TOURISM, DEVELOPMENT, AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: DISCURSIVE PRODUCTIONS OF IMPERIALISM

A Thesis
by
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Abstract

TOURISM, DEVELOPMENT, AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: DISCURSIVE
PRODUCTIONS OF IMPERIALISM

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The discursive production of categories of "development" and "underdevelopment" in the mid-20th century served as justification and pretext for simultaneous pushes for democratization, Westernization, and neo-liberal economic policy. This thesis explores how transnational tourism and "development" practices in post-colonial spaces promote and rely upon each other, creating constant tension between expectations to "develop" and tourist requirements of authenticity/exoticism. Utilizing Foucauldian, Constructivist, and Post-Colonial scholarship, I argue that cultural and ethnic tourism in "developing" or "transitioning" countries is contingent upon the commodification of local culture and environment. Dominant outside government and industrial interests use "tourism development" discourse and policy to continue neo-imperialist practices, establishing control and exploiting regions through resource acquisition, reinforcements of cultural hierarchy, and discursive productions of the Other. Content analysis and literature reviews show that the

discourse around tourism and development in international relations literature has changed over time.

Using Indonesia as a case study, I examine the role of the governments in facilitating tourism, and the ways which indigenous communities resist and re-narrate cultural stereotypes.

The following chapters substantiate and provide qualitative support for four hypotheses:

H_1) International discourse around "development" and "tourism" is constantly changing and being produced according to interests, norms, beliefs, and resistance.

H_2) Patterns of discourse around "development" and "tourism" are similar and are have been produced to achieve similar goals.

H_3) The tourism industry offers powerful industrialized states and corporations opportunities to continue imperialist practices of political, cultural or economic advantages over previously colonized territories.

H_4) Cultural and ethnic tourism in Indonesia relies upon markers of perceived authenticity and exoticism that can prevent host communities from using tourism revenue to "economically develop" as policy and discourse suggests.

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I. Theoretical Perspectives and Hypotheses: Postcolonial Constructivism and Foucault

Classical Realism, advanced by scholars such as Morgenthau and Carr, revolves around concepts of power, security, self-help and selfish interests. In an anarchical international structure, everyone (and every state) must fend for itself, and must accumulate the most military power possible to ensure security. Neorealism accepts all of this, and both Neorealism and classical Realism were an attempt to make the study of politics more 'scientific' and systematic. The main divergence began with a different approach to levels of analysis—classical Realism was focused on a state (and sometimes individual) level of analysis, where Neorealism is a systems level of analysis. While classical Realists acknowledge anarchy's role, Neorealists emphasize structure, polarity, and power balances, leading to concepts such as the security dilemma and alliance politics. Both variants of Realism see their theories as timeless, cultureless, and cyclical, even when their predictions and assumptions are not always correct.

Liberalism provided an alternative to Realism. It acknowledges the pressures of anarchy, but recognizes the potential for order within the anarchic structure. Anarchy can be contained through ideas of liberty, freedom, openness, cooperation for collective goods, and interdependence. Typically, Liberals see these values as inherently good and universally desired, making it normative in ways that Realism is not. One of the sources of Liberalism's appeal is its focus on institutions, organizations, and other 'low politics' actors that Realists don't acknowledge. Liberals accept that power and security often come in military forms, but there can also be economic and persuasive power. They acknowledge the role that norms and changing norms can play and attempt to understand cooperation in a deeper way than realist theory. Much of the theory around cooperation and interdependence is centered on economic

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integration, trade law, etc. While Realists perceive the international system as a zero sum game, Liberals and Constructivists see the potential for collective, not only relative, gains.

There are three dominant theoretical perspectives utilized throughout this thesis: Constructivist, Post-Colonial, and Foucauldian scholarship. Constructivism is centered around the idea that people's actions are based on certain *social constructs:* "ideas, beliefs, norms, identities, or some other interpretive filter through which people perceive the world. We inhabit a "world of our making,"[1] and action is structured by the meanings that particular groups of people develop to interpret and organize their identities, relationships, and environment."[2] Constructivism is a broader-ranging political framework, which calls attention to the assumptions that conventional political theories were founded on. Constructivists use a variety of levels of analysis and recognize many actors, and claim that the world is much more complex than Liberals and Realists allow for. Starting within sociology, based on scholars like Durkheim and Weber, Constructivism's moment began in the 1980s and is centered on subjective interpretation. Intellectuals such as Wendt, Finnemore, and Bull were all studying the socially constructed nature of various institutions, norms, and discourse. There are a variety of different manifestations and theories within Constructivism, with differing views on the roles of explanation, understanding, and the process of constructing said norms/beliefs/etc. Some scholars say human action can never be understood in strictly push/pull or stimulus/response causal relationships, which means only constructivist arguments about meaning are valid. Others, closer to Weber, say there are always multiple stories to tell (patterns found vs. perceptions, meanings, etc.) "Culture,

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[1] Nicholas Greenwood Onuf, *World of Our Making* (New York, Routledge, 1989).
[2] David Marsh and Gerry Stoker, *Theory and Methods in Political Science* (Houndmills: Macmillan Press, 1995), 86.

norms, ideas, and identities do not usually cause things in a dynamic, one-thing-knocks-into-another way; instead they define the properties of the world we perceive."[3]

Constructivism relies on varying concepts of contingency and agency; if it is a world of our making, we should also have opportunities to remake it. No matter what the Constructivist argument, it should fundamentally rest on the idea that subjective interpretation in some manner affects what people do, whether they are actively reflective on their social constructs or not. International and transnational structures are held together by norms, values, material interests and abilities, and strategic arrangements. Martha Finnemore lays these core concepts out systematically her book, *National Interests in International Society;* "...much of international politics is about defining rather than defending national interests."[4] Realism and Liberalism often presume that states' interests are static or unproblematic, and always come from within the state, whereas constructivism asks us to think critically about the sources of state (and other actors') interests. States must be recognized as socially constructed entities, whose preferences are not inherent--yet are malleable. Finnemore suggests that the international and transnational structures that states exist within shape their interests through internationally held norms and values. Finnemore chooses a structural (rather than "agent-oriented") approach to understanding preferences and actions, yet emphasizes that structure does not have to be material or economic; there can also be structures of shared knowledge and understandings. These shape and motivate actors through shared norms, culture, and other social structures that "may make uniform behavioral

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[3] David Marsh and Gerry Stoker, *Theory and Methods in Political Science* (Houndmills: Macmillan Press, 1995), 80.
[4] Martha Finnemore, *National Interests in International Society* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), ix.

claims upon dissimilar actors."[5] Because state structures are malleable, international

organizations and other social structures can socialize states to perceive norms, values, and

interests in new ways.

Theoretical perspectives alter assumptions about international relations. Whereas

Realists say that institutions are only formed to serve states' interests, Constructivists argue

that normative structures and institutions can provide states with direction, goals, and values.

Norms are more than just regulative but are productive; they involve reconfigurations of

interest and actors. There may be tensions and disagreements within these, which is to be

expected as there is no one ideal political/social/economic arrangement that all actors are

converging towards. Before Constructivism, most theory was state-centric or focused on

formal institutions; Constructivism acknowledges many non-state actors, from informal

institutions to individuals. This is integral to the topic of this paper; one cannot begin

understanding the intersections of international and national development discourse, tourism

policy, and Indonesian communities if restricted to formal state institutions. Relationships

(the "distribution of knowledge") can catalyze states' actions apart from or in combination

with structure ("balance of power.") It shows that there is power in places, relationships, and

knowledge exchanges that were not considered political by the mainstream theories before it.

Constructivists operate empirically, but are not positivist or foundationalist. There is not a

truth to politics that is "out there" to discover as Realist game theory or Marxist theory might

suggest. Simplification is not always the best approach; Constructivism helps to develop a

deeper understanding of various actors and processes that are affecting changes, or

maintaining the status quo, in a messy and overlapping world.

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[5] Ibid, 22.

In addition to Constructivist theory, I will apply a Foucauldian lens to my analysis of Western serving policies and initiatives, and the ways they produce conditions through discourse and knowledge systems. Foucault understands modern power as

> an interactive network of shifting and changing relations among and between individuals, groups, institutions and structures; it consists of social, politi-cal, economic and, as many of the contributors to this volume show, even personal relationships (including our relationships to ourselves). "I hardly ever use the word 'power'," Foucault states, "and if I do sometimes, it is always a short cut to the expression I always use: the relationships of power" (1994: 11).[6]

For Constructivists and post-structuralists like Foucault, uncritical analyses of power relationships that are presented as natural or inescapable are missing that power is omnipresent, and power is always productive. Power is present in all social relations, but it does not necessarily explain or consolidate relations. Limited understandings of power (Realists, Liberals, etc.) lead to small ranges of societally acceptable thought and behavior, with all other modes of existence being labeled "… invalid, immoral, or deviant and thereby deserving of social sanction, legal punishment, or eradication."[7] These same limitations of acceptable behavior are used to regulate populations and societies through hegemonic cultural and economic discourses. Mainstream understandings of power often take for granted the sovereignty of the state, forms of law, and other theories of domination that are actually the terminal forms that power has taken. Similar to Constructivists' acknowledgement of the structural power of shared knowledge, Michel Foucault thinks through discourse as a "regime of representation"; it produces knowledge and the objects of knowledge always within a certain relationship of power."[8] Just as a discourse 'rules in'

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[6] Dianna Taylor, *Michel Foucault : Key Concepts* (Durham: Routledge, 2011.)
[7] Ibid, *4.*
[8] Michel Foucault and Paul Rabinow, *The Foucault Reader* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984.)

certain ways of talking about a topic, defining an acceptable and intelligible way to talk, write, or conduct oneself, so also, by definition, it 'rules out,' limits and restricts other ways of talking, of conducting ourselves in relation to the topic or constructing knowledge about it."[9] Discourse is not subservient to power; it can be an instrument to power, or a hindrance and point of resistance to it. There are various development regimes of representation, all of which have led to changing material realities for those being represented. I will also use Foucault's concepts of "biopower," naturalization, and the production of subjects. For Foucault, there has been a shift in the exercise of power in the West, taking new forms of *disciplinary power* and *biopower*. The previous form of sovereign power, where an individual held repressive power over others, became ineffective at establishing order after the complex transformations of the 16th and 17th centuries. Biopower can be thought of as a technique of control over life (*bios)* rather than sovereignty over death--"Their (bodies) supervision was effected through an entire series of interventions and regulatory controls: a bio-politics of the population."[10] This power is then exercised through the defining and management of bodies and 'the Other.' Foucault's understanding of power asserts that we must first look at micro-level relations of force, and only then can we look at maco-level hegemonies which are functions of local relations. Power is not possessed, but exercised; it comes from below, emerging from relationships and interactions.

