

Social acceleration as a new frontier for the ethics of tourism

La aceleración social como nueva frontera para la ética del turismo

JOSÉ L. LÓPEZ-GONZÁLEZ¹ (Universitat Jaume I) and DAVID A. FENNELL (Brock University)

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The ethics of tourism has become increasingly relevant in the debates on the loss of legitimacy in tourism. And from the assessments of how tourism «*should be*» that seem to underlie many of these debates (Caton, 2012), its gradual systematization as a discipline has finally revealed two aspects: first, the need to extend the analysis of the impacts of tourism to its underlying causes, in order to provide diagnoses from which to reconstruct the horizons of legitimation of tourism; and second, to overcome the traditional and static conceptions of tourism, because unlike many activities, it is extraordinarily heterogeneous, elusive and difficult to control (Fennell, 2018).

In this context, one of the challenges facing the ethics of tourism is how to account for the recurring references —among many others— to speed, continuous change or growth that form part not only of our daily language, but also of tourism studies. For example, one of the most worrying issues is the ecological impact associated with tourism over the last decades (Fennell, 1999). Although the current global pandemic has momentarily suspended tourism activity, the environmental implications associated with the growth dynamics of tourism are an unavoidable question for its future (Gössling, Scott & Hall, 2020). These implications even raise the question of whether we should develop an ecological ethos that adopts a self-limiting approach (Conill-Sancho,

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2019). Other issues such as the jobs created by tourism and their consequences for individual's life projects (L pez-Gonz lez & Medina-Vicent, 2020) or the use of neurotechnologies in tourism —known as neurotourism— to increase productivity in the sector by minimizing interaction time with potential tourists (L pez-Gonz lez, 2019), are just two examples of the many works to come out of the wide range of tourism studies disciplines that reveal the difficulties of avoiding a whole variety of concepts that, in one way or another, also end up referring to the «runaway nature» of tourism (Tribe, 2009).

To address these references, some scholars have proposed an ethical perspective under the fast-slow framework (Fullagar, Markwell & Wilson, 2012; Clancy, 2018). However, can all this be reduced to a dichotomous understanding? Is there a common thread running through this amalgam of references? The magnitude and scope of tourism prevent any easy answer to these questions. Yet it is the task of applied ethics to include the voices of those affected and of the disciplines that can account for social activities (Cortina, 2008). And to do so, it must be able to include new vocabularies to understand what ethical dimension underlies the expectations placed on each of them (Garc a-Marz , 2008).

Following this line, this special issue proposes using the analytical perspective of acceleration (Harvey, 1989; Rosa, 2005) as a starting point to connect tourism criticism and ethics. The following texts reflect different ways of understanding this link.

The work of Tazim Jamal and Jaume Guia focuses on one of the challenges caused by social acceleration: the global coordination and regulation of tourism. By itself, this activity is extremely complex and difficult to define. But the rise in physical and virtual mobility has highlighted the difficulties of developing global tourism in a fair and sustainable way. In this context, the challenges of tourism cannot only be delegated to supranational organizations. As well as the practical limitations, its orientation toward the defense of generalizable interests is in question (L pez-Gonz lez, 2018a; Fennell, 2019). The authors propose establishing the potential for alternatives beyond supranational organizations. By radicalizing Kant's cosmopolitanism through Gilles Deleuze, they argue that if we want to come closer to a horizon of radical transformation towards justice in and through tourism, the path cannot be based only on a transcendental ground of morality. Tourism pedagogy and practice are presented as two fields that can help to transform tourism. And to do this, the immanent and situated nature of ethics must be harnessed and enhanced.

The second contribution in this monograph draws on the right to visit proposed by Kant in *Perpetual Peace* to explore the right to tourism. Alejandro Mantecón and Raquel Huete propose a framework of understanding to problematize the ideological premises that attempt to raise this right to the «status of moral law». Motivated by the growing scrutiny of the right to tourism, especially due to its promotion by organizations such as the UNWTO (Gascón, 2019), the authors study the organizational discourses that play a key role in tourism and establish an analytical framework comprising three ideological blocks —liberal, social democratic and eco-socialist— that offers the possibility to systematize the arguments which legitimize or question the consideration of tourism as a right.

The next two contributions address the consequences of tourism promotion, the difficulties of regulating it, and the ethical dimension underlying criticism of it by examining two different areas: city tourism and community tourism.

