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*Chapter*

## **TOURISM SECURITY AFTER CLIMATE CHANGE**

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### **ABSTRACT**

The present short piece interrogates on the intersection of climate change, which results from a much deeper **ecological crisis**, and the tourist system. Based on the contributions of **Tim Ingold**, a British anthropologist who introduced the idea of “the relational perspective”, we lay the foundations towards a new (alternative) understanding of the issue (for the years to come). We make a critical reading of the methodological problems and limitations of the economic-centered paradigm to grasp the nature of climate change beyond the materialist lens. Though our future remains uncertain, no less true is that tourism is part of the solution or the problem depends strictly on the possibilities the founding values of capitalist society to be sustainably transformed.

**Keywords:** climate change, ecological crisis, tourism, tourist destination, tourist consumption, Tim Ingold

## INTRODUCTION

Tourism and hospitality have been located in recent decades as two thriving industries that have grown at the planetary level either by the multiplication of employment and/or by direct and indirect investment (Gahli 1976, Oh 2005). Several approaches have emphasized the positive and negative effects of tourism, especially within the constellations of the third world (Tuner & Ash 1975; Britton 1982). Through their articulation with the theory of development, scholars and planners agreed that the adoption of the benefits promoted by tourism can help not only alleviate poverty in underdeveloped countries but also foster more democratic institutions (Tosun 2000; Nelson 2012). Failures in the theory of development in certain emerging economies, as well as global warming have phagocitated the increase of a critical literature regarding the dominant discourse, in ecological matters. For these voices, modern tourism evokes certain colonial discursivities which tend to reify the native (Lozanski 2007, Bandyopadhyay 2011, Korstanje 2012), forcing the idea of free market as the best of realities (Jack & Phipps 2005), not to mention the commodification of tourist spaces which are subordinated to a functional aesthetic to capitalism (MacCannell 1976; 2001; 2002; Urry 1992; 2002; Meethan 2001). At one point, as the economist J. Michie (2017) comments, the idea of the market and European imperialism have historically been linked. Colonization has served the interests of European producers to secure the necessary raw materials on the road to the industrial revolution. Once the European economies were consolidated, the idea of free trade was imposed as a foundational universal value (Michie 2017).

For his part, the anthropologist Marvin Harris writes that the first anthropologists shared the same interests and fears as the first colonizers. The advance of modern rationality would involve the destruction of so-called primitive cultures. To avoid this end, the anthropologist had to collect

stories, artifacts, and all kinds of cultural waste to preserve the identity of the peoples in danger of extinction. This prejudice centered on the idea that if premodern Europe succumbed to the modern world, so would primitive cultures (Harris 2001). Since then, anthropology has developed a paternalistic notion of the “non-European Other”; It goes without saying that the same valuation is present in many of the cultural studies of tourism while laying the foundations for the construction of the economic-centric paradigm (Korstanje 2012, Tzanelli & Korstanje 2016). Starting from the premise that protection is an inherent part of tourism theory, several analysts have called attention in the ecological crisis as the main threat to the **sustainability** of the tourism system (Becken 2004, Nyaupane & Chhetri, 2009, Font & Hindley 2017).

The problem of sustaining the tourism industry under the risk of **climate change** is important to investigate for financial investors and government stakeholders because many countries have realized significant declines in revenue while numerous property owners in the Caribbean region have become bankrupt due to severe storms (Flanner, Shell, Barlage, Perovich & Tschudi 2011, Ukessays 2018). Additionally, the problem of sustaining tourism when climate change increases is important to examine from the consumer stakeholder perspective because there is a higher risk of being impacted by natural or man-made **disasters** while on vacation (Antimova 2012, Korstanje & Strang 2019, Strang, 2018).

In this context, this review note explores a critical review of the specialized literature that describes the relationship between **climate change** and tourism. In an alternative way, the limitations and strengths of the argument of **Tim Ingold**, who recently studied the conceptual bases of modern sustainability, are discussed.