There are various "tourism development" regimes of representation produced through power relations and discourse, all of which have led to changing material realities for those being represented. After World War II, states became increasingly interested in the

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9 Margaret Wetherell, Simeon Yates, and Stephanie Taylor, *Discourse theory and practice: a reader*. (London: SAGE, 2012).
10 Michel Foucault and Paul Rabinow, *The Foucault Reader* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984.)

preservation and management of life, domestic and foreign, and therefore a new creation of subjects. Foucault lists bureaucratic observations of birthrate, longevity, public health, housing, migration and war/conflict statistics as examples for seeing processes of human management take place. Modern states use data to learn about populations so that they can better control them. "Tourism development," as seen later in this thesis, is an additional technique used by governments –both through collection of information and policy implementation—to supervise, control, and manage populations.

Post-colonial scholarship draws from Feminism, Marxism, post-structuralism, and other frameworks which are attentive to and problematize race, class, gender, identity/discourse construction and power in ways that Realism and Liberalism do not. Critiquing Eurocentric theory and the colonization of knowledge, I use the work of Said, Chowdhry, Chattejee and other postcolonial scholars to stress the role colonialism has played in

> social, political, and economic relations, representations of the Global South, the construction of identities and postcolonial subjectivity, the coeval nature of East-West relations, the ties between knowledge and power, epistemic violence, the importance of provincializing Europe in the humanities and the social sciences, and the ethics and politics involved in postcolonial theorizing.[11]

Traditional approaches to international relations which focused narrowly on security, power politics, and neo-liberal economics played a part in normalizing and naturalizing post-Cold War North/South hierarchies. Mainstream political science privileges Eurocentric worldviews, sovereignty, "rationality," erases the histories and voices of marginalized communities, and ignores intersectionality. For post-colonial scholars, one cannot

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[11] Lena Tan, "Postcolonialism and International Relations - Political Science" (Oxford Bibliographies, 2017).

understand manifestations of power across the globe without understanding the ways that

knowledge is organized, produced, and legitimized---before, during, and after colonial

encounters. One of the framework's first foundational texts was Edward Said's *Orientalism*

(1978), which critiqued how European imperialism promoted certain relationships of power

and domination which systematically favored Western interests. It drew attention to the

political production of racialized and dialectical knowledge about the Western ('Occidental')

and non-Western ('Oriental') world. Drawing upon post-modernist and post-structuralism

theory, Said pinpointed the ways that discourse allowed for imperialism to be maintained and

accepted—

> Said's work draws on both Foucault and Gramsci, with different implications for
> postcolonial theory. He utilizes Michel Foucault's notion of discourse to "identify
> orientalism … the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was
> able to manage – and even produce – the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily,
> ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period"
> (Said 1978: 3). Said has also grounded his work in Gramsci, by drawing attention to
> the imbrication of colonial ideology with capital, and resistance and opposition to
> these structures of domination (Said 1994: 249, 267). However, unlike classical
> Marxism's alleged economic determinism, Gramscian Said emphasizes the dialectic
> of culture and imperialism. In other words, although postcolonial theory rejects the
> universalizing assumptions of nineteenth-century Marxian structuralism with its
> emphasis on rationality and linear development, it utilizes a Gramscian focus on the
> relationship between ideology and material domination, together with a Foucauldian
> analysis of power and knowledge.[12]

The work of Said and other post-colonial literature is helpful when understanding

power relations and the legacies of the colonial encounter with regard to global capitalism,

the power of representation, resistance and agency. By combining critical Constructivist,

Foucauldian, and Post-Colonial frameworks, I aim to understand how "tourism development"

initiatives and discourse are ways of creating order, defining "abnormality" (measured

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[12] Geeta Chowdhry and Sheila Nair, *Power, Postcolonialism and International Relations: Reading Race, Gender and Class* (London: Routledge, 2004).

against Western standards), and maintaining cultural hierarchies in post-colonial times. These interdisciplinary theories are my foundations when analyzing relations of political and economic power, discourse and cultural systems, and decision-making in post-colonial tourism development. It is through Constructivist, Foucauldian, and Post-Colonial scholarship that we can more clearly see how the consequences of colonial encounters and imperialist discourse and practices are still at work in Indonesian "tourism development."

Utilizing the above theoretical approaches and frameworks, four assertions are tested in this thesis:

H_1) International discourse around "development" and "tourism" is constantly changing and being produced according to interests, norms, beliefs, and resistance.

H_2) Patterns of discourse around "development" and "tourism" are similar and are have been produced to achieve similar goals.

H_3) The tourism industry offers powerful industrialized states and corporations opportunities to continue imperialist practices of political, cultural or economic advantages over previously colonized territories.

H_4) Cultural and ethnic tourism in Indonesia relies upon markers of perceived authenticity and exoticism that can prevent host communities from using tourism revenue to "economically develop" as policy and discourse suggests.

II. Methodology Selection

The thesis uses three distinct but complementary methods: content analysis, comparative legal framework analysis, and case studies. Each of these methods addresses a unique part of the research questions, and it is through such combination that I attempt to discern a more holistic insight into such complex phenomena. Part of the project is focused upon changes in discourse and understanding around topics of tourism, development, and authenticity—this makes content analysis an appropriate methodology. A computer-assisted content analysis is utilized to trace the use of terms such as "tourism" and "development" within all existing United Nations General Assembly Resolutions. I utilize content analysis first two hypotheses:

H_1) International discourse around "development" and "tourism" is constantly changing and being produced according to interests, norms, beliefs, and resistance.

H_2) Patterns of discourse around "development" and "tourism" are similar and are have been produced to achieve similar goals.

I also compare the legal frameworks of European Union and ASEAN sustainable tourism to evaluate H_1 and H_2. To test hypotheses 3 and 4, I employ a case study method using ethnographic research from Indonesia.

H_3) The tourism industry offers powerful industrialized states and corporations opportunities to continue imperialist practices of political, cultural or economic advantages over previously colonized territories.

H_4) Cultural and ethnic tourism in Indonesia relies upon markers of perceived authenticity and exoticism that ultimately prevent host communities from using tourism revenue to "economically develop" as policy and discourse suggests.

More detailed accounts of all three methodologies are provided in their respective sections throughout the thesis.

III. A Brief History on Development Discourse

...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. More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate. They are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas. For the first time in history, humanity possesses the knowledge and skill to relieve the suffering of these people. The United States is pre-eminent among nations in the development of industrial and scientific techniques. The material resources which we can afford to use for assistance of other peoples are limited. But our imponderable resources in technical knowledge are constantly growing and are inexhaustible. I believe that we should make available to peace-loving peoples the benefits of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realize their aspirations for a better life. And, in cooperation with other nations, we should foster capital investment in areas needing development. Our aim should be to help the free peoples of the world, through their own efforts, to produce more food, more clothing, more materials for housing, and more mechanical power to lighten their burdens.[13]   *President Truman, 1949 Inaugural Address*

After World War II, as nation-states began processes of decolonization and the Cold War commenced, actors in the West saw a need for global restructuring and redefining in order to maintain relative power. For Western powers and previous colonizers to continue benefiting from the management and exploitation of certain areas, they had to maintain a system of definitions that gave them a right to do so. This is why it was critical for President Truman to speak of "underdeveloped areas" as *victims of disease* with *primitive* economies that were threats to both themselves and the Western world.[14] The ways colonial powers presented colonial populations to European citizens gave them the support necessary to advance their projects; through value-laden "development" discourse, the West could continue painting an imperialist picture. This narrative of underdevelopment has been

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[13] Harry Truman, "Truman Inaugural Address" (speech, Washington, DC, January 20, 1949), Harry S. Truman Library and Museum, https://trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/50yr_archive/inagural20jan1949.htm/
[14] Ibid.

presented as timeless; people of "developing" areas were represented as having always had problems such as food scarcity, which would not be resolved without Western intervention. Imperialist powers, headed by the United State, would be there to lend a helping hand through neo-liberal economics and industrial abilities; development became not only a discourse of unilineal "progress," but was also something that could be framed as generosity, good-will, and international neighborliness.

President Truman's 1949 address has been proposed by some as the beginning of the *age of development,* paving the way for years of Northern interventionism and "development" discourse and economics.[15] The possibility for such a value-laden and Western-centric defining of the world was made possible by the social evolutionists of the 19th century, and later by Modernization Theory. Rhetoric conflating ideas of cultural, economic, and technological development first gained saliency in scholarly and cultural consciousness after the Enlightenment. The Enlightenment began a period of "explaining (rather than simply describing) human differences."[16] Enlightenment scholars such as John Locke acknowledged 'culture' and differences in culture, language, etc. but did not know how to account for where these differences came from. These questions about cultural difference, paired with emerging scientific understandings of biological evolution and "race," converged to create theories of human social evolution. Various scholars debated over whether human racial categories were a function of species evolution, and began producing frameworks and theories that conflated hypothetical divisions of race with cultural notions. This produced two schools of thought: monogenism, which proposed a single origin for all

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[15] Wolfgang Sachs, *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power* (London: Zed Books, 2010), xvi.
[16] Mark Moberg, *Engaging Anthropological Theory: A Social and Political History* (New York: Routledge, 2018).

humans, and polygenism, which proposed each race had a separate origin. Behavioral traits and physical features were observed and then assigned to races in a hierarchical ladder, with white Europeans at the top. Anthropologists and others argued that culture progressed (evolved) in the same way as biological evolution—in a linear, uniform process from simple to complex. Montesquieu proposed that humans evolved in three stages: hunting/savagery, herding/barbarism, and civilization.[17] This prompted a new field of unilinear-social evolutionary theorists, who developed their own understandings of cultural "progress." Scholars such as Edward Tylor and Lewis Henry Morgan used Native American communities as examples of contemporary 'savagery' and 'barbarism' who had failed to evolve/progress/develop; Morgan famously regarded the Iroquois as "noble savages."[18] It was assumed that all societies would follow the same sequence of stages, with varying speeds, eventually culminating in the European status-quo.

