TOURISM PLANNING & POLICY

Strategies for Destination Development and Management

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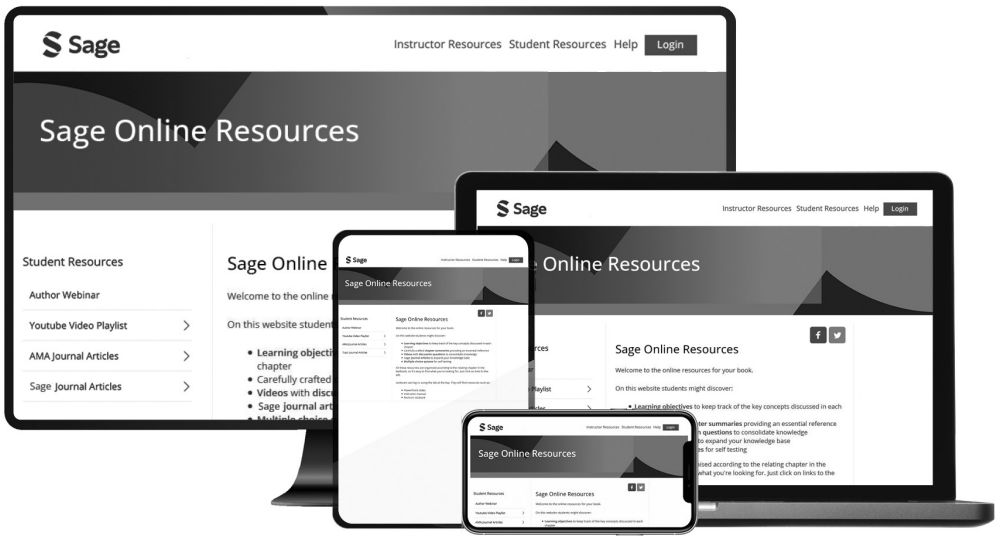

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- A **Teaching Guide** provides suggestions for teaching and assessment, resources for teaching a decolonised curriculum, links to videos and further reading, and case study teaching notes.
- **PowerPoint decks** feature key points, figures and tables from the book, and can be downloaded and customised for use in your own presentations.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Lynn Minnaert is the Dean of the School of Hospitality at the Metropolitan State University of Denver. This is her second textbook: together with Clare Inkson, she authored *Tourism Management: An Introduction*, now in its third edition. Her research interests include social tourism, family tourism, the social impacts of the Olympics and social legacy initiatives in the meetings industry. Prior to joining MSU Denver, she held teaching and leadership positions at Edinburgh Napier University, New York University, the University of Surrey and the University of Westminster.

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POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON TOURISM PLANNING

Image 3.1 Protesters at a rally

Photo by StockSnap: https://pixabay.com/photos/people-woman-rally-protest-unite-2575608/

LEARNING OUTCOMES

After reading this chapter you will understand:

- The role of ideologies in how policy decisions are made
- How different ideologies approach needs, wants and rights

- The characteristics of different ideologies including conservatism, democratic socialism, (neo)liberalism, Marxism and third-way politics
- How political ideologies may affect how policy makers approach tourism
- The role of (tourism) policy in a world dominated by the capitalist economic model

INTRODUCTION

We cannot study tourism planning and policy without considering the political context in which these activities take place. Policy decisions are driven by politicians: elected officials associated with political parties that represent groups of like-minded people with certain values, priorities and ways of looking at the world. Political parties can have very different attitudes towards tourism, and that impacts how tourism is managed when they are in power. This also means that when there are big changes in government after elections, new tourism policies may be introduced that are at odds with those that were in place before.

In this chapter, we will discuss the role of ideology in policy making. We will examine how different ideologies perceive the role of the state in society, and what their relationship is to the world's current dominant economic model, capitalism. We will review the characteristics of a range of political ideologies and will explore how these ideologies tend to view tourism policy making.

WHAT ARE IDEOLOGIES AND HOW DO THEY AFFECT POLICY?

Freeden (1996) starts his book on political ideologies by highlighting that the concept is particularly hard to define, and that political theorists, historians, philosophers, linguists, cultural anthropologists, sociologists, and psychologists have all grappled with it. He suggests that ideologies allow us to study and understand units of political thinking: in other words, notions that shape political arguments and direct policies. Ideologies are thus presented as organised, articulated, and consciously held systems of political ideas held by a significant number of people, incorporating beliefs, attitudes, and opinions. This is in line with Seliger (1976), who defines ideologies as action-oriented 'sets' of beliefs: he emphasises that these beliefs are to some extent coherent, and that they concern moral questions (questions about what is right and good) as well as technical considerations (with this term, he refers to questions about what actions are seen to be prudent and efficient).

Veal (2017) states that ideologies consist of sets of political ideas about how society should be run. These ideas are often influenced by people's values, as well as their self-interest. People with similar levels of wealth and social status, for example, may also show ideological similarities as their self-interest is likely to be served by the same types of political actions: social class and ideology can be connected, although that is not always the case. Ideologies are often discussed in relationship to each other, as the values that are passionately held by one ideology are often equally passionately rejected by another, which can have a polarising effect on societies.

While ideologies are presented as internally coherent sets of ideas, it is important to highlight that in practice, there may be tensions and contradictions within them, at both the individual and the collective level. It is not uncommon for people to adhere mostly to one particular ideology, but agree with another one on certain issues. People may vote for a political party even if they do not agree with everything the party stands for or with all political actions it is proposing. Politicians may act or vote against their party's ideological position if they fear their local constituents disagree with policy proposals and they may not get re-elected. Many challenges and issues in contemporary society are complex and global, and ideologies are often imperfect vehicles for nuanced decision-making. While some have argued that political ideologies have reduced relevance in society today (Thompson, 1984), Veal (2017) argues that they are still helpful in understanding some of the current developments in politics. In addition, in today's increasingly polarised societies, many policies still show signs of being strongly driven by ideology, especially where hotly contested societal issues are concerned.

Most modern ideologies are institutionalised via a political party: parties compete to provide plans for public policy based on ideologies. Yet, this does not mean that political parties always adhere religiously to the tenets of the ideology they are associated with. Freeden (2004: 79) argues that 'the function of parties in relation to ideologies is to present them in an immediately consumable form and to disseminate them with optimal efficiency'. For politicians to be elected, they know that they have to adapt their stance on certain issues to the wishes of the electorate, even if that means going against their ideological roots.

A helpful way to conceptualise how policy decisions are made is to look at the role of governments and their responsibilities with regards to their constituency's needs, wants and rights. We'll explore this in the next section.