## INITIAL DISCUSSION

Since its inception, scientific studies in tourism were marked by a clear environmental trend, or if you will, a concern for **sustainability** (Bramwell & Lane 2000, Pigram & Wahab 2005, Saarinen 2006). In his approaches on

the “scientificization of tourism” Jafar Jafari (1994) advocated a discipline nurtured by a matrix of objective thinking that could understand the negative effects of tourism on the environment and neutralize them. For his part, Jost Krippendorf (2010) referred to tourism as a social activity rooted in the cultural and productive matrix of society. In part, tourism obeys the social and ethical norms of each community. In order to mitigate the polluting effects of industry on the territory, it is necessary to change the foundational values of society, warned Krippendorf. In the words of Margarita Barreto, Krippendorf was one of the first researchers concerned and motivated by ecology (Barreto 2009, Korstanje, 2014).

In recent years, globalization and technological advances put the issue of sustainability on the table of discussions as never before (Reid 2003, Mowforth & Munt 2015). As a democratizing and modernizing agent, tourism promotes a state of economic well-being, but in certain contexts it can lead to conflict, economic backwardness and environmental contamination (de Kadt 1979, Clarke 1997, Osmar-Fonteles 2004, Ibañez & Rodriguez, 2012). Even though the ordering of the territory -and with this technology- has been a key factor in tourism planning towards more sustainable forms (Schlüter 2001, Bertoncetto 2006, Boullon 2006, Wallingre 2014), it is no less true that climate change has puzzled to researchers regarding the reaction capacity of the industry (Korstanje & George, 2012). At the institutional level, the concern for the sustainable issue comes from the signing of the Brundtland Report written by the former Prime Minister of Norway Gro Harlem Brundtland in order to make a critical approach on the effects of global economic development, which was focused on a exclusively economicist logic. The said report uses the word “sustainable development” for the first time, which denotes the effort not to compromise the resources of the next generations (Burton 1987). The different problems and limitations of the theory of development and sustainability not only gave rise to various critical studies, but also to issues of ideological roots proper to economic liberalism that put net or perceived gain over the results obtained (Esteva & Prakash 1988). From this perspective, societies must adapt to the reality of climate change even when the disruptive consequences of the capitalist system, which lead to the crisis,

are not properly addressed (Klein 2015, Chaturvedi & Doyle 2015, Bauman 2013).

## **CLIMATE CHANGE AND TOURISM**

Originally, scientists discovered a progressive increase in the temperatures of the planet from 1880 to 2007 (Flanner 2011). According to Flanner, Shell, Barlage, Perovich and Tschudi (2017) they forecasts **climate change** will continue to worsen at least until 2050. This phenomenon was called “global warming” assuming the idea that its main cause is gases of greenhouse type that are trapped in the atmosphere (Stocker et al. 2013). Over time, the term gave way to a new interpretation “climate change”, which was better suited to new discoveries. The increase in temperature generated abrupt changes in ocean currents that not only threatened life on the planet but also the different world economies (Field et al. 2014). Over the years, various attempts to reduce gas emissions have been systematically frustrated by the refusal of the United States, China and Russia to reduce their pollution limits. The first manifest rejection of the United States has occurred in the famous Kyoto Protocol (1997), followed by the meeting held in Copenhagen in 2009. Finally, a global protocol is materialized, with the absence of the United States after the triumph of Donald Trump, in Paris for 2015 where the main economic powers are committed to reducing their greenhouse gases in the atmosphere. Within the social sciences, **climate change** has awakened a heated debate. On the one hand, some sociologists like Beck and Giddens maintain that the phenomenon opens the doors to a new condition of global risk that can initiate new relations between the different countries converging towards a global peace which allows to solve the problem. Climate change can engender a more tolerant society, open to change than the industrial age (Beck 2000; 2006; Giddens 2009). Other more critical exponents consider **climate change** a dominant discourse tending to create a new hegemony between the global north and the peripheral south. Although this current does not deny the problem as a great risk, it is no less certain that they consider that capitalism is far from resolving and mitigating

its effects by laying the foundations for a new eco-imperialism (Dalby 2004, Dyer 2011, Chaturvedi & Doyle 2015).

