



**THE EFFECT OF THE GROWTH IN GLOBAL TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN
CAPE TOWN ON HEALTH PROMOTION WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THE
SPREAD OF HIV/AIDS**

by

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DECLARATION

I, NGAMIJE JAMES here, declare that the contents of this thesis represent my own unaided work, and that the thesis has not previously been submitted for academic examination towards any qualification. Furthermore, it represents my own opinions and not necessarily those of Cape Peninsula University of Technology.

Signed:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Ngamiye James', written in a cursive style.

Date: 08/09/2014

ABSTRACT

International Tourism development has been given a positive image as a tool to promote development in the world of the poor, and an important tool for response in achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by 2015 placing health at the heart of poverty alleviation. International tourism development is not only a sector that fit the applicability of international development theory but is also often voiced and enthusiastically supported. As an economic development industry, international tourism development has been a choice for many of the poorest countries in the world as it is supported by international institutions such as the United Nations and World Bank to address the notions of inequalities and poverty reduction alongside environmental considerations. In addition, tourism is perceived to pull wealth from rich countries into the world of the poor with a high potential to trickle down to the villages and the poorest communities. However, the evidence that international tourism development can benefit the poor on grassroots level is difficult to prove because no data in this regard is available. Given the fact that the time stipulated to complete the noble goals of MDGs is very near, this study intends to ask: to what extent is health and sustainable tourism development applicable in Africa? And a number of questions arise that this thesis, in a broad sense seeks to address. What are barriers to the contribution of the international tourism development in less developed countries (LDCs)? To which context of international development theories, is international tourism development positioned with relationship to economic growth, equitable distribution of profits, and sustainable development and health? And who are ultimately the beneficiaries of international tourism development? For the most part, the contribution of this research project deals critically with tourism opportunities and risks related to community health. The focus is on tourism development and inequality, poverty alleviation alongside environmental consideration, reducing gender inequality and exploitation, HIV/AIDS and promoting sustainable tourism development and health, to mention few. This research project aims to presents an important contribution to the debate regarding the relationship between international tourism development in the world of the poor such as Africa in the age of global political economy or free trade, and the high prevalence of HIV/AIDS. This research investigates current international development approaches that offer new and exciting insights. However, there is a need for further critical analysis of the complex dynamics on the effects of international tourism development throughout the sequence of international development

theories in developing countries, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa. It seems that in the absence of a moral responsibility and collaboration of all stakeholders in promoting equity in tourism benefits, opportunities offered for sustainable tourism development and health will not materialize. The policy maker in tourism planning in developing countries who are now asked to be more responsible to a broader set of economic and social needs in developing countries are concerned about planning for desirable economic benefits as well as social and cultural impacts. Tackling issues from ethnological perspectives, advocates for sustainable tourism development in the world of the poor such as United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) and World Bank advocate socially responsible and sustainable tourism development and health in accordance to the decided upon MGDs. From analysis of the opportunities and risks related to integrating international tourism development as a panacea led the researcher interest in testing how small state grapple with the dilemma of tourism development and community health. This study combined two approaches, namely the (i) human security threats and (ii) the use of Clive Thomas' four prong typology as well as using Cape Town as a case study to meet this objective.

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DEDICATION

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CHAPTER ONE

THE GREAT UNKNOWN ABOUT TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN WORLD OF THE POOR

1.1 Introduction

This chapter reflects a historical context of the research project exploring the relationship between development and tourism in the world of the poor; particularly with reference to community health in the tourism destination. It seems that development theory addressing the world of the poor has been conceived to address three main issues, namely the accumulation, growth and distribution of the wealth. It's from this philosophy that resulted in the most recent debates on tourism and its role as one of the most effective tools for sustainable growth in less developed countries (Mitchell & Ashley, 2007:46). Although development is not a new phenomenon, it has been employed as a powerful political tool in the tradition of the modern Post-Enlightenment societies to exploit the weak. Adam (1990:199) stated that: development ought to be what human communities do to themselves. In practice however, it is what is done to them by the states and the bankers and experts' agents, in the name of modernity, national integration, economic growth or other thousand slogans.

Bianchi (2002:267-271) adds that one of the most important reasons for developing countries failing to become developed, is due to the internal and external economic, political and institutional structures holding them dependent to developed countries. Emerged in the 1950s and 1960s, modernization advocates perceived socio-economic development (stages and economic development) in the world of the poor through linear development, modelling Western nations with a trickle-down effect to regional development (Holden, 2005; Stiglitz, 2007). In this respect Rostow mentioned that underdeveloped societies would have to pass through five stages (traditional society, precondition for take-off, the take-off, the drive to maturity, and the age of mass consumption) in order to become a modern society that is characterized by rapid economic development and high consumption (Shapley, 2002a; Holden: 2005). As World War II was coming to and the end, the former colonial powers were using their economic institutions the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank as economic tools for development. They quickly established 'old boy' rules to enhance

their control and with the opportunity presented in the form of a global crisis, the IMF crafted policies that would best promote development in responses to crises. However, it seemed more often to focus on the savings the Western creditors than on helping the countries in crisis and their people (Stiglitz, 2007:18). Their modes of social life and organizational life were influenced in developing countries and manifested in phenomena such as increased urbanisation, consumerism, neglect of rural areas, linkages between the economy and technological growth with an accompanying increase in dependency (Adam, 1990:7).

Regarding the economic concept, the history of development is marked by the '*quixotic*' (quick-exotic) quest to find the answer, often characterized by disappointment in the failure of one strategy leading to the hope that the next effort may work (Stiglitz, 2007:26). According to Sachs (1992:1) the idea of development stands like a ruin in the intellectual landscape. Delusion and disappointment, failures and crime have been the steady companions of development and they tell a common story: it did not work. Education is promoted as the means to development of society, but if there are no jobs for those who are now educated, the development will simply not be achieved. It was also proposed that the free market would be beneficial for the poor countries, however, if the developing countries lack infrastructures for goods and services for development, this approach will simply not benefit them. In addition, if productivity in agriculture is so low that the majority of the population in poor countries has little to sell, infrastructures such as ports and roads will make little differences (Stiglitz, 2007:26). Furthermore, if culture and natural resources are destroyed by tourism activities, the chances of developing countries and their people to benefit from tourism development seem to be very slim.

While globalisation as a socio-spatial order has been promoted as a potential tool that exist for improving health as one of the results of increasing trade and wealth creation (Dollar, 2001; Dollar & Kraay, 2004), the same can also be criticized to create and increase inequalities often accompanied by threats to health (Labonte, 1999; 2000). Stiglitz (2007:20) commented on the process of globalisation in developing countries that it has put new demands on nation-states to address the increasing inequality and insecurity that can cause and to respond to the competitive challenge that it presents, globalisation, in many ways, limited their capacity to respond. For in-

stance, globalisation has unleashed market forces that by themselves are so strong that governments, especially in the developing world, often cannot control them.

According to the World Bank (1991:4), some of the major factors for development include better education, a high standard of health and nutrition, less poverty, a cleaner environment, more equality of opportunities, greater individual freedom, and a richer cultural life. However, a broader policy framework of trade and capital liberalization known as the Washington Consensus forged between the World Bank, IMF and U.S Treasury, has given a positive image to promote development, but is criticized of too much focus on just the increase of the GDP and not on other things that affect the living standards, and also that it pays too little attention on sustainability and the growth of economic, social, political and environmental aspects (Stiglitz, 2007:17). In this respect Stiglitz commented as follows: "We have also seen the darker side of globalisation: the recessions and depressions that global instability has brought with its assets, degradation of the environment as global growth proceeds without global rules; a continent, some say globalisation is inevitable, that one has to simply accept it with its flaws. Africa sipped of its assets, its natural resources and left with a debt burden beyond its ability to pay. Even the advanced industrial countries are beginning to question globalisation, as it brings with economic insecurity and inequality; as economic materialism trumps other values; as countries realize that their well-being, even their survival, depends on others that they may not trust" (Stiglitz, 2007:23).

Sharpley (2002a) commented on how the World Bank's agency of International Finance Corporation (IFC) and Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA) have tried to decentralize and privatise tourism development in order to facilitate international market (free market) penetration through investment in transnational economies, infrastructure for business development and financing integration and upgrading of the existing tourism infrastructure through IFC.

In this respect, Peet (1999:1) argues that development means the improvement in a complex of linked natural, economic, social, cultural, and political conditions.

Peet & Hartwick (1997) summarized the different theoretical positions of hybrid economic development into the following nine strategies promoted as potential to pursue in order to minimize dependence.

- (i) Dualism development theory promoting both modern and traditional sectors of economy in order to address the increase of unemployment.
- (ii) Mobilization of domestic resources encouraging savings.
- (iii) Mobilization of foreign resources through diversification of sources of foreign aid as it may result in higher competitiveness and less dependence on single suppliers.
- (iv) Industrial strategy: Advocators of industrial strategy as discussed in previous section on economic development advocate for strong national economy where those who advocates the 'Big Push' evidenced that large investments generates economic multiplier effect to support top-down approaches or trickle-down approaches. There may be growth, but most of people may be worse off. Trickle-down economics, which holds that so long as the economy as whole grows everyone benefits, has been repeatedly shown to be wrong (Stiglitz, 2007:23). In alternative theory, advocators of economic development suggest that the underdeveloped community can be developed through help of the national public sector (bottom-up development).
- (v) Agricultural strategy: This strategy raised debates between agricultural advocator who perceive agricultural resources as the main component of economies in the world of the poor. They do not see the importance of shift from agricultural to industrial production. However, on the other side sticking on the tradition of comparative advantage is also criticised, as each economy is not zero-sum particularly due to the fact that the production of goods can maximize profits in fair trade.
- (vi) Trade theory: In the world of the economists they are also divided into two those who advocates trade as a vehicle to address the notions of inequality (Dollar, 2000; Dollar & Kraay, 2004) and those who criticize trade worsened off inequality (New economic foundation, 2006 in Lee, 2007; Woodward & Simms, 2006).
- (vii) Human Capital Development: The theorists perceive the workforce as potential resource that is not fully utilized in the world of the poor. It is from this idea that they propose investment in the education and health of labour force as essential human capital development leading to economic development.

- (viii) Project appraisal: Structuralists acknowledge that the development depends on balancing economic investment and profits with social issues when analysing investment potential.
- (ix) Development planning and Public Policy: The advocates of trade theory acknowledge that the markets mechanisms may generate negative results which however, may be outweighed by their potential benefits.

In response to the critics of the top-down development approaches that emerged in 1970s, such as failure to address the notions of economic development and social benefits, increased also dependency.

1.1.1 Development theories debate

Based on the discussion of the value of tourism in Spain, development that was considered as successful developing countries in the region, Naylor (1967, cited in Opperman & Chon, 1997:16) stated that: one reason was already eluded to be that tourism is perhaps the only sector of economic activity in which the principles of free trade still apply. More important, it is now possible for underdeveloped countries to improve their economies, not by increasing exports via low-cost production, but by tourism. In this regard, Ghatak (1995:34) asked whether per capita real income is a valid index for measuring development of LDCs. Stiglitz (2007:45) answered that the GDP is a handy measure of economic growth, but is not the be-all and end-all of development...you can get GDP up by spoiling the environment, by depleting scarce natural resources, by borrowing from abroad- but this kind of growth is not sustainable. Ghatak also agreed that per capita is not measuring development by supporting his position in the following three points: (i) without distribution of income and derived from economic growth, there can be growth, but not development. (ii) Unless the growth rate in income output is capable of outstripping population growth, then here too, growth without development is possible. (iii) Measuring growth is always muddled in the case of the 'world of the poor' as artificial changes to per capita real income (both upwards and downwards) brought about by data being changed in the worlds floating exchange rates (Ghatak, 1995:34). In addition, he mentioned that the growth without development has taken place and it is easy to find reference to '*dual*' societies. He used this term to note that there is a significant gap between the very rich and the very poor. In this respect Sachs (1992:1) noted that the idea of devel-

opment stands like a ruin in the intellectual landscape. Delusion and disappointment, failures and crime have been the steady companions of development and they tell a common story: it did not work. The idea of development was criticized to only promote Western standards of living and thereby, to act as an important tool in modernization theory (Telfer, 2002a; Holden, 2005). It is important to note that most of the versions of modernity initially evolved from the debates around the enlightenment and the Western culture in general that emerged from a religious context. While divine providence has been a guiding idea of Christian thought (Giddens, 1990 in Egmond, 2007:11), the principles of enlightenment thinkers are reason and rationality. According to enlightenment thinkers, to be modern is to be rational and rather than trust in divine providence, avoid irrational (Egmond, 2007:11). However, its own adherents such as Marx, Weber and Durkheim have criticized the victory of reason and rationality due to their dark side. Marx criticised the alienation conditions of capitalism, Weber complained about 'iron Cage' of the bureaucratic state and Durkheim focussed on the prevalence of anomie as opposite to order structure and rationality of modern life as reflected in Logos version of modernity (Wang, 2000). The development brought about a new social class, namely the working class, and caused a sprawl of urbanization (Egmond, 2007:12). In this regard, Marx and the mode of production viewed society as a mode of production from one mode of production in which the society that he described as primitive communism. They had a mode of production in which there was no private ownership, no class system to the next with the development of private ownership, which play a central role in modern capitalism (Best, 2006:16). According to Marxian analysis, the state is viewed as an institution that helps to organize capitalist society in the best interest of bourgeoisie (Best, 2006:14). However, it is not known by many that in his agenda of revolution Marx was simply pushing modern society, particularly in Russia. He was highlighting how the cultural of peasantry should be exploited for further development through revolution. Lenin (1975:482) stated that in spite of the fact that the masses of toilers (peasants in colonial countries) are still backward, they would play an important revolutionary part in the coming phases of the world revolution. It seems that the same theoretical principles hold true in the process of creating social division by colonial power in association with Christianity in an African country such as Rwanda, which led to the genocide (Twagirimana, 2003; Martin, 2005) employing the peasants to reach their goals. Although criticised to work on the favour of capitalists by promoting modernity through revolution in 1881, Marx was concerned with the typical traditional village

community, that he called the *mir*, and that it should be rescued from destruction, and developed as if it was not the way to integrate Hegelian principles before any revelation of a socialist revolution in Russia. In his writing to Russian the revolutionary Zasulich, Marx stated that it is why the preservation of the 'village commune' by means of its future development coincides with the general advance of Russian society whose rebirth can only be purchased at this price. Even from economic point of view alone, Russia can emerge from the impasse in which its agriculture finds itself by developing the village commune; it would be hopeless to try and emerge from it by introducing capitalist rent on the lines of the English system, which is alien to all the country's agricultural conditions (Marx, 1974:370).

In this context, the route to development has been ruthless, not only to Russia and Mirr in particular, as the Russian Revolution of 1917 for which they still continue to pursue their gold (a course of development) which has been peculiar to its generation such as owning mills, the cheese making establishment, perceiving the land to be for everybody and having the responsibility and duty to use the land efficiently (Lewin, 1975:85-87). Vilakazi commented that the history of Mirr is also about us, about all of Africa, about the entire called Third world. The West and the former Soviet Union missed their golden opportunity to take a different road toward modernity. We still have chance, but with the leadership we currently have, for I am afraid, our leadership is too Western in its orientation, and seems bent on creating a Western society in the Southern part of Africa. Our tragedy is that our African intellectuals as well as most of our politicians, are not confronting the Western heritage critically, absorbing what is positive, and discarding what is negative and unsuitable to Africa...

...The key pole in the social transformation and development of South Africa, as of Africa as whole, should be the indigenous people, who are largely bearers of peasant culture and the peasant historical experience (Vilakazi in Prah & Ahmed, 2000:143).

In addition to spiritual and mental impoverishment, worldwide Western industrialization has also brought about further strains on natural, cultural and environmental resources (Holden, 2005:112). Holden commented that any lesser-developed country proposing to use tourism as a means for development would by-pass the heavy industrialised process outlined by Rostow. This in turn is a reflection of the importance of tourism in international trade, and that the countries which generate the majority of

international tourists have themselves passed into the “age of mass consumption” in which tourism is a popular purchase.

Tourism as a tool for development has often been questioned by sociologists. De Kadt (1979) was among the first to question whether tourism is a passport to the socio-economic development of emerging nations. He also advocated for better planning growth in developing countries. Following the same line of critical thinking, Rosenow & Pulspher (1979) questioned tourism’s significant role such as making communities more liveable, and developed an anti-tourism stance. Lanfant & Graburn (1992) asked whether tourism is a ‘blessing or blight’, ‘trick or treat’, boom or doom’, panacea or a new slave trade, ‘mirage or strategy for the future’. In this respect De Kadt (1992:75) commented that most of the less developed countries cannot hope to create acceptable living conditions for the majority of their people without continuing economic growth and for many of them, especially the large number of smaller of smaller tropical mini-and micro-states tourism represents one of the few apparently viable routes for such growth. Van de Berghe (1992) asked whether tourism is just another form of imperialism or neo-colonialism perpetuating inequalities under the capitalist world system, speeding the ecological degradation of the planet, and destroying the most fragile and insignificant culture?

Other scholars also looked into tourism’s link to dependence and whether it really leads to social, economic, political, and cultural independency (Britton, 1982). The role of tourists have questioned and the question posed whether they are ‘barbarians and sustained destroyers of culture who mainly seek ‘sun, sea, sand, and sex (Tuner & Ash, 1976; Crick, 1989). Muller asked what does sustainable tourism development really mean and what makes achieving sustainable tourism so difficult a goal to reach (Muller, *in* France, 1997:30-32)? Kadt’s argument on this question relates to the involvement of a wide range of social and political institutions in the development process (De Kadt, 1992). Sharpley & Telfer (2002:2) commented that, the role of tourism should not be celebrated without a deep understanding of how development is defined and the process by which way it might be achieved. The most formidable task on the road to sustainable development and tourism development is that of building the institutions needed for policy implementation (De Kadt, 1992:73). Cater and Goodall (*in* France, 1997:86) add that the local population must be involved in tourism development if their needs are to be met as a requirement of sustainable

tourism development. In addition, communities may be exposed to the negative impact of tourism and tourists activities in context of indirect health such economic, social cultural, environmental to note degradation of environment, crime, alcoholism, drug use, prostitution, gambling, increase in cost of living when food shelter prices goes up and the exposure to the transmitted diseases including sexual transmitted diseases (Rodriguez-Garcia, 2001; Bauer, 2007; Spiegel, et al., 2008).

Tourism has also been used as an economic development theory to analyse the economic benefits in regional, national and local economies (Myrdal, 1957). Though tourism has not only been given equal weight with other important economic industries such as agriculture and manufacturing (Hawkins & Mann, 2007:353), it also become the development of choice in various developing countries (Reid, 2003:67). Still, little attention has been given to critically examine the development process, outcomes and the objectives behind its promotion (Sharpley & Telfer, 2002:1). Often developing countries are advised to celebrate its expansion without a deep understanding how development derived from tourism is defined as an achievement in the process (Shapley & Telfer, 2002:2).

1.1.2 Tourism and Dependency

As opposed to modernization theory, dependency theory criticised the process of development in the context of historical (enlightenment) political process. Peet and Hartwick (1999) noted that the basic message of the dependency school was that European development was predicated on the active *underdevelopment* of the non-European world. For dependency theorists, Europe's development was based on external destruction: brutal conquest, colonial control, and the stripping of non-Western societies of their peoples, resources, and surpluses (Peet & Hartwick 1999: 107).

The above school of thought are mainly based on the works of two scholars, namely (Frank, 1979 cited in Holden, 2005) (i) the anti-imperialist Prebisch (1950), a former head of central Bank of Argentina and Director of the united Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) as well as Secretary-General of the 1974 United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), and (ii) the neo-Marxist Andre Gunder Frank known as a man who reworked and furthered Baran's work that focussed on the relationship between dependency and underdevelopment. Frank asserted that dependency is not a new phenomenon but, started in the 17th

century when a system of metropolises and satellites that led development in one part of the world system at the expense of another (Frank, 1979 cited in Holden, 2005:113-114). On the other hand, Thirlwall (1989) noted that Prebisch was among the pioneers of the economists to question the notion of equal benefits regarding the international division of labour for developing countries on existing lines. In a critique of Rostow's (1967) Stages of Economic Growth by Marxist dependency theory, Todaro (1994:81) noted that this theory is based on the 'historical evolution of a higher unequal international capitalistic system of rich-poor country relationship'. Frank perceived development and underdevelopment as both part of the same world of capitalist systemic environment in which underdevelopment was generated by the same processes that developed the centre; in particular, underdevelopment in the periphery resulted from the loss of surplus that was expropriated for investment in the centre's development (Frank, 1979, cited in Peet & Hartwick, 1999:111). In this regard, Prebisch argued that Latin America's peripheral position and primary exports were mentioned as some of the main barriers for the progress due to a long-term decline in terms of trade of the periphery (Peet, 1991:44).

While Marx understood dependency as an aspect of the Hegelian principle of philosophy of history in the development of society to advance revolution agenda (Marx, 1970), Myrdal (1957) developed a theory in response to the economic problems particularly the regional inequalities perceived as the main cause of international development on one hand, and the local developed core needs pockets of local underdeveloped periphery as low-cost labour supply on the other hand. In the same realm, Stiglitz (2007) commented on Keynes' theory of unemployment that he did more to save the capitalist system than all the pro-market financiers put together. Had the advice of conservatives been followed, the Great depression would have been worse; it would have been longer, and the demand for an alternative to capitalism would have grown (Stiglitz, 2007:xvii-xviii).

Todaro (1982:314) provides four main points that may increase dependency: (i) Foreign industries in developing countries take advantage of excessive mobility of production and tax breaks. (ii) Industries in developing countries often get subsidized for importation of heavy plant and equipment to be set up by governments. (iii) Changes to official foreign currency exchange rates designed to assist industrialization through cheap importation of capital with further encouraging foreign capital investment, all

may lead to undermine the export value of primary goods due to exchange rates as it becomes expensive in the world market. (iv) The intention of forward and backward linkages becomes unclear by inefficiencies inheriting in a non-competitive domestic market. Lanfant and Graburn (1992:101) using vocabulary child development theory explained this phenomenon as that developing nations are still in their infancy, and need to be pushed to maturity where citizens are assured a stable consumption economy. The immature countries are labelled by inability and have to accept the paternalistic aid of scientific experts in tourism. They are shown that it is 'tourism or nothing'.

It is in the context of tourism and development that it seems to be clear that the flow of mass tourists from central to peripheral countries, monopolizing hotels and resorts are subject to various control mechanisms in dependency (Opperman, 1993; Mann, 2000). Opperman argues that according to dependency theory, tourism is an industry like any other, which is used by developed countries to perpetuate the dependency of the developing countries. Instead of reducing the existing socio-economic regional disparities within the developing countries, tourism reinforces them through its enclave structure and its orientation along traditional structures (Opperman, 1993:540). As a result of the cocktail of global economic crises events such as the oil crisis and economic depression at the beginning of the 1970s and mid-1970s, Opperman played a significant role in establishing a more critical school of tourism studies explaining the causes an increase in neo-liberalism in tourism developing countries (Telfer, 2002a:44). The mentioned crisis created the opportunity, or was it a necessity, for the leaders of the IMF and World Bank to integrate the Washington consensus policies such as macroeconomics, free competitive markets and privatization of state enterprises (Telfer, 2002a; Holden, 2005). Many developing countries have found themselves confronted with the option to increase dependency in order to respond to financial troubles by accepting the use of Structural Adjustment Lending Programmes (SALPs) offered by the neo-liberalism in exchange of loans received from the World Bank or IMF (Telfer, 2002a:56). The above policies have been criticised as to decline the political-economic power of the countries that received the loan in advent of the crisis of profits in the global economy. In this regard, Egmond (2007:37) noted that much debates has risen on the question of whether the West has undergone or is undergoing a transition from 'Fordism' to 'post-Fordism', from Materialistic values to Post materialistic values, and in tourism terms, from 'tourism' to Post-tourism. Usual-

ly, Fordism is linked to modernity and Post-Fordism to Post modernity. Therefore, Sharpley & Telfer (2002:2) were right to note that tourism should not be celebrated without a clear understanding about its development, as well as the process to achieve the intended development. To shed more light on this argument, Isaak described development in his analysis of the post-modern world as a spontaneous economic change from within a nation, and not forced upon it from without. Development goes beyond mere growth or the optimization or expansion of what already exists. It implies that something new and distinctive is being produced by spontaneous design or planning that makes a nation...less dependent upon others (Isaak, 1995:22). Despite the fact that this definition is narrow, it does include the changes that may be brought about by external forces to many poor nations through the targeted actions of the IMF, World Bank and their Washington Consensus, commonly known as Structural Adjustment Programmes. However, Isaak noted that development that goes beyond mere growth may also include some or other form of exploitation. With reference to tourism in this broader context of the economic situation, Holden (2005:115) stated that the role of tourism as an export industry and as a means of earning foreign exchange is strongly supported by multinationals as they continue to attempt to secure new markets for their products. They also wish to have unimpeded access to resources, which includes natural, cultural and human ones. Some developing countries have also wanted to increase tourism as a consequence of falling world commodity prices during the 1980s and 1990s, and the requirement to fulfil debt repayments to the IMF and World Bank.

Based on Rostow's idea, Balaam and Vaseth (1996:312) tried to undermine the agricultural-based economy in which the poor are able to produce for their economic development and sell to the tourism industry in their area. In addition, they define development as the ability of nation to produce economic wealth, which in turn transforms society from subsistence-or agricultural-based economy to one where most of society is wealth, is derived from the production of manufactured goods and services (Balaam & Vaseth, 1996:132). In response to the attack on mainstream international tourism given a positive image as the economic muscle to seriously tackle African Poverty at scale, launched from dependency perspective in the 1970s and 1980s (Mitchell & Ashley, 2007:45), another form of tourism development named *alternative* was established (Telfer, 2002a; Mowforth & Munt, 2003). However, they mentioned that there is no standard uniform among the scholars regarding this form of tourism

development. Butler (1990) noted that alternative tourism is associated with a range of different notions and concepts but all are focused on the concept of sustainability which is perceived by Clifton (2009) to be a general concept with many interpretations. According to Sneddon, Howard and Norgaard (2006:4) sustainable development means reaching a balance between economic, social, and environmental goals with full participation of people in the planning process with aim to gain their input and support. This concept is not a new phenomenon but it has been used by conservation movement in the West during the late 19th century (Hall, 1998). Sustainability should take into consideration ecological, social, cultural and economic sustainability as well as education, local participation and conservation (Mowforth & Munt, 1998:98). In addition to the meeting the basic needs, grass roots participation, gender equity, Telfer (2002a) mentioned that the basic needs approach aimed at 'providing opportunities for full physical, mental and social development of human personality, on the other hand, the grass roots paradigm emphasizes local participation, empowerment and control indigenous/ community-based development, and structured to better decision-making leading to better quality of life (Telfer, 2002a: 47). While participation assumes that the local community has control, they must also have power to decide whether or not tourism is an appropriate avenue to use and in a way it should be pursued (Scheyvens, 2002:58). He noted how this claim is impossible to be reached: Communities often lack proprietorship over land and natural resources, skills, knowledge and resources for developing tourism ventures. Local communities find difficult to accumulate or attract the capital necessary to develop tourism facilities or attractions, and are typically heterogeneous, comprising a range of different interest groups which may come into regarding development of a potentially lucrative tourism venture (Scheyvens,2002:57). With regard, to their empowerment through tourism, it goes beyond economic to include psychological and political arenas in the community (Sheyvens, 2002:59-60). Various scholars have debated on tourism development and empowerment with regard to gender from industrial perspective to post-industrialization (Kinnaired & Hall, 1994; Kothari, 2002). In their analysis empowerment in tourism development takes into consideration the changing role of gender, to include softening of tourism, activities, experiences and tastes as mechanism of human exploitation. The stimulation of prostitution by tourism advertises the increased availability of sexual opportunities mixing the exotic with erotic may lead to the spread of sexual transmission including HIV/AIDS. In addition to sex-tourism that has evolved into exploitation of male hosts by female tourists (Bauer, 2007:288-289)

there is also the emergence of the so-called gay tourism circuit that is received to undermine African culture. Richter (1989) explores the relation of gender in tourism employment in developing countries and stated that the most prominent tourist-related issues tend to be associated with the exploitation of women, the advantages and disadvantages of tourism as a means of economic development, and the problems poor nations have in retaining control over their own tourism destiny (Richter, 1989:2).

In summary, over the two decades, increasing focus has placed on sustainable development that includes social, cultural and environmental consideration. While the use of tourism has been supported by United Nations (UN), public, private and civil society decision-makers worldwide as one of the most effective tools for sustainable growth in the world of the poor (Mitchell & Ashley, 2007:46), it has been the subject of debate since the 1970s. Criticism on the links between development theory and the processes of tourism development is mainly related to failure to provide its promises but worsen the condition of the poor in their world. Critics of tourism development ranges from increased inequalities that accompanying threats to health such as violence and crime, drug and alcohol addiction (Forsythe, 1999). It also contributes to environmental degradation, Occupation Health and stimulates prostitution and spread of sexual transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS (Forsythe, 1999; Bauer, 2007).

1.1.3 Construction of the Research question

The research question highlights the major concern of the research, and it reflects that associated hypothesis. The sources of literature and case study of Cape Town forms the foundation of the main question under study. The research question is: Is international tourism development an effective tool for the sustainable growth in the world of the poor? Since tourism was identified as the most tools for sustainable growth in the world's poorest countries and meets the MDGs with health at the heart of poverty eradication, this question arises three research questions as follows: First, is tourism development an effective tool for meeting the millennium development goal (MDGs) having the health at heart of poverty reduction? Based on a review of relevant literature, the themes of tourism and development versus community health will be reached. The second question is who is the beneficiary of tourism development in the global political economy? Through applying the debate on international development theory, this study will attempt to answer the question: What makes difficult for

tourism development not addressing meeting the MDGs in Africa in general and Cape Town to address?

1.1.4 The aim of the research

The aim of this research is to critically interrogate the effects of tourism development universally advocated as a panacea that brings of economic development to developing countries. In summary, the thesis will address the following objectives:

- To use human security studies to critically engage and interrogate the processes of tourism development.
- To examine the role and significance of tourism in meeting the millennium development goals (MDGs) with health at the centre of poverty reduction.
- To provide an accessible account of a possible nexus between tourism development and human insecurity with reference to the spread of HIV/AIDS in developing countries such as African countries.

1.1.5 Justification of the research

The reason of the focus upon the effect of international tourism development in the world of the poor on health with reference to the spread of HIV/AIDS is twofold:

1. The author is involved in health and sustainable tourism development in developing countries, in particular in the promotion of health in tourism business as a tool for meeting the MDGs having health at the heart of poverty reduction as well as preservation of nature and culture.
2. As a result of global economic problem particularly the oil crisis at the beginning of the 1970s and the establishment of international capitalism restructuring, developing countries that have accepted the hot, speculative money were advised by the world bank and IMF to specialize in primary exports emphasize their 'comparative advantage' (Holden, 2005:115) where many poor countries had to export tourism as a means to generate foreign exchange. Although it has been universally acceptable as a truth that tourism development driven by the authority of neo-liberal economic doctrine can address the crisis as means of earning foreign exchange is criticized to only secure new markets for devel-

oped countries' products and exploitation of natural, cultural and human resources. Consequently, much attention will be paid to its contribution to the health and well-being of poor communities in developing countries.

1.1.6 Scope

The following are important aspects necessary to understand the boundaries of this thesis:

- The tourism and development debate focus on developing countries.
- The major field of this work is related to the tourism development and Human security such as political, social, cultural, and economic, environment aspect as well transmitted diseases to include the spread of HIV/AIDS.
- Sub-Saharan Africa, South Africa and specific Cape Town, have been chosen in this study to meet some of the objectives of this study as they are unique area where the question of tourism expansion and human insecurity to the reference of the high prevalence of HIV/AIDS associated to inequality in resources is problematic.

1.1.7 Research Methodology

Due to the complexity of the tourism debate with reference to health promotion particularly with specific reference to the spread of HIV/AIDS in poor community, two approaches (Human security and Clive Thomas's Typology) have been used in this research to meet the aims of this study.

1.1.7.1 Human security

The final report of the Commission on Human Security in May 2003, created through the initiative of the government of Japan after the UN Secretary General called a world free of want and free of fear at the 2000 Millennium, discusses human security as a people-centred approach, with the aim to protect people from a wide range of threats, including environmental pollution, transnational terrorism, massive population movements, such infectious diseases as HIV/AIDS and long-term conditions of oppression and deprivation (Commission on Human Security, 2003:6). In this document the concerns is how people live and breathe in a society, how freely they exercise

their many choices, how much access they have to market and social opportunities, and whether they live in conflict or in peace (Alkire, 1994:19).

1.1.7.2 Clive Thomas' Typology

The evaluation of the effect of the growth in global tourism development in Cape Town on community that are vulnerable to inequality accompanied with health issues such as the spread of HIV/AIDS in this study is based upon the four-pronged vulnerability typology developed by Thomas, using the available applicable data published by the city of Cape Town and Government White Paper on tourism.

Thomas' vulnerability framework recognises four major dimensions of small states, namely the (i) economy, (ii) environment, (iii) society and (iv) vulnerability of the institutional framework. He defines economic, social, environmental and institutional vulnerability as follows:

1. **Economic Vulnerability:** The greater than average risk small economies face from exogenous shocks which adversely affect their incomes, employment, output, markets, consumption and wealth (Thomas, 2004:1).
2. **Environmental vulnerability:** The greater than average risk small economies face of damage to their natural eco-systems (Thomas, 2004:2)
3. **Social vulnerability:** The greater than average risk posed by internal and external factors in undermining social cohesion, introducing systematic pathologies and eroding social capital. Illicit drugs, trade in sex-workers, violence, organized corruption and HIV/AIDS have been considered as social vulnerabilities (Thomas, 2004:2).
4. **Institutional vulnerability:** The greater than average risk posed by the limited capacity of domestic institutions to respond to the complexity and intensity of the pressures flowing from globalization (Thomas, 2004:2).

1.1.8 Definition of Key concepts

Sustainable Tourism is adopted by the World Tourism Organization is based on the 'Brundtland Report' under the title: Our Common Future (1987). This report and definition reflects the Protestant values such as stewardship, individual moral responsibility to enhance the opportunity for the future preserve the resources of the earth (Egmond, 2007:149). By definition, sustainable tourism development meets the needs of

the present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing the opportunity for the future. It is envisaged as leading to management of all resources in such a way that economic, social and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled, while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity and life support systems (www.world-tourism.org cited in Egmond, 2007:150).

Health promotion in this sense health encompasses physical, social and mental well-being, and does not merely reflect the absence of diseases or infirmity (Chu, 1994). Therefore, according to the WHO, health promotion is the process of enabling people to increase control over, and to improve, their health (WHO, 1986).

The tourism industry is noted to hold multiple health determinants (Bauer, 2007; Spiegel et al., 2008) that may expose employees, tourist and the immediate community to health related dangers. In this sense, indirect health factors include, social, economic, cultural and the environment, and direct health factors relates to vulnerability health to community and Occupation health safety particularly the local community working in tourism settings and spread of sexual transmitted diseases (Bauer, 2007:288). Table1.3 shows determinants of workers health in workplace and community that can also associated with the tourism business and tourist activities.

Where People Work	Where People live
• Work style and practices • Work groups • Workplace organization and culture • Workplace environment and conditions	• Lifestyle • Family/group network • Community structure and culture • Living condition (community Environment)

Table 1.1: Determinants of worker's health in workplace and Community

Source: WHO-WPRO, 1999:3).

Spiegel et al. (2008) noted several risk factors reported by employees working in tourism settings to include: stress, risk of pelvic diseases for women, varicose veins and back problems derived from higher work pressure and longer hours than in other jobs. In addition to the concern regarding the women who continue working into their pregnancy, there was also another health risks particularly associated with workers that are exposed to toxic agents such as cleaning products used for the benefit of tourism industry. Due to the global competition, pressure and the introduction of new technologies in tourism settings, organisation and cultural factors in the tourism in-

dustry such as management style, policies procedures, division of labour, workplace culture, the structure of tourism career, type of jobs and the payment system, all have the potential to develop negative impacts on the workers' health and well-being (Forysthe, 1999; France, 1997).

Human security is defined as the "the ability to pursue those choices in safe environment broadly encompassing seven dimensions of security-economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political (Boyd,2005:115).

Tourism debate in this study tourism debate is based on the point of departure that tourism is generally given a positive image to address the notion of inequality and poverty, it also accompanies threats to the health of the poor, and some authors speculate that it can also fuel the spread of HIV/AIDS. It is against this background that this thesis would like to stimulate the debate on how to integrate health promotion into sustainable tourism development.

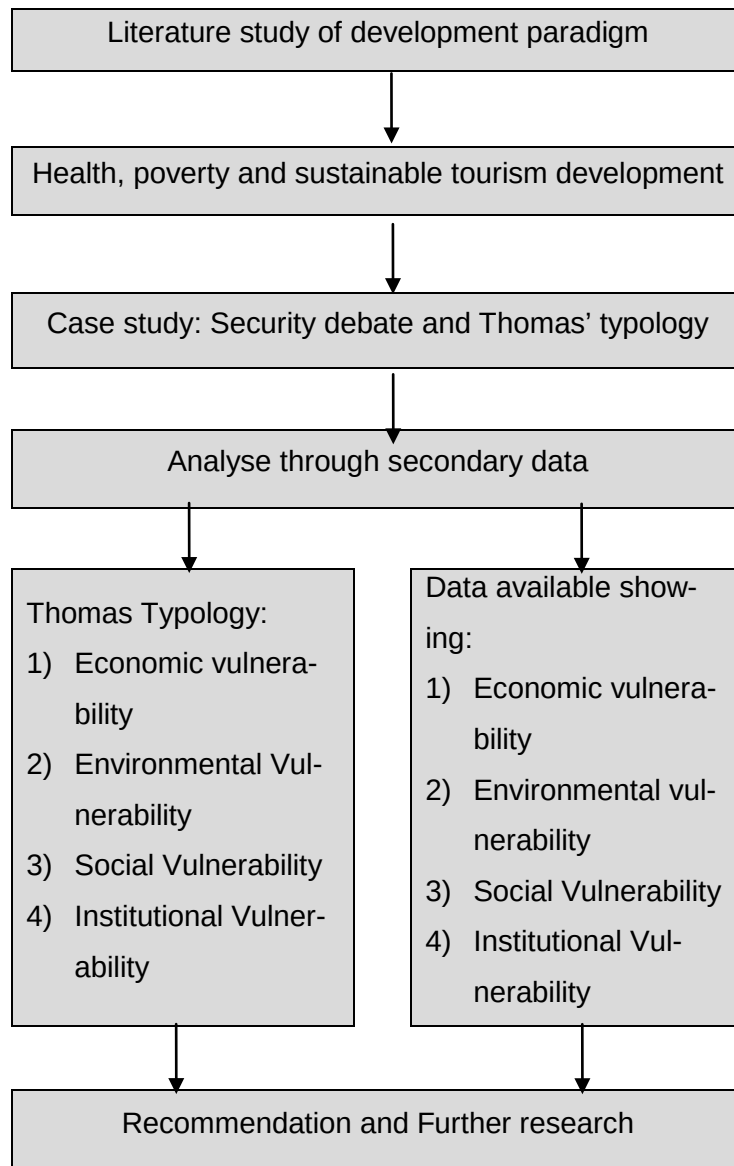


Figure 1.1: Conceptual frameworks for investigating the effect of the growth in global tourism in Cape Town on health promotion

1.1.9 Overview of the dissertation

This thesis consists of three main parts. Part one covers the debate on development theories, tourism development and sustainable growth in the world of the poor covering chapters two and three. Part two consists of the next two chapters (four and five) that present a general perspective and critics on some key issues of tourism development in addressing notions of inequality in resources as well as poverty reduction and health. Part three consists of chapter six and deals with general conclusion.

Chapter one gives the background of the study, the main argument on tourism development and contribution of the study with regard to health in the world of the poor.

