons of the COVID-19 crisis have been the vital importance of community, social connections and society; privatisation and marketisation have been shown to be damaging to public health and well-being. We also saw the way the corporate model of tourism was devastated by the efforts to address the pandemic; like global supply chains, global tourism has proved fragile and unreliable. Some commentators are drawing the lesson that a more localised form of tourism would be the way of the future. But that is not taking the thinking far enough. We need tourism in the service to the public and to be accountable to the public.

An agenda to socialise tourism would reorient it to the public good; including:

- States could choose to preference local corporations and businesses over multinational corporations (MNCs) (see Stiglitz, 2007). Too often MNCs are not answerable to local places; small to medium tourism enterprises are the ones that should be facilitated for a more just and sustainable future in tourism.
- Tourism corporations must pay a fair amount of taxes and must no longer use unjust practices such as tax havens to avoid taxes. These corporations should not be allowed to offload costs as market failures onto the public purse.
- If tourism businesses go bankrupt, workers should be the first prioritised debt holder of such businesses and they should be supported to takeover such
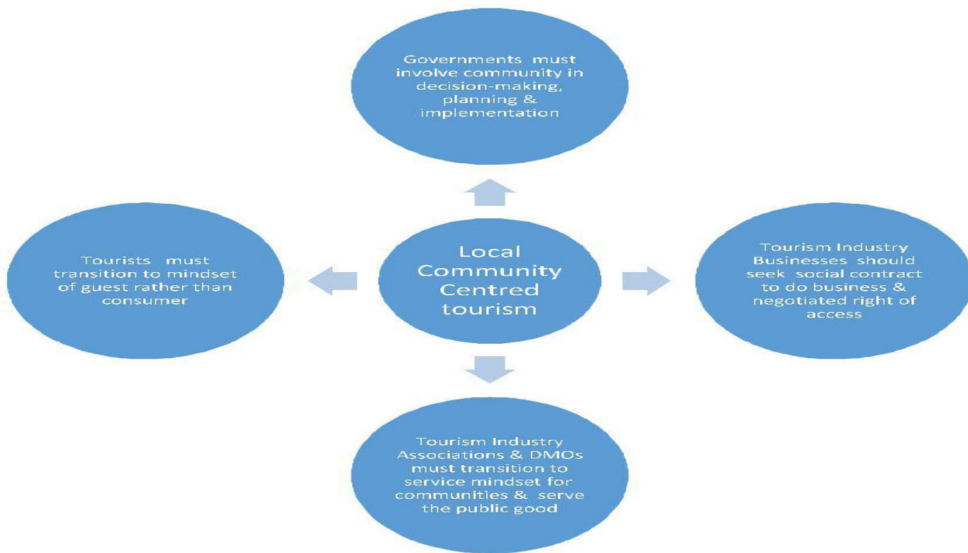
Figure 2. Community-Centred Tourism Framework as a mechanism for degrowing tourism (from Higgins-Desbiolles et al., 2019, p. 1937).

businesses if they desire this (see Higgins-Desbiolles, 2012 on the Hotel Bauen example).

- Alternative models including cooperatives, social enterprises, non-profits and forms of social businesses should be facilitated to support tourism for the public good (see Biddulph, 2018 for critical perspectives).

- State tourism commissions must return to their original mission of public service rather than continue down the path of statutory corporations. They must be restructured away from the marketing and public communications focus that has come to dominate under neoliberalism, and instead be comprised of people of diverse expertise that can facilitate a public good form of tourism.

- Public good forms of tourism should be facilitated and promoted, including educational tourism, citizen science, social tourism, community exchanges, etc. Informal sectors that facilitate local people's benefit from tourism should also be prioritised.

- The commons should be protected and no further privatisation of public assets such as national parks and protected areas should occur. Ecological protection of conservation environments must be a high priority under the threat of climate change

- The types of tourism developed should be decided by the local community. The public must be properly consulted on the forms of tourism that are developed in the community according to processes that they identify.