The reception of current literature in the fields of tourism and hospitality are different in comparison to that of the human sciences. The scope of research in tourism was oriented to the development of techniques for measuring specific impacts on the **territory** and on attractiveness (Amelung, Nicholls & Viner 2007, Moreno & Becken 2009), the writing of reports that lead to plans for contingency to reduce its impact on the system (Scott et al. 2008, Hall 2011), the creation of new segments or niches that are based on cultural consumption as an instrument towards territorial decentralization (Peeters, Gossling & Becken 2009, Dickinson, Lumsdom & Robbins 2011; McKercher et al. 2011), and the recent use of computer programs to adapt the tourist centers to the devastating consequences of natural **disasters** or simply to condition the state of destruction to a new instrument known as “post-disaster marketing” (marketing in the context of disaster). This last current abandons the idea of “precautionary doctrine” which shows that man and his rationality can infer and eliminate danger, to give rise to more morbid forms of tourist consumption (Robinson & Jarvie 2008; Amujo & Otubanjo 2012; Mair, Ritchie & Walters 2016, Seraphin, Gowreensunkar & Ambaye, 2016, Seraphin, Butcher & Korstanje 2017).

In this sense, it is important to point out that Australians, New Zealanders and Scandinavians, probably dismayed by the devastating effects on their corals and poles, have begun in recent years several approaches to understand the dissociation between perception and practice (Harrison 1996, Hall & Saarinen 2010). Indeed, even when a large majority of tourists warn of climate change as a great risk, little is known about the practical practical steps that must be taken to reduce polluting gases (Hall 2008, Hall & Lew 2009, Gossling 2010, Weaver 2011). In this perspective, Hall, Scott & Gossling (2012) suggest that **climate change** has acquired a great destructive potential that can substantially change the nature of the tourism industry. In this regard, scholars must calibrate more accurate definitions of this problem, differentiating sustainable tourism from the development of sustainable tourism. Technology, accompanied by Western rationality, can be effective instruments to reduce industrial pollution. On the other hand,

Becken & Hay (2007) argue that tourism has no chance of subsisting without the environmental resources that sustain it.

Unfavorable weather conditions can - and indeed do - seriously affect the attractiveness of tourist sites (Flanner, Shell, Barlage, Perovich & Tschudi 2011). In agreement with Hall, Scott & Gossling, the authors warn that planners should lay the foundations for the implementation of sustainable plans that adapt the industry to the vicissitudes of the ecological risk posed by climate change (CC). Becken & Hay start from the premise that little is known about the subject in tourism, and from what is published there is a very marked commercial trend. The researchers are oriented to protect tourist destinations - under a precautionary prism - without fully understanding how CC works and its interaction with tourism. David Weaver (2011) in a seminal article warns that tourism has little chance of surviving against the CC unless the basis of what is now understood as "sustainable" is reconsidered. On the one hand, although the adaptive theory speaks of the need to adjust certain variables to mitigate the negative effects of CC, there is some concern in the academia regarding the viability of these plans. In other words, the idea of adapting is contrary to that of solving. On the other hand, Weaver regrets that the industry is indifferent to the problem of CC. Current policies, as well as studies on the subject, are at odds with the true interests of sustainable tourism. In the same line of research, Korstanje & George write that the CC has awakened an apocalyptic vision of the future, which is installed in contemporary society paralyzing public opinion. Although the CC is a real problem, the spectacle around its consequences generates a distortion between what the ordinary citizen wants and their concrete possibilities of action. Transformed into a spectacle that is consumed by a global audience, CC has become a new form of entertainment that feeds off the real danger it generates (Korstanje & George 2012a, Korstanje & George 2012b). Clarified certain conceptual aspects, Hall & Higham propose a conceptual framework to understand the attention that researchers in tourism and hospitality have given to the CC over the years. According to his perspective, the subject goes through four very different facets. The first goes from the sixties to the seventies (called as a formative facet), which is characterized by exploratory and shallow studies

