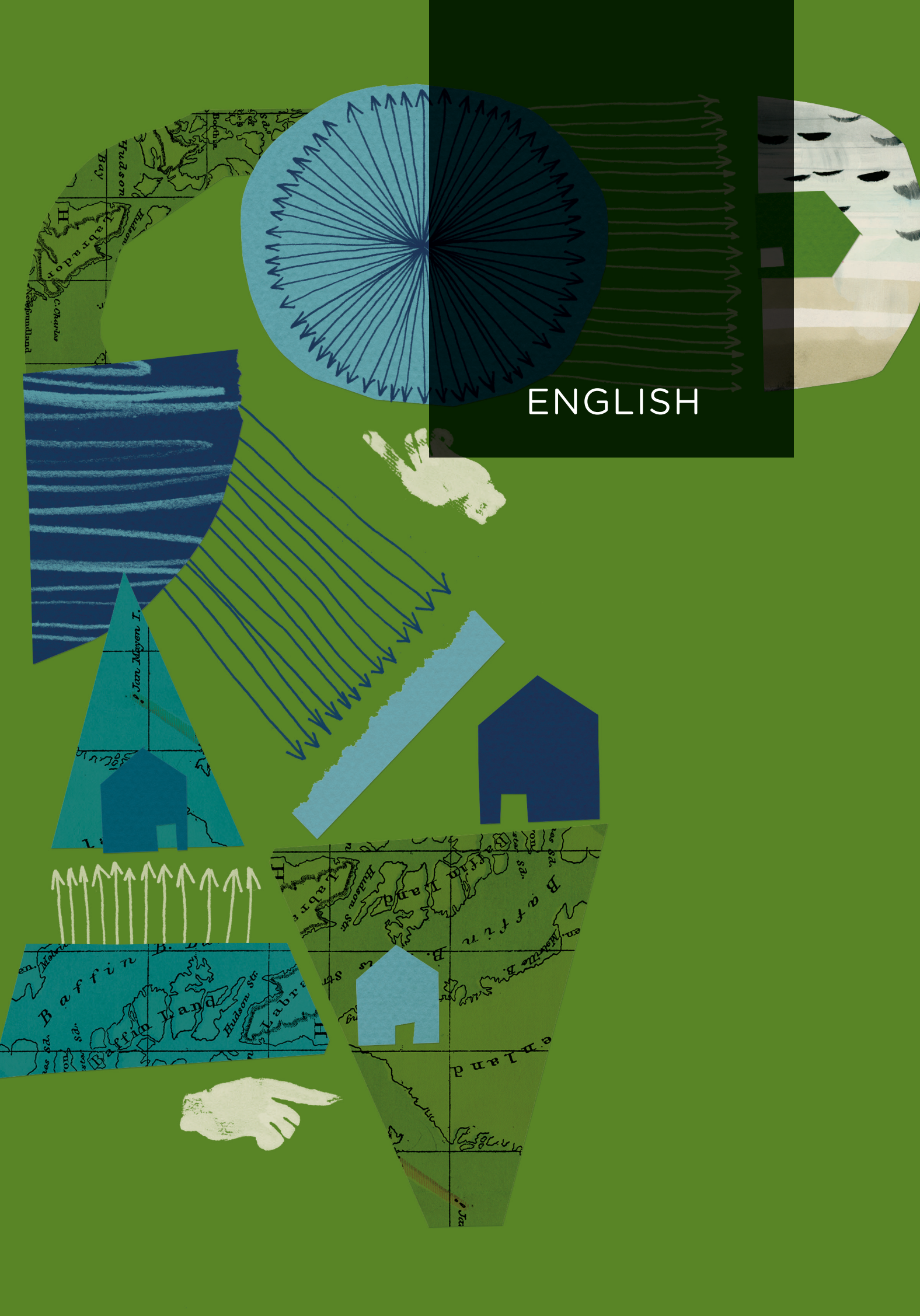
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Sesc

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PRESENTATION

Sesc's activities came about from a solid cultural and educational project created by trade and services businesses in 1946. Spread out across the state of São Paulo are 42 units engaged in informal education with the purpose of creating value for people by fostering personal autonomy, and encouraging interaction and contact with different expressions, different thoughts, different actions and different feelings.

In 1948, Sesc began working on its Social Tourism Program. Over these 70 years of history, the program never once turned its back on its time, its place or the people that have made it what it is. It set in motion many transformations grounded on a more democratic access to tourism, on providing education about and for tourism, on the agency of participants, and on conducting ethical and sustainable operations.

In this respect, Sesc made history in Brazil when it signed, in October 2015, the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism, a document that sets the guidelines for a more sustainable and responsible tourism. The values expressed in the Code were already part of the Social Tourism program and, by signing it, Sesc reaffirmed its commitment to these principles, and intensified its actions to promote these guidelines intended to reduce negative social and environmental impact, value cultural heritage, and promote human rights, social inclusion, gender equality and accessibility.

To broaden the discussion on the ethical dilemmas tourists, governments, providers, hosting communities and other agents are faced with, in 2016, we designed a lecture series named *Ethics in Tourism* at the Center for Research and Training of Sesc São Paulo.

Over the course of these three years, we addressed the contexts and challenges facing ethical progress in Brazil and Latin America, including such topics of fundamental importance as the role of tourism in global capitalism; the impact of mass tourism on various sectors, such as education, culture, service, social wellbeing, the environment; corporate social responsibility in tourism; the phenomena of migration and dilemmas of accommodation; the influence of tourism on the preservation and revival of migrant legacy in the city of São Paulo, among others. Moreover, we've touched upon subjects that are crucial to the Brazilian context, such as how people working with tourism struggle with precarity, and how racism affects interpersonal relationships and tourism practices in companies.

This special issue of *Revista do Centro de Pesquisa e Formação* of Sesc São Paulo, the Journal of the Center for Research and Training of Sesc São Paulo, is part of the celebrations for the 70th anniversary of

our Social Tourism Program, and features articles that probe into some of the aspects addressed during the *Ethics in Tourism* series of lectures. By publishing them here, we hope to introduce their content to a broader audience.

To start off, *A critical perspective on tourism: ethical and philosophical propositions based on the Latin American reality,* by Alexandre Panosso Netto, brings insight into tourism in Latin America, uncovering, for instance, how public policies have fallen through across the entire region. Furthermore, Netto identifies the fragilities shared by Latin American countries, such as how the region imports models of tourism development, and how its campaigns play up to the region's exoticism to reinforce exogenous and neocolonialist imaginaries.

The modest number of tourists that visit Latin America stands in stark contrast with the European scenario. In this regard, Alan Quaglieri Domínguez in his *Tourismophobia or tourism as a fetish,* discusses the increasing waves of anti-tourism protests in Spain, dubbed tourismophobia. Dominguez analyzes how the image of tourism shifted from being considered the panacea for all problems to becoming the root of all such problems.

In *Tourism and common good: Corporate Social Responsibility as a transnational shield against host societies and the environment,* author Joan Buades focuses on the practices of Spanish companies and brings into question the effectiveness of their social responsibility policies, arguing that they ought to cover three different aspects: the environment, the wellbeing of affected communities, and democratic and economic transparency, on a local and global scale. Ernest Cañada's *Labor reform and outsourcing in Spain: labor precariousness in hotel maid work,* in turn, investigates how the labor reform in 2012 drove the class of hotel maids working in Spanish hotels to a state of precarity.

In *African-Brazilian heritage and tourism: communicating the quilombola lifestyle,* David Ribeiro and Claudia dos Santos analyze tourism practices related to the process of heritage nomination, and highlight how the recognition of cultural references of *quilombola* peoples, land rights, valuation and promotion of their tangible and intangible assets are all interconnected and being achieved by means of tourism.

Finally, Lívia Aquino's *Picture Ahead: Kodak and the construction of the tourist-photographer* is the author's research on the construction of tourist-photographers and how the way tourism as an experience is perceived has undergone many transformations. Aquino's work is highly relevant in our current times, taking both photography and tourism as modern experiences that have implications for each other. Photography

allows people to have access to any place from anywhere, "taking the symbolic place of predator, a 'devourer of landscapes' or a 'consumer of nature'". To adapt to this demand, cities, for instance, introduce changes that do not always manage to accommodate the social relationships and memories that came before, compromising their inhabitant's very own right to the city and its culture.

All of these are themes that though complex represent just a small step in the much wider tourism debate. For all of its intricacies, tourism is a subject that we must continue to reflect on and investigate. And it's precisely this idea that guides our Center for Research and Training of Sesc São Paulo: a place where culture, education and society, including tourism and its multiple facets, mesh together to produce and disseminate knowledge. In this regard, more than offering courses, holding lectures or conducting research, we are meant to provoke encounters, spark reflections and irradiate knowledge revolving around the construction these critical and ethical modes of thought and progress.

Enjoy your reading!

Danilo Santos de Miranda
Director of Sesc São Paulo

A CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE ON TOURISM: ETHICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL PROPOSITIONS BASED ON THE LATIN AMERICAN REALITY[1]

Alexandre Panosso Netto[2]

ABSTRACT

This article reflects on how Latin America was and is seen by foreigners. To this end, it describes briefly how the region came to be historically and culturally to unveil the stereotypes that paint it as exotic, utopic and magic. Such stereotypes ended up shaping and steering tourism policies and marketing across the continent, and prevented people from seeing Latin America the way it really is. The article also describes, based on an original and unique philosophical and theoretical reflection, how tourism in the region is often promoted in ways that both are unethical and unresearched. The final section proposes how to solve this dilemma by valuing the things that represent the real Latin America as dictated by its peoples rather than by foreigners, or as philosopher Leopoldo Zea Aguilar proposed, by constructing a Latin American identity and an Integral Latin America.

Keywords: Latin America; tourism; ethics; stereotypes; Magic Realism.

BACKGROUND

This section will analyze tourism critically, putting into perspective this image foreigners have of Latin America as an exotic, utopic and magic

1 The reflections written here were developed based on the author's experience working with tourism in Latin America and based on the following bibliographies: PANOSSO NETTO, Alexandre; TRIGO, Luiz Gonzaga Godoi. (Orgs). ***Turismo na América Latina:*** *casos de sucesso*. Assis: Triunfal Editora, 2016; PIERI, Vitor Stuart Gabriel de; PANOSSO NETTO, Alexandre. ***Turismo Internacional:*** *Fluxos, Destinos e Integração Regional***.** Boa Vista: EdUFRR, 2015. A tentative and slightly different version was made into a presentation during the opening of the 5th UNESCO UNITWIN CONFERENCE 2017, Culture, Tourism and Development, in Coimbra, April 18-22, 2017.

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land. This foreign gaze influenced many policies and practices, evidencing that theory is closer to our daily lives than we had imagined. In this sense, Joaquin Torres Garcia's *América Invertida* serves us as a frame of reference. Drawn in 1943, Garcia himself wrote about it saying that "it gives us a true idea about where we actually stand, not where the rest of the world wants us to stand." I believe this is what we should look for and what I will try to expand on below.

It is impossible to talk about ethics, development, and investigation without first understanding a few historical, political, cultural and economic aspects that surround the region and the peoples that, capturing the imagination of travelers since colonial times, are spread across the vast continent, living in metropolises that include rich as well as miserable areas, fragile and poor villages.

The Latin American identity has always been, throughout history, seen with disdain by the international community and Latin American countries themselves. This continued during the 20th century despite the many regional agreements signed and the many continent wide institutions created since.

"Latin America has always existed under the sign of utopia," Darcy Ribeiro (1986) wrote. Gabriel García Márquez' *One Hundred Years of Solitude* also speaks of utopia when it describes the fictional town of Macondo. It can be said that tourists flock nowadays to many different Macondos looking for their natural wonders, food, history. The imaginary of this part of the American continent, to the south of WASP America, is a mosaic that came to from the visions of both foreigners and natives over the centuries and that overlap reality.

The Philosophy of Liberation and Theology of Liberation both tried to show the fallacies and stereotypes of the region with authors like Dussel and Boff. Though some believe these fallacies already have been disproved, it's accurate to say that the Latin America issue went from tangential to central in some circles, including religious ones. Boff, a former Catholic priest, was summoned to the Holy See to explain himself before Cardinal Ratzinger, prior to the latter's Papacy. Another case in point, Pope Francis was born in Argentina.

Generally speaking, the accepted definition of Latin American is a country located in the Latin America & The Caribbean regions, and whose people speak Romance languages, more specifically Portuguese, Spanish, and French. This definition excludes countries such as the United States and Canada (even though Canada has French-speaking regions) and includes others like Mexico, which geographically is situated in North America, and Haiti, a former French colony with an African-origin

population (MIGNOLO, 2007). According to the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean[3] (ECLAC), the region corresponds to a 21 million square meter area that spans from Mexico down to Argentina and that is home to approximately 610 million people across 46 countries.

A BRIEF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL OVERVIEW

Instability, inflation, public debt, and isolationism were some of the factors that characterized the economies of most Latin American countries in the 20th century (SANTOS, 2016). While many government plans and external aid projects were conceived, they all failed to put the Latin-American economy on the development map. Contributing to such failure were falling export prices, inefficiency, red tape, and corruption; isolated booms were few and far between, almost always preceded and followed by decades of stagnation. The result was that economic growth alone was not enough for Latin America to rise above poverty (SANTOS, 2016).

These disturbances also led to the de-structuring of countries, hurting economic growth down the road. Only two countries have GDPs that can be considered noteworthy – Brazil, the 9th largest economy in the world, with US$ 2 trillion, and Mexico, the 16th largest, with US$ 1.3 trillion. Argentina, Venezuela, Colombia, Chile, Peru, and Puerto Rico are considered medium sized economies, with a GDP of over US$ 100 billion.

These figures fail to impress if we are to factor in the population of these countries. Brazil, for instance, has 200 million inhabitants, which means a GDP per capita of less than U$ 10k. Mexico is similar, with 130 million inhabitants and a per capita income of less than U$ 10.3k. For the sake of comparison, the per capita income of Portugal, Spain, and France is US$ 20k, 25k, and 45k respectively. Haiti, the poorest in the Americas, has a per capita income of only US$ 820. In short, while there are a few pockets of wealth, this is a region wherein poverty is the rule.

Nevertheless, one has to look at these figures with suspicion. While they do show just how economically relevant Brazil and Mexico are, GDP numbers also mask the region's enormous social inequality. From an HDI perspective, all Latin American countries are poorly ranked. Brazil ranked 79th, and Mexico just 77th.

The ECLAC policies and guidelines followed the World Bank recommendations, meaning development was possible so long as the countries adhered to the rules set by the IMF, generally promoting economic austerity

3 Founded on February 25, 1948, ECLAC is one of the five regional commissions created by the UN. Its main purpose is to contribute to the economic development of Latin America & the Caribbean region countries.

and minimum state intervention. This did little to alleviate poverty, but was enough to bring Latin America to a position of subordination to rich countries as it slip heavily into debt. Powerless before dictatorships and IMF programs, Latin America was unable to escape underdevelopment.

The enormous existing social inequality is readily apparent to anyone, with the slums, crime, homelessness, poverty in the cities and the countryside. Used to measure wealth distribution, the GINI index has 11 Latin American countries among the 20 most unequal countries in the world. Mexican NGO People's Council for Public Safety and Penal Justice's list of the 50 most violent cities includes 43 located in Latin America – 19 in Brazil, 8 in Mexico, 7 in Venezuela, 4 in Colombia, 2 in Honduras, 1 in El Salvador, 1 in Guatemala and 1 in Jamaica. To give an idea of how serious crime is in Brazil, the country saw almost 60k gun-related deaths in 2016 *(Atlas da Violência,* 2016, Brazil).

Several countries also have been under dictatorships, especially during the second half of the past century, including Chile, Brazil, Bolivia, Uruguay and Argentina, in addition to some cases of civil war, such as in Haiti and El Salvador. The present situation is not a drastic improvement either. Around these parts, democracy is still a fragile child that needs protecting. Brazil saw its democratically elected president being impeached in 2016. In Argentina, former president Cristina Kirchner faces several corruption charges while her successor Mauricio Macri has to deal with countrywide strikes. Venezuela's Supreme Court took over executive powers, and the country is on the brink of war. Mexico's diplomatic relations with the US have suffered severe blows due to Donald Trump's being elected, while President Nieto suffers with internal pressure. Peru has just recently been through a general workers strike. In summary, the region is still a powder keg.

It is worth mentioning that South American countries, while extremely asymmetric from an economic point of view, have been trying to strengthen political relations – despite their contentious disagreements – with regional economic agreements that include all manner of sub-regional trading integration initiatives, expanding the breadth of the political debate to a cross-continental scale.

This is a good direction to head in since it is a known fact that 50% of all international tourism is made up of short distance trips, i.e., flights that are 4 hours or fewer in length. This relation is made clear when one notes, for instance, that more Argentine tourists visit Brazil when Argentina's economy is doing well. Therefore, it's important for cross-continental tourism that countries have well developed economies. All stand to gain when their neighbors are doing fine, and that is what they all should strive for.

TOURISM IN PRACTICE

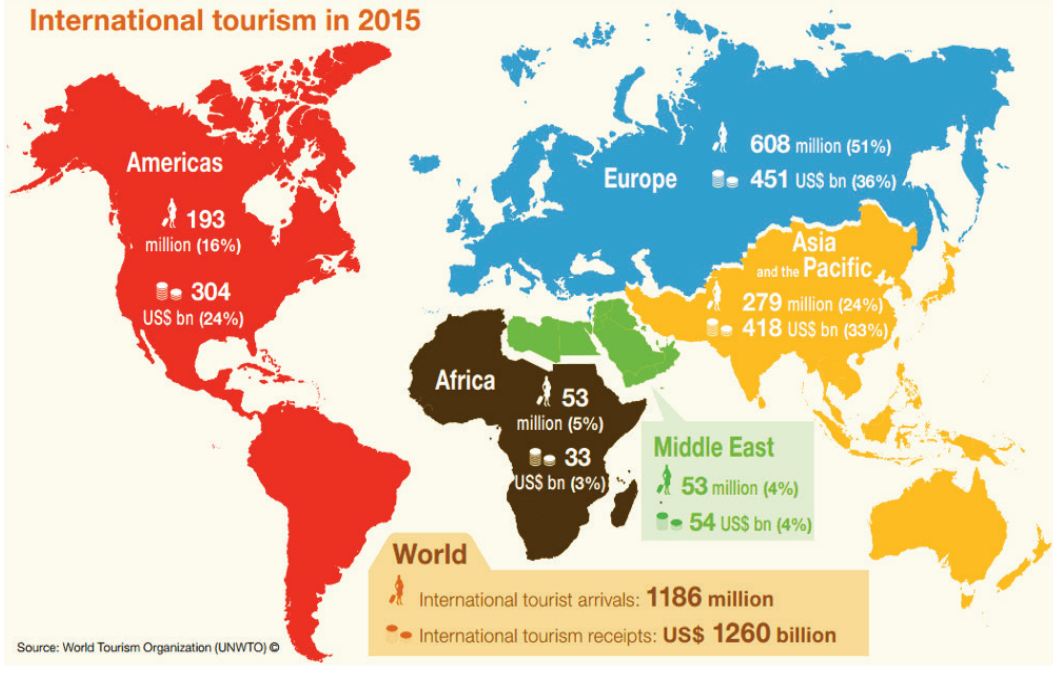
This section will present some numbers while focusing on the more latent characteristics of tourism in this region based on data from the World Tourism Organization – UNWTO collected in 2015 and published in 2017.

Note that the UNWTO does not use the Latin America metric for measuring data, and we thus adapted the numbers for South America, Central America, the Caribbean and Mexico.