THE QUESTION OF NEEDS, WANTS AND RIGHTS

When considering the role of governments and politics in our lives, especially where tourism is concerned, it is tempting to think of the desired outcomes of policies: for example, governments may stimulate tourism to strengthen the economy of a region, or they may regulate tourism because of its negative impacts on the destination's environment. But on a philosophical level, Veal (2017) argues that governments' role in society is to safeguard their constituents' needs and protect their rights. What is seen as a need and right can be influenced by ideology: political ideologies may have different interpretations on what are needs versus wants, and ideologies may drive decisions when the needs of one group in society conflict with the needs of another. To explain this in more detail, we will first consider the meaning of the terms needs, wants and rights.

Needs

The American Psychological Association (2018) defines a need as a condition that is the result of a person being deprived of something (a substance, state, or other thing) that is

required for their survival, well-being, or personal fulfilment. In other words, when we experience a need, it signifies that what we urge for is essential and vital to us in life. A well-known classification of human needs is Maslow's (1954) Hierarchy of Needs. Maslow identified five types of human needs that he ranked into a hierarchy as depicted in Figure 3.1 below.

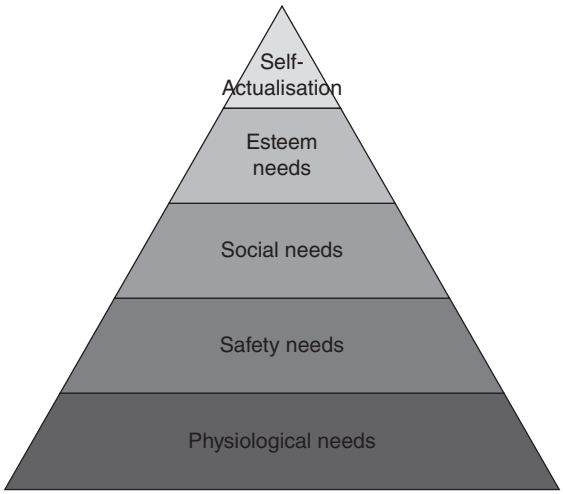

Figure 3.1 Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (after Maslow, 1954)

On the first level, we find **physiological** needs. These are the most basic needs that must be met for a human being to survive and function. Examples are food and drink, sleep and shelter. If these needs are not met, then human beings start to focus fully on satisfying them, and all other needs disappear into the background.

On the second level, we find **safety** needs. Examples of these are security, stability, freedom from fear and chaos, and the need for law and order. Self-protection is a very basic human need, and Maslow argues it will dominate all others if threatened. In extreme situations, such as wars, the need to keep safe will dominate all others. In non-extreme situations, this can refer to job security or the need for insurance or emergency savings.

On the third level, there are **social** needs, also called **belonging and love** needs, which refer to giving and receiving affection. This can involve a partner, family members, or friends. When these needs are not satisfied, people feel lonely, rejected and ostracised. Their behaviour may then become focused on forging relations via joining clubs, networks, or indeed, going on a group vacation.

The fourth level is occupied by **esteem** needs: these refer to the need humans feel to have a stable and high evaluation of themselves. This high evaluation is reached through self-respect or through the respect of others. We achieve this via our achievements and competences, or by accruing fame, glory, prestige and appreciation.

The highest level of needs is **self-actualisation** needs. This level refers to the need humans feel to develop themselves, and to do something they are particularly talented in.

Artists feel a deep need to be engaged in their art; athletes find themselves in their sport. The form these needs take will vary greatly from person to person: self-actualisation principally refers to whatever it is that makes people feel they are realising their potential and developing their full capabilities: 'However, the common feature of the needs of self-actualisation is that their emergence usually rests upon some prior satisfaction of the physiological, safety, love and esteem needs' (Maslow, 1954: 92). In other words, before people can develop themselves fully, all other needs will usually need to be met first – it is hard to focus on self-realisation when one feels hungry, unsafe, lonely or unappreciated. An individual is therefore motivated to satisfy needs from the bottom level upwards, and progress cannot be made from one level to another unless the lower levels are satisfied. (This last aspect of Maslow's theory is not universally accepted: several commentators have argued that a hierarchical representation does not reflect the complexity of human needs accurately).

For some people, participating in tourism can be seen as a way to meet a number of needs. Although it is not a basic need, such as food, shelter or safety, it can potentially fulfil social, esteem and self-actualisation needs. Travelling with family or friends can strengthen personal relationships. Tourists may also forge new relationships on holiday, thus fulfilling social needs. Some holiday types or destinations are prestigious and exclusive – this could gain tourists the respect of others and fulfil their esteem needs. Finally, tourism can be a deep, meaningful experience that makes tourists feel they are achieving their potential – in this case self-actualisation needs are addressed. However, the role of tourism in fulfilling needs is not universal: there are also people who have little to no interest in travel, and for whom social, esteem and self-actualisation needs are met by different means. This group of people would be likely to see participation in travel as a 'want' rather than a 'need': we will explore wants in the following paragraph.

Wants

If needs signify that something is essential for our survival, well-being and personal fulfillment, then wants signify desires that are less vital. Maslow (1954: 57) argues that 'thwarting of unimportant desires, produces no psychopathological results; thwarting of basically important needs, does produce such results.'

In economics, wants are linked to the concept of scarcity: human wants are virtually unlimited, whereas the resources available to meet those wants are limited. At any point, the world can only produce a finite amount of goods and services because the world has a limited amount of resources (such as capital, labour and materials). Scarcity is the excess of human wants over what can actually be produced. Because of scarcity, various choices have to be made between alternatives (Sloman et al., 2017).

Most of us with finite resources need to make choices in which wants we choose to fulfil, and we are likely to fulfil those wants after we have met our needs. Needs supersede wants, and needs also tend to remain relatively stable, whereas wants are likely to change (according to trends, fashions, our income and life circumstances etc.). Humans will always need food and shelter, but their wants depend on their personal interests and the environment they live in: we may want

different things when we are younger versus when we are older, and there may be things that we desire deeply at one time but we barely remember owning or doing a few years later.

Rights

If needs supersede wants, where does that leave rights? Stewart (1989: 350) states that making basic needs into rights increases the moral weight of and political commitment to their fulfilment. This means that rights are needs that are deemed sufficiently important and universal to be protected by law as an entitlement. Wenar (2020) explains that 'rights are entitlements (not) to perform certain actions, or (not) to be in certain states; or entitlements that others (not) perform certain actions or (not) be in certain states'.