- A universal basic income is a basis on which precarious tourism and hospitality work can be made secure. Significant efforts must be made to secure workers' rights and good working conditions. It should no longer be tolerated that tourism workers do not receive a living wage and secure conditions for their labour in the industry.

This agenda needs more dedicated work and fleshing out to ensure we set tourism on different pathway so that it supports social and ecological justice. There is both possibility and danger in this transformative moment offered by the crisis of COVID-19. As the Tourism Alert and Action Forum warned:

> Industries such as tourism will be keen to get back to business as usual, grabbing on to the phrase undertourism to ramp it up again. Governments will be keen to take advantage of control and surveillance capacities that are being imposed on the excuse of the crisis and to extend these further. Whole segments of our communities are being dismissed as disposable, including workers in the informal sectors of tourism who will find that starvation and homelessness are their direct threat as well as COVID-19. It is foreseeable that an elite form of travel will result (TAAF, 2020).

This work on socialising tourism requires both thought and action to ensure that we do not fail at this moment to secure real transformation from the disaster that the COVID-19 crisis has brought.

Conclusion

> *'The old world is dying and the new world struggles to be born. Now is the time of monsters'- Antonio Gramsci (cited in Žižek, 2010)* [4]

There is some hubris in trying to develop effective analysis on a global crisis when it has not yet fully unfolded. It would seem that we are in an era of major change of the equivalent of a world war or great depression. There are contrasting views on whether this should be a source of great optimism or fear. If correct that we are living through a major transition, this assessment of Gramsci cautions us to be alert to a possible time of monsters. In a world where growing inequality has led to massive numbers of vulnerable populations (Kearney, 2017), it is clear that the COVID-19 pandemic and actions to address its spread are likely to impact these vulnerable communities in disproportionate and deadly fashion (see, for instance, Evelyn, 2020; Kazmin, 2020). Thus, it matters how we support a transition for greater justice and well-being.

This article has offered an analysis using a critical theory lens to briefly uncover the ways in which tourism has supported neoliberal injustices and exploitation. Taking the assumption that the COVID-19 pandemic crisis offers a rare and invaluable opportunity to rethink and reset tourism, this article has explained why 'responsible' approaches to tourism do not offer sufficient means to break with these structures and processes of injustice, oppression and exploitation. Instead, this work has drawn on recent theorisation to redefine and reorient tourism based on the rights and interests of local communities and local peoples. It advances this work by further theorising a way tourism could be 'socialised' and made accountable to social and ecological limits.

In the neoliberal era, tourism facilitated and enacted serious inequities and injustices on people and wrought significant ecological damage, including contributions to global climate change. As we try to give birth a new era in the aftermath of COVID-19, it is our task as concerned scholars in tourism to offer our contributions to imagine ways tourism can be developed to enable human thriving and ecological recovery. Socialising tourism to such purposes would be a positive way forward.

Notes

1. Thatcher's full statement was: 'They are casting their problems at society. And, you know, there's no such thing as society. There are individual men and women and there are families. And no government can do anything except through people, and people must look after themselves first. It is our duty to look after ourselves and then, also, to look after our neighbours' (from an interview in *Women's Own* in 1987 as cited in Thatcher, 2013).
2. 'People of Colour' is not a satisfactory term but it is used to encompass the range of 'non-white' people who do not benefit from privileged positions of power (see Glover, 2016).
3. Klein used the term 'shock doctrine' to describe the strategy of using the public's disorientation following a collective shock – wars, coups, terrorist attacks, market crashes or natural disasters – to push through radical pro-corporate measures, often called 'shock therapy'. Corporations use this to advance their interests and ability to profit through what she called 'disaster capitalism' (2008).
4. This is from a liberal translation of Gramsci popularized by Slavoj Žižek (2010), which amends 'In this interregnum a great variety of morbid symptoms appear' to 'Now is the time of monsters'.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

Notes on contributor

Freya Higgins-Desbiolles is a Senior Lecturer in Tourism Management, Business Unit, University of South Australia. Her work focuses on social justice issues in tourism, hospitality and events. She has worked with communities, non-governmental organisations and businesses that seek to harness tourism for human rights, justice and equitable futures.

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