International tourist arrivals:

Mexico	32 million tourists
Central America	10.2 million tourists
South America	29 million tourists
Caribbean	23.9 million tourists
TOTAL	95.1 million tourists (appr. 9% of global tourism)

Only 5 countries get over 4 million tourist arrivals: Mexico: 32 million; Brazil: 6.3 million; Argentina: 5.7 million; Dominican Republic: 5.6 million; and Chile: 4.4 million.



95,1 million

South America + Caribbean + Central America + Mexico

This asymmetry seen not only when we look at Mexico's numbers, but also considering the data for smaller countries – for which tourism is the main source of income – raises a few questions related to how national tourism plans are devised, especially in Brazil, a country that represents over 50% of South America's territory, population and economy.

Therefore, in spite of the long distance from the places where most tourists come from, the countries in the region must focus on a tourism policy that is based on professionalism, on what they actually have to offer in terms of tourism attractions, in the constant exchange between sectors, and the many political and institutional platforms. It is by improving infrastructure, safety, quality of professionals, and enhancing their image overseas that they can, to a certain extent, overcome the problem posed by geographic isolation.

Traditional destinations have been getting as much visitors as they do for a long time. Many factors explain this, including high quality services and products, their positive image, and a long history of development. Conversely, South and Central America, located far away from the countries with the most tourists and being recent destinations, among other reasons, are places that receive fewer tourists.

Though this article was written mainly with international tourism in mind, in markets such as Brazil and Argentina, it is domestic tourism that creates more wealth. Brazil, for example, records 100 million domestic trips every year.

Leisure tourists arrive in Latin America looking for basically three things:

1. Coastal areas – Southern Atlantic Ocean, Pacific Ocean, Gulf of Mexico and Caribbean Sea;

2. The countryside – Mountains, woods, scenic views, volcanoes, valleys, historical villages (the Macondos which Gabriel García Márquez wrote of), dig sites;

3. Cities – Large cosmopolitan cities, with shorter trips to smaller towns and villages.

In relation to cultural heritage, the region of Latin America and the Caribbean has 131 declared World Heritage Sites: 91 cultural, 36 natural and 4 mixed. A total of 8 are in danger of disappearing.

Among them are very popular though endangered destinations such as Machu Picchu (Peru), Antigua, Tikal, and Mirador (Guatemala), Teotihuacan and Chichen Itza (Mexico), Guanacaste (Costa Rica).

It should be said that, while they attract many people, they also lack the proper infrastructure and go by mostly ignored by their governments. One such case is the famous Machu Picchu, which is in danger of collapsing onto itself due to the high number of visitors. Another is the Guanacaste conservation area, in Costa Rica, where the Papagayo Gulf, one of the most beautiful areas in Central America, has been handed over to foreign capital for 99 years in exchange for investments. Locals have already

protested these actions, and now they face water shortages due to the shrinking groundwater resources or overdependency on the monoculture of an industry that should produce positive results such as tourism. In Tikal, a digging site in Guatemala, workers threatened to stop activities over pay in 2016. Yet another example is Ouro Preto, a Baroque colonial era town in Brazil: local authorities hesitate to take action to only allow car traffic in the central area, and the city is collapsing due to this negligence. These three are but a few examples.

Some of the historical and colonial places have an intoxicating beauty. In poverty stricken Granada, Nicaragua, tourists can find a jungle and the mountains, the valley, volcanos, lakes, the Caribbean, the Pacific. A covert, strong, public, historical culture, with dramatic scars that mark everything, that went down since times ancient through recent days. Tourists, however, are unable to walk down the streets, dangerous as they are, by themselves. The city lies as it was built during colonial times. It's one of the Macondos of Latin America. Streets bear no names since the government "haven't had the time" to name them. People learn to situate themselves saying "the yellow house northbound from the cathedral, third block, approximately halfway down the street," or even "on the same street as Sán Sebástian tent, in front of the oak tree, the blue house." The town was preserved, but not because a sense of heritage, a cultural education or an education towards heritage existed or exists. It was preserved because the people never had the financial resources to renovate their homes or to rebuild their own space – thus is tourism this side of the continent.

TOURISM IN THEORY

Academic articles about tourism in Latin America date from shortly before the 1970s. It was in 1958 when the very first tourism college program in Latin America was created, in Toluca, Mexico. The first one in Brazil was created in 1971, and in the 1980s, it arrived in several other countries, including Argentina, Peru, and Chile. As of 2002, Brazil had as much as 98k students enrolled in Tourism programs; in Mexico, there were as many as 25k.

There are also many scholars from the region that are concerned about practical and theoretical tourism studies. The two most prolific countries in this area are Brazil and Mexico, followed by Argentina, Chile, Costa Rica and Ecuador.

Tourism journals are published in Argentina *(Estudios y Perspectivas en Turismo)*, Chile *(Gestión Turística)*, Colombia *(Turismo y Sociedad)*, Mexico *(El Periplo Sustentable)*, Peru *(Turismo y Patrimônio)* and

Brazil, the latter with its more than 20 publications (including *Turismo em Análise; Turismo: Visão e Ação; Observatório de Inovação em Turismo; Caderno Virtual de Turismo; RBTUR; CULTUR; Hospitalidade; Rosa dos Ventos; Turismo e Sociedade,* etc.).

Scientific associations have formed in Brazil (ANPTUR – Associação Brasileira de Pesquisa e Pós-Graduação em Turismo, the Brazilian Association of Tourism Research and Graduate Studies); in Chile (SOCIETUR: Sociedad de Investigadores en Turismo de Chile), and in Mexico (AMIT - Academia Mexicana de Investigaciónen Turismo; RICIT - Red de Investigadores y Centros de Investigaciónen Turismo).

The continent abounds with scientific events: in Brazil (Seminário ANPTUR, Semintur), Chile (Congreso Societur), Mexico (Congreso AMIT; Congreso RICIT) and a rotating congress (Latin American Congress for Tourism Studies).

Graduate programs also gain ground and many have set standards in Brazil (where they already number 12), Mexico (3 PhD programs), Costa Rica (2 master's programs), Ecuador (1 master's program), Peru (1 master's program), Chile (1 master's program) and Uruguay (1 master's program).

All of the knowledge they produce is expected to bring about effective policies and management practices, in spite of the countless problems Latin America has on paper, like the habit of importing development models from other regions of the globe. One just has to take a look at the exponential growth of massive luxury resorts in the Dominican Republic, Costa Rica and Mexico, as they leave nothing in terms of benefits to the local communities, or the major cruise liners doing their business in the Caribbean, whose impact on destination sites can be described as dubious at best. There are even large corporations that have a grip on the best heritage and cultural attractions of popular destinations such as Machu Picchu and Villa de Leyva (Colombia).

Additionally, we must bear in mind that even in Latin America tourism knowledge is used by corporations, universities, governments, planners, researchers and their respective agendas, while also being affected by all sorts of ideologies and members of academia who push research in a direction that better suits their needs, regardless of whether they are more important for actual practice or for theory. Therefore, the role of researchers is to blow the whistle, lay this reality bare, make this scientific tourism backdrop accessible and visible as necessary – not simply for the sake of decrying it, but for ethical reasons, for the chance of it leading to good practices.

BARRIERS TO DEVELOPING TOURISM IN LATIN AMERICA

Looking at the whole Latin American picture allows to understand the context which tourism is included in. We must consider that what prevents tourism from developing satisfactorily here are poor public administration, chronic poverty, and the lack of education of its people. Tourism should be included in the government's public agenda, yet the opinion and decision makers have yet to realize how important tourism is.

Some of the main discernible obstacles to developing tourism in Latin America include:

- Disregard for the environment at some places;
- Shortage of qualified workers to meet tourism demands, leading to low quality services and no power to compete internationally;
- Lack of commitment to long-term public policies and plans. Each new government wants to implement its own plan. There's no state policy, but rather government policies (Brazil is a good example of this);
- Widespread poverty, even if countries such as Chile, Mexico and Brazil have grown economically in the last few years;
- The distorted image foreigners have of Latin America caused by these countries not investing in a tourism-friendly image.
- Political, economic, social and regional instability that prevents continuous and foreign tourism investment;
- The long distance from the countries where most visitors come from, like European and Asian countries, the United States and Canada;
- The stereotype local communities have of tourism as something only rich people from far away do. This idea makes it difficult to include local communities into the tourism industry;
- The romantic and utopic image people have of the continent;
- How academia and market, which should be working together, are not always in agreement;
- Existence of "more pressing" matters such as health care, education, crime, and mass transit for the government to address.

PLANNING AND ACTING

But how are we supposed to improve this situation and rectify these misconceptions?

Evidently, we need to rethink how tourism is discussed and done, whether domestically or internationally, publicly or privately, in an industry or a community, from a wider or a narrower perspective. There are many issues that need solving. One of them is putting an end to this rose-tinted discourse that shuts down criticism claiming there is no strategic value to it. Another one is the inaccurate custom of not preparing communities and other sectors to discuss and holding them all accountable for projects and policies. Much has been said about the role of governments, but not enough about the role of civil society: unions, environmental organizations, people dedicated to quality of life, businesspeople, trade associations. This is where the Tourism Code of Ethics comes into play as, instead of focusing on what to avoid, it gives suggestions for what should be done.

It also requires moving past the planning stage on to how to correctly manage companies, people and destinations. It requires finding out the best way to manage a location based on its particularities, not on imported models.

The corporate world has direct responsibility as to planning, ethics and maintaining high quality standards. Whenever problems in tourism and hotels arise, the private sector is one of the first to be hit. For the economy to continue healthy, it's fundamental that companies are healthy as well. This is good not only for the owners, but also employees, suppliers, customers and governments (which collect the taxes paid by all). Obviously, governments must also be held accountable. However, the changes must come from people directly associated with tourism first.

We must believe that another type of tourism is possible for Latin America, one that is inclusive, sustainable, responsible, participatory, ethical and democratic.

How are we to say that tourism is a symbol of peace when bellicosity is still seen as a valid and profitable tool of domination?

How are we to say that tourism brings harmony if millions of excluded people are not allowed to cross any borders?

How are we supposed to entertain the idea that tourism is a means for development when globalization risks descending into totalitarianism and dogma?

How are we to take care of those left out if we irresponsibly overuse our natural, water, food and territorial resources to the point that the very existence of entire populations is being threatened?

Globalization must enhance its positive aspects and deter its typical perversions of power mongering and social blind spots. Poverty stricken

destinations, such as those existing in countries in Latin America, Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, are included in this context. New societies should be based on humanism and direct scientific knowledge towards developing human, natural and technological resources to their fullest. To be able to start, we need first to define an agenda that includes discussions and initiatives about tourism awareness and its relations with our current world.

As Trigo & Panosso Netto (2003) highlighted, the following topics are required not only for successfully developing tourism in Latin America but to create a better world based on ethical actions as well: widespread digital access, civics education and hospitality in the broadest meaning; fight against bigotry, corruption, crime and impunity; fight child sexual exploitation; fight any kind of terrorism; democracy; reduce economic and social inequality; college education for all; understanding tourism not only from an economic point of view; ethics on all levels of government, politics and society; socially aware globalization; inclusive politics; social justice; better distribution of wealth; right to opportunity for all; cultural and democratic pluralism; reclaim the meaning of peace and freedom; solidarity; and sustainability.

The travel and tourism industry is one of the most important for the global economy and therefore is a driving force for a new world order. Tourism everywhere requires a balanced and fair society to thrive. It must be understood as an integral part of current societies, and not as an appendix.

Finally, I would like to discuss briefly a reflection by Mexican philosopher Leopoldo Zea Aguillar, who attempted to go beyond the utopia and Magic Realism, parts that shaped the Latin American identity: This utopia and magical realism, which many tourism clusters and policies tried to encapsulate in slogans such as "Colombia is magical realism," "Peru, the land of the Incas," ″Guatemala – the heart of the Mayan world″ and many others like "Sensational," ″Magical Pueblos" and "Exotic beyond words." These reinforce exogenous imaginaries. Zea wanted Latin America to break free from neocolonialism and external influences like the US exerts on the continent. To this end, he championed Latin American integration. Latin America as one. To him, it was possible to build a single Latin American identity without turning an eye blind to the past; to assimilate that which actually was done in order to become something distinct, without necessarily losing its current self. This way, Latin America would have to let go of these notions of magic, utopia, primitivism and exoticism in the way it thought tourism over.

These reflections drove a large number of researchers in Latin America to think critically about how to overcome the problems raised by this article, such as the democratizing impact of free time, technology-related matters, and open education. Here the discussion is grounded not in

magical reality, but the actual experienced reality. Tourism could revive the way of living, the context, the land, the customs of Latin American peoples, and that would require looking at tourism in Latin America with a critical eye, one that is multi-disciplinary and multi-dimensional. Behind Magic Realism, behind that which presents itself as exotic, beautiful, sensational, and utopic, lie many harmful practices that via discourses have been perpetuated indefinitely. Only through research and critique will we gain consciousness of the reality around us.

Ethical tourism will only become possible in a more participatory society, in Latin America or anywhere else. Both capital and knowledge are important for constructing this, but it is crucial that we revalue humanism if we are to preserve and dignify life – the lives of humans, animals, plants, the life of the planet itself, the force that supports all living things – these are the most valuable things we have. We must ensure that all can enjoy our journey through space, and this neither science or technology can accomplish alone.

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TOURISMOPHOBIA OR TOURISM AS A FETISH

Alan Quaglieri Domínguez[1]

ABSTRACT

The attacks to tourism symbols in Barcelona in the summer of 2017 have established the use of the word tourismophobia in both the media and the public debate about the development of the tourist city. This paper first addresses the emergence of such word and the controversy that follows it, especially in the case of Barcelona. Then, it reviews some of the main theoretical lines that have contributed to build the social image of the tourists and the tourism versus the resident population and its daily life. Finally, it is addressed the need to read these reviews in order to understand the relationship between the tourism and the social conflict in the modern city.

Keywords: tourismophobia, Barcelona, urban tourism, theories of tourism.

The year that has just ended was a particularly intense year from different points of view regarding the tourist phenomenon in the city of Barcelona.

The demand shrinkage during the last three months of 2017 has probably been one of the most commented aspects among the potential implications of the current political instability in Catalonia, the first tourist destination in Spain.

At the same time, the terrorist attack that shocked the city on last August 17 cannot be ignored. Just as in other cases, the terrorists chose the main tourist scenario of Barcelona, Las Ramblas, to turn it into a stage for their macabre spectacle and hit the city. Predictably, tourists were the majority among the 15 fatal victims.

However, even before the fateful day of August, the tourism-politics binomial had long been the protagonist of the debate and the media scene of the city. Three weeks before the attack, other type of action, fortunately of a very different nature and effect, aimed at other tourist symbol. On July 27, during the high season, four hooded people stopped a Tourist Bus

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to puncture the wheels and spray a message in the windshield: "Tourism kills neighborhoods."

An attack was filmed and claimed by Arran, a leftist youth organization of the Catalan pro-independence movement, which a few days later would be involved in other protest act, this time against rental bicycles, a symbol of the illegitimate use of public space for private purposes by tourism industries. Both events, coinciding with the peak of other record tourist season, resulted in increasing mobilization acts of varied nature and with different objectives, but which contributed to bring the "tourist issue" to the center of the local political discussion and to bring to light, at an international level, the "privileged" relationship between Barcelona and the so-called "tourismophobia".

A word that was established and institutionalized yet in 2017 as a consequence of the sequence of events occurred during the first part of the summer.

On August 7, the Urgent Spanish Foundation (Fundéu-BBVA), an institution advised by the Spanish Royal Academy that values "the good use of Spanish in the media and on the Internet", recognizes the Spanish version of the noun tourismophobia as a valid neologism and "a well-formed word in Spanish that can be used without the use of quotation marks or italics". Fundéu limits its use, particularly in the media scope, to refer to the "touristification rejection," other neologism of uncertain significance described as "a tourism model characterized by the overcrowding and negative consequences on the population and workers." At the same time, the foundation admits that, by its formation, the term could suggest an "aversion or rejection to tourism in general" and this is why its use has been criticized since the beginning of the local movement and activism in general; a use that some people believe is not neutral and which could meet the interest of some tourism industry sectors for stigmatizing the critical positions regarding the tourism phenomenon. This is a strategy that the social psychologist Horacio Espinosa Zepeda describes with the suggestive expression "pathologizing the social distress"[2].

Indeed, the use of a term with the negative meaning of the *phobic* element does not seem justified to refer to a wide range of very different practices and positions regarding tourism. There are platforms and protests that report real problems linked to a tourism activity or practice in certain contexts that cannot be dealt simply as an irrational fear and a direct rejection of the tourism and/or tourist only. As examples, there could be cited Las Kellys, a Spanish association of hotel maids, very active in

2 http://www.fundeu.es/

reporting the labor precariousness in the hotel industry, or the protests called up by local associations to draw the attention on the boom of the tourist rentals, which reduces the residential supply and aggravates the access problem to the housing in certain neighborhoods of several urban destinations.

At the same time, the animosity feelings toward the tourists themselves cannot be denied. In this regard, a decade ago Manuel Delgado (2008) wrote an editorial published in the newspaper El País called "Touristphobia". A neologism coined by the anthropologist from Barcelona to mean "a kind of substitution xenophobia," "a mix of repudiation, suspicion and contempt" towards the image of the visitor. The latter becomes the direct recipient of several messages that are replicated on the walls of many cities: From the classic invitation "Tourist go home", to the famous "tourist, you are the terrorist" and the instigating question "Why call it tourist season if we can't shoot them?" "Warlike" mood that, possibly, only a tiny minority of citizens would be willing to put into practice, but which represents the most radical expressions of a much more disperse distress.

"TOURIST GO HOME", las Ramblas, Barcelona.

Source: Author's photo

Thus, the result of the city's survey in 2017 is symbolic, which showed for the first time that tourism has become the main concern of the residents of Barcelona far over some "traditional" issues, such as unemployment, working conditions, traffic or housing. The survey is not detailed enough and does not provide the necessary data to analyze what is really worrying about the tourism. Surely, those who indicated the tourism have thought about specific issues, such as the labor precariousness in the tourism industry or the increased housing prices in the most tourist

neighborhoods. The question is why these people have not indicated other options, such as the above-mentioned ones, or similar ones. Finally, it is worth asking if tourism as an increasingly option among the concerns of citizens is not the product of its own "fetishization" process, the effect of a kind of backlash that hits what for years had been proposed as the panacea to all problems and that now it would have become its main generator.

Tourism, in some way, "pays" its growing role within the economy and urban ecology; it visibly represents the transition to the post-industrial city according to the neo-liberal model, whose contradictions emerge in a more and more noticeable way. However, thinking of the conflict around the tourism development as a recent and eminently urban phenomenon would be a limiting consideration, although it seems to be the basis for the "tourismophobia" phenomenon.

The conflict has accompanied the tourism development since the beginning. A few years after that mythical first trip organized by Thomas Cook (1841), considered the founding act of modern tourism, the famous poet William Wordsworth would fight his famous battle against tourist interference in the Lake District. Wordsworth, one of the main exponents of the English romanticism and who was born in the district, can be considered the greatest singer of the beauty of this region of lakes in the north of England and, surely, one of the main architects of the touristic interest of this area. He wrote the successful guide for travelers "A Guide through the District of the Lakes" that was edited five times between 1810 and 1835. However, the poet was firmly opposed to the construction of a railway section to connect this area to the existing network, in order to considerably facilitate the tourist access to the district. Wordsworth's response to the announcement of the railway project was a "literary" campaign, which consisted of letters and poems on the pages of the London Morning Post newspaper, defending the need of preserving the "aesthetic and cultural integrity" of that "sacred as a relic" environment (cited in Garrett, 2008), from the desecration of tourist hordes. To those who disagreed with him, saying that the construction would also allow the workers to have access to the beauties of the region that he, with his work, invited to visit, the poet answered that the ability to appreciate that landscape within the reach of only a few, "so far from being intuitive, that it can be produced only by a slow and gradual process of culture" (Mulvihill, 1995).