Following the social and racial evolutionary theorists of the 18th and 19th centuries, Modernization Theory became the next scholarly attempt at hierarchically categorizing societies based on cultural difference. A dominant paradigm in the social sciences during the 1950s and 60s, created in part by Max Weber and then refined by sociologist Talcott Parsons, the theory rested on the idea that there was an inevitable linear social progress all states would go through, where Western, industrialized states were seen as the height of modernity. Modernization theory assumed that as societies evolved, they would become capitalist democracies, converging around a set of shared values. It presumes that "modernization" looks the same everywhere and is universally desired. Reflecting the political contexts of the

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[17] Charlotte Seymour-Smith, "Macmillan Dictionary of Anthropology" (London: Macmillan, 1986.)
[18] Heather Long and Kelly Chakov, "Anthropological Theories." Department of Anthropology. Accessed 2018.

time, it purports that a structurally-anarchic Nation-State system is inevitable and best, with all states seeking the same political, cultural, and economic goals. Modernization theory was part of a larger discourse around the 'Global South' and international relations, and was a type of knowledge produced by the West to naturalize representations of and policies about non-Western Others.

Discursive moves such as these are what work to produce these First, Second, and Third Worlds, and create what Escobar calls "subject peoples,"[19] or nations where surveillance, conquest, and domination can be justified. It is important to speak of development

> as a historically singular experience, the creation of a domain of thought and action, by analyzing the characteristics and interrelations of the three axes that define it: the forms of knowledge that refer to it and through which it comes into being and is elaborated into objects, concepts, theories, and the like; the system of power that regulates its practice; and the forms of subjectivity fostered by this discourse, those through which people come to recognize themselves as developed or underdeveloped.[20]

"Development/underdevelopment" is produced through political discourse, and is then used to promote similar narrative and policies. The creation of development discourse was accompanied by various new categories and labels that are still used today. These emerged in the early 1950s as the new working principles for the West -- and the East -- to redefine themselves and the world. It maintained both implicit and explicit hierarchy within the international system, and upheld European and American hegemony.[21] Categories like "developed" and "underdeveloped," or "First/Second/Third" replaced the stages and terms of

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[19] Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World.* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 11.
[20] Ibid, 10.
[21] Ibid.

19th century social evolutionists, while allowing the West to maintain and promote their own definitions of the world. These terms were never easily defined, and often referred to overlapping understandings of politics, culture, and economics. Consolidations of democracies and transformations of previous dictatorial regimes were occurring around the world, with anticolonial struggles in Asia and Africa, and growing nationalism in Latin America. The fear of communism led to a confused fear of poverty, which, if not fixed, was thought to lure countries into a communist regime. The "discovery" of mass poverty in Asia, Africa, and Latin America post-WWII provided "the anchor for an important restructuring of global culture and political economy."[22] Partnering this was a professionalization of development knowledge, the founding of experts and Truth within those disciplines, and the institutionalization of development practices. Democracy and development were assumed to be synonyms and sisters—these assumptions informed opinions and policies about those whose political/social structures were different and feared by the West. Development became not only a goal to strive for or category of measurement, but it was also a national security strategy. The First World was made of the Western, "free," democratic, industrialized nations. The Second World was the industrialized Communist bloc (the Soviet Union, China, etc.) The remaining nations, which were typically poor, non-industrialized, and aligned with neither group, comprised the Third World. These categories served as political, cultural, and economic markers—and assumed that particular political or economic ways of being corresponded to cultural ways of being. Escobar notes that it is no coincidence most of the wars in the last century have been fought in Third World spaces, with non-Third World actors in those spaces. "The system that generates conflict and instability and the system that

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[22] Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World.* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 21.

generates underdevelopment are inextricably bound."[23] The politics of "development" lays

the basis for discourses and policies of political, cultural, and economic subordination.

Arturo Escobar argues that to think through this time and reshaping of discourse, we

must think of development as a discourse and Foucauldian regime of representation. Such

regimes of representation are "places of encounter where identities are constructed and also

where violence is originated, symbolized, and managed."[24] This invention of

underdevelopment was more of an act of prevention than progress; redistribution of risk and

not wealth. The United States and European powers wanted to consolidate hegemony and

make it permanent, with two billion people instantly transformed into an "inverted mirror of

others' reality" [25] in order to invoke a new perception of the Western self. "Development"

discourse has been used to justify and maintain imperialist interventions, stereotypes and

policies, similar to how Orientalism discourse was used to justify and maintain imperialism.

> Thus the idea of Western racial and cultural superiority over "oriental backwardness," promoted through Western academic, philosophical, and other cultural expressions, is seen as central to the promotion and protection of European imperialist ventures. By focusing on the political production of knowledge, and the dialectical relationship between knowledge production about the non-Western world and Western colonial ventures, Said has demonstrated the centrality of racialized knowledge in the spread and maintenance of imperialism.[26]

Development expectations and aesthetics became synonymous with Westernization,

and after President Truman's speech 'experts' and capital replaced the State as colonizers.

From the end of World War II to the end of the Cold War, geo-political norms, interests, and

relationships were changing as neoliberal economics gained global dominance. Capitalism

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[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid, 7.
[26] Geeta Chowdhry and Sheila Nair, *Power, Postcolonialism and International Relations: Reading Race, Gender and Class* (London: Routledge, 2004), 12.

was promoted as an economic fact, without cultural or ideological basis. "Development," as it was understood, could not be separated from the spread of capital and markets. States were expected to join global economics practices and exchanges with their previous colonizers and exploiters in order to somehow 'prove' their capacity to govern. This led to widespread economic partnerships and agreements that harmed newly independent, non-Western states in the long-term. It is helpful here to think through Neo-Marxist evaluations of the relationship between capitalism and 'development':

> Neo-Marxists, in contrast to classical Marxists, view the development and expansion of European capitalism as dependent on the "underdevelopment" and "peripheralization" of the Third World and the structuring of a capitalist world economy (e.g. Baran 1957; Frank 1967; Amin 1974; Wallerstein 1976). This scholarship addresses how and why the present global distribution of wealth has mostly served to perpetuate already existing differences between and among different sectors and regions of the global economy. Power is thus seen to be rooted in unequal ownership and exchange relations, uneven development, and the extension of domination and control over the many by a privileged few. However, neo-Marxists, with some exceptions like Wallerstein (1991), generally do not address the cultural underpinnings of imperialist and neo-imperialist relations.[27]

Today, when scholars or policy makers speak of "developing countries," there are a variety of definitions that are used. Some define developing countries as either 'low' or 'middle' income countries-- this is misleading, however, because although they seem to be ranked solely on economic value, the term 'developing' or 'developed' often encompasses both political and economic factors (such as democratization, liberalization, etc.) Many European governments still use the term "Third Country," although it is now presented as a purely economic term, stripped of the political Cold War contexts it originally held equating economics with political regime/ideology. The problem that persists is that there are no hard,

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[27] Geeta Chowdhry and Sheila Nair, *Power, Postcolonialism and International Relations: Reading Race, Gender and Class* (London: Routledge, 2004), 7.

objective, agreed upon markers for when a state has reached "development"; the terms are used at the discretion of individuals and institutions, and are rooted in Western-praising rhetoric. The vague nature of the terms allows for easy redistributions and reinterpretations; it never mattered that "development" had empirical qualifiers, only that it made structural domination through ideological hegemony possible. Throughout this thesis, the term "development" is used in quotation marks to emphasize the contested and political history of its definitions.

Much of political science scholarship has approached the concept of development through the framework of institutions, economics and path dependency. Acemoglu's *Root Causes: A Historical Approach to Assessing the Role of Institutions in Economic Development* states that there are proximate and fundamental causes of poverty and differences in standards of living. [28] He looks at what he says are the two main candidates to explain the fundamental causes: the geography hypothesis an institutions hypothesis. Acemoglu challenges the geographical hypothesis, showing that there are too many examples of similar geographies having different levels of prosperity for it to be a reasonable hypothesis, leading to his discussion of the reversal of fortune. Institutions are then key to understanding varying prosperities, but institutions will only lead to prosperity when there are "good" institutions and limits on elite power. Banerjee and Iyer's *History, Institutions, and Economic Performance* asserts that the districts in India that were controlled by landlord in colonial times systematically underperform districts that had non-landlord systems. Their results provide insight into how contemporary politics and infrastructure are still negatively

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[28] Patrick H. ONeil., and Ronald Rogowski, *Essential Readings in Comparative Politics*. (New York: W.W. Norton, 2013)

affected by colonial histories. [29] Looking at only institutions is still a severely limited lens to understand post-colonial prosperity… What these studies highlight is that "development" cannot be separated from each area's histories, as each community has different contexts for "development" to take place within. In short, colonial histories affect contemporary institutional capacities.

Many of the institutional approaches to conceptualizing development also focused on the relationship between "development" and political regime. Huntington's "Political Order in Changing Societies" changed the way many disciplines thought about Modernization Theory and the political development of communities. He argues that political order and stability are produced by the relationships between the development of political institutions and social forces of change. [30] Political instability, or even decay, will occur if institutionalization happens at a slower pace than social change of mobilization of new groups into politics--this is what he calls the political gap. For Huntington, it is not the form of government that matters, but the degree in which a government 'governs.' Americans at the time believed that economic assistance or development would lead to political stability—Huntington asserts that "economic development and political stability are two independent goals and progress toward one has no necessary connection with progress toward the other."[31] It is institutions and institutionalization that are key to the creation and sustaining of political order. Similar to Huntington, Przeworski et al. have argued against mainstream Western political theory that democracy is inherently better for economic/social

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[29] Abhijit Banerjee and Lakshmi Iyer, "History, Institutions and Economic Performance: The Legacy of Colonial Land Tenure Systems in India*." The American Economic Review* 95, no. 4 (2005), 1190-213.
[30] Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven: Univ. Press, 1979)
[31] Ibid.

development, and that developing nations will have a 'natural' tendency towards democracy. Although they find that democracies are more likely to be maintained in wealthy societies, they are not created by economic development. [32] Regime type affects demography more than economics. Democracy cannot be seen as synonymous with stability; if economic development is apathetic towards regime type as this research suggests, then "development" as a simultaneous quest for democracy and wealth must be significantly reworked—or I would argue abandoned altogether. Democracy is not a guarantee for effective or equitable governance, or economic "development."