on the CC and its relationship to the tourist system. It is followed by a decade of stagnation that ranges from the seventies to the eighties. The first refereed publications - under a double blind system - mark a point of inflection and of greater interest that covers the entire period of the nineties. Finally, the most accurate measurements become after the turn of the century with the IPCC reports (Panel on **Climate Change**) which means a vertiginous growth in the quality and quantity of publications. As the authors warn, knowledge and interest in CC are progressive in tourism. To better indices for the access to the measurement that made the scientists, greater knowledge on the topic (Hall & Higham 2005; Scott, Wall & McBoyle, 2005). Hall & Higham (2005) recognize the need to incorporate the CC as a vital thematic axis for the development of tourism in the years to come. A holistic reading of the phenomenon implies the productive system of services, but also the mentality of the consumer (the tourist) (Hall & Higham 2005). Undoubtedly, global warming or climate change should be considered a priority (risk) for governments worldwide which must adapt and create enough technology to calibrate more accurate ways to measure their impacts (Freitas, 2005).

For a large number of researchers in tourism, climate should be considered as a “strategic resource”, which allows the proper functioning of the tourism system (Hamilton, Maddison & Tol 2005, Kuledran & Dwyer 2012). Centered in an economic-centric position of the CC which assumes that the tourist destination must be protected from the negative effects of the climate, the studies allude to the tourist -and the expert- as the only voices authorized to provide information about the problem. In this way, what the tourist thinks, feels or expects from the CC is taken as the only possible truth in the face of the need for new public policies. This methodological form not only generates certain confusions due to the subjectivity of the answers obtained, which are tabulated according to the researcher's own prejudices, but also because -from an epistemological perspective- there is a gap between what the person manifests and finally does (Korstanje 2016).

In perspective, sometimes the interviewees lie or simply know the nature of their deepest feelings. The second major limitation of studies on CC in tourism is its emphasis on “precautionary” doctrine which associates CC as a global risk. As Garrett Hardin (1968) has shown, when a danger becomes

global, the possibilities of reaction diminish (see the paradox of the commons - tragedy of Commons). Individuals - even when concerned about the problem - conceive their consequences as distant in time, and outside of it continue with their usual practices. This dynamic was renamed by **Anthony Giddens** (2011) - in his study of climate - as “the paradox of Giddens”. Finally, as Tim Ingold has inferred, the ecological tragedy is rooted in the Western and capitalist rationality that sustains our way of life. In the following pages, the theory of the English anthropologist **Tim Ingold** and his “relational perspective” will be substantially revised. To what extent is modern tourism a sustainable activity?

### **TIM INGOLD AND THE RELATIONAL PERSPECTIVE: AN ALTERNATIVE EXIT**

In recent years, the English anthropologist **Tim Ingold** (2002) has presented an innovative approach to understanding the **ecological crisis**. Combining his experiences and studies in hunter-gatherer tribes with a historical review of capitalism, Ingold wonders about the sustainability of modern forms of production. In his book, *The Perception of the Environment*, Ingold reflects on the man-nature dichotomy created by modern capitalism. Capitalism -from its origins- has been replicated through the imposition of dichotomous terms which are man-nature, good-bad, leisure-work, etc. These binomials are not only not shared by other non-western cultures but have given rise to the great technological advances of the last decades (Ingold 2002). In *Being Alive*, Ingold (2011) argues that modern man detaches himself from his soil by means of the invention of the chair which allows him not only to accommodate his body as an entity separate from the natural world but to introduce a new form of construction, where the ground is blinded before being built. Modern man destroys the **territory** to build on it again. His topographic vision of it is not associated with his subjective and sensory experience but requires the map to be able to orient himself. Ingold denominates to the modern cosmology as “**dwelling**