In a society where mobility was considered something unusual and the outsider a suspicious intrusion capable of disrupting the fragile "natural" balance, Wordsworth believed to be appropriate to identify and distinguish the typologies of visitors. They are not all equal and not all deserve access to the "sacred" site: there are the travelers, sophisticated heirs of the Grand Tour, and the tourists, unconscious artificial products of such

malignant industrial society. A "romantic" concept that possibly emerged on the pages of the Morning Post more than a century and a half ago, but which is still alive in the collective imagination.

The idea of the traveler as opposed to the negatively connoted image of the tourist is something that is, in fact, taken as advantage by the same market. If on one hand, from the point of view of the demand this statement can work as a useful rhetorical tool to be resorted to justify the condition of the visitor, on the other hand, the same tourism industry seems to easily (ab)use this narrative line to seduce its audience. "Being a traveler is much more than being a tourist ..." stated the campaign of a Spanish Tour Operator at a tourism fair in Barcelona in April 2017.

"Politours: Being a traveler is much more than being a tourist...", Barcelona.

Source: author's photo

The so-called "tourist complex" has also contributed significantly to the image that the tourism literature itself has made of the tourist and the tourism in general, insisting in its extraordinary nature and defining them as opposed to the social normality.

In particular, the attention paid by the social sciences to the mass tourism during the second half of the 20th century has contributed to deepen the knowledge on the tourist phenomenon from different disciplinary perspectives. At the same time that politics praised the "developmentalist" virtues of the tourism, an important part of the academy was

engaged in investigating the premises and impacts of large-scale tourism development from a critical perspective. As the historian Bertram M. Gordon (2002) reveals, the "mass tourism" concept is problematic. The term "mass" can have different meanings, but particularly in relation to the tourist phenomenon, it has been established as a pejorative word, probably due to the emphasis that some academic discussion has put on the alienating character of the tourism industry and the idea of induced consumption. The travel democratization issue, on the other hand, does not seem to have received the same attention.

In the discussion about the so-called tourismophobia, the famous Doxey's index of irritation is often referred, which is one of the first and most influential theoretical models that explain the relationship between the tourism development and the social impact of the destination. In particular, Doxey (1975) identifies four phases that mark the destination evolution and that correspond to different attitudes toward the tourism by the host community according to the level of the tourism demand. This model is based on the idea of a background incompatibility between residents and tourists. Although in an initial phase, called euphoria, the arrival of tourists is positively celebrated by the local population, the predisposition towards them becomes increasingly negative as their number increases. The stages go from euphoria to apathy, irritation, and antagonism. The index, also known as Irridex, has clear limits and has been subject to several criticisms (Wall and Mathieson, 2006; Monterrubio Cordero, 2008). Among the main ones, there is the unidirectional character of the model that does not take into account the different contexts in which tourism activity is produced and developed. The reality has shown cases where the general predisposition of the resident community towards the tourist can improve over time (Faulkner and Tideswell, 1997) or situations where the initial phase is characterized by rejection and suspicion rather than the euphoric reception of the tourist phenomenon (Moisey et al., 1996). Other clear limiting factor is that the local community is considered a relatively homogeneous body with no relevant internal differences to be taken into consideration in relation to the tourist actors and tourists themselves. Finally, the Doxey's model seems to incorporate a view of the tourist-resident binomial as that of an asymmetric relationship between subjects with substantially different interests, when not opposed; a conception that probably lost strength after post-colonial readings about the tourist phenomenon, which, in those years, were mildly received in the tourism study field in parallel with the rise of mass tourism and its first phase of internationalization.

Perhaps one of the most influential works in this regard has been "The Golden Hordes: International Tourism and the Pleasure Periphery" by

Turner and Ash (1975). The book shows the tourism role in the (re)definition of the economic subordination relationships among countries or territories of the so-called third world and the centers of the world power, the large industrialized countries, from which international tourists come. Additionally, the authors are implacable in the description of the tourists, portraying them as the modern barbarian able to devastate defenseless pre-industrial societies. One of the many examples of the tourist image denigration that, as recalls Gordon (2002), overflow the literature.

Anthropology was also interested in the power relationships that have been established in destinations that today are called Global South, contributing in some way to promote the idea of passivity, dependence and vulnerability condition of local populations in relation to international tourism. Without minimizing the determining role of the international actors, it is not convenient to overlook the role of local agencies and the power relationships within host communities in defining the impacts that tourism produces in the destination. In this regard, Noel Salazar (2006) reports a certain ethnocentric bias that is reflected in part of the international tourism analysis and the paternalistic attitude of several researchers towards the host communities.

According to the World Tourism Organization (2017), only one in five international tourist trips are to one of the two world regions (according to the UNWTO's distribution: Europe, Americas, Africa, the Middle East, Asia and the Pacific), while the rest takes place within the same regions in which the tourists originated. Europe remains the main source and recipient market, while North-South dynamics continue to represent a minority in the world tourism. However, the post-colonial readings have transcended the strict academic scope and established, in some way, in the collective subconscious.

In general, the contrast image between tourist and resident still has wide application, even in the urban destinations of the powerful North. This occurs, despite the increasing and unprecedented complexity (and inequality) returned by the cultural and economic globalization process and which is particularly expressed in large urban agglomerations, where the visitor basically "disappears" within the context. In fact, the behavior and mobility patterns of contemporary tourists in destinations such as Barcelona, Berlin or Dubai, are increasingly inextricable from the residents. The tourist is not defined based on the meaning and content of the practices they carry out in the city, nor on the environment in which they are developed. The image of the "environmental bubble" (Boorstin, 1965; Cohen 1972), created for the visitor's tranquility and enjoyment, and away from the problems and reality of local communities, can be applied to the operation of exclusive resorts on the Caribbean or Eastern Africa coasts,

but it cannot be used to analyze the complex tourist geography of the contemporary city. The growing interest in everyday experiences and spaces (Maitland, 2008, Russo and Quaglieri Domínguez, 2014) spreads in the urban map a mobility that overcomes the segregative logic that rules the traditional tourist space development and that shows "de-exoticized" contexts of consumption which are joined by other urban populations (Quaglieri Domínguez and Russo, 2010).

However, the tourist enclave concept, which draws a demarcation line in the geographical space to separate tourists from the resident population, continues to have some centrality in the debate about the conflict in the tourist city. The conflict evidently exists and is part of the urban context, and tourism can play a significant role in feeding it and also in making it visible, but the main lines of the conflict go through other paths that cross increasingly diverse and unequal urban communities.

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TOURISM AND COMMON GOOD: CSR AS A TRANSNATIONAL SHIELD AGAINST HOST SOCIETIES AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Joan Buades[1]

ABSTRACT

The globalization of tourism (with the emergence of the Balearic superpower) before the explosion of the financial crisis at the end of the last decade, far from representing a progress in the welfare possibilities for the host populations, has shown its perfect adjustment to the triple threat represented by the neo-liberalism worldwide: the worsening of the environmental crisis, social insensitivity and harassment of both actual local and global democracy. Linking mass tourism with the idea of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) is nonsense for any person or group that wishes to improve the living conditions of their region or the Planet.

Keywords: CSR, tourism, transnational corporations, globalization, neo-liberalism, the Balearic Islands, the Dominican Republic, Brazil, Mexico.

THE REAL WORLD AND THE CSR CONCEPT

Since the second half of the 20th century, humanity has experienced a radical and unprecedented life change in the history. If we take three key variables (population, economy, and environment), it is difficult not to realize the seriousness of the situation we face as a species. On one hand, we have almost tripled ourselves in little more than 60 years, going from 2,5 billion to over 7,5 billion between 1950 and 2016. According to United Nations' average forecast, we will reach 9 billion human beings by 2050. More than 99% of this growth will occur in the South, which now exceeds 80% of Humanity. Meanwhile, the abrupt advance of the neo-liberal

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capitalist industrialization caused a sevenfold increase in the volume of what we call "economy". Its key tools have been the creation of new monetizable "basic needs" in the form of consumption-oriented mass society, in addition to the practically full deregulation of the financial sphere, which has become a mega borderless business field totally detached from the production of actual goods and community welfare. The major beneficiaries have been the 70,000 transnational corporations (over 500% since 1970) that dominate the world, above governments, parliaments and borders. Surely, such wealth is increasingly unequally distributed. While the "consumer class" is made up of just 1.7 billion people in the North and the privileged layers of some so-called "emerging" countries (a quarter of humanity), 2.8 billion survive on less than two dollars a day. As a corollary, the "ecological footprint" of the human species on the planet has become distressing for our immediate future since our lifestyle consumes the equivalent of 1.3 planets to provide ourselves with goods and services and treat our waste. Clearly, there are very unequal levels of responsibility: while northern States reach levels equivalent to 9.4 hectares (in the USA; in Spain, it would be 5.7), in the South, the per capita consumption is notoriously lower (2.1 in China, 2.0 in Nicaragua, 1.3 in Nigeria, or 0.5 in Bangladesh).

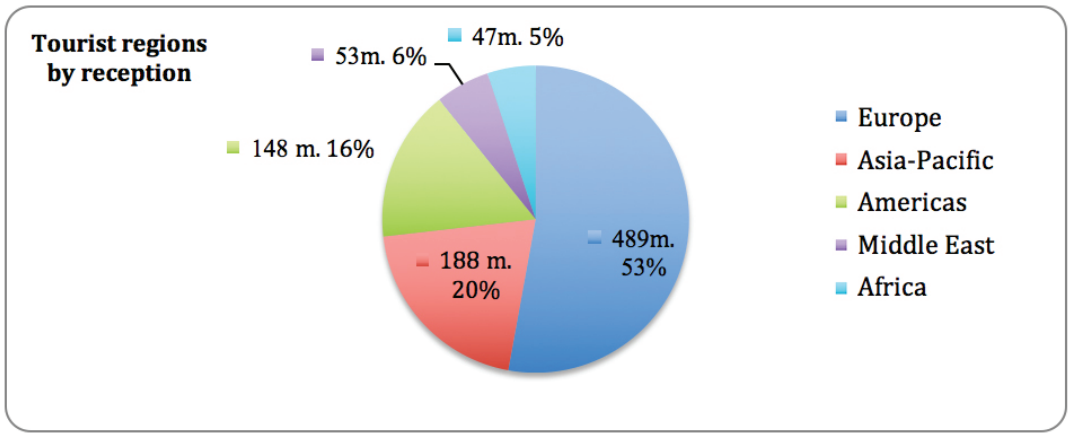
In the face of this dilemma, at the beginning of the 70s, some "think tanks" of the capitalism started spreading the need of implementing "Corporate Social Responsibility" (CSR) strategies. This was the time of the first reports on the global environmental urgency, such as the Club of Rome of 1972, and the shock of the first oil crisis in the lavish Western society. For these ideologists, the first actors of the international economy, the transnational corporations (TNCs), had to take aggressive actions towards the increasing criticism on their responsibility in the global crisis. Despite the rhetoric of the commitment to "ethical" business that has led to the creation of a huge work field for the TNCs' marketers, the most relevant issue in the spread of CSR codes and strategies surely is that they are voluntary actions and not subject to any participatory and independent evaluation mechanism. In other words, they are, since their creation, a tool to manage the TNCs' "image," which finance and promote the "product" without interferences or regulatory controls. As the socio-environmental situation of the planet becomes increasingly worse due to the impact of the financial turbo-capitalism controlled by the TNCs, CSR programs and campaigns have multiplied and became sophisticated (any experienced transnational corporation must have a foundation, a code of ethics, and a guarantee program on the "green" and "solidarity" nature, as well as the "redistributive character towards the community and impoverished societies".) Unfortunately, there is an overwhelming list of

documentary evidence showing that this only existing CSR model is fake, within both the global corporate level (www.corporatewatch.org; www.odg.cat; www.omal.info) and the research on its multiple ways of manifesting itself to the international consumer society through "brands" (Klein, 2001; Werner & Weiss, 2004).

WHAT DOES TOURISM HAVE TO DO WITH ALL OF THAT?

Despite the Western recession, 2012 registered a historical record of international tourist traffic, with over 1 billion visitors[2]. This data shows that the volume of tourists has increased 41 times since 1950. Thus, the growth rate of the tourism economy is five times higher than the global one. This is the first indication that the tourist industrialization has led to an impressive boom of the sector, surpassing the success story of the turbo-capitalism in recent decades.

That is not all. According to the World Travel & Tourism Council (the body that brings together all major TNCs of the industry), the tourism represents 9.4% of the world's Gross Domestic Product, 10.9% of total exports, and 7.6% of employment, by generating 220 million jobs in 2008[3]. The reflection of this economic giant on the territories is also very unequal:



Source: UNWTO, 2009, p. 3.

Geographically and from the point of view of the reception, the tourism is a sector largely dominated by the northern states' hegemony (almost two thirds visit Europe, United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand), while Africa, the most impoverished continent and in need of welfare opportunities, receives only 5% of the tourists. The two regions that stand out for

2 According to the World Tourism Organization (www.unwto.org).
3 Visit www.wttc.org.

the intense tourism in relation to their population and territory and which are located out of the central northern areas are the Mediterranean area (on its three mainland shores), with about 250 million of tourists annually, and the Mexico-Caribbean area and the rest of Central America, which receive approximately 50 million more tourists (UNWTO, 2009).

The hotel accommodation offer has two fundamental characteristics: its huge growth and its tendency to concentrate. In 1989, there were 10.8 million rooms available, in 2005 they reached 16.3 million. Regarding the concentration, the first 200 chains used to control 25% of the world's offer at the end of the 1980s, by the middle of this decade, the first 10 TNCs dominated 20% of the global market (Buades, 2006).

What are these top 10 hotel companies worldwide? The crucial fact is that, the 12 of the first 20 companies were based in the US and, despite globalization, eight of them still had their headquarters in this country in 2007. The remaining companies, except for the Chinese TNC Jin Jiang International Hotels (number 17), are based on the EU. Up to position 50, we can find only four TNCs of the tourism industry in the southern countries, and all of them in discrete locations: three Chinese ones (Shangri-La Hotels & Resorts [35], Jin Ling Hotels & Resort Corp. [48] y Guandong International Hotels Management Holdings Ltd [50]) and the Mexican Grupo Posadas de México [42].

Ranking 2007	Company Corporate headquarters	Rooms 2007	Hotels 2007
1	IHG (InterContinental Hotels Group) Windsor, UK	585.094	3.949
2	Wyndham Hotel Group Parsippany, N.J., USA	550.576	6.544
3	Marriott International Washington, D.C., USA	537.249	2.999
4	Hilton Hotels Corp. Beverly Hills, California, USA	502.116	3.000
5	Accor Paris, France	461.698	3.871
6	Choice Hotels International Silver Spring, Maryland, USA	452.027	5.570
7	Best Western International Phoenix, Arizona, USA	308.636	4.035
8	Starwood Hotels & Resorts Worldwide White Plains, New York, USA	274.535	897
9	Carlson Hotels Worldwide Minneapolis, Minnesota, USA	146.600	969
10	Global Hyatt Corp. Chicago, Illinois, USA	135.001	721

Source: Hotels, 2008.

However, it should be noted that the Direct Investment of hotel TNCs in the southern countries is still notoriously low, since only 18% of the accommodation offer is located there, especially in the Caribbean and Latin America, although a growing investment can be noticed in East Asia (basically China) (UNCTAD, 2007).

UNWTO foresees a disturbing medium-term scenario due to the still-awaiting huge growth: over 500 million new tourists are expected on the planet by the end of the next decade. All without significant changes in the tourist flow geography, since the Nordic predominance would remain practically untouched:

	1995	2010	2020	Share (2020)
World	565	1.066	1.561	100
Europe	336	527	717	45,9
East Asia and Pacific	81	195	397	25,4
Americas	110	190	282	18,1
Africa	20	44	77	5,0
Near East	14	36	69	4,4
South Asia	4	11	19	1,2

Source: www.unwto.org/facts/eng/vision.htm.

As we have seen, the boom in the world hospitality since the mid-1980s occurred in parallel to the unprecedented expansion of financial capitalism. The convergence point, the synergy that has made it possible, has been the building of a huge tourist offer in the form of a business cluster where a wide range of incentives (from condo hotels, casinos, marinas, to golf courses) is added to the traditional hotels. For the speculative investment funds that have characterized the turbo-capitalism until the current crisis, the good social image (the "industry without chimneys," the "passport to development") of the tourism investment has enabled us to forget the dark origin of quite a large part of its capitals while making quick profits. For the hotel TNCs, the association in strategic partnerships with all types of financial investment experts provided them with an extraordinary investment liquidity that enabled them to undertake business at such growth pace that was unthinkable a few years ago (Buades, 2006, pp. 41-58). These mutual profits increased when a large part of the capital and financial traffic circulated through the heavy tax haven network (from London to Cayman Islands and the New York Stock Exchange), which works as the slush fund of the TNCs that dominate the world, above governments, laws and borders. In fact, there is no hotel TNC that does not have multiple shell companies established within these black holes of the international economy, totally out of public control (Chavagneux & Palan, 2007).

These "hidden" profits of the sector are reinforced by the tourism absence in the political science, its poor academic weight in the economy and social sciences and, above all, its "exotic" lack of regulation as an industrial activity internationally and locally. All of this makes the sector more appealing to conservative industrial interests, which are concerned that the "politics" will take over everything. Tourism is seen by them as one of the last areas where freedom can be "enjoyed" indiscriminately by people and companies (Mundt, 2004).

In brief, the tourism industry is a major obstacle in the task of moving towards an ecologically future-oriented world where communities matter and democracy is a daily reality.

THE POWERFUL SPANISH TOURISM AND ITS GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITY

The so-called "Spanish tourism miracle" from the 1950s to the 1970s reflects the success of the Francoist Spain in attracting Nordic Tour Operators. The progression was really meteoric:

	Millions of tourists
1950	0,4
1956	1,5
1960	6,1
1963	10,9
1970	24,1
1975	30,1
1995	62,4
2007	57,4

Sources: Bote Gomez (1998) and www.iet.tourspain.es.

Two factors played a major role in making Spain trendy and which are crucial to understand the current Hispanic TNCs' power. First, the Francoism government took advantage of the geopolitical situation (the Cold War) to position the country as a safe and sunny destination for Nordic tourism in a disputed area (the Mediterranean). Then, it addressed powerful Nordic tour operators' interests, so that they could operate in the country without fiscal, legal or environmental problems (Buades, 2006, pp. 32-37). These two "strengths" of the Spanish model of mass tourist industrialization, the most radical one applied in the Mediterranean in the second half of the twentieth century, entered into crisis following the end of the "social peace" guaranteed by the dictatorship and the uncertainty that accompanied the democratic reform, legalization of trade unions, and the emergence of environmentalist movements opposed to the wild urbanization of the coast, the main territorial victim of the standard product of the time ("sun, sand and sex").