After World War II, the nation state was presented as the universal norm for the 'modern' state. Freedom from colonial regimes was gained in the face of popular sovereignty as universal legitimacy, yet even this challenge to the norm still left new ruling elites in postcolonial countries under the sway of the West.[33] There were challenges to new assumed goals and achievements of modernity, with Sudipta Kaviraj addressing the idea of "symmetrical development" or the "expectation that all of the functionally interrelated processes within modernity should emerge simultaneously."[34] When this did not happen, it was framed as *failure to progress*. Yet this is only because of the homogenous discursive framework produced by Western normative political theory, as Chatterjee discusses, and a universalized and homogenized view of Third World cultures, as Escobar states. Chatterjee claims that though modernity is assumed to show up in a sequence of "commercial society - civic associations - rational bureaucracy - industrialization - universal suffrage - welfare

[32] Adam Przeworski, *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Material Well-being in the World, 1950-1990*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.)

[33] Partha Chatterjee, *Lineages of Political Society: Studies in Postcolonial Democracy*. (New York: Colombia University Press, 2012.)

[34] Ibid.

state," if this was replaced by a pattern where rational bureaucracy and universal suffrage came first, then "it is likely that the form of the state that would result would not be a replica of the state in the West. It is from a consideration of these alternative sequences of modernity rather than from that of multiple or post-modernity that postcolonial political theory was born."[35] Modernity is not singular or set, which is a supposition development narratives rest upon. There are an almost infinite number of alternative modalities of 'modernity' that are restricted by normative political discourse.

Modernization theory, the beginning of contemporary political conceptualizations of "development/underdevelopment," assumes that 1. Industrialized, Western states are the height of modernity; 2. "Modernity" is something that all communities should want and strive for; 3. The Nation-State system is inevitable and best; and 4. All states will follow the same path towards the same political and economic goals. Anthropologists, Constructivists, and Post-colonial scholars have attempted to de-naturalize the structures and hierarchies of statehood and nation-building. Texts such as Levitsky and Way's *The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism* and Stepan et al.'s *The Rise of "State-Nations"* provide alternatives to the modern state system, and refute teleological theories of progress from point A to point B. Levitsky and Way suggest that we stop viewing hybrid regimes as simply traditional regimes, and recognize them instead as their own form.[36] These regimes are not simply diminished democracies, and they do not all look the same. The authors focus on competitive authoritarianism, where political authority principally lies in formal democratic institutions, but incumbents break established democratic rules so frequently that it cannot meet standard

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[35] Ibid, 26.
[36] Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way, "Elections Without Democracy: The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism." *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 2 (2002): 51-65.

criterion to be considered democracy. There are several "paths" that might lead to this regime style, and the authors provide examples of various alternatives to traditional conceptions of democracy. Similar to Stepan et al.'s article, this provides an alternative to current political discourse that is limited and dysfunctional. Anthropologists such as Marshall Sahlins and Pierre Clastres have provided detailed accounts of present day cultures that intentionally avoid hierarchical structuring and economic accumulation, and reject the economic assumptions underpinning capitalist and free-market theory. [37] Contrary to materialist approaches, these acknowledge that not all communities will 'develop' in the same way, or desire to develop in the same way. There are legitimate ways of being that are not represented in Western hegemonic discourse.

Discourse around development has changed over the decades-- the 1940's saw the establishment of the Bretton Woods institutions (the IMF, World Bank, and eventually United Nations) which were said to aid economic development through capitalism and liberal economic policies. The 1950s saw Rostovian economics, which defined development through State level analysis (GDP) and proposed a linear, universal growth method where the end goal was the model of the modern West. During the 1960s and 70s, experts began considering social factors in addition to economic measures, but by the 1980s efforts to institutionalize neoliberal economics had succeeded and structural re-adjustment programs ruled development discourse. There was an increase in critical academic reflection and critique of development in the 1990s, but by then notions of First/Third world, "underdevelopment," and a collective imaginary of a lacking Other were set into Western collective consciousness. We were left with a Human Development Index, producing life

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[37] Marshall Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics* (Chicago: Aldine Atherton, 1972.)

expectancy, literacy, and GNP per capita as supposedly universally applicable measurements

to allow anyone to know how "developed" a state is.

This brief history of the discourses around "development" shows how quickly the

production of certain knowledge and representations can lead to direct policy and material

consequences for communities and environments. Analyzing development and tourism

through discourse is not intended to negate or erase the physical effects of exploitation or

inequality. Instead, this thesis is written under the premise that "development" discourse does

work to make certain interventions, relations, and hierarchies possible. Discourse produces

knowledge and the objects of knowledge always within relationships of power. Development

discourse cannot be understood without understanding the colonial relationships of power

that it was produced within. Both Michel Foucault and Edward Said see discourse as

productive and formative; it creates subjects, relationships, and representations of Others.

Discourse can be an instrument of power or a means of resistance. In his famous text

Orientalism, Edward Said argues that Orientalism must be understood as a discourse in order

to grasp the

> enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage-and
> even produce-the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically,
> scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period. Moreover, so
> authoritative a position did Orientalism have that I believe no one writing, thinking,
> or acting on the Orient could do so without taking account of the limitations on
> thought and action imposed by Orientalism.[38]

Said goes on to speak about how discourse does not have direct relationships with

political power, but exists within uneven power exchanges – this power can be political

(colonial), intellectual/scientific, cultural, and normative/moral. Discourse is not simply

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[38] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (Pantheon Books, 1978), 11.

representative of politics and culture but is an active dimension of it. For Said, Orientalism as a discourse and practice produces the West in the attempt to represent the East— "Orientalism responded more to the culture that produced it than to its putative object, which was also produced by the West. Thus the history of Orientalism has both an internal consistency and a highly articulated set of relationships to the dominant culture surrounding it."[39] Orientalist and "development" discourse rely on binaries of Us and Other, Occident and Orient, Developed and Underdeveloped, Modern and Primitive-- this discourse exoticizes the Other, making it part of a colonial desire to know and dominate and placing it in part of an "Occidental" fantasy. This is relevant later to tourism development specifically--tourism in post-colonial and non-Western spaces often relies upon exotic representations of the Other (tourates/host communities) and desiring subjects who have been produced as consumers of culture (tourists).

Partha Chatterjee echoes Escobar and Said in the effectiveness of definitions to serve the West and set up a normative framework of standards based on their ideals. This has led to "one, the normal as the right and the good - the normative, as political philosophy, for instance, would have it - and the other, the normal as empirically existent average or mean, capable of improvement."[40] The norm-deviation structure and the ability to categorize ideals, cultural difference, and human life into data to regulate is a discursive move that has large effects on how development initiatives and policy are planned and materialized. The creation of norms is something that all three of my theoretical frameworks are interested in. Foucault includes the concept of "normalization" in his theories of knowledge/power relations—

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[39] Ibid.

[40] Partha Chatterjee, *Lineages of Political Society: Studies in Postcolonial Democracy*. (New York: Colombia University Press, 2012), 22.

Normalization, the institutionalization of the norm, of what counts as normal, indicates the pervasive standards that structure and define social meaning. Norms are at once everywhere and nowhere. They are obvious when we are talking about the sorts of standards against which one can be tested with respect to intelligence or body mass, for example. But they are less conspicuous when they are unspoken, what we may even take to be natural or understand as our own (what Foucault would see as their "internalization"), as is often the case with norms concerning gender.[41]

Constructivists critique dominant material and rational political science theories for not paying attention to the importance of norms. "Empirically oriented constructivists worked to show that shared ideas about appropriate state behavior had a significant impact on the nature and functioning of world politics."[42] Norms about "development" have been used to frame ideas of appropriate government and societal behavior. These are complicated by structures, subjectivities, and various reactive contestations. While Eurocentric norms, stereotypes, and narratives have been incredibly harmful to previously colonized populations, discourse and power is always productive, leaving room for changes. The same normative structures that seek to subjugate and dominate Others open possibilities for solidarity, mobilization, and community building. My hope is that the following chapters showcase the need for a complete rethinking of "tourism development," separated from its colonial histories and discourses and contemporary imperialist practices.

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[41] Dianna Taylor, *Michel Foucault : Key Concepts*. (Durham: Routledge, 2011.)
[42] Matthew J. Hoffmann, "Norms and Social Constructivism in International Relations." Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies (2017)

IV. Development and Tourism -- Imperialist Legacies

"Development" discourse has not grown within a macro-level vacuum. One of the primary ways that Western populations have interacted with "underdeveloped" areas has been through tourism. Tourism, or travel to foreign locations more broadly, has allowed individuals to visit and communicate with exoticized areas and peoples. The emergence of large middle-class populations and the introduction of 'vacation' or holiday time off allowed for the growth of tourism and travel industries in the 1950s and 1960s. Industrialization and increased ease of communication and movement made domestic and transnational travel easier, and greater circulation of travel accounts by colonizers, journalists and scholars heightened desire for seeing the unfamiliar. "Tourism is approached as an 'industry' even though it is far more dispersed, diversified, and less concentrated than other industries."[43] Tourism is at once a social, political, and economic phenomenon with "substantial implications for the allocation of power within host communities, cultural representation, socialization and international relations."[44] It is one of the largest and most rapidly growing economic sectors in the world, surpassing oil exports, food products and automobiles, and accounting for 10% of the world's GDP.[45] 1 in 11 people employed around the world work within tourism industries, comprising a large portion of the GDP of many "developing" countries (including Indonesia and various Asian or Caribbean island countries.) As an industry, tourism is critical for many regional, national, and local economies, but it cannot be simplified or contained to national boundaries or GDPs. Governments around the world promote tourism as a means to *economically develop*; tourism can diversify local economies,

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[43] Dean MacCannell, *The Ethics of Sightseeing* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 3.
[44] Colin Michael Hall, *Tourism and Politics: Policy, Power and Place* (Ann Arbor: Wiley, 1994.)
[45] UNWTO, "Official Tourism Webpage," UN World Tourism Organization, http://www2.unwto.org/

bring in foreign currency, spur cross-cultural understanding and engagement, and can be used to secure political loyalty of local or foreign elites.[46] It has the potential to increase and diversify employment and spur small and medium-sized business opportunities. With an expected 1.8 billion international tourists by 2030 (UNWTO), tourism can be used to raise funding and support to conserve and restore biodiversity.