That last definition shows the complex nature of rights. A right can imply the entitlement to not be interfered with: for example, in Scotland, the Land Reform Act 2003 gives people the 'right to roam', which means they are allowed to hike and camp on most unenclosed land (VisitScotland, 2023b). Yet, a right can also give people entitlements to be provided with a certain service: for example, people who are unemployed can usually claim financial support provided by the state. It is important to note here that what is considered a right is value-driven, and that upholding the rights of some may imply the denial of those of others. Examples of rights that are currently hotly debated are abortion rights, the right to bear arms in the USA, and the right to free speech: in each case there is one group of people who strongly feels that the other is infringing on their rights by either doing or not doing something. In the case of the right to bear arms, for example, both those in favour of stricter gun controls and those in favour of gun rights may feel they are defending a right to safety, but each group sees the other as a threat to that right.

Statements of rights are therefore statements of belief or commitment, and that means that they are political and moral in nature (Veal, 2017). Some are seen as so generally accepted that they are presented as universal entitlements: these are referred to as Human Rights, the rights which all human beings are deemed to be entitled to on the basis of their humanity alone (Donnelly, 1989: 12).

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the United Nations (UN) in 1948, after the atrocities of World War II had come to light. In the preamble to the document, the UN states that the 'recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world' (UN, 2023a). The Declaration starts by saying that all humans are born free and equal, and outlines rights and freedoms including the right to freedom of expression, the right to education, the right to seek asylum from persecution, the right to freedom of religion and the right to be considered innocent until proven guilty. Two articles have specific relevance for tourism, recreation, and culture:

> **Article 24:** Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.
>
> **Article 27:** Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

It is important to understand that declarations of this type signify intent and commitment on behalf of the signatories, but they are not legally binding. The United Nations does not hold power over states, and when these Human Rights are violated (as unfortunately happens not irregularly), the UN is unable to apply legal sanctions or penalties. We will discuss this in more detail in Chapter 7 on International Tourism Planning.

Now that we have discussed needs, wants and rights, and the role of values in these concepts, we will turn our attention to political ideologies: sets of beliefs that defend and represent certain value systems.

POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES

In the following sections, we will review a number of ideologies that can be classified as left wing or right wing. We will start by exploring these two terms, and will then discuss ideologies on both the left and the right, while considering their general attitudes towards tourism.

Left Wing vs. Right Wing Ideologies

Left wing and right wing ideologies differ profoundly on a number of issues. Two that stand out in particular, are the issues of inequality in society and their support of capitalism as an economic system.

According to right wing ideologies, inequality is part of the natural order, and is therefore not morally wrong. In other words, there will always be those in society who rise to the top (due to their talent, hard work, determination, social networks and other factors), and greater wealth is the fitting reward system that maintains the social order. Right wing ideologies defend elitism on the basis of meritocratic principles and a striving towards excellence (Veal, 2017). Left wing ideologies, in contrast, focus on equality and solidarity: a central principle is the belief that the state should act as a responsible redistributor of wealth across society. Left wing ideologies regard the reduction of inequality as a moral imperative and highlight that traditional views of meritocracy fail into account the privileges some are born into: for example, those born into wealthy and well-connected families may find it easier to achieve excellence, even though their talents are perhaps no greater than those of a person born in a less affluent family. Therefore, they see it as a central role of the government to level the playing field and create equal opportunities.

A second difference between left and right wing ideologies is their attitude towards capitalism: while right wing ideologies are supportive of capitalism as an economic system, left wing ideologies are more critical of it, or even reject it outright. We will discuss capitalism in more detail further in this chapter, but will introduce it here. Fulcher (2004) states that an essential feature of capitalism is that it is driven by the opportunity to make a profit out of capital: money that is invested in order to make more money. Those who have access to capital (for example business owners or corporations) have the opportunity to make more money, and those who do not make their living by selling their labour for a wage or salary.

The system is presented as dynamic: it allows for potential social mobility, as labourers may become business owners one day, or can increase their income by obtaining ever more specialised skills that warrant a higher wage. Right wing ideologies laud this dynamic nature of capitalism, whereas left wing ideologies tend to emphasise that workers who do not have access to capital and the 'means of production' are at risk of being exploited.

Because left wing ideologies place high value on equality and do not believe capitalism leads to an equitable society, most (excluding the extreme left ideology of Collective Anarchism) believe the state should have extensive responsibilities in the daily lives of its citizens and support them 'from the cradle to the grave' as a welfare state. Right wing ideologies do not support this type of 'big government' and argue that government interference limits the personal liberties of citizens. Hence, they tend to advocate in favour of 'small government', where the public sector restricts its activities to those that cannot be performed reasonably by corporations, charities or individuals. We will discuss this in more detail later in this chapter.

The figure below shows seven ideologies on the left and right side of the political spectrum. Freeden (2003) describes these as the macro-ideologies: the prevailing ideologies that throughout much of the 20th century provided overarching, inclusive networks of ideas that claimed to offer solutions to all the political problems facing society. In the section that follows, we will explore them each in turn, and discuss how they typically approach tourism.

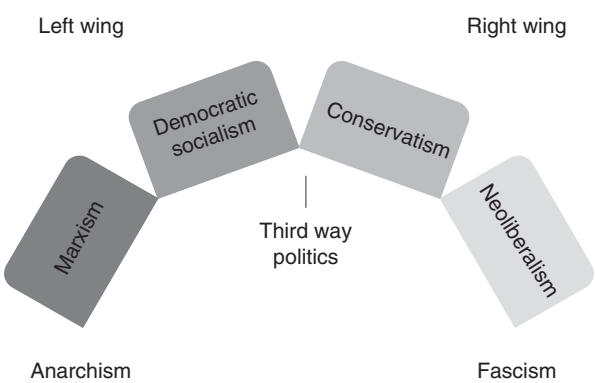

Figure 3.2 Political ideologies

Centre Right: Conservatism

As the name suggests, conservatism's central idea is to conserve what exists, and preserving the existing social order. The roots of conservatism can be traced back to the industrial revolution, a time when ideologies emerged that called for social change (more on those will follow). Conservatism historically protected the interests of the landed classes: wealthy families who usually had considerable rural interests. Today, it places a strong emphasis on traditional values, which are often based on the values of the majority religion (Veal, 2017).

Conservatives defend traditions and maintain established customs and institutions (for example, the monarchy): these are familiar and reassuring, and can help give people a sense of belonging and identity. Society is seen as a connected network where each actor has a role to play and duty to perform: this includes families, churches, businesses and government. The family is presented as the most basic institution of society and in many ways a model for other institutions: families provide safety and security and teach values like duty and respect. Religion is also seen as a type of 'social cement' that provides society with shared moral beliefs. These beliefs deserve to be fiercely protected, not only by the church but also via the law: conservatives tend to take a tough stance on crime and punishment, and tend to be supportive of laws that protect society from perceived immorality (Heywood, 1998).