The impasse was actively resolved in the mid-1980s, when emblematic tourism companies such as Sol Meliá or Barceló began to relocate their offer southerly. Sol Meliá agreed with Indonesian dictator Suharto on the best conditions for its first foreign establishment (in Bali in 1985), while Barceló focused on the Dominican Republic in the same year, making a partnership with a local powerful entrepreneur, Frank Ranieri, to start building its new paradise under the "Bavarian" brand (Buades, 2006 and 2009). As they were separating themselves from their properties and part of the management of their increasingly less profitable establishments in Spain (especially in the two archipelagos and the Mediterranean peninsular coast), some Hispanic agreements that had been established to work as local bridgehead of the Nordic tour operators became powerful TNCs. Taking advantage of their experience prior to 1975, they knew how to seek important public and private allies and sponsors in order to guarantee captive "markets," without the democratic, social or environmental risks, where they could achieve huge levels of profitability. The result is visible: Spain, the beach of the West by antonomasia during the Cold War, is today a global tourist superpower and has eight TNCs ranked within the first 70 of the world.

Ranking	TNC	Rooms	Hotels
15	SOL MELIÁ sa Palma de Mallorca, Balearic Islands	75.022	301
21	NH hoteles sa Madrid	49.677	341
24	BARCELÓ Hotels & Resorts Palma de Mallorca	42.173	162
27	RIU Hotels & Resorts Palma de Mallorca, Balearic Islands	36.512	102
31	IBEROSTAR Hotels & Resorts Palma de Mallorca, Balearic Islands	31.000	97
63	H10 Hotels Barcelona	12.386	44
65	HUSA Hotels Group Barcelona	12.174	152
69	FIESTA Hotel Group Ibiza, Balearic Islands	11.553	42

Source: Hotels, 2008.

The "Big Eight" all together controlled 1,300 hotel establishments and 280,000 sites in 2009. The Balearic-Catalan domain is very significant. If we link these companies to their global corporate partnerships, their

relevance is even greater due to the business between Sol Meliá and Wyndham (second global TNC), or the TUI (the 13th in the world's control) over the Riu/Fiesta-Sirenis consortium, and the Mediterranean Savings Bank (CAM). All of them extend their networks in the regions where they operate by making business with airlines, travel agencies and, particularly, real estate companies and financial entities. Just as for the 10 largest TNCs, their main source of business is the residential development and the financial engineering in tax havens.

A key fact is that more than half of this offer, a growing trend, is located abroad. The main business focuses are Mexico and the Caribbean, the USA, the city hotel industry in the EU and the Mediterranean resorts (from Morocco to Turkey, Italy, Croatia, Bulgaria or Cyprus). In tourist regions of the world, such as the Dominican Republic, Yucatan, Cuba or the Canary Islands, the Spanish hotel TNCs have become the true owners of the economy (Cañada, 2009).

Finally, the exporting vocation of the Spanish TNCs would not have been possible without the enthusiastic collaboration of the Spanish government, not only through the active support to the internationalization from public bodies, such as the ICEX (Spanish Institute for Foreign Trade, through its "country plans") or the several "touristic cooperation" agreements to facilitate the re-export of profits without significant tax costs for the TNCs, as well as the key cooperation of the González, Aznar and Zapatero governments. Above all political party differences, the incentives and facilities provided by the democratic governments to the TNCs so as they can relocate have been solid and increasingly radical. Aside from signing the neo-liberal General Agreement on Trade and Services of the World Trade Organization (WTO), Spain has been breaking down all actual control over capital movements and the regime on national investments abroad (Buades, 2006, pp. 67-92).

Naturally, some TNCs have accompanied this global unfolding with growing demonstrations of their commitment to the society and the environment. Unfortunately, most of them carry out one-time and intermittent actions, since six of the Big Eight do not have a corporate "code of ethics," that is, a simple declaration of intentions about the beneficial and environmentally sustainable nature of the company.

TNC	Own foundation	Publishes annual report and accounts	Code of ethics	Environ-mental program	Social program	Declared invest-ment on EBITDA (millions €)
Sol Meliá	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	1.6 m. / 349.2 m. € [0.4%]
NH	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	638.317€/283 m. € [0.2%]
Barceló[4]	Yes	Yes	Yes	Não	Yes	about 1 m. €/122 [0.8%]
Riu	No	No	No	No	No	?
Iberostar	Yes	No	No	No	No	?
H10	No	No	No	No	No	?
Husa	No	No	No	No	No	?
Fiesta –Sirenis	No	No	No	No	No	?

Sources: Corporate websites (consulted in 2009).

Only two TNCs have a "code of ethics" (NH and Barceló), own foundation (Barceló and Iberostar) or a formal environmental program (Sol Meliá and NH). Three of them have social programs (Sol Meliá, NH and Barceló). As a matter of fact, the three most important companies are the only ones that publish their earnings before taxes and fees and their commitment to the CSR. In all cases, the total non-refundable amount, regardless the fact that there is no independent audit, which could question the suitability of many actions and even discount the share recovered with the public sector funding for their own projects, draws attention for its insignificance. Thus, the correlation with gross results is only 0.8% in the most favorable case (Barceló). In the case of Riu, Iberostar, H10, Husa, and Fiesta-Sirenis, the actual commitment is unknown: they do not publish annual report and accounts.

Therefore, if the Spanish TNCs are at the top of the global tourism industry ranking, their commitment with the so-called CSR is surprisingly very limited and unsuitable for companies that intend to be global leaders.

4 It does not include the unpublished earnings of Barceló Crestline, domiciled in the USA, which manages a third of the Group's hotels. Therefore, the CSR investment will be relatively lower.

TOURISM INDUSTRY CSR: A DIRTY FIELD NOTEBOOK

The two major global international tourism platforms have been trying for years to promote the idea of the industry's commitment to the "corporate social responsibility." UNWTO was able to lead the United Nations to create its "Global Code of Ethics for Tourism" (UNWTO, 2001) and in September 2008, it launched the TOURPact.GC program, which is focused on obtaining the support from tourism companies to the Millennium Development Goals and the Davos Declaration on climate change and tourism[5]. As an influential private lobbyist, WTTC has published various strategic guiding reports, including the so-called "Corporate Social Leadership in Tourism & Travel" (WTTC, 2002).

At the origin of these efforts, there is the need of sweetening the harsh reality to the public. On one hand, the tourism sector shows a notable delay in adopting voluntary commitments for environmental and social reform with respect to other industrial sectors, despite having a greater responsibility. Additionally, despite the growth in variety and number of objectives (regarding topics such as the nature, sex tourism rejection, micro-credit sponsorship for community welfare projects), the underlying trend goes in the opposite direction.

From the point of view of the relevance, there are *three major black holes* that absorb any positive effect of the countless small measures that some TNCs try to implement: environmental neglect, social insensitivity, and harassment of both local and global democracy.

ENVIRONMENTAL NEGLECT

The TNCs' environmental commitments *avoid three key problems* of the global crisis suffered by the Planet: *climate change, loss of biodiversity, and water stress.*

The emphasis is usually on how the greenhouse effect can affect the viability of the tourism business in different regions of the globe. But the truth is that the official calculations of the tourism contribution to the climate deterioration are becoming more and more worrisome. Therefore, a report by the United Nations Environment Program draws attention to the underestimation of the industry's weight on the climate change. In addition to the 5% responsibility topic, if both the CO2 and the greenhouse gas are included, the industry would be liable for up to 14% of the emissions. And this number could be even higher, because this calculation does not include the energy cost of building hotels, airports, highways and roads.

5 See UNWTO communication of September 27 at www.unwto.org/media/news/sp.

If we focus on the generation of CO2, the 5% value originating from the tourism is conditioned by the huge transportation impact (up to 90%). The type of transportation is far from insignificant: aircrafts are accountable for 75% of the emissions. Buses and trains, which account for 34% of the tourist trips, generate only 13% of CO2, while long-distance air travels, which account for only 2.7% of international tourism, represent 17% of the CO2 emissions. In addition, the responsibility is very unequal, because international tourism is a product enjoyed by just 2% of the world's population (about 140 million people) (Simpson, Gossling, Scott, Hall, & Gladin, 2008).

In the medium term, the forecasts are much worse: by 2035, tourism will grow by 179% and its contribution to the greenhouse effect will rise by 188%, basically due to the air traffic expansion. All of this in a scenario in which the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) requires a 50% reduction in the current greenhouse emissions by 2050 (Simpson, Gossling, Scott, Hall, & Gladin, 2008). In this context, the media, including the Financial Times, has reported that in the near future, the international tourism will be "identified as the environmental enemy number one" (Tomkins, 2006).

Given these evidences, what has been the TNCs' reaction? Basically, act as a lobbyist to prevent the Kyoto Protocol and its eventual substitute from including any reference to concrete objectives of limiting the air transportation growth and any possibility of using environmental taxation mechanisms to favor the reduction of emissions. The supposition is that they will enter the "carbon emissions trading" and introduce the use of biofuels (WTO, 2007) (WTTC, 2009). That is, the emphasis is on improving the efficiency, mitigating the impact of individual projects, leaving aside any actual change in the underlying trend: the steady and meteoric growth of both the air transportation and the long-distance international tourism from North America and Europe to East Asia and the Pacific, and to Caribbean and the Emirates, the main medium-term tourism centers.

In addition to the transportation factor, currently, the resorts have no general solarization plan, despite the fact that most of them are located in areas with the highest levels of annual solar radiation on the planet (Mediterranean, Caribbean, Tropics). What is the point, then, of boasting about a pilot program to replace incandescent light bulbs by an efficient lighting if they are to be used in resorts with an absolutely unsustainable energy design in terms of typologies, materials, insulation or refrigeration?

The *second environmental bill* of the international tourism regards its contributions to the *loss of biodiversity*, identified at the 1992 Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit as other major global environmental challenge. Thus,

TNCs' investments involve:

- *The colonization and touristic artificialization of tropical areas* with high ecological value for being the Planet's richest biome (Costa Rica, Indonesia).
- *The widespread devastation of the coast,* in both the Mediterranean and Mexico and Central America. The residential development of the accommodation offer and the massive location of airport infrastructures, highways and roads continuously sacrifices beaches, dune ecosystems, wetlands, protected areas. If the extreme urbanization of the Spanish coast is an example of permanent relevance, the Croatian, Turkish, Tunisian or Moroccan coasts are more and more similar to this model.
- *The preference for locations in islands,* as well as tropical areas, which are the most ecologically fragile zones of the Planet. In addition to the Balearic and Canary Islands, Spanish TNCs are the real owners of the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Jamaica or Cape Verde (Buades, 2006, pp. 59-119).

The result of this touristic colonization of tropical, coastal and insular areas is the use of the "natural" strategy as a commercial appeal, renewed from old and new "destinations" (such as Majorca, Costa Rica, and Brazil). Protected areas become the postcard to attract new residential and touristic developments, which, if carried out, cause the disappearance or major deterioration of these areas[6]. According to the United Nations Environment Program, the tourism to the Planet's most environmentally threatened areas doubled in the 1990s (Christ, Hillel, Matus, & Sweeting, 2003).

The *water stress* always accompanies the tourist industrialization. On one hand, the industry "need" for water consumption is much higher than that of the permanent population. Thus, for example, a tourist consumes 3.8 times more water than a citizen of Lanzarote (in the Canary Islands), while in Barbados it can be up to 10 times more (Buades, 2008). Numerous luxury uses linked to the touristic offer (such as golf courses, swimming pools or water parks) increase the consumption. A golf course annually demands as much water as a community of 8,000 people (GOB Mallorca, 2000).

The majority of the most exploited touristic regions is either located in areas of water scarcity or end up being so due to the overconsumption from the tourism. While in the Mediterranean the touristic and residential

6 For information on the hyper-tourism in Majorca, visit www.salvemmallorca.org.

pressure proposes the artificial generation of desalinated water to support the whole coast growth (transferring the problem to the climate, since its production greatly increases the generation of CO2), in the Caribbean and Central America the dispute over the water translates into the community's struggle to defend aquifers from the privatization threat and its subsequent exhaustion by the tourism and real estate TNCs. An example is the case of the Nimboyore River in the Costa Rican Guanacaste against hotel and residential projects, such as those of Sol Meliá in Playa Conchal and Reserva Conchal or Riu and others in El Coco and Ocotal[7] (Ramirez Cover, 2008).

SOCIAL INSENSITIVITY

The map of the TNCs' offer in the world also reveals how the investment in the tourism, which is far from implying an improvement of welfare for the affected communities, creates new problems.

A first indicator is *the degree of the union freedom and the compliance with labor rights.* If we look at the Balearic Islands, one of the most visited regions in the world, the unions have long stopped working as such and became State aid managers and guarantors to the TNCs so that they could aim to make the "seasonal" work their "regular" work, at best a "permanent seasonal" work, for six months a year (Buades, 2006, p. 26). In its deployment in Latin America, Spanish TNCs have transferred this labor precariousness model. The REL-IUF (Latin American regional branch of the International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers' Associations) has reported the anti-union behavior of all Spanish TNCs in Latin America, emphasizing the Barceló case, which permits union sections in less than a quarter of its establishments. In the Cuban case, which is the most radical one, despite the fact that the unionization is mandatory, the access to jobs in the tourism industry depends on the permission of the communist regime (REL-UITA, 2008). The type of employment and the compensation generated by the industry are low and usually require unskilled labor force, while management positions are reserved for a trusted elite (in the case of the Spanish TNCs, managers are Spanish.) The lack of compliance with health and labor protection standards has led to dramatic situations, including in countries such as Costa Rica, which claims to be Latin American Switzerland. For example, in November 2008, a RIU chain's construction worker died in Guanacaste due to overcrowding and unhealthy conditions of the

7 To have an idea of the huge water demand required by this touristic development, visit www.reservaconchal.com.

accommodation they shared with other 1,500 people employed in hotel and real estate projects in the area[8].

Additionally, the real estate speculation expectations generated by the implementation of the tourism TNCs led to a bitter *dispute for land* between local communities and the leisure industry agents. In Majorca in 2005, a piece of land classified as urbanized or urbanizable expected a population of 3.3 million inhabitants, when the actual population was 700,000 people. That is, the land-use planning by the tourism and real estate TNCs expected a fourfold increase of the population in the medium term. In fact, 1.4 million residential beds had already been built at that time. Paradoxically, despite the theoretical abundance of available rooms (two beds per inhabitant), the majority of the population could not have access to a decent house because the real estate market was the most expensive in Spain (GOB Mallorca, 2006). Not surprisingly, the residential real estate boom for the international market while the local population is deprived of houses has become the brand image of the Spanish Mediterranean coast in the last decades (Diaz & Loures Loures, 2006). In their expansion beyond borders, the TNCs have entered in frequent conflicts with the communities over the use of the land[9]. Often, "friendly" governments have tried to facilitate the pure and simple spoliation of common lands of high landscape and environmental value, just as in the case of the dispute over the conservation of the Laguna de Apoyo Nature Reserve in Nicaragua (www.laprensa.com.ni, November 13, 2007). In severe cases, there were cases of physical violence. In the Dominican Republic, there are periodic murders committed by paramilitaries paid by tourism and urbanization companies on the coast near to Bávaro (www.listin.com.do, April 9, 2009). In any case, the result is the bankruptcy of rural and local economies before economic wealth, good jobs, and welfare in areas such as education, health or social services, have reached the majority (Banos Ramirez & Castaneda Navarrete, 2007; Buades, 2006, pp. 29-40).

Other relevant element of the TNC social impact regards the *intercultural shock* that comes with their implementation. In fact, tourist industrialization often uses landscape and communities as a mere "decoration" in the form of "added value" of a business that should be developed quickly and without complications. Tourism would connect the "cosmopolitan", "modern" and "monetized" world with the "backward," picturesquely "archaic" and "in danger of extinction" societies (Santa Ana, 2004). The

8 Read the case report at www.turismo-responsable.org/denuncia/0903_riu_costarica.html.

9 The Salvadoran Research Program on Development and Environment (PRISMA) has prepared an interesting dossier on the tourism and real estate development in Central America (http://prisma2.org.sv/web/Inmobiliario/index.htm).

standardization of products and services inherent in the tourism industry, regardless of its location on the world, leads to the acculturation and reduction of the social capital in the affected communities. In addition, the speculative boom works as a magnet for mass emigration to these areas. In the absence of any social cohesion strategy, the resulting migration boom accelerates the community depersonalization and fragmentation (Boissevain, 1996, Buades, 2007, Jiménez Martinez & Sosa Ferreira, 2007).

HARASSMENT OF LOCAL AND GLOBAL DEMOCRACY

TNCs are indifferent to the democratic or dictatorial political systems when deciding their locations. Their preference is much more for regimes "without uncertainty" such as the Dominican Republic, Mexico, Indonesia or Morocco than the traditional democratic systems. Just as they did in the Balearic and Spanish bench testing between 1955 and 1975, they guaranteed, through a powerful network of local "friends", a reliable condition for easy investments and repatriation of profits abroad, including low wages for low-skilled jobs, as well as the public sector's support in providing increasing transportation (airports, ports, and highways), electricity, water, and waste infrastructure. The objective is to create large-scale business clusters aimed at the continuous quantitative growth. Thus, the synergies between Sol Meliá and the Suharto dictatorship enabled the first international forward leap of the first Spanish TNC in 1985. Nowadays, Barceló's power would be inexplicable without the information that it is allowed to "develop" the Dominican Republic or Morocco safely, due to the support of local people such as Frank Raineri or Mohammed VI (Buades, 2009).

TNCs pressure the State to work as a facilitator of their projects, investing as much public money as possible in infrastructures to support a continuous expansion in accommodation and residential rooms, without forgetting their active role in marketing the TNCs' products through multi-million dollar foreign promotion campaigns. Naturally, the astonishing sums of public money at the service of the TNCs' interests are at the expense of the investments in human development of the theoretically benefited societies. While airports and highways are expanded, water treatment and incineration plants are established, huge amount of money is wasted in holiday advertising for private businesses, the investment in basic and university education, health and social welfare tends to decrease or simply disappears, as is the case of the public housing (Buades, 2006, pp. 67-119). When the investments seemed to be jeopardized by community protests, whether in Mexico or Jamaica, the Big Eight have not hesitated to require the mediation and protection services from both the Spanish Prime Minister and the King himself (www.eleconomista.es, July 15, 2007 and www.diariodeibiza.es, February 21, 2009).

In any case, the lack of transparency has to do with the use of *financial engineering through tax havens*. In January 2000, 140 States participating in the World Trade Organization, the crucial institutional instrument of the turbo-capitalism, created the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). This agreement established a completely new favorable framework for the TNCs' investments of all kinds in any country *over their economic, environmental or social legislations and regulations*. It turned the TNCs into competitors with the same rights that any local company or initiative. Given the inequality between them, the tourism and real estate projects were provided with the conditions to abruptly grow in many regions of the world. All major areas of tourism development are located in countries that have endorsed the GATS and those that aim to be the new and promising "destinations" are rushing to endorse it as well. Thus, in order to attract the TNCs' interest, local economies have undergone a downward competition in terms of taxation, social and labor rights, and environmental protection. The more impoverished a country is, the more radical becomes the dismantling of all democratic planning and supervision regulations for the territory, economy and environment. Not to mention the subsequent privatization of common goods, such as water or land (Equations, 2007).