With the benefits of commercialized travel in mind, the costs and benefits of tourism aren't shared equitably within a host community, or between all actors. Tourism can lead to problematic land values and inflation, pressures to import, unsustainable production or population seasonality, overdependence on outside products, environmental degradation, water and energy shortages, habitat fragmentation, spread of disease, and waste management issues, to name a few. Tourism can also be a driver for changing and erasing cultural heritage, loss of local languages, and the dislocation and displacement of communities. As John Lea writes, "International tourism is almost by definition controlled by interests outside the peripheral host countries and is only marginally susceptible to the exercise of local sovereignty,"[47] -- the burdens of tourism fall on those who do not always have the means to access the benefits. Lea suggests that tourism is simply *imported development*.

> 1. International tourism is unbalanced with most power and influence being held by intermediary companies controlling the metropolitan origins of Third World tourists. 2. The international tourism experience is often inequitable with foreign demands for a luxury being met by local requirements for hard currency, in circumstances where few alternatives exist. 3. Few of the factors influencing tourism in poor host countries relate to the tourist industry alone; most of them are symptomatic of a general condition of underdevelopment. 4. Few opportunities exist for Third World host countries to cut out the intermediaries and deal with their sources of tourist supply directly.[48]

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[46] Cynthia H. Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics.* (Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 2014).
[47] John Lea, *Tourism and Development in the Third World*. (Routledge, 1988).
[48] Ibid, 6.

Most governments have their own way of facilitating, commercializing and corporatizing tourism. Each state passes legislation to set the roles of tourism organizations, dedicates funding/assistance, interacts with private sectors, and shapes economic development policy to include tourism. States must ensure tourist destinations are safe and politically stable for visitors, and also dictate guidelines and regulations for environmentally safe and sustainable practices. However, governments are not the only decision makers, and political, commercial, and grassroots forces all have impacts on planning and implementation. Every stakeholder comes with individual attitudes, shaped by values, beliefs, interests, cultural norms, and their relationship with the tourist destination. Some stakeholders, like those from international corporations, may have never visited the location, while others, like regional politicians or activists, have a much different vantage point. It is important to note that "tourism is not the result of a rational decision-making process,"[49] but it is a struggle for power taking place within specific frameworks. These frameworks come from both private and public sectors and are often provided by institutions and shaped by the dominant discourses of the time.

As with "development" rhetoric, tourism rhetoric flexes this power through manipulating and categorizing people and places in order to feel a maintained superiority or control over these Others. Tourism relies in part on the simplification of culture for consumption, which begins through media representations or even state sanctioned tourism press. Similar to narratives on development/underdevelopment, tourism also relies on colonial imaginaries-- "...culture and heritage are often packaged, represented, and sold in

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[49] Colin Michael Hall, *Tourism and Politics: Policy, Power and Place*. (Wiley, 1994.)

ways that are reminiscent of colonial times." [50] Tourism imaginaries are frequently fantasies

founded in the past, however orientalism, colonialism and imperialism are not discourses of

the past-- they are at work in contemporary tourist conceptions.

> One could see the eroticized representations of this cultural heritage site as a form of nostalgia, a kind of mourning for the destruction of an imagined traditional culture by colonial and other imperialist forces. Yet this is not just a sentiment; it is a script, performed and enacted on site. Discourses of the past- orientalism, colonialism, and imperialism- seem to be fertile ground for nostalgic and romantic tourism dreams (Salazar 2010a). The imagery used in cultural tourism is often about fantasies, and about an ambivalent nostalgia for the past- ambivalent because returning to the past is not what people actually desire (Bissell 2005). Local tour guides are not acquainted with the scholarship that criticizes Victorian era representations of harems. The outdated oriental models they are familiar with serve the purpose of enacting tourism imaginaries well.[51]

Early anthropology and other social sciences institutionalized the propensity to

produce knowledge on "underdeveloped" bodies, while also normalizing the privilege to

essentialize and categorize other ethnicities and cultures-- even if unintentionally or

indirectly. In some cases, the same anthropologist who was trying to critique colonial or

imperial authority might be furthering it when misappropriated through tourist companies or

narratives. Anthropology is not the only discipline which has recognized its place in

producing harmful tourism practices/ideologies, and the field of tourism studies has recently

undergone a what Bianchi calls a "critical turn."[52] The challenge to older ways of

understanding tourism was a response to the growing significance of "culture," cultural

analysis, and post-structural theory, and a retreat from political economy within tourism

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[50] Noel B. Salazar, "Imagineering Otherness: Anthropological Legacies in Contemporary Tourism." *Anthropological Quarterly* 86, no. 3. (2013): 676.
[51] Ibid, 682-3.
[52] Raoul V. Bianchi, "The 'Critical Turn' in Tourism Studies: A Radical Critique." *Tourism Geographies* 11, no. 4 (2009): 484-504.

studies. It provided the opportunity for "a revitalized radical critique of tourism that engages with issues of power, inequality and development processes in tourism whilst acknowledging the significance of cultural diversities."[53] It's aim was the discursive, symbolic, and performative realms of tourism and tourist experiences, and the dominant discourses and representative frameworks those exist within. For example, this critical turn challenges reductive dualisms such as empowered tourist-disempowered host. Additionally, it "seeks to counter the alleged 'productivist bias' of Tourism Studies, and to address both leisure and tourism as 'predominantly cultural phenomena'."[54]

Foucauldian and Post-Colonial scholarship highlight how these academic fields are political projects; ways of being, not just knowing. Anthropologists, tourist scholars, and other academic disciplines gradually became more reflexive about their own knowledge productions and the physical/material consequences it had for many communities and environments. Similar to categories like "sustainable development" which arose in the 1990's when various intellectuals were trying to think through alternatives to classic development, possibilities such as "sustainable tourism development" have been the product of government, non-government and academic debates. Tourism scholars and policy experts have long critiqued tourism for being unsustainable, environmentally damaging, and having negligible benefits for local/host economies.

> In 1977-8 the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) prepared a research framework for the study of tourism-induced environmental stress. Four main groups of stressor activities-- changes causing permanent restructuring of the environment, the generation of waste products, tourist activities, and population effects-- were identified according to the nature of the stresses involved and the environmental response.[55]

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[53] Raoul V. Bianchi, "The 'Critical Turn' in Tourism Studies: A Radical Critique." *Tourism Geographies* 11, no. 4 (2009): 484-504.
[54] Ibid, 486
[55] John Lea, *Tourism and Development in the Third World*. (Routledge, 1988.).

From greenhouse gas emissions to seasonal population fluctuations, the industry

around tourism has considerable direct consequences on natural resources, pollution,

consumption and production patterns, and the health of ecosystems. Water usage and cycles,

high energy consumption, the spread of diseases, and trash production are all correlated to

tourism practices and consumption. Tourism is a resource dependent industry, especially

tourist destinations that rely on their landscapes, wildlife, or "culture" as a main attractor.

"Tourism development that consistently ignores environmental concerns is unlikely to

remain viable in the longer term..."[56] Islands and coastal regions are particularly vulnerable

to the consequences that global climate change will bring to the environment: water and

power shortages, waste management issues, erosion/coastal zone management, noise, air, and

pollution, rising sea levels, and crowding/infrastructure based problems. These problems, and

many others unlisted, emphasize the need to decrease the use of natural non-renewable

resources, and perhaps fundamentally alter typical approaches to tourism sector economic

planning. Sustainable tourism development is used to support other national interests, as can

be seen in Indonesia.

> The Indonesian government emphasizes national identity, unity of nation, a
> multicultural society, people's welfare and international cooperation as the vision for
> its tourism development strategy. The tourism development strategy aims to carry out
> conservation and culture development based on cultural values, to develop 1)
> promotions and tourism destinations in order to obtain a competitive advantage, 2)
> culture and tourism resources and 3) clean government and public accountability.
> Indonesian policy on sustainable tourism development is directed to support the four
> pillars of the national development strategy, which are pro-poor, pro-growth, pro-job
> and pro-environment as reflected in [many laws]... [57]

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[56] Sarfaraz Hashemkhani Zolfani et al. "Sustainable tourism: a comprehensive literature review on
frameworks and applications." Economic Research-Ekonomska Istraživanja 28, no. 1 (2015): 1-30.
[57] Vannarith Chhaeng, *Tourism and Regional Integration in Southeast Asia*. Institute of Developing
Economies, Japan External Trade Organization. (2013)

Intentional sustainable tourism development has the potential to aid residents'

standards of living and the quality of tourists' experiences. The UN World Tourism

Organization defines "sustainable tourism" as : "Tourism that takes full account of its current

and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the

industry, the environment and host communities."[58] It is tourism that meets present needs

while also protecting and enhancing opportunities for the future through optimal usage of

environmental resources. It is important to point out that because of the variety and

complexity of stakeholders, interests, and actors affected, "sustainable tourism development"

is not synonymous with economic profit accumulation. There is not a single quantitative

measure or measurement system for sustainability in tourism, which offers challenges to

comparing outcomes or adopting more systematic policy. Some scholars, such as Zhenhua

Liu, have critiqued sustainable tourism as an alternative, listing fundamental

issues/weaknesses: the role of tourism demand, the nature of tourism resources, the

imperative of intra-generational equity, the role of tourism in promoting socio-cultural

progress, the measurement of sustainability, and forms of sustainable development. [59]

Sustainable tourism, while better for host communities and local environments than

traditional tourism, can still rely upon damaging colonial-era stereotypes of cultural

primitism, aesthetics of poverty, and the essentialization of ethnic communities. In summary,

no matter what the *type* of tourism, it is inherently tied to political and cultural hierarchies of

power. While "tourism development" can be designed with sustainability and diverse stake-

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[58] "Sustainable Development of Tourism." Ecotourism and Protected Areas | Sustainable
Development of Tourism. Accessed July, 2018. http://sdt.unwto.org/content/about-us-5.
[59] Zhenhua Liu, "Sustainable Tourism Development: A Critique." *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 11,
no. 6 (2003): 459-75.

holder needs in mind, any cultural tourism that relies on colonial discourse and the

systematic essentialization of culture remains harmful.