Chapter two reviews the international development theory from an economic development perspective to include modernity, dependency, economic-neo-liberalism, alternative development and its link with tourism development.

Chapter three evaluate the impact of globalisation, technological innovation, tourism development in the world of the poor and its contribution to the health of the population, particularly to employees in tourism destinations.

Chapter four addresses the health, poverty and sustainable tourism development link in Africa with specific reference to the spread of HIV/AIDS.

Chapter five explores the dilemma of economic development of tourism and human insecurity with specific reference to the spread of HIV/AIDS using Cape Town as a case study.

Chapter six discusses the future health and sustainable tourism development in developing countries such as African countries in general and Cape Town in particular, and provides recommendations for future Health in tourism and sustainable development.

1.1.10 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has discussed an overview of the thesis. It also presented why and how this project is developed to respond to the international tourism development trends challenges in developing countries in general and Cape Town in particular with regard to the community health in the age of the spread of HIV/AIDS and to find strategies contributing to the promotion of a healthy and sustainable tourism development. The following chapter will start with a discussion on International development theories.

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CHAPTER TWO

UNDERSTANDING INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE WORLD OF THE POOR: TOURISM AND COMMUNITY HEALTH

2.1 Introduction

Tourism as one of the access routes through the window of globalisation is generally given a positive image to address the notions of inequality and poverty alleviation also generally considered to be one of the main causes of health problems, including the spread of HIV/AIDS. However, people seem to ignore what the social and economic structures changes related to globalisation and technological innovation promoted under international development theories implies and it seems that all tourist destinations did not necessarily benefit all nations and peoples at the same level. The exploration of international theories in relation to the health and wellbeing of local communities from political, economical, socio-cultural and environmental context will be discussed in this chapter. The chapter will also explore the schools of thought from selected international development theories, as well as the various positive and negative impacts on socio-economic development and the potential health consequences for both the local communities and the tourists.

2.2 Understanding the International Economic Development theories in the world of the poor

Development is about improvement in a complexity of linked natural, economic, social, cultural, and political conditions (Peet, 1999:1). The question to be answered is if this balance is possible in our time? This question has been explored in a number of ways, which includes the spectrum of views covering from advocates, to opponent's views. However, this question becomes difficult to answer when the global increase in inequality and poverty that accompanies the threats to human health is taken into account. The question arises how development is possible when the economic development sector promoted to solve societies' problems through a vehicle such as tourism (Bauer, 2007; Spiegel et al., 2008) is also known to draw the highest price from the poorest, in terms of economic, social, cultural, and environment as indirect health and transmission diseases, including HIV/AIDS as direct vulnerability to health? This chapter is about attempting to understand and explain the various concepts of international development theories and its impact on the tourism sector. The

purpose is not to criticise all the various economic development theories that do not take the reader any closer to possible answers to the afore mentioned question, but rather to sensitise the reader who is anxiously considering the living conditions and the plight of the poor and who knows what is needed to address the needs of the poor and the means that can be found for their relief and to stand for their rights.

2.3 A comparative perspective on economic growth theories and its implications for developing countries

International theories have been accepted and praised by the UN, public, private and civil society decision-makers throughout the world including the state leaders, as a way to the wealth of nations, without balancing the positive and negative effects on their citizens. On the other hand, various social and economic scholars seem to believe that international development theories in the age of a new global political economy are established to accumulate wealth at the cost of human life. The view taken in this chapter is to align more with social progressive counteractions and that international economic development theories is in essence just a new form of exploitation by developed countries at the cost of the under developed countries and postulate certain ameliorating mechanisms based upon the East Asian approach to benefit from the new global political and economic systems (Stiglitz, 2007).

2.3.1 A comparative perspective on economic growth theories

To understand the concepts of the famous economists that played a significant role in international development theories, this study also employs concepts used by Marx and Weber to explain social issues, though Adam Smith and Thomas Robert Malthus seem to be considered as the founders of international (economic) development theories. Smith seems to be the first person that paved the philosophy of accumulation of wealth at the expense of human life under the exploitation approach entrenched in the economic system and principle of division of labour. In his famous essay *The Wealth of Nations* he stated that a person working alone could perhaps make twenty pins per day (Ukpere & Slabbert, 2008).

But by breaking down the task into a number of simple operations, however, ten workers carrying out specialized jobs in collaboration with one another could produce 48, 000 pins per day. The rate of production per worker, in other words, is increased

from 20 to 4800 pins per day, each specialist operator producing 240 times as much as he or she was working in isolation (Smith 1776 cited in Ukpere & Slabbert, 2008:40). Despite of his suggestion of the increase in productivity based upon the division of labour, a manufacturing process which is categorised in three processes, namely (i) an increase in specialised skills that accompanies the locking of workers into specialised tasks, (ii) saving the time of passing a single tool from one worker to another and (iii) the possibility of the creation and integration of technology, he also noted other barriers for the accumulation of wealth addressed in our times. Charles Babbage in 1835 cited in Ukpere & Slabbert, 2008:40) mentioned that technology progress in production can be measured by the degree to which the task of each worker are simplified and integrated with those of other workers. This process reduces the prices employers have to pay for hiring workers and the time needed to learn each job, as well as weakening the workers' bargaining power and thus keeping wage costs down.

Smith did not perceive the division of labour alone as the solution to economic development, as there are other constraints that also need to be addressed, such as markets which in itself can also be constrained by politics. He suggested an unrestricted market as the solution for the distribution of assets and income. Smith with his idea of an unrestricted (self-regulating) market or 'invisible hand' actually did more in enlightening those who benefit from the current system of a global economy. Smith's ideology seems to result into an increase in inequality in the distribution of resources between those who own the means of production (industrial countries and capitalist societies) and the developing countries that provide the labour and resources used for production, particularly in the tourism sector. Smith perceived the high inequality in the profits as fair enough, due to the initiative of investors to take risks when injecting their capital, which is commonly known in financial terms as 'high risk, high return' (Smith, 1937). In this respect Stiglitz (2007:296) commented that the quest for understanding the circumstances under which Adam Smith's idea what markets do or do not do as if by an 'invisible hand' to economic efficiency, has for many years been the centre of economic research. Kenneth J. Arrow and Gerard Debreu won Nobel Prizes from their rigorous mathematical analyses based upon this basic economic philosophy. They defined the ideal conditions under which Smith was right, but also identified the numerous instances and conditions of market failures, where he was not right when, for instance, there are externalities (like pollution) where the actions of one in-

dividual have effects on others for which they are not compensated....Arrow and Debreu's analysis also assumed that technology was unchanging, or at least unaffected by actions of market participants - yet changes in technology are at the centre of the development. The only realistic approach is to agree to prioritise between the accumulations of wealth at the expense of human life for a "*fair deal*". If the main aim is agreed upon to satisfy those who benefit from the free market, as they are very powerful, then the needs of a country in crisis and its people are of lesser importance. If the reduction of poverty in developing countries such as Africa where nations and cities are known for poverty, pauperism, corruption, war, famine and diseases such as HIV/AIDS, is of paramount concern, then there are some special interests who will lose out and the possibility of change seems to be slim on behalf of the beneficiaries, simply because of an "unfair deal". According to France (1997:23) 'conversely the principle focus in suitability could be the improvement of the circumstances of the disadvantaged and powerless, which is likely to lose through the actions of market forces'. To promote the framework of the enlightenment theory of hierarchy between developed and developing countries, and restrict the 'strong man in order to spoil his house', Malthus in his Essay on Population (1798) formulated his theory of demographic transition based on the nexus between economic development and the reduction in fertility. In the Malthus analysis, the populations in developing countries have to understand that their behaviour depends on their behaviour linked to economic rationality, in which they are not themselves able to solve without outside intervention. Therefore, he advocates the regulation of the population on the one hand, and the intervention of foreign aid and developing countries on the other hand, as prerequisites for economic development (Malthus, 1933). According to Egmond (2007:12), early phases of industrial revolution in the 18th and 19th century brought about a new social class, namely the working class. Best (2006:14) adds that Marx views this class perspective in the context of exploitation in which the state in turn is viewed as an institution that helps to organise capitalist society in the best of the bourgeoisie (the class that owned the means of production). With regard to tourism, Holdern (2005:105) noted that understanding tourism in the context of free trade simply implies an understanding of the mechanism of exploitation by rich countries that own the means of production, in the developing countries.

During the Great Depression, the British economist John Mynard Keynes, formulated the theory of unemployment by elaborating economic principles that detailed how the

actions of governments could solve the problem of poverty and pauperism. He perceived the dark side of the 'invisible hand' approach that promotes the free market and advice for social policy considerations. According to his analysis, there are factors beyond the free market which includes the human factor or the human decision making process. As a result he paved the way to government involvement in market activities (Stiglitz, 2007:xvii). Stiglitz add that a quarter century ago, three schools of economic thought, namely the free market capitalism, communism, and the managed market economy, was in competition. It was only until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, that one was removed to stay with two schools only. Thus, current economic academia is basically spitted into two. On one hand the advocates of Smith's ideology of the 'invisible hand' or free market, and advocates of the importance of both government and private sector theory by Keynes on the other hand. Despite the huge differences in their perception of economic development, it seems that both have the same focus on saving the industrialised countries or capitalist societies (Stiglitz, 2007). However, he gives the hope and encouragement that there is a need for change in proposed new development programmes for making the benefits of scientific advances and the development of industry to improve the development in various areas of development in communities. The concern is how to deal with the truth or actual reality that is before our eyes on one hand and on the other hand to support Sachs (1992) who said that we must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas.

2.3.2 Development Economics, Globalization in developing countries

There seem to be more profound political implications behind the promotion of both theoretical positions, particularly in emphasising the economic multiplier factors and income inequality. Stiglitz (2007:16) noted that rich countries have established the International Monetary (IMF) Fund and the World Bank to reflect their aim with respect to old school rules that enhance their control. The United States agreed that Europe could appoint the head of the IMF, with an American in the number two position, and Europe agreed that the U.S. President could appoint the head of the World Bank. Their mission given was to ensure global financial stability. In addition to the IMF and World Bank, the IBRD and the UNDP are also other international institutions that have a strong influence on political and social environments in assisting coun-

tries to respond to the agenda of international development policy under the umbrella of poverty reduction and economic growth. While the IMF tried to change its charter in its annual meeting in 1997 in order to push countries to liberalise through capital market liberalization, opening up markets to the free flow of short-term hot speculative money, in 2003 it had conceded that, at least for many developing countries, capital market liberalisation had led not to more growth, but rather to more instability. On this regard, The Washington consensus forged between the IMF, the World Bank, and the U.S. Treasury has been criticized as to pay little attention to issues of equity, employment, and competition as well as the sequencing of reforms or how privatization were conducted (Stiglitz, 2007:16).

By the 1980s many African countries have experienced tough times as a result of corruption and ruthless dictators in Uganda, Congo, Kenya, and Nigeria on one hand, policies of African socialism in Tanzania and macro-economic policies in Ivory Coast on the other hand. Both presented as the main problems of economic shock. As a result many of African countries turn to the World Bank and the IMF for help. The short-term hot, speculative money given, was accompanied with policies that had to be executed and that were crafted by IMF to respond to this crisis. However, these policies more often seem to favour the Western creditors, than assisting the countries and its populations in crisis in general (Stiglitz, 2007:18) as the policies focused on (i) minimizing the role of government, (ii) emphasizing privatisation (selling off government enterprises to the private sector), (iii) trade and capital liberalization (eliminating trade barriers and impediments to free flows of capital) and (iv) and deregulation of (eliminating regulations on the conduct of business) (Stiglitz, 2007:27). Stiglitz commented that the positive potential of globalisation in which almost half of humanity living China and India benefited from the global economy and are supported by Dollar who also suggests that globalisation can reduce various forms of inequality (Dollar, 2001; Dollar & Kraay, 2000). Dollar and Kraay provide evidence that globalisation contributed to i.e. faster Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth in developing countries such as East Asia and visible increases in the income of the poor. However, these claims have been criticized by other researchers who suggest that inequality has worsened (Stiglitz, 2007). The data provided shows that 2.4 billion people whose countries have suffered from colonialism and exploitation, wars and internal disturbance, have dramatically increased their economic growth for a quarter of a century or more. On the other hand, despite the economic insecurity and inequality accompany-

ing globalisation to include recessions and depressions and the degradation of the environment, various countries in Africa, the region most negatively affected by globalisation from the period of colonisation, were stripped of its assets and its natural resources and is known for its poverty, corruption, war, famine and disease (Anholt, 2007; Stiglitz, 2007). In the 1990s, globalisation was embraced as a new economic system that is coming to rescue many countries that were economically sinking. With an increase in capital flows to developing countries between 1990 and 1996, the establishment of the World Trade Organisation in 1995 not only aimed to integrate the a rule of law to international commerce, but it was conceived by many to benefit everyone involved in the tourism industry. However, instead of putting in practice the promises of liberalisation in 1999, the opponents of globalisation were surprised with this system reflecting the apollonian culture or enlightenment theories that will be discussed later (Stiglitz, 2007).

Stiglitz noted the following five concerns that usually accompany globalisation:

- I. The rules of the game that govern globalization are unfair, specialized to benefit the advanced industrial countries. In fact some recent changes are so unfair that they have made some of the poorest countries actually worse off.
- II. Globalisation advances material values over other values, such as concern for the environment or for life itself.
- III. The way globalization has been managed has taken away much of the developing countries' sovereignty, and their ability to make decision themselves in key areas that affect their citizens' well-being. In this sense, it has undermined democracy.
- IV. While the advocates of globalization have claimed that everyone will benefit economically, there is plenty of evidence that both developing and developed countries that there are many losers in both.
- V. Perhaps most important, the economic system that has been pressed upon the developing countries- in some cases essentially forced upon them is inappropriate and often grossly damaging. Globalisation should not mean the Americanization of either economic policy or culture, but often it does and that has caused resentment (Stiglitz, 2007:9).

It is also to be noted that Stiglitz highlights other factors that reflect the dark faces of globalisation that came as surprise in 1999, namely:

- I. Factories workers in the United States saw their jobs being threatened by competition from China.
- II. Farmers in developing countries saw their jobs being threatened by highly subsidies corn and other crops from America.
- III. Workers in Europe saw hard-fought-for job protections being assailed in the name of globalization
- IV. AIDS activities saw new trade agreements raising the prices of drugs to levels that were unaffordable in much of the world (Stiglitz, 2007:7).

What is the secret that is behind the success of Asia and failure of Africa in benefiting globalisation? In September 2000, some 150 heads of states attended the Millennium Development Goal (MDGs) Summit, organized by United Nations (UN). They have been debating on how best to address the needs of the poor countries (Khanum & Singh, 2007; Stiglitz, 2007) by placing health at the heart of poverty reduction by an agreed upon target date of 2015. In the hope to meet these MDGs, the mandate of the UN, IMF and World Bank was to reduce worldwide poverty as a first priority. Also, globalisation with its components such as global tourism was challenged to contribute on the realisation of the MDGs (UNWTO, 2006c; UNWTO, 2007b). Therefore, through manifested development in East Asia in combination with the framework to think in terms of hybrid economic development theory on the other hand, led to a further and more diversified debate on the effect of globalisation on the poorer countries of the world.

2.3.3 The complexities of Economic Development and its reflections in International Development

Peet and Hartwick (1999) and Stiglitz (2007) address dependency and barriers in free market complexities within the general complexity of economics, but more particularly with respect to development in hybrid economics. Peet and Hartwick (1999) summarized the different theoretical positions of hybrid economic in nine points as follows:

- (i) Dualistic development: This theory aims to promote both modern and traditional sectors which have been implemented by East Asia governments.

They focused not only on price stability of the market, but also on social and economic stability, ensuring that jobs are created (Stiglitz, 2007:31).

- (ii) Mobilization of domestic resources: While in terms of GDP per capita, the Protestant countries seem to be the most prosperous countries of the world to include Denmark, Norway, and Sweden being a part of the periphery of Europe, to be among the top 10 developed countries in the world, whilst other countries with a much stronger resource donation, remained economically sinking (Olson, 1982; Morris & Adelman, 1988). Japan was the only non-Protestant country among the World's top 10 GDP countries that present good examples to learn from (Inglehart et al., 1998). Investments in Japan, like various other East Asian governments came from their own people, as the government was encouraging savings that assisted them not to depend on volatile capital flows from abroad. As a result, nearly all the countries of the region saved 25% or more of GDP. China, for example, has a national savings rate in excess of 40% compared to the United States with 14%. In Singapore, 42% of wage income was compulsory placed in a provident fund. Japan created savings institutions which reaches into the rural areas and provided the saving infrastructure and a convenient way for people to save (Stiglitz, 2007:31-32).
- (iii) Mobilization of foreign resources: Among the factors that assisted a country such as China, is that it was careful to open markets to the free flow of short-term, hot speculative money. Thus, the diversification of resources of foreign aid may avoid the country to rely on single supplier (Peet & Hartwick, 1999; Stiglitz, 2007).
- (iv) Industrialization strategy: From the successes of the East Asia, the lesson for the development is that it is of paramount importance to develop a strong domestic industrial sector in order to secure the foundation for a strong national economy, before entering the global competition. Without building strong institutions at national level, it is difficult for a country to take advantage of the positive effects of globalisation and its associated economic ideals (Stiglitz, 2007).
- (v) Agriculture strategy: Agricultural resources in developing countries are of great importance and attention should be given to the development of this industry so that less of the rural poor would be flocking to the cities in search of jobs. The agriculturist's idea of industrialists promoting a shift from agricul-

tural to industrial production as best way for development, simply push the agenda of capitalist societies. Marx mentioned this change of mode of production of people who initially lived in a form of society that he termed a *primitive consumer society*, in which there was no private ownership, no class system, no family and no incest taboo's to development, this form of development is simply the promotion of private ownership playing a central role in modern capitalism (Best, 2006:16). Stiglitz mentions the new programme of the World Bank which makes funds available to communities to spend as they deem necessary as a good idea that incorporates the notion that the people in the village know better than anyone else what they need to develop and contribute to their standard of living (Stiglitz, 2007).

- (vi) Trade theory: Some economists (Dollar, 2001; Dollar & Kraay, 2000) suggest that globalisation can reduce inequality and provide evidence that through globalisation emphasises the potential to a faster growth in the GDP in developing countries which is also visible in an increase in the income of the poor. However, the opponents have furiously criticised the GDP and average income as a measurement in that it does not give a good representation of the reality of disproportionate income and wealth between the rich and poor within a country.
- (vii) Human Capital Development: The workforce is considered as a source of development which is not fully utilised in underdeveloped countries. Thus, Education and the health of the workforce are perceived as essential in the contribution of economy.
- (viii) Project Appraisal: Structuralists acknowledge the importance of considering social problems in any form of economic investment. The East Asia governments realised that success requires social and political stability and that social and political stability is based on both high levels of employment and limited inequality.
- (ix) Development planning and Public policy: Politicians seem to be attracted to the positive virtues of trade liberalisation. For example they like to refer to the how tourism can create jobs, but often do not mention that the more skilled and higher paid positions are frequently occupied by non-local employees which leads to further leakages from the local economy.

In some developing countries, the government may fund some of its citizens to study tourism and business at a reputable institution, but often they are not employed in the tourism sector as a result of threats to their health in the tourism industry. France (1997:167) agreed that skills acquisition may be encouraged, but the opportunity to practice these skills and receive commensurate reward for them is not always available. In addition, even travel health acknowledge that tourism does not benefit all, but affects the life of many, particularly the poor, as it is often accompanied with threats, including threats to the local economy, social culture, environment and health of the people, of which the current concern is the spread of HIV/AIDS (Tourism Concern, 1999; Bauer, 2007).

The above hybrid economic theory, holding both aspects in one hand, namely centralised structural planning and self-regulating market activities, seems to lead to the same objective as the focus is on modernisation. On the other hand, the secret of the success of East Asia in globalisation based on self-regulating market activities are discussed as follows:

- (i) China followed its own council dictating standard expansionary macro-policies (not the policies recommended by the IMF elsewhere in East Asia). The East Asia governments made sure that the benefits of growth are not to the benefit of a few people, but widely shared by insuring the real stability of the communities and creation of new jobs.
- (ii) Globalisation was measured and paced and government intervened carefully but pervasively in the economy. They established infrastructure required for integrating in free market such as expanding primary education and higher education, trained highly skilled individuals capable of using advanced technology and investment in heavily infrastructure such as ports, and bridges to cut the cost of business in shipping goods out of the country (Stiglitz, 2007)..

Thus, from the 1960's onwards, these countries realized that to develop local industries is the sole solution for sustainable development. They did not only choose which sectors are needed to be developed but also they did not wait for the market to decide which areas should be developed. Nearly all the countries of the region saved 25% or more of GDP. Although there was an increase in GDP, which is relatively easy to measure, we tend to only measure what we strive for (Stiglitz, 2007:45). India and China are known for their increase in GDP, due to their strategy in reducing pov-

erty. In realizing the importance of the level of employment and limited inequality as a solution for social and political stability, East Asia governments did not only discouraged conspicuous consumption, but also wage disparities. In China, at least in the earlier stages of development, senior management typically received no more than three times the income worker. In Japan it was ten times higher whilst in recent years in the United States it was approximately a hundred times higher than that of the ordinary worker (Stiglitz, 2007).

Advocators of the free market trade to include Johnson in the neo-liberal tradition of Chicago School, emphasizes the importance of economic planning to regain trust in a hidden hand of Smith's principles. This is due to avoid the destruction of the global economic system in contrast to prioritizing state planning, as the state need to be equipped in order to address social justices. They perceived that underdevelopment is not a result of historical or global inequalities, but from a falsely implemented economic development in which they used empirical evidence that was implemented during the 1970's and 1980s (Brohman, 1996).

2.3.4 Free markets economic theories and Division of labour

Marx viewed a society primarily as a mode of production, and history of people who initially lived in a form of society that he termed primitive communism with agriculture as a mode of production in which there were almost no private ownership, without a class system that resulted in the development of private ownership and that brought about social institutions or the state that helped to organize capitalist society in the best interests of the bourgeoisie (Best, 2006). In the Marxian analysis and class of division, the bourgeoisie as a class that owned the factories, shops and offices (i.e. the means of production), exploit the proletariat the class of people who did not own the means of production, but who provided the labour by not paying them the full value of their labour power (i.e. not paying enough to acquire basic needs and the needs for the future generations of workers) (Best, 2006:14-15). in his criticism to Adam Smith's idea that markets do, or do not operate 'as if by an invisible hand', Marx (Best, 2006:17) stated that in the social production of their life, men enter into defined relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, *relations of production* which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the econom-

ic structure of society, the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political super-structure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness. In addition to this contribution to the critique of political economy, Marx (Fine,1982; Ukpere & Slabbert, 2008) criticized Adam's idea of division of labour when he stated that it is quite to imagine that the difference between above social division of labour and the division of the manufacture, is merely subjective, exists for the observer who in the case of manufacture can see at a glance all the numerous operations being performed on one spot, while...the spreading-out of the work over great areas and the great number of people employed in each branch of labour obscured the connection. But what is it that forms the bond between the independent labour of the cattle-breeder, the tanner and the shoemaker? It is the fact that their respective products are commodities. What, on the other hand, characterises the division of labour in manufacturer? It is the fact that specialized worker produces no commodities.

In the Marxian analysis, working class people (proletariat) have their ideas manipulated by the media, schools and religion, with the result that they perceive inequality as fair and just and where this manipulation is the result of a false consciousness (Best, 2006:23). In contrast to Marx, the German sociologist Max Weber argued for an alternative view of class based on the market system. In addition to the bourgeoisie, he views people who own large amounts of land to have the significant power as the same as the bourgeoisie and he called them the *rentier* class. According to Weber the institutional order is stratified in three distinct ways on basis of: class, status groups and parties all concerned with the distribution of power as follows: (i) Class concerned with stratification of economic order (Best, 2006). This occur when a number of people have a specific economic component of their life chances in common, when economic interests have a central role to play in the possession of goods and opportunities for income and when people can be linked in terms of the price that they can command for their skills with the labour market. (ii) Status is concerned with a stratification of the social order.

The same argument was followed by Crompton (1993 in Best, 2006:20) who puts this status in three ways:

(1) A prestige grouping or conscious community: A group of people who share a common culture to exclude others (In example the British ruling class forming a network around private clubs, the season and the tour). In this sense status has an important role to play in class formation. (2) Lifestyle or social standing: Here status refers to the formation of cultural practices that exclude others who do not share the right forms of dress, speech, and view of the world. (3) Non-market-base claims to material entitlements or life chances: These are groupings often made up of people who share the same professional occupation, such as doctors, who for the benefit of the community do not exploit the market to the full. Political party refers to a form of stratification based upon political order. Weber noted that the people who hold political power do not necessarily hold the economic power or have a higher status in society. Although claiming to be associated with character, a rational order among staff and most of the party's aim is to win power in any way, which might include the use of violence to canvas among voters by force, argument, truth claims, lies and deception (Best, 2006:21).

Parsons identified six bases of differential valuation: (i) Membership of a kinship group - family members share the same status and position in the hierarchy, which is beyond the status achieved through a person's occupation. (ii) Personal qualities - qualities such as sex, age, personal beauty, intelligence, strength or any other quality that is not based upon personal effort. (iii) Achievements - the greater the contribution that a person makes to an organization, the greater their status evaluation should be. (iv) Possessions - these need not be material objects, but may also include non-material things of which the possession is seen to belong to an individual and as valued by others (i.e. life experience). (v) Authority - the institutional right to influence others can also become a source of differentiation. Authority over a person means superiority over that person. (vi) Power - people who have the ability to influence others and acquire possessions without the support of any institutional sanction, without claiming the right to do so from an organizational institution (Best, 2006:25).

Beside social divisions, Lewis (1961 in Best, 2006:36) commented on culture and poverty that poverty is not simply a state of economic deprivation. In his view the culture of poverty refer to a marginal people who are not integrated into national institutions-including diverse bodies of schools, political parties, trade unions, banks, hospitals, museums, department stores, art galleries and many more. The reason to be

excluded from these institutions is either because poor people are not trusted or they are ineligible to join or cannot afford to use them. Lewis provides the following common psychological characteristics of the people who share the culture of poverty:

- Living in crowded quarters and lack of privacy.
- Gregariousness and high incidence of alcoholism.
- Frequent resort of violence in the settlement of quarrels and use of physical violence in training of children.
- Wife beating, early initiation into sex and free unions consensual marriages.
- High incidence of abandonment of mothers and children.
- A tendency towards mother-centred families and a strong predisposition to authoritarianism.
- Strong present-time orientation with little ability to defer gratification.
- Little planning for the future and sense of resignation and fatalism.
- A belief in male superiority-machismo which is entrenched in the cult of masculinity.
- A corresponding (with above) marriage complex amongst women.
- A high tolerance for psychological pathology (Lewis, 1961 in Best, 2006:36).

Townsend criticised furiously Oscar Lewis's work by arguing that his methodology is *individual-oriented* and *uncontrolled*. He is unclear in the terms of his unit of analysis and unrepresentative in his choice of families. The criteria he used to distinguish the sub-culture of poverty were inexact and inconclusive. Townsend argued that 'Lewis seems to be resurrecting the Victorian notion of the undeserving poor' (Townsend, 1979:69 cited in Best, 2006:37). He bases his views on a description of Jesus Sanchez and his children as being lazy people in Central America, where in the time of his project, unemployment was not an option for people as the society, were living in a society without a social security system. Jesus Sanchez's is an example of people that had to work very hard for very low wages from the age of ten. In his interview, Jesus has been employed in the same restaurant for 30 years (Best, 2006:37). In 1990 Giddens identified structuration in societies as the result of three elements, namely the phenomenon of (i) division of labour, (ii) authority and (iii) distributing of various specialised groupings in society. He argued that class divisions were no longer determining people's life chances.

Giddens (1994 in Best, 2006:45):

- Class is no longer experienced as 'class', but as a series of individual constraints and some opportunities.
- Some professional people and other high-income earners attempt to exclude themselves from the wider society by not making use of the NHS or state schools and living in houses or apartments that are patrolled by guards.
- Lifestyle and taste have become significant as markers of social differentiation.
- The generational transmission belt of class is broken, parents have much less importance in determining the life chances of their children.
- Class is no longer a 'lifetime experience' because of 'global influences upon the economy movements up and down the class ladder affect everybody.

2.3.5 Summary

Economic development theories may be summarised as one form of development in which developed countries exploit developing countries which includes the capital exploitation of labour. In doing so, the increase of global linkages in economic, technological and cultural domains have been given a positive image under free market principles, supported by a web of international treaties and institutions that have been given a positive image to improve health. However, the analysis of the economic theories criticized by socialists also reveals that international economic development projects seems to favour particularly the free market, or invisible hand economic theory that seems to contribute to increased inequality in societies. Indeed, those countries that have failed to compete in this free market environment due to a lack of domestic industries, adapt to increase their interdependence with opportunities that undermine sustainable development and the health of local communities. An increase in inequality with respect to access to resources is universally acceptable under the free market system and invisible hand theories, but is also criticized as to produce accompanying threats to health. This phenomenon has been evident, especially in the tourism development process where the free market principles are reflected (Tourism Concern, 1999; Bauer, 2007). Thus, the sole solution for making the economic development theories for developing countries is to have strong local industry, reduce inequality in employment and encourage fair equitable benefits between developed and developing countries.

2.4 Religion, Tourism and Modernity: Illustration from social Divisions in Africa

Modernism has been acknowledged and praised as a source of development in many countries, without considering its effects on the health and well-being of local communities. Associated with the religions and tourism, modernity is criticized to increased social division accompanied with threats to the health to include racism, slavery, war and genocide which all undermine the sustainability of the development and health of the communities, particularly in the age of HIV/AIDS. It is to be noted that the point of departure in the arguments that follows, this thesis align more with the idea that tourism and social divisions are both products of modernity as reflected in social life or beliefs entrenched in the Western cultures and imposed on developing countries as a means for exploitation.

2.4.1 Understanding modernity in religion and tourism

Modernity is defined as modes of social of life or organizations that mirror the discourse and beliefs that stems from the Enlightenment that emerged out of a religious context that manifested from the 17th century onwards and influenced philosophers and social theorists worldwide (Giddens, 1990 in Egmond, 2007:10). On one hand the Enlightenment debate holds to the traditions of 'logos', a tradition that originated from ancient Greek philosophy, particularly to Aristotle who based his philosophic principles on reason and rationality. On the other hand, however, Christian thought is different from the Enlightenment thinking as their theology is based in Divine providence. While Rostow mentioned in his stages of Economic growth, that all societies have to go through five stages (Figure 2.1) in order to be characterised as modern by rapid economic development and high consumption (Sharply, 2002a; Holden, 2005), Enlightenment thinkers claimed that to be modern is to be rational and, rather than trust in divine providence, avoid irrational factor (Egmond, 2007:11).

Around the 18th century another movement (not a denomination) called Deism has emerged. According to Naphy (2007:155) Deism was a religious offshoot of the Enlightenment, the philosophical movementthat advocated reason as the basis for ethics and government (among other things) rather than revealed, objective truth. It's generally tenets were a denial of the Trinity and the divinity of Christ. It also tended to

reject the historical accuracy of biblical miracles, regarding them as allegorical or mythical. It also denied the active involvement of God in history, thereby denying Providence as most traditional Calvinistic Protestants would have understood it. It is against this background that discussion on the Enlightenment and Protestant Ethic on their contribution to the economic development particularly tourism and health will follow.

2.4.2 Modernity and Tourism

The relationship between modernization theory and tourism is inherent a controversial and ambivalent concept. Tourism is promoted as a development strategy that can assist to address the notion of inequality and poverty eradication (UNWTO, 2006c;2007b) as it will generate foreign exchange, increase the balance of payment and Gross National Product (GDP), attract foreign investors (capital development), transfer of technology and generate employment (Shaw and Wiliam, 1994 in France, 1997; UNWTO, 2007b). Naylor (1967 cited in Opperman and Chon, 1997:16) commented on the value of tourism to Spain, when it was still considered to be a developing country that tourism is perhaps the only sector of economic activity in which the principles of free trade still apply. More important, it is now possible for underdeveloped countries to improve their economies, not by increasing exports via low-cost production, but by tourism. However, the opponents of tourism as a driver for economic development criticized the above statement. In this respect Sachs (1992:1) argued that the idea of development stands like a ruin in the intellectual landscape. Delusion and disappointment, failures and crime have been the steady companions of development and they all tell a common story: It did not work. Despite the conditions of tourism development that seems to mirror the context of the development stage of a country as suggested by Rostow (1967 in Holden, 2005:110) Sharply and Telfer (2002:2) add that developmental role of tourism should not be universally accepted or embraced as panacea without an understanding of how this development can be achieved.

STAGE FIVE THE AGE OF MASS CONSUMPTION

The economic matures, the population can enjoy the benefits of mass consumption, a high standard of material living and, if it wants, a welfare state. According to Rostow, in the US this stage was symbolized by the mass production of motor car. The balance in the economy

progressively shifts to a service economy vis-a vis an individual one.

Stage 4- THE DRIVE TO MATURITY

Over a period of approximately 40 years, the country builds on its progress. Investment grows, 10-20 per cent of the national income is invested in industry, technology spreads to all parts of the economy, and the economy becomes a part of international system. There is a move away from heavy industry, as what is produced now becomes a matter of choice rather necessity.

STAGE3 -THE TAKE OFF

Industrialisation replaces agriculture as the generating force of the economy. This happens through new technology or the influence of the entrepreneurial class who prioritise modernization of economy. Agriculture also becomes commercialised with a growth in productivity. The influence on the market leads to new political, social and economic structures. Rural to urban population drift takes place.

STAGE 2- PRECONDITION FOR TAKE OFF

New ideas as favouring economic progress arise, leading to the idea of economic change through increased trade and the establishment of infant industries. A new political elite emerges, such as the entrepreneurial bourgeoisie of the Industrial Revolution to challenge the power of the landed classes.

STAGE 1- TRADITIONAL SOCIETY

Pre-industrial, usually agricultural societies. Characterised by restricted low output, ancient technology and poor communications. A hierarchical social structure with little social mobility. Values are fatalistic.

Figure 2.1: Rostow's stages of Growth

Source: Holden (2005:110).

In a more psychological line of thought, Wang (2000:29) leads us to an understanding of tourism, but also includes the roots of modernity, Enlightenment and the Logos versions of modernity with the key principle of Rationalisation (Weber, 1978 in Egmond, 2007:11). In the words of Wang, the rational part of modernity comprises of an institutional order (capitalism, industrialism and bureaucracy) and intellectual order (the basis of science and technology), a temporal order (scheduling, synchronization, routinisation, reaccelerating of tempo and rhythm) and a socio-spatial order (urbanization, globalization) (Wang, 2000:15). Institutional order has also been commented by Weber (1978 in Egmond, 2007:11) who agreed that capitalism, industrialism and bureaucracy are all results of a rationalization process. Thus, in reality, the Enlightenment has not contributed to economic development, but it is the process of

modernity that has in essence been criticized as being accompanied by exploitation and divisionism.

From a modernity perspective, Marx could be interpreted as that he viewed modern society as the result of a mode of reduction and change from people that initially lived together in a form of society that he termed Primitive communism: a mode where was no private ownership and no class system to trigger the development of private ownership (Best, 2006:16). Egmond (2007:12) viewed it from an industrial revolution perspective that took place as a result of modernity that brought about a new social class and working class, which is reflected in the change from farmers and a farmers working class who were bound by their agriculture land before the means of production changed to incorporate such sectors as the mining and service sectors that are generally associated with a rapid urbanization process.

From a Marxist perspective, especially during the early phases of the industrial revolution, the class that owned the means of production, (bourgeoisie) exploit the working class (proletariat) of people who did not own the means of production, but who in turn provided the labour through long, strict scheduled working days, poor working conditions and little leisure time (Best, 2006; Egmond, 2007). As a result of the exploitation, the working class (proletariat) started to compel their employers (bourgeoisie) to improve the basic working environment and living conditions. Marx added that workers have to be paid enough to cover their basic needs such as food and clothes and little extra for the basic needs of the next generation of workers. With regards to little time of leisure, he noted that the surplus value of labour (time in which the workers are not paid for the value of their input) is exploitation (Best, 2007:15). On the other hand, the first 20th century was dominated by a battle in several Western countries between labour unions and employers. Among the causes of these conflicts were paid leave arrangements and holiday entitlements. It is after the Second World War, that this conflict ended in most countries with holiday entitlements which were constructed as a series of continuous days. It is this holiday phenomenon which became one of the main drivers of modern tourism which was originally introduced as an 'escape' or push-motive (Egmond, 2007). Edgmond noted three lines of thought of tourism as escape motive. At first there is (i) rationalization, which views tourism as a rational and functional escape, (ii) the important for compensation for work and essential means to enhance productivity and efficiency, as well as (iii) an element of a

reasonable standard of living Egmond, 2007). Krippendorf (France, 1997:39) adds that the theory of travel as a recuperation and regeneration and argues that travel restores bodily and mental strength used up in everyday life, at work, school and in the family.

MacCannell and Cohen argue from the perspective of alienation as a response to the prevalence of anomie in the industrial society (Rojek, 1995; Wang, 2000) where people are looking for the meaning in the life of others and states that everyday life and its grinding familiarity stand in opposition to the many versions of the 'high life' in the modern world. Everyday life threatens the solidarity of modernity by atomizing individual and families into isolated local groupings which are not functionally or ideologically interrelated. But everyday life is composed of souvenirs of life elsewhere. In this way, modernity and the modern consciousness infiltrate everyday existence, at the same time, subordinate it to life elsewhere....The more the individual sinks into everyday life, the more he is reminded of reality and authenticity elsewhere (Egmond, 2007:14). Complementary to MacCannell, Cohen mentioned five ways in which individuals could find a spiritual motivation away from his usual environment as (i) recreation, (ii) diversionary, (iii) experiential, (iv) experimental and (v) existential modes (to be explained in more detail later). However, despite the fact that the above theories of MacCannell and Cohen are popular in tourism debates, the empirical support to validate these views seems to be limited (Egmond, 2007).

The divisionary mode has become interesting in the tourism debate as it refers to a mere escape from the reality of everyday life into an imaginary world of freedom. The motive behind travel is to get away from your known environment in what is understood as in civilized manner for a relative short period of time (Krippendorf in France, 1997:40). This institutionalized setting for contemporary excursions away for a short period is in Marxist terms constructed for the workers by the captains of the leisure industry to be perceived as to reduce us 'to a state of passive consumption, a state identified with animal functions (Rojek, 1995:16) of which the purpose is said not to serve the purpose of recuperation and renewed energy for daily work, but the mere escape from the constraints of reason and rationality. Cohen and Taylor (Egmond, 2007:26) classify three free areas where instincts, impulses, desires, play and pleasure, feelings, emotions, imaginations, etc., are not subjected to control measures. The three areas are (i) hobbies, games, gambling and sex, (ii) new landscapes such

as holidays and adventures and (iii) mindscapes, which refer to drugs and therapy. But Wang (2000 cited in Egmond, 2007:25) argues that although logos dominate the spaces of modernity, there is some evidence to demonstrate that modernity has also supplied *eros* with a certain space. In reality, modernity has not only witnessed a process in which rationality has subdued and restrained irrational and non-rational factors (logos-modernity), it has involved a processing which certain irrational and non-rational factors (*eros*) have been licensed and channelled to approved safe and structurally separated zones, to be realised and celebrated, rather than repressed. Thus, Modernity in the context of Enlightenment ideology and practices has brought about development and achieved accumulation of wealth, but to the expense of human life. It has increased not only an integrated division between workers, employers and employees, but in response to the exploitation, it has supplied *eros*, a process in which certain irrational and non-rational factors under the umbrella of tourism phenomenon is supplied. Thus, from this viewpoint there is some doubt that tourism is made for development, but rather for the benefits of the captains of leisure and promotion of the modern Western values (Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Rojek, 1995). In this regard, Sharpley (2002a:34) commented that if development itself is a debatable, then the potential for any activity, including tourism, to contribute to development must also be in doubt. The Question remaining is how about religion?