This extremely favorable ultra-liberal framework reaches a paroxysm with the tourism TNCs' commitment for the financial transit through tax havens[10]. There is no Spanish tourism transnational company that does not manage much of its accounting through this dark capital prestidigitation network, alien to all public international control. Sol Meliá, for example, has domiciled twenty companies in the Cayman Islands, the Netherlands Antilles, Panama, Luxembourg or Jersey. NH prefers Luxembourg and the Netherlands. Barceló has a weakness for Switzerland and Panama, while Riu and Fiesta-Sirenis have a financial presence in Aruba, Bahamas, Panama, Cyprus and Cape Verde. Iberostar manages its financial engineering through the Netherlands Antilles. Thanks to their shrewdness, the TNCs manage to hide their actual profit and earning accounts from the supervision of the communities where they operate (Buades, 2006, pp. 66-87). The undeclared money affects especially the southern states. According to Oxfam, the global tax fraud of individuals who should pay taxes in the South would total 124 billion dollars a year. If we add the additional proportional part of over 200 billion that the TNCs suppress from the Southern treasury control, impoverished countries would have available at least twice the amount they receive as support for

10 See http://taxjustice.blogspot.com.

the development (approximately 103 billion dollars a year)[11].

Finally, it should be emphasized that the relationship between the TNCs and the towns susceptible to host their projects is based, until today, on blackmail. Large Spanish transnational companies have not hesitated to establish themselves as a lobby through the Inverotel platform in order to obtain even more advantageous conditions from Costa Rican, Jamaican, Dominican, and Mexican governments, among others, for increasingly gigantic projects www.caribepreferente.com, April 28, 2008). In places such as Jamaica, when the first popular and governmental pressures to comply with the law arouse, the TNCs decided to leave or freeze the new developments, as a measure to pressure back, rather than complying with the decisions issued by the government institutions (www.jamaica-gleaner.com, May 14, 2008). The most serious issue is the strategic direction of the tourism TNCs' mission: their objective is to do business in safe places and the best way to obtain that is creating crisis opportunities that can be used to generate a blank slate with the communities that can work for their projects (Klein, 2007, pp. 385-405). From this point of view, the tourism development can be seen as a radical change of the affected societies, which fit into the neo-liberalism, consumerism and "modernization" idea, without, however, improving their welfare and human development (Cañada, 2009).

KEYS TO THE ESSENTIAL TOURISM RESPONSIBILITY

In view of the world's situation, we, as a civilization, are facing a dilemma: the turbo-capitalism crisis could lead to a greater inequality, misery, and conflict or it could be an opportunity to start making peace with the Planet, provide the impoverished majority with possibilities for human development, and expand the actual democracy levels.

As we know from its weight in the world economy and its responsibility in the climate change, the exploitation of the common goods and the colonization of world's impoverished communities, the international tourism future will be decisive in the coming times. From the premise that the least bad of the known systems is the "market with democracy (also economic democracy)," the time has come to change the operational framework of global tourism. Despite the "intercultural" differences between TNCs, governments and affected societies, there are three factors that foster the cooperation:

11 See www.oxfam.org/es/pressroom/pressrelease/2009-03-13/control-paraisos-fiscales-liberar-millones-dolares.

- The time to act, in order to save the general quality of life and guarantee the tourist business, will be over. We have only a few decades ahead to intelligently tackle climate change, water stress, and devastation of the last essential biomes. If we do nothing, a large part of the "destinations" will disappear (Simpson, Gossling, Scott, Hall, & Gladin, 2008).
- The conscience of a major part of the international leisure class and many TNC owners and executives is changing and they are not accepting a mere "window dressing" of the product anymore.
- Certain types of tourism, sensitive to environmental balances and generators of actual welfare in communities that democratically decide to promote it, can be decisive to maintain societies threatened by poverty and condemned to mass emigration.

The *crucial point* is to go beyond the creation of "pilot projects" and "end-of-pipe" actions. TNCs and governments have been implementing specific demonstrative actions for years. By their nature, the results have been practically irrelevant. The urgent challenge is to *act in three general fields* so that the CSR can be translated into an actual practice: *environment, social welfare of affected communities, economic and democratic transparency on both local and global scope.*

First of all, the tourism industry has to take a *green reform of the offer* into consideration. The strategic priorities should include:

- Turning existing plants and services eco-friendly. TNCs could implement the solarization and energy efficiency plans in all their facilities, in order to reduce both the generation of greenhouse gases and the pressure for more fossil or nuclear power plants. At the same time, they should implement the plans to minimize and reuse water and waste. They would have to consider, for example, to give up golf courses and water parks in bio-climatically more fragile areas, such as the Mediterranean or the Caribbean.
- Providing an active and non-parasitic support to protect the biodiversity, especially tropical forests and protected sites. In view of the "showcase" model (which turns protected areas into mere advertising for hotel and real estate developments), TNCs could contribute economically to their conservation and commit themselves not to implement new facilities and establishments within them. This commitment would be coupled with the participation in the planning and management of communities and local city

associations, in order to ensure that the environmental protection also included the societies that have cared for these areas over time.

- Prioritizing the regional transportation over the transcontinental one. This would involve setting a global limit to long-distance air transportation according to the climate protection agreements that will replace the Kyoto Protocol. The tourism industry could become a signatory of the new Protocol. Naturally, it would mean that the intra-continental or regional holiday offer would be prioritized, increasing the use of collective and surface (trains, buses) transportation or maritime transportation, which leave a much smaller climate footprint than the airplane.
- Minimizing the transportation of materials and food, using the local offer. A very important part of the services (food) and facilities (construction materials) have a high ecological cost because they come from abroad, sometimes from very faraway places. Everything that could be consumed locally would improve the global environmental balance.

This new tourism TNCs' "mission" should result in a significantly reduction of their ecological footprint in biophysical terms. For comparison, in a very touristic society, such as the Balearic Islands, the current ecological footprint, which is almost six times the bio-productive capacity of the region, has to be reduced and the industry bears a wide margin of responsibility to make it possible (Murray, Rullan, & Blàzquez, 2005).

In parallel, the time has come to *link the business profitability with the actual improvement of the living condition of local communities* affected by the tourism industry. There would be four essential directions to dignify TNC CSR:

- Promoting the free union and encouraging the participation of workers in the companies' strategic decision making.
- Offering jobs and, where appropriate, professional training for local managers at the subsidiaries in the southern countries, avoiding colonialism in the staff structure (foreigners in managerial positions; local people only in the least-skilled jobs).
- Offering a social fund to the working staff that guarantees advantages in terms of public housing, health rights, support for professional training and education.
- Including the use of local languages in the services offered and respecting the cultural traditions of the place.

- Playing as a patron together with local associations and leaders to promote education and health, social services, scholarships for university education, and the introduction of new technologies for collective use.

Since environmental and social cooperation is important, their *progress will only last if the TNCs' economic transparency can be guaranteed.* This will require the transnational companies, by their own initiative or at the request of the governments and the communities, to be open to participate in unprecedented democratic creativity processes if they want to continue living from the tourist development. For the planet to be environmentally viable, companies such as Sol Meliá, Barceló or Fiesta need to stop operating at their own way, regardless any international democratic regulation and without any independent body, made up by distinguished associations of the communities where they carry out their business, to supervise whether or not they comply with their social responsibility.

TNCs urgently need to show their true willingness to change in favor of the communities and the environment. For example, they could:

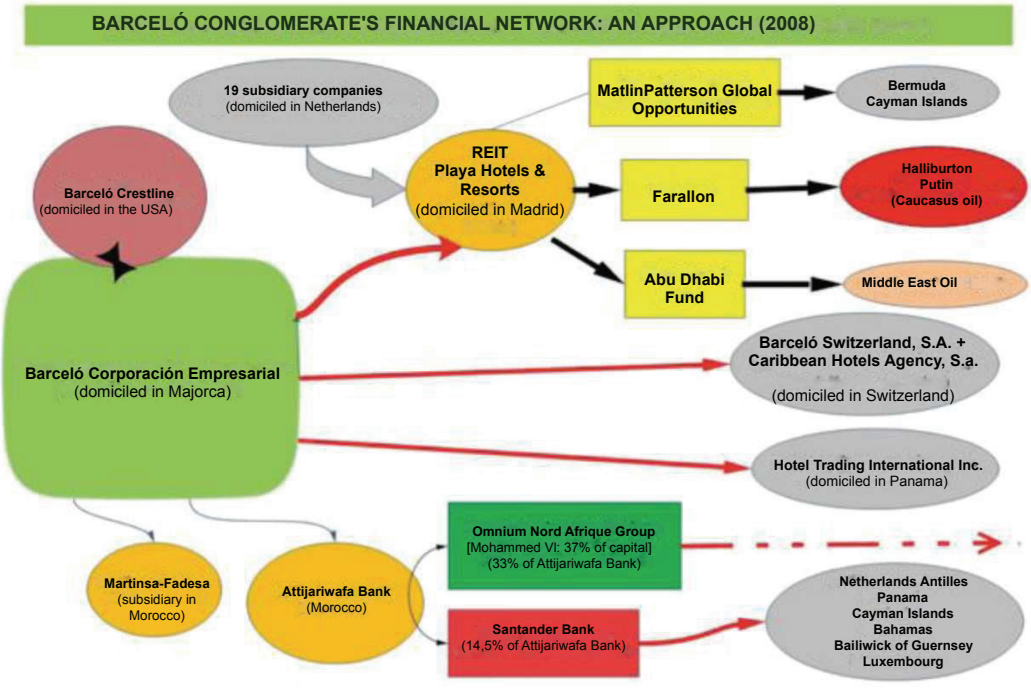
- Publish their accounting reports domiciled in tax havens to the treasury of the countries where they are established. This would allow impoverished and touristically exploited communities to recover the income they failed to receive due to tax evasion and which could be used to finance absolutely urgent human development programs.
- Commit to give back to the touristic societies, by investing part of the profits in conservation programs and community welfare, always on the assumption that there must be a legal framework that guarantees the participation of the local population in the decision-making and monitoring.
- Participate actively and constantly in the Agenda 21 processes globally, regionally and locally together with the other sectors (institutional, social and experts).
- Adopt as a sector a jointly arranged CSR strategy that enables to grow significantly in volume and capacity in the mentioned key areas, in addition to increasing their credibility on ethical sensitivity in the world citizenship.
- Try out supervision formulas independent of the sector itself when planning, evaluating and improving the CSR commitments. Obviously, highly internationally and locally regarded NGOs would have to be prominent participants in these processes.

Clearly, along the way, it is quite likely that the mission, values and brand of those transnational companies that daringly respect the common goods will change so much that their added value will shine through the eyes of the world public opinion.

In any case, the communities should not leave the decisions to the discretion of the transnational companies, since the risk of being trampled, ignored and exploited is mixed with the real history of tourism TNCs. Therefore, *for CSR to exist, it is decisive to assure economic democracy, public regulation capacity on negotiations and actions, the structuring of living and strong communities* where the priority is not to support or oppose tourist-real estate projects, but to be able to decide which community life, economy and welfare we want.

Without true local democracies, without global democratic governance with the ability to control financial flows and business ethics of transnational tourism companies, the CSR idea will continue to be only a part of the marketing department of each TNC, without any relevant significance in the environmental and social responsibility balance. So far, we have experienced the neo-liberal phase of CSR, which let each company to decide what and how to do things, lacking public regulation and social participation. The result would have pleased Milton Friedman, who spoke about the "danger" of the "corporate social responsibility" concept, as he believed that it would constitute a "subversive" doctrine in a free society. For the most radical neo-liberal ideologist, the only social responsibility required from a transnational company would be to increase its profits (www.nytimes.com, September 13, 1970). Beyond its growing rhetoric about CSR and its altruism, Spanish tourism TNCs have basically dedicated themselves to accumulate fortunes in half the world without any regard for the environment, social rights and democracy. In the midst of financial and social catastrophe caused by neo-liberal models, we now know that Friedman and his apprentices did not take into account that the tourism business survival is increasingly inseparable from the care of the habitat from which it is nourished, the respect for the people and the communities where it is established, and the transparency in a world where the demand to achieve a true global democracy has an increasing echo.

ANNEX 1



Source: Buades, 2009.

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LABOR REFORM AND OUTSOURCING IN SPAIN: LABOR PRECARIOUSNESS IN HOTEL MAID WORK

Ernest Cañada[1]

ABSTRACT

This paper summarizes the main results of a broader research on the labor precariousness of the hotel maid work in Spain as a consequence of the widespread business practices of outsourcing central departments of hotels after the 2012 labor reform. This part of the research consists of semi-structured in-depth interviews with 24 outsourced hotel maids and 20 key informants (labor unionists, entrepreneurs and different professionals related to hotels). In addition, the research has been based on a participatory methodology of following worker organizations and unions in the reports on the outsourcing consequences. By that means, the main consequences in the workers' labor conditions by outsourcing housekeeping departments have been identified.

Keywords: Hotel maids, labor conditions, outsourcing, hotel, precariousness, labor reform.

INTRODUCTION

Tourism has played a fundamental role in the configuration of the Spanish capitalism since the 1960s, and in particular in the Mediterranean coast and the Canary Islands areas. This tourism specialization within Europe as a sun and beach destination, which began during Franco dictatorship, was reinforced after Spain's entry into the European Economic Community (today European Union) in 1985, and further strengthened with the financial crisis of 2008 (Murray, 2015). The unfolding or crisis of other activities and the emergence of new phenomena, such as the "collaborative economies", especially accommodation in houses, which has expanded the "tourist space" to any place, has led to a tourism overcrowding in certain areas of Spain.

The mass tourism in emblematic places such as Barcelona or Majorca has caused, among others, an increased cost of living, the displacement of poorer population to peripheral areas due to the tourism development

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of their neighborhoods, or increasingly serious environmental and territorial impacts. Thus, the tourism objection has been a topic in the public agenda and social movements, such as the local or the environmental ones. This breaks the consensus that the tourism industry had managed to impose for decades and increasingly questions the social return capacity of the tourism in central scopes, such as taxation or generated employment. The emergence of this public debate has made it clear that if this tourism specialization is based on precarious work, we are facing an unfeasible economic development model.

HOTEL MAIDS, A KEY WORKFORCE

In Spain, the tourism-linked workforce that has most clearly expressed its dissatisfaction with the working condition precariousness has been the hotel maids. In the last three years, their battle has been in the Spanish media in a sustained manner. International academic literature has analyzed in detail some of its socio-labor characteristics and the reasons that would explain such widespread precariousness.

Different investigations have revealed the social invisibility of this group (Hunter & Watson, 2006). In most countries, women are also the majority in housekeeping departments, with a high number of immigrant workers coming from countries with lower incomes (Albarracín, 2013; Dyer, et al., 2010). The feminization of this type of work has also been associated with strong gender discrimination, which is expressed, among others, in lower wages, lack of professional recognition (Ferreira & Ramos, 2016; Huete et al., 2014; Poyatos, 2017; Sigüenza, 2011), and in lower possibility of being a priority in the union agenda. In this context, the construction of their identities as a workforce involves their gender, class, race and ethnicity in a complex intersection (Adib & Guerrier, 2003). On the other hand, the seasonal nature of the tourism has favored hotel companies to traditionally adopt flexible hiring models, which had important consequences on the quality of the generated employment (Adler & Adler, 2003, Castellanos & Pedreño, 2006). In the generalized progress context of flexible labor processes, many companies have embraced these types of contracting, with an increasing implementation of temporary and part-time employment, outsourcing part of the staff, and increasing the work intensity, resulting in worse work conditions for female workers and increased precariousness (Puech, 2004; Seifert & Messing, 2006).

Due to the different types of contracting within the same company, and also the solidarity relationships separated by origin and nationality, the workforce of this department is usually sharply divided and segmented, which helps to emphasize its high levels of exploitation and reduce

resistance capacities (McDowell, et al., 2007; Puech, 2007). It has also been identified that during high occupancy periods, the hotel maids usually exceed their working hours, making it difficult to manage work and personal daily life (Dyer, et al., 2011; McNamara, et. al., 2011). Under these working conditions, the housekeeping work within hotels has resulted in higher rates of accidents and more serious injuries than other jobs in the service sector, which shows a clear deterioration of the hotel maids' health as a consequence of their labor conditions (Buchanan, et. al., 2010; DaRos, 2011; Liladrie, 2010; McNamara, et. al., 2011).

In previous works, we have identified the following change processes that have intensified the precariousness of a group whose labor conditions were already very deteriorated (Cañada, 2015):

a. A growing degradation of contractual conditions, with less stable jobs and more temporary and part-time jobs, increased outsourced services, new ways of temporarily engaging part of the female workers through training practices, whether professional or basic education, or within social inclusion programs. Numerous abuses and illegalities perpetrated by companies, beyond the formal hiring, can be added to this. Also, the wages have sharply decreased and a large number of workers receive the minimum wage or less for the work done, which compares the working hours to the ones under an internship regime. This wage loss places many of the female workers of this industry in a "labor poverty" situation, with incomes that barely pay their basic needs.

b. A deterioration in the workers' health, both physical and mental, due to a certain way of organizing the work, and which is evidenced by repetitive pain, surgical interventions, sick leave, recurrent medicalization, general anxiety and stress issues, along with the difficulty of the majority of the workers to be able to retire at the appropriate age.

c. A progressive impact on the quality of the service offered, due to the difficulty of the workers in performing their job well. This means that if this situation persists, the sector is risking suffering a deprofessionalization due to the progressive reduction of more experienced workers, who will not be able to train their young successors.

d. A generalized fear among many workers, especially among temporary and permanent workers linked to multi-service companies, of expressing their opinion or formally claiming their rights and organizing themselves collectively for fear of retaliation, resulting in a potential progressive loss of union influence and the consequent intensity in the precariousness processes.

METHODS

One of the factors identified as key in the precariousness process of Spanish hotel maid work in recent years, and which has led to a very prominent mobilization process, has been the generalized outsourcing of main services of the housekeeping department, facilitated by the last labor reform. The objective of this study is to understand how this process has taken place and what are the consequences for female workers.

The methodology used in this study is based on both the literature review and the in-depth interviews with different actors. A total of 24 hotel female workers from different parts of Spain were interviewed: Barcelona (5), Tarragona (5), Madrid (4), Seville (4), Valencia (2), Cáceres (1), Tenerife (1), Cádiz (1), A Coruña (1). All of them were hired by multi-service companies providing maid service to hotels. Some of these workers were dismissed from the hotels where they were hired and went back to work in the same hotels but through multi-service companies; others were directly hired by this type of company to work within the hotels. Six of them were from other countries (Colombia, Ecuador, Cuba, Russia and Morocco). Some of them were union representatives of the Comisiones Obreras – CCOO (Workers' Commissions) (4), and the Unión General de Trabajadores – UGT (General Union of Workers) (1) unions, but the majority were not affiliated with any union. In the case of Seville, the women interviewed were part of CAPISE [Association of Hotel Maids of Seville].

The selected female workers were part of a larger study in which a hundred workers were interviewed. One of the first results of this research is the book *Las que limpian los hoteles. Historias ocultas de precariedad laboral* [Those who clean the hotel. Hidden stories of labor precariousness, in free translation] (Cañada, 2015) and *Externalización del trabajo en hoteles. Impacto en los departamentos de pisos* [Outsourcing work in hotels. Impact on housekeeping departments, in free translation] (Cañada, 2016). This paper only used the information from female workers who have undergone outsourcing processes in their work places. The interviews were carried out in a semi-structured manner, which allowed us to identify the professional career of each worker and their socio-family context, in addition to explore the reconstruction of their work experience, emphasizing the following aspects: types of tasks performed; work conditions; forms of recruitment; effects on health; experienced and perceived changes; group dynamic; identification of dissatisfaction elements; relationships with the company, union and co-workers; effect of the work on their daily life; outsourcing process characteristics and experiences.

Key informants were also interviewed: CCOO and UGT union leaders (16), lawyer (1), doctor (1), labor inspector (1), and social worker (1).

Semi-structured interviews were also used in this case, but the focus was on the knowledge that each of them had from their field of experience regarding the work situation in hotels and more specifically the outsourcing phenomenon.