**perspective**” (in Spanish *perspective habitacional*) which is characterized by a strong dissociation between man and nature, a tendency to accumulate stock and an architectonic style oriented to administer, to control and to domesticate the wild world. At this point, Ingold is skeptical about the ecological issue because the recent crisis cannot be explained away from the capitalist tendency to accumulation and domination. According to his point of view, the ecological reserves do not include the human presence since it is seen as something incompatible with the natural. Man is, warns Ingold, the bearer of a supreme and rational reason that allows him to improve the environment. This ability leads to a paternalistic morality where protecting does not mean integrating. Given these conditions, the **ecological crisis** - far from being solved - must be understood as part of the modern man's housing perspective. The natural can and should be preserved but in doing so man is relegated likewise. On the contrary, hunter-gatherers have developed a “relational perspective” cosmology through which man is considered integrated into the natural world. In its conception, the meat of animals serves not only for its food but any attempt to create a remnant to be marketed is punished by nature itself through **disasters** and the tragedy of scarcity. For every hunter-gatherer, the **territory** is integrated to its own existence inhabiting within nature itself. Unlike modern man, the hunter-gatherer builds his integrated homes to the very nature that sustains him. Ingold suggests that the adoption of new cultural values that allow modern man to overcome the risks of the ecological **crisis** is possible, even though he remains skeptical about the role played by the capitalist system as a steel bubble in the face of that possible change. Ingold suggests that capitalist values, which are essentially antinomic, represent a small part of human evolution. Far from being universal values, they have been imposed on pre-modern Europe about four hundred years ago. Its ideological effectiveness, however, has been to make believe that these values are natural in themselves and applicable to all human groups. Even though Ingold considers tourism as a purely capitalist invention and by nature it is impossible for industry to be sustainable, it is no less true that its approaches are relevant to the debate on the **ecological** crisis facing the planet today. The instrumental and rational logic - quoting Paul Virilio (2010) - is

available for the reproduction of capital and the profitability of large corporations that venture into science. The modern world works like a great “air conditioning” which does not make the world a more comfortable place but it encloses man in a controlled environment which feeds off external heat. Virilio coined the term “University of Disaster” to express his fear for the paradigms that govern modern science, which does not seek solutions for the common man (for example in the face of the ecological crisis) but seek greater efficiency in the production chains -consumption.

In a recent work, R. Tzanelli (2019) to resume the discussion initiated by Ingold brandishes a thesis for other particular. The Capitalist ethos, accompanied by technological advances, has created a highly mobile society. However, it can not be said that such mobility is fair. Tzanelli formulates two opposing ideas. On the one hand, capitalism is sustained by means of a design that makes mobility its essence. On the other, mobility creates a specific sense of justice that precedes it. In other words, while mobility design scenically recreates the conditions for tourist consumption (through its destinations), the justice of mobility focuses on the instability of its effects. Capitalist morality ponders the material benefits of modern tourism, but disdains its immediate effects, which range from saturation of destinations (over-tourism) to environmental pollution. Tzanelli draws on Ingold's advances to present an ethno-philosophical argument about the ecological paradigm. In this sense, every time a landscape is reconstructed (by means of a design) thousands of others are forgotten. Modern ecology rests on certain contradictions that exclude man from his natural environment. Tourism allows a re-symbolization of the world where large cities concentrate capital and human resources while the rural space is subject to a romantic feeling of nostalgia. The rural space allows to make sense of the alienation of modern man while at the same time an old paternalistic scheme is born, which is encapsulated in European colonialism. In view of this, ecological degradation says little about the beauty of the great tourist destinations that produce it. For Tzanelli it is necessary to return to the Nietzschean man who proclaims the triumph of the natural world (pathos) over the Apollonian aesthetic (logos). The concern for the environment is part of the same problem as turistophobia: both allow the

system -and its asymmetries- to replicate. Paradoxically, while more tourists are hated, more symbolic energy is directed to keep the system running.