V. Content Analysis: Tourism, Economic Development and International Politics

By contextualizing the discourse around "development," and later tourism development, one can see how discourse is constantly being re-negotiated and re-narrated depending on political, social, and economic interests. By conducting a content analysis tracking the use of the terms "tourism" and "development" across all United Nations sessions, I better understand how the use of the terms have changed over time. This content analysis offers particular insights into my first and second hypotheses: rhetoric and policy around tourism development is dynamic and ever-changing; and the discourse around tourism and "development" has arisen from similar contexts for similar goals, and therefore have followed similar trends in international legislation.

I. Methodology

The 'universe' for analyzed materials is comprised of all United Nations General Assembly Resolutions and Decisions, starting with the First Session in 1946 to the Seventy-Second Session in 2017. While this study would be more generalizable if it analyzed international legislation outside of the United Nations, for the purposes of this study, UN legislation still captures overall trends in international legislation and can be seen as the most influential institution with the most widespread membership. The level of analysis for the content analysis was individual words and phrases; I did not code for sentences or themes. When using NVivo software to run frequency queries, the individual search strings I used to code were: *develop, development, employment, first world, job, poverty, progress, resource, third country, third world, underdevelopment, environment, natural, sustainable, sustainable development, tourism, tourist, culture, heritage, host community, leisure, sustainable tourism, travel, vacation, economic development, and colonial.* There was no flexibility or

additions of categories throughout the process, although each of these terms was paired with special characters and fuzzy searches to ensure that all variances or synonyms would be captured; for example, "develop*" would find develop, developed, developing, development, etc. The computer-based nature of this analysis strengthens confidence in coding consistency and reliability.

Unlike some content analyses, this particular study makes it challenging to easily group search strings into distinct categories. I have created two categories that search strings are sorted into: **Development/Economic** (develop, development, employment, first world, job, poverty, progress, resource, third country, third world, underdevelopment, sustainable development, economic development, colonial) and **Tourism/Social** (environment, natural, sustainable, tourism, tourist, culture, heritage, host community, leisure, sustainable tourism, travel, vacation). By separating the coding terms into groups, I can compare the frequency with which these terms were used over time and then observe patterns and relationships. If one had similar data from national tourism policy or other regional tourism policy (like ASEAN), one could then compare the ratio of international legislation to Indonesian legislation to see if one had a higher rate of occurrence for one discursive framework or another.

To ensure that the results were valid and capturing relevant relationships, I ran each text search multiple times using slight variations of the query. When analyzing the terms in the Development/Economic category, I first ran an "exact text" search of all United Nations General Assembly Resolutions using the search strings: *develop*, development~, employment~, first world~, job~, poverty~, progress~, resource~, third country~, third world~, underdevelopment~, sustainable development~, economic development~, colonial**.

Afterwards, I ran a "synonym" text query with the same search string terms without the special characters (* and ~). I then ran a third text query using a "synonym" query, but with only a few key terms to see if it meaningfully changed the frequency or coverage percent; the search strings were *develop, development, underdevelopment, sustainable development, and economic development.* When analyzing the terms in the Tourism/Social category, I followed the same procedure that I used with the Development category. I first ran an "exact text" search of all United Nations General Assembly Resolutions using the search strings: *environment~, environment*, natural*, sustainable, tourism~, touris*, cultur*, heritage~, host community~, leisure~, sustainable tourism~, travel~, and vacation~.* Afterwards, I ran a "synonym" text query with the same search string terms without the special characters (for example, environment, natural, sustainable, etc.). Lastly, I ran a third text query using a "synonym" query, but with only a few key terms to see if it meaningfully changed the frequency or coverage percent; the search strings were *tourism, tourist, sustainable tourism, travel, and vacation.*

II. Results and Analysis

Running the content analysis software produced two numbers pertaining to each UN Session: the number (frequency) of references to the search string words found in the file, and the percent 'coverage' or percent of the file that refers to the search words. Many of the Sessions did not return any references or coverage to any of the search string words or synonyms. This is surprising as general terms such as "economic development" are widely mentioned across a variety of topics. However, the frequency counts and coverage percentages that were retrieved also raise questions about which text query is best fit for such a project. In both the Development and Tourism text queries, the second search (or the

'synonym' search) found the most frequent references. When analyzing Development search strings across all UN Sessions, the 'Exact' search found 246,204 total references, the 'Synonym' search found 682,222 references, and the 'Synonym' search with only key development terms found 29,924 references. When analyzing Tourism search strings across all UN Sessions, the 'Exact' search found 134,073 total references, the 'Synonym' search found 245,034 references, and the 'Synonym' search with only key development terms found 58,440 references. This, then, opens room for discussions of interpretation and relevancy.

With such large differences in the 'Synonym' search with all terms versus the 'Synonym' searches with only key terms, it is reasonable to question whether all of the synonyms that NVivo is using are relevant to the topic of this paper. For example, the search strings that were dropped from the first Development 'Synonym' search to the more precise, second 'Synonym' search are: *employment, first world, job, poverty, progress, resource, third country, and colonial.* Those that were maintained are: *develop, development, underdevelopment, sustainable development, and economic development.* Here, the words that were not included in the second 'Synonym' search could be used in Resolutions about topics other than Development, such as directives on political current events. However, for the purposes of this examination, any discourse using these words or synonyms is still at the least indirectly related to concepts of progress and economic development and are therefore still valid in measuring what is intended. I use the results from the "Synonym" search in order to capture any relevant text that correspond with the discourse around tourism development.

The graphs below offer visualizations of the frequencies of Development and Tourism search-strings across time. These charts only include United Nations Sessions where

the words were found; it does not include all of the sessions where Development or Tourism was not mentioned in Resolutions. There are obvious differences in the literal numbers captured depending on which search combinations you use, but all three searches show general trends in increased usage of the terms across time for both categories. In the Development data, frequency increases gradually until the 27th Session, where it increases sharply until the 34th Session, where usage plateaus and drops briefly. Frequency usage stays roughly stagnant until the 53rd Session, where usage continuously increases into the 70th Session. The Tourism data follows roughly the same trends, with gradual increases in the earlier Sessions, and sharp increases in frequency of term usage after the 53rd Session.

The close similarities in trends for both Development search strings and Tourism search strings supports my hypothesis that Development discourse and Tourism discourse are closely related. The same political, economic, and social contexts that produce rhetoric and policy about "development"/modernization are the same contexts that produce knowledge about tourism. When there is an increase in United Nations references to one (Development), there is a similar trend increase in references to the other (Tourism). This is not to say that the number of references are directly proportional--both categories had a spike in usage from the 53rd Session to 57th. For Tourism, references increased from 5,465 to 8,382; for Development, frequency went from 15,022 to 21,608 (using Synonym data). The search-strings in the Development category are used roughly three times more in United Nations Resolutions; however, this makes sense as the terms in the Development category are much more general and pertain to a wider array of United Nations topics. Overall, this analysis supports my hypotheses that discourse around tourism development is constantly changing,