OUTSOURCING: A BUSINESS STRATEGY

Outsourcing is a business management mechanism based on the hiring of another company to fully manage a certain process, including personnel, resources and equipment necessary to develop such task. Its main advantage for entrepreneurs is the reduction of labor costs, but it also works as a powerful way of disciplining, segmenting and weakening the working classes.

The majority opinion among the hotel business sector is that outsourcing some services can be very favorable to reduce costs. In a survey conducted by Hostelmarket in 2014 with 100 hotel establishments with different characteristics in terms of type, category and accommodation capacity, the managers identified the following advantages of outsourcing services: cost savings (43%), flexibility of hotel operations (30%), access to experienced staff (24%), higher quality service, improved internal organization (15%) (Pastor, 2014).

Manel Casals, executive manager of the Barcelona Hotels Association, understands that opting for the outsourcing is part of a business strategy to adapt the hotel to a global context characterized by the crisis and the emergence of new forms of accommodation linked to the collaborative economy, which generates a scenario of greater uncertainty and competitiveness, thus, leading to the need of adjusting costs to face this context with some guarantees. Adjusting costs has meant, according to the same manager, to reduce fixed costs, and the outsourcing would have been one of the ways of achieving it.

> Within the cost readjustment strategy, one [of the answers] has been not to maintain a very large staff structure throughout the year, because we do not have the same occupancy rate all year. I speak of Catalonia and in general, without going into details of Barcelona or Catalonia, because it is not exactly the same, some close the doors and others have a lower occupation, but in the end it is the same. This implies a series of consequences, because you cannot renew the business as you should, so you have to adapt the number of personnel and think how to adjust the costs (...). This is when the outsourcing companies have probably entered, providing this service to some departments. Now we are afraid of hiring permanent staff because we are coming from a few years in which we had to adjust and now we want to move cautiously. This fear – because we never know what will happen – made [the hotel managers] to opt for the outsourcing, probably believing that there will be no negative effect (Manel Casals, executive manager of Barcelona Hotels Association, Barcelona).

The cost reduction resulting from the outsourcing involves different concepts. According to Grupo Uno, a Spanish company dedicated to outsourcing

in multiple sectors, including hotels, since 1986, its advantages include saving both the direct costs of hiring staff and the expenses derived from its management, usually less visible. With regard to direct costs, wages and social security, it is argued that:

> In general, an outsourcing company works with a more flexible and competitive collective agreement, which represents an important advantage for the company's direct costs (Grupo Uno, 2011).

This global cost reduction would correspond to about 15% and 30%, according to the estimates of three executive managers of this type of company (Oscar Molina of Sodexo, Juan Manuel González of PDQ Spain, and Javier Manchón of Cluster), who participated in a debate on the outsourcing during the 2014 edition of the Restaurant, Hotel and Community Equipment Exhibition, Hostelco, in Barcelona (Hosteltur, 2014). Thus, taking into account the benefits of the outsourcing processes, María Vanessa León, executive director of SeproSer Facility Services, believed that these companies should be seen as strategic partners of those who contract them:

> Our objective is to ensure that our clients can focus on the profitability of their business while we help them to optimize their auxiliary services, centralizing their management in a single interlocutor (Luis, 2016: 13).

A hotel can hire the services of an independent company to carry out a certain process and manage their staff through a compensation system by a fixed amount per service performed or by a flat rate per hour with variables depending on the occupancy rate and time of the year, and which can sometimes also include bonus and penalty systems depending on the results (Hosteltur, 2014).

With the benefit of hindsight, after four years of the labor reform approval that led to the emergence of multi-service companies that have taken the outsourcing processes to many hotels, and mainly to the housekeeping departments, the outcome is positive for the companies in the industry, as some statements of both the outsourcing company managers and the hotels in the media made it clear. Jesús Lizárraga, general manager of the Elosa Group, a company dedicated to outsourcing in diverse areas, including hotel cleaning, emphasizes as advantages both the reduction of necessary costs and the ability to adapt to the occupation fluctuations and unforeseen factors:

> In addition to converting a fixed expense, such as the wage cost of permanent housekeeping staff, into a variable expense, because the payment is for occupied and cleaned room only, the profitability of a department that so far only aimed at the quality is improved. On the other hand, it allows the managers to

> focus their efforts on the hotel core business, which, nowadays with the sector competition, is to fill it with guests. (...) The factor that our users most appreciate in our services is the flexibility. We are able to adapt every day to needs that depend on factors such as seasonality, weather, congresses, group or flight cancellations, or last minute arrival of groups, among others (Hosteltur, 2016: 14).

Professional associations, unions and workers of the industry differ from the entrepreneurs on the analysis why hotels are outsourcing services. They also disagree with the fact that the housekeeping work is not considered a core activity of the hotel. Although the interest in reducing the labor costs is identified as one of the main reasons, it is not the only one.

Ana María Dobaño, the general secretary of the Spanish Association of Hotel Housekeepers and Other Entities (ASEGO), believes the entrepreneurs want to take advantage of the crisis to reduce labor costs and personnel management problems, as she expresses her opinion on why hotels are resorting to the outsourcing:

> Because of the cost, the pure and simple cost, not wanting to have personnel linked to the company, wanting to reduce staff, and also because of the problems with the unions, obviously, if a hotel has fewer staff, it will also have fewer union representatives. But, above all, because they want to get rid of so many women. There are many leaves, many incidents, we complain about the work burden... women have always been those who complain, so they saw an opportunity to cut off the source of headaches and, along with that, to reduce costs, staff, fixed expenses by outsourcing the services and paying only for room made (Ana María Dobaño, housekeeper, ASEGO, Madrid).

Although multi-service companies have been operating for years, the type of outsourcing that is taking place in the last years in the hotel sector is new for both its intensity and the fact that it is aiming at processes or departments considered essential. This is the opinion of José María Martínez, general secretary of the CCOO Services Federation.

> Non-business core activities have been outsourced for a long, long time, since the 1970s, starting with the factories, but soon expanding to other type of activities. So, what is new? Some activities of the service sector are being massively outsourced due to the changes promoted by labor reforms recently implemented in Europe – in Spain we have had three, and which permit to reduce labor costs in order to foster the service rendering business interposed between the main and the subsidiary activity. Basically, fixed costs are sought to be converted into variable costs. The main company avoids future labor liability and the compensation for dismissal (José María Martínez, labor unionist, CCOO, Madrid).

2012 LABOR REFORM: FREE WAY TO OUTSOURCING

Outsourcing has been regulated in Spain since the Workers' Statue approval on March 10, 1980. It was permitted under a series of responsibilities by the entrepreneurship that subcontracted works or services (Article 42). However, outsourcing was not often used because it was not profitable enough. Outsourced and permanent workers had to be paid the same (articles 81, 82, 83). The sector agreement prevailed over any other agreement by establishing minimums. Thus, a worker could not earn less annually than what their sector agreement established. Therefore, the company agreements established at that time were higher than those established in the sector agreements.

However, with the 2012 labor reform, promoted by the People's Party government through the "Royal Decree-Law 3/2012, of February 10, on urgent measures to reform the labor market", which was submitted as a Bill on March 8 of the same year with the support of the People's Party, Convergence and Union, Navarrese People's Union, and Asturias Forum parties, the conditions were modified, allowing the outsourcing to be extended to hotels in a large part of Spain. This labor reform is the last of the 53 amendments to labor regulations that have been carried out since 1984 (Aragón, 2012). By regulating that the company agreement prevails over other collective agreements with regard to working hours, schedule, wages, and professional category, the outsourcing becomes an attractive answer for the hotel business as it can withdraw workers direct linked to the hotel collective agreement and hire a multi-service company that has its employees under company agreements, often signed with a fraudulent representation, or associated with other activity areas with less professional recognition and compensation, such as cleaning.

RESULTS: IMPACTS OF A PRECARIOUS MODEL

Hotel business has taken the opportunity offered by this regulatory change to outsource some of its departments. Its implementation is not limited to housekeeping departments. It is rather becoming a new model of business management. As a consequence, the business sector has been able to reduce labor costs in both wages and personnel management. Hotels have also used this opportunity to dismiss senior workers with more rights acquired and thus renew their staff. Outsourcing has become a common practice in new hotels opened after the labor reform, and it is being extended intensively throughout Spain, with only (relative) minor implementation in places where collective agreements have expressly included clauses stating that outsourced workers would have to be paid the same wages established by the agreement, which is the case of Balearic Islands, Canary Islands and Malaga.

The extension of the outsourcing model in housekeeping departments in many hotels has had multiple consequences for a labor group that has already experienced a strong deterioration in their working conditions, and it has even contributed to make them even more precarious. Many female workers describe this change as a traumatic process that has degraded their work and therefore their living conditions.

> We believed in all those lies we were told that we were the company's soul, but then we were not important anymore and they fired us. We finished the 2013 season in January, when the park closes, and in February we received a registered fax saying that we had been outsourced. (...) The company told us that they were going to respect our rights, that it was a highly regarded company, and that everything would remain the same.
>
> *How did you feel at that moment?*
>
> When the unfortunate registered fax arrived, our world fell apart. Until that moment we were working for a big company with a permanent job. We knew they would call us at the beginning of the season. Then, we were outsourced. We don't know how they are going to treat us, if they will respect our working conditions, or if they will replace us by sporadic staff, if they will apply an article of the labor reform. We were permanent workers of a theme park that is said to be one of the best in Europe, a company with benefits, and they sacked us overnight (Esther Rodríguez, maid, labor unionist, CCOO, Cambrils).

a) Wage reduction and loss of professional category

By going from a hotel collective agreement to a cleaning or company agreement, the wage is reduced by 30-40%. In many cases, the female workers went from earning 1,100-1,200 euros per month, according to what was established in the hotel collective agreement of their province, to receive a much lower wage, many of them around the minimum wage of 655 euros per month. In other cases, outsourcing companies pay per room cleaned, with a large variation depending on the area and the type of company (between 2.5 and 1.13 euros, or less). Thus, the wage is variable and depends on the number of rooms made. An additional problem is the scams that the multi-service companies often make in order not to pay the workers their overtime or other pays they are entitled of. The non-application of the sector agreement also implies the loss of some benefits that were achieved in this industry, such as the extra pay of 40% for working a holiday or the night shift pay. Or the breakfast and lunch provided by the company, which most of the multi-service companies no longer do.

This change is also reflected in the loss of the professional category recognized in their contract, which goes from "hotel maid" to "cleaner", "ironer"

or "laborer". Housekeepers and other intermediate positions suffer a similar consequence in terms of both wage and professional category recognition.

b) Work overload

The increase in the workload since the crisis in the majority of hotels in Spain is widespread. This situation is so intense that multi-service companies compete with each other to be able to close a contract and then they reduce their staff or increase the number of rooms that each worker has to clean. Moreover, the disappearance of professional categories, such as valets (men dedicated to move furniture in the rooms, remove dirty clothes, replace clean clothes in the cabinets, or clean windows), or the elimination of aid systems when work is accumulated, have also contributed to overload the hotel maids' work. If it is usual for hotel maids to rush to finish the number of rooms assigned to each of them, with the outsourcing of this service, it becomes usual not to take breaks or stop to eat. Finally, the lack of experience of many multi-service companies, as well as a large part of the staff hired in the hotel sector, increases the coordination and supervision work of the housekeepers and supervisors.

c) Greater uncertainty about employment, working hours and schedule.

Female workers hired by multi-service companies are constantly insecure about how long their contract will last. Many of them have to accept changes in their working hours or days off in order to meet the company's needs for fear of not having their contract renewed. This discretionary power of the company of changing schedules or days off has become a way of imposing certain tasks and workloads and having the workers available to them based on their interests. Shift management can also become an element of reward or penalty. Therefore, many female workers usually do not know their schedule at the beginning of the week, which makes it much more difficult to find a balance between personal and professional life.

d) Decrease in the service quality and deprofessionalization

The competition among the multi-service companies for the lowest price offer end up in such pressure on the female workers that the quality of their service is affected. The increase in the workload and the obligation to finish it within an unrealistic time put more and more pressure on the workers, making it difficult to perform their job well, in both the cleaning tasks and the personalized attention to the client. Also, the rotation of personnel

among different work centers, job insecurity, and difficulty to build a career in these conditions result in a reduced emotional bond of the workers with their job and workplace. The consequence of this new way of organizing the work is loss of service quality due to the inability of the workers of completing their assigned tasks, despite the daily overexertion and pressure they suffer.

Additionally, many multi-service companies were not experienced or prepared enough, nor their staff, resulting in loss of quality of service. In turn, the high turnover of personnel, who often quit their jobs due to the working conditions, causes the loss of trained professionals in the sector. Sometimes the turnover also affects the multi-service companies, which does not earn what it expected due to the implications of the changes in personnel.

Other cost reduction mechanism used by the multi-service companies regards the cleaning utensils and materials provided to the workers, or a lesser control and requirement in bed linen changing.

These changes in the organization of the work tend to accentuate the deprofessionalization process of the sector. Older workers struggle more and more to perform their job properly and younger workers find clear obstacles to be properly trained (due to work schedule, environment of tension, and competition between permanent staff and former permanent staff and sporadic staff, or even due to their national origin). The result tends to be a reduction of more experienced staff and poorly trained new staff, due to the precarious conditions.

e) Segmentation, division and increased competition among hotel staff

Outsourcing is causing a deep segmentation in the hotel staff, depending on who hires them. The presence of different companies within the same hotel weakens the bonding and support between workers. In the specific case of intermediate positions, such as the housekeepers, the workers are placed in a very complicated situation, between the demands of the external company and the hotel. This situation also seems to be affecting the coordination capacity between departments within the same hotel.

When the crisis broke out and the multi-service companies began to appear, without practically no union presence nor social cohesion structure, the solidarity among workers in many workplaces tended to be divided by nationality, sharpening internal divisions within the staff. In this context, Spanish women have been a minority, which sometimes facilitate stigmatizing speeches towards other groups.

f) Accentuation of health problems

The intensification of work and the accentuation of unsafe conditions increase the health risks for hotel maids due to repetition of movement, work overload, and

work and employment organization conditions. The medicalization and the use of stimulants becomes a usual resource to be able to bear the workday. This way of working, added to exhaustion, pain, and the feeling of never being on time to finish the tasks within the schedule, as well as, in some cases, abuses by housekeepers and supervisors, make the workers to be under constant stress and anxiety, in addition to suffer from insomnia. In many workplaces, it is not unusual to see female workers crying because they feel distresses and impotent. Over the years, this can develop to depression and other mental health problems. This situation is common among workers of this department, but with the worsening of the working conditions due to outsourcing, the impact on their health becomes more acute. This situation coincides with the literature that has identified the organization of work as one of the main social determinants of health (Beach & Muntaner, 2007, Benach et al., 2016).

g) Decrease in the capacity of representing and defending collective interests

Multi-service companies make labor union organization extremely difficult, applying high levels of repression to prevent their presence. In addition, outsourcing directly reduces the ability to choose their representatives. In turn, unions have seen outsourcing as a direct attack against them, in order to weaken a class unionism. This reinforces a global environment that was already especially hostile to union organizations.

This major lack of defense of workers in the sector also contributes to increase the pressure, which sometimes can turn into harassment and mistreatment to fulfill the assigned workload, something widely shared by sporadic and part-time workers.

CONCLUSIONS

The crisis and the way it has been managed by Spanish and European public authorities have worsened the workers' labor conditions; such worsening has been significantly expressed in the tourism industry, one of the main specialized activities of Southern European economies. This deterioration affects more seriously the most vulnerable sectors that occupy the lowest positions in the labor structure, especially women, and among them those of immigrant origin. Through management tools, such as outsourcing and subcontracting, an intense precariousness process is generated, which is hidden under large figures of the growing Spanish tourism.

The increasing dissatisfaction caused by this situation is leading to an intense labor, social and political conflict that has reached the public opinion, outraged by its contrast with the tourist growth that took place in recent

years. In this situation, union organizations and professional associations of the sector, as well as self-organized worker groups, have promoted multiple initiatives to reverse these outsourcing processes, recover rights, and improve working conditions. Outsourcing has thus become the battleground of a conflict that will surely go further.

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AFRICAN-BRAZILIAN HERITAGE AND TOURISM: COMMUNICATING THE QUILOMBOLA LIFESTYLE

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ABSTRACT

This article reflects on Brazilian heritage policies and African-Brazilians, as represented mainly by *quilombo* communities, and discusses how tourism is built inside these communities. Interdependence, heritage and tourism converse to communicate the *quilombola* way of living and muster up allies in the fight for land rights.

Keywords: Quilombo; heritage; tourism

CULTURAL POLICIES AND TRADITIONAL PEOPLES

Europe solidified its practice of collecting and cataloging cultural items from other peoples over the 19th century, while science was becoming institutionalized. The very first museums that were ethnographic in nature – which appeared also in the United States – came to be after European expeditions gathered artifacts especially from Africa and Asia. According to Marcia Almeida, these practices became "the fundamental pillars upon which the collection of discourses and actions used to support and legitimize imperialism over non-European regions (ALMEIDA, in press).

Especially during the *Belle Époque* period, the later decades of the 19th century through the years prior to the outbreak of WWI, many expos that were called Universal were designed to showcase what industrial society had achieved in terms of material progress. By framing a narrative to explain human development, these spectacular exhibitions fit different societies into a hierarchy that divided them into primitive and advanced. These expos, then, along with colonial museums, helped pick apart which were the peoples and primitive cultures that would soon experience the march of progress (BARBUY, 1999, p. 40; THOMAZ, 2002, p. 205)

These concepts, which informed the practices that would later be built to address heritage, were permeated with the debate on national identity, which was in turn intimately associated with imperialism. According to

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Benedict Anderson (2008, p. 228), this colonial state sought domination using three specific resources: censuses, to categorize the nature of beings, maps, to situate them territorially and geographically, and museums, to look into the past's legitimacy. It was with those three resources that led progressively to identity categories to be built hence defining and solidifying the notions of race that depicted humanity as segmented and hierarchized.

In the case of museums, specifically, the acts of unearthing, mowing, measuring, photographing, reconstructing, removing, analyzing, and exhibiting were shaped as profoundly political that carried the domination strategies and practices that had been prevalent since the 19th century and whose legacy can be felt to this day. Still according to Anderson (2008, p. 246-250), considering also their lingering effects, it's worth noting that *"[..] Monumental archaeology, increasingly linked to tourism, allowed the state to appear as the guardian of a generalized, but also local, Tradition."* This begs the question: are the heritage-related policies UNESCO established and member states follow not just perpetuating this role of guardians of a tradition that is supposedly universal?

Moreover, heritage declarations in many cases come with an arbitrary definition of what is and what is not worth State protection. Brazil is one such case, in that it is common for cultural assets to be defined as such according to the criteria set by agents who carry authority to decide what constitutes the country's "national identity" (CHUVA, 2009). The Estado Novo regime (1937-1945) worked towards a heritage policy that revolved around an agency called the Historic and Artistic Heritage Service (current National Historic and Artistic Heritage Institute, or IPHAN), that took on the task of defining all elements that were representative of Brazil as a nation, as a unity, as opposed to diversity (BOMENY, 2001).