2.4.3 Protestant ethic and economic development

It is highly debatable whether Protestantism can be also put into the same boat with enlightenment. Protestantism has been given a positive image by those who believe that its work ethic accompanying with asceticism, contributed to the economic growth of protestant countries (Weber, 1976 in Egmond, 2007:18). However, the opponents of Protestantism such as Naphy, the reformation of the 16th century in its opposition to both the doctrines and the political positions of the dominant Roman Catholic Church, is interpreted by him (Naphy) as the main causes of globalization processes that effect i.e. social divisions at the workplace, disintegration of family structures, feminism and its associates, war and terrorism, and homosexuality. While Wang (2000:29) mentioned how various logos versions of modernity celebrates the victory and ascendance over non-rational, and how they have been controlled employing their powers of both rational agency to include modern surveillance and management and rational mechanisms such as formal organizations. Naphy (2007:244-249) on the

other hand mentioned two groups of fundamentalists, termed 'born-again' and 'Bible-believing' protestants, which liberalists differently termed 'mainline', and 'liberal modernist' protestants, who represent 'Churchianity', rather than 'true 'Christianity. He stated that just as modernism and liberalism were not specifically Protestant, or even religious, phenomena in opposition to these movements have not been necessarily Protestant or religious.

Fundamentalism has come to refer to several different understandings of religious texts, such as thought and practice through literal interpretation of religious texts such as the Bible or Koran, and sometimes also anti-modernist movements in various religions. Fundamentalism is characterized by a sense of embattled alienation in the midst of the surrounding culture, even where the culture may be normally, or even greatly, influenced by the adherents' religion (Naphy, 2007:248). However, while he commented the fundamentalist in Islam called Ujam'at (religion enclaves with connotations of close fellowship) self-consciously engaged in a Jihad (struggle) against Western culture that suppresses authentic Islam (submission) and the God-given (Shari'ah) way of life, Barber does not perceive Jihad in the same way as enemy of Western culture, but rather as a reaction to the Western process in accord with McDonalised (McWorld), another rational systems that has also dehumanized people and even undermine the rationality. Jihad stands not so much in stark opposition as in subtle counterpoint to McWorld and is itself a dialectical response to modernity whose feature both reflect and reinforce the modern world's virtues and vices - Jihad via McWorld rather than Jihad versus McWorld. The forces of Jihad are not only remembered and retrieved by the enemies of McWorld but imagined and contrived by its friends and proponents. Jihad is not McWorlds adversary; it is its child (Barber, 1996 cited in Best, 2006:184).

In contrast to the perception of Naphy (2007), Weber in his famous book *The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism* (1978), viewed the Reformation as an event with positive outcomes. He mentioned that the Reformation brought about the condition for economic activities to flourish, but not by Luther as he disapproved commerce as an occupation, but according to the Calvinist concept which postulates that God had ordained for each of us a place in the world so that we could carry out his plan. Secular enjoyment and consumption was therefore a potential danger for the Calvinist lifestyle (Egmond, 2007:30). Thus, the main purpose of Calvinist theolo-

gy on individual psychology was to separate the religious views that is associated with the production of goods and the consumption of goods (Badford de Long, 1989 in Egmond, 2007:30). It is said that the presence of entrepreneurial classes that holds within Radical Protestantism and that led to an ethos of diligence in one's business, combined with the avoidance of all spontaneous enjoyment life, played an important role in the process of wealth accumulation (Weber, 1976 in Egmond, 2007: 31). In addition, Darwinian mechanisms of *the survival of richest* in the market place evidenced that those who applied this ethos would dominate the economic environment and save the necessary capital for future generations (Bardford de long, 1989 in Egmond, 2007:31). Inglehart et al. (Egmond, 2007:18) mentioned that these seeds left by Puritans in 17th century, has deeply influenced the contemporary value systems of Protestant Europeans countries such as Denmark, Germany, Iceland, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and to a certain extent Great Britain and Austria, and migrant countries such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the USA. The authors mentioned that in terms of GNPI, the Protestant countries are the most prosperous countries of the world, and only Japan is the sole country that is not a protestant country among the top ten countries in the world (Inglehart et al. in Egmond, 2007:22). This has been also confirmed by many other scholars who commented that the Scandinavian welfare societies of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, previously known as part of the underdeveloped regions of Europe, have the highest GDP per capita in the world (Olson, 1982; Morris & Adelman, 1988). Vogel (2001:27-30) identifies the main characteristics of the Protestant philosophy, known as a direct legacy of Calvinism as follows:

- (i) The protestant view of the world is relatively pessimistic or even apocalyptic and if people cannot continue their Protestant behaviours and values, they are doomed.
- (ii) There is a deep suspicion of self-indulgence and excessive consumption and strong bias in favour of self-discipline.
- (iii) It is a moral rigorous religion, one which places a high value on consistency. If something is morally wrong, one should not do it.
- (iv) The ordinary person bears some individual moral responsibility for the fate of the world (stewardship).
- (v) It is a relatively egalitarian religion, one based on the relationship between God and each individual (This theology has a link with democracy with the core concept of rights of both humans and nature).

- (vi) Nature is a source of spiritual value in which they perceive the power of God and God's love for man in the creation.
- (vii) It can be described as a guilt culture which also hosts extremists.

Balance of masculinity and gender roles where men are supposed to be assertive and tough, focused on material success and expect the women to be modest, tender and concerned with the quality of life, which also applies to a man. In the Scandinavia countries and the Netherlands the dominant values characterized by their citizens include taking maximum account of value and dignity of all peoples, modesty, and sympathy for the weak, promoting equity of work life. In the case of conflicts, they often have a tendency of compromise and negotiate. Despite the fact that from a liberalist perspective, Protestants are criticized for leaving their old ways, in general, Protestant countries value development per se, and more specifically the development of the Third World, and sustaining the environment as a virtue (Inglehart et al., 1998 in Egmond, 2007:22). Indeed, not all have followed and/or maintained the principles, as some countries have shown a tendency of becoming more liberal, such as the USA, Australia, Canada and New Zealand who fail to recognize the combination of Protestant principles and the playful element of liberal and modernist influences (Egmond, 2007). The mixture of liberalism and the inherent rights entrenched in modernism, is not only undermining and often accepted as true values and norms, but continues to impact on cultures and threats to sustainable development and health in Africa (Homosexuality in Africa). The factors of liberalism currently promoted among conservative religious and secular political opponents include the ideas of individual liberties, person dignity, free expression, religious tolerance, private property, universal human rights, transparency of government, and limitations on government power, popular sovereignty, and national self-determination, privacy, a free-market economy and free trade were all radical notions in eighteenth century (Naphy, 2007).

2.4.4 Religion and sexual identity

Naphy (2007:237) commented on Christian leaders, particularly Anglican leaders as to pioneer and lead by example with the recent election of a gay Bishop, Gene Robinson, and the election in 1980s of a black female bishop, Barbara Harris, whereas in America they have combined and complicated the interplay of religion (Bible) and

Americanism (the Constitution and Declaration of Independency). In Africa, he commented on the impact of Protestant churches in fighting against apartheid particularly from the Anglican Churches. Commented on its leader in South Africa Bishop Desmond Tutu as the main leader in fighting against apartheid since 1976 and reconciliation to end discrimination, as Christian he necessarily also advocated to the homosexual communities employing the Bible as reference of his idea on these issues perceived by many authorities and African people as threats, not only to an increase of HIV/AIDS, but also to a healthy culture (Chacha & Nyangena, 2006).

In 2005 he employs the Bible to articulate his response to discrimination: "I am deeply saddened at a time when we've got such huge problems...that we should invest so much time and energy in this issue... I think God is weeping...Jesus did not say, if I be lifted up I will draw some. Jesus said if I be lifted up I will draw all, all, all, all, all. Black, White, Yellow, rich, poor, clever, not so clever, beautiful, not so beautiful. It's one of the most radical things. All belong, gay, lesbian, so called straight, all, are meant to be held in this incredible embrace that will not let us go. All....Isn't it sad, that in a time when we face so many devastating problems-poverty, HIV/AIDS, war conflict - that in our [Protestant Anglican] Communion we should be investing so much time and energy on disagreement about sexual orientation? We [Anglicans] used to be known for embodying the attribute of comprehensiveness, of inclusiveness, where we were meant or accommodate all and diversify, saying we may differ in our theology, but we belong together as sisters and brothers and we [the Anglican Communion] now seems hell-bent on excommunicating one another. God must look on us and God must weep" (Naphy, 2007:237). However, in the context of politics it must be accepted that sexual diversities affect the health and well-being of many in Africa and that homosexuality is not only opposed by various political leaders, but also by religious leaders in many African countries, although it is supported by international human rights movements (Chacha & Nyangena, 2006:30). It was stated that in Uganda, that church leaders of the Uganda House of Bishops alarmed the government not to register a gay and lesbian group named Integrity Uganda. The church group reportedly described the gay organisation as unbiblical and inhuman, and a church statement accused the gay organisation of serving as a front for US gays and lesbians to set up a base in Uganda (Chacha & Nyangena, 2006:31). In the context of perceiving homosexuality as a threat to traditional African culture, it is also one of the important resources that attract tourists to Africa, which also has the potential to

undermine tourism development. In 1999, the BBC Online organized a poll on this notion and the following was one of the reactions that were posted. Homosexuality has no social redeeming value, and is a serious threat to the African culture. The acceptance of homosexuality in Africa will be the beginning of the end for African culture. I wish President Obasanjo of Nigeria will join the likes of Zimbabwe, Kenya, and Uganda to condemn this scourge (Chacha & Nyangena, 2006:31).

2.4.5 Summary

This section reviewed the challenges of modernity in the context of religion and tourism. Religion as one of the main components of modernity and tourism attraction which underlies the social and organization life of Europeans have resulted in a wide range of social divisions and exploitations that led to tourism as a response to these issues.

2.5 Tourism and dependency theory

This view emerged in 1950 and 1960s as a theory against the socio-economic and political position of modernity. The framework of dependency theory lies in addressing the notions of equality and exploitation in natural, material and human resources that generate inequalities among the developed and developing countries (Telfer, 2002a; Holden, 2005). The core argument is that reasons for failure of developing countries to become developed, include external economic, political and institutional structures that hold the under developing country dependent upon the developed countries (Bianchi, 2002:269-271). Thus, dependency theory noted that the accumulation of wealth of in European country and its development were at expense of underdevelopment of the peripheral countries as described by Frank. According to Frank (1979 cited in Peet and Hartwick, 1999:111) underdevelopment was generated by the same processes that developed the centre; in particular, under development in the centre's development. He argue that dependency is not a new phenomenon, but has a long history, particularly during the period of colonialism in (17th century) through a system of metropolises and satellite countries in which this system contributed to the development of one part at the cost of the other (Holdern, 2005:113-114). Two schools of dependency theory (Latin American structuralism and Classical Marxism theory) identified various issues with relation to development and a developing

dependency relationship. According to Peet and Hartwick (1999:107), the primary message of the dependency school was that European development contributed to the problem of underdevelopment.

These theorists noted that the development of Europe was mainly based on the external destruction through brutal conquest, colonial control, and the stripping of non-Western societies of their peoples, resources and surpluses. In addressing the problem of developed countries that accumulate wealth with high profits, a development strategy was suggested that focussed upon domestic industrialization, protectionism and import substitution. The applicability of some of the principles of this economic system such as strong domestic industrialization before opening to the free market seemed to be the cause of economic growth in East Asia (Stiglitz, 2007).

Another dominant school of dependency is the Marxist perception of dependency which mainly derived from classical Marxism that manifested in the context of Rostow's (1967) *Stages of Economic Growth*. This theory also bases its criticism on the historic revolution of an increased and unequal gap between the rich countries and the poor countries under the capitalist economic system (Todaro, 1994:81). In line with Frank who argued that metropolitan capitalism accumulates wealth through the exploitation of the periphery (Holdern, 2005:113-114), Marxists theory also addresses the notions that the powerful dominant contemporary development paradigms of economic development, modernization and demographic change as discussed in previous sections.

As development of society is important and inescapable, this theory does not contest the notion of development, but under Structural Marxism or alienation conditions of capitalism, assumed the critical orientation towards Enlightenment rationalism. In this sense Marx views society as a mode of production, and history is the change from initial people lived in a form of society that he called Primitive communism, were bound by their agricultural lands with a mode of production in which there were no private ownership and no class system to the development of private ownership that resulted in institutions and its associated orders that could be linked to all kinds of exploitations accompanying various threats to the health of the workers (scheduled working days and poor working conditions and inappropriate living conditions (Best, 2006:16). Based on the industrial revolution in 18th and 19th centuries, the Marxist

analysis assumes an altered understanding of the Hegelian principle of philosophy where he mentioned that the historical stages in development of societies can be viewed as the consequence of overcoming the opposition between thesis and anti-thesis through revolution in which Marx assumed that thesis and antithesis reflects class, the forces and relations of production. It is important to note that in the Marxist analysis the mode of production constitutes of two components: (i) The economic base which contains the forces of production and the mode (relations) of production. (ii) Above the economic base there is the superstructure, which is the realm of culture, politics, ideas and ideology (Best, 2006).

Development in structural Marxism occurs when the forces of production (things that are required to produce commodities such as raw materials and technology) enter into conflict with and the relations of production, i.e. the class relations in capitalism such as the class that owned the means of production and what he termed the *bourgeoisie*, and the class of people who provide the labour the *proletariat* within which they have been operating. This change revolution contributes to the abolition of the economic base which in his analysis, the bourgeoisie is criticized to exploit the proletariat by not paying the full value for their labour, such as not paying enough for basic needs and little extra to cater for the future generation of workers and surplus value labour time working beyond the socially necessary labour time which is not paid for (Best, 2006:14-15) to change in the societal superstructure (Marx, 1970). According to Marx, societal revolution or development is a result of historic change in social and economic structures in the context of the mode of production. Thus, Marx looked at the society in the economic growth stages of industrialization and which is dominated by a continuous struggle by the workers due to poor (exploitative) working conditions or exploitation in an institution that is arranged to organize the capitalists society in the best interests of the bourgeoisie (Best, 2006:14).

From a Marxist perspective, the economic base or society's economic system determines the configuration of the social, cultural development ideals within a society (Best, 2006:16). According another view from the dependency school, tourism is perceived as a sector that can destroy its resource base, whilst compromising the future (sustainability) prospects of the local population. Cater and Goodall (in France, 1997:85) stated that there is a circular and cumulative relationship between tourism development, the environment and socio-economic development. Most tourism de-

velopment places additional pressures on the environmental resources upon which it is based, compromising the future prospects of the local population. The crucial issue of sustainability...applies to both hosts and guests as far as tourism is concerned. The destruction of tourism resources for short-term gain will deny the benefits to be gained from the mobilization of those resources in the future. Future generations of tourists will be denied the opportunity to experience environments very different from home. Host populations will be faced with environmental degradation and denied the tourist potential offered by the original attraction.

In addition, tourism is perceived by some authors as detrimental due to the fact that it has benefited only relatively developing countries and their powerful corporations through the monopolizing hotels and transport companies coming from developing countries. Though some of developing countries have chosen to embrace tourism they failed to share in the international tourism growth and had to adapt to increase interdependence (Tourism Concern, 1999; Mann, 2000). In this regard the World Bank findings showed that a large part the profits from tourism go back to the "mother countries" (developed countries) through remittances (Mann, 2000:9). Furthermore, much-needed jobs in tourism destination areas such as developing countries materialise in lower educated jobs, often due to relative under development and a lack of education. Various scholars such as Lea, 1988, Pearce, 1989, Burns and Holden, 1995 (in France, 1997:165) argued that such jobs are not sustainable jobs, but are often low-skilled and low paid and seasonal for which women are favoured. Richter commented about this favouritism of female in developing countries to be associated with exploitation (Richter, 1988 in France, 1997). The more skilled and managerial position in tourism sector are often occupied by non-local or expatriate labour, leading to further leakages from economy and social division among less favoured workers, in reality referring mostly the locals. It is often said that there is a skill shortage in this industry and its acquisition may be encouraged. However, the opportunity to practice these (tourism) skills and receive a managerial position is seldom available. For example there may be a number of graduates in tourism and hospitality management from the reputable schools in a specific region such as i.e. the African region, but the training in these schools are often not geared toward or used for tourism development in their own country. The prime minister of a Caribbean country stated that: Tourism has turned us into a nation of barkeepers and waitresses (Jenkins in Go & Jenkins, 1997:54).

2.5.1 Summary

Dependency theory shows how the free market principles so lavishly promoted among developing among international institutions such as IMF and World bank, is not only misleading, but may also worsen the existing local conditions of poverty and inequality. Marxists argue that the expansion of this new global political economic system through globalization in which tourism is the most prominent window advocated to lead the process of development, may result in what Marxists termed neo-colonialism or Western imperialism. Thus, as debate about economic globalization on notions such as inequality and poverty eradication is mixed with debates on economic theory and values where free market capitalism, communism, and a managed market economy in which after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the schools were basically reduced to two schools of thought. (I) The free market ideology based upon Adam Smith's 'invisible hand', stressing the importance both the government and the private sector, and (II) Keynes regional development principles. The current strategies as they will be discussed later are the response of poverty reduction and inequality through putting energy into the empowerment of local communities (bottom up approaches versus top-down approaches). However, unless the exploitation and new markets and rise of potential for investment of the surplus values by capitalist societies are addressed, the economic development in an underdeveloped and developing region such as Africa where for example most of tourism companies privatized and through this may be monopolized by powerful corporations will remain a dream. In addition, the exploitation of human kind particularly women under the umbrella of development theory mirrored in sex tourism, will be discussed under the heading of alternative theory.

2.6 Neo-Liberalism theory or trickle-down strategy of growth

The most contested policy issue in the period which is known as the cocktail of crises which included the manifestation of the oil crisis and economic depression from the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s, created an opportunity for introduce the free market principles under the use of Structural Adjustment Lending Programmes (SALPs) offered by neo-liberalism principles that dominated World Bank thinking at that time (Telfer, 2002a: 56).

Trade and capital market liberalization were two key components of a broader policy framework of neo-liberal doctrine commonly known as Washington consensus, which is a consensus forged between the IMF, the World Bank and the U.S Treasury (Stiglitz, 2007:16). The policies mentioned to address the notion of poverty and inequality emphasise minimizing the role of government, privatization, i.e. selling off government enterprises to the private sector, trade and capital market liberalization by eliminating trade barriers and impediments to the free flow of capital and deregulation focusing on eliminating regulations on the conduct of business (Telfer, 2002a; Holden, 2005; Stiglitz, 2007). All these factors clearly reflect the promotion of a market regulated by an “invisible hand” which promote inequality and labour division as discussed in economic development theory. These policies that have given a positive image to best promote development are criticized to pay too little attention to issues of equity, employment and competition and the consequences of reforms in privatization. Thus, the focus seems to be too much on just the increase in GDP, and no other issues with reference to health risk of citizens derived from this new economic system, as it pays little attention to whether it could be sustained economically, socially, politically or environmentally (Stiglitz, 2007). Russia seems to have had a negative experience in applying this Washington consensus policies before adequate systems of collecting taxes and regulating were in place. Educating people, but not having jobs for them create instability and do not gear the economy for growth (Stiglitz, 2007:54). Stiglitz adds that, liberalizing the free flow of foreign exchange before the banking system was strengthened also led to socio-political instability in Indonesia and Thailand. Some researcher suggests that with liberalism, tourism can address notions like equity and the reduction of poverty alongside ecological maintenance (France, 1997:23), while others suggest that inequality and poverty will be worsened. Supporters of tourism development in developing countries have always questioned the link between tourism development on the one side and income inequality and poverty alleviation on the other side, and provide evidence that tourism has a major impact on sustainable growth in the world’s poorest countries (Mitchell & Ashley, 2007:46). UNWTO (2006c) provides evidence and mechanisms for tourism development to address poverty: (i) Tourism business create the jobs for the poor, (ii) the poor may supply their goods and services to tourism enterprises by the poor or by enterprises employing the poor. (iii) The poor have the potential to sell their goods and services directly to visitors. (iv) The poor may establish and run tourism enterprises. (v) The tax or levy from tourism income or profits indirectly benefits the poor.

(vi) The poor may gain from voluntary giving and support by tourism enterprises and tourists. (vii) Investment in infrastructure that may be stimulated by tourism development in the world of the poor, have potential benefits to the poor because of its locality or through support of others sectors.

Despite the bad experience of the effects of the economic crisis in 1997 in which the same year the charter of the IMF meeting was held in Hong Kong, to push countries to liberalization, the countries that have accepted the hot speculative loans were also ready to accept the IMF excessive conditionality that led to huge burdens of debt. However, it was stated by the IMF that this bitter medicine is the best to promote development, which should also include promotion of specialisation in primary exports such as tourism, as a competitive advantage (Holden, 2005:115). Dieke (Holden, 2005:115) criticised SALPs in privatization of sectors such as tourism development in developing countries, by firstly reducing the power of state and control and to focus on 'enabling' rather than the 'operational' side of the tourist sector. Deforges (2000 in Awang et al., 2009:7) illustrates through an example that the national government of Peru implemented the IMF advice when President Alberto Fujimori imposed a drastic cut in state spending on the tourism industry. This resulted in the state tourist board's budget going down to zero, reduction the number of employees from 2700 to 300 in the Ministry of Industry, Tourism and Integration and Commerce, whilst the state also sold off its state owned hotels. In the same time fees were also imposed at the state's tourism school. These political decisions that targeted the economy of tourism resulted in a form of 'slavery' due to debt burden (Holden, 2005:115). The role of tourism as an export industry and as a means of earning foreign exchange is strongly supported by multinationals as they continue to attempt to secure new markets for their products. They also wish to have unimpeded access to resources, which includes natural, cultural and human ones. Some developing countries have also wanted to increase tourism as a consequence of falling world commodity prices during the 1980s and 1990s, and the requirement to fulfil debt repayments to the IMF and World Bank.

2.6.1 Summary

The effect of the implementation of trade liberalization in developing countries based on crisis opportunity as SALPS fostered the increase the private company. This was

economically so strong that most of the developing countries found themselves burdened by the need to repay their debt, whilst they have had to sacrifice the development of their natural and human resources. The policy forged between IMF, World Bank and U.S Treasury which is termed the 'Washington Consensus policies, mainly focus on minimizing the role of the government by raising the role of privatization, particularly in tourism. Trade capital liberalization supporters of this system provide evidence that it leads to faster Gross Domestic Development. However, other factors affecting the living standard of population and sustainability have been ignored and paid little attention to whether economic development, such as through tourism in the age of global competition, and the burden transmission diseases such as HIV/AIDS, could sustain politically, economically, socially or environmentally. Ignorance of these factors can undermine sustainability in development and the associated negative health issues not only affect the developing countries, but also the developed countries. Thus, there is a need to restructure the policies of the global economy, particularly in the tourism industry, so that in both developed countries (benefiting from capital investment and tourists) and the developing countries (benefiting from foreign exchange and jobs), the current and future generations may all have to benefit though those who are focus on the accumulation of wealth at the cost of human health and wellbeing.

2.7 Tourism and Alternative Development Theory

Alternative theory is simply employing the economist's ideas. Ekins (Thomas, 2001:657) mentioned about basic needs in which the theory prioritises on nutrition, shelter, health and education by advocating that basic human needs should focus on both material and non-material needs. Regarding grassroots (with key words, community development, bottom-up approach, local control and empowerment), Ekins commented that development should come from within society (Thomas, 2001). Thus, according to this theory, in order to address inequality and class division, there should be a shift in the understanding of development by changing the way assistance was allocated in the from supporting governments and local elites most accused of corruption, but which often may be supported by developed countries towards the assistance of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and grassroots associations.

Telfer (2002a:47) adds that the grassroots paradigm advocated to contribute on local participation, empowerment and control through self-directed and self-reliance and focused on development processes, may provide the chances to disadvantaged community to increase their quality of life. With regards to gender relations, Peet and Hartwick (1999:179) provide a diverse set of frame works for addressing gender issues in development as follows:

- Women in Development (WID): Liberal liberalization Theory, Restructuring development programs, Welfare, Equity, Anti-poverty, Efficiency, and Empowerment.
- Women and Development (WAD): Socialist Feminism., Alternative Development, dependency, Global Capitalism and Patriarchy.
- Gender and Development GAD): Radical Feminism, Women's Emancipation, Capitalism, Patriarchy and Racism.
- Women, Environment and Development (ED): Feminist Political Ecology, Sustainable Development, Gender Knowledge, Rights and Politics.
- Postmodernism and Development (PAD) Postmodern Feminism, Post-Development, Different Development, Representation, Discourse, Local knowledge.

2.7.1 Gender, Race, Identity and Class in Tourism Development

Gender and tourism development seems to be a popular theme to various fields of the social sciences in the age of globalization and the spread of HIV/AIDS. Best (2006:197) noted that the major debate about gender and sexuality surrounds sex, sexuality, sexual acts, identities and relationships. According to the author, sex is the area of the most strongly publicized social division. He commented that it is the social division most likely to generate moral outrage and state intervention, for our culture, in common with most other cultures, attempts to exclude specific people from engaging in sexual relationships will find that society prescribes a rigid, but arbitrary, set of rules on where and how to use either a vagina or a penis, and what one is not supposed to do with it or whom to share with (Best, 2006:197).

In the age of globalization, gender has been a great issue with regard to culture, specifically in some African countries. Chacha and Nyangena (2006:29) stated that behind globalization lies the growing internationalization of sexual rights and identi-

ties, women's movements, and increasing demands for basic equality. Behind it also lays the escalation of new sexual orientations in many urban areas of Africa. Globalization has allowed for the first time the development of an international gay and lesbian movement, now a reality in many parts of Africa. Feminism is not a new phenomenon as it was started by Mary Wollstonecraft, claiming that women were forced to stay ignorant and promoted equality between men and women (Best, 2006: 202). If women are not a swarm of ephemeron triflers, why should they be kept in ignorance under the specious name of innocence? Man complain, and with reason, of the follies and caprices of our sex, when they do not keenly satirized our headstrong passions and grovelling vices.Women are told from their infancy, and taught by the example of their mothers, that a little knowledge of human weakness, justly termed cunning, softness of temper, outward obedience, and a scrupulous attention to a puerile kind of propriety, will obtain for them the protection of man; and should they be beautiful, everything else is needless, for at least twenty years of their lives (Best, 2006). Wollstonecraft's suggest that it is the cause of women's inequality that led to first-wave feminism, known as a social movement that focused on obtaining legal and political equality for women with the aim that a women should be able to do whatever men do. This was followed by the second-wave feminism aimed at the introduction of equal pay legislation (1970 and 1983) and equal opportunities legislation (1975) in which Ket Millet's noted that that what appeared as natural, was in fact socially constructed (Best, 2006:203).

In class and structure Sylvia Walby (Best, 2006:204) draws upon the process that makes up Giddens' theory of structuration in attempting to construct a more flexible model which can be either manifest in public or a private. These patriarchal structures is also based upon the assumption that whenever a man comes into contact with a women, he will attempt to oppress her. The second level of patriarchy refers to sex structures: (i) The patriarchal mode of production, (ii) patriarchal relations in paid work, (iii) patriarchal relations in the state (iv) male violence (v) patriarchal relations in sexuality (vi) patriarchal relations in cultural institutions such as religion, the media and education. Rosen found that the origin of second wave-feminism in the United States started in the 1950s when the women came to realize that paradoxically, the exposure of so many crimes and secrets did little to patronise feminists as agent of change. Although activists challenged all kinds of received wisdom, including the language permitted by men on the street, in the bedroom, in the office, and in political

office, the cumulative impact of all these revelations also helped implant an image of women as passive victims of villainous men (Rosen cited in Best, 2006:205).

2.7.2 Gender and development (GAD) Approach and Tourism Development

Gender and development characterized by radical feminism, emancipation, capitalism, patriarchy and racism aimed at analysing both ascribed, end relations a person is involved in on the basis of their position in network of kinship and affinity and achieved relations, i.e. relations established on the basis of person's involvement in economic, social or political life of her country (Young in Visvanathan et al., 1997:51). Calhoun viewed the concept of identity as essentialism, recognition, role and multiple identities, to say that we cannot avoid thinking in categories, but at least something rather than an essentialist manner leading to stereotyping of people (Calhoun, 1994:19) which can be referred to the stereotyping of a 'sex tourist' and prostitute. According to Njambi and O'Brien (Chacha & Nyangena, 2006:29), the assumption of universality, often referred to as normal and natural in both research and therapy, has delicately influenced our thinking with regard to deviations from the norm as sick, perverse or immoral. In comparison to sex tourist and prostitute type, researchers have revealed how tourists are perverted, sick, drug addict, coming from a low-class and almost *abdominal*. The second type is also as described as deviant, perverted and infected with venereal disease. However, beyond this identity, Calhoun mentioned that we all have multiple incomplete and/or fragmented identities, and sometimes resistances in addition to this the construction of identities in the concept of recognition, is problematic due to the fact that socially it is not easy to find out who we are in terms of what is possible or appropriate to be (Calhoun, 1994:24).

While Best (2006:207) commented that many feminist authors criticised the link between the globalization process and neo-liberal reform of welfare provision such as IMF structural adjustment programmes, the expanding global sex trade, the expansion of the prison industrial complex, and the migration of women into low-paid domestic service, the sex tourist industry can logically be viewed as a class that can be exuberated by unequal distribution of resources.

2.7.3 Tourism and prostitution: Opportunity and challenges in gender development

Urusla Biemann (Best, 2006:207) argues that globalization is lately a highly gendered process and that there has been a feminization of migration with a significant number of female economic migrants. In addition, the globalization process has directly addressed women as sexual beings in which case women labour is being sexualized. The migration politics of European states, including European Union member states, and North America, seems to indirectly encourage migrant women into the sex industry. Biemann argues that in the Swiss Government will only issue 'cabare' visas to non-European female migrants that are dependent upon employment contracts with the cabaret sector. Each year around 500 000 migrant women are recruited into the European entertainment industry, particularly in the former communist countries and Eastern Europe. Biemann stated that the official policy of the EU and the European states is to fight human trafficking, but migration politics allow sex trade to enjoy an increasing supply of marginalized and economically disadvantaged women (Biemann, 2002 cited in Best, 2006:207). Oppermann (1998) viewed prostitution and sex tourism as different things. They differ on the fact that sex tourism involves more than only the monetary exchange so often associated with prostitution. Besides the money transaction between tourists and prostitutes, the other reason of difference is that tourists buy sex as part of a holiday package, whilst prostitution often occurs without any travel arrangements involved (Oppermann, 1998:252). The concern of this trend in developing countries is not only the threat to culture in the case of homosexuality and sexual liberalization in developing countries such as Africa, but also the spread of HIV/AIDS that is already undermining potential development in especially some African countries (Forsythe, 1999). Davison (2002:87) argues for a 'critical analysis of the class, race, and global power relations that underpin the contemporary sex industry'. The author is interested in both client and sex workers' illustrating the freedom of a Western worker catering in London for Westerners. According to her analysis, prostitution is based on Bravernman's statement that what is being bought is not labour per se, but 'the power over an agreed period of time (Davison, 1998:9). Studying the relationship between Western men and Thai sex workers as open-ended prostitution' Eric Cohen stated that a kind of relationship between a prostitute and her customer which, though it may start as a specific natural service rendered more or less indiscriminately to any customer, may be extended into a more protracted, diffused and personalized liaison, involving both emotional attachment and economic interest (Cohen, 1996). Cohen categorized this relationship into four types: (i) mercenary based on an emotionless economic exchange, (ii) staged-also based on an economic ex-

change but accompanied by faked or staged emotions on part of the women, (iii) mixed-based on both economic exchange as well as emotional involvement on the part of the women and (iv) emotional-based primarily or exclusively on emotional involvement or 'love' (Cohen, 1996:278). In his analysis he perceived the Western men as 'often attractive foreigners' on the one hand, on the other hand the sex workers who are viewed as loose women, merely faking or staging emotion (Cohen, 1996:277-278).

2.7.4 Sustainable tourism development

France (1997:11) mentioned that in order to understand the implications of sustainable tourism, it is of paramount importance to consider the origins of the concept. The concept of sustainable development that has a strong people-centred ethical is the 'Brundtland Report's our common Future (1987) in which Egmond (2007:149) believes reflects Protestant values by mentioning stewardship, individual moral responsibility for the fate of the future generations. The main components of sustainability as interpreted by Brundtland include a revived growth, a change quality of growth, meeting basic needs, stabilization of the population, conserve and enhance resources, re-orient technology and manage risk, and to put the environment into economics (Kirby et al., 1995 in France, 1997:12). Red Clift (1987 in France, 1997:11) mentioned that the lesson learned from ecology could also be applied to the economic process. As a result, this development will not only preserve environmental quality in the long-run, but also maintain the economy. Thus, the maintenance of resource-base or asset-led development, rather than controlled by purely market forces, is one of the pillars of sustainable development in general and sustainable tourism development in particular (Owen, 1991 in France, 1997:11). Hunter (2002:3) splits sustainable tourism into two variants. He prefers to call these variants light-green and dark-green attitudinal tendencies towards tourism and the environment. The difference between the two is based on the scope and the degree of the environmental concerns, by noting that dark-green is more widely scoped and environmentally concerns compare to light-green attitudes. Vogel (2001) chose to distinguish these variants based on the dominant religious philosophy in countries. By defining their characteristics, Vogel argues that in dark-green countries, residents tend to consider the environment as any other crisis affecting the country and tend to define their interest more broadly. Vogel stated that dark-green countries, environmental politics and policies are more likely to be

expressed in environmental ethics which encompasses but goes beyond domestic health, safety and amenities concerns. By contrast, in the later type of countries, environmental politics and policies tend to be more instrumental; they are more likely to represent responses to clearly defined threats to domestic public health (Vogel, 2001 cited in Egmond, 2007:147). The dark-green countries are the historically protestant countries of Europe to include Austria, known as Catholic countries, but influenced by protestant values and what he calls immigrant countries (North America and Australia). The light-green countries on the other side are the traditionally Catholic countries in Southern Europe and Confucian countries of Asia (Vogel, 2001 in Egmond, 2007). Vogel also points to a number of links between Protestantism and aspect of dark-green environmental ethic (2001 in Egmond, 2007:148) as follows:

- Protestantism and dark-green environmentalism both share an essential apocalyptic vision: If we continue our present behaviour and values, the world will be doomed.
- Ascetic discipline from protestant ethic or work is reflected in a contemporary expression in recycling 'waste not, want not' becomes 'reduce, reuse and recycle'.
- The characteristic of the modern dark-green environmental rhetoric is based on moral judgments. Environmental concern is accompanied by passion and a sense of urgency in while the passion and sense of urgency evidences in dark environmental countries. While in non-Protestant culture societies they talk about environment less, and less moralistic terms.
- The Protestant concept of stewardship is reflected in environmental politics which calling each individual responsible for meeting the needs of the present generations without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (Brundtland, 1987 in Egmond, 2007:149).
- The notion that nature has a divine connotation, reminding the creators through creations, the right of nature has been considered by Protestant, dark-green countries where every citizen has a moral obligation to protect them.

Egmond (2007:151) noted that despite the fact that sustainable tourism development and conservation systems in protected areas are often worldwide used in tourism development plans, essentially they originate from middle class Western Protestant concepts. Currently, these concepts have rarely been associated with the Western bias to the subject under discussion. Since these concepts are distributed by West-

ern consultants under multiple of international organizations and NGOs, the questions arises whether or not they cannot be implemented as they are without reserves in developing countries to reduce the negative health impacts that include environmental, economic, social and cultural influences, and indirect health impacts, as well as vulnerability to the direct health such as transmission diseases to include HIV/AIDS that undermines sustainable development and health. In light-green countries as also noted by Hunter, the environmental agenda is more limited and narrow focused (Vogel, 2001 in Egmond, 2007:148) and the public interest in environmental problems depends on defined threats and is not sustainable. The dilemma is how to promote economic growth whilst preventing the consumption of non-renewable resources and putting less stress on the environment and the people (Muller, 1994 in France, 1997:30).

It is evident that tourism has not only brought about positive impacts on health, but is also accompanied with many negative impacts. As a response, tourism has been given a number of different labels 'soft', 'responsible', 'green', 'appropriate', 'controlled', 'people friendly', small scale' and 'cottage' characteristics and eco-tourism (Cater and Goodall, 1990 in France, 1990:85). Cater and Goodall noted that green or eco-tourism may satisfy environmentalists, but unless the needs of the local population are also considered, there will no guarantee of sustainability (Cater and Goodall, 1990 in France, 1997:85).

2.7.5 Summary

In this section, alternative theories have proposed various alternatives, including sustainable development in its various forms of alternative development paradigms. A different view of the benefit of tourism has also been highlighted in developing countries. However, since the issue of free trade, the inequality of resources particularly benefits the sustainability of tourism in the age of competition with the result that the spread of diseases such as HIV/AIDS will be difficult to curb. Thus, the principle of alternative (theories) should focus on the improvement of the disadvantaged and powerless and should include the women who are more likely to be exploited in the development of tourism.

2.8 Tourism and Post-developmental approach

The question whether international development theory advocating tourism as a tool for addressing the notions of poverty and inequality accompanying the threats to health, is opposed by the advocates of the Post-developmental approach arguing from a Post-modern perspective. Post modernity is stipulated into three components:

- (i) Post-colonialism whereby the advocates perceived development as a continuation of Colonial power relations. Tourism has been given a positive image by developing countries that have the willingness and an ability to develop tourism. Attracted by the nature of this industry as it is promoted to generate employment and income in vulnerable economies, so persuading national and local governments, landowners, hoteliers and commercial interests (France, 1997:8), it is perceived as an agent that perpetuates oppression and exploitation where the benefits that generated from tourism in developing countries goes to the developed country termed 'from the colony to the motherland' (Mann, 2000).
- (ii) Post-structurism: Advocators of Post-modernity perceived development as a new strategy of modern power and social control. Post-Structures such as Friedrich Nietzsche attempted to undermine the foundations of truth, morality, science, identity and religion. In his view, truth was nothing more than a mobile host of metaphors and illusions, and in the last analysis, the will to truth is the manifestation of the will to power (Best, 2006:21). Employing Foucault's concept of bio-power and development in post-development theory, the advocates of this theory has explained how the operation of Western hegemony plays a significant role in contemporary development (Brigg, 2002:424:432). In post-development theories, its advocates argued that development should be rejected as it is not only influencing Western culture to the world, but also imposes power to undermine the culture of others and impact on environmental problems in which the poor suffer the most (Latouche 1993:160).
- (iii) Post-Modernism: Development is viewed as a deconstruction of instruments of European rationality with multiple identities. It is debatable whether Post-development opposes the notion of structure of modernity or whether it is just another alternative to portray enlightenment theories as Western social life. Under the concept of tourism Egmond (2007:37) commented that the Western culture has been questioned whether it has undergone or is still undergoing a transi-

tion from Fordism to Post-Fordism, from materialist values to Post materialist values, or in tourism terms, from tourism to post-tourism. Fordism is a name derived from Henry Ford, the inventor of the assembly line, reflecting the modern mass-production system. It was characterized by mass production of homogeneous products, the use of flexible technologies, economies of scale and mass market for the product produced. It is said that the period that Fordism was booming it was the same time tourism reached its peak (Wang, 2000 in Egmond, 2007:38).

Peet (1999:124) commented that Post-structuralists see a world of discontinuities rather than continuities, of complexity rather than structural simplicity. Whereas structuralism saw transcendent systems lending significance to the individual, many post-structuralists wanted to return significance to the singular person [...]. Whereas structuralism, in its critical forms, usually employed economic languages to criticize capitalism, post-structuralism used cultural language to criticize modernity. Whereas structuralism saw potential for human emancipation in modern development, post-structuralism saw development as a strategy of modern power and social control.

While the advocates of modernity perceive the local people in developing countries to be vulnerable and thought that they need to be assisted from their status of under-development to development, the study conducted in Mpofu in South Africa , Papua New Guinea and Tucuman Argentina (Binns & Nel, 1999; Bebbington & Bebbington, 2001; Curry, 2003) found that these communities in the developing countries were happy with their social life and their economic initiatives, despite the fact that in the eyes of Western people and their standards, it might not make sense.