while the use of the terms "tourism" and "development" have been produced to achieve
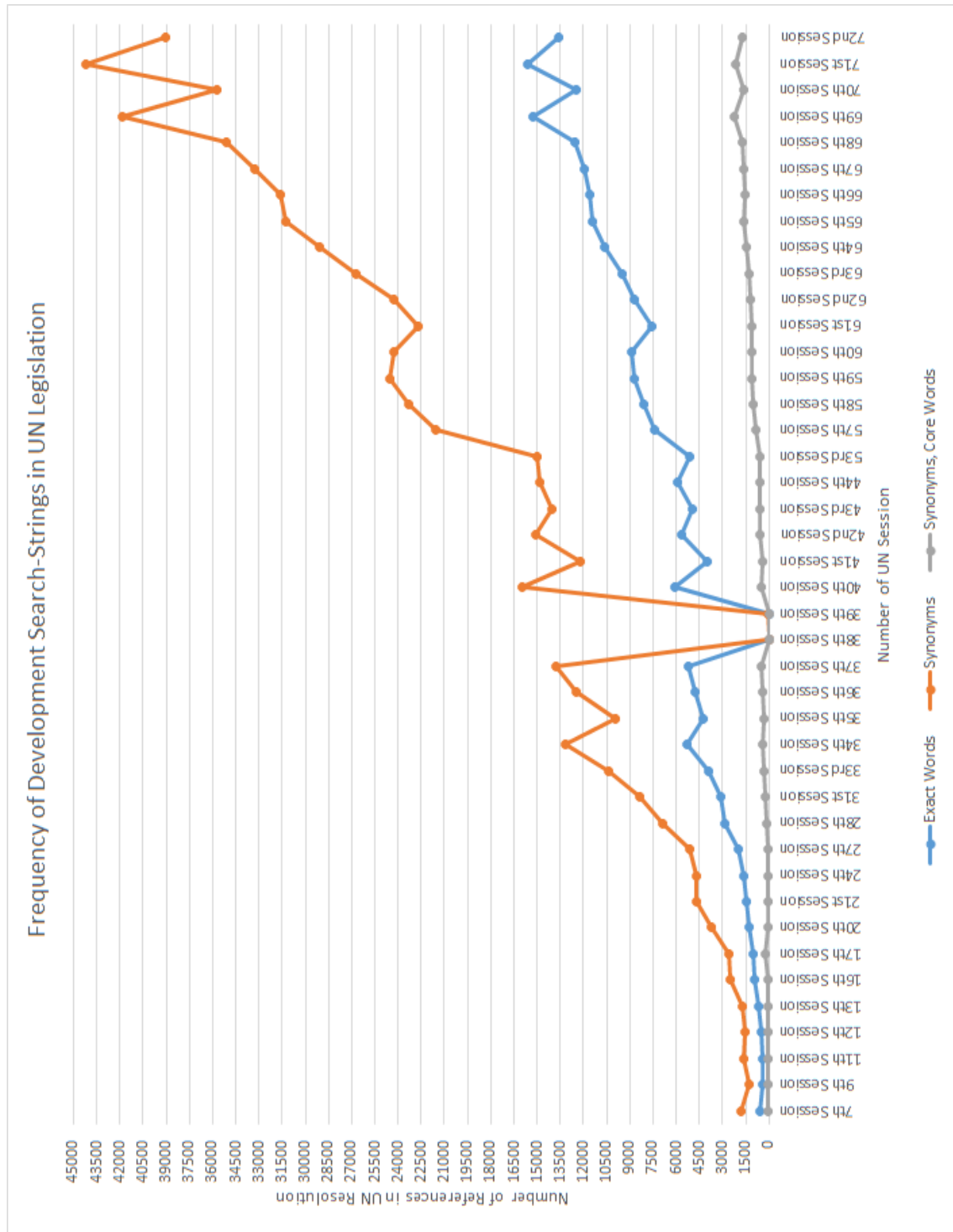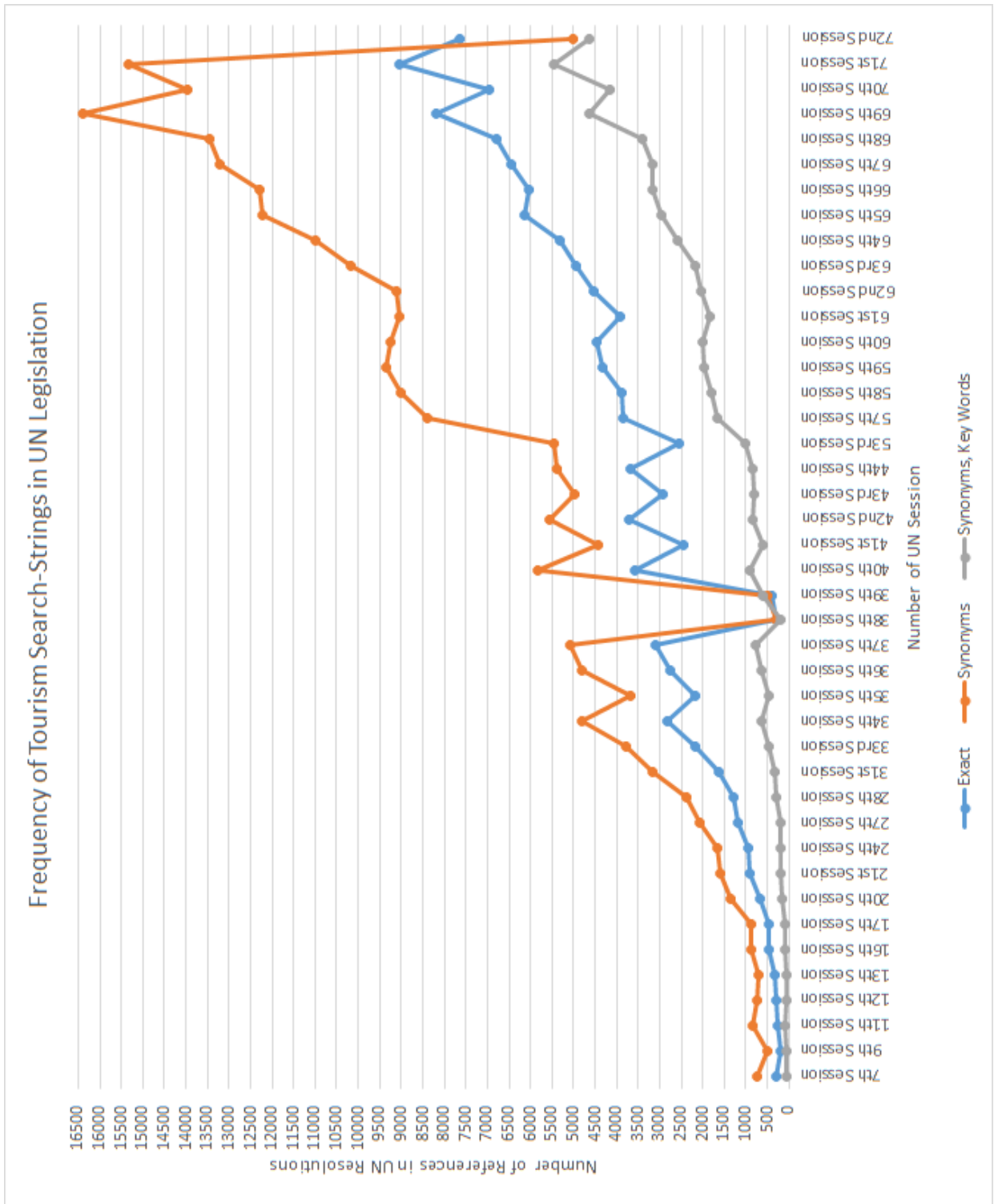
similar goals.

Figure 1.1

Figure 1.2

Results of NVivo Text Query-- Tourism Category Search	Exact Words		Synonyms		Synonyms with Core Words Only	
Session Number	References	Coverage	References	Coverage	References	Coverage
1st Session	-		-		-	
2nd Session	-		-		-	
3rd Session	-		-		-	
4th Session	-		-		-	
5th Session	-		-		-	
6th Session	-		-		-	
7th Session	283	0.27%	746	0.79%	65	0.15%
8th Session	-		-		-	
9th Session	208	0.39%	510	0.80%	53	0.09%
11th Session	266	0.40%	828	1.03%	100	13.00%
12th Session	281	0.46%	732	0.98%	63	0.10%
13th Session	317	0.28%	693	0.78%	46	0.07%
14th Session	-		-		-	
15th Session	-		-		-	
16th Session	463	0.61%	866	0.91%	103	0.12%
17th Session	463	0.61%	866	0.91%	103	0.12%
18th Session	-		-		-	
19th Session	-		-		-	
20th Session	661	0.59%	1355	0.96%	148	0.10%
21st Session	901	0.74%	1586	1.02%	192	0.12%
22nd Session	-		-		-	
23rd Session	-		-		-	
24th Session	950	0.73%	1648	0.98%	184	0.11%
25th Session	-		-		-	
26th Session	-		-		-	
27th Session	1175	0.87%	2077	1.17%	196	0.12%
28th Session	1296	0.62%	2399	0.86%	281	0.12%
29th Session	-		-		-	
30th Session	-		-		-	
31st Session	1639	0.56%	3166	0.88%	346	0.12%
32nd Session	-		-		-	
33rd Session	2167	0.80%	3788	1.09%	477	0.13%
34th Session	2833	0.86%	4793	1.14%	623	0.15%

35th Session	2169	0.74%	3684	0.71%	482	0.10%
36th Session	2764	0.80%	4808	1.10%	628	0.14%
37th Session	3105	0.80%	5095	1.04%	779	0.16%
38th Session	300	0.76%	300	0.76%	203	0.58%
39th Session	400	0.42%	500	0.50%	606	0.61%
40th Session	3563	0.93%	5850	0.98%	896	0.27%
41st Session	2452	0.40%	4417	0.77%	598	0.14%
42nd Session	3704	0.70%	5558	1.16%	849	0.20%
43rd Session	2917	0.70%	4977	0.96%	826	0.16%
44th Session	3682	1.00%	5406	0.97%	845	0.14%
45th Session	-		-		-	
46th Session	-		-		-	
47th Session	-		-		-	
48th Session	-		-		-	
49th Session	-		-		-	
50th Session	-		-		-	
51st Session	-		-		-	
52nd Session	-		-		-	
53rd Session	2565	0.66%	5465	1.10%	1024	0.21%
54th Session	-		-		-	
55th Session	-		-		-	
56th Session	-		-		-	
57th Session	3867	0.62%	8382	1.01%	1649	0.19%
58th Session	3892	0.47%	9014	0.93%	1816	0.17%
59th Session	4316	0.55%	9359	1.02%	1958	0.21%
60th Session	4454	0.52%	9247	0.93%	2009	0.17%
61st Session	3936	0.45%	9050	0.95%	1850	0.18%
62nd Session	4536	0.54%	9121	0.94%	2025	0.20%
63rd Session	4950	0.61%	10165	0.95%	2166	0.21%
64th Session	5333	0.61%	10996	0.99%	2598	0.24%
65th Session	6137	0.60%	12223	1.05%	2976	0.26%
66th Session	6039	0.76%	12279	1.13%	3169	0.36%
67th Session	6456	0.62%	13201	1.11%	3182	0.27%
68th Session	6786	0.62%	13458	1.03%	3424	0.25%
69th Session	8205	0.70%	16380	1.19%	4648	0.37%
70th Session	6952	0.60%	13961	1.08%	4155	0.28%
71st Session	9057	0.69%	15339	1.06%	5459	0.38%
72nd Session	7633	0.62%	746	0.79%	4640	0.30%
Total:	**134073**	**0.63%**	**245034**	**0.96%**	**58440**	**0.51%**

Results of NVivo Text Query – Development Search						
Session Number	**Exact Words**		**Synonym Search**		**Synonyms with Core Words Only**	
	References	Coverage	References	Coverage	References	Coverage
1st Session	-		-		-	
2nd Session	-		-		-	
3rd Session	-		-		-	
4th Session	-		-		-	
5th Session	-		-		-	
6th Session	-		-		-	
7th Session	608	0.45%	1780	1.44%	32	0.05%
8th Session	-		-		-	
9th Session	438	0.69%	1299	1.83%	43	0.06%
11th Session	453	0.35%	1613	1.52%	37	0.09%
12th Session	473	0.67%	1520	1.89%	22	0.02%
13th Session	692	0.60%	1744	1.48%	20	0.02%
14th Session	-		-		-	
15th Session	-		-		-	
16th Session	916	1.05%	2495	2.53%	57	0.05%
17th Session	1000	1.15%	2600	2.60%	200	0.20%
18th Session	-		-		-	
19th Session	-		-		-	
20th Session	1262	1.01%	3738	2.55%	72	0.04%
21st Session	1487	1.13%	4692	2.92%	85	0.05%
22nd Session	-		-		-	
23rd Session	-		-		-	
24th Session	1597	1.12%	4663	2.71%	99	0.05%
25th Session	-		-		-	
26th Session	-		-		-	
27th Session	1983	1.30%	5116	2.80%	104	0.05%
28th Session	2822	0.72%	6914	2.20%	186	0.07%
29th Session	-		-		-	
30th Session	-		-		-	
31st Session	3084	0.85%	8324	2.50%	235	0.07%
32nd Session	-		-		-	
33rd Session	3905	1.27%	10373	2.89%	311	0.08%
34th Session	5274	1.43%	13206	3.06%	397	0.08%
35th Session	4282	0.94%	9918	1.94%	350	0.07%