This model, which attached great importance to the country's Portuguese origins and to monumentality, was replaced in 2000, when a policy that addressed intangible heritage was drafted. Yet, despite this innovation, Paulo Marins (2016) stresses that the IPHAN continued to favor the same Portuguese origins. Even declarations or records that refer to "mixed" items, for instance, almost invariably have the same Portuguese hegemony perspective, or the few that escape it are very specific in regard to the regions and groups that are given a name. However, the author notes a trend to rethink federal practices and include the several different actors involved in the discussion to transform heritage policies just as set out in the 1988 Constitution,

Putting these cultural policies into perspective allows us to realize that the logic originated in the Western State – and which serves as the basis for heritage declaration practices and criteria such as borders, written history and official narrative, aesthetical standards, nature

and culture boundaries – and the logic originated from indigenous and quilombola knowledge systems – which were granted legal rights only with the 1988 Constitution – are not in agreement. Considering the similarities these two groups share, cultural policies they are included in, and especially their recorded historic references, their values, their intangible heritage, based on IPHAN's methodology, we must add to this discussion the reflections included in *Políticas Culturais e Povos Indígenas*, a collection put together by Manuela Carneiro da Cunha and Pedro de Niemeyer Cesarino (2014).

As far as the declaration of indigenous culture as heritage is concerned, which is a priority topic in the policies geared towards the Amerindian population, da Cunha, an anthropologist, emphasizes memory both for the images it evokes and sets in motion and for identity-related roles, (2014, p. 9-12) reminding us that memory is also a point of concern in policies conceived by indigenous peoples, which shows that we must start looking at these societies as dynamic rather than the recurrent image we have of them as static. To this end, it is fundamental that when devising these policies externally, they take into account all the local knowledge, i.e., the fact that knowledge is imprinted in bodies, inseparable from the people that possess it. As for the protection of intangible heritage, Carneiro da Cunha (2014, p. 15-16; 18-19) makes a point that "it is not only about preserving traditional knowledge, but keeping these 'alien' systems of knowledge alive and moving."

Regardless, the methodology of INRC, the National Inventory of Cultural References (an agency created to inform the recording of Sites, Celebrations, Expressions and Knowledge) has pointed out when put to practice that different concepts of heritage exist. These different concepts carry a recurrent demand that states that the cultural references must be given guarantee that they can be reproduced. In general, the methodology demonstrated that heritage is universally understood as something in which nature, culture, individuals and relations are clustered up together, unlike it is often depicted in State policies. Therefore, what drove traditional communities to demand that their cultural references be recognized by part of the Brazilian State and the Brazilian society? It is safe to assume that this is the most effective way they found to keep their territorial rights, since the fight for land has stalled.

Benedito da Silva[3], the leader of Ivaporunduva quilombola community, stated that they spent the period that followed the 1988 Constitution organizing and incorporating the quilombola identity. Seen as there were few

3 Presentation at the *Turismo e Resistência: justiça e autonomia de comunidades* event, organized by the Center of Research of Sesc/SP, December 16, 2016.

paper documents that proved that the land in fact belonged to them, their claim was based on "showing (what) that it is so," in other words, they had to tell their own history, through establishing an relation between anthropological and quilombola knowledge, through mobilizing cultural elements that would later be called intangible heritage: knowledge, practices, celebrations.

Eliane Cantarino O'Dwyer (2002, p. 13) writes that the very concept of quilombo, which earlier told most of all of certain historical resistance strategies against slavery, had to be updated to address the current "remnants of quilombo" to which the constitution made reference. O'Dwyer concludes saying that the Brazilian Association of Anthropology (ABA) went as far as defining the bases for the professional, political, and legal ramifications of their work in relation to quilombos:

> Contemporarily, therefore, the term quilombo refers not to archeological remains of what was once a dwelling or biological proof. Neither does it refer to isolated groups or a strictly homogeneous population. Similarly, they were not always made up of insurrection or rebellious movements, but mostly consist of groups that developed everyday practices of resistance as they maintained and reproduced a lifestyle that was unique to them and as they occupied a land that was theirs (…) With respect to territoriality, their lands were not settled individually, but instead commonly shared. These lands are put to agricultural, extractive or other uses based on seasonality, characterizing different forms of use and occupation of elements that are essential to the ecosystem based on relationships of kin and neighbors that rest upon solidarity and reciprocity (O'DWYER, 2002, p. 18, emphasis added).

To ABA, these would be the aspects observed in a quilombo remnant community, which saw some traditional historiographic assumptions about these communities – that they were communities for escapees – crumble. To O'Dwyer (2002, p. 20), the works she compiled for the collection on quilombos show coordinated efforts among the intellectual world, social movements, and the ethnic groups that claim their "right to cultural difference and reproduction of their economic and social practices, and respect for their traditions," all of which are interdependent. As a testament to how much political powers and communities disagree on, the author concludes that guaranteeing their territorial rights is "strategic to ensure these groups can continue to exist socially and culturally."

The field of Social History, which underwent transformation as black movements grew in power in the 1980s and consequently a revision of how society saw the slavery and post-abolition periods, all amid the redemocratization and the drafting of the constitution, brought in a new

perspective that placed slaves as social agents that were "relevant to understand historically the Brazilian society." Historian Hebe Mattos (2006, p. 105-106) argues that it was then that the idea of "lands of blacks," which was not always successful in evoking the classic image of a quilombo, started to include rural black communities. What followed was that jurists, historians and anthropologists joined the discussion to, seeing as how the quilombola movement was expanding, give the word quilombo a new meaning "for the purpose of writing it into the constitution to strengthen the context of cultural resistance that made such communities historically possible."

Incorporating the scientific debate and its political implications, the constitution included Decree 4887/2003, in which self-identification is the most essential prerequisite to define quilombola communities, described as "ethnic-racial groups, as self-identified, that share their own history, with their own specific lands, presumably of Black ancestral origins related to the historic oppression they have suffered." Mattos (2006, p. 106) highlights that "the passing of the article on land rights of quilombo communities led to an entire revision of history and political mobilization," leading to this affirmative black identity being blended together with the dissemination of a slavery-resistance memory.[4]

AFRICAN-BRAZILIAN HERITAGE AND TOURISM IN THE RIBEIRA VALLEY

The Social-Environmental Institute - ISA worked to bring to fruition the desire of quilombola communities located in the Ribeira Valley's social-environmental corridor to increase the visibility of their intangible heritage by putting together an inventory. As the ISA explained, these communities wanted the country not only to realize they existed but also that they recognized their worth. These were the starting points to secure land rights. They also mobilized allies against real menaces that threatened to put an end to the quilombola communities, like the construction of a dam along the Ribeira do Iguape River. A survey identified 180 assets divided into five categories pre-established in Decree 3551/2000, for recording intangible heritage. This inventory will serve as reference material for public administrators to create and implement policies for protection of quilombola cultural assets (ANDRADE; TATTO, 2013, p. 7).

Assessing the conservation conditions of these assets, as rated by IPHAN (preserved, ruins or memorial), also allows us to raise the issue of how the access to these places and the conditions for reproducing practices and

4 This decree was subject to a motion to declare it unconstitutional (ADI 3239).

modes have been and are crucial to understand how they got to their present state. In this sense "… the staff along with the cultural agents and as agreed during the validation meetings and a final seminar concluded that any course of action related to the urgent protection of the quilombola intangible heritage must also include the protection of the agricultural system," a system that lends unity to the way quilombolas live and consequently all manifestations, customs, and assets recorded in the inventory (ANDRADE; TATTO, 2013, p. 30-32, emphasis added).

Posing as a risk to traditional quilombola knowledge is the decline of agriculture, as made evident by the lower variety of products grown, fewer people involved, or the shrinking size of fields. Some of the factors causing this decline include the environmental laws, which ignore the relationship quilombolas have with the environment, the number of young people that leave to find more attractive alternatives, the lack of rural assistance, and the difficulty to sell the surplus production (ANDRADE; TATTO, 2013, p. 30-32; 36).

Of all the strategies used to communicate the quilombola lifestyle – in itself a par excellence cultural asset around which other cultural assets orbit – tourism is one of the most popular. For example, back in the 1990s there were already tourism activities planned for the communities of Ivaporunduva and Mandira, with the backing of several institutions, government and non-government alike. In this process, they had to train environmental inspectors in addition to the initial strategy to incorporate social inclusion and environmental preservation via Preservation Units and a network of relations, products and services.

The Mandira quilombola community, it is worth mentioning, is a beneficiary of an Extractive Reserve consisting of a mangrove forest and part of an estuary-lake complex in Cananeia town. Both the quilombo recognition and the reserve creation occurred in 2002. Self-identifying as quilombolas and *caiçaras,* Mandira residents have been engaged in community tourism since 2004. According to Marília Guerra (2016), the way the space is organized to receive visitors allows us to define the quilombo and the reserve as an ecomuseum or a territorial museum, types of museums where several elements are connected and that do not have a main building proper. Her research also took on the task of identifying the motivations and consequences of the Cultural Inventory of the Ribeira Valley Quilombos, which allows to analyze the impact this document had on a quilombola community.

Thaís Josiane Pereira was the cultural agent Mandira residents chose to make the inventory with the help of ISA. She stated that compiling this document uncovered local history elements that can encourage the younger people to stay and consequently reproduce the community itself. Maria

Rute Mandira and other people who live in the Mandira community approved of the final version, calling it "a book that keeps the stories and memories of Mandira." Pereira also said that at one point as she and the locals flipped through the inventory together, more and more "facts or stories described in the book came out," especially from the older residents, "showing their emotional and historical connection." Moreover, none of the residents whom she spoked to made any mention of assets or customs that had been left out. (GUERRA, 2016, p. 99; 105).

Marília Guerra (2016) wrote that the community opted for developing tourism due to the discomfort caused by visitors who explored local attractions without giving anything back, financially or otherwise. With Mandira being located by a road leading to the rural parts of Cananeia, it was difficult for them to control the access to the quilombola premises. Furthermore, the lack of benefits walked hand in hand with this feeling of being invisible and a low self-esteem after they had lost some land, and the grueling work at the mangrove forest. When asked by Guerra (2016, p. 152) about what Mandira locals wanted visitors to learn and feel when they visited that place, Pereira said that she hoped visitors "took with them a little bit" of Mandira's history, that they appreciated the "environmentally-conscious work" Mandira was trying to do, that they recognize the fact that they were a sustainable community located in the middle of a extractive reserve, and that they could "carry this important work" with them and "get to know the quilombola" past the preconceived ideas many of them have.

In this sense, tourism is understood as a means to communicate social and environmental values as well as to fight racism, since quilombolas trust tourists can convey their message and struggles to the world outside. To gain a better understanding of how tourism in quilombo communities is structured, there are a few topics that must be addressed in more detail.

TOURISM

Tourism is developed using tools and instruments that allow spatial mobility according to the specificities and peculiarities of its various manifestations. In line with the goals and interests of this article, we will reflect upon factors that involve natural, cultural and historical heritage, and how economic development can grow out of tourism – in this case, the African, ethnic variety of cultural tourism is quite appropriate. This type of African-ethnic tourism has been going on for years in some towns and communities even though the Ministry of Tourism only started discussing it officially in 2000. Either way, since the subject is relatively new, only a few handful theoretical references on it exist.

To analyze how traditional communities, quilombola communities in particular, organize themselves and settle in, Santos (2016) looked into the territorial management tools and instruments used for local tourism, considering field surveys in four quilombos located in the Southeast region and one in the Mid-West region, and reviewed the literature as well.

For many years traditional communities, which include quilombolas and indigenous, suffered social stigma caused by isolation, absent public policies (health care, education and mainly social inclusion, appreciation and rescuing their cultural and historical legacy), racial prejudice, and land speculation. For many decades they have been trying to escape, fight and resist those factors. Therefore, it becomes evident where the importance and responsibility of this article are. Alves (2011) stresses that research in tourism should be geared towards finding the meaning of things, since this has an organizing effect for humans. People structure their lives after what "things" represent (happenings, manifestations, facts, events, experiences, ideas, feelings). Researchers define tourism as a phenomenon that occurs when people move about – or simply travel – for recreation to meet new places, view new landscapes, experience new cultures, a different history. This man-space relation started being noticed and recorded more frequently after the Industrial Revolution, though reports on travel this nature date well before Christ. In this sense,

> Tourism can be thought of as a great number of individuals, businesses, organizations and places that somehow make arrangements among themselves to have this travel experience. Tourism is a multifaceted activity that exerts influence on many lives and many different economic activities (COOPER, 2007, p. 40).

As a product of this practice, Community-Based Tourism (CBT) fits well into our reflection. By believing in its objectives and seeing firsthand how the quilombola communities live, it becomes evident that tourism simply cannot be without considering ethnic relations, principles and the methodology of community tourism with the local base. From these considerations, we propose an analysis, from that perspective, of the African ethnic variety.

According to Silva & Martins (2012, p. 63), ethnic tourism is similar to CBT in that tourists want to find out more about how the locals live. On a similar note, Coelho (2013) adds that

> Tourism can in fact help create a conservation-minded consciousness if resources are worth something indirectly, but calling a recently emerged consciousness conservation-minded because it refrains from using local resources so they can serve tourism completely changes the relation residents have with that place (COELHO, 2013, p. 323).

Brazil, being naturally and culturally diverse, provides various opportunities for the practice of tourism. Each region, city and district seizes tourism according to what they have to offer in terms of natural, cultural and historical resources, and that is how tourist attractions are made. The many configurations possible determine the conceptual segmented for each variety has its own characteristics and means for planning and assessing each offering.

On that account, the Ministry of Tourism (2010) established that "Cultural Tourism," in its African ethnic variety, "includes tourism activities related to the experiences of the set of significant elements that make up the historical and cultural heritage and cultural event, valuing and promoting tangible and intangible cultural assets." Therefore, several different segments working in tourism, especially those that include culture, ethnic relations and community actions at the local base, are explored within the quilombo. Cultural-related tourism activities are intimately associated with the cultural identities that represent the ethnic groups that, in the case of quilombo, concern their African roots.

African ethnic tourism, Vantin (2008) writes, was first introduced in the United States with people visiting Black neighborhoods where the itinerary included ethnic and cultural experiences. In Brazil, the itineraries also include elements associated with history, culture, religion and lifestyle. To be able to offer this, it is essential they preserve their culture.

Thinking about tourism offer and environmental and historical preservation, every piece of infrastructure equipment operating on these grounds, whether for the traditional community or for tourism, if organized, turn into drivers of inclusion and economic development. We can consider local tourism a result of the production arrangements the community interprets and compiles.

LOCAL PRODUCTION ARRANGEMENTS

Coriolano (2009) explains that the Local Production Arrangements (LPA) first appeared in the 1970s, in southern Italy, as an alternative to the more traditional forms of production prescribed by classic economics. They ended up rethinking business as an activity to handle the crisis that came after industrial restructuring. Highlighting their local scale, the LPAs arrived to help small time producers and unemployed workers and alleviate the enormous social inequality. From there, they adopted distinct and peculiar characteristics as they spread across the globe, giving rise to unique arrangements that were shaped according to the economic and social relations of each place.

Organizing the arrangements that serve the purposes of tourism planning is something that makes communities busy, enhances new products and allows reaching new horizons. Promoting social inclusion within their own territory is something that drives economic development, contributing especially to being given the chance to stay in their own lands as a consequence of improved quality of life. According to Coriolano (2009), Community Tourism LPAs (CTLPAs)

> Are local production activities derived from natural and historical factors, concentrating on the same land small, family run businesses meant for subsistence, low skilled and that provide tertiary services for the tourism's production chain (CORIOLANO, 2009, p. 04).

Coriolano also argues that CTLPAs are true to their original versions, and that to be viable some elements (capital, size, diversity of actors, tacit knowledge, innovation, cooperation, governance, production organization, political-institutional coordination, marketing strategy) need to be in evidence. The arrangements are related to the everyday life and social organization of quilombolas (and other types of traditional communities) through voluntary or involuntary actions that concern economic and territorial development. To illustrate, what sets Ivaporunduva and Campinho apart from other communities is that these two were able to recognize, organize and put economic arrangements to use so they could have access to resources.

In this case, CTLPAs can be an alternative to achieve social coordination and to improve local tourism. As for Brazil, the sheer number of attractions is exceptional when we think of tourism offer and its product. Traditional communities where these elements persist develop economically in solidary and sustainable ways, contributing to more jobs, adding value to the local chain, elevating the communities. Ethnic tourism arrangements motivate the production of beverages, decor, handicraft, fashion, management, food and culture, all resulting from skilled community coordination leading to new sources of income created by lodging and tourism governance.

Observing the domestic context as far African ethnic tourism and quilombolas are concerned, CTLPAs cover:

- Oral tradition;
- Food;
- Handicraft;

- Storytelling with griots;
- Dancing;
- Music;
- Religiosity;
- Ways of doing things;
- Lodging.

Many are the options for resources that can later turn into a tourism product, a fact that allows creating itineraries or circuits based on ethnicity rooted in community-based tourism. According to Coriolano, "community tourism is where communities, in the form of associations, organize local production arrangements, have full control of their land and economic activities associated with tourism operations" (2009, p. 201). Community tourism is integrated into a number of economic activities and can also serve as a base for other forms of tourism. Below we list the characteristics of community-based tourism and how it lays the groundwork for developing African ethnic tourism.

Silva & Martins state that with CBT "local populations decide and control it, and most of the benefits it creates stay in the region." They also highlight that "[...] it is impossible to neglect factors such as quality of life, distribution of power and income, access to public utilities, culture and technology" (SILVA & MARTINS, *apud* NASCIMENTO & CARVALHO, 2012, p. 63). This possibility of founding local tourism encourages spatial organization, prioritizing actions that call attention to their lifestyle and cultural heritage, emphasizing especially sustainable cultural, social, economic and environmental actions.

CBT can mature by promoting local attractiveness linked to community arrangements, striving to ensure cultural identity, well-being, social mobility and economic organization. It achieves success through the relations between natural, cultural, historical and social elements. To provide a basis for this context, building upon Silva & Martins (2012, p. 64), we have a suggested route for Community-Based Tourism:

a. identifying the cultural, environmental, social, technological, political and economic potential of regions;
b. inciting the desire to perpetuate the heritage and legacy of ancestors, like beliefs, values, knowledge, foods, methods;
c. appreciating practices;
d. increasing income via associated production;

e. creating spaces for people to participate via councils where they can discuss the needs of their communities (i.e. health care, sanitation, education), tourism, infrastructure, services etc.;

f. improving standards of living.

For the community, the things that persist are the arrangements and the guidelines they must follow to define which type of tourism they want. The challenge lies in realizing how the arrangements are contained within community-based tourism, establishing the relationship between the elements of CTLPAs as Coriolano discusses them and the process of organizing CBT as Silva & Martins argue. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that

> Tourism can be approached from different directions, with respect to the interaction between visitor and visitee. The possibility of meeting with people from small towns or communities has been opening up more as a type of tourism that sets itself apart from mass tourism, which is when tourists never even get off their bus and the only contact they have with locals is having a quick glance at a flyer designed by the travel agency (LIMA, 2008, p. 45).

In this regard, we propose comprehending the interactions of local production arrangements that are kept and geared towards improving the community by developing local tourism.

AFRICAN ETHNIC TOURISM

This section will take a look at how land is used in the context of "African ethnic tourism" rooted in CBT, especially the manner which the communities organize themselves by to manage tourism activities from sustainable economic development references.

Land use and sustainable tourism planning require tools that can expand local infrastructure, make good use of attractions, train locals and promote mobility, concentrating their actions on the goals of tourism planning. Quilombos, in turn, should organize to create guidelines that support leaders during the land appropriation process.

Picking CBT and LPAs of ethnic-related tourism was an alternative created as they sought ways to interpret and highlight how the practice is seen and positioned in social relationships, providing a diagnosis to inform the policies and programs of ethnic tourism in quilombos. As mentioned earlier, quilombos have many attractions that are associate with origin, formation and ancestry, based on their environment, culture and history, that can be made into tourism products.