Findings of another study on culture in indigenous community practices and social movement, serve as evidence for post-development theorists in defining poverty in Africa as thither being perceived as process that cherishes well-being, and not well-having (Agostino, 2005:86). On the other hand, the argument that development is a process designed to help the developed countries owning the means of production to exploit the developed countries (powerless), not having the means of production and unable to identify and address their main issues, cannot be neglected. Thus, the powerful countries exploitation and stance of colonialism is still in place and its operation is mirrored under international development.

2.9 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the challenges of international development theories in developing countries as well as in the workplace. African countries are known to be under the most affected by new political global economic systems since the Colonial period. While most of the countries are embracing development theories universally acceptable as truth for accumulation of wealth and well-being of population, the West and the former Soviet Union can be an example to learn from as they were deceived and went on the same path as African countries in missing the golden opportunity.

Not only is tourism currently given a positive image to address inequality and poverty eradication and integrated in many African countries boosted by globalization and technological innovation, but it also hosts a negative impact on health and the social wellbeing of local communities, particularly as a result of the potential to increase migration and urbanization, whilst due to global competition, there is an increase of unemployment in addition to degradation of the environment.

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CHAPTER THREE

UNDERSTANDING THE LINK BETWEEN GLOBALISATION, TECHNOLOGY AND TOURISM ON COMMUNITY HEALTH

3.1 Introduction

Tourism development has been given a positive image in recent years to address the problems of inequalities and poverty, alongside environmental considerations, particularly in the context of international globalisation and technological innovation. Since the late 1950s, the advocates of international tourism development and a web of international treaties and institutions such as United Nations (UN) and the World Bank (WB), supported this industry by emphasizing the potential that exists for improving health as a result of increased employment and foreign currency that may boost the balance of payment and income flowing down to the poor in less developing countries. However, as it will be discussed in this chapter, the integration of free market policies in 1970s and 1980s international tourism development in developing countries has been criticised, especially from the dependency perspective, where tourism is perceived as a mechanism of exploitation of resources such as natural, cultural and human aspects (Holden, 2005). Among the scholars questioning the effects of tourism on developing countries and their peoples, include De Kadt (1979) in his book, *Tourism: Passport to Development*, in which the author criticised its socio-economic impacts and advocates better planning for a desirable growth in developing countries as well as for tourism in itself. These notions led scholars such as Rosenow & Pulspher (1979) to argue that tourism plays a significant role in the diversity of a country, the wellbeing of communities and led to his development of an anti-development stance. To some extent it was evident that the cost of introducing international tourism development as the panacea for pro-poor development was perceived to exceedingly outweigh its benefits (Mathieson & Wall, 1982).

This Chapter evaluates the impacts of globalisation and technological innovation on local communities to the tourism destination in developing countries. Both positive and negative aspects of health will be analysed. Global trends and technological innovation in tourism development in less developing countries and their significance regarding employment and employees' health will be considered.

Finally, this chapter will examine the challenges associated with globalisation and technological change as mechanism of exploitation and their contribution on health risks and potential health and Safety (OHS) consequences.

3.2 Globalization and Tourism: Definition and concept

It is highly debatable as to whether tourism development boosted by globalisation and technological innovation has had positive or negative effects on local communities, particularly in developing countries. It seems that tourism has become the development sector of choice for many developing countries (Reid, 2003:67). However, proponents of globalisation of tourism that have emphasized the potential for improving health through foreign exchange and job creation, as well as the issues of equity and poverty reduction (Ashley & Roe, 2002; Mitchell & Ashley, 2007), have been fiercely criticised by those who perceive it as to increase social and economic inequality and accompanying threats to the health (Tourism concern, 1999:1). On the one hand, globalisation of tourism do contribute to the economic growth and social development in the destination countries, and on the other hand, inequalities linked to its development have often shown a negative impact on many developing countries and disadvantaged groups within those countries. The following section focuses on a possible definition of globalisation and tourism followed by a brief historical background of tourism.

3.2.1 Globalisation

Globalisation is frequently related to economic activities, but also includes social, cultural and environmental issues. It is often described as a new international operating system which has replaced the cold war system of creating “barriers”. It is a process that involves diverse peoples with respect to the economic, political, environmental and cultural activities influencing their everyday lives (Greenberg and Baron, 2003:14). Globalisation refers to a dense web of relationships ruled by international treaties and institutions such as IMF, World Bank and World Trade Organisation (Stiglitz, 2002:9). While globalisation is often given a positive image for improving health and as a result of foreign investment and capital markets, not all seems to have benefited from its process. Lechner and Boli (2000:320) noted that globalisation at the same time accentuates differences in that each group has to define its particular space and place, and has to fashion its particular interpretation of universal pre-

cepts. In short, globalization unifies and separates, and creates similarities and differences at the same time. However, the concern is the increase of social and cultural change, fuelled by technological innovation which may affect the health of the population. Technological innovation such as rapid and cheap transport and accommodation have boosted the growth of tourism in general, and led it to be the development sector of choice for many developing countries (Reid, 2003:67). According to Sassen (1998:41) both export agriculture and manufacturing, led to the disruption of traditional work structures as a result of the introduction of modern modes of production. This has played a key role in transforming people into migrant workers and potentially, into emigrants.

Stiglitz (2007:9) summarises the concerns of globalisation in five key points: (i) The rules of the game that govern globalisation are unfair as it is specifically designed to benefit the advanced industrial countries. In fact, some recent changes are so unfair that it has made some of the poorest countries actually worse off. (ii) Globalisation advances material values over other values, such as a concern for the environment or for life itself. (iii) The way globalisation has been managed, has taken away much of developing countries' sovereignty and their ability to make decisions themselves in key areas that affect their citizen's well-being has become more restricted. In this sense, it has also undermined democracy. (iv) Whilst the advocates of globalisation have claimed that everyone will benefit economically from globalisation, there seems to be plenty of evidence from both developing and developed countries that there are many losers in both. (v) The economic system that has been pressed upon the developing countries (in some cases essentially forced upon them) is inappropriate and often grossly damaging. Globalisation should not mean the Americanization of either economic policy or culture, but often it does. Lee (2000 cited in Kickbusch, Hartwig & List, 2006) refers to globalisation as: the processes which are changing the nature of human action by reducing barriers to time, space and ideas which have separated people and nations in a number of spheres of action including, health and environment, social and knowledge and technology and political institutional.

As tourism development has been perceived by Naylor (1967, cited in Opperman and Chon, 1997:16) as perhaps the only sector of economic activity in which principles of globalisation or free trade still apply, globalisation has brought about not only positive aspects such as economic growth, improvement in technologies and global

interconnections, but also an increase in competition, inequalities and undermine the power of the countries to control the private sector with potential to accompanying threats, international safety and human security, particularly with reference to the spread of transmitted diseases such as HIV/AIDS.

3.2.2 Tourism development

There are various definitions and the meaning of tourism given by international and national tourism associations, business entities and government agencies is often based on their own interests and perceptions (Smith, 1988; Hall & Page, 1999). Based on an anthropological perspective, Jafari (2002:8) defined tourism as “a study of a man away from his habitat, of the industry which responds to his needs, and of the impact that both he or she and the industry have on the host socio-cultural, economic, and physical environment”. Murphy (1985, cited in Smith 1988:9) defines tourism as ‘the sum of “...the travel and non-residents (tourists, including excursionists) to destination areas, as long as their sojourn does not become a permanent residence”. It seems to be a combination of recreation and business and according to the UNWTO tourism is: Any person residing within a country, irrespective of nationality, travelling to a place within this country other than his usual place of residence for a period of not less than 24 hours or one night for a purpose other than the exercise of a remunerated activity in the place visited. The motives for such travel may be (1) leisure (recreation, holidays, health, studies, religion, sports) or (2) business, family, mission, meeting” (WTO, 1983; WTO, 1991).

In fact, depending on the destination city or country, the tourism industry is composed of many segments. It ranges from business, events, conferences, health, shopping, sports and enthronement, education and research activities, leisure, food and beverage, religion and culture as well as heritage. The target tourist group can be single, couples, families or mass tourists, gay and lesbians or people with diseases and a destination develops specific infrastructure according to a specific tourist attraction (Daros, n.d:11). In the modern era of the globalisation process abetted by technological innovation in transport and communication, and by rapid liberalisation and deregulation of trade and capital flows, various researchers have raised some concerns regarding the effects of globalisation on tourism. The concerns include tourism leading to economic dependency considered as another form of neo-colonialism imperial-

ism (Tourism Concern, 1999). Therefore, according to De Schutter, the marginalised countries are usually “heavily dependent” on the developed countries (De Schutter, 2001:14). It is also argued that the globalization of tourism creates inequalities among both developed and developing countries and accelerating ecological degradation of the planet by the increasing concentration of numbers in the population, industrial development and intensity of consumer driven economies (Tourism Concern, 1999; Dollar, 2001).

While prospects that are positive to tourists are linked to forms of culture which are based around physical objects, the purchasing of local crafts, visiting cultural sites and folk culture as reflected in daily life or special festival (Shaw and Williams in France, 1997:109), tourists are often criticised as to behave like barbarians and sustained destroyers of culture, especially in areas where tourists are inclined to seek only sun, sea, sand and sex (France, 1997; Mathieson and Wall, 1982). Therefore, it would be hard to agree with Edgell (1990:1) that the highest purpose of any tourism policy is to integrate the economic, political, cultural, intellectual and economic benefits of tourism cohesively with people, destinations, and countries in order to improve the global quality of life and provide a foundation for peace and prosperity.

3.2.3 Tourism: an overview and general concept

Tourism is not a new phenomenon, but the history of tourism is associated with romanticized stories and was mainly dominated by British nobleman and religious motivations by looking for foreign and unknown countries for their own interest (McLaren in Krause, n.d:13). Currently globalisation of tourism has been led by the private sector and most of them are from developed countries (Mann, 2000:11). Despite the challenges to live in a globalised world, as people are faced with competitiveness, uncertainty and insecurity, proponents of many countries (including developing countries) chose to support economic openness. Tourism as a component of globalisation has many negative implications for inequalities and their chances to benefits from these trends generates numerous debates (Tourism Concern, 1999; Mann, 2000). The most important international trade agreement regarding tourism in the World Trade Organisation (WTO) is the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). The question is to know the beneficiaries of GATS (Tourism Concern, 2001/2002:1).

For nearly five decades, international tourism development expansion has been considered as a major export sector in all but three of less developed countries (LDC). In addition, although the advocates of this industry claim that there is evidence that tourism exchanges is benefiting the countries in the South, but without data to support the statement they do not reveal the reality that both consumption and production of tourism mainly takes place in the developed countries or wealth sphere of the Northern countries (Hall, 2007; Mitchell & Ashley, 2007). The attack of international tourism development to seriously tackle poverty in developing countries, emerged from dependency perspective in the 1970s and 1980s to increased inequality as discussed in chapter three (section Dependency theory and Neo-liberalism theory). In addition to criticism from the anthropological, sociological and environmental perspective regarding health issues associated with it expansion, the increase in inequality between developed and LDC's has been acknowledged as a consequence of imperialistic, colonial period that has increased unfair in resources and social division in which currently global inequality are worsened by new global order (Mowforth & Munt, 2003; Pogge, 2005).

3.3 Benefits from tourism development

Tourism is perceived as an economic development that can address the poverty and inequality that are often associated with the main cause of human security. Its benefits ranged from an increase in the gross domestic product, employment and foreign currency.

3.3.1 Tourism development and Economic growth

Opinions regarding the economic benefits of tourism differ in LDC's as a window of globalisation or free market neo-liberalism (See Figure 3.1, arrow 2). On the one hand advocates of international tourism development argue that in reflecting free market principles, it can facilitate economic growth and economic security with the potential to benefit the general health of the poor. Proponents of international tourism development in LDC's have emphasised the potential that exist for improving the trend for health as a consequence of tourists and hosts relationships to include potential to create jobs, foreign currency that can boost the national balance of payments, provide capital needed for investments in infrastructure and assist in creating inter-sectoral linkages within the economy, and other multiplier effects (Mathieson &

Wall, 1982; Lea in France, 1997). The United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) promote international tourism as sustainable growth in the world's poorest countries (LDC's) (Mitchell& Ashley, 2007:46) based on the argument that tourism is consumed at the point of production, that tourism is labour intensive and has the potential to support and attract other economic activities and also provide community infrastructure and opportunities for development of local entrepreneurs. Furthermore, it is believed that LDC's have a comparative advantage over developed countries in wealth of cultural and natural assets that include art, music, wildlife and favourable climates that may attract tourists. All these factors have the potential not only to provide more wealth in terms of material benefits for the poor, but also cultural pride (France, 1997; UNWTO, 2006b). On the other hand, the opponents of international tourism development are worried about the health effects as it has shown significant impacts on political, cultural, social, economic and environmental conditions of the local communities (Holden, 2005; Bauer, 2007).

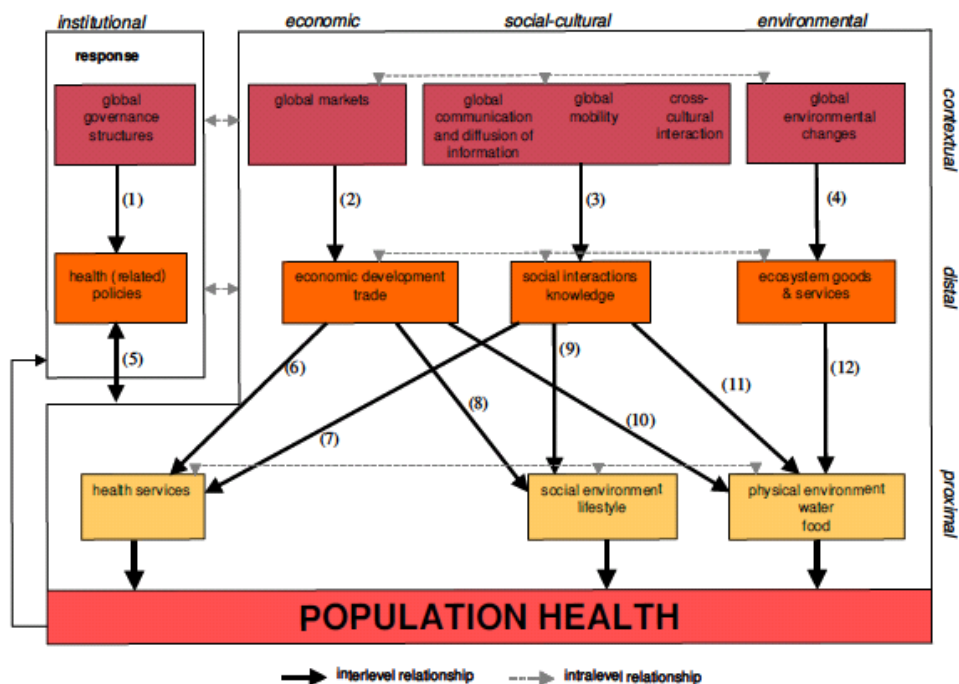


Figure 3.1: Conceptual model for globalisation and population health

Source: Huynen, Martens & Hilderink (2005:6)

3.3.2 Social-cultural element of tourism

International tourism development has contributed to the changes in infrastructure of transportation and communication perceived as social development of communities at tourist destination areas, and attracting capital and human migrations (tourists and

migrant workers see Figure 3.1 arrow 3) from within countries and abroad, has increased. According to Held et al. (1999 in Huynen, Martens & Hilderink (2005:12), tourism is one of the most obvious forms of cultural globalisation and reflects the increasing time-space compression of current societies. Despite the travel and pleasures constituting a small fraction of total human movement, other people movement often include missionaries, merchant marines, students, pilgrims and Peace Corps workers (Held et al. 1999 in Huynen, Martens & Hilderink, 2005). Besides the increase in the number of tourists that are perceived to be beneficial in terms of economic growth and social development, the concerns regarding economic, political, social and environmental consequences of mass movements of people. This movement has been a concern to the health and wellbeing of tourism destination populations (Bauer, 2007; Spiegel et al., 2008) and perceived as that it has the potential to undermine sustainable development.

3.3.3 Ecotourism and environment

Tourism development should not only be perceived as a self-destructive process by destroying the very resources in which it is based. Cater (in France, 1997:68) noted that ecotourism offers tourism companies and destination areas the opportunity for capitalising on the comparative advantages in terms of variety and extent of unspoiled natural environments, which ranges from tropical rainforests to savannah grasslands and secluded beaches fringed by coral reefs. Among the last havens of unspoiled nature, these destinations also hold consideration for an appeal for ecotourism. Various researchers in tourism development mentioned the benefits of environmental impacts of tourism to include conservation of natural areas of wildlife, environmental appreciation, rehabilitation and often also transformation of old buildings and sites into new facilities, and include the possible introduction of planning and management (see Figure 3.1 row 4) (France, 1997:83).

3.4 Negative impacts of international tourism development

International tourism has brought about not only the economic growth and social development of local communities, but it is often also accompanied by social inequalities associated with the threats to health.

3.4.1 Inequality in tourism resources to the state power

Based on the World Bank estimation on international tourism benefits and inequality in tourism benefits, Mann (2000:9) demonstrated that so far, international tourism development has benefited only a relatively small number of LDC's of which some of these states have failed to attract tourists and adapt to the increased interdependence as the main tourists enterprises such as hotels and transports are in the hand of powerful corporations from outside the respective countries (Tourism Concern, 1999; Mann, 2000). Bianchi (2002:269-271) noted that there are various reasons that make developing countries not to develop and to include internal and external economic, political and institutional structures, institutions that many of these countries depend upon for their survival. Bruner (1989, cited in Mowforth and Munt, 1998:52) stated that 'colonialism and tourism (are) ...born together and are relatives'. Thus many countries are not free, but they are operating under a typical colonial capitalist system as perceived by Marxists in criticising Frank's failure to provide a revolutionary programme to overcome colonialism (Telfer, 2002a; Holden, 2005).

Many of LDC's remain marginalised as a result tourism development particularly its economic theoretical basis and neo-classical philosophies from which the expansion of the tourism industry's theories and plans were derived. Because the international tourism development industry has been dominated by developed countries and some powerful companies, not all countries or people in LDC's as previously mentioned, have benefited from its expansion (Tourism Concern, 1999; Mann, 2000). More precisely, international tourism development does not influence all countries or individuals to the same extent. In some cases the presence of the tourism industry and its activities may have brought serious issues related to health of local communities. Certainly a wide range of negative health impacts are understood to accompany the benefits of international tourism development in LDC's (Tourism Concern, 1999; Forsythe, 1999; Spiegel et al., 2008). The opponents of international tourism development in LDC's are often concerned with the issues regarding its negative effects on these states, worsening inequalities between rich and the poor and accompanying threats to safety and human security and environmental impact all undermining sustainable tourism development.

3.4.2 International tourism development and its implications for inequalities

International tourism development in LDC does have had many implications for inequalities (Mathieson and Wall, 1992; Mann, 2000) and stimulate debates about inequalities and economic growth. As noted in the previous section, not all are benefiting from the process of international tourism development. As tourism is generally associated with liberalised markets and fuelled by the new global order, it seems to have benefited the developed countries more and increased the inequality and poverty (Mowforth & Munt, 2003; Pogge, 2005). Despite this negative assessment, the support for the UNWTO in promoting tourism as one of the most effective tools to address the notions of inequalities and poverty with health at the heart of poverty eradication in MDGs (UNWTO, 2006c) alongside with environmental consideration remains an essential part of mainstream thinking. However, the data to confirm this UNWTO approach universally as a truth, lack supporting data (Mitchell & Ashley, 2007:47). Advocators of international tourism development suggest that it can reduce inequality, while opponents suggest that inequality in tourism development has worsened within destination countries, as well as between rich and poor countries. Supporters of international tourism development in LDC's to include UN and World Bank (Holden, 2005), have often questioned the link between international tourism development and income inequalities and promote this economic development sector as a tool to address the above notion, including poverty (Mitchell & Ashley, 2007; UNWTO, 2007b). Although this philosophy has universally been accepted as a truth among so called 'pro-poor tourism' (PPT), that tourism does have the potential to 'generate net benefits for the poor' (Ashley et al., 2001 cited in Holden, 2005:131), the data supporting the statement also seems to be missing (Mitchell & Ashley, 2007:49). According to Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) "essentially have three closely interrelated aspects: poverty of money, poverty of access and poverty of power. These make the working, living and social environments of the poor extremely insecure and severely limit the options available to them to improve their lives. Without choices and security, breaking the cycle of poverty becomes virtually impossible and leads to the marginalisation and alienation of the poor from society" (ESCAP, cited in Jamieson, 2003:24).

While the UNWTO was supported by the UN, private sector as well as civil society in promoting tourism as a tool for sustainable growth under Sustainable tourism-Eliminating poverty (ST-EP), Holden views that the success of poverty reduction strategy in tourism development depends upon the capacity to empower the poor

and improve their livelihoods (Holden, 2005:132). According to Holden, this can be achieved through the following processes:

- Unlocking opportunities for pro-poor economic growth by providing both formal and informal employment.
- Creating profit and collective income from locally-owned enterprises.
- Facilitating social development by increasing access to infrastructure, providing local people with the opportunity to access tourism infrastructure.
- Helping increase participation of the local communities in decision-making as tourism products are often assets owned by the poor.
- Reducing vulnerability by helping to diversify income opportunities.
- Promoting environmental protection as natural and human environment are the life lines of tourism development (Jamieson 2003: 29).

The concern is to balance economic benefits and human security given the free market policies that undermine the state power and control on favour of private sectors mostly powerful corporation monopolizing the tourism market and criticized to increase inequality in tourism benefits (Mann, 2000; Holden, 2005). Thus, tourism is not only driven by the economic sector, it is also political tools that impose power.

Tourism has been used as both a political weapon and political bridge among some countries (Jenkins in Go & Jenkins, 1997:49). In the Manila Declaration on World Tourism (1980), UNTWO claims that tourism is 'a vital force for peace'. This concept was supported by the leaders of the world such as Mahatma Gandhi, John F. Kennedy, Ronald Reagan, Mikhail Gorbachev and Pope John Paul II as they were united in proclaiming tourism as the most powerful tool for reconciling peoples and as a result a powerful tool for peace. In 2004 through its Secretary-General, the WTO stated that 'tourism and peace are inseparable and tourism is a harbinger of peace' (Egmond, 2007:158). It can also be used as a weapon to destabilise the nations. For example, the United States of America forbade its citizens to travel the Peoples' Republic of China (PRC) and Cuba for various years. On the other hand, American tourists increased in number for example in Israel whilst the connection also seems to reinforce the support for this nation (Go & Jenkins, 1997:49). Therefore, it seems that international tourism development reflecting globalisation can decrease the risk on tensions and conflicts based on cross culture interaction between tourists and hosts.

3.4.3 Social interactions: Social equity and social networks

Tourism development has contributed to the increase in cross-culture interaction due to global communication through technological innovation like internet and interaction between tourists and hosts in tourism business. This process has the potential to influence cultural norms and values system about social solidarity and social equity, families relations, collective lifestyle, moral conduct and community organizations (France, 1997; A.P. & Crompton, 1998) (Figure 3.1 arrow 3).

In the 19th century, generally seen as the period of industrial revolution and modernity in which Marx singled out his two class division of society, namely the bourgeoisie (people that owned the means of production) and the proletariat (people who only provide the labour) called by Weber the negative privileged, the unfree, the *déclassé*, debtors and paupers (Best, 2006:14-19), tourism development as reflection of the structure of modernity, two classes has also been classified by some authors and described as (i) a rich class consisting of businessmen and landowners and (ii) a lower class the class of people mostly immigrants search for employments (De Kadt, 1979; Dogan, 1987). Furthermore, exclusion in the internal structure of a community due to inequality in tourism benefits between 'those who have' and 'those who does not have', contributed to the marginalization of the later who are many in numbers and result in the expanding of 'the unequal gap' between these two classes. In this sense, exclusion involves disintegration from the tourism process, lack of participation in planning or implementation of tourism projects, alienation from decision making in the decision making and civic participation to tourism development and barriers to employment and tourism benefits (Tourism concern, 1999; Mann, 2000). Alternatively, social and cultural tourism has also other benefits such as that tourists gain through relaxation and recreation and that it gives an opportunity for a change of environment and social contact with others. Also, local communities may also benefits in terms of impetus to modernization, opportunity for women to gain independence and people break out of traditional role. Of particular importance to tourists are those forms of culture which are developed around physical objects, cultural sites and folk culture such as handcrafts, traditions, history of a region and architecture (France, 1997) as main elements of culture that attract tourists in contact with the hosts, which increased social connections.

In addition, inequality and poverty in tourism development that accompany threats to health may lead to Doxey's index of irritation as further developed by Shaw and Williams (in France, 1997:107), that show the host's attitudes towards tourism development from euphoria, through apathy, annoyance and finally to antagonism (See figure 3.2). However, international tourism development is also known to create conflicts. Beside the resistance to the religious fundamentalism on certain cultural practices such as sexual identity to mention but one, the conflict between hedonism and religion being against the moral problems generally known to associated with tourism expansion, such as crime, prostitution, gambling and decline of traditional beliefs, there are also other negative impacts on society which include the effects of demonstrations, health problems such as spread of HIV/AIDS, strains of local hospitality becoming intolerable which leads to xenophobia (Figure 3.2), jobs created in tourism settings can sometimes be dehumanizing, adverse effects on family and community life as a result of increased prices on their basic needs, neo-colonialism and an unbalanced population structure (France, 1997:103).

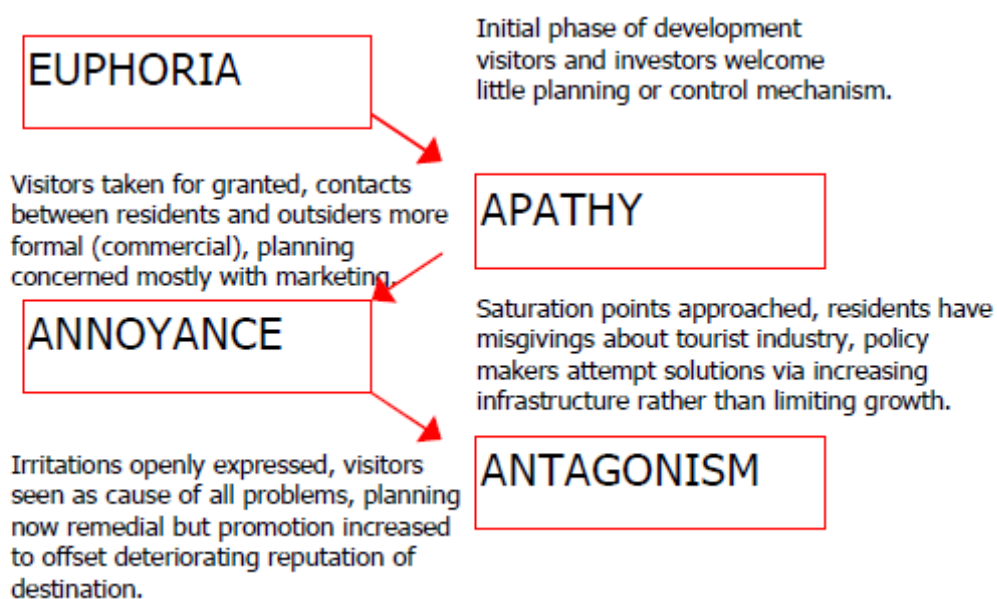


Figure 3.2: Doxey's Irritation Index

Source: Shaw and William (1994 in France, 1997:107).

3.4.4 Tourism development as mechanism for exploitation

On the other hand, international tourism development has been perceived as a means to secure new markets and products of developed countries through means of exploitation of resources such as natural, cultural and human resources. Despite the increase debt burden that is one of the most factors that undermine development,

and which may be increased by investing more in tourism infrastructure, tourism is also viewed as to gradually develop a form of economic dependency or slavery, due to the failure to fulfil debt repayments to the World Bank and IMF (Holden, 2005:115). The evidence seems to indicate that international tourism under scalping trading conditions, include minimising the role of government and selling off government enterprises to the private sector, and in some cases to those which are economically more powerful than most of the poor countries from developed countries. In addition, elimination of trade barriers, impediments to the free flow of capital and elimination of regulations of the conduct of business both led to empowerment of the private sector in tourism development in LDC's, while the role of these states was undermined (Dieke in Holden, 2005:115). Britton (1982) also perceived transnational companies involved in international tourism development as that they often degrade the LDC's through mechanisms of exploitative relationships. This issue has also been elaborated by Brohman (1996) that noted high rates of foreign ownership and leakages, lack of local participation in tourism planning and loss of control over tourism resources, low economic multiplier effects increased in socio-economic inequality, and disproportionate special distribution of benefits (Mathieson & Wall, 1992; Mann, 2000).

Though tourism has been given a positive image as the only sector of economic activity which holds that principles of globalisation still apply, the Report of the 56th session of the UN General Assembly Second Committee (2001) claimed that the effect of globalisation on states particularly Africa, include: economic, cultural, religious and military aspects. They concluded that these factors impacted on African countries in terms of undermining the power of the state, democratisation, making the task of eradicating poverty more difficult, increasing debt accumulation and the debt burden and undermining the state capacity to effectively regulate and protect the environment (UN General Assembly, 2001:3). The impact of international tourism development on LDC's is not only on economic, but also on a cultural level such as gender identities that undermines African culture, religious movements criticised to accompanying the social division. The impact of international tourism development on the state depends on the level of skilled people in the communities, strong institutions, social policies, availability of adequate tourist infrastructure and financial resources (Rogerson, 2002a).

3.5 Impact of tourism on global safety and security

Despite the promise of prosperity that is the appeal of tourism development, it is argued by some authors that tourism plays a role in social inequality and there is growing evidence of negative impacts on the human security (Tourism Concern, 1999:1). Although there is no direct evidence that climate change is caused by globalisation through travel and tourism, the factors fuelling the rapid environmental change include the increased numbers in population, the growth of industrial development which may be attracted by tourism business and the intensity of consumer driven economy (UNWTO, UNEP & WMO, 2007; UNEP, 2007). According to Forysthe, tourism also fuels the spread of communicable diseases including HIV/AIDS (Forysthe, 1999; Rodriguez-Garcia, 2001). It is clear that all these factors are linked to various forms of security threats.

3.5.1 Human securities: Definition and concept

Apart from the definitions provided by United Nations, Alkire mentioned that there are currently 25 definitions of what human security implies (Alkire, 1994:15). The concept of security according to the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty the security of people means “their physical safety, their economic and social well-being, respect for their dignity and worth as human beings, and the protection of their human rights and fundamental freedom” (Alkire, 1994:26). In the failure of the state to take responsibility in safeguarding human security, human rights and human dignity, the International institution may take responsibility to do so. Alkire noted various other authors’ definitions such as Rothschild’s definition of security as perceived in European political thoughts (Alkire, 1994:22). She noted also King, Murray and Thomas’ definition of security as: “freedom from need or vulnerability aspect of human security, whether this is caused by war or by structural events such as financial crises” (Alkire, 1994:23). While Thomas views human security based on freedoms, such as “basic needs, human dignity, and democracy”, King and Murray address the issue of freedom from a want perspective with the individual’s “expectation of a life without experiencing the state of generalized poverty” (Alkire, 1994:23). Regarding the safety either at work or at home, Hampson defined security as the “absence of threat to core human values, including the most basic human value, the physical safety of the individual” (Alkire, 1994:24).

Paris, another human security theorist, criticised the above security definitions to be too broad and confusing. He noted that human security refers to “a broad category of research on military and/or non-military threats to societies, groups and individuals” (Alkire, 1994:25). He mentioned that other definitions are “encompassing everything from physical security to psychological well-being, which provides policy makers with little guidance in the prioritization of competing policy goals and academics make little sense of what, exactly, is to be studied (Alkire, 1994:33). However, various authors mentioned above, showed the importance to extend the security issues by including poverty, disease, and environmental disasters which tourism growth is a possible direct or indirect contributor (Owen, 2004:375). Owen also mentioned two definitions, one from the Commission on Human Security and his definition. The definition of the Commission on Human Security reads as follows: ‘Human security is the protection of the vital core of all human lives from critical and pervasive threats’ (Owen, 2004:382). This definition reflects on the severity and scope of human security. However, Owen elaborated on this definition and stated that: ‘Human security is the protection of the vital core of all human lives from critical and pervasive environmental, economic, food, health, personal and political threats’ (Owen, 2004:383). In 2005, World Health Organisation established the commission on Social Determinants of Health (CSDH) with the promotion of health equity at the heart of social determinants of health (SDH). The commission defines health equity as ‘the absence of disparities in health (and its key social determinants) that are systematically associated with social advantages/disadvantage (Braveman & Gruskin, 2003:256). Among others, the SDH factors include social gradient of disadvantage, early childhood environment, social exclusion, social support, jobs, food, unemployment and transport (Wilkinson & Marmot, 2003 in Labonte & Schrecker, 2007:2). They commented that unless the root social causes that undermine people’s health are addressed, the opportunity for well-being of people will not be achieved. Tourism development holds a number of social and economic as well as environmental factors that may undermine people’s health (Bauer, 2007:288).

3.5.2 Tourism development, inequality and health issues

International tourism development has also fuelled the internationalisation of human security issues such as drug and alcohol abuse, human trafficking, particularly women for sex exploitation, and international terrorism (Forsythe, 1999; Baum, 2002a).

International tourism also has the potential to destroy the environment through over consumption of sought after scarce natural resources and air pollution (Muller, 1994 in France, 1997). International tourism development is seen by some authors as the only economic sector that applies the principles of free the market (Naylon 1967, cited in Oppermann & Chon 1997:16), attract foreign investment and undermine the states sovereignty and control at the same time. Although the policies of a free market and its important political and social dimensions as discussed in previous sections cannot be neglected, the increase in human mobility from different parts of the globe on a massive scale such as during the World Cup soccer tournament in South Africa, contribute to significant impacts on political, cultural, social, economic and environmental conditions of local communities in which those who are not able to benefits from its expansions, suffer from its negative health impacts (Bauer, 2007; Spiegel et al., 2008). Table: 3.1 show determinants of population health which may also reflect on tourism development. The debated about international tourism development and health has shown that business has generally benefited the industrialized countries and marginalized the poor countries more. The opponents of international tourism development revealed that it has implications for inequalities which have increased the gap between the rich and poor (Tourism Concern, 1999:1). Yet, there are a number of researchers that indicate to a link between inequality and health (Baum, 2002a; Khanum & Singh, 2007). In tourism development resources, power and other capacities related to its process, the poor countries and its peoples are vulnerable to adverse health impacts (Kishindo, 1995a, b; Bauer, 2007; Spiege et al., 2008). Thus, there seems to be growing evidence of a link between health impacts of inequality in resources that derive from international tourism development. In addition to mechanisms of exploitation of resources such as natural, cultural and human aspects (Holden, 2005:115) due to liberal economic structures and policies that accompanying socio-economic inequities, political instability and social division as well as environmental degradation, all affect the population with potential perpetuating poverty.

According to Baum, the net result is that, for the global population as a whole, the process of economic globalization are not a positive force for the poorer in rich countries and for the vast majority of the population in developing countries (Baum ,2002a:109).

Globalisation is good for health and equity	Globalisation is bad for health and equity
Trade liberalisation will ultimately benefit everyone through a trickle-down effect Globalisation is good for the incomes of the poor and therefore for the health Policies of the IMF have been a mains of "cleaning up" corrupt governments in poor countries Globalisation opens up communication around the world and creates a global village. This will result in more understanding and less conflict Globalisation provides a variety of consumer goods that enrich people's lives	Structured unfairness of the world trade system ensures an unfair distribution of wealth and is strongly biased in favour of the rich strata of the rich country Globalisation increases inequalities both within and between countries Globalisation for poor countries has meant the imposition of structural adjustment packages (SAPS) which have affected the level of services and protection for local industries Globalisation threatens to swamp the variety of cultures around the world and impose a common Americanised McCulture. The treat of globalisation will increase fundamentalism Migration poses considerable policy challenges to the governments of developed countries Globalisation imposes unhealthy diets on developing countries and makes consumption an unhealthy obsession, as well as encouraging levels of consumption that are environmentally unstable

Table 3.1: Globalisation, health and equity

Source: Baum (2002a:109)

In addition to increased social, class and gender disparities in employment and tourism benefits, potential to stimulate prostitution, sexually transmitted disease, drugs, alcohol despite the treaties regulating trade in alcohol which may not be in many tourism enterprises such as bars and other enemies of society such as crime. International tourism development contributes to new environmental threats, such as reduced access for local people to the natural resources on which they depend for basic needs and an increase in the cost of land, food, manufactured goods and accommodation and deterioration of the bio-physical environment all undermine the human security and sustainable tourism development (Stonich, 1998a; Harrison, 2001).

As discussed in chapter two, factors that make the development to slowdown in many developing countries to address health and equity are also explained in table 3.2 and table 3.3

Category of International Relations Theory	Basic Description of Theoretical Category	Basic Description of Category's Position on International Law
Realism	Explains international relations as a struggle for power between states	International law exists but is merely an instrument in the game of power politics
Liberalism	Explains international relations as a focusing on the liberty and rights of the individual	International law is critical to creating order and peace between states in the international system
Marxism	Explains international relations as a by-product of the struggle for the control of the means of economic production.	International law is a tool used by capitalist states and deepen the transitional oppression of the proletariat
Conservation	Explains international relations through a focus on cultural similarities and differences between states and peoples	Culture similitude gives international law a solid foundation; without such similitude, international law operates on the basis of expediency.

Table 3.2: Functions of International Law: Controversy in International Relations Theory

Source: Filder, 2002:12

Level/Nature	General determinants	More detailed determinants
Contextual level		
Institutional	Institutional infrastructure	Governance structure Political environment System of law Regulation
Economic	Economic infrastructure	Occupational structure Tax system Markets
Socio-culture	Culture Population	Religion Ideology Customs Population size Structure Geographical distribution
Digital level		

Level/Nature	General determinants	More detailed determinants
Environmental	Ecological settings	Ecosystem climate
Contextual level		
Institutional	Health policy Health-related policies	Effective public health policy Sufficient public health budget Effective food policy Effective water policy Effective social policy Environmental policy
Economic	Economic development Trade	Income/health Economic equity Trade in goods and services Marketing
Social-cultural	Knowledge Social interactions	Education and literacy Health education Technology Social equity Conflicts Trade and Migration
Environmental	Ecosystem goods and services	Habitat Information Production Regulation
Proximal level		
Institutional	Health services	Provision of and access to health services
Economic	-	-
Social-cultural	Life style Social environment	Healthy food consumption patterns Alcohol and tobacco use Drug abuse Unsafe sexual behaviour Physical activity Stress coping Child care Lifestyle related endogen factors (blood pressure, obesity, cholesterol levels) Social support and informal care Intended injuries and abuse violence

Environmental	Food and water	Sufficient quality Sufficient quantity Sanitation
	Physical environment	Quality of the living environment (biotic, physical and chemical factors) unintended injuries

Table 3.3: Determinants of population health

Source: Huynen, Martens & Hilderink (2005:4)

3.5.3 Tourism development and health

Health issues are increasingly affected by international tourism development through economic development and trade (free trade and neo-colonialism) that may increase inequality and poverty (Figure 3.1 arrow 6), associated with alcohol, drugs, migrant workers, sex tourists and prostitution are all factors that contribute to the rapid spread of HIV and includes the lack of knowledge about dealing with sexual behaviour (Figure 3.1; arrow 7). Although the UNWTO aims to assist governments to strengthen tourism development in poor countries in achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by 2014 with health at the heart of poverty reduction (UNWTO, 2006c), inequalities and poverty have increased accompanying threats to health as tourism development in many countries is confronted with neo-liberal economic demands and practices (Tourism concern, 1999; Mann, 2000; Holden, 2005). Diseases like HIV/AIDS or Hepatitis B can also spread through tourism expansion. At the same time, due to the fact that they are transmitted primarily by behaviour that can be modified, educational programmes designed to influence appropriate behaviour in tourism settings can be effective in controlling the epidemic that can also undermine sustainable tourism development. A variety of factors place tourists and local communities at increased risk for HIV infection and, therefore, calls for sustainable tourism development and health aimed at promoting health and HIV/AIDS prevention. Associated with workforce mobility, the presence of sex tourists, and the heavy reliance of many countries upon tourism revenues (Forsythe, 1999) and experimentation with substance use (alcohol, illicit drugs and other substances), all may expose many people to possible HIV infection undermining the sustainability of tourism development. The dilemma is if HIV determinants in tourism settings are said to be eliminated as the economic growth will decline, at least in the short term. However, by ignoring their effects and failing to prevent HIV in tourism development, human and economic costs of potential tourists and hosts could in some instances have a negative effect on economic, social, and even political stability in both tourists home countries in gen-

eral, and tourist destinations in particular. Forsythe (1999) agreed that when tourists have sex with prostitutes, hotel staff, and others in the local population, a bridge can be created for HIV to cross back and forth between the tourist's home country and the tourist destination. Table 3.4 shows international law agreements that were developed to address communicable diseases on a global scale.