36th Session	4803	1.23%	12513	2.73%	390	0.08%
37th Session	5222	1.19%	13771	2.70%	463	0.08%
38th Session	3	0.53%	16	2.22%	-	
39th Session	7	0.66%	31	2.44%	-	
40th Session	6068	0.85%	15966	2.65%	532	0.08%
41st Session	4020	0.54%	12190	1.72%	445	0.08%
42nd Session	5628	0.98%	15054	2.53%	565	0.10%
43rd Session	4942	1.06%	14040	2.53%	576	0.09%
44th Session	5957	0.96%	14832	1.78%	569	0.09%
45th Session	-		-		-	
46th Session	-		-		-	
47th Session	-		-		-	
48th Session	-		-		-	
49th Session	-		-		-	
50th Session	-		-		-	
51st Session	-		-		-	
52nd Session	-		-		-	
53rd Session	5146	1.14%	15022	2.78%	579	0.10%
54th Session	-		-		-	
55th Session	-		-		-	
56th Session	-		-		-	
57th Session	7441	1.01%	21608	2.45%	856	0.07%
58th Session	8095	0.85%	23314	2.10%	1012	0.08%
59th Session	8674	0.86%	24556	2.22%	1113	0.08%
60th Session	8905	0.89%	24272	2.08%	1112	0.08%
61st Session	7596	0.74%	22676	2%	1113	0.09%
62nd Session	8747	0.89%	24283	2.13%	1215	0.10%
63rd Session	9542	0.97%	26767	2.24%	1247	0.09%
64th Session	10646	1.03%	29120	2.38%	1489	0.10%
65th Session	11465	0.99%	31230	2.34%	1634	0.12%
66th Session	11591	1.41%	31655	2.83%	1580	0.13%
67th Session	11925	0.95%	33307	2.31%	1678	0.10%
68th Session	12567	0.99%	35136	2.36%	1745	0.10%
69th Session	15262	1.19%	41876	2.70%	2217	0.11%
70th Session	12479	0.96%	35766	2.42%	1638	0.07%
71st Session	15629	1.05%	44176	2.61%	2151	0.10%
72nd Session	13568	0.95%	39050	2.40%	1755	0.07%
Total:	**246204**	**0.94%**	**682222**	**2.35%**	**29924**	**0.08%**

Table 2

Case Study: ASEAN vs. EU vs. UN Sustainable Tourism Development

This case study compares the timelines and general frameworks of international

sustainable tourism guidelines (the United Nations) and two regional institutions. By using

regional legislation, the complications that might arise with national policy language barriers

are minimized and it is easier to identify more generalizable trends. The European Union is

analyzed because of its self-proclaimed leadership in environmental policy, close ties with

the United Nations, and relatively Western approaches to policy issues. ASEAN is selected

as the other regional institution because of its representation of Southeast Asia, its colonial

and non-Western history, and its uniquely close relationship with Indonesia. By comparing

regional and international frameworks, I better understand how discourse around tourism and

development is shared or contested. Is there a difference in the policies of previous

colonizers versus the previously colonized?

European Challenges and Strategy

5.2% of European Union (EU) employment and over 5% of EU GDP comes from the

tourism industry, making it the continent's third largest socio-economic activity.[60] Europe, as

a political and cultural concept, has changed throughout time and encompasses a large

variety of social and environmental diversity; it is impossible to present a holistic picture of

the history of 'European tourism' or offer generalizations of how all European citizens or

politicians feel about tourism. On a legal and institutional level, European Union

competencies on tourism are not shared but intended to support, coordinate and supplement

the tourism policies of member states. This lack of authority and harmonization has led to

relatively little legislation on such an important topic, with member states controlling tourism

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[60] European Commission. "Europe, the World's No1 Tourist Destination." (2010)

goals and guidelines. Although verbally discussed before, tourism's first official EU

reference was in the 1992 Maastricht Treaty, briefly mentioned addressing "measures in the

spheres of energy, civil protection and tourism"[61] -- however this required unanimity in the

Council. Afterwards, various directives addressed tourism-related issues indirectly, such as

consumer protections, transportation and communication, and environmental regulations. It

was not until the Lisbon Treaty in 2007 that EU powers over tourism were changed slightly;

Articles 6d and 195 made decision-making quicker and easier.[62] Also in 2007, tourism was

given a section in the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) where EU

action was called to encourage "the creation of a favourable environment for the

development of undertakings in this sector" and promote cooperation between Member

States "particularly by exchange of good practice."[63]

The first collective EU tourism blueprint came in 2007 when the European

Commission released a communication entitled *'Agenda for a sustainable and competitive*

European tourism.' The communication suggested that European countries plan for long-

term tourism using a holistic and integrated approach, involving all relevant stakeholders,

using best knowledge to minimize risk, setting an 'appropriate pace of development' and

continuously monitoring the outcomes. This laid the basis for 2010, when the European

Commission published another communication strategy entitled *'Europe, the world's No.1*

destination--a new political framework for tourism in Europe,' aimed "to maintain Europe's

position as the world's top tourist destination."[64] Here, the challenges to contemporary

[61] Treaty on European Union (Maastricht text), O.J. C 191 (1992)
[62] Ariane Debyser. *The European Union and Tourism: Challenges and Policy Responses*. PDF. European Parliament Think Tank, (2014)
[63] Maria Juul, "Tourism and the European Union: Recent Trends and Policy Developments." (2015)
[64] European Parliament, "Boosting International Tourism in Europe." May 9, 2016, EUR-Lex. https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=LEGISSUM:et0004

European tourism were listed as competition from other travel destinations, safety and security, demographic trends of "more aged" tourists, untapped opportunities presented by technology, and the need for tourism products to be more sustainable. Their recommended actions on increased sustainability included: developing a system of indicators for sustainable management of travel destinations, informing tourists about destinations through awareness campaigns, exploring a "Quality Tourism" label for consumer safety/trust, further identifying climate change risks to prevent unsustainable investments and explore alternatives, strengthening EU cooperation with emerging and Mediterranean countries to promote responsible practices, proposing a charter on sustainable and responsible tourism, and finally proposing strategies for sustainable coastal/marine tourism.[65] This framework also emphasized the need to promote Europe as a destination in emerging economies such as China, Russia, India and Brazil in order to increase demographic diversity and general numbers of tourists.

In 2011, the European Parliament adopted the 2010 resolution under the same name, pleased with the efforts towards a competitive and sustainable market but admonishing the EC Directorates-General for a lack of internal coherence and coordination. The Parliament also called for simplified visa policies, a clarified long-term strategy, and "a gradual harmonization of accommodation classification systems, adoption of standards for accommodation safety, mutual recognition of professional qualifications and adequate financial resources for tourism."[66] I suspect that a critical source of the lack of coherence between members had to do with the variety of national interests and policies relating to

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[65] Ibid.
[66] Maria Juul. "Tourism and the European Union: Recent Trends and Policy Developments." European Parliament (2015)

tourism -- not all European member states are affected the same by tourism industries, and each has its own vision for how tourism should and is affecting its communities. The diversity of European tourism is simultaneously one of its greatest marketing strengths and a source of political/legislative challenges.

The above tourism strategy catalyzed increased financing of tourism projects and initiatives, leading to the formation of new grants, annual events, research, and partnerships. Most recently, the European Parliament passed a resolution in 2014 calling for regional quality branding as a way to sustain high-quality tourism in a variety of fields such as agri-tourism, eco-tourism, and cultural tourism, and urged the Commission to include these varieties of rural tourism in related programs such as EDEN and Calypso.[67] They have also published resolutions addressing the sustainability challenges with eco-agri-fishing tourism, such as "A European Strategy for more growth and jobs in coastal and maritime tourism." In 2015, the Parliament's Committee on Transport and Tourism (TRAN) organized a hearing on tourism, where experts gathered to discuss challenges from sustainability to the rise of the sharing economy. All of these have continued to push European policy makers towards a more sustainable and accessible tourism industry, where increased tourism governance and streamlined administrative frameworks remain at the forefront.

ASEAN Challenges and Strategy

Founded in 1967 by foreign ministers from five countries -- Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand -- the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has largely succeeded in its goals of promoting regional cooperation, peace and prosperity. In contrast to the European Union, ASEAN as a community has operated through

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[67]"Texts Adopted - Tuesday, 14 January 2014 - Regional Branding - P7_TA(2014)0017." European Parliament. 2014.

ad hoc understandings, consensus-building and procedures rather than legally binding obligations. This is in part because of an emphasis on national sovereignty, and also because of cultural differences; Southeast Asian leaders have shown preference for slow trust building, consultation and consensus (mushawara and mufakat) rather than bargaining or legal battles.[68] There are legally binding treaties that all 10 current member-states have signed, and most have centered around economic cooperation and policy. The ASEAN Tourism Association (ASEANTA) was formed in 1971 as a non-profit association with public and private sector representation. It has sought to unite members in common purposes, increase standards of services, uphold dignity and ethics within tourism industries, facilitate tourism into/within ASEAN countries, negotiate between member-states, and aid ASEAN members with national tourism issues. ASEANTA works with ASEAN National Tourism Organizations to implement whatever measures are adopted and agreed upon.

The first comprehensive regional plan for tourism action came in 2002, when the ASEAN Tourism Agreement was adopted by leaders at their 8th Summit. Member-states later laid out a Roadmap for Integration of Tourism Sectors, which had 19 measures and all of which were eventually accomplished. These had included promoting tourism development incentives, implementing eco-tourism projects, establishing ASEAN minimum competency standards, developing an ASEAN Tourism Research Databank, and even developing the language abilities of local tourist guides. The next meaningful policy framework came with the ASEAN Tourism Strategic Plan (ATSP) for 2011-2015, arranged around six overarching principles: 1) Integrated and Structured Tourism Development, 2) Sustainable and

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[68] Rodolfo C. Severino, "THE ASEAN WAY AND THE RULE OF LAW." Address, International Law Conference on ASEAN Legal Systems and Regional Integration, Kuala Lumpur.

Responsible Development, 3) Wide Ranging Stakeholder Collaboration, 4) Quality Tourism

Products, 5) Service Excellence, and 6