Antón Álvarez-Sousa analyzes the processes that are delegitimizing tourism, recently referred to as «overtourism» (Milano, Cheer & Novelli, 2019), in the city of Barcelona. He combines qualitative and quantitative methodologies, drawing on the voices of those affected and analysis of the press, to reveal the wide range of problems that appear when an activity as heterogeneous as tourism takes place in the same space where citizens carry out their daily activities of work, leisure and rest. Some of these problems include the contrast between the defense of local businesses and the rejection of the big business allied with financial and public power, evidencing the need to forge institutional trust; or socio-economic and cultural concern over the way the identity of local neighborhoods is affected. As well as the complexity of the tourism question, with its diverse and competing actors, the article highlights the citizens' expectations underlying such varied diagnoses: responsible development of tourism and active participation by public institutions.

The lack of legitimacy of tourism is not new, however, and has prompted myriad forms of alternative tourism aimed to overcome the contradictions of its continual growth and development (Lovelock & Lovelock, 2013). Community tourism is one of the initiatives that purportedly represent a less problematic form of development. However, in their article, Marcos Alonso and Elizabeth de la Cruz show that it does not escape the productivist logic and the problems caused by tourism, as all kinds of interaction do. The authors scrutinize community tourism from the specific and scarcely explored perspective of indigenous ethics. Through this lens, they show how the virtues

of community tourism are in effect based on the participation of small companies or the self-employed, and the valorization of culture. But beyond the institutional discourses designed to put it to practice, the existing difficulties in reconciling economic, cultural and community aspirations become patently clear. This is especially true when initiatives do not come from the communities themselves, eventual benefits are scarce, the communities' reliance on external sources for their livelihoods increases their dependency, and cultural representations are adapted to commercial criteria, even perpetuating a kind of «staged authenticity» by those who live in destinations to make them attractive (MacCannell, 1992). Without having to appeal to a kind of essentialism in relation to the community, the authors stress the need to understand that tourism has the potential to undermine the foundations of and alter the dynamism in which a condition of possibility for life is formed: the community.

While the previous four chapters focus mainly on the institutional and social levels of tourism, the last two explore the implications of acceleration in the field of experience.

Almudena Manibardo, Antonio Fern ndez and Gaia Peruzzi develop a critical analysis of tourism as part of the cultural industry. In the contrast between the current hyper-connected tourist and the romantic notions of the traveler embedded in tourist imaginary, there is a space for reflection that, naturally, underlies normative assessment. Criticism of tourism cannot be separated from the impact of digital technology in our lives. The appropriation and objectification of travel experiences in the form of images is now commonplace. Similarly, holiday narratives no longer wait until the tourist comes back home, but are immediately circulated, thus generating expectations that also shape tourism. It is beyond any doubt that the smartphone has radically changed travel experiences. The anthropological assumption that the encounter with the other constitutes a condition for cognitive openness is jeopardized by the speed of relationships and digital technologies. At first sight, this openness has no boundaries. Once uploaded, personal events and experiences are in the universal domain. But at the same time curiosity for the unknown has given way to the control and predictability of guidance through algorithms. In this context, the authors consider one possible framework for tourism criticism may be the recovery of the sensory experience of travel as a form of recognition of otherness.

Finally, Alicia de Mingo's contribution takes a humanistic and ethical analytical view of tourism, far removed from its market-technical dimension.

Mass tourism is undoubtedly one expression of contemporary acceleration. However, the author also claims we need to understand it from the point of view of the demand for symbolic slowdown that underlies tourism activity. Beyond the authenticity paradigm, although from the framework of the traditional understanding of tourism studies based on the binary of the ordinary/extraordinary life (McCabe, 2002), aspects such as the possibility of personal restoration, the search for the real or the past, for the encounter with the other or for difference, constitute experiential dimensions designed to compensate for the acceleration and lack of «exoticism» of everyday life that is key to understanding the meaning of tourism.

To sum up, this moment in which the use of the planet by and for tourism seems to have ground to a halt offers a golden opportunity to renegotiate future realities (Fennell, 2020). The weaknesses of global mechanisms for regulating and coordinating tourism, the impacts of which are felt from cities to areas relatively untouched by tourism, and the disruption of new technologies that affect both global coordination and the tourist experience will probably be subject to the acceleration processes and the deceleration demands that characterize tourism.

However, current expectations indicate that the just development of tourism is desirable. Naturally, the task of tourism actors is to work in this direction, but as part of society, the discipline of tourism ethics must also play its part. To this end at least two related paths are available to us: first, to continue improving our understanding of the existing dynamics, debate which frameworks can substantiate this criticism, and reflect on the possible ethical bases to guide it (López-González, 2018b); and second, to build bridges between tourism theory and practice in what is by its very nature an applied field (Fennell, 2021).

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