Area of International law	Description of Relevant to communicable Disease Control	Examples of International Law
International law on communicable disease control	Attempts to control directly the international spread of communicable disease	International Sanitary Conventions (1851-1951); International Health regulations (1951)
International trade law	Contains rules that (1) regulates trade – restricting health measures relating to protection of human, animal, and plant health; (2) govern intellectual property rights over pharmaceuticals.	General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade (1994); Agreement on the application of sanitary Measures (1994). Agreement on Trade related aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (1994)
International human rights law	Protects civil and political rights, which affect how individuals with contagious diseases can be treated; and contains the human right to health.	International Covenant on civil and political Rights (1966); international Covenant on economic, social, and cultural Rights (1966)
International environmental law	Contains regimes that address international environmental problems that potentially contribute to communicable diseases problems	Treaties on air, water and marine pollution, treaties on global warming.
International humanitarian law	Attempts to protect health of combatants and non-combatants from communicable diseases in times of armed conflict	Four Geneva Conventions (1949)
International law on arms control	Prohibits the development; production and use of biological weapons	Geneva Protocol (1925) Biological weapons convention (1972)

Table 3.4: Summary of International Law and communicable disease

Source: Filder (2002:20)

3.5.4 Tourism and social environment

Despite the proponents of tourism development that emphasized the potential that exists for improving health as a result of tourists-hosts relationships such as job crea-

tion, critics have expressed their concern over the creation of increased inequalities accompanying threats to health. This ranges from issues related to economic, social and cultural, as well as environmental aspects, to direct health related issues such as vulnerability to transmission diseases in local communities and the occupational health and safety of local people working in tourism settings (Bauer, 2007; Spiegel et al., 2008). Bauer (2007:288) noted that there are conditions that are present in the tourism business that contribute to the vulnerability of both tourists and hosts (prostitutes, hotel workers and immediate communities) to HIV (Forsythe, 1999). House, Landis and Umberson (Huynen, Martens & Hilderink, 2005:8), argue that the central mechanism that relates personal affiliation to health, is 'social support, which in practice refer to the transfer from one personal to another of instrumental emotional and informational assistance. Following the tourism development process that increase the gap between the rich and poor (Tourism concern, 1999:1) in tourist destinations that have resulted in a decline of the standard of living for many people in developing countries, growing deprivation as a result is rising costs of their basic needs such food and shelter that goes up, poverty, unemployment may expose people to HIV/AIDS. However, with effective sustainable growth in the world of the poor, Pro-poor Tourism (PPT) Programmes (Mitchell & Ashley, 2007; UNWTO, 2007b) can influence the degree of social support through empowerment of the poor. Furthermore, with regard to the availability of international law that is designed to mitigate the negative environmental impacts of tourism, it does not mean their applicability face controversy in international development theory (Filder, 2002:12).

3.5.5 Tourism development and lifestyle

Due to the often perceived inequality between rich tourists and poor hosts, by observing the tourists, local communities might change their lifestyle (See table :3.5) to include dressing, eating, entertainment and recreation activities which may not only be perceived positively, but can also be viewed as an indication of acculturation. Furthermore, the local rituals may lose their meaning when repeatedly staged for money, leading to the destruction of cultural products as termed by MacCannel (1993 in France, 1997:110) through 'staged authenticity'.

Lifestyle factor	Health effects
Diet	Excess energy intake results, together with, physical activity, in obesity, Obesity is an

	increasing health problem and has several co-morbidities such as non-insulin dependent diabetes and cardiovascular diseases. The nutritional quality of the diet (e.g. fruit and vegetable intake, saturated versus unsaturated fats) is also very important for good health.
Inactivity	Physical inactivity has been linked to obesity, coronary heart disease, hypertension, strokes, diabetes, colon cancer, breast cancer and osteoporotic fractures.
Smoking	Tobacco is predicted to be the leading health risk factor by 2030. It causes, for example, cancer of the trachea bronchus and lung, and cardiovascular diseases.
Alcohol use	The consumption of alcoholic beverages increases to risk on liver cirrhosis, raised blood pressure, heart disease, stroke, pancreatitis and cancers of the oropharynx, larynx, esophagus, stomach, liver, and rectum. The role of alcohol consumption in non-communicable disease epidemiology is, however, complex. For example, small amount of alcohol produce the risk of cardiovascular diseases, while drinking larger amounts is an important cause of these very same diseases.
Illicit drugs	According to the World Health Report 2001, 0.4% of the total disease burden is attributable to illicit drugs (heroin and cocaine). Opiate users can have overall mortality rate up to 20 percent higher than those in the general population of the same age, due to not only overdoses but also to accidents, suicides, AIDS and other infectious diseases.

Table 3.5: Lifestyle and health

Source: Huynen, Martens & Hilderink (2005:12)

Tourism can stimulate prostitution, sexually transmitted disease, drugs, alcohol and other enemies of societies such as crime. Mathieson and Wall (1982 in France, 1997:108) suggested four hypotheses regarding tourism and prostitution: (i) Locational, tourism development often create environments conducive to attract prostitutes. (ii) Societal and related drivers stimulate to the breaking of normal bonds of behaviour by tourists when away from home as they take risks that they would not take when at home (Forsythe, 1999). (iii) The economic aspect of employment offered by prostitution to women, which may upgrade their status are often considered as exploitation and contribute to the various problems poor nations have in retaining control over their own tourism destiny (Ritcher, 1989 in France, 1997: 113). (v) Tourism may also function as a mere scapegoat for a general decline in moral standards as tourists tend to engage in risks when they overnight such as to drink more, use drugs more (Forsythe, 1999). Despite the strong association between alcohol use and numerous research developments on the global assessment of HIV infection among injecting drug users, both mostly occur in conjunction with attending social venues such as bars and night clubs and not all countries have the policies on alcohol intake

to protect guests who might be exposed to HIV as it has been a concern in the mid-19th century (Des Jarlais, Arasteh, Semaan & Wood, 2009).

In the mid the 19th century, Western countries have perceived adverse effects of alcohol on indigenous people in colonial areas. For example in 1884, Great Britain took the initiative to propose that international policy be established for the protection of indigenous peoples of the Pacific Ocean by prohibiting the supply of liquors to them (More, 1906 in Fidler, 2001:843). The same issue was raised in the 1890 General Act of Brussels Conference regarding the African Slave Trade and in the 1899 Convention Respecting Liquor Traffic in Africa (Consolidated Treaty series, 1890; 1898; 1899 in Fidler, 2001:843).

Year	Treaty
1887	Convention Respecting Liquor Traffic in the North Sea
1922	France-Switzerland Convention on Control of Movement of Intoxicating Liquors
1924	US-UK Convention on Regulation of Liquor Traffic
1924	US-German Convention on Regulation on Liquor Traffic
1924	US-Sweden Convention on liquor traffic
1924	US-Denmark Convention on Liquor traffic
1924	US-Panama Convention on the prevention of smuggling of intoxicating Liquors
1924	US-France Convention on preventing smuggling of intoxicating Liquors
1924	US-Netherlands Convention on Regulation of Liquor traffic
1924	US-Norway Convention on the Regulation of Liquor traffic
1925	Convention for the suppression of Contraband Traffic in Alcoholic Liquors in the Baltic Sea.
1925	US-Belgium Treaty on smuggling Alcoholic Liquors into the united states
1928	US-Greece Convention on the Regulation of Liquor Traffic
1932	Finland-Hungary Convention on prevention of smuggling Alcoholic Goods
1933	UK-Finland Treaty on the suppression of the illicit importation of Alcoholic Liquors
1933	Sweden-Finland Treaty on illicit importation of Alcoholic Beverages
1935	Denmark-Sweden Convention on prevention of smuggling of Alcoholic Beverages
1936	Czechoslovakia-Finland Agreement on the Suppression of the illicit importation of Alcoholic Liquors into Finland

Table 3.6: Regional and bilateral treaties regulating illicit trade in alcohol, 1887–1936

Source: Fidler (2001: 846)

3.5.6 Global environmental change and its impact on public health

Since it tends to be significantly affected by climate change, the tourism sector is a likely target for addressing the environmental challenges in various countries. In addition to the fact that climate is a principal resource for tourism as a factor driver of global seasonality attracting tourists, the tourism industry is at particular risk from the climate change because of environmental changes that have a profound effects on tourism at both the destination and regional levels (UNWTO, UNEP & HMO, 2007:5-6). The critical challenge is to balance the economy in the era of global competition and sustainable lifestyle of the majority of the population, particularly the poor. The reduction of poverty, inequality and hunger as well as responsible tourism or sustainable development is the main objectives of the UN Millennium Development Goals and in which the tourism sector has to play an important role (UNWTO, 2006c). The UNWTO Secretary General Francesco Frangiali (UNWTO, UNEP and WHO, 2007:4) mentioned that climate change and poverty alleviation remains two of the most important issues in the tourist sector and both of them will remain as two of the greatest challenges to communities all over the world. As these two factors are interdependent, he noted that it is of paramount importance for both the government and private sector to increase attention on climate and poverty relief strategies.

There seems also to be evidence that global tourism can increase inequality and accompanying threats to health, including infectious diseases (Rodriguez-Garcia, 2001; Bauer, 2007). In addition, there has been a range of policies and strategies to minimize the environmental (and also the social, cultural and economic) costs and maximize the benefits with different associated 'labels' such as appropriate, responsible, green and alternative tourism (France, 1997:15). The intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) revealed that potential tourists' fear of climate change could discourage them to visit certain countries, due to heat waves and heavy precipitation events and future tropical cyclones (typhoons and hurricanes). In addition to greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions derived from the transport and accommodation of tourists, the tourism sector holds factors that reflects global climate change such as increased numbers in the population in sensitive areas, the growth of industrial development attracted by tourism and the intensity of consumption of non-renewable resources (Muller in France, 1997; UNWTO, UNEP and WHO, 2007). According to the

Stern Report (UNWTO, UNEP and WHO (2007:7) “Our actions over the coming few decades could create risks of major disruption to economic and social activity, later in this century and in the next, on a scale similar to those associated with the great wars and the economic depression of the first half of the 20th century”. The greater mobility due to global tourism and displacement, leads to an increase in the risk of importing and exporting communicable diseases (Rodriguez-Garcia, 2001; Bauer, 2007; UNWTO, UNEP; WHO, 2007) and climate change driven by tourism expansion, is perceived to increase the risk to health such as an increased exposure to thermal extremes and weather disasters (floods and storms). Climate change also adversely affects the tourism sector at tourist destinations through increased costs (heating, cooling, snowmaking, irrigation, food and water supply, and insurance costs) and induced environmental changes in water availability, biodiversity loss, reduced landscape aesthetic, altered agricultural production (e.g. wine tourism), increased natural hazards, coastal erosion and inundation, damage to infrastructure and the increasing incidence of communicable diseases (e.g. malaria, dengue fever), non-communicable diseases (e.g. skin cancer, asthma) and human migration all having a profound impacts on tourism and socio-economic of the countries (UNWTO, UNEP & WMO, 2007:5-6). It is expected that the increase in transport costs as a result of national or international mitigation strategies to reduce greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions will reduce the number of potential tourists who may decide to visit the nearest place by using alternative mode of transport with potential impact to reduce Global Gross Domestic Product leading to negative implications for sustainable tourism. As result various researchers declared climate change to be a national and international security risk with the potential to significantly affect the countries that are heavily relied upon tourism revenues (UNWTO, UNEP & WMO, 2007). The security threats will be felt from deterioration of economic performance in these countries, although most of them are short haul with less vulnerable to world social context. In addition, climate change will increase inequality in various ways and there will be “winners and losers” depending on the type of business and type of tourist destination (UNWTO, UNEP & WMO, 2007:7-8). Despite the promotion of environmental considerations and a number of global treaties on pollution (Table:3.7), the rules cannot regulate all countries and enterprises which have as their main aim to make profits at any cost and expect them to take full responsibility to reduce pollution.

Another concern related to negative health impacts associated with global tourism expansion, include sex tourism and human trafficking for sex exploitation, particularly underage sex tourism and women from poor countries to the tourist destination (Rodriguez-Garcia, 2001; Richter, 2003; Carol, 2006). Similarly, the sector is associated with illicit drugs and alcohol addiction, traffic related accidents and occupation health concerns as well as infectious diseases including HIV/AIDS (Forysthe, 1999; Rodriguez-Garcia, 2001).

Year	Treaty
1869	Convention Between the Grand Duchy of Baden and Switzerland concerning Fishing in the Rhine Between Constance and Basel
1882	Convention between Italy and Switzerland concerning Fishing in Frontier waters
1887	Convention Establishing uniform provisions on Fishing in the Rhine and its Tributaries
1892	Convention Between Luxembourg and Prussia Regulating Fisheries in Boundary Waters
1893	Convention Decreeing Uniform Regulations for Fishing in Lake Constance
1906	Convention Between Switzerland and Italy Establishing Uniform Regulations concerning Fishing in Border Waterways
1909	United States-Canada Boundary Water Treaty
1922	Agreement between Denmark and Germany Relating to Frontier Watercourses; provisions Relating to the German-Belgian Frontier
1923	Agreement between Italy and Austria concerning Economic Relations in Border Regions
1944	United States-Mexico Colorado River Treaty

Table 3.7: Treaties dealing with pollution of trans boundary international rivers and lakes, 1869–1944

Source: Fidler (2001: 847)

3.5.7 Tourism development and workers health

With the integration of information technology in the tourism sector, globalization also speeds up the movement of the labour sector within and across countries (Lurie, 2000; Keyser, 2002). In addition to unemployment, the wage differences between countries stimulate educated and skilled migrant workers from the poor countries, to search for a relatively higher income (WHO, 2004). This increase in inequality be-

tween skilled and unskilled employees will impact on job insecurity as those who cannot cope with competition, will lose out on employment opportunities. Furthermore, employment created in the poorer communities are criticised for not creating “real” jobs, but jobs are usually low in status, low paid, temporary jobs for which women are favoured (Pearce, 1989; Mathieson & Wall, 1992). Richter (1989:2) noted that the most prominent tourist related issues tend to be associated with the exploitation of women, the advantages and disadvantages of tourism as a means of economic development, and the problems poor nations have in retaining control over their own tourism destiny. As previously mentioned, in addition to the poor working conditions, tourism may also contribute to the stimulation of prostitution, sexually transmitted diseases and other community-disruptive behaviours and values (Kishindo, 1995a; 1995b; Keyser, 2002).

3.5.8 Global competition and employment insecurity in tourism workplace

As a result of the increased competition contributed by a globalised world market, the direct effect on the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) outbreak and terrorism, tourism enterprises have made radical cuts in their labour costs through downsizing, flexible production systems, re-engineering and the use of technological innovations (Costa, 2004:402). In 2003, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) raised a concern regarding the cutting down of the labour force in tourism as a result of the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) and economic crisis. The ILO noted that these challenges could cut around five million jobs in this industry during 2003, leading to 11.5 million the total number of jobs lost since the end of 2001, representing the loss of one in every seven jobs in the travel and tourism sector since 2001 ILO in (Costa, 2004:402). The combined effects of global pressure, such as competition and recession and use of technological innovation may increase social inequality and job insecurity, particularly with local communities whom the majority are unskilled. The relatively well paid jobs created by tourism in destination areas increases the mobility of young people and women from rural areas to resort areas (Kishindo, 1995a; 1995b; Keyser, 2002). Most of these people work in the informal sector where the women are favoured (Kishindo, 1995a; France, 1997). Thus, the job created by global tourism in local communities holds various potential negative implications for health and employment security. Grint (1998) in Lee, 2007:26) noted the following seven categories of employment securities:

1. Labour market security: Guarantees full employment.
2. Employment security: Protection against arbitrary dismissal.
3. Job security: Protective barriers to protect skills and qualifications.
4. Work security: Health and safety regulation.
5. Skills security: Opportunities to enhance skills through training.
6. Income security: Minimum wage and social security legislation.
7. Representation security: Trade unions.

3.5.9 Tourism and Occupational safety and health

Tourism development has not only contributed to indirect and direct health risk such economic, social environmental, but also to occupational safety and health risk problems within local communities working in tourism settings (Bauer, 2007:288).

In order to address the factors that expose people to health and safety risks, governments are required to implement international law in collaboration with national and international organizations to integrate and improve the occupational health and safety standard illustrated in Table 3.8.

Year	Treaty
1906	Convention Respecting the Prohibition of Night work for women in industrial Employment
1906	Convention Respecting the Probation of the Use of white (Yellow) Phosphorus in the Manufacture of Matches
1919	ILO C1 Hours of Work (Industry) Convention
1919	ILO C3 Maternity protection convention
1919	ILO C4 Night work (Women)convention)
1919	ILO C5 Minimum Age (Industry) Convention
1919	ILO C6 Night work of Young Persons (Industry) Convention
1920	ILO C7 Minimum Age (Sea) Convention
1921	ILO C10 Minimum Age (Agriculture) Convention
1921	ILO C13 White Lead (Painting) Convention
1921	ILO C14 Weekly Rest (Industry) Convention

1921	ILO C16 Medical Examination of Young Persons (Sea) Convention
1925	ILO C17 Workmen's Compensation (Accidents) Convention
1925	ILO C18 Workmen's Compensation (Occupational Diseases) Convention
1930	ILO C29 Forced Labour Convention
1932	ILO C32 Protection Against Accidents (Dockers) Convention
1935	ILO C45 Underground Work (Women) Convention
1937	ILO C62 Safety Provisions (Building Industry) Convention

Table 3.8: Treaties on international labour standards related to occupational safety and health, 1906-1937

Sources: Filder (2001)

3.6 Effect of international tourism development and free market on health

Since international tourism development reflects the structure of globalization as discussed in previous sections, Spiegel et al. (2008:60) commented that the ability of communities to respond to the pressure derived from globalization is of paramount importance for community health. The direct effects of international tourism development include impacts on health systems and policies for both the free market and globalization. These include cross-border transmission diseases and human traffic, particularly women and children. Bauer (2007:288) noted that the health in tourism development is indirectly affected through economic, socio-cultural and environmental aspects and directly through cross-border transmission of infectious disease. In this regard, the above health issues fuelled by countries that are dependent upon tourism revenues and trade liberalization, financial flow as well as mechanism of exploitation of resources such as natural resources, as well as cultural and human aspects, cannot be ignored (Forsythe, 1999; Holden, 2005), particularly with the spread of HIV/AIDS.

3.6.1 International tourism development, neo-Liberalism and Health

Due to the global oil crisis, a range of policies forged by the IMF, World Bank and U.S Treasury (Stiglitz, 2007:16), promoted as the best way for development to mainly focus on the downscaling of government involvement, de-regulation and rapid liberali-

zation and privatization was given to the countries that borrowed from IMF. In addition, it was advised to integrate tourism as the only sector that can effectively apply the principles of globalization as discussed earlier in this chapter (Oppermann & Cho, 1997; Holden, 2005).

Figure 3.3 outline the link between the process of globalization and health and the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and its various trade agreements reflecting that the free market neo-liberalism have various implications for inequality, accompanied by threats to health. The driving constraints in free market neo-liberalism mirrored in tourism developments include technological innovation, political influences, economic pressures, changing ideas, and increasing social and environmental concerns (Bauer, 2007; Spiegel et al., 2008). In addition to the debate about tourism development reflecting free market principles, there are a number of trade agreements mentioned that are related to tourism development and free market accompanying threats to health and well-being of the population. The main treaties of free market that are linked to the health risk and wellbeing of local communities (Woodward et al., 2001; Baum, 2002; Stiglitz, 2007) include:

- (i) The sanitary and phytosanitary measures (SPS) promoting a scientific risk assessment on all regulatory standards affecting national policies for food safety. The concern about this agreement is that unnecessarily strict food safety can be imposed and affect its export in developing countries (Labonte, 2003).
- (ii) The Agreement on technical Barriers to Trade (TBT) that deals with technical barrier to include domestic regulation on tariffs or export subsidies. In this regard Stiglitz (2007: 16) commented on its bias stating that: the developing countries were forced to abandon subsidies that should support agriculture subsidies which were not applied in developed countries with potential to forcing down agricultural prices and undermining living standards in developing countries.
- (iii) The Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS), sets the minimum standards of protection for intellectual property rights (Woodward, Drager, Beaglehole, & Lipson, 2001; Stiglitz, 2007). Stiglitz (2007:105) noted that Trips was designed to ensure higher-priced medicines. The TRIPS was perceived by trade ministers who signed the deal yet not knowing that they were signing a death warrant for thousands of

people in the poorest countries of the world. This statement can be evidenced by the trade of in generic drugs in developing countries where for instance Botswana, a small countries severely affected by HIV/AIDS was restricted to buy the generic AIDS drugs from neighbouring South Africa relatively cheap compared to those imported from Europe and America (Stiglitz, 2007).

- (iv) The other international agreement that may affect the health in international tourism development is the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). The main goal of GATS was that each country would treat all others the same and all would be favoured at the same level.

Under the Grand Bargain ' in which the developed countries promised to liberalized trade in agriculture and textiles and in return, developing countries agreed to reduce tariff and accepts a range of new rules and obligation on intellectual property rights, investments, and services, the developing countries realized later that they were misled in the process of Grand bargain (Stiglitz, 2007:77). In tourism development the major concern of GATS leads to privatization of the major public transport and accommodation and Parks in which the power to some extent in some countries are in the hand of powerful corporation that the poor countries are unable to control (Mann, 2000;Tourism Concern 2000/2001).

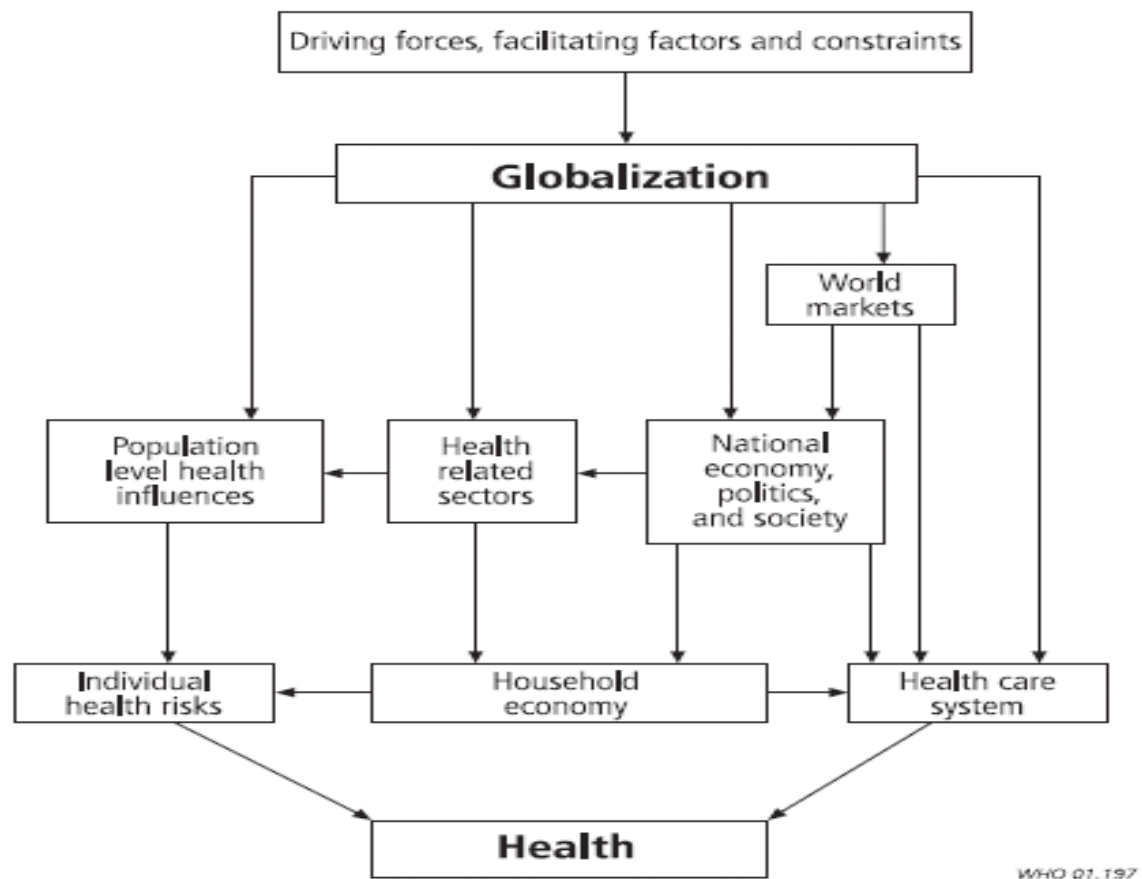


Figure 3.3: Outline conceptual framework for globalization and health

Source: Woodward, Drager, Beaglehole, & Lipson (2001:877)

3.6.2 Global competition and impact on transformation of tourism

Managers in the tourism sector are facing challenges to balance the economy and insecurity. According to Poon, in France (1997:47) the new global tourism is a phenomenon of large-scale packaging of non-standardized leisure services at competitive prices to suit demands of tourists as well as the economic and socio-environmental needs of destinations. In the context of globalisation that has increased exponentially through trade, finance, mobility of capital and labour, and the rapid change in technology contributed to competition in the tourism sector. This competition also manifests in the tourist destinations (Western Cape Province, 2001:17). The globalised world economy through trade, finance, production supported by a dense web of international treaties and institutions, has brought about global competition. As many poor countries that are heavily dependent upon tourism are not able to cope with fierce global competition, as their local entrepreneurs are urged to seek the tour operators and the airlines with potential to let the transnational corporations to rule (Tourism Concern, 1999; Mann, 2000). In order to compete, these enter-

prises, not only has made a radical cuts in their labour costs through downsizing, re-engineering and introduction of technological innovation, but also has to enlarge their focus on improving their products, service quality and customer care programmes. In this, little attention is paid on the majority of the population, particularly the poor who may be affected most by the negative impacts of tourism activities (Tourism Concern, 1999:1). Thus, enterprises and employees in tourism sector particularly those from poor countries with the majority unskilled workers are often put under severe insecurity. Under the wave of globalisation and technological innovation, and particular the e-tourism concept covering all business, Poon (France, 1997:47) mentioned that new tourism is a phenomenon of large-scale packaging of non-standardized leisure services at competitive prices to suit the demands of tourists, as well as the economic and socio environmental needs of destinations. Stamboulis & Skayannis (2004:37) noted that the mentioned changes occur on at least three levels:

- a) The various tastes of tourists (the consumers of the tourist product) change in different directions. It is accepted that this does not involve 'all' tourists. The majority still seek the consumption of the 'Sea, Sun, Sand and Sex (4Ss)', but the numbers of those in search of something different' is growing. A growing number of new operators that specialize in "alternative tourism" or offer thematic packages, and an increasing number of operators include such options as part of their traditional packages. The profile of the tourists changes accordingly. While tourists who still prefer mass tourism are predominantly from the lower income, those opting for alternative experiences are mostly from the higher income (or higher spending). Tourism, by this classification, is somehow class determined in that it seems to leave aside the very high-income groups that have always been non-mass and semi conventional, whilst the lower income groups who are the majority.
- b) There has been a change in the mode of supply of tourism locations and attractions. Destinations are undergoing changes resulting from complex processes. Tourists discover new locations and activities, which eventually become fashionable, product themselves so as to either meet or to generate new demand. Consequently, they are obliged to enter into a world of intensified competition.
- c) There is a change in the providers of both the final product and the intermediate products in an effort to capture new product markets and customers arising from the transformation of the tourist business (Stamboulis & Skayannis, 2004:37-38).

Poon (France, 1997:48) added that international tourism is undergoing rapid and radical transformation, a transformation into new industry best practices or simply common sense practices. Five forces are noted to drive transformation of new tourism: Consumers, technology, management techniques, production practices and frame conditions. Thus, in today's world, managers in the tourism industry are required to respond to the new form of tourism. France (1997:15) agreed that it is evident that not only has tourism grown worldwide, but that many of those concerned about its negative impacts at the destination assume that some forms of mass tourism are largely responsible for these problems. This situation led to the emergence of a more sensitive form of tourism, in which the aim is to minimise the environmental, social, cultural and economic costs and at the same time maximise the benefits.

3.7 Potential benefits and constraints of technological innovation in travel and tourism

It is evident that technological innovation is profoundly affecting communities at tourist destinations. Technological innovation is perceived as to affect positively the social and economy of tourist destinations by increasing revenue, better living conditions and improvement of services and marketing the destination products. However, despite of these advantages mentioned like globalisation, not all countries and people have benefited from technological innovations.

3.7.1 Potential benefits related to technological innovation

Introducing technological innovation in various departments of the tourism sector has brought about significant benefits. Tourism growth and technological innovation are interdependent and all are beneficial to the local community. Edgel (1990:29-30) noted the role of tourism in the contribution of economic and technological development as it:

- a) Stimulates the development of basic infrastructure (such as airports, harbours, roads, sewers and electrical power).
- b) Contributes to the growth of domestic industries that supply the tourism industry (e.g. transportation, agriculture, food processing, commercial fishing, lumbering and construction).
- c) Attracts foreign investment (especially in hotels).

d) Facilitates the transfer of technology and technical know-how.

Thus, global tourism and technological innovation may contribute to the economic growth, as well as social development and advancement. An increase of computer and internet applications in travel and tourism has been noted not only on booking and selling tickets and hotel rooms (UNCTAD, 2005:157), but in the processes also add to the value chain. Moreover, electronic destinations such as Destination Management Organisations (DMS) can be used to inform, as well as market and sell the products. Its main objectives are:

- (a) To efficiently integrate and facilitate interaction among all stakeholders.
- (b) To provide tourism enterprises with the means to be better integrated into the tourism supply chain by organizing and promoting personalized and enriched tourism experiences.
- (c) To optimize the relationships with targeted groups.
- (d) To provide consumers with comprehensive and accurate information, if possible, with booking facilities for tourism services and products available.
- (e) To develop an integrated tourism product and service offerings.
- (f) To provide up-to-date and attractive tourism information and products according to the country's interests.
- (g) To allow consumers to easily make a reservation and quickly receive a confirmation.
- (h) To reduce marketing costs compared with traditional channels (such as printed material).
- (i) To collect information on customers and to design marketing strategies for different market segments (UNCTAD, 2005:158).

UNWTO (2001) noted the economic and social importance of the technological innovations in the tourism sector as follows:

- Spread capacity among other related industries.
- Labour-intensive (job creation potential).
- Capacity to create jobs for women and young people.
- Important assets available such as natural resources and culture.
- Creation of opportunities for small and medium sized firms.
- Rather low financial entry barriers compared to other industries.

- Absence of barriers or quotas against tourism.
- Community informatics.
- The internet.
- Geographical information systems.

In addition, as the transportation opportunity is criticised to be the most important contributor of global CO₂ emission in the tourism sector, it is claimed that the Intelligence Transport System (ITS) can address the socio-cultural, environmental and economic impacts. Furthermore, technological innovation can be used to promote suitability in tourism development (Ali and Frew, n.d.; Buhalis, 1997), particularly with ICT-based tools as follows:

- **Tourism Planning:** Tourism Information System, Environmental Management Information Systems , Carbon calculators, Economic Impact Analysis Software, Geographical Information Systems, Computer simulation.
- **Tourism satisfaction:** Internet, Wireless technology, Location Based Services, Destination Management Systems for Sustainability, e-Rating system.
- **Interpretation:** Internet, Location Based Services, Virtual tourism.
- **Sustainable Consumption:** Location Based Services, Environmental Management Information System, Virtual tourism, The Internet.
- **Community participation:** Community informatics, the internet, Geographical information systems (Ali and Frew, n.d:3).

UNCTAD (2005:153) mentioned that the state managers in developing countries are interested in ecotourism and related activities such as sports and culture due to the proponents of globalisation and technologies that have emphasized the potential that exist for improving the direct financial benefits and empowerment for local communities, as well as their economic health, whilst protecting their natural and cultural resources .It is also to be noted that although technological innovation per se is often given a positive image in addressing many challenges related to the socio-cultural and economic issues, not all have benefited from tourism but it also increase inequality among the nations and communities.

3.7.2 Constraints related to technological innovation

Similarly to tourism, technological innovations with particular reference to the area of information technology could have negative implications for equality. UNCTAD (2005:158) noted that in developing countries, the tourism industry tends to be split into a diverse surrounding with a wealth of small and medium tourism enterprises (SMMEs) that could be better organised and promoted among small businesses, such as the hotel industry in developing countries who are often excluded from global tourism distribution channels, and function as Destination Management Organisations (GDS) as a result of the high costs. In order to make their product available and known worldwide, the tourism enterprises in developing countries need the international and foreign tour operators and often a deal is made according to the latter's interests. It seems that remarkable constraints are perceived on cost and inappropriate resources regarding skills and infrastructural demands. These barriers are found mostly in the informal economic sector which forms the majority of the tourism sector in the developing countries (ILO, 1997; UNCTAD, 2005). UNCTAD (2005:158-9) noted that the creation of website depends on the costs involved and the capacity of Destination Management System (DMS) to run different functionalities, technological, human resources and finance resources available, as well as the capacity of the various stakeholders.

Another concern related to the rapid change of technology, are the requirements regarding costs in adjustment and flexibility. This may affect not only the enterprise in terms of competition, but also the employees. As Lee states it: "Those who cannot adapt will lose" (Lee, 2007:31). Therefore, as many tourism employees in the destination countries are often low skilled, the introduction of technological innovation might at the same time increase unemployment and job insecurity.

3.8. Potential benefits and negative impacts of technological innovation in tourism activities

There is no doubt that technological innovations are affecting the health and wellbeing of the public both positively and negatively as the introduction of modern technological innovations have been criticised to also increase inequality accompanying the threat to the health, particularly with the spread of HIV/AIDS and environmental degradation (ILO, 2003; Tourism Concern, 1999).

3.8.1 Technological innovation in tourism sector

Technological innovation and tourism sector have facilitated in the growth of tourism. According to UNCTAD (2005:158), before the advent of the Internet, local hotels of 10 rooms had no other option than to sell their room capacity at a low cost to well-known tour operators to ensure a small, but stable amount of revenue for them throughout the year. As a result, in the destinations markets, the tour operators may have gained in popularity, increasingly in the form of low-price package vacations, encouraging the development of “mass tourism”, but earned relative low returns. In addition, since the developing countries are said to supply low-skilled activities in data processing or routine programming, they are dependent on developed countries for importing sophisticated services such as packaged software and expert in engineering design (Steeten cited in Lee, 2007:32). Technological innovation, particularly e-tourism as a strategic tool for economic, social, cultural and environmental benefits has been influencing and even dominating the tourism business functions (Buhalis, 1997; Buhalis, 2003). Buhalis noted that e-tourism covers e-commerce and e-marketing, e-finance and e-accounting, e-HRM, e-procurement, e-R & D and e-production (Buhalis, 2003). It includes also e-planning and e-management of all sectors of the tourism industry such as transport, leisure, hospitality, principles, intermediaries and public sector organisations. In order to compete in the modern era of globalisation, it is paramount to strengthen human resource and market development activities (Keyser, 2002:204). This also includes electronic technological skills and organisation capabilities. Technological innovations have assisted to support changes in the needs of the industry that focussed more on transactions than on markets in the past (UNCTAD, 2005:156).

Since communication and information transmission tools are paramount important tools to the tourist trade (Poon, 1993:154), the internet has opened up more possibilities and opportunities for tourist related business, and also impact on employment. Various types of technologies play an important role in the modern, global tourist product, which is intensive in information, from the booking phase, to the labour-intensive delivery phase (Wiig, 2003:63).

3.8.2 Technological innovation and employment

Despite e-tourism that may increase the need to import experts, technological innovations since the 1980's have increased job insecurity and network pressure in the work environment (Chu & Dwyer in Lee, 2007:33). A study conducted by Chu and Dwyer (in Lee, 2007:33) summarize the results from several employee surveys in Europe, Australia and the US, and concluded as that technology provides further career advancement and opportunities for some, but displaces many workers with fewer skills, leading to further inequality in the wages and working conditions between those with and those without appropriate skills. As the jobs created in tourist destination countries are usually low-skilled, the introduction of information may further increase inequality as the more skilled and high paid positions are often occupied by expatriate labour. In the tourism sector where jobs created in the community are often low-skilled and low-paid (France, 1997:165), the technological innovation can increase the skilled and higher-paid positions, often occupied by non-locals, leading to inequalities accompanying a threat to health as already explained. Skills acquisition of e-tourism may be encouraged, but due to the fact that most of the tourism sector is operating in the informal economy, the opportunities to practice these skills are not always available. In this regard, the International Labour Organisation (ILO, 1997) noted that:

- SMMEs usually lack the financial resources to employ highly qualified staff.
- Even if the qualified staff may earn the same salary, they tend to prefer working in large enterprises for many reasons including for possible career development.
- Due to the employee turnover, SMMEs are not motivated to invest in training for advanced skills.
- SMMEs in the sector often have difficulty to generate funds for human resources development programmes.
- The possibility to release workers to attend off-the training sessions is also difficulties due to the shortage of employees.
- In many of the SMMEs, human resource development is perceived as a cost, rather than an investment and receives little attention.
- Most staff training, whether it exists at all, is on the job, while teaching skills may be quite elementary or at best impulsive.

In this regard, not all companies and employees are benefiting from technological innovation. Furthermore, it affects not only the occupational work and quantity of reduc-

tion of employment quantity, but also quality that leads to increase the inequality among the employees. Therefore technological innovation may affect employees positively and negatively, depending on whom you are and what you know. It generates jobs for some, but terminates the contract among many employees with fewer skills, or increase inequality in wages and working conditions (Chu and Dwyer in Lee, 2007:33). Furthermore, e-tourism may increase the demand for information technology experts and skilled labour outside the tourist destination areas and decrease the demand for unskilled labour, leading to increase unemployment and leakages. Therefore, increasing inequality and high rates of unemployment may increase the risk of community health in tourist destination areas (Tourism Concern, 1999; Bauer, 2007), which naturally includes the spread of HIV/AIDS.

3.9 The relationship between Globalisation, Technological innovation and occupation health in tourism services

It is generally accepted that there is a link between globalization, technological innovation and occupational health issues in tourism services for which the local communities that are employed in tourism industry, suffer the most. As noted in the previous section, technological innovation such as the internet impacted on the transport system, and played an important role in boosting the growth of tourism (Spiegel et al., 2008:61). Global tourism and technological innovation have contributed to the change in the global, social and economic sectors with the potential to increase unemployment and inequality. Globalisation has contributed to the international trade and foreign direct investment, where in developing countries large operators were monopolizing the tourism markets that are based in the West (Mann, 2000:11). This trend has not only boosted the tourism expansion, but jointly with market liberalization and technological innovation, brought about competition in domestic and foreign markets, and raised a need for improving technologies (Western Cape Province, Department of Economic Affairs, Agriculture and Tourism, 2001). Moreover, growing foreign direct investment, liberalization of markets, and technological innovations will at the same time increase dependency, particularly in developing countries and increase the demand for skilled and technological specialists, and decrease the demand for unskilled and fewer skilled workers found in tourism destination areas in those countries with the potential to increase leakages, unemployment and wage inequality (France, 1997:165).