Conservatism stresses the importance of authority: they perceive society to be inherently hierarchical, and that the state is there to provide guidance and discipline. As a right wing ideology, conservatism does not strive for social equality: it sees inequality as the natural order of things, as there have always been leaders and followers, those who are well-off and those who are not (Heywood, 1998). Conservatives tend to strive to maintain that status quo and believe that society can only function in a proper and civilised way if the majority accepts and follows traditional economic, legal, moral, political, and religious conventions (Kekes, 2023). While conservatives acknowledge that there will always be those challenging the status quo, they tend to see themselves as providing stability: change may be inevitable at times but should only be embarked on if necessary. Kekes (2023) argues that conservatives represent the 'centre that needs to hold' to stave off chaos and disorder: he presents the conservative ideology as a safe haven and a secure basis for the political system.

Property (in the form of savings or real estate) is another important focus for conservatives. Property ownership is seen as something that ties the individual to a society: those who own property will want to safeguard it from lawlessness, and are likely to respect the property of others. In this way, property ownership becomes almost a personal quality: people's possessions reflect on their character (Heywood, 1998). Conservatism is therefore strongly opposed to the push for the collective ownership of resources in Marxism (more on that later in this chapter).

Conservatism is usually presented as an ideology that opposes radical change: its views are often skeptical about grand schemes to improve the fate of humanity. However, Eccleshall et al. (1994) highlight that this position needs to be nuanced, as Conservative governments have at times advocated for change, and they will not maintain the status quo if it is harmful to the institutions and values they wish to protect. The authors sum up the Conservative position as follows: 'If other ideologies are concerned with what should be done, Conservatism is about the hazards of doing anything too different from what has already been done (Eccleshall et al., 1994: 63).

Far Right: (Neo)Liberalism

The central idea of Liberalism and Neoliberalism is the freedom of the individual. Historically, the ideology is a reaction against feudalism: a political system that centers around the interests of the land-owning aristocracy, and that offered little means for social mobility to those

in the lower social classes. Building on the ideas of Adam Smith, Liberals supported the emerging free markets as a way for individuals to improve their lives on a meritocratic basis: for that to happen, restrictions on trade and investments had to be removed. As opposed to Conservatives, who did not challenge inequality based on class privilege, Liberals argued that the free market system allowed people from all backgrounds to improve their station: they do not oppose inequality, but argue it should be based on each person's abilities to achieve the potential rewards of capitalism (Veal, 2017). Liberalism is individualist: it strives to create conditions where every person can pursue their ambitions freely and as they define them, without prescribing what form those ambitions should take. Society is seen as a collection of individuals, as opposed to a network of institutions in the Conservative view (Heywood, 1998). However, Liberalism has similarities with Conservatism that it tends to be supportive of tradition, including traditional values, traditional families and traditional concepts of nation and state (Giddens, 1998).

The term Liberalism sometimes causes confusion because in the United States, Liberals are those on the left of the political spectrum ('Modern Liberalism'), whereas in this context it refers to a far right ideology. To distinguish between the two interpretations, we will use Neoliberalism from here on to refer to this right wing ideology, particularly in the form it has taken since the late 20th century. Neoliberalism has become the outlook of many Conservative parties around the world (Giddens, 1998), which adds to the complexity of the political landscape today, as the names of parties and their ideological perspectives can have diverged over time. Neoliberalism is now widely considered to be the dominant ideology in the industrialised West, and its influence is felt globally in most nations.

Neoliberalism is a term often used to describe a global transformation that extends beyond politics, affecting economies and everyday life from the 1970s onwards. Neoliberalism, like Liberalism, supports the functioning of the free market, but takes this principle further by opposing most restrictions on the free market and most state interventions: it argues that individuals should be given as much freedom as possible to pursue their objectives, and it is the role of the government to stay out of the way unless necessary. The public sector is seen as mostly inefficient and wasteful, whereas the free market of capitalism is seen to be the best vehicle for creating products and services in the most efficient way possible (Sutcliffe-Braithwaite et al., 2021). Heywood sums up this position as:

> The state is regarded as a realm of coercion and unfreedom; collectivism restricts individual initiative and saps self-respect. Government, however benignly disposed, invariably has a damaging effect on human affairs. Instead, faith is placed in the individual and the market. Individuals should be encouraged to be self-reliant and to make rational choices in their own interests. The market is respected as a mechanism through which the sum of individual choices can lead to progress and general benefit. (Heywood, 1998: 92–3)

As a result of this skeptical attitude towards the effectiveness and value of the public sector, Neoliberal governments tend to advocate for deep budget cuts to public administrations and services. Social and environmental regulations are usually rolled back or abolished under

Neoliberal leadership, and replaced with self-regulation or non-binding standards (more about this in Chapter 7). This can have far-reaching implications for the equitable provision of services such as healthcare, public transport and public education. Because the free market is seen as the most appropriate mechanism for allocating all goods and services, the natural environment and the social fabric of communities are increasingly treated as commodities that can be traded, rather than shared and collective resources (McCarthy and Prudham, 2004).

A related, more extreme version of Neoliberalism is Libertarianism, a worldview that supports reducing the role of the state to the absolute minimum, opposes public welfare systems, and suggests that the free market should be allowed to function with as few restrictions as possible (Van der Vossen, 2017).

Extreme Right: Fascism

Fascism is a revolutionary, extreme-right ideology that has its roots in Europe at the end of the 19th century (Mosse, 1966) that came to prominence in the 1920s and 1930s. It emerged as a revolt against modernity: in the period between the two world wars, when many democratic governments were young, some people hankered after the perceived stability of strong autocratic rule (Heywood, 1998). The most notorious examples of fascist governments have been Bennito Mussolini's National Fascist Party in Italy from 1922 to 1943 and Adolf Hitler's National Socialist German Workers' Party (Nazi Party) from 1933 to 1945. Francisco Franco in Spain and Juan Perón in Argentina were other well-known fascist leaders of the 20th century.

Characteristics of fascism are that it is authoritarian: it is deeply admiring of leaders that are seen as strong and ruthless. It is also deeply ethno-nationalist and emphasises the superiority of the nation or ethnic group it is associated with (Weisberger, 2021). Stanley (2021) highlights that fascist movements are often fascinated by a mystic past of their own nation: a time when that nation dominated militarily, politically or culturally. In addition, fascists believe that human existence is based on competition and struggle: they feel weakness should not be tolerated. War is seen as a good in itself, as conflict will allow the strongest to rise to the top: those who demonstrate loyalty, duty, obedience and self-sacrifice. Despite their fascination with war, fascists saw themselves as a creative force: they felt they were creating a new civilisation through creative destruction (Heywood, 1998).