## CONCLUSION

The Apollonian and rational conceptualization (with instrumental arrangement to the effects) has been present in Western and modern cosmology. Today that logic is in check, as Ingold warns, against the **ecological crisis**. The present note has critically discussed the limitations of the tourist literature regarding climate change (cc). In part, these limitations consist of a lack of holistic definitions, serious methodological problems in considering tourists as the main agency of the system, not to mention their economic imprint, which values the profitability of the tourist destination -or the efficiency of the system- compared to other values. Two ideas are of significant importance in this debate. The first is associated with the housing perspective formulated by **Tim Ingold**. In effect, the cultural values that legitimize pollution are directly proportional to economic development. This suggests an interesting question, to what extent can tourism be part of the solution when it is part of the problem?

Ingold demonstrates a certain indifference regarding this issue, for which it is necessary to return to the main axioms of **Jost Krippendorf**, for whom tourism -as a mechanism of revitalization of frustration is neither good nor bad. Simply, tourism outlines and reflects the cultural values of society. Second and most important, the obsession of the media by the CC has generated a “show” that alternates fear and fascination for the catastrophic effects of this new threat. This show explains what Giddens has observed as the great ecological paradox. The media interest in the environment is directly proportional to the inability to change the usual courses of action that lead to this crisis situation. The apocalypticism accelerated by the uncertainty of CC keeps the modern consumer under control, eager to plunge into the screen of the next tragedy (Korstanje & George 2012a).

## **RESEARCH RECOMMENDATIONS**

Climate change could cost the Caribbean tourism industry more than \$22 billion dollars by 2050 not to mention the damages to property owners from natural or man-made **disasters**. Scholars need to propose solutions for the global problems. Given that Ingold rejects the modern capitalist inherited from the Spanish habitacional tendency to control, redesign nature, and thereby create more pollution to promote profits while destroying nature, it may be possible that the sustainable tourism-climate change problem be resolved by a return to the Nietzschean social culture recommended by Tzanelli which is to prioritize the natural world in a way that balances ecological degradation with sharing the beauty of our diverse geographic resources. We cannot stop climate change (Flanner, Shell, Barlage, Perovich & Tschudi 2011, Ukessays 2018) or **disasters** (Korstanje & Strang 2019) but we could improve the **sustainability** of tourism by researching the following ideas in future studies:

1. Economic incentives for energy efficiency programs to tourism operators – solar panels, renewable hydroelectricity, rain water capture, and other ecological innovations are available (Ukessays 2018) that could be implemented to reduce some of the negative climate impacts from tourism businesses and their customers, but government must offer incentives taken from tax revenues.
2. Tourist philanthropy campaigns – tourist philanthropy campaigns allow conscientious vacationers to support environmental conservatism through donations (perhaps with their name posted to the site) to ear-marked projects like tree planting, drainage canal construction, investing in renewable energy discussed above, or funding for important scientific greens-fields ideas like solar radiation harvesting and others (Flanner, Shell, Barlage, Perovich & Tschudi 2011).
3. Regulation of tourism criteria to combat climate change – this could include offering free training to tourism facilities on how to develop

sustainable tourism (using the above ideas) as well as to share knowledge on how to mitigate against natural or man-made disasters (Korstanje & Strang 2019).

4. Income diversification and mitigation – an inherent problem with tourism is that the locations are often prone to natural disasters due to their proximity to the equator up to the 30 degree parallels toward each pole (Flanner, Shell, Barlage, Perovich & Tschudi 2011), so tourism communities and property owners/developers could be trained and funded through tax revenues to develop alternative income sources from agriculture, clean energy generation or combinations even in parallel to operating tourist facilities; along with geographic-broad risk transfer through insurance to offset potential actual loss (Korstanje & Strang 2019).

If is necessary that stakeholders of tourism and climate change develop adaption strategies for the current situation. The above literature and recommendations should be of interest to many stakeholders in order to advance the state of the art towards a better sustainable tourism industry in the era of global climate change. We encourage other researchers to extend this work.

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