3.9.1 Changing employment conditions and new occupational health

The combination of global tourism and technological innovations have brought about not only economic growth and generating employment, but also changed the employment practices with potential to increase inequality accompanied by threat to health (Tourism Concern, 1999; Bauer, 2007). According to UNCTAD (2005:157), an airline or a hotel will make profits by selling its products directly to the customers and also in other distribution networks, to reach more consumers and sell available seats or rooms until the last minute. However, the acceleration of economic development and technological innovation, as a result of the reduction of trade barriers and the liberalization of world capital markets, enhances foreign competitors' capabilities benefitted the rich countries and marginalized the poor countries that are unable to compete due to lack of skills and tourist infrastructure (ILO, 1997; UNCTAD, 2005). The combined effects of global tourism and technological innovations in tourism business, particularly in the hospitality sector may increase unemployment and part-time, temporal as well as casual employment. In addition, it is estimated that 85% of accommodation enterprises in developing countries are small or medium sized and are experiencing difficulties to embrace this technological innovations and the opportunities to practice these skills are not always available (ILO, 1997; UNWTO, 2001). While UNCTAD (2005:158) noted that the public sector is best positioned to coordinate the various interest of the stakeholders and to strategically support local tourism enterprises, the private sector is better prepared to exploit the system in a commercial way. However, the changes in technologies and global pressure are also forcing these private sector tourism enterprises to build new competencies, restructure and reduce costs which could cut millions of jobs around the world (Western Cape Province (South Africa). Department of Economic Affairs, Agriculture and Tourism, 2001; ILO, 2003).

In summary, there seems to be a strong argument that global tourism and technological innovations have resulted in increased inequality among skilled and unskilled. Thus, the social changes in the tourism sector involve a variety of risk factors, both within and outside the work environment, with the potential to increase the employees to health risks. Of particular concern is the vulnerability to direct health impacts

caused by inequality and poverty and occupational health hazards for local tourism employees (Bauer, 2007:288).

3.10 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed sources of the challenges inherent to global expansion that impact on community health, particularly in developing countries. Developing countries are known for lacking expertise and equipment for tourism development and often tend to adapt to increasing interdependence. With developing countries however, the tourism dependency in combination with globalisation and technological change seems to have imposed some serious negative impacts on the health status of local communities mentioned below;

1. Tourism transformation as a means to remain competitive in the global market may increase unemployment in tourist destinations.
2. Political, economic, social and technological factors impacted in various ways on the tourism industry (Western Cape Province (South Africa). Department of Economic Affairs, Agriculture and Tourism, 2001).
3. The increase in global competition has forced tourism enterprises to change their policy and management systems, such as restructuring and government downsizing to stay competitive in an effort to ensure the needed quality of tourism services rendered to survive in this highly competitive market (Western Cape Province (South Africa). Department of Economic Affairs, Agriculture and Tourism, 2001). An increase in imported foreign labour due to the introduction of information technology may increase unemployment and inequality with the accompanying potential to expose local communities to new health risks, such prostitution.
4. A great burden from cost of tourism expansion is related to climate change and the spread of HIV/AIDS with the poor being the most vulnerable. Employment created in tourist destinations that attract vulnerable groups such as women, part-time workers, young workers and in a transient labour market, immigrants (Forysthe, 1999; Whiteside, 2000; ILO, 2000) is criticised to be low paid, seasonal and casual jobs with the potential to increase their chances of being infected and affected by HIV infection brought into their family (ILO, 2000:1).

In the era of globalisation, tourism enterprises are facing a dilemma regarding their mandate to balance equity and the reduction of poverty alongside ecological maintenance with economic stance (France, 1997). This seems to be a very difficult balance to obtain. In addition to its contribution to climate change, there is evidence that the increased burden of occupation health and safety (OHS) issues, violence and crime in the tourism sector, and social impact such as unemployment, may increase the chances of tourist employees to be infected by HIV. Thus, climate change and human and economic costs of people infected as a result of tourism activities will have a devastating effect on the economic, social, and even political stability of the tourist's home country in general, and the tourist destination in particular. Thus, promoting a healthy tourism industry that includes a HIV/AIDS prevention strategy is of paramount importance for a sustainable tourism development approach.

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CHAPTER FOUR

HEALTH, POVERTY AND SUSTAINABLE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT: ILLUSTRATION FROM HIV/AIDS IN AFRICA

4.1 Introduction

It is highly debatable whether international tourism can benefit poor people in developing countries or worsen their condition. The advocates of international tourism argued that the proponents of international tourism have emphasized the potential for improving health as a result of economic growth by improving the gross domestic product (GDP) per capita and social development, a development that goes beyond the income space to include human development, security and rights. By addressing the needs of the poor people in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), health was placed at the centre of poverty eradication. This chapter evaluates the relationship between health and sustainable tourism development and uses the health-poverty-sustainable tourism development nexus by exploring the evidence and causality between health and poverty. It employs HIV/AIDS to present a disease-specific illustration for the Region most affected by this epidemic to highlight how sustainable tourism development may be promoted by addressing the health dimension of poverty. This chapter is based on secondary sources from books and journals, governments' reports, journal and development reports in which their validity and authenticity as well their consistency have been checked before they were employed.

4.2 Health and sustainable tourism development

Health and sustainable development has been acknowledged in two pivotal factors in the planning and implementation of tourism, adopted at the global environment conferences, in line with the norms and principles, rules and decision-making procedures recognised at Stockholm (O'Neill, 2007:2). The main components of sustainability are to revive growth, change quality of growth, meet the needs, stabilise population, conserve and enhance resources, reorient technology and manage risk and put environment into economics (Kirky et al., 1995 cited in France, 1997:12). With regard to sustainable tourism development (see Figure 4.1 and 4.2), sustainable development as a form of an alternative development paradigm has a strong people-centred ethical

stance, focusing on the satisfaction of human needs as developed by the Brundtland definition (Kirky et al., 1995 cited in France, 1997:12).

However, the basic needs approach in tourism development raised a concern as many developing countries are navigating the global political economy, undermining the state power to enable, rather than operationalize the tourist sector (Dieke cited in Holden 2005:115). It remains an ambiguous issue as different things are perceived by different groups as it is often characterised by opposing ideologies, often by those who have the power to make decisions (Holden, 2005:122). In addition, it is noted that the challenges associated with tourism development as to include social, political and economic structures (Holden, 2005:122; Mowforth & Munt, 1998:18), and that scholars perceived the sustainability as a contested concept that is socially and politically constructed and often reflects the interests and values of those involved. The following sections evaluate the health-poverty nexus and how sustainable tourism development may be promoted by tackling the health dimension of poverty.

Fundamental principles • Holistic approach: development and environmental issues integrated within a global social, economic and ecological context • Futurity: Focus on long-term capacity for continuance of the global ecosystem, including the human sub-system, including the human sub-system. • Equity: development that is fair and equitable and which provides opportunities for access to and use of resources for all members of all societies, both in the present and future	Sustainability objectives • Sustainable population levels • Minimum depletion of non-renewable natural resources • Sustainable use of renewable resources • Pollution emissions within the assimilative capacity of the environment.
Development objectives • Improvement of the quality of life for all people: education. Life expectancy. Opportunities to fulfil potential • Self-reliance: political freedom and local decision making for local needs • Endogenous development	Requirements for sustainable development • Adoption of a new social paradigm relevant to sustainable living • International and National political and economic systems dedicated to equitable development and resource use • Technological systems that can search continuously for new solutions to environmental problems

Figure 4.1: Sustainable development: principles and objectives
 Streeten 1977; Pearce et al. 1989; WCED 1987; IUCN 1991 in Sharpley 2002b: 329

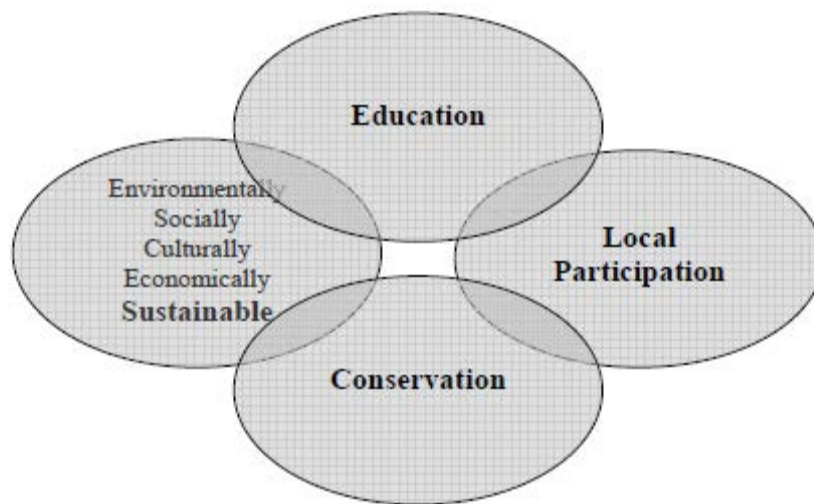


Figure 4.2: Criteria often used for sustainability in tourism

Source: Adapted from Mowforth & Munt 1998: 98

4.3 Health and poverty in tourism destination

Tourism has been given a positive image as the most effective economic sector that can assist to respond to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) placing health at the heart of poverty reduction (UNWTO, 2007b; Mitchell & Ashley, 2007). Despite the fact that tourism is also criticised as to perpetuate poverty and inequality, both accompanying threats to health (Tourism Concern, 1999:1), the arguments underlying this global consensus may assist to stimulate and refine the debate about the complexity of inequality in both resource benefits and poverty reduction, to capture the broader health and well-being of local communities (Bauer, 2007; Spiegel et al., 2008). In order to advocate for a shift in the development debate criticised to be accompanied by inequity unsustainable growth, productivity and empowerment, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) has formulated the concepts of (i) human poverty and (ii) human development. Human poverty deals with deprivation of means to achieve (e.g. physical access to health care) and of basic 'conversion factors (e.g. social access to health care) with potential to broaden people capabilities (high productivities) (Khanum & Singh, 2007:35). In addition to criticism on the UNDP measure for being incomplete appealing for adjustment of human freedom the UNDP generated the Human Freedom Index which measures the degree of political participation, rule of law and freedom of expression in its quest for an all-encompassing

measure focusing the shift in public perspective of development (Human Development Report, 2000 in Khanum & Singh, 2007).

Peet (1999) noted that HDI combines demographic parameters to include life expectancy at birth, adult literacy and mean years of schooling, income sufficiency, and access to knowledge, nutrition, health services, security, and leisure, political and cultural freedom. Figure 4.3 captures the complexity of poverty on human security in various dimensions. Developing countries are known to have a Gross National Income (GNP) per capita less than \$750, Human Assets Index score (measuring of caloric consumption, under five mortality rates, adult literacy rates, and secondary school enrolment rates) of less than 55, and an Economic Vulnerability index (measure of merchandise export concentration, instability of export earnings, the share of manufacturing and modern service in GDP, instability of agricultural production, and population size) value of less than 37 development index score (UNCTAD , 2008). While advocates of the free market economic system mentioned that globalization has reduced poverty, studies have shown that poverty is increasing and it is estimated that currently one in every five people in the world are living in extremely poverty. In addition, more than one million people do not have access to safe drinking water and 2.4 billion are unable to access improved sanitation facilities (UNDP, 2006). Thirty thousand (30 000) children deaths every year are caused from a lack of prevention in diseases such as HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria. Around 500 000 women die every year due to pregnancy or during child births. It is estimated that this number increases 100 fold in Sub-Saharan Africa

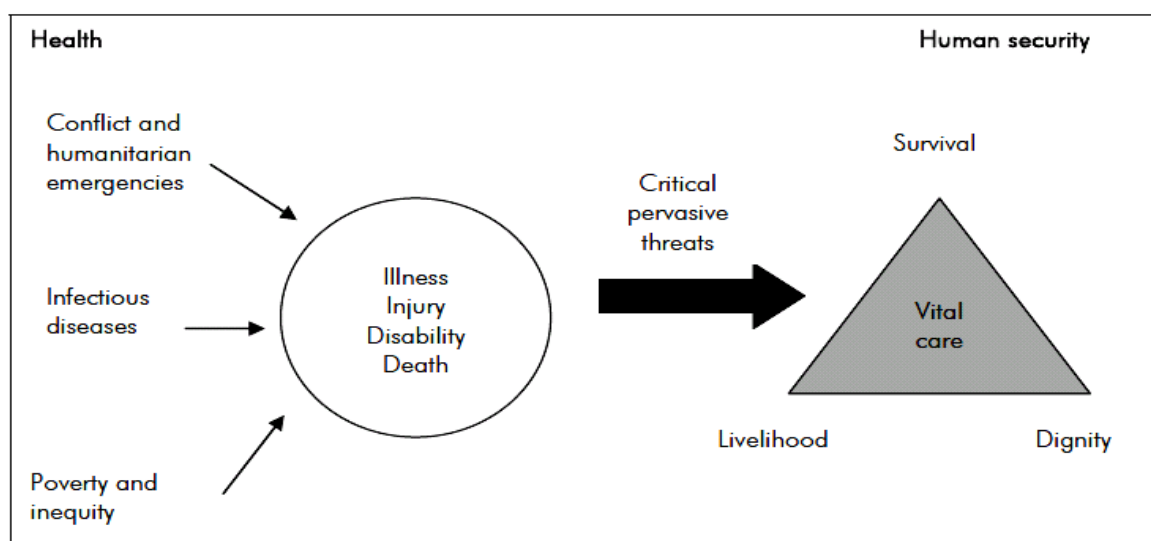


Figure 4.3: The conceptual link between health and human security
Source: CHS (2003) in Khanum & Singh, 2007:34).

4.4 Development and poverty: The evidence

One of the most commonly used indicators to quantifying development is the Gross National Product (GDP) per capita, calculated as the sum of a country's economic activity, averaged out over the country's entire population. In this argument it is important to note that Gross National Product (GNP) is often contrasted with Gross Domestic Product (GDP) as the GNP measures the output generated by a country's national enterprises as a whole (whether physically located domestically or abroad), the GDP measures the total output produced within a country's borders - whether it is produced by that country's own firms or not. Lower income GNP countries have annual GNP per capita of less than USD 875, lower-middle income has an annual GNP per capita between USD 876 and USD 3,465, whilst the upper middle income accounts for an annual GNP per capita between USD 3,466 and USD 10,725 and the high income countries accounts for an annual GNP per capita of more than USD 10,726 (<http://www.worldbank.org>).

4.5 Health and poverty: causality analysis

To understand the health-poverty nexus from a tourism expansion perspective, it is essential to examine the possible correlation between inequality, poverty and health concerns. Can the improvement in equality and poverty measurements also be the cause of health problems in communities? On one hand, advocates of tourism development as the only economic sector activity in which the principles of free trade are applicable (Naylon, 1967 cited in Opperman & Chon, 1997:16) argued that it is one of the most effective tools to address inequalities and poverty eradication through introducing different alternative tourism ventures in developing countries. The concept of "new tourism" currently embraced by the West and supported by international institutions is one form of alternative tourism currently being promoted in developing countries and its advocates claims that it addresses the health issues such as environmental, sustainable growth, poverty alleviation, community participation, empowerment and control. However, critics have expressed their concerns over the creation of increased inequalities between the rich and poor and accompanying threats to health (Tourism Concern, 1999:1). Lanfant & Craburn (1992:89) perceive tourism development to have a rhetoric which is attractive, but its label is deceiving. Advo-

cates for tourism development assert that under the World Bank's framework, 80% of 56 low-income countries integrating poverty reduction strategies, had cited tourism as one the best options for economic growth, employment and poverty reduction (Hawkins & Mann, 2007:353). But, it is to be remembered that poverty has different means and causes. According to the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific (ESCAP), poverty essentially has three closely interrelated aspects, namely (i) poverty for money, (ii) poverty of access and (iii) poverty of power (Jamieson, 2003:24). The Social Commission for Asia and Pacific (ESCAP) noted that "Poverty essentially has three closely interrelated aspects: poverty of money, poverty of access and poverty of power. These make the working, living and social environments of the poor extremely insecure and severely limit the options available to them to improve their lives. Without choices and security, breaking the cycle of poverty becomes virtually impossible and leads to the marginalization and alienation of the poor from society" (ESCAP, cited in Jamieson 2003: 24).

In tourism development, the poor communities are excluded from all of them due to free market policies as all are in the hands of powerful corporations, most based in the West (Tourism Concern, 1999; Mann, 2000; Holden, 2005). The effects of poverty to the majority of people in i.e. African communities include deprivation, constrained choices and unfulfilled capabilities. All these effects lead to undermine their standard of living and quality of life (Figure 4.4). While international tourism development was promoted to attract financial capital from foreign investors, without addressing the issues of the free market policies and inequalities, even if GDP increases, the growth may not be sustainable, or sustained. And, if growth is sustained, most of its people may find themselves worse off (Stiglitz, 2007:26). Figure 4.5 shows the complex dynamics of dual causality employing GDP as a substitute for multidimensional poverty. On one hand, health impacts per capita GDP is mirrored through labour productivity and demographic implications. On the other hand, GDP impacts on health and relates mainly to access to care, to include physical and financial and health behaviour such as awareness, behaviour-related health risks and health-seeking behaviour as well as work and living environments for example environment-related health risks (Khanum & Singh, 2007:36).

It is clear that the above mentioned approach is important in analysing the relationships between tourism development and community health with regard to the spread

of HIV/AIDS as some of these effects are directly and others are indirectly related (Bauer, 2007:208).

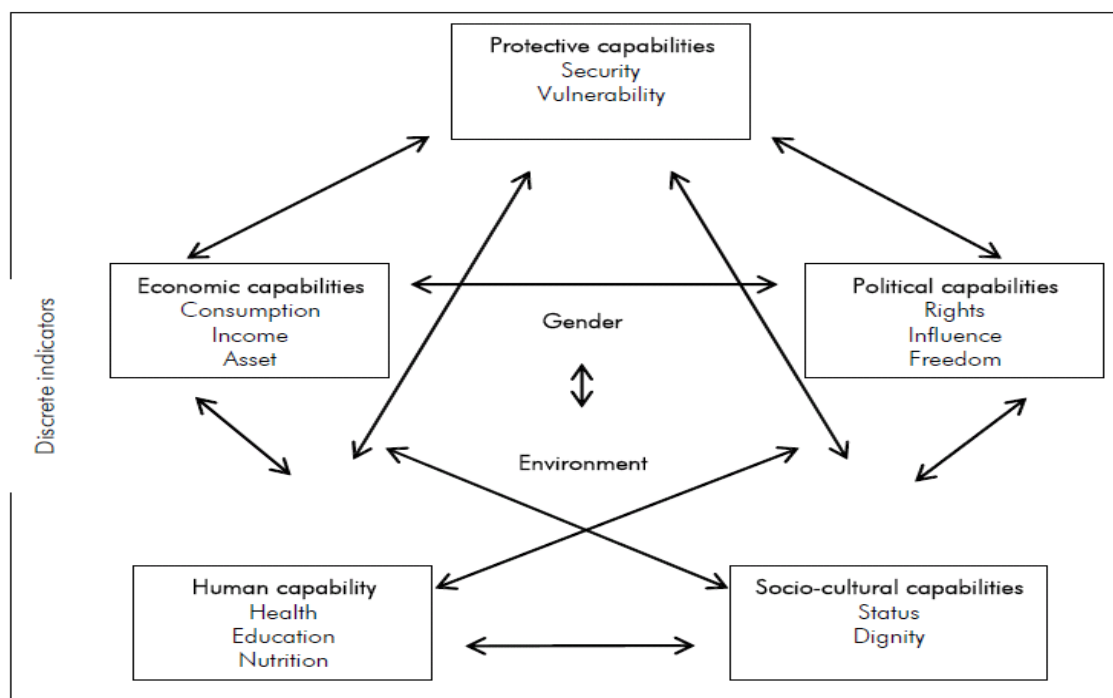


Figure 4.4: Interactive dimensions of poverty and measuring poverty at different levels

Source: Adapted from OECD-DAC 2001 in Khanum & Singh, 2007:36).

4.6 Health and sustainable Tourism development: Employing the Health Poverty nexus to promote health and sustainable tourism development

To analyse the health-poverty nexus, there appear to be a need to address the health dimension of poverty as it has the potential to strengthen sustainable tourism development in two ways. It can be achieved through the (i) direct link between health and sustainable tourism development and (ii) indirectly, through improvement from health related poverty reduction, as it forms the main causes of many health problems (Figure 4.5). A relatively new approach to tourism termed pro-poor tourism (PPT) was established to address poverty issues in developing and under developed tourist destination countries.

The advocates of PPT claims that it is designed to increase the net benefits for the poor and ensure that tourism expansion contributes to poverty reduction (Ashley, Roe, & Goodwin, 2002) with health at the centre of tourism projects. Like sustainable tour-

ism for elimination of poverty (STEP), advocating tourism as the most effective tools for sustainable growth in the poorest societies (Mitchell & Ashley, 2007:46), both approaches implies that they have to go beyond economic benefits, to include social, cultural, and environmental impacts on poor populations (Ashley & Goodwin, 2002; UN-WTO, 2007b).

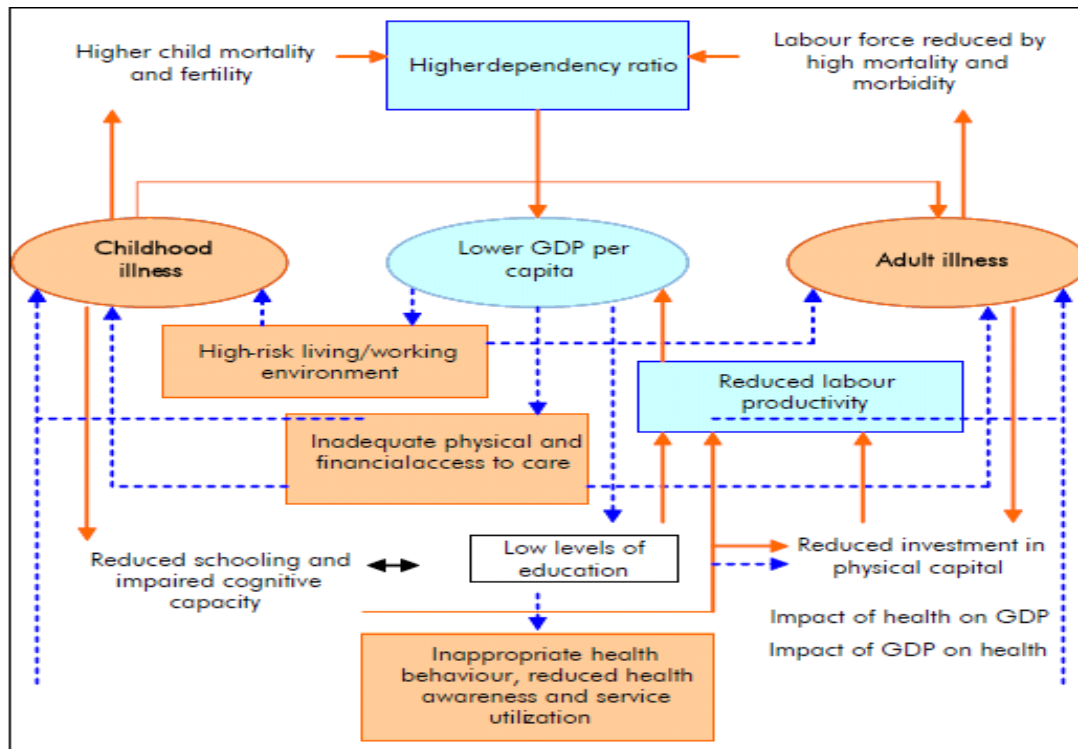


Figure 4: Two-way causality between health and poverty (per capita GDP)

Based on Ruger et al. (2001) in Khanum & Singh, 2007:38).

Table 4.2 illustrate sustainable tourism development and MDGs with health at the heart of poverty reduction. Pro-Poor Tourism should (i) unlock opportunities for pro-poor economic growth by providing economic growth through formal and informal employment, (ii) creating profit and collective income from locally-owned enterprises, (iii) facilitating social development by increasing access tourism infrastructure, (iv) helping to increase participation of the local communities in decision-making as tourism products are often assets owned by the poor, (v) reduce vulnerability by helping to diversify income opportunities and (vi) promoting environmental protection as natural and human environments are the life lines of tourism development (Jamieson, 2003:29). However, the tourism process has always been criticised for not delivering on these aspects, particularly with the introduction of Structural Adjustment Programs to the borrowing countries. In addition to the reduction of the government's power, tourism as the effective sector fitting the free market principles is criticised to be unfair in the dis-

tribution of economic benefits. Anand & Sen (1996:4) commented that the value of sustaining what we have depends on the quality of what we have. This interaction determines the direction and content of the sustainable development approach.

MDGs	How sustainable and pro poor tourism contributes.....
1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger	Spreads employment and income generating opportunities through a wider segment of the population and for the poor
2. Promote gender equality and empower women	Mainstreams gender in tourism policies and strategies (at national and regional levels) and provides equitable access to benefits for women in tourism activities, strives for female leadership and fair working conditions for women.
3. Combat HIV/AIDS	Supports introduction of HIV/AIDS workplace policy. Provides entry points to raise awareness about HIV/AIDS transmission
4. Ensure environmental sustainability	Provides an economic incentive to protect the environment and promotes a sound understanding of the value and importance of natural resources and of cultural landscapes to the host population and Africa's visitors, and generally acts in favour of biodiversity conservation.
5. Global partnership	With national and international agencies contributing to marketing of local tourism products to increase local economic development and the national economy for poverty alleviation

Table 4.1: Sustainable tourism development and MDGs with health at the centre

Source: Verdugo, 2008

4.6.1 Pro-poor tourism and inequality in resources

PPT and STEP are also another aspect of alternative tourism. Miller & Twin-Ward (2005:32) commented on the strategies for promoting PPT that it is: "the removal of red tape and unfair advantage to foreign investors, expanding backward linkages between tourism business and the informal sector, addressing social and cultural impacts, and building a supporting tourism policy and process that allow for the participation of the least powerful stakeholders." It is highly debatable as to whether PPT or STEP has positive effects to the poor with arising inequality between developed and less developed countries (LDC's) in the modern age of free market principles and policies.

On the one hand, advocates claimed that tourism can reduce poverty as it is driven by free market principles. However, the redistribution of its benefits and creation of opportunities for disadvantaged groups remain a debate (See Figure 4.6).

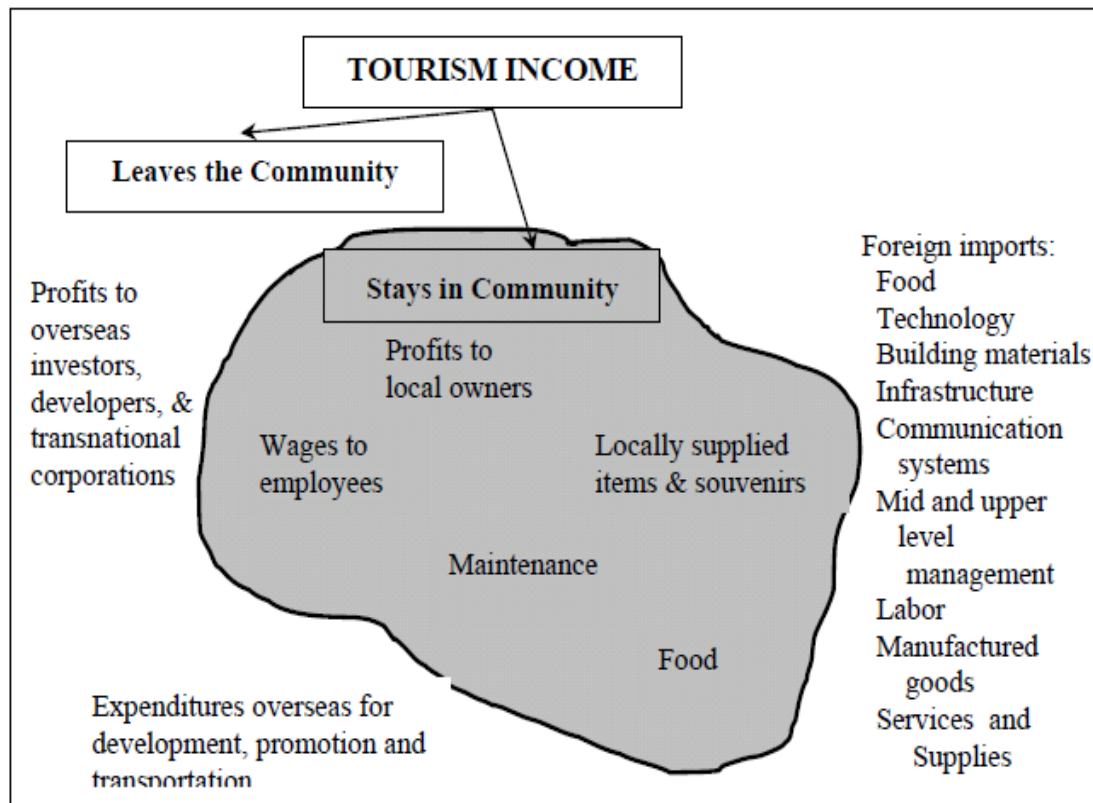


Figure 4.6: Benefit distribution in existing tourism system and pro-poor tourism typical distribution of tourism income

Source: Adapted from McLaren 1998: 33

The opponents of free market process have revealed that in many cases the inequality has increased due to imperialistic, colonial times and currently it has been said that the global inequalities are perpetuated by the new global order (Pogge, 2005; Mowforth & Munt, 2003). In addition, PPT and STEP has been criticised as to have many implications for inequalities and generating numerous debates. As discussed previously in this study, not all are benefiting from the process of international tourism. Rather, a few powerful corporations, most from west (Mann, 2000:11) seem to monopolise the accommodation and transport in LDC's degraded rather developed these countries through exploitation in resources to include natural resources, cultural and human resources for sexual exploitation (Britton, 1982; Holden, 2005).

Inequality and poverty that may be derived from tourism expansion, are often accompanying threats to Health including HIV/AIDS. Though, at the same time HIV/AIDS may undermine the health and sustainability of tourism development.

4.6.2 Health, poverty and sustainable tourism development: case study of HIV/AIDS and poverty: the evidence

Following detection of the first case of AIDS in 1981, the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) continues to affect people all over the world. United Nations statistics show that in 2007, 33 million people were living with the virus of which 67% are hosted in Sub-Saharan Africa. From the 33 million people infected, 2.7 million were infected in the same year while 2 million died of this epidemic. Of the new infected people worldwide (2.7 million), it was estimated that 1.9 million occurred in sub-Saharan Africa. From this it is clear that Southern Africa bear a disproportionate share of the global burden of HIV/AIDS prevalence rate with 35% occurring in Sub-Saharan region (UNAIDS, 2008). Despite the fact that heterosexual transmission between couples is still the predominant mode of transmission in Sub-Saharan Africa, the recent epidemiological evidence has shown unexpected change which may be the result of sex work, intravenous drug use and sex between men to be the main cause (UNAIDS, 2008). Southern and Eastern Africa has been the most affected by this epidemic. Figure 4.7 shows that HIV seropositivity levels in some of southern countries such as Botswana, Zimbabwe and Swaziland reaching 35%.

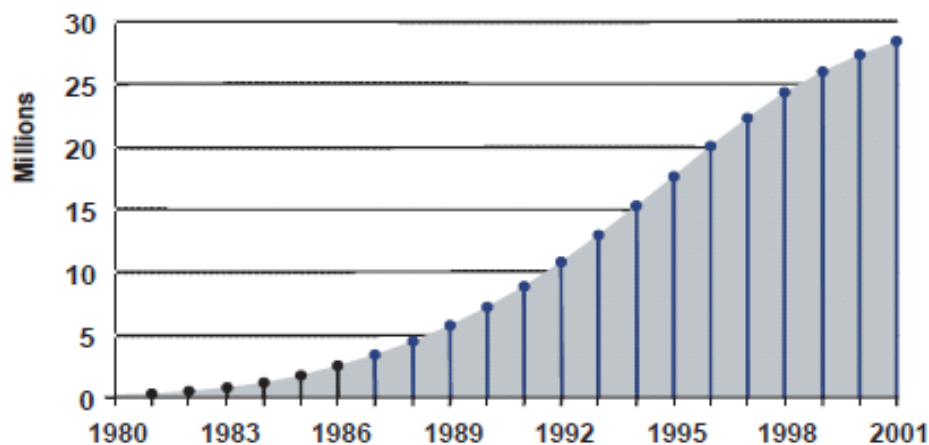


Figure 4.7: Number of people living with HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa, 1980-2000

Source: Economic Commission for Africa and Commission on HIV/AIDS and Governance in Africa (n.d.)

On the other hand, some African countries' infection rates have increased from 4% to 20% or more (Figure 4.8) within the adult population for a period less than a decade to include: Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. In general, at least one adult in five is living with HIV.

Beside the above countries, other countries that reported to adult HIV prevalence levels higher than 10% include: Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Central Africa Republic,

Kenya, Malawi and Mozambique (Economic Commission for Africa & Commission on HIV/AIDS and Governance in African. n.d.).

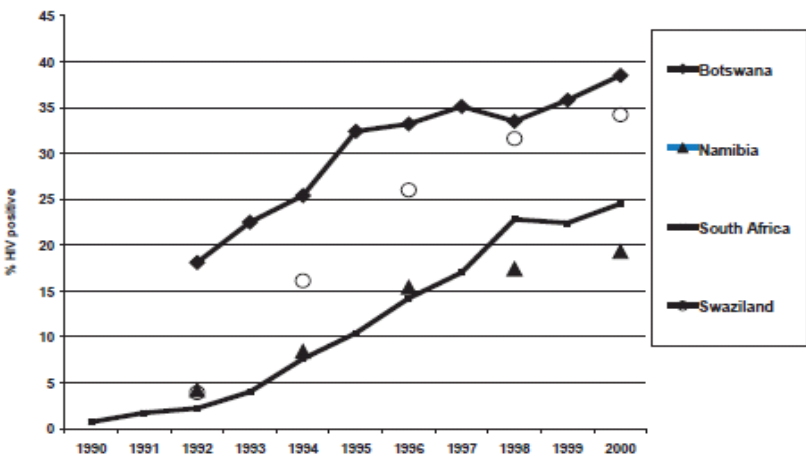


Figure 4.8: HIV seropositivity levels reaching 35% in Southern Countries
 Economic Commission for Africa and Commission on HIV/AIDS and Governance in Africa (n.d.).

The burden of HIV may have a direct contributing effect on poverty, especially where the Sub-Saharan region is the home of 70% of the poorest people in the world and with the lowest GDP in the world. More than 60% of the total population spend less than USD 1 a day (United Nations Programme on HIV and AIDS World AIDS Campaign, 2004 in Mbirimtengerenji, 2007: 605).

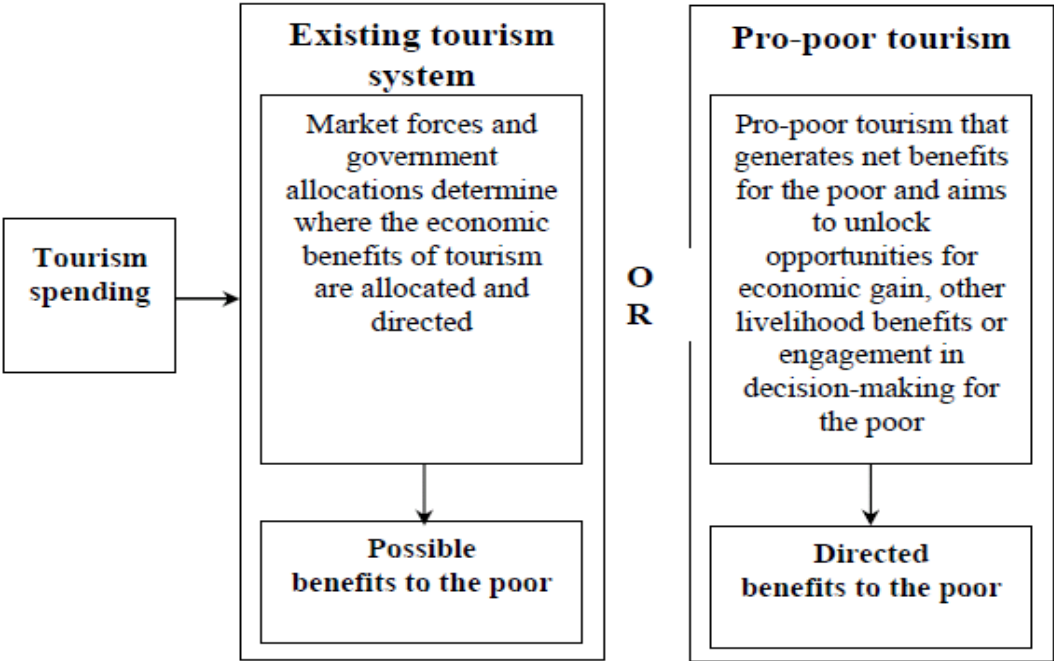


Table 4.2: Benefit distribution in existing tourism system and pro-poor tourism
 Source: Jamieson 2003: 4

Despite the fact that HIV/AIDS statistics in Sub-Saharan is more diverse than previously thought, due to the reason cited above that it may be fuelled by poverty and tourism development, the poverty and HIV/AIDS relationship in Sub-Saharan Africa (Table 4.3), countries such as South Africa and Botswana are the most affected by this epidemic and are among the most economically developed in the region which contradicts the above argument (Mbirimtengerenji 2007:606). On the other hand, conditions that are present in this region to expose people to HIV include the globalization process. Africa is the most affected by the negative impact of globalization since the colonial period, as the developed countries transferred little of its resources, after independence (Stiglitz, 2007). These resources include tourism development as a mechanism of exploitation of resources such as natural, cultural and human aspect (Holden, 2005:105). Despite the social division derived from the development process in Africa as they have been integrated by colonial powers (Naphy,2007), that led to a decline of standard of living, growing deprivation, poverty, unemployment, migration and urbanization as the main product of development, contributed to spread of HIV/AIDS (Table 4.3 and Table 4.4) in Africa.

In this situation, factors increasing the likelihood of a rapid spread of HIV include lack of knowledge about HIV/AIDS/STI and their mode of transmission liberalization of sex behaviour to note commercial sexual exploitation of children, commercial sexual exploitation of women and their trafficking both elements perceived to be the main issues surrounding sexual abuse linked to poverty and common to Africa, high prevalence levels of sexual transmitted infectious diseases, substance abuse particularly intravenous drug use (Mbirimtengerenji, 2007:607) and migration to countries with the high HIV prevalence rate.

Country	GDP per capita (\$US)	Percentage of population below UN poverty line	National HIV prevalence 15-49 years, %		No of people with HIV in million
			2003	2005	
Swaziland	5200	69	32.4	33.4	0.22
Botswana	11400	30	24.0	24.1	0.27
Lesotho	2600	49	23.7	23.2	0.27
Zimbabwe	2000	80	22.1	20.1	1.10

Namibia	7400	56	19.6	19.5	0.23
South Africa	1300	50	18.6	18.8	5.5
Zambia	1000	86	16.9	17.0	1.8
Mozambique	1500	70	16.0	16.1	1.8
Malawi	600	55	14.2	14.1	0.94
Central African Republic	1100	57	10.0	10.1	0.25
Gabon	7200	N/A	7.8	7.9	0.06
Cote d'Ivoire	1600	N/A	7.0	7.1	0.75
Uganda	1800	35	6.8	6.7	1.0
Kenya	1200	50	6.8	6.1	1.3
Tanzania	800	51	6.6	6.5	1.4
Cameroon	2400	48	5.7	5.4	0.51
Congo	1300	N/A	5.4	5.3	0.21
Nigeria	1400	45	4.0	3.9	2.9
Ethiopia	1000	50	3.8	3.5	1.3
Guinea Bissau	2000	40	3.2	3.5	0.03

***Most of the countries have more than 50% of people below UN poverty line. Source**

Table 4.3: The distribution of poverty and HIV/AIDS in top 20 Sub-Saharan African countries

Source: Mbirimtengerenji (2007:607)

4.6.3 HIV and Poverty: Causality analysis

There are unmeasured impacts of poverty that contribute to the spread of HIV/AIDS. While economic studies tend to focus its impact on economic variables, research shows that the impact of HIV on poverty goes beyond the relatively measured to include relational goods, public goods and issues of social reproduction (Barnet, Whiteside & Desmond, 2001). These impacts make the working, living and social environments of the poor extremely insecure and severely limit the options available to them to improve their lives. Without choices and security, breaking the cycle of pov-

erty becomes virtually impossible and leads to the marginalization and alienation of the poor from society. (ESCAP, cited in Jamieson 2003: 24).