Because fascism arose as a reactionary movement, its features are often defined by what the ideology opposes rather than by what it supports. For example, fascists are anti-rational: they do not trust reason and intellect and reject intellectual life. They are against democracy, as they are attracted to the idea of a supreme and unquestionable leader. Because they are ultra nationalistic, they oppose internationalism: they do not tend to approach other cultures with respect, but instead see other nations as rivals in the struggle for dominance. This also means that fascists tend to be hostile to immigrants and ethnic minorities (Heywood, 1998).

While fascist movements in different nations shared a number of common principles and values, it is important to highlight that there were also substantial differences between them: Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany for example had different visions on what the ideal fascist

state would look like. Eccleshall et al. (1994) highlight that some argue that fascism should not be called an ideology, as it lacks a coherent core philosophy. Former US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright (2018) agrees with that view and calls it a 'political virus'.

While the clash between Fascist and democratic regimes features strongly in 20th century politics, Albright suggests that fascism is a real and present danger to democracies around the world. In her book 'Fascism: A Warning' she describes fascism as a system of government that exercises power through a cult of personality, suppresses opposition, and uses violence and intimidation to achieve its goals. She argues that contemporary political leaders such as Vladimir Putin, Kim Jong-Un and Donald Trump are using many of the same tactics as the fascists in the 1920s and 1930s, and therefore democracies need to protect themselves by promoting political education and strengthening democratic institutions (Albright, 2018).

Centre Left: Democratic Socialism

Democratic Socialism became an influential political ideology during the Industrial Revolution in Europe, as part of a movement to defend the rights of the working class against the interests of the aristocracy and the wealthier merchant class. Democratic Socialism, like Marxism (which we will review below), is critical of capitalism, but in contrast to Marxism, it believes that governments can control capitalism and protect workers from exploitation (Veal, 2017). Democratic Socialists are committed to the creation of an egalitarian society, and in their view, that is incompatible with an untamed free market economy: they argue that capitalism results in privileges and opportunities concentrated among people with hereditary wealth and social status, while at the other end of the social spectrum, people are trapped in a cycle of deprivation with limited opportunities and influence (Newman, 2005). Heywood (1998, 115) summarises that Democratic Socialists 'believe the market is a good servant but a bad master'.

Democratic Socialism supports a strong welfare state: a state that is committed to providing basic economic security for its citizens by protecting them from market risks associated with old age, unemployment, accidents, and sickness (Weir, 2001). To help the government deliver the provisions of the welfare state, Democratic Socialism supports the state-ownership of key industries and progressive taxation (taxing the rich more than the poor) (Oishi et al., 2012). Newman (2005) argues that Democratic Socialism is based on the belief that human beings are capable of solidarity and cooperation, and that the ideology rejects the notion that human behaviour is purely motivated by self-interest and competition. McIntyre (2023: 24) states that 'twenty-first-century democratic socialism seeks to democratise the workplace and reorient the state, against the power of the organized capitalist class, to serve the needs of the many rather than the desires of the few'. Trade unions often play an important role in defending the rights of working people in Democratic Socialist nations.

When it comes to the environment, Democratic Socialists unsurprisingly are more likely to advocate for extensive government involvement in regulating and planning businesses towards sustainability than their right wing counterparts. Sustainability also has ties to the

Democratic Socialist value of equity. In the Brundtland Report, a document that helped define the term 'sustainable development' (as we will explain in Chapter 8), the case for sustainability is made on the basis of moral obligations towards (and solidarity with) future generations. While Democratic Socialists thus have a philosophical affinity with sustainability, Dresner (2002) highlights that they have a mixed track record on environmental issues, although it tends to be better than that of Conservatives and Neoliberals.

While Democratic Socialism long held that capitalism would be replaced by a Marxist economic model by democratic means and without the need for a revolution (Veal, 2017), this view has increasingly been supplanted (especially since the fall of the Soviet Union) by the view that there is no viable socialist alternative to the free markets, and thus capitalism should be reformed rather than abandoned completely (Heywood, 1998).

Far Left: Marxism

Marxism, the ideology behind Communism (the alternative to capitalism it aims to bring about), is named after a theory developed by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in the mid to late 19th century. Marxism starts from the premise that there is a fundamental conflict in capitalist societies between the wealthy classes who own most resources (or 'means of production'), and the working classes who have only their labour to rely on to make a living. The conflict is irreconcilable as the wealthy classes use their power to exploit the working classes to maximise their profits, and governments only curb the most egregious excesses of this exploitative relationship. Inevitably, Marx and Engels argue, this will lead to a revolution by the working class, who will rise up in solidarity and demand a more egalitarian social order (Veal, 2017). The outcome of the revolution will be a classless society in which the means of production are collectively, rather than privately owned. This state of Communism was the objective of the Soviet Union, where by Lenin's death in 1924, all capital and all productive assets had become state property. This meant that the Soviet government owned and controlled the economy, directly employing workers, and determining wages, services and production levels. Five- or ten-year economic plans decided economic goals, rather than the capitalist mantra of consumer preferences determining supply and demand (Assipova and Minnaert, 2014).

Looking back at some of Marxism's key predictions over a century later, it is plain that some of them turned out to be mistaken. While the income gaps in many societies have become wider, capitalism has not collapsed under a proletarian revolution, and of the Communist regimes that were established, very few are still in existence today. Those that are, including China, Cuba, Vietnam, Laos and North Korea, no longer adhere strictly to Marxist doctrine: China and Vietnam's economic model, for example, is largely based on capitalism. Yet, Marxists argue that their ideological ideas have not lost relevance, especially in a world that is increasingly unequal and where capitalism has not fulfilled its potential of social mobility. As individualism has become the dominant position, many people in capitalist nations regret the lack of social solidarity and community, two key Marxist values (Newman, 2005; Singer, 1996).

SNAPSHOT 3.1

Tourism in the Soviet Union

With respect to tourism, an interesting feature of Marxism is that it places a particular value on leisure time. Marxism disparages of the consumerist nature of capitalist society, as it sees consumption as mostly a meaningless distraction that prevents workers from participating in the class struggle. The ideology seeks, in its economic planning, to make productivity gains, but the desired outcome is not that workers make more money, but rather that they have more free time. This principle was implemented in the Soviet Union: in 1956, the standard (six-day) week in Soviet industry was of 46 hours; by 1961, it had declined to 41 hours, most workers having five seven-hour days and one six-hour day each week. In 1980, the average working week in industry was 40.7 hours and, in state employment in general, 39.4 hours in a five-day week. This made the working week for Soviet state employees the shortest in the world at the time (Preobrazhensky and Krivosheyev, 1982; Riordan, 1982).