Establishing a relation between tourism and cultural and historical legacy is nothing new, and the different forms of land appropriation to develop this type of tourism in the country are plenty and noticeable. The various forms of expanding and producing attractions are what make local and regional tourism different, increasing the benefits coming out of tourism and the other local arrangements.

The different ways of doing tourism dictate how each offer must be planned and assessed. However, we are not going to explore all of those since this article is dedicated especially to Cultural Tourism and its African-Ethnic manifestation. In this case, tourism is intimately related to the cultural identities representing ethnic groups and for this reason we should point out some aspects regarding the concept of ethnicity. Poutignat & Streiff-Fenart (1997) understand ethnicity as

> A phenomenon universally present in modern times, precisely because it is a product of economic development, capitalist expansion and the formation of nation-states, which above all they define it "as the unit that encases individuals whose identity is defined by their common position inside a production cycle as a fundamental category for social status" (POUTIGNAT; STREIFF-FENART, 1997, p. 27).

These same authors also conceptualize and reinforce ethnic communities as an alternative social organization. In this respect, ethnicity is an alternative form of obtaining class consciousness. All communities have their own identities, acquired through cultural and historical relations and traits. Ethnic identity ensures that both tangible and intangible heritage can be preserved as the community sees itself within this web, driven by the desire to value and preserve their lifestyle.

With respect to quilombos, according to Quilombola Brazil Program (Programa Brasil Quilombola - PBQ),

> Brazil has one of the largest black African populations in the world, as a result of the slave trade era, most of which was brought over, did not return to Africa, and settled in the land to have its own history and social relations. The way by which social groups self-identify is the result of a combination of many factors chosen by the social groups themselves: common ancestrality, political and social organization, religious and linguistic elements (PBQ, 2004, p. 09).

Ethnic identity reinforces the lifestyle of traditional communities. Land and equality are associated with the way they see, feel and make things. In this case, collective memory is prized as a legacy of inestimable symbolic value. Ethnic tourism, in turn, absorbs this assemblage of

practices, traditions, ancestrality and customs (including religions, especially those of African origins passed down from the descendants of slaves) and compiles it into an attraction for its practice and development.

According to the Pedro Calmon Foundation (2009), the first ethnic tourism activities recorded in Brazil took place in Bahia, a state with a large black population that shares a "blooming culture" they inherited from strong African roots. Some wrote that ethnic tourism in Bahia saw a boost during the 1940s and 50s due to the popularity of Jorge Amado and Dorival Caymmi, who were able to create a symbolic imaginary for the local culture that had origins in African culture. Itineraries in Bahia, and other locations, explore this and incorporate black culture as the main product, making these traditions attractions for tourists who want to know more about this legacy.

According to the Ministry of Tourism (2010), Ethnic Tourism consists of activities that involve authentic experiences and close contact with ethnic groups and their way of life. This type of tourism includes communities that represent European and Asian immigrants, indigenous communities, quilombola communities, and other social groups that have preserved their ethnic heritage and hold this as something to live for and by:

> The type of ethnic tourism currently being done at some traditional communities in Brazil, often funded by the government, assumes that locals will have most of the say in how things are handled. Such is the case in Campinho, where the cultural program is worked out in advance and tourists are asked to book the itinerary two days prior. Those people working as tourism agents are the ones that defined the places tourists will visit, and also how long they will stay there. Consequently, these agents can strike a balance between how much time they devote to preparing and doing the cultural program for tourists and how much they devote to activities of the group itself (LIMA, 2008, p. 47).

Analyzing the combining factors that reinforce and/or bring to light ancestry, spatiality, sustainability and the natural environment where tourism is planned allows us to visualize which are the determining factors of Ethnic Tourism, propose borrowing everyday elements from different areas and interest that blend together and complement each other during the territorial management process. It is safe to conclude, therefore, that there is no one, all-encompassing African ethnic tourism model. In reality, what exists are experiences that flow and wander through the communities almost intuitively, propelling and allowing unique experiences.

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PICTURE AHEAD: KODAK AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TOURIST-PHOTOGRAPHER

LÍVIA AQUINO[1]

ABSTRACT

This is a study[2] on amateur photography and how it was constructed historically in the field of tourism, reflecting on how social practices were created and how people's perception of traveling changed. It is based on the notion that photography and tourism operate as an apparatus. In this sense, Kodak was fundamental to popularize photography and consequently to create new ways to produce, consume and comprehend images. By employing marketing and business strategies, devising an education system and putting its large production chain to use, Kodak was able to create values that stressed the importance of recording travels and that this was something even amateurs could achieve. The tourist-photographer then became one of the creators of the image-world.

Keywords: Visual culture; photography; tourism; apparatus; tourist-photographer.

Photography found itself allied with tourism as time and space shifted during modern times, gaining pull in social life via rituals and practices diversified in travel experiences. Photography and tourism went through the 20th century forging operations that encompassed, among other aspects, the invention of places, the occupation of time, the accumulation of clichés, and the scripting of memories. This way, photography was one of the main artifacts for the construction of a tourism imaginary. Found on many aspects of travel-related social life, it developed inside photo studios, through the popularization of postcards, associated with exploration and also with the production of tourists themselves.

To understand amateur photography and how it came to be associated with tourism historically, we introduce below the two main subjects of this study.

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JUXTAPOSING THE IMAGE-WORLD AND TOURIST-PHOTOGRAPHERS

In her *On Photography,* Susan Sontag writes that photography and tourism became allies as early as the second half of the 19th century in the United States, following a process that led to a saturation of images during the late 20th century and consequently the concept of an image-world (SONTAG, 2004, p. 21), a world where the reality perceived by people merges together with photography. Sontag tells us that the very experience of traveling started having as much value as images, in what she calls an "event," something that is worth our attention and, consequently, that is worth being photographed. This way, she considers that in tourism everything exists to be photographed, and the act of taking a photo becomes as important as experiencing things in person.

Photography and tourism are modern experiences that are related to the large number of social transformations that took place in the 19th and 20th centuries, like the distinctive perceptions of time and space that came to be after changes in urban life, new work and leisure routines, mass transit, new technologies, the emergence of a mass consumption culture, and rituals of social affirmation based on the flaunting of money and knowledge.

Critics such as Walter Benjamin (BENJAMIN, 1985), Siegfried Kracauer (KRACAUER, 2009) and, later, David Harvey (HARVEY, 2011) noted in their fields of study that the inconsistency and instability of modernity proved propitious for photography to develop as a means to describe, analyze, catalogue and enable small little fragments of the world to be passed around, and as a result photography grew in importance for the market and for culture. It is partially due to this that photography is directly linked to tourism as an activity that gives travel meaning.

Therefore, tourist-photographers emerged as people that were both tourists and amateur photographers but above all interlaced the two together. They mark their presence as the ones that carry their cameras around ready to record the details of the trip as a way to validate it. To this end, they often refer to manuals, magazines and textbooks to learn how to snap professional grade photos, but also together with their peers, through objects and rituals that rose to become protocols being followed ever since tourists and amateur photography first appeared.

APPARATUS AS OPERATION: KODAK'S PLACE

Photography and tourism are understood here as an apparatus because they are arranged in a way that is similar to a game or program that must be run, driving and modifying functions that are dictated by discourses, rituals and organizations. According to Michel Foucault

(2010), the individual elements of this web condition the apparatus itself while being conditioned themselves by it, creating the struggle that constitutes power.

The hypothesis rests on this notion that photography and tourism operate as an apparatus, the agent of enunciation to a culture related to travel, cementing an inherent relationship between them. Both fields create desires, create values, guide practices, invest time and hold economies because they include in them several heterogeneous processes, being at the same time arranged and disseminated across society. Therefore, this apparatus operates in the construction of a tourist-photographer in relation to the production and consumption of images.

On this same note of an apparatus that spreads knowledge, discourses and rituals, there is a process of massification of photography associated with an industry that in addition to designing easy to use photography products made them accessible to a lay audience in terms of both price and use. It was this way that the Eastman Kodak Company was conceived by George Eastman in 1888 in the United States to later become in the 20th century one of the largest photography companies in the world, constructing ways to produce, consume and comprehend images.

More than inventing photography products, it created a practice and a market for amateur photographers, with portable, easy to use cameras, and a business model based on consumption of film and other disposable items. By designating the camera as a companion for any occasion, Eastman's company contributed to introducing habits that made photography a ritual and an order. Everyone across the globe became a potential photographer.

Within this context, I will take a look at Kodak's marketing strategies as practices of sociability and visualization revolving around photography as a product based on the material found at the George Eastman Museum, in Rochester. The article will illustrate how tourists were constructed, the practices that drove tourists to photography, and what was the role of Kodak in this, their targeting amateur photographers with enunciation strategies set in motion via their publicity, manuals and many actions to educate people on photography. It also will try to answer some questions as to how tourist-photographers became entangled in this context. By devising a plan applied to employees, distributors and customers, Kodak followed a protocol that was almost normative to hit amateur photographers from all sides with its products; it helped create a desire to show where, how and with whom they should spend their vacation with, to be photographed and to be seen photographing the world.

Notable Kodak related subjects are addressed in this time frame, from the time they were founded through the 1980s[3], though it is worth mentioning that these subjects being study are not judged equally throughout since they were constructed inside the apparatus. The tourist-photographer came to be progressively, within a context of traveling that predates tourism as an economic and cultural activity, and grew in strength by observing the world through lenses and the invention of photography, but above all with the emergence of a market geared towards amateurs, with Kodak. Under these conditions, tourist-photographers broke through the boundaries of the enunciates and visibility brought about by Kodak, and began being seen doing several things that still involve tourism and photography, and could conceive even the end of the company on a global scale.

Therefore, it is important to explain what "Picture Ahead" was meant to convey. In 1920, Kodak had its most important advertisers put signs that read "Picture Ahead! Kodak as you go." all over the main and newest roads in the United States. They ended up with approximately 6k of these signs. This continued for 30 years and was the predecessor of the Kodak Picture Spot campaign, which focused on tourist spots and national parks. Starting in the 1950s with the partnership with Walt Disney Company, the sign was put up also on Disney parks and soon became popular with tourists as the signs also pointed to the best spots and angles to take pictures of the attractions. [Figure 01].

Figure 01: Kodak's Picture Ahead! Kodak as you go campaign, 1920.

Source: George Eastman Museum (Rochester, NY): Kodak Advertisement Collection.

3 The 100-year time frame is justified first because this is the period when most of the transformations in the photography market and technological advances occurred and also because it coincides with the end of the mass tourism boom, between the 1950s and 1980s.

The slogan *Picture Ahead*, more than showing an interesting place, signaled just how potent a picture to be found by everyone passing by and carrying a camera could be. It simultaneously created an enunciation as it addressed what photography could offer and as it suggested a condition for driving on these new roads and later for enjoying Disney parks. *Picture Ahead* was essential to understand the tourist-photographer becoming entangled in Kodak's protocol that told how to look, pick and take photos of previously marked sites.

Figure 02: Kodak ads, 1900, 1958, 1960, 1949, 1931, 1958 (left to right).

George Eastman Museum (Rochester, NY): Kodak Advertisement Collection.

The analysis of the material uncovered a strong connection to a practice, a use and a place photography had in tourism, and consequently for the construction the tourist-photographer that was entangled in Kodak's mesh [Figure 02].

Tourist-photographers started to record every single trip to appropriate the experience, posing with their families and marking their new conquests as unique. They found themselves caught in this discourse as they pulled out their many travel pictures and show them around like trophies, and Kodak played an active role in this discourse as it was the

company that created a practice that involved the notion that photos had to be "earned." The symbolic relationship that was built up between photographer and hunter was characterized by the presence of George Eastman, who opened up the opportunity for both to latch onto each other due to his general interest in hunting and being a hunter, but also because he directed many ads related to the topic during the early years before the company had a specific department.

The way the company's marketing brought these two practices together was threefold: first, it adopted a common vocabulary; second, it painted the two as adventurous types that carried their guns, cameras and bags around; and third, through the very idea that they could show their friends trophies and souvenirs

This is not, therefore, about tracking down when this association begin, but rather about underlining the factors that allow us to find out what was Kodak's role in this guns and cameras play; it is about distinguishing between places, types of knowledge and gestures that fit the analogy being established, like layers that overlapped each other to hide away or turn up the meanings of this entangling.

Juxtaposing these two subjects, hunter and photographer, took that which Sontag (SONTAG, 2004, p. 25) suggests is a process of domesticating aggressions: they hunt after animals no longer, but photographs. This symbolic replacing a gun with a camera entails the knowledge and power conditions of the apparatus. Tourists can be seen as a type of predator whose goal is to consume sites, experiences and sights, in a "permanent cult" (AGAMBEN, 2007, p. 72) of sorts where photos are ever present partners. Therefore, the global reach of Kodak contributed to disseminating this particular manifestation of photography, instilling this kind of logic in amateur photographers.

As for the trophies, the most sough-after are the rarer ones in both photography and tourism. Therefore, people often buy into a trip that is sold as unique, for whatever reasons, like hard-to-reach places, economic situation, remote sites, or cultural barriers. Armed with photography, however, and through the apparatus, this rare experience can be shared with anyone that wishes it for him or herself – anything tourism touches through images can be consumed anywhere, regardless of them being labelled uncommon, expensive or singular. Tourist-photographers are born into these conditions as a kind of hunter, taking little by little the symbolic place of predator, a devourer of landscapes or a consumer of nature, as wrote historian Marc Boyer (BOYER, 2003, p. 55).

This was a consequence made possible due to tourism growing into a massive industry that was able to turn any space, activity or story into

a place people are compelled to visit, to desire to visit and to taking it for themselves through photographs published in illustrated magazines, guides and advertisements. It is this way that tourist-photographers can say "been there, done that" – by following a script that they themselves write to help reinforce the ritual surrounding a trip. Therefore, photography takes the form of an organizer for their social lives, convincing them that it is indispensable to the trip.

Tourist-photographers them find themselves trapped in this search for that which is unique and original in their travels. To Kracauer, the scope of a trip might be the search for an exotic place. But when it comes to modernity, however, this can mean anything "to the extent it seems uncommon compared to another" (KRACAUER, 2009, p. 82). Thus, they consume and photograph their experiences in the most different places, seeking to showcase a monument, a museum, a beach, a restaurant and any person that happens to catch their attention. They will line up behind a guide, waiting for their turn to take a picture of the *Monalisa* – unfazed by the fact that it is one of the most common images reproduced on souvenirs – and for other tourists to move away to make it look like they are the only ones there. More than that, they seem to be taken over by some sort of "mimetic contagion" (ROBINSON; PICARD, 2009, p. 16) when they notice someone else is taking pictures. Photographing becomes an automatic gesture rooted in protocols created and established over the years as part of the modern experience.

This type of staged photography so commonly seen in tourism with the participation of Kodak is the result, on the other hand, of an idea of memory the person making a trip has. With all social transformations that took place in modern times, several practices changed due to the rupturing and fragmenting of time and space, making way to a "ideological work of inventing tradition" (HARVEY, 2011, p. 247). Photography becomes an operation in this context due to rituals – thinking of the ritual as a process that improves the efficiency of discourse, institutes actions, gestures and conditions that allow the apparatus to happen. From those first ads, Kodak recognized the appeal to memory especially considering the potential for stories that can be told. How was your vacation, how was your holiday, how was your summer: everything can be used and is a reason to remember.

In this sense, the enunciations of Kodak's actions work as a ritual due to their repetitive and stylized nature, being recapped regularly throughout the 20th century. As much as the products go through changes due to technological advances or even create some new habits around them, overall what was had was an argument about photography that stood and was perpetuated over this entire time, ensuring it gained an efficient mnemonic effect.

It was by making use of this ritualistic characteristic that Kodak's discourse became so effective, establishing repetitive and regular practices and gestures that eventually created the conditions for the apparatus to take place. For this, photography grew in importance in modern life via albums and projectors shared socially at clubs and family meetings.

As amateurs produced and shared photography as an aesthetic and emotional experience, the apparatus gained power, permanency and ground. Following Kodak's strategy of ease of use and access, albums became an object that the family could build on, prompting a "scripting" of home experience. Memories started being cultivated like the habit of traveling itself, in a constant process of internalizing a custom that progressively became central.

Over the course of its history, Kodak produced a variety of fixed and moving image products geared towards amateur photographers. While at times ads and manuals did have other specific targets, this practice that involves recording life and travel is indistinguishable for a photographer that carries with him both formats. They would do anything to be able to create a keepsake, this undeniable desire they have to take hold of the experience of constructing the image-world. As it follows, the rituals they would have to go through to show off the material they produced would include two acts which though separate were indistinct in their purpose of creating a memory. In this sense, the idea of seeing lived experiences through images became appealing with the ads that express the illusion of how much life images carry, leading to increasingly commercial memories (HUYSSEN, 2000, p. 18) which are then consumed as if part of a script.

This way, Kodak enunciated a type of photography that was capable of stopping time itself, and more importantly of preserving our imperfect, forgetful memories. Though a photo, an image, we are able relive an experience. This discourse was effective the context of the "cultural memory" conceived by Andreas Huyssen (HUYSSEN, 2000, p. 30), or the logic behind the "myth of durability" of Fausto Colombo (COLOMBO, 1991, p. 100), a series of political and cultural practices meant to give memories the power to mend fragmented lives.

The discourse Kodak adopted points to the apparatus that articulates tourism and photography while suggesting how essential the tourist-photographer is for this work of constructing the image-world. Playing with several different strategies, Kodak helped create this notion that photos are almost mandatory: "no matter where you go, take a camera with you" – a commonplace argument in its marketing, literature, and how it always made itself present whenever something happened, as exemplified in its participation in universal expositions. Therefore, both the Picture Ahead

campaign and the Kodak Girl, the female character wearing a stripped outfit that starred many ads, suggest since the beginning that traveling out without taking a camera can be a wasted experience. Soon after, photography also started to give it a structure while simultaneously becoming a means to accumulate it (URRY, 2001, p. 186).

Feeling like a tourist somewhere is one of the practices Kodak helped give birth. Traveling by car, train, airplane or ship then became a symbol of status, and publicity invested massively in campaigns that created a demand and spurred a desire to consume. Tourists were often depicted in the ads for these many different products holding a camera at the ready to snap pictures of the world unveiled in front of them.

At the same time the travel industry grew with the new means of transportation, people also began spending more to record their travels, with photo cameras becoming especially relevant. Tourist-photographers were made to look at the world as something that presented countless opportunities to take more pictures – traveling and taking photos became synonyms.

Figure 03: Kodak ads, 1919* and 2000**.

* George Eastman Museum (Rochester, NY): Kodak Advertisement Collection.

**Kodak Company.

This way, the world shrunk like David Harvey argues. However, Kodak was not a new mode of transportation that could take people anywhere fast, but for the images to circulate partly due to how easily the

system can create and disseminate. If this first ad from the beginning of the 20th century shows a film strip around the globe, projecting scenes of different places outward and promising that photography can show them to the other half of the world, by the end of the 20th century the planet itself is inflated using the camera lens [Figure 03]. With Kodak photography conquered the world.

Therefore, the logic behind the expression Picture Ahead, that there is always a photograph waiting to be taken, causes an image consuming effect. Chasing after this photo is a frantic search in that it transforms the world into a series of event, a myriad of opportunities, a promise that the world will survive in images. However, it fails to consider how fused together the image-world and the tourist-photographer are in a phantasmagoria or layers that condense protocols, rituals and learning about what it means to travel and take photos. The elements that compose the tourism-photography relation as an apparatus are crucial to understand the subjectivation modes that produce and entangle the tourist-photographer that sees photography as an indispensable part of the moving world, that is the image-world itself.

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