From a policy analysis perspective, the key question is the causality that underlies the correlation between HIV/AIDS and poverty. In a study conducted in Tanzania within the community affected by AIDS, it was revealed that 32% of the population that had experienced a death of one of more of their family members in the last 10 years. In addition, a further 29% were affected as they are affected directly in terms of fostering orphans, providing labour or cash to assist care for sick person, and providing for survivors in an afflicted household (Rugalema, 1999:7). It is clear that HIV/AIDS kills more people in the 15 to 49-age group, it has the potential to increase depriving families, communities and the country of the most productive people and results in increasing poverty and undermine achievements to include life expectancy, education, income, gender equality and social cohesion (UNDP, 2001:2). In this regard Stover mentioned the loss of relational goods, particularly in the relational link between the old and the young generations within families and communities as a result of HIV/AIDS epidemic. It is also the altering of the demographic profile of most hard hit societies where those who were supposed to be supported under normal circumstances, are now supporting the remainder of the family (Collard, 1999).

According to Barnett and Whiteside (2002) the AIDS epidemic is leaving one or more generations of children to be raised by their grandparents, living in households with very high dependency ratios, or in child taking responsibility of the households. In this circumstance, children who have lost their parents due to AIDS are exposed to more problems than other orphans as they are likely to be at greater risk of malnutrition, illness, early school termination, abuse and sexual exploitation as well as exposed to grips of the stigma and discrimination associated with AIDS (Whiteside, 2000; Barnett & Whiteside, 2002). The consequences of poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa have also been associated with the effects of migration and urbanization (Table 4.4), sexual trade and teenage marriages. All these variables are also directly related to HIV/AIDS. Because of poverty, the people not only lack money to pay their basic needs, but also lack assets and skills to avoid or cope with potential health risks such as commercial sex in many tourism settings which often serves as their basic source of their survival (Mbirimtengerenji ,2007:606).

4.6.4 The acquisition of Capital

In the areas most affected by HIV/AIDS, studies have shown that the community coping with direct and indirect costs of HIV/AIDS reduced their household capacity to save and invest their money. The money that should be saved or invested, are mostly used to support orphans, the sick, as well as survivors in the afflicted household (Rugalema, 1999:73). In addition to the loss of income/savings as a result of morbidity and mortality associated with AIDS, a high dependency ratio appears in countries most affected by HIV/AIDS, as prevention and treatment and associated factors eat up household resources with potential to limit investment in physical capital, or monetary capital market. However, despite the severity of this epidemic affecting all aspects of life, the research methods employed in the studied villages revealed that there was almost no link made in the people's minds between HIV/AIDS and either the value of children or fertility. HIV/AIDS was not seen as a major problem by the majority of people, despite its recognition as a worrying disease (Barret & Browne, 2000:22). Whiteside (2002:313) adds that: HIV/AIDS is the major threat to development, economic growth and poverty alleviation in much of Africa. And yet the full extent of catastrophe facing the continent is only just being recognised, and still not by all. The international development targets set by the great and the good of the global community-or at least by those members who attend those international summits that set this goals-do not consider what HIV/AIDS means and are unachievable.

As discussed in previous sections, one of the most important factors that hamper sustainable development, particularly in the tourism industry in Africa, is the lack of investments. In addition to existing mitigation strategies such as to control, treat and prevent HIV/AIDS, as promoted in many states severely affected by the epidemic, there is also a need for other mitigation approaches that encompasses more than health, such as agricultural and industrial intervention (Mohiddin & Johnston, 2006: 2) and tourism development that may fuel the spread of HIV infection due to its boundary less activities (Forsythe, 1999). In this respect the intervention of institutions such as tourism enterprises, include prevention, assisting employees for treatment for sexually transmitted infectious (STIs). Therefore, the aim of prevention in the tourism sector should be to focus, educate and change the behaviour and attitudes of tourists, employees and immediate local individual behaviours that may expose them to HIV/AIDS.

4.6.5 Movement of population and spread of HIV/AIDS

The spread of HIV infection has a link with the mobility of human populations and the establishment of new settlements with particular reference to urbanisation. Various studies in Sub-Saharan Africa show this relationship between rural (national) and urban HIV Prevalence (Table 4.4). Tourism expansion is another factor that increases the movement of people. Crush, Frayne & Grant (2006:6) mentioned the following changes that contribute to the migration in Africa:

- The end of colonialism and apartheid, which were political systems designed to control internal migration and exclude most outsiders, have produced new opportunities for internal and cross-border mobility and new incentives for moving.
- South East Africa's (SEA) integration into global and continental labour markets and trade networks has opened the region up to forms of migration commonly associated with globalisation (such as temporary work schemes and skills migration.)
- Growing rural poverty has pushed more people out of rural households in search of a livelihood.
- Environmental factors (including climate change, natural disasters and land degradation) continue to cause hardships and shocks which push people out of rural areas.
- Economic and political crisis and growing unemployment in some states have forced people to seek work in other countries.
- The feminization of poverty in rural SEA has produced a significant gender re-configuration of cross-border migration streams.
- The countries of the SEA have experienced recurrent waves of forced (refugee) migration over the last three decades. The cessation of threat confronts countries of origin and asylum with issues of repatriation and integration of returning migrants.

Country	National HIV Prevalence Rate	Urban HIV Prevalence Rate	People Living with HIV/AIDS
Zimbabwe	21% (2004)	Harare	1,800,000

South Africa	21.5% (2003 est.)	Cape Town 15% Durban 28%	5,300,000
Malawi	20%	Blantyre 28%	900,000
Mozambique	16%	Maputo 17.3%	1,300,000
Zambia	16.5% (2003 est.)	Lusaka 22%	920,000
Namibia	21.3% (2003 est.)	Windhoek 24%	210,000
Uganda	7%	Kampala >9%	530,000
Kenya	7%	Busia/Meru/Nakuru/Thika 9%	1,200,000
Tanzania	7%	Urban 11% 92x rural areas)	1,600,000
Rwanda	5.1% (2003 est.)	Urban 6.4% rural 2.8%	250,000
Burundi	6%	Bujumbura suburb 13%	250,000
Ethiopia	4.4%	Urban 12-13%	1,500,000
Somalia	0.6%	Mogadishu 0.9%	43,000

Table 4.4: National and Urban HIV Prevalence in Southern and Eastern Africa

Sources: (UNAIDS 2005; The World Fact book 2005 in Crush, Frayne & Grant, 2006:12)

4.6.6 Tourism Trade and Free market

Integrating tourism development in the world of the poor as the most effective sector that apply the free market principles incentives to expand markets into the HIV/AIDS affected countries of the world, may be reduced as tourists may fear to travel to such destinations (Forsythe, 1999). On the other hand, the trade of tourism exposes local communities to an increased burden of HIV/AIDS, a factor that can hinder long-term economic development and meet the MDGs. Holden (2005:105) mentioned that the economic impact of tourism in poor countries is mainly a mechanism for exploitation to include impacts on some human aspects. By limiting the number of tourists or addressing the HIV/AIDS determinants such as promotion of sex tourism, prostitution, alcohol, drugs and other forms of human exploitation, economic growth could be severely reduced in the short term. On the other hand, failure to do so, the industry and

country may reap short term benefits, but in long term, tourists and local communities infected as a result of tourism business can undermine the positive social and economic impacts, as well as create political insecurity in the tourists home countries in general, as well as in the tourist destination countries in particular (Forsythe, 1999). In addition to criticism on tourism development to advance Western cultural under the umbrella of modernism with regard to sexual identity, the trend not only undermines the cultural values of Africa in which tourism is based for its development, but also the spread of HIV/AIDS. Shivananda Khan argues that there were strong cultural frameworks of "third gender" which have had a long history and many within such groups have played socio-political-religious roles in their societies. To transpose Western understandings (and subsequently HIV/AIDS prevention programs) is to destroy these social constructions and recreate them in a Western mould. Discussion revolved around moving away from gender dimorphic structures that arose from the West and talk about Alternate Genders, in other words more than two genders. . . . Similarly we should be talking about lesbian identities and gay identities, should be discussing homosexualities instead of homosexuality, communities instead of community (Khan, 1994 cited in Altman, 1996:81). Promotion of gay and lesbian tourism in Africa may contribute to the spread of HIV/AIDS, since the majority of the above communities are threatened by their families as well as governments that do not tolerate such behaviour.

4.6.7 HIV/AIDS, opportunistic diseases and economic health issues

Evidence suggests that HIV/AIDS is often associated with many other diseases, as the virus, destroys the immune systems. According to Stillwagon (2001 cited in Barnett and Whiteside, 2002), HIV/AIDS is highly correlated with declining calorie consumption, declining protein consumption, inequality in income distribution and other variables conventionally associated with susceptibility to infectious disease, however transmitted. The causal chain ranges from macro-factors leading to poverty to include the community, the household, the individual and the resilience of immune system. Thus there are many opportunistic diseases that are associated with a weak immunodeficiency. Furthermore, the affected populations may also be more susceptible to other infections such as TB. The study has shown that high fertility rate among the poor households were associated with reduced investments in education per child (Khanum & Singh, 2007:43).

Although it is difficult to estimate the exact responsiveness of fertility and education, in previous sections, HIV/AIDS contribute to the increase in number of orphans and early marriage as well as the sexual exploitation of children and women for their survival. In this situation, HIV-induced mortality and a high mortality or fertility cycle may present high costs not only on the household, but also to the government. In addition, an increase in the fertility rate or population dependency ratio that may be derived from the expansion of HIV/AIDS, may directly reduce the GDP per capita (produced by the working population, but measured over entire population). Bloom et al. (Khanum & Singh, 2007:43) argued that sustained high dependency ratios further undermine long-term growth through by constraining household savings.

4.7 Conclusion and the way forward

Health has been identified as central to poverty reduction in MDGs and is deemed as a priority for sustainable development. Poverty is also a critical conceptual link between health and sustainable tourism development and addressing the issue related to the health-poverty nexus, is likely to contribute to the promotion of sustainable tourism development in tourism destination countries. Health is of paramount importance in reducing poverty and inequality in the tourism business in developing countries. The evidence shows that there is complex two-way causality between health and poverty as disease is in both phenomena a cause and consequence of perpetual poverty and exploring the case of HIV/AIDS in particular, reflects this nexus. Although Botswana and South Africa as an example of countries that are relatively economic stable, but with high prevalence rate of HIV/AIDS, denies the statement that HIV/AIDS is a disease of poverty, it has severely undermined economic development with potential additional social costs, as well as the national capacity to address HIV/AIDS. Thus, tourism as an economic sector promoted as a panacea for development, can assist in addressing inequalities and poverty that are noted to be accompanied by the spread of HIV/AIDS. However, given the fact that itself may fuel the spread of HIV due to its activities, health and sustainable tourism development promotion in this industry may be the key to tackle HIV/AIDS-related poverty. Furthermore, this would also promote sustainable tourism development by strengthening economic health.

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE EFFECT OF THE GROWTH IN GLOBAL TOURISM DEVELOPMENT TOURISM AND THE FUTURE HEALTH AND WELLBEING OF POOR COMMUNITIES IN CAPE TOWN WITH REFERENCE TO THE SPREAD OF HIV/AIDS

Purpose –The aim of this chapter is to identify the dilemma faced by state managers in tourism development and human security in the context of the AIDS pandemic in poor community in Cape Town to meet this purpose.

Design and theoretical approach – The chapter combines two approaches. The concept of human security and Clive Thomas' four-pronged typology are used to conceptualize the vulnerability of the tourism industry in developing countries.

Findings- Worldwide, Tourism is a rapid growing industry and is given a positive image to address the notions like equity and the reduction of poverty, alongside with positive environmental considerations. However, the result shows that the city of Cape Town is economic vulnerable, environmental vulnerable, social vulnerable and industrial vulnerable based on poor community.

Practical implications- Although there are many projects, strategies and action initiatives implemented to reduce inequality and poverty, there is still the need for a strong commitment to address the mentioned inequalities and poverty through involvement of poor communities in the tourism industry as the main sector that claims to have a positive or negative impact on their social well-being.

5.1 Introduction

The city of Cape Town, one of South Africa's metropolitan municipalities, is situated in Western Cape and covers a geographical area of 2479 square kilometres (Western Cape (South Africa). Provincial Treasury, 2006:3). This city boasts numerous tourist attractions, such as Table Mountain, Robben Island, excellent beaches, wine lands, and first class hotels and restaurants accounting for 75% of provincial tourism Western Cape. (Department of Economic Affairs, Agriculture and Tourism, 2001). Cape Town has often competed as the most beautiful city in the world like Rio de Janeiro, Vancouver, and Sydney (George, 2003:575). Cape Town is largely regarded

as “the heartbeat” of the Western Cape Province, accounting for 76.5% of the province’s economic activity (Western Cape (South Africa). Provincial Treasury, 2006:3). Regardless of the 11 September Attack in the USA, perpetual war, the severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) and HIV, South Africa has experienced a remarkable growth in international tourism (South Africa. Department of Tourism, 2004a:4). These trends impacted not only on all provinces and the economies of cities such as Cape Town, but also on the domestic sectors such as the agricultural, business, industrial and services sectors. Despite promises of benefits that is allure to tourism development in addressing notions like equity and poverty reduction alongside environmental considerations, critics have expressed concern over the creation of increased social, class and gender inequalities and accompanying threats to health (Tourism Concern, 1999:1). As the effects of tourism are felt at the destination and local community level, it is of paramount importance to evaluate the human and environmental vulnerability as an effect caused by the presence of the tourism industry and its activities. As part of the research thesis to investigate the impact of a globalizing tourism industry on community health with specific reference to the spread of HIV/AIDS, this chapter was initiated to better understand the economic, environmental, social and institutional vulnerability in small developing countries (Thomas, 2004:1-3).

In order to meet this objective, it was decided to take advantage of Clive Thomas’ Four-Pronged Typology on the vulnerability of small developing states and applied on Cape Town as a leading tourist city in a developing country. Whilst Cape Town is experiencing the challenges of increased urbanization in the midst of globalization, this South African city has also been dramatically exposed to international tourism arrivals, making the industry one of both the city and province’s most important economic activities. On the one hand the government has provided a legislative framework for the expansion of the tourism industry by including the promotion of the concept of responsible tourism (South Africa, 1996:49). Valli Moosa, a former South African environment and tourism minister mentioned during the launch of the tourism guidelines, the importance of responsible tourism in South Africa (Spenceley and Seif, 2003:9-10) when he said that responsible tourism is about enabling local communities to enjoy a better quality of life, through increased socio-economic benefits and an improved environment.

It is also about exciting holidays experiences for tourists, and stimulating business opportunities for tourism enterprises. Responsible tourism must become the key guiding principle for tourism development in South Africa. Government, the private sector and communities are working together to practice tourism responsibly, and the guidelines provide the mechanisms through which this can be realized.

On the other side, the City of Cape Town is exposed to global pressures that could be a barrier to the concept of sustainable tourism, including meeting the needs of the host community to decrease social inequalities and competition that threaten the life of the people living in the destination areas (Tourism Concern, 1999:1). Despite the fact that HIV/AIDS statistics in Cape Town may not be as high compared to the extent of the epidemic in the rest of the country, HIV/AIDS and TB infections are prevalent in the poorest communities (Khayelitsha & Nyanga) with infection rates on par with the rest of the country (Western Cape (South Africa). Provincial Treasury, 2006:24).

5.2 The Interrelationship between Tourism and HIV/AIDS in South Africa

The relationship between tourism and HIV is not a new phenomenon in South Africa. According to Freidland and Snipelisky (ASSAF, 2007:27) the first officially noted HIV infection in South Africa was in 1982, with the death of a flight attendant who died of pneumonia. In addition, the association of temporary migration with HIV infection is affirmed by several authors in South Africa (Jochelson, Mothobeli & Leger, 1991; Lurie, 2000). This statement is supported by the process of the spread of HIV in South Africa. Various studies have shown that HIV was brought to South Africa mainly through the sex trade in the sea ports of Richard's Bay and Durban, which served the Witwatersrand economy, especially during the times when the country was in embargo. In addition to this, when the migrants from Kwazulu Natal had sex with sex workers whilst travelling to Gauteng, Durban, Empangeni and Richard's Bay (Lurie et al, 1997; Williams and Cambell, 1998), a bridge was created for HIV to cross around the country. HIV/AIDS also is perceived as to have a catastrophic effect on tourism and other industries in the Western Cape Province (Western Cape (South Africa). Department of Economic Affairs, Agriculture and Tourism, 2001:17).

5.3 Security Debate

Since the end of the Cold War and particularly in 1990's, the terms "national security" and human security in the USA began to be significantly acknowledged as the main types of threats. Dangers such as non-state actors, environmental degradation and drug trade were also considered as national security issues (Jenifer & Chalk, 2003:iii). As the global tourism expansion will be significantly affected by HIV/AIDS (Forysthe, 1999) there is similar debate on the question of the need to securitize community health for early intervention. This paper argues that global tourism expansion has not only brought about economic growth and employment, but also an increase in the movement of people across borders that could have health implications for both tourists and the local community. For example, the outbreak of Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) has raised new challenges to global health and disease control systems. In addition, to many other threats to human security, there is also the spread of HIV/AIDS that may be fuelled by global tourism expansion. The health implications of global tourism range from economic, environmental to socio-cultural effects and local communities and tourists are at risk of the transmission of diseases including HIV/AIDS (Bauer, 2007:288).

Given the severity of health risks, the Commission on Human Security discussed a wide range of threats to human security which includes HIV/AIDS. The Commission's final report, published in May 2003, outlines elements of a definition of human security. It means:

- Protecting fundamental freedoms-freedoms that are the essence of life.
- Protecting people from critical (severe) and pervasive (widespread) threats and situations.
- Using processes that build on people's strengths and aspirations.
- Creating political, social, environmental, economic and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood, and dignity (Commission on Human security, 2003:1).

According to Boyd (2005:115), human security is defined as the "the ability to pursue those choices in a safe environment broadly encompassing seven dimensions of se-

curity, namely economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political”.

5.3.1 Clive Thomas' Four-Prong Typology on Vulnerability of Small Developing States

Thomas' vulnerability framework recognizes four major dimensions of small states: (i) economy, (ii) environment, (iii) society and (iv) institutional vulnerability (Thomas, 2004:1-3) and he defines economic, social, environmental institutional vulnerability as follows:

- **Economic Vulnerability:** “The greater than average risk small economies face from exogenous shocks which adversely affect their incomes, employment, output, markets, consumption and wealth” (Thomas, 2004:1).
- **Environmental vulnerability:** “The greater than average risk small economies face of damage to their natural eco-systems” (Thomas, 2004:2).
- **Social vulnerability:** “The greater than average risk posed by internal and external factors in undermining social cohesion, introducing systematic pathologies and eroding social capital”. Illicit drugs, trade in sex-workers, violence, organized corruption and HIV/AIDS have been considered as social vulnerability (Thomas, 2004:2).
- **Institutional vulnerability:** “The greater than average risk posed by the limited capacity of domestic institutions to respond to the complexity and intensity of the pressures flowing from globalization” (Thomas, 2004:2).

The above mentioned framework of Thomas typology will form the basis of the evaluation of the vulnerability of Cape Town as a leading tourist's city destination.

5.4 Results: The Public Policy Dilemma - Tourism and HIV/AIDS in Cape Town

The vulnerability of Cape Town is measured through economic, social, environmental and industrial vulnerability perceptive.

5.4.1 Economic Vulnerability

Economically the city of Cape Town is vulnerable. Its vulnerability is measured from balance of payment, employment and contribution of tourism and other sectors that benefits from tourism boom on Provincial economy.

5.4.1.1 Balance of payment

Issues related to the economy relates to the gap between export and imports having an effect on balance of payment. City of Cape Town's balance of payment trend shows an increase in economic vulnerability (Western Cape (South Africa). Provincial Treasury, 2006:5). As the tables 6.1 and 6.2 show, Cape Town exports to the rest of the world increased by 62% from R15.7 billion to R25.4 billion between 2001 and 2005. In addition, like other tourist destination in developing countries (Mathieson and Wall, 1992:73-74), the import growth in Cape Town exceeded the export growth by 84% with R27.7 billion to R50.8 billion for the same period. As a result, the Cape Town city increased its trade deficit from 12 billion Rand in 2001 to 25.4 billion Rand in 2005 (Western Cape (South Africa). Provincial Treasury, 2006:5). The major cause of this deficit noted was believed to be the competition and the strength of the local currency against the US dollar. Western Cape (South Africa). Provincial Treasury (2006:5) stated that: "The trend of widening trade deficit is mirrored across the South African economy which may increase vulnerability to international risks".

Although, Cape Town experienced an increased deficit of R 25 billion for the period between 2001 and 2005, accounting for 20.5% of the growth per annum, Western Cape (South Africa). Provincial Treasury (2006:5) noted that it is not severe, as it appears that mineral, fuel, oils, distillation products, etc. make the largest contributor to total exports with 43.31% followed by electrical and electronic equipment with 7.90%. Beverages and, spirits and vinegar accounted for 2.32% of the annual income of the City. According to Western Cape Provincial Treasury (2006:5) the import and export trend in Cape Town is consistent with the national trend due to the strong domestic demand and a widening trade deficit. The table 20:5.1 shows the city of Town Export composition in 2005.

Rank	Product description	R' million(2005)	% Share of Total exports
	Total exports	25,399.83	
1	H27: Mineral fuels, oils, distillation products, etc.	6,943.48	27.3
2	H08: Edible fruit, nuts, peel of citrus fruit, melons	3,452.17	13.6
3	H03: Fish, crustaceans, molluscs, aquatic invertebrates	2,036.48	8.0
4	H84: Nuclear reactors, boilers, machinery, etc.	1,753.55	6.9
5	H71: Pearls, precious stones, metals, coins, etc.	1,475.91	5.8
6	H85: Electrical, electronic equipment	1,183.06	4.7
7	H39: Plastics and articles thereof	648.84	2.6
8	H54: Manmade filaments	541.65	2.1
9	H87: Vehicles other than railway, tramway	434.55	1.7
10	H38: Miscellaneous chemical product	420.05	1.7

Table 5.1: City of Cape Town Export Composition, 2005

Source: Wesgro export/import trade data: Western Cape Provincial Treasury (2006:5)

Rank	Product description	R' million(2005)	% Share of total exports
	Total imports	50,791.33	
1	H27: Mineral fuels, oils, distillation products, etc.	21,999.54	43.31
2	H85: Electrical, electronic equipment	4,011.78	7.90
3	H84: Nuclear reactors, boilers, machinery, etc.	3,663.81	7.21
4	H39: Plastics and articles thereof	1,411.27	2.78
5	H30: Pharmaceutical products	1,374.48	2.71
6	H22: Beverages, spirits and vinegar	1,180.49	2.32
7	H64: Footwear, gaiters and the like, parts thereof	1,133.59	2.23
Rank	Product description	R' million(2005)	% Share of total exports

8	H62: Articles of apparel, accessories, not knit or crochet	1,003.44	1.98
9	H90: Optical, photo, technical, medical, etc. apparatus	981.58	1.93
10	H29: Organic chemicals	810.72	1.60

Table 5.2: City of Cape Town Import Composition, 2005

Source: Wesgro export/import trade data: Western Cape Provincial Treasury (2006:6)

These two tables show that in 2005, Cape Town has a net export valued of R25, 399.9 billion and the import composition during the same period was valued at R50 791.33. The net trade deficit has steadily been increasing for the period 2001-2005 with average annual growth of 20.5%.

5.4.1.2 Employment

A study by Ukpere and Slabbert, revealed that about 40% South Africans are currently unemployed (Ukpere and Slabbert, 2009:38) and according to Naido, the number of unemployed is increasing as employees in the services sector seem to be willing to accept relatively unskilled and low paid workers (Ukpere & Slabbert, 2009:38). While these services were expected to create the much needed jobs, with the economic downturn during global crisis thousands of jobs in the tourism sector and other sector that were linked to tourism development in South Africa as well Cape Town, are reported to be lost. For example, in order to respond to the declining economy and global competition, South African Airways had to cut around 1 000 jobs (Phasiwe in Ukpere and Slabbert, 2009:39). The following table 5.3 shows the labour market trade in the City of Cape Town from 1995 to 2004.

Labour market	1995	2004	% Change 1995-2004
Population 15-64	1,644,864	1,983,916	20,6
Economically active	1,014,102	1,178,436	16,2
Not Economically Active	630,762	805,480	27,7
Labour market	1995	2004	% Change 1995-2004
Employment: Formal	727,538	715,505	-1,7

Informal Employment	111,412	187,201	68,0
Total Employment	838,951	902,706	7,6
Unemployed	175,152	275,730	57,4
Unemployment%	17.27	23.40	6,1

Table 5.3: City of Cape Town Labour Market, 1995-2004

Source: Quantec, Research using Statistics SA SEE & LFS for 2004 in Western Cape Provincial Treasury (2006:17).

The trend in employment and unemployment in Cape Town for the period 1995-2004 as shown in the table 5.3 can be summarized as follows:

- The finance and business services (financial services and insurances) absorbing the majority of the City's highly skilled labour force was expected to create 92 400 jobs, with opportunities in management and support.
- During this period, it has shown a slow rate of job creation of 1% p.a.
- The working age population (15-64 years) in Cape Town increased by 20.6% from 1995 to 2004 and the number of economically active people have shown an increase of 16.2% during the same period.
- There has been a decline in the formal sector by 1.7%, while the informal sector has experienced an increase in employment of 68%.
- Unemployment in the city of Cape Town increased from 17.3% in 1995 to 23.4% in 2004, representing an increase of 6.1%.

A number of sub-sectors, including call centres, transport, retail and accommodation benefit from the high tourism levels in the City. This benefit of tourism expansion gave hope for employment generation not only in tourism industry but also other sector that are linked to tourism development.

The sectoral contribution to formal employment for the period 1995 and 2004 is presented in the table 5.4 below.

Sector	Change in% Contribution	2004% Contribution
Finance and business services	5.90	19.46
Community, social and other personal services	3.66	14.96

Wholesale & retail trade; catering and accommodation	2.66	17.93
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	0.02	1.96
Mining	-0.06	0.32
Electricity & water	-0.13	0.40
Transport & communication	-1.54	3.03
General government services	-2.38	16.87
Construction	-3.28	5.62
Manufacturing	-4.85	19.43

Table 5.4: City Sectoral contribution to formal employment, 1995 – 2004

Source: Quantec, Research using Statistics SA SEE & LFS for 2004 in Western Cape Provincial Treasury (2006:18).

The sectoral contribution to formal employment for the period 1995 and 2004 as it is presented in the table 5.4 shows that:

- Finance and Business Services take a lead in employment with 19.5% followed by Manufacturing with 19.4%.
- The wholesale & retail trade, catering and accommodation contributed 17.9%, general government Services (18.8%) and community, social and other personal services (15%).
- For the period 1995-2004, the largest decline in contribution to employment was noted in manufacturing with the rate of 4.9%.
- Finance and business services contributed 5.9% to the city, community and, social and other personal services 3.7%.
- Wholesale and retail trade respectively contributed 2.7% in the same period and increased their contribution to employment and the creation of the sustainable jobs.

In addition, the city's annual growth rate was 3.7% between 1995 and 2004 and contributed approximately 11.2% to the national gross domestic product (GDP). This showed a growth in economy from 1996 to 2004 and slowdown in the 1998 accounting rates of 0.1% and -0.2% respectively (Western Cape (South Africa). Provincial Treasury, 2006:4).

5.4.1.3 City sectoral contribution to GDPR

The tourism sector is clearly an important sector in Cape Town's economic diversity strategy as a significant source of income. Table 5.5 shows the sectoral contribution to Gross Regional Domestic Product (GDPR) from 1995 to 2004.

Sectors	1995	2004	GDPR 2004, Constant 2000 Prices, Rm	Average Annual growth 2000-2004 (%)	Average annual growth 1995-2004 (%)
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	19%	16%	1,736	1,03	1,83
Mining	0.6%	0.2%	163	-2,49	-11,47
Manufacturing	21.5%	17.9%	19,338	1,82	1,67
Electricity & water	18%	19%	2,016	4,73	4,28
Construction	3.4%	3.4%	3,709	5,04	3,93
Wholesale & retail trade; catering and accommodation	14.6%	17.2%	18,589	5,80	5,65
Transport & communication	8.9%	11.6%	12,479	6,11	6,86
Finance & business services	28.4%	31.7%	34,191	6,61	5,00
Community, social and other	5.4%	5.0%	5,389	2,40	2,90
General government services	13.5%	9.4%	10,168	1,11	-0,34

Table 5.5: City sectoral contribution to GDPR, 1995 and 2004

Source: Quantec Research and own calculations in Western Cape Provincial Treasury (2006:8)

The contribution of key sectors to GDPR from 1995 to 2004 in the table 24:5.5 reflects the following:

- The three key sectors contributed to GDPR in the period of 1995-2004 are finance and Business services, wholesale and Retail, catering and accommodation trade, and manufacturing.
- In addition, there is a notable growth in wholesale & retail Trade with 9.7%, electricity and water 7.1%, manufacturing 5.4%, and construction 5.1% from 2003 to 2004.

- Finance & Business Services estimated to be over 6% p.a. increased its share from 28.4% in 1995 to 31% in 2004. This shows its importance in the contribution of GDP for the city of Cape Town.
- The most significant level of investment such as finance, insurance and real estate are responsible for almost one third of overall investment in the Cape metropolis.
- The most significant slowdowns were recorded in three main sectors in Cape Town that had a low impact on economy. These three sectors were agriculture, construction and electricity. Their contribution was below 5%.

The trend of tourism in Cape Town is detailed in the tables (5.6 and 5.7 below).

Year	Visitor arrivals	Domestic arrivals
2005	182,180	738,578
2006	193,786	826,911
2007	201,974	915,452
06/07% growth	4.23	10.7

Table 5.6: Visitor arrivals and expenditure, Cape Town, 2005-2007
Cape Town & Western Cape (2008:7)

Table 5.7 provide overview of international and Domestic visitors to Cape Town in 2007 with regard to their origin, purpose of visit and travel arrangement, group size and average length of stay, repeated visitation, accommodation, average length of stay (nights), Top of Mind (TOM) destination awareness in Domestic market, method through which bulk of bookings and the source of market.

Source of market	The majority of visitors were from overseas (82.9%), followed by domestic (14.7%) and Africa. UK was the largest with 25.4%, followed by Germany (16.2%). Other source of international market includes Netherlands (5.5%), Sweden (5.2%) and USA with 3.8%. Regarding domestic visitors, most were Gauteng (50%) followed by Western Cape with 16.7% and Kwazulu-Natal (15.2%) as well as Eastern Cape with 8% and others
Purpose of visit and travel arrangement	The study revealed that main purposes of visit to Cape Town are: holiday (89.9%), travelled for business (6.7%) and for wedding and honeymoon purposes (1.4%). The majority (63%) of visitors used cars as their mode of transport, followed by public transport (17.5%), taxi services (6.8%) and shuttle services (6.5%). 61.7% of overseas visitors travelled by car and 20.7% utilized public transport and shuttle services (5.5%).Of the domestic visitors, 77.6% used cars,11.9% taxis and 8.2% shuttle service
Group size and Average length of stay	The majority of visitors in Cape Town travelled in pairs with 59.6%, 19.9% alone, 8.9% in fours and 7.4% in three's. The majority of tourists stayed overnight with 86.3% and 13% day visitors. The average length of stay was six nights and common length of stay was 3 night. In addition, the study shows that the overseas tourists tend to have many overnight than both domestic and African.
Repeated visitation	Of overseas tourists (55.3%) revealed that they would visit again, 43.5% said they might and only 1.2% stated that they would not. 91.3% of domestic visitors revealed that they would visit again and 84% of African visitors said that they would visit again.
Accommodation	The average Occupancy was 70.8% with average room rate of R895.54 and RevPAR of R633.59. The study shows that the Hotels achieved the highest average room rate with R1 480.84 and occupancy rate of 79.86% followed by self-catering establishments.
Average length of stay (nights)	The average length of stay (nights) in 2007 was 6.3% with overseas accounting (6.9%), Africa excluding domestic tourists (5.7%) and Domestic tourists (3.2%).
Top of Mind (TOM) Destination Awareness in Domestic market	When thinking a pleasure trip in South Africa, the top five top of mind (TOM) domestic destination are: Cape Town (28.5%), Durban (24%), Johannesburg (5.2%), Mpumalanga(4.9% and Port Elizabeth (2.4%).
Method through which bulk of bookings.	Technological innovation contributed to the expansion of tourism in Cape Town. The survey showed that in 2007 that the booking that were made by Telephone (23.3%), E-mail (5.5%), Web (7.6%), Telephone and E-mail (4.2%), Telephone and Web (7.3%) and all three methods were accounting 27.4%).

Table 5.7: International and Domestic visitors to Cape Town 2007

Source: Cape Town & Western Cape (2008:15-45).

As Tables 5.6 and 5.7 show, the growth of international tourists' arrivals (4.23%) and domestic tourists (10.7%). This expansion contributed to the average occupancy growth accounted for 70.8% with average room rate of R895.44 and revenue per

room (RevPAR) of R 633.59. The growth of tourism in Cape Town may be caused by various factors. The most noted are the numerous tourists' attractions, such as Table Mountain, Robben Island, excellent beaches, wine lands, and first class hotels and restaurants. It has often competed with perceptions as being the most beautiful city in the world against cities such as Rio de Janeiro, Vancouver, and Sydney (George, 2003; Cape Town & Western Cape, 2008).

The George study revealed that the hotels achieved an average room rate of R480.84 and an occupancy rate of 79.86% followed by the self-catering establishment. The number of stay-over in 2007 was 6.3%. The highest stay over by tourists was for overseas accounting for 6.9% and the lowest was from domestic tourists (Cape Town & Western Cape, 2008:18). The majority of tourists revealed that their purpose of visit in 2007 was for holidays and accounted for 89. 9% of the visits and the majority travelled in pairs. In general, all visitors have shown that they would like to visit South Africa again and visiting Cape Town was the first coming in mind. Thus, tourism can be viewed as one of the main economic sectors of Cape Town. Yet, tourism is criticised to be a volatile industry which can affect and be affected by many external forces (Du Toit, 2000:77), including HIV/AIDS. George noted that South African Tourism (the government market body) provided R540 million (US\$ 45 million) for the marketing and promotion of SA as a destination, including Cape Town in 2000. The main market targeted was the UK, Germany, Netherland, France, Italy, and USA (George, 2003:575). It was expected that by 2010 the international tourist numbers would increase from its current 800 000 to 3 million and the marketing niches focus on adventure and sport, culture (including gay leisure) (Vesser, 2003:87). There are no explicit policies which link tourism and HIV/AIDS in Cape Town. However, the policy makers acknowledge that HIV is an economic risk despite the low rate of HIV/AIDS statistic compare to the rest of the country. According to White Paper (Western Cape Department of Economic Affairs, Agriculture and Tourism, 2001:17): "HIV/AIDS has been described by some as the only important development issue in South Africa. All other problems are secondary because of the cross-sectoral impact of the disease. Even if no more people become infected, this pandemic will affect the country for years to come, impact will be felt directly and indirectly by several generations of people. Productivity is expected to decline by 2.5% by 2010 and supply...labour supply will be 27% lower by 2015". These have potential to negatively affect the level of service and lack of labour may raise a concern to the development

of the tourism industry. Furthermore, the paper noted that “the number of street children will rise dramatically; many will turn to crime to survive, exacerbating the already poor security situation. Others will turn to prostitution and of these, many may well become carriers for HIV infection” (Western Cape Province, 2001:18). Thus, one of dilemmas related to tourism and HIV/AIDS is the economic vulnerability. In addition to “underage sex tourism in cities such as Cape Town” (Carrol, 2006) and gay tourism known to double the income by spending double or triple the regular visitor (Heard & Ludski, 2001:7) and welcomed by the private sector, may help the spread of HIV/AIDS.

South Africa as a major destination for underage sex tourism with young girls range between 28 000 and 30 000 from within the country and from different parts of the region such as Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Swaziland, Zambia, Cameroon, Malawi, Rwanda, Senegal, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and Ethiopia (ILOIPEC in Carol, 2006) may fuel the spread of HIV. In addition, although religious communities in the province of Western Cape in which Cape Town is located have opposed this market drive (Vesser, 2003:91). Ozinsky in Visser (2003:87) mentioned that “of the current 80 000 annual international tourist arrivals to Cape Town, about 10% are estimated to be gay, a tendency that confirms Cape Town’s status as Africa’s gay tourism capital”. The authors also mention that this niche tourism generates substantive sums of revenue. The most noted is the Mother City Queer Parade (MCQP) themed event “Toy Box”, generated more than R50 million from a single event, almost half of that of Cape Town’s most important annual tourist event. Further, events such as the Sydney Mardi Gras which raised around R 650 million in 2000 shows that the economic potential of this niche to be enormous (Heard and Ludski, 2001:7). Given the reality of HIV/AIDS, “research on the burden of HIV among men who have sex with men (MSM) is currently being conducted in South Africa, and it points to a high prevalence (HSRC, 2009: xv). Thus, tourism itself in this city may fuel the spread of this pandemic and the revenue generated by this sector may be used to combat HIV/AIDS which takes away resources that needed to address the poverty and inequality as well as promote sustainable tourism. Thus, tourism economy could pose a dilemma for state managers with regarding to human security in the age of HIV/AIDS pandemic.

5.4.2 Environmental Vulnerability

As is the case in the Western Cape areas, Cape Town is also vulnerable to environmental shocks. According to The Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) report, the Western Cape Province will be most vulnerable to climate change, irrespective of local or global efforts to reduce greenhouse gas emissions (Western Cape Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning, 2007). The consequence of climate impacts in this province (in which Cape Town) is located includes:

- An increase in the annual average temperature of at least 1 degree Celsius by 2050.
- An increase in the frequency and intensity of extreme events.
- An increase in conditions conducive to wild fires (higher temperatures and increased wind velocity).
- Reduced rainfall in the western parts of the Western Cape.
- Decreased water resources.
- Reduced soil moisture.
- Temperature impacts on crop activities (Western Cape (South Africa). Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning, 2007).

Peters (2004) reported the environmental concern in Cape Town in an area of the lagoon in Milnerton. The severe impact relates to the health and the environmental effects on the ecosystem surrounding these areas. This environmental vulnerability may worsen the already fragile socio-economic condition of Cape Town such as poverty and inequality as the poor will be affected the most (Western Cape Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning, 2007). The money that could be used to address inequality and poverty now has to be relocated in addressing issues such as the effects of climate change. Thus, the severity of climate change which may be fuelled by tourism such as air travel (UNEP, 2007; UNF, 2009) can further undermine socio-economic development and human security.

5.4.3 Social Vulnerability

Despite the diversified economic opportunities of Cape Town as it is regarded as the economic “heartbeat” of the Western Cape Province, some of the key challenges for this city are poverty with the accompanying threat to health such as HIV/AIDS, TB and crime, which are prevalent in the poorest communities such as Khayelitsha and Nyanga (Western Cape Provincial Treasury, 2006:3). The social well-being in Cape Town was evaluated using the City Development Index (CDI) and Human Development Index (HDI). The combination of these two approaches were used to “identify the distribution of social deprivation and highlight areas of greatest need” (Western Cape Provincial Treasury, 2006:19) as it shown in the Tables (5.8 and 5.9).