In addition to having shorter working hours, citizens of the Soviet Union were encouraged to participate in a range of government-provided leisure and tourism activities. The types of holidays that were on offer focused on health, sport, culture and recreation. Children's camps were also widely available (Burns, 1998). Tourism was heavily subsidised, and a travel voucher (or *putevka*) was necessary to participate. Tourism was ideologically loaded: compared to the idleness and wastefulness of bourgeois tourism, soviet tourism was functional. It allowed individuals to develop and enrich themselves with deep experience of culture, nature or sport, and also helped society function smoothly by allowing participants to return to their lives refreshed and energised. Tourism was hailed for its educational and physical benefits, and was also considered to increase patriotism and loyalty to the communist cause (Gorsuch and Koenker, 2006; Noack, 2006; Riordan, 1982). All this highlights that the Soviet Union treated the participation in tourism as a right (a need that is protected by law as an entitlement) rather than a want.

Extreme left: Collectivist Anarchism

The word 'anarchy' comes from the Greek *anarkhia*, meaning contrary to authority or without a ruler. Collectivist Anarchism, as an extreme left ideology, focuses on the class struggle between rich and poor, but concludes that after any revolution, a new ruling class emerges that does not hesitate to use their power, and even violence, to maintain control. As such, for Anarchists the state itself is the enemy: all land, natural resources and means of production should be held by local communities, who work together under voluntary agreements rather than under a rule of law (Ward, 2004).

Heywood (1998) highlights that in popular language, anarchy is usually equated to chaos and disorder, and Anarchists may be presented in popular imagination as violent terrorists. However, that is not what Anarchists stand for: they argue for the abolition of law and state, not because they want to see them replaced by chaos, but because they believe that a more natural social order is possible. While they advocate for abolishing institutions such as prisons, police and the military, which they hold to be inherently oppressive, most Anarchists oppose

violence: they strive for a kinder, more equitable society. Key anarchist principles include mutual aid (a reciprocal approach to community care in which people share resources), direct action (the use of political protest to achieve a goal) and horizontalism (a non-hierarchical organisational system in which decisions are made by consensus) (Kelly, 2020).

While we present Anarchism here as an extreme left ideology, and while Collectivist Anarchism has been dominant for over a century, it should also be highlighted that there are also individualist forms of Anarchism. These forms also believe that the state is the enemy, however rather than seeing the natural order as a collectivist one built on collaborative communities, they see it as an individualist one based on unbridled capitalism. This group is referred to as Libertarians, and are situated on the far right – they are mentioned in the preceding section about (Neo)Liberalism (Ward, 2004).

Anarchism is different from the ideologies we have presented so far, as it never succeeded in rising to power at the national level. Its goal to overthrow the state and all forms of political authority is often considered to be unrealistic, or too radical to appeal to the majority of society. However, there have been times in the 20th century when Anarchists have significantly influenced political history: examples include the Mexican Revolution in 1910–1920 led by the peasant revolutionary Emiliano Zapata, and the Spanish Civil War in 1936–1939, when Anarchists briefly controlled parts of Eastern Spain and set up workers' and peasant collectives in Catalonia (Heywood, 1998; Ward, 2004).

Third Way Politics or the Social Democracy

Third Way politics is an ideology that emerged at the end of the 20th century, and presented itself as a move to the centre, arguing that the left-right divisions in politics were ineffective in helping states deal with the challenges of the times. Third Way politics distances itself from the more extreme positions on the left and the right and proposes a pragmatic approach: rather than striving for ideological purity, it suggests that politicians should lean on ideas from the left and the right to find the most appropriate solutions to real-world problems. Anthony Giddens (1998) popularised the term 'Third Way' and described this political movement as a renewal of Social Democracy.

Third Way politics/Social Democracy supports many of the values that are also important to Democratic Socialists. Both ideologies support a strong welfare state; accept and encourage a high level of state intervention via public services; and believe in increasing social equality as a moral duty of the state. However, they differ in their attitude towards capitalism. Eccleshall et al. (1994) highlight that Democratic Socialism is more critical of capitalism and often accepts the core ideas of Marxism, whereas this is not the case for Social Democracy, which does not see exploitation as an unavoidable aspect of the capitalist system. Giddens (1998) argued that Democratic Socialist parties were losing support because of their anti-capitalist attitude, and therefore they were unable to achieve their social goals. In a world that was becoming more globalised and individualist, he suggests that the traditional left and right wing parties were unable to address important challenges like the environmental crisis, because they kept being drawn into these old ideological debates: there was a need for politics

to become more pragmatic and accept capitalism as the only viable economic system. The goal was to achieve both the social ambitions of the left and the economic ambitions of the right: highlight the equal worth of all humans (a left-leaning idea) as well as the importance of personal liberty and private sector innovation (more right-leaning ideas) (Driver and Martell, 2000). Tony Blair and Bill Clinton are two politicians who have often been described as supporting Third Way or Social Democracy (Giddens, 1998).

Social Democracy, as highlighted above, has many similarities to Democratic Socialism: in fact, not all commentators agree that there are sufficient differences to distinguish between the two (Eccleshall et al., 1994). The distinction is mainly applied in an Anglo-Saxon context: in most of continental Europe, the terms 'Democratic Socialism' and 'Social Democracy' have almost become interchangeable, though they remain less so in the UK or the Americas (McIntyre, 2023).

Other Ideologies: Feminism, Ecologism and Religious Fundamentalism

We have now covered what Freeden (2003) refers to as the macro-ideologies, however these are not the only ideologies that exist. Heywood (1998) also includes in his overview:

- **Feminism:** an ideology that aims to establish the political, economic, personal, and social equality of the sexes. Feminists argue that women are disadvantaged in society because of their sex, and that this disadvantage should be eliminated. The first wave of feminism focused on women's suffrage and other legal rights. The second wave of feminism, which began in the 1960s, focused on issues such as reproductive rights, domestic violence, and workplace discrimination. The third wave of feminism, which began in the 1990s, is more diverse and inclusive, and focuses on a wider range of issues, such as body image, sexuality, and intersectionality.
- **Ecologism:** an ideology that stresses the central importance of ecology and calls for a fundamental rethinking of the relationship between human beings and the natural world. As opposed to other ideologies, it does not start from human needs, but from a vision of nature as an interconnected network of relationships between species and the inanimate world. Ecologism advocates for the protection and sustainable use of natural resources. It rejects self-seeking behaviour and material greed.
- **Religious fundamentalism:** a religious-political movement that adheres to the original practices of a creed, often associated with fierce commitment and sometimes associated with fanatical zeal. The term 'fundamentalism' is controversial as it has connotations of repression and intolerance, and therefore fundamentalists tend to use alternatives to describe themselves such as traditionalists or revivalists. They reject the distinction between religion and politics, and oppose modernity and increasing secularisation of many societies.

We will not discuss these ideologies in more detail, as this book will focus on tourism planning and policy making in more common political contexts. As the next section will show, this context can vary greatly, but it is typically capitalist.

(TOURISM) POLICY MAKING IN A PREDOMINANTLY CAPITALIST WORLD

While the ideologies we have reviewed in this chapter propose different economic models, some form of capitalism is the form of nearly all economies today (Jahan and Mahmud, 2023). In this section, we will therefore take a closer look at concepts that tend to influence tourism planning and policy making in capitalist contexts. The case study below will highlight how tourism is on the one hand a factor in spreading capitalism around the world, and how on the other hand, tourism has been affected by the consumerist nature of capitalism.

CASE STUDY 3.1

Tourism and Global Capitalism

Fulcher (2004) points to tourism as a particularly powerful factor in the global spread of capitalism. He highlights that tourism has introduced capitalist practices to parts of the world that previously had little exposure to them: it generates employment and demand for goods and services, and contributes to the commodification and commercialisation of cultural practices, wildlife, sights and views. In this case study, we will look more closely at how this increased commodification of tourism assets under capitalism came about.

Western capitalism as we know it today, and the consumerism associated with it, has its roots in the United States. At the end of World War II, and with the memory of the crippling depression of the 1930s still fresh in the national memory, the country sought to strengthen its economic recovery: it had the capacity for mass production, but needed people to consume more to maximise its economic growth. Encouraging mass consumption however was not so easy in a population that learned to be cautious with spending during the war: therefore mass consumption was framed as a civic responsibility, a contributor to the common good, rather than an indulgence. Opinion makers from business leaders to government agencies, from labour unions to the media, amplified the message that increased consumption would lead to more and better jobs, and that everyone had a role to play in strengthening the economy (Cohen, 2004). While hyper-consumerism today is no longer unique to the USA, post-World War II American consumerism is most commonly studied as the origin of the global variations that exist today (Glickman, 1997; Himes, 2007; Stearns, 1997). Today, the consumerism associated with advanced capitalism has also been associated with countries like the UAE (Kazim, 2018), China (Cyr, 2020) and even Romania (Druica et al., 2010).

Schor (1999) argues that an important feature of this capitalist hyper-consumerism is who people compare themselves to: in countries with rising inequality, she states that people increasingly start comparing themselves to those who are much wealthier. This means that instead of adopting 'proximate' or 'horizontal' comparisons, in which people are aspiring to having a lifestyle like people of a similar socio-economic background, they now focus on 'vertical emulation' (Schor, 2008): in other words, from keeping up with the Jones', people start keeping up with the Gates' and Kardashians.

(Continued)

This trend extends to travel and tourism as a category of consumption. Tourism and travel buying decisions were once 'nonvisible expenditures': before the rise of social media, the only status indicators tourists could share would have been photos, stories and souvenirs (Schor, 1999). There were characteristics that gave certain travel experiences a level of prestige: Riley (1995) refers to distant or exclusive destinations, and unique or challenging experiences as examples. Social media however have created new avenues for relationships between leisure travellers and their observers back home. Smith (2018: 175) suggests that tourism on social media platforms like Instagram propels tourists on a search for the perfect Instagram image, the experience itself becoming subservient to its representation, as that has become a commodity that can be traded for social approval in the form of likes, feeding what Maslow describes as our social and esteem needs. As international travel becomes more common, more exotic destinations are needed for a trip (and selfie) to be considered exceptional. As a result, tourists increasingly make rushed trips to distant destinations, have little interaction with local people or culture, with the experience no longer the culmination of the trip but rather an investment that is designed to pay off in approval (Litman, 2016). Francis (2019) argues that in terms of travel, social media sharing behaviour has blurred previously fairly clear expectations of what is a typical vacation for someone from a particular economic class: something that some will see as a sign of the social mobility affords, but that others will point to as an example of the wastefulness and unsustainable nature of late stage capitalism.

Reflective Questions

1 What aspects of capitalism link it to the rise of hyperconsumption?
2 How does capitalism create both opportunities and threats for global tourism?

Capitalism and Market Failures

Under capitalism, the free market is seen as the most effective way to run society: supply and demand are regulating forces that are portrayed to act as an '**invisible hand**' that ensures efficiency (Sloman et al., 2020). Products that are priced too high or that are of low quality will leave the market as customers will choose better alternatives from competing manufacturers. Technology firms may be driven by profit but their innovations may benefit society as a whole. Different businesses compete for customers which keeps prices in check. The market is presented as the optimal way to provide goods and services and allocate resources – only, it does not always perform this way in reality. When it does not, there is a market failure, and there is the need for an agency outside of the market to intervene: in other words, market failures may require government intervention (Veal, 2017).

Examples of market failures are externalities, public goods and merit goods. Sloman et al. (2020: 350) define **externalities** as 'costs or benefits of production or consumption experienced by people other than the producers and consumers directly involved in the transaction. They are sometimes referred to as "spillover" or "third-party costs or benefits". In some cases, externalities can be positive: for example, in tourism, when a new sports

stadium is constructed in a neighbourhood, other local businesses may benefit from the increased visitor footfall. However, externalities can also be negative: for example, that same new sports stadium can cause noise, congestion and pollution for local residents in the area. This is a market failure, as the sports stadium is able to profit, but local residents are not and have no recourse to be compensated for the negative impacts that are caused. In this case, a way the government could intervene is by introducing noise and traffic regulations or denying planning permission.

Public goods are goods or services that have the features of non-rivalry and non-excludability and as a result would not be provided by the free market. Non-rivalry means that the consumption of a good or service by one person will not prevent others from enjoying it. Non-excludability means that it is not possible to provide a good or service to one person without it thereby being available free for others to enjoy (Sloman et al., 2020: 360). A typical example is street lighting: lots of people can enjoy the benefits of street lighting at the same time, and it would not be practical for any business to charge individual users for only those streetlights they make use of and not others. Taxation is seen as a fair way to address this, so that everyone contributes and we avoid the 'free rider problem' (where non-paying individuals enjoy the benefits of the good or service someone else has paid for). As a result, street lighting on public roads is provided by the state. Other examples are national defense and law enforcement (Veal, 2017). Tourism businesses often rely on the public sector to supply the public goods they need to function, such as road infrastructure, water supply and sewage systems.

Finally, the government may feel that people consume too little of things that are good for them: things such as education, preventative health care, culture and sports facilities. Such goods are known as **merit goods** (Sloman et al., 2020: 368). These are goods the market could in fact supply, but the government may want to stimulate their usage by providing them free or by subsidising their production. Examples of merit goods that are common tourism assets for destinations are museums, libraries or public parks.

SNAPSHOT 3.2

Free museums as Merit Goods

In Chapter 2, we covered the role of governments as operators of certain tourism facilities, including museums. In this snapshot, we will answer the question *why* in several capitalist countries, many governments provide universal free entrance to national museums and galleries. For example, this is the case in the UK since 2001: seven of the top ten UK visitor attractions are free, public-sector supported museums and galleries that used to charge an entrance fee (ALVA, 2024). Similarly, many museums in Washington DC, the capital of the staunchly capitalist United States, are free. Seeing that some of the museums are some of the most well-known in the world, wouldn't the invisible hand of supply and demand ensure that they would thrive without the need for subsidies? The answer to

(Continued)

this question is that the permanent collections of these national museums and galleries are seen as merit goods.

The European Commission (2012) outlines the reasons why access to culture is sometimes presented in this light. A first is that people with higher incomes are traditionally more likely to participate in cultural activities, and making museums free removes the financial barrier for lower-income visitors. Moreover, participation in cultural activities is often linked to a range of desirable social outcomes: for example, visiting museums has been linked to increased well-being, reduced isolation, the opportunity for self-expression, the fostering of creativity, and even greater social cohesion. While these claims can be hard to objectively substantiate, we can say that there is general agreement among many people that participation in culture is 'a good thing'. In addition however, governments may have more traditional capitalist objectives to support free museums: for example, they can be a big driver for tourism, bringing in valuable domestic and international tourism revenue.

Typical Left and Right Wing Approaches to Tourism Policy Making

Understanding the role of market failure in capitalism can help us make sense of how left and right wing governments typically approach (tourism) policy making. As right wing governments are most supportive of capitalism, they tend to be most likely to support tourism as an industry for its contribution to the economy, and will likely limit other interventions to addressing market failures. However, left wing governments may be more inclined to intervene beyond market failures in an attempt to achieve social or political goals via tourism, and they may also be more willing to introduce regulations or restrictions on business activities that they see as threatening their social objectives. This means that they intervene in society beyond addressing market failures.

To illustrate this point, let's take a look at two examples or tourism policies that show a political leaning in their aims and objectives. The first policy is the Edinburgh 2030 Tourism Strategy, which, as you will see, includes several left leaning ambitions (Edinburgh Tourism Strategy Implementation Group, 2020).

WE WILL NURTURE AND DEVELOP OUR PLACE

The Ultimate Goal

Edinburgh should be nurtured and developed as an excellent place to live and work, in doing so, this will help to make it a great place to visit. When residents have a good quality of life, and the built and natural environment is respected and protected, everybody benefits. Developing attractive spaces in and around Edinburgh means preserving and nurturing our outstanding world heritage and contemporary cultural offer, improving existing public

spaces in the centre, while identifying, developing and connecting less visited parts of the city where both residents and visitors will want to spend time.

Our Ambitions

- Edinburgh's built heritage and natural environment is cherished and cared for as a fundamental aspect of the city's character
- Edinburgh retains its authenticity as a 'living, working' city with a reasonable balance between tourism and other aspects of economic activity
- New tourism developments in the city will contribute to the quality of life for local people
- Edinburgh is able to increase its appeal both to residents and visitors as new developments in neighbourhoods and the wider City Region are developed and easy to reach by public transport

Source: Edinburgh Tourism Strategy Implementation Group, 2020: 18.

We can see from the description above that this tourism policy aims to find a balance between the needs of visitors and the needs of local residents in Edinburgh. The policy emphasises values such as authenticity and quality of life, and highlights the importance of the city's built heritage and natural environment. It also refers to the need for efficient public transportation as part of key developments. This emphasises the intention of the government to intervene in tourism development and set parameters for the industry rather than just facilitating its growth.

Now let's compare this example to the policy goals of VisitBritain (a non-departmental public body, sponsored by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport), which as you will see, include more right-leaning elements (Digital Tourism Think Tank, 2020).

OUR FIVE-YEAR STRATEGY

Our role, as the national tourist agency, is to enable Britain's tourism industry to capture its share of global and domestic growth across our nations and regions and make these ambitious forecasts a reality. Our new five-year strategy sets out our agenda, which builds on tourism's record of success and delivers against an ambitious growth target for Britain – to attract 49 million visits by 2025 spending £35 billion.

We will deliver against five clear objectives, to:

- Grow the value of tourism
- Drive the dispersal of tourism value across Britain
- Support productivity optimisation
- Be the expert body on growing tourism
- Deliver a clear strategy for England

We can see that this strategy leans more to the right, as it emphasises the role of the government in supporting the tourism industry in creating 'value': a term used here to refer to financial gain. The strategy goals presented here do not include social, environmental or conservation goals, and define the responsibility of the public sector more narrowly as developing a business environment that is conducive to growth.

SUMMARY

This chapter has reviewed the role of political ideologies in (tourism) policy making. It has shown how political decision-makers may be influenced by values and concepts that form somewhat coherent sets of ideas. These ideas may differ widely when it comes to subjects like equality, the virtue of capitalism and the role of government in society. To help make a broad distinction between ideologies that emphasise equality and solidarity while critiquing capitalism, and ideologies that emphasise personal liberty and the dynamic nature of capitalism, we tend to refer to the former as left wing and the latter as right wing.

We have examined different macro-ideologies in this chapter: conservatism, (neo)liberalism, fascism, democratic socialism, Marxism, anarchism and the Third Way. We have also explained that despite the challenges to capitalism in the 20th century, it has become the dominant global economic model. This highlights the value of concepts like market failures (for example externalities, public goods and private goods) in helping us understand how governments may prioritise and determine where they intervene in society and to what extent.

SELF-TEST QUESTIONS

1 Imagine that you own a small coffee shop in a tourism destination. What might be the benefit of having a right-wing government to your business? What might be the benefit of having a left-wing government?
2 A famous politician once said: '*There is no such thing as society. There are individual men and women, and there are families. And no government can do anything except through people, and people must look to themselves first.*' Do you think this was a left- or a right-wing politician? What ideology do you think they were affiliated with? (Bonus points if you know who the politician was!)
3 Think of the last destination you visited. Can you think of any externalities of tourism, positive or negative, that you noticed there?

FURTHER READING

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