Suburb	Infrastructure	Waste	Health	Education	Income	CDI
Khayelitsha	0.60	0.95	0.60	0.94	0.69	0.75
Langa	0.55	0.96	0.60	0.96	0.70	0.75
Nyanga	0.60	0.97	0.60	0.95	0.69	0.76
Gugulethu	0.61	0.95	0.60	0.97	0.74	0.77
Mitchell's Plain	0.75	0.89	0.60	0.89	0.78	0.78
Elsies River	0.85	0.95	0.60	0.84	0.79	0.80
Kraaifontein	0.83	0.97	0.60	0.89	0.85	0.83
Atlantis	0.88	0.96	0.67	0.90	0.88	0.86
Somerset West	0.90	0.94	0.70	0.89	0.93	0.87
Cape Town	0.93	0.99	0.69	0.88	0.91	0.88
Hout Bay	0.92	0.99	0.67	0.88	1.00	0.89
Parow	0.95	1.00	0.71	0.95	0.92	0.90
Bellville	0.96	0.99	0.71	0.92	0.95	0.91
Goodwood	0.98	1.00	0.67	0.95	0.94	0.91
Durbanville	0.97	0.99	0.71	0.94	1.00	0.92
Suburb	Infrastructure	Waste	Health	Education	Income	CDI

Melkbosstrand	0.96	0.97	0.71	0.94	1.01	0.92
Province	0.79	0.89	0.68	0.86	0.82	0.81

Table 5.8: City of Cape Town CDI (Selected suburbs - sorted by CDI), May 2005

Source: Measuring the State of development in the Western Cape –May 2005 in the Western Cape Provincial Treasury (2006:20)

Suburb	Health	Education	Income	HDI
Khayelitsha	0.47	0.90	0.69	0.69
Nyanga	0.47	0.91	0.69	0.69
Elsies River	0.47	0.82	0.79	0.70
Langa	0.47	0.92	0.70	0.70
Gugulethu	0.47	0.93	0.74	0.71
Mitchell's Plain	0.47	0.87	0.78	0.71
Atlantis	0.61	0.88	0.88	0.79
Cape Town	0.67	0.88	0.91	0.82
Hout Bay	0.61	0.89	1.00	0.83
Somerset West	0.68	0.89	0.93	0.83
Goodwood	0.61	0.95	0.94	0.84
Parow	0.69	0.94	0.92	0.85
Bellville	0.69	0.93	0.95	0.86
Durbanville	0.69	0.95	1.00	0.88
Melkbosstrand	0.69	0.95	1.01	0.89
Province	0.63	0.84	0.68	0.72

Table 5.9: City of Cape Town HDIs, May 2005

Source: Measuring the State of development in the Western Cape –May 20 in Western Cape Provincial Treasury (2006:21).

The City Development Index (CDI) covering the average index of health, education and income shows positive a performance, particularly in infrastructure, income and waste disposal. The CDI in 2005 was 0.88 compared 0.81 for the rest of Western

Cape Province. However, the CDI's showed that there are areas in the City of Cape Town that are below the provincial average of a CDI of 0.81. The areas mentioned are: Khayelitsha, Nyanga, Langa, Gugulethu, Mitchell's Plain and Elsies River (Western Cape Provincial Treasury, 2006:19-20). While the city of Cape Town performed well in the HDI (measuring the average of the health based on life expectancy, divided by infant mortality and income on mean household income) accounting to 0.82 compared to the provincial average of 0.72, these poorest areas of Cape Town (Khayelitsha, Nyanga, Elsies River and Langa), accounted indices in health indicates that they are below 0.47 and income indices are 0.69. However, education in these areas is much better compared to the other indicators ((Western Cape (South Africa). Provincial Treasury, 2006:20-21).

5.4.3.1 Inequality in resources

Despite of the development in tourist infrastructure and an increase in tourism benefits, the main concern of the city of Cape Town remains its inequality among the citizens that is reflected in their health risk. The inequality in resource is explained in table 5.10.

Income categories	Black African (%)	Coloured (%)	Indian or Asian (%)	White (%)	Grand Total (%)
None	9.01	0.75	0.09	1.14	13.13
R1-R4800	1.99	3.17	0.01	0.17	2.93
R4801-R9600	4.62	5.70	0.05	0.67	8.51
R9601-R19200	7.45	8.99	0.08	1.08	14.32
R19201-R38400	5.14	9.50	0.18	2.54	16.86
R38401-R76800	2.47	6.08	0.27	4.94	17.18
R76801-R153 600	1.02	2.23	0.31	6.68	14.09
R153601-R307200	0.40	0.40	0.21	5.83	8.68
Income categories	Black African (%)	Coloured (%)	Indian or Asian (%)	White (%)	Grand Total (%)
R307201-R614400	0.12	0.09	0.06	2.40	2.99

R614401-R1228800	0.03	0.09	0.02	0.56	0.70
R1228801-R2457600	0.05		0.01	0.24	0.39
R2457601 and more	0.02	0.04	0.00	0.18	0.24
Total	32.32	39.93	1.29	26.45	100.00

Table 5.10: City of Cape Town: Distribution of Household income, 2001

Source: DBSA- base data Census 2001 in Western Cape Provincial Treasury, 2006:4)

The study conducted in 2001 found that about 13.13% of the households had no income at all of which 9.1% were Black Africans with no income. Few households earned above R300 000 per annum (only 4.3% of the population). From this the inequality in socio-economic class which coincides with racial classifications is obvious. Therefore, it is also expected that the inequality in resources and poverty may stimulate crime which is known as major factor of social vulnerability in the area (Western Cape Provincial Treasury, 2006).

5.4.3.2 Crime in Cape Town

Since the City of Cape Town area tends to be significantly affected by the high rate of crime, the tourism sector has to be instrumental to address the factors that decrease this rate such as inequality and poverty. However, Gie (2009: 4) mentions that “poverty is often cited as a cause of crime and violence, but increasing international evidence suggests that poverty per se has little to do with crime and violence levels. Rather crime and violence occur more frequently in settings where there is an equal distribution of scarce resources or power (relative poverty) coupled with weak institutional controls”. Cape Town is also not only considered to be the city that has one of the highest murder rates in the world with Rio de Janeiro, but also has the highest prevalence of both murder and drug-related crime in the country (City of Cape Town in Gie, 2009: 4). The South African Police Service records 31 types of crime categories which are shown in table 5.11. For the purposes of this study, the focus will fall on the following categories of crime:

1. **Violent Crime** which includes murder, robbery with aggravating circumstances, rape and assault with intent to inflict grievous bodily harm.
2. **Property Crime** including business crime, burglary at residential premises, common robbery and theft of motor vehicle and motorcycle.

3. **Drug-related Crime** including drug-related crimes and driving under influence of alcohol and drugs (Gie, 2009:7). The table 5.11 show all type of crime reported in Cape Town for period of 2001 to 2008.

Crimes	No of re- ported crimes per 100 000 people 2001/2002	No of re- ported crimes per 100 000 people 2002/2003	No of re- ported crimes per 100 000 people 2003/2004	No of re- ported crimes per 100 000 people 2004/2005	No of re- ported crimes per 100 000 people 2005/6	No of re- ported crimes per 100 000 people 2006/7	No of re- ported crimes per 100 000 people 2007/8
Murder	77	86	60	55	57	61	60
Rape	92	86	85	88	88	83	76
Business crime	501	442	394	341	328	400	464
Drug- related crime	241	232	314	481	615	740	830
All report- ed crime incidence	9634	10274	10092	9439	8525	8777	8557

Table 5.11: Crime in Cape Town: 2001-2008

Source: www.saps.gov.za in Gie (2009).

Although there are a number of limitations in using official crime statistics and which the majority of the citizens do not believe as they believe that the government manipulates the data for political purposes (Show in (Gie, 2009: 6), the rate of crime is still high with the potential to undermine sustainable tourism development and increase poverty. The murder rate of 55 per 100 000 population and average of five murders per day have a negative effect on the economy of the city as it may discourage potential tourists who may fear the high crime rate as well as international, national and local reluctance from investing in the Cape Town. Though the official rape cases are showing a decrease, Rape Crisis, a non-profit organisations counselling to rape noted that the numbers are unreported are likely to be at least twice of that published by the police, which may have a serious negative impact on the spread of HIV/AIDS (Gie, 2009).

5.4.3.3 HIV/AIDS in Cape Town

Although the rate of HIV/AIDS statistics in Cape Town is low compared to the rest of the country, factors such as poverty in the poorest communities may fuel the spread of HIV/AIDS. HIV/AIDS and TB infections are prevalent in the poorest communities particularly Khayelitsha and Nyanga with infection rates on par with the rest of the country” (Western Cape (South Africa). Provincial Treasury, 2006:3). Barabara Hogan, the former Health Minister stated at the HIV Vaccine Conference that:

“The household in the poorest communities (especially in the many informal settlements) are the worst affected by this epidemic. Women, especially because of their role in the family and society, are the most affected. One of the greatest challenges is to reach our young men to protect themselves and those they love and to take care of the health when they are infected” (TAC, 2008). In addition, she also raised a concern regarding the lack of adequate resources and means to address HIV infection in poor communities and noted that this situation creates the “the perfect environment and formula for the spread of HIV in our communities”. Another security concern regarding the spread of HIV/AIDS is what seems to be a reluctance to address this pandemic. The minister stated that “we also wasted time, despite having one of the best plans to cope with the epidemic adopted by Cabinet under Dr Nkosanzana Dlamini-zuma” (TAC, 2008). Thus, reluctance to address HIV/AIDS in the tourism sector is suspected to be effected most by this pandemic due to its dependence on migrant workers (Forysthe, 1999) that also shows the highest incidence of HIV infection (ILO, 2000:1).

5.4.4 Institutional Vulnerability

In addition to external factors in the global political economy that are affecting tourism as a volatile industry, crime and HIV/AIDS are the main challenges which have the potential to have a negative impact on the development of the tourism industry in Cape Town. In addition the criminal justice system which is criticized by some people who have lost faith in this system and that leads to number of cases that went unreported, inequality in resources such as in the tourism industry may in turn also contribute to the increase of crime in the city (France,1997).

The White Paper on the development and Promotion of Tourism in Western Cape noted some of the most substantial threats and constraints facing the tourism indus-

try in the Western Cape (Western Cape Department of Economic Affairs, Agriculture and Tourism. 2001:14-17):

- Tourism security concerns as a result of poor image of Cape Town as an unsafe tourism destination the perception in the marketplace.
- Limited involvement of previously neglected communities due to inadequate resources and findings, lack of information and awareness of the benefits from this industry and limited training opportunities.
- Cape Town is not positioned as a major global destination in competition to cities such as London, Sydney, Hong Kong or Miami.
- The sector is exposed to the destructive competition that occurs between metropolitan and local councils as well as between the town and the townships.
- A seasonal market and lack of promotion of the winter season with regard to food and wine, romantic occasions, arts , music other experiences in the hinterland.
- Limited cooperation and partnerships between the private and public sectors.
- Imbalances in the development of the Cape Metropolis and the hinterland leading to the lack of experience in tourism in rural areas.
- Service quality and pricing limitations leading to overpricing and declining value for money.
- Inadequate of environmental management such as poor management of littering and smog.
- Infrastructure constraints such as parking, ablutions facilities, public transport, visitor information, entertainment and landscaping at local attractions which are not inadequate.
- Air travel constraints with regard to inadequate flight capacities from Europe to South Africa during peak season and direct flights from Europe and the new market in North America and Asia to Cape Town which are limited.
- Tourism development may take resources away from the needy. For example, land used for tourism activities may be used in other productive sectors such as in the agricultural sector.
- The money allocated to develop the tourism infrastructure and other tourism projects such as marketing to reduce the money that could be used to provide infrastructure for local residents.

5.5 Mitigating programs and strategies

In light of the vulnerabilities found in Cape Town, the city has made efforts to address HIV/AIDS. The variety of HIV/AIDS Prevention strategies that have been made available in South Africa are based upon two standards. The current standard developed by South African Bureau of Standard (SABS) in response to HIV/AIDS as reflected in SANS 16001:2007. This standard is regarded as a comprehensive means to address multiple determinants of HIV infection and HIV/AIDS policies (SABS, n.d:20-24). It is based upon the success of the international standard ISO 9000 Quality management system and ISO 14000 environmental management system. This voluntary HIV/AIDS management system (SANS 16001:2007) was developed to complement the codes of practice with such as legal framework, work environment, screening, testing, confidentiality and disclosure, responsibilities of parties, prevention, training, care and support (SABS,n.d:13-15).

After being secured the rights to host the Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) World Cup in May 2004, South Africa was expect to take this opportunity in expanding both its brand and image with the potential to address the socio-economic and environmental issues for its citizens as well as the rest of Africa (Makgabo, 2006; Donaldson and Ferreira, 2007). In order to address these issues in the Western Cape Province, a wide range of programmes was put in place. Lynne Brown the former Western Cape minister for Finance and Economic Affairs stated in the Western Cape Legislature on 30 May 2007 that:

- An ITDF (Integrated Tourism Development Framework) of the Municipal review process, which includes an investigation into the sites, attractions, routes and infrastructure for the City and each District Municipality, will be conducted in 2007/2008.
- With regard to the Tourism Safety and Support Programme and 3rd year implementation of the "Tourism in Distress", a detailed Monitoring and Evaluation Framework for the Western Cape, a number of quality inspections of attractions, products and services and tourism routes were undertaken.
- The introduction of tourism training and development initiatives in customer care training to staff in the industry, tourist guide training, tourism tiered support system and bursary funds to beneficiaries studying in the fields of tourism

management, professional cookery, public relations and food and beverage management.

- The tourism support system in the form of the tourism business management programme, tourism mentorship programme, fast track and tourism help desk programme. Apart from 1,639 entrepreneurs that have been through this programme, an additional 180 tourism outreach sessions were held where approximately 3,600 community members attended the sessions. This can address the challenges of transformation of tourism where local communities lack an understanding on how they can be involved in tourism activities.
- The ITESP (Integrated Tourism Entrepreneurship Programme) was further refined to ensure that entrepreneurs have real benefit in the assistance provided and will form part of the Tourism Blue Chip Investment Portfolio.
- Social tourism initiatives were also held through the tourism Youth Indaba and Awards, the provincial Tourism Schools Competition and Access to the Cape campaign (Western Cape (South Africa). Department of Finance and Tourism, 2007).

5.6 Reflecting on positive steps in addressing HIV/AIDS at the national level

Despite of Cape Town's economy being heavily dependent on tourism, including niche tourism such as gay tourism which points to be a high prevalence in South Africa (HSRC, 2008: xv), there are encouraging signs of a change in the prevalence and incidence in local communities of people who may be exposed to HIV/AIDS as a result of the various forms of sex tourism. The HSRC (2008: xvii) noted the following positive sign in the above mentioned prevalence and incidence change:

- HIV prevalence at a national level has decreased among children aged 2-14, from 5.6% in 2002 to 2.5% in 2008.
- HIV prevalence has decreased among the youth aged 15-24 from 10.3% to 8.6% in 2008.
- Using a mathematical approach for the 15-20 year age group, it was found that there was a substantial decrease in incidence in 2008 in comparison to 2002 and 2005, especially for the single age groups 15,16,17,18, and 19.
- There has been an increase in exposure to one or more HIV/AIDS communication programmes from 2005 to 2008, with 90.2% of the youth aged 15-24

being reached, followed by 83.6% of adults aged 25-49 and 62.2% of adults over 50 years of age.

5.7 Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to identify the dilemma faced by government managers in tourism development and human security in the context of the HIV/AIDS pandemic and employment in Cape Town. As the city is heavily dependent upon tourism revenue, the information showed that there is more than just a potential link between tourism development and health and the well-being of the local population and warrants further study. Although the HIV/AIDS statistics may compare well with the extent of the epidemic in the rest of the country, the study showed that some poorer areas are having the highest HIV prevalence which can contribute to poverty and inequality in access to economic resources. Since the City of Cape Town increased the number of visitors from international tourists to domestic tourists, and though the many positive initiatives that were undertaken at the Provincial Government level to address the negative impacts of tourism on poor community such as involving local community in tourism activities, the negative impacts may still overshadow the positive claims often made by government officials and other stakeholders.

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CHAPTER SIX

TOURISM-DEVELOPMENT DEBATE IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: THE NEED FOR CHANGE

6.1 Introduction

Since about the mid-1970s and mid-1980s, the world experienced a cocktail of global issues that affected economic, political, social and cultural integration. The influence of all these factors were exacerbated by the emerging oil crisis as it has contributed to the development of what can be called the critical school of tourism studies (Telfer, 2002a:44). A resurgent of neo-liberal and political agenda of global economy has been the driving force behind this movement, supported by tourism trends that unleashed structural socio-economic changes in developing and underdeveloped countries contributed to the complexity of modern global tourism. As tourism is a phenomenon with a complexity of consequences, it has engendered extraordinary responses that stimulate attention of both advocates and opponents alike. Globally much attention is given to tensions and conflicts inherent to the tourism trends and political economy, but little if any, attention seems to be given to human security. The latter forms part of an international development theoretical focus, which attempts to bring a more human-centred focus into the tourism approach, with specific reference to address poverty and inequality.

This thesis discusses some of the tensions in making tourism trends in developing countries anthropocentric, by introducing a new, even controversial, theme into the debate. In the context of human security, the study suggests that tourism development is a process that is not only contested, but also carries with it significant human security implications. These include the driving forces of continuous organizational change which has a direct effect on tourism that tries to survive in the modern economic and political world of unprecedented uncertainty.

Chapter two and three has argued that globalization and technological changes are shaping tourism, affecting not only the lives of many working in the tourism industry, but also effect the phenomenon of tourism itself. Senior (2002:14) suggests that even if the direction of change is not always predictable, it is crucial that organizational managers and decision makers are aware of, and understand, more about the envi-

ronmental winds which are blowing to disturb organizational life; in other words to be able to analyse the factors which trigger organizational change. She acknowledges the political, economic, social and technological (PEST) factors influence tourist organizations' strategies, structures, means of operation and human resource practice through the following: (i) Political factors (government legislation, government ideology, International law, universal rights, wars, local regulations, taxation, trade union activities), (ii) Economic factors (competitors, suppliers, currency exchange rates, wage rates, government policies, other countries' economic policies, lending policies of financial institutions and changes from public to private ownership), (iii) socio-cultural factors (demographic trends (customers and employees, lifestyle changes, skills availability, attitudes to work and employment, attitude to minority groups, gender issues, willingness and ability to move, concern for environment and business ethics), (iv) technological factors (Information technology, the internet, new production process, computerization of processes and change in transport technology (Senior, 2002:16).

The human security factor, discussed in this thesis ranges from political, economical, socio-cultural and environmental factors as indirect influencing factors to health in general, occupational health and also the phenomenon of transmission diseases, including HIV/AIDS (Bauer, 2007:288). All these factors are influencing and are being influenced by organizational change faster than before. Haywood (1988 cited in France, 1997:28) add that tourism planners are required to be more responsible to a broader set of economic and social needs. Reviewing various scholars, this thesis brings together the advocates and opponents of tourism in developing countries to probe into the potentials and limits of tourism development with respect to address poverty and human security issues in the developing countries. While much research has been done on tourism trends, few have successfully addressed the importance of exploring the political economy of tourism trends and human security with reference to the spread of HIV/AIDS. This thesis proposed to put human security central into the tourism debate, and argues that this hitherto marginalized concept holds one of the keys to providing a holistic understanding and contestation of tourism development in developing countries. Thus, the focus is on how local communities who become part of the tourism product through their hospitality and culture in many developing countries, are shaped by this specific phenomenon within the context of tourism trends. While there are nuanced and sophisticated differences with regard to the

benefits of tourism in developing countries, all authors are unified in highlighting the issue of human security in the tourism development debate and often the concerns are mainly on the economic, political, social, and cultural consequence of the tourism expansion perspective (Bauer, 2007; Spiegel et al., 2008). The overriding concern of this thesis is to address the extent to which tourism in the world of the poor has contributed to human security with reference to the spread of HIV/AIDS. Though the argument in this thesis is not necessarily in opposition to the equation of tourism with Western values and the accompanying free market economic principles, it also identifies the need to respect local culture in tourism destination countries with the purpose to promote a healthy tourism for sustainable development. In employing the human security perspective with reference to the spread of HIV/AIDS, attention was drawn to the mostly unrevealed in tourism debate, and addressed some of the major gaps in the existing literature. Therefore, the main rationale for this thesis was three-fold:

- To use the human security studies approach to critically engage and interrogate the processes of tourism development.
- To examine the role and significance of the tourism in meeting the millennium development goals (MDGs) with health at the centre of poverty reduction.
- To provide an accessible account on a possible nexus between tourism development and human security with reference to the spread of HIV/AIDS in developing countries such as Africa.

In contrast to many researchers, particularly among the advocates of tourism in developing countries on tourism trends, this research presented a more holistic analysis using various case studies and approaches, which is at once mindful of the powerful push of tourism development in its various dimensions. By introducing the concept of human security, the collection was aimed at broadening the tourism and development debate, putting the human at the centre of development. Students interested in exploring the ramifications of the globalization of tourism outside the existing orthodoxy will particularly find the project a welcomed addition to their collection.

6.2 Understanding tourism development

Tourism is often related to economic activities. It is not a new phenomenon. It has been supported by the United Nations (UN) and the World Bank (WB) as a means of development (Holden, 2005:133). Though, De Kadt (1979) in his work, *Tourism:*

Passport to Development, already questioned the effect of tourism socio-economic impacts in order to advocate for effective planning for tourism growth in developing countries, Nylon (1967) also questioned its values in the development of Spain, previously acknowledged as a developing country in the region and noted that: 'one reason was already allured to in tourism is perhaps the only sector of economic activity in which the principles of free trade still apply. More important, it is now possible for underdeveloped countries to improve their economies, not by increasing exports via low-cost production, but by tourism' (Nylon, 1967 cited in Opperman and Chon, 1997:16).

The emphasis clearly is on its value to the world of the poor and their poor people. After realizing that little attention has been critically examined, the inherent processes, influences, objectives and often positive outcomes of tourism related to development universally accepted as truth in developing countries, Sharpley and Telfer (2002:2) suggest that development derived from tourism should not be celebrated without an understanding how this development is defined and the process used to achieve it. Peet & Hartwick (1999) commented on criticism regarding development by several scholars, particularly on a number of alternative approaches and highlighted that the criticism associated with tourism ranges from economic and sociological perspective of development and covers Marxist and neo-Marxist and feminism theories. The underlying notion of this thesis has also attempted to debate on both advocates and opponents of the so called economic efficiency which lies at the centre of Adam Smith's idea that markets do or do not lead '*as if by an invisible hand*' and John Maynard Keynes (the theory of unemployment advising how government action can help to restore the economy for employment and growth). However, while the benefit of development in economics is often understood and expressed by Gross Domestic Product (GDP), it is not the beginning and end of development. Rather it is the development that needs to be sustainable, equitable, and democratic (Stiglitz (2007:44-45). Although, the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) in September 2005 have received support from UN and worldwide public, private and civil society decision-makers when it was proposed that tourism is the most effective tool for sustainable growth in the world (Mitchell & Ashley, 2007:46). But, little has been discussed on how the economic growth everyone was striving towards is linked to negative impacts on the environment, the depleting of scarce natural resources such as water and food which is often insufficient to poor communities and by borrowing from abroad an

increase in the debt burden generally considered by many observers as among one of the main factors undermining tourism development in Africa. However, Stiglitz argue that tourism can contribute to economic and social development insofar as income impacts on living standard with particular reference to health (measured in terms of life expectancy and infant mortality) (Stiglitz 2008:44). The saliency of both the interconnections between people from different cultural backgrounds as a result of tourism trends and increased flows of international corporations monopolising the accommodation and transportation business in developing countries encompasses a trend towards cultural, economic, social and political integration (Holden, 2005; Bauer, 2007). In addition to the impacts of colonial powers on human (insecurity) on the peoples in Africa, assisted by the expansion of religion (in chapter 2 and Cape Town in chapter 5), there is doubt about the kind of development it brought to developing countries in addressing poverty. After analysing the development process for which tourism is promoted for, Sharpley (2002a:34) add that 'if development itself is a debatable concept, then the potential for any activity, including tourism, to contribute to development must also be in doubt'. From this point of departure it can be argued that there is little doubt that not all countries and peoples have benefited from this tourism trend under structural adjustment programs such as (i) privatisation of tourism firms, (ii) removal of state subsidies, (iii) the intent to improve tax systems, (iv) removal of wages control as it is provide by the market and (v) reduction of government workforce. In addition to all the afore mentioned negative effects manifest against the background of possible simultaneous external economic policy reforms, such as currency devaluation, removal or reduction of tariffs and quotas, and state control over exports (Stiglitz, 2007). The essence of tourism development of arguably best captured by Holden observation's on this trend that: "The role of tourism as an export industry and a means of earning foreign exchanges is strongly supported by nationals as they continue to attempt to secure new markets for their products. They also wish to have unimpeded access to resources, which includes natural, cultural and human ones. Some developing countries have also wanted to increase tourism as a consequence of falling world commodity prices during the 1980s and 1990s, and the requirement to fulfil debt repayments to the IMF and World Bank "(Holden 2005: 115). Here, Holden reinforces the power of politics and implicitly, of the human security with reference to exploitation. This thesis explored these diverse issues in the tourism-development debate from an alternative perspective and human security.

6.3 Alternative approach

The starting point of the alternative approach debate on tourism is underpinned in the literature review (Chapter 1 and 2) on the effect of human security. The study is composed of insights from scholars' work not only to contribute to the debate on tourism and development, but also to unlock it in a more holistic and anthropocentric mode of thinking. Employing a human security focus is a way to extend insights and shed a different light on the debate. It is important to note that the human security perspective is an important theoretical approach and critical to the integration of a human centred focus in the current tourism trend and international development perspective. Choket, Macbeth and Warren (2007:146) reminds us that tourism has been considered as a panacea in all aspect such as economic, social and environmental spheres, as is evident in the outcome of the World Tourism Organisation (WTO) at the Manila Declaration on World Tourism: 'World Tourism can contribute to the establishment of a new international economy order that will help to eliminate the widening economic gap between developed and developing countries and ensure the steady acceleration of economic and social development and progress, in particular in developing countries' (WTO, 1980, cited in Sharpley, 2002a:13).

In his pioneering study *Tourism: Passport to Development*, De Kadt (1979) questioned the effects of tourism on human insecurity from its socio-economic perspective and suggest a better planning for tourism growth in developing countries such as quality responsibility and respectability (Buttler, 1992, Lanfant & Graburn, 1992). Despite the integration of alternative forms of tourism as a response to a *guilty conscious* among tourist and the tourism industry, actions that could undermine the aim of sustainable development in the form of threats to the health of the local communities, have been criticised with the request for a more conscious approach in the marketing of tourism. Cater and Goodall in France, (1997:85) state that green, or eco-tourism, can satisfy environmentalists. However, unless the needs of local populations who are necessarily exposed to the negative health effects of tourism are also considered (Spiegel et al., 2008), there will be no guarantee of any form of sustainable tourism (Cater and Goodall in France, 1997:85). Lanfant and Graburn agreed that the rhetoric of alternative tourism is attractive. However, the label is deceiving, particularly with its structural inequalities associated with security threats ranging from indirect health such as economic, socio-culture and environmental aspects to direct

health such as occupational health and safety, as well as transmission diseases to include HIV/AIDS (Bauer, 2007:288; Lanfant & Graburn, 1992:112). De Kadt cautions not to be blind by accepting that alternative tourism can be applied to all forms of tourism as the debate was opened and discussed without knowing exactly what it really meant (De Kadt, 1992:47-48). Schevens (2002) summarised alternative tourism as whilst alternative tourism theoretically aims to distinguish itself from mass tourism by adopting a more sustainable and equitable approach, this is not what always happens in practice. While we can still use these terms, therefore, it should not be assumed that alternative tourism is ethically superior to mass neither tourism, nor that they are polar opposites. Examples of both forms of tourism need to be carefully scrutinized when considering ways of promoting the development of local communities (Schevens, 2002:15).

Based on the literature of alternative tourism, it is of paramount importance to conceptualise the human security for the international tourism development debate properly. In this thesis it is contended that the advocates of tourism development in the world of the poor and international development theorists have paid little attention to the human (in-) security implications of their policies and instead, have chosen to rely on almost excessive technical assessments of rationality for which the evidence led to question the sustainable nature of the underlying assumptions associated with alternative tourism. Employing the human security perspective, the thesis provides a reappraisal of the prevailing discourse on international tourism and development aimed in assisting the poor to meet the MDGs with health at the heart of poverty reduction. As pointed out by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 1994), human security is broadly defined as “freedom from fear and freedom from want” and characterized as “ safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease, and repression as well as protection from sudden and harmful disruptions in the patterns of daily life-whether in homes, in jobs or in communities. The report outlines the four basic characteristic of Human Security as being universal, interdependent in its components, people-centred, and best ensured through prevention. Therefore, human security can also be understood in an ethical belief context, particularly in analysing the culture and development of institutions that interact with one another, such as that tourism trends are being criticized as it may contribute to the spread of HIV/AIDS (Forsythe, 1999; Bauer, 2007). Part one explained the background of the research and rationale behind international tourism and development and the human

security debate with reference to the health concern in developing countries. Under the title 'The great unknown about tourism development in the world of the poor', chapter one sets the intellectual and theoretical foundation for the critical analysis between tourism development and the associated community health factor, which seems to be controversial.

As an introductory part of the thesis, this chapter pays much attention on the influence of modernity and the dependency theory approaches. In this concluding theoretical analysis, the focus of the argument is shifted to the inequality that accompanies threats to health and its various associated concepts, which are central to comprehending the process and impact of international tourism and development. Human security studies were used in this chapter as a method to bring new insights into the tourism development debate. The framework for this thesis was also mentioned in this chapter, taking into consideration economic, political, social, cultural and technological innovations issues associated with and derived from global tourism trends. In a more direct way inequality in tourism resources is criticized to accompany threats to health including the spread of HIV/AIDS. The effect of tourism in the world of the poor points to new challenges for global society and tourism policy debates, as this industry has the potential to contribute to the spread of HIV/AIDS and destroy the resources in which it is based upon for its survival. The first chapter has also identified a methodology for identifying how tourism affects social institutions and the health of communities, so that tourism planners may develop policy and options that can attempt to reduce the vulnerability and effectiveness of healthy tourism promotion for sustainable development.

In chapter two which examines international development theories literature under the title 'Understanding international development theory in the world of the *poor*', tourism and community health are explored as an underlying concept of development which is underpinned by the economic processes related to tourism. This chapter discussed the theories of development that were clearly developed with an economic focus. In addition to a brief explanation of the economic theories with reference to the founders of the free market principles still active in some or other form in the current global economy (Adam Smith and John Maynard Keynes), this chapter also discusses the economics principles as related to development issues in order to simplify the complexity surrounding interrelated social, cultural, political and economic process

affecting to a more or lesser extent all aspects of our lives. In sharing views of various economic theory critiques, this chapter attempted to stimulate a debate on the benefits and negative impacts of the free market in developing countries. Arguing from modernity through to post-modernity using tourism as the sector that fully applies the principles of globalization, tourism has been criticized as to be a tool for developed countries to expand their market and economic means for colonization and exploitation, not only with reference to natural resources and cultural expansion, but also with regard to international regulations. The study discussed economic theory, modernity theory, dependency theory, neo-liberal theory, alternative theory and post-development theory in connection with tourism development.

In chapter three under the title 'Understanding the link between globalization, technology and tourism on community health' the social and economic structural changes related to tourism expansion boosted by the globalization process through a dense web of international treaties and institutions and technological innovation are discussed. This chapter shows how international tourism development has emphasized the potential that exists in meeting the MDGs with health at the centre of the poverty reduction. However, successful tourism is often noted in terms of economic growth and social development show that critics have expressed concern over the possible negative side effects associated with economic growth, such as an increase in economic disparities and social division both accompanying threats to health (that includes socio-cultural, environmental and direct health such as occupational health and safety and transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDS). This chapter provided valuable insights to organize the complexity involved in studying human security as a result of tourism development. It contributed to further empirical research in other chapters written in article format as a basis for the development of future scenarios on community health. Part two, focus mainly on factors of modernity and tourism that contribute to the human security. This part of the thesis looks into tourism from a critical theory perspective into issues pertaining to power and justice and effects of the economy on social division, as well as human security with respect to the spread of HIV/AIDS.

Chapter four under the title 'Health, poverty and sustainable tourism development: illustration from HIV/AIDS in Africa', evaluated the relationship between health and sustainable tourism development and employed the health-poverty-sustainable tour-

ism development nexus to identify the evidence causality between health and poverty. Based on secondary sources from government reports, journal and published development reports in which the validity and authenticity as well consistency have been checked before their use, the findings indicate to a positive relationship between poverty and health problems with particular reference to the spread of HIV/AIDS.

Chapter five presents a case study of the project” The effect of the growth in global tourism development and the future health and wellbeing of local communities in Cape Town with reference to the spread of HIV/AIDS’, with the aim to identify the dilemma faced by state managers in tourism development and human (insecurity) in the context of the AIDS pandemic and employment in Cape Town. In combination of two approaches, the concept of human security and Thomas’ four-prong typology to conceptualize the vulnerability in developing countries, the findings show that Cape Town is economically, socially, environmentally and industrially an entity that can be considered as vulnerable. Part three mainly deals with discussing the issue from various perspectives, coming to conclusions and recommendations which are covered in chapter six. The aim was to find out which lines of tourism development are most fruitful to present in developing countries such as found in Africa. The findings suggest that, by employing the frameworks of these development theories, one could analyse and evaluate the dynamic tourism process in Africa as presented in various studies and how tourism manifests itself in practice. Tourism has been given a positive image to address the notion of inequalities and poverty reduction alongside with environmental considerations. However, the empirical data shows that this balance is difficult to maintain as with neo-liberal market, this industry has shown to be associated with increased inequalities and accompanying threats to the health of tourist destination countries, including through the spread of HIV/AIDS.

6.4 Recommendations for health promotion and HIV/AIDS prevention strategies

The study provides the recommendations below to mitigate the negative health impacts and promotion of a healthy tourism industry as well as HIV/AIDS prevention strategies. It is believed that through implementing these recommendations it will assist to balance the economic development and human security with reference to the spread of HIV/AIDS. With regard to the facilitation of a healthy tourism industry and

HIV/AIDS prevention programme in Cape Town, the tourism sector needs to take an innovative and active role to integrate all available resources for responsible tourism and HIV/AIDS prevention, to benefit future tourism development in Cape Town. For the overall improvement of health promotion in global tourism, the following recommendations for the tourism sector includes the following:

- More research is needed on the relationship between tourism and human security particularly with the spread of HIV/AIDS.
- Evaluate the developing national policies aimed at the transformation of tourism and define clear responsibilities in the development of health promotion and HIV prevention in tourism sector in Cape Town.
- Improving systematic capacity building and training programs in tourism business particularly in marketing and financial accounting.
- Developing and implementing HIV/AIDS management in the tourism sector.
- Setting up effective evaluation and quality management systems for HIV/AIDS management in the tourism sector.
- Providing a professional support service to develop effective health promotion programmes for the tourism sector.

With regards to facilitating health promotion in Cape Town, the city of Cape Town needs to take an innovative and active role to integrate disadvantaged communities into tourism business and strengthen infrastructure to benefit to future development of health promotion with specific reference of HIV/AIDS in Cape Town. The recommendations for the city of Cape Town's role include the following:

- The city of Cape Town in collaboration with the Western Cape Province have to tackle the problem of the disadvantaged populations who are most exposed to the negative impacts of tourism, including exposure to HIV/AIDS
- The city of Cape Town must also look for other opportunities to reduce the dependency on tourism as well as find out various approaches that may assist to reduce vulnerabilities.
- Barriers to the sustainable tourism development should be targeted. For example, factors that increase unemployment, poverty, social inequality, drug abuse, crimes and other social triggers for deviant behaviour. Once these have been addressed, programmes addressing them should be put in practice.

- The problematic relation to the effect of growth in global tourism and health promotion should also be addressed using various approaches such as the formal education system and through public debate in which the participants should focus on health in tourism.
- A positive culture such as family tourism could be used in a positive way to capture the relationship between tourism and HIV/AIDS and minimise the promotion of tourism related to sex such as gay tourism.
- Current legislation related to responsible tourism that has been put in place should be effectively enforced.

It is clear that time is running out and promoting a healthy tourism industry and HIV/AIDS prevention are at a turning point. Cape Town has good opportunities and the potential to demonstrate a good example in the global tourism arena. This is of paramount importance for the city of Cape Town, the tourists themselves, tourism enterprises, global considerations and the local communities alike.

This thesis contributes to the improvement of healthy tourism promotion with specific reference to the spread of HIV/AIDS in Cape Town as a starting point with and hopes to raise more in-depth discussions on new concepts and innovative ideas in this field. The future success of this thesis also lies in its potential contribution to international tourism, particularly among the developing countries, in the implementation of comprehensive approaches to tackle the negative impacts of growth in global tourism upfront with a particular focus on the spread of HIV/AIDS and useful implementation and evaluation policy prescriptions for the way forward in tourist developing projects.

6.5 For further research

HIV/AIDS has a profound impact on the tourism sector as well as the socio-economic development of the country in general, and employees in tourism and the associated transport sector are all potentially exposed to HIV infection (ILO, 2000:1). Therefore, to promote a healthy tourism with specific reference to the spread of HIV/AIDS, it is important and essential to assess and dissect the perceptions of these employees in Cape Town regarding the positive and negative impacts of the effects of growth in global tourism. Thus, further research is needed that focuses on the different needs of the above mentioned employees in the tourism industry, with specific reference to

development issues related to the impact on social, cultural and economic developmental, as well as environmental impact, state and local services meeting the various associated demands, and cost of living in typically tourist target destinations.

6.6 Conclusion

The ability of tourism planners in tourist target destinations such as Cape Town to respond to the global pressure is of paramount importance for human security with reference to the HIV/AIDS determinant and sustainable tourism development. In order to meet this objective there is a need for establishing a sense of harmony between economic health, subjective wellbeing of the local communities who are exposed to the tourism effects, protection be able to minimise the negative threats to health, understanding the tourism development in the context of its political economy is a prerequisite. Generally, in the world of the poor, research in order to understand tourism development is either limited to economic perspective such as gross domestic product (GDP) which is arguably not necessarily a complete reflection of the state of human development or lack information about the resources on which tourism is based for its survival, such as a healthy culture and optimum satisfaction of guest requirements by maximizing their positive relationships while keeping their negative effects particular on nature and culture to a minimum (Muller in France, 2007:30). Tourism can play a role in increasing the GDP, but in the world of the poor such as experienced in African countries most affected by globalization, depleting the environment and its non-renewable resources, stress on local communities and their interaction with the environment and increasing debt burden are all considered to be some of the default causes for slowing down the possibility of sustainable development in Africa. Through alternative tourism, a different view of sustainability that has been developed by UNWTO in 2005, with a renewed political and economic stance, is said to address the notions like equity and the reduction of poverty alongside environmental considerations. However, this thesis showed that this balance is difficult to achieve in the age of free trade principles as it nurtures various inherent contradictions. Alternative tourism in response to the 1970s criticism about tourism by social scientists who questioned the validity of the benefit of tourism and other negative impacts on local communities, include health and wellbeing through principles such as indigenous tourism, soft tourism, green tourism, ecotourism, sustainable tourism development, conservative ecotourism, cottage tourism and local level tourism. All of therefore

mentioned may have the potential to satisfy both the environmental and human development principles. However, unless the challenge to compromise between ecological sustainability and sustainable lifestyles for the majority of population is addressed, there will never be sustainable tourism development in world of the poor.

6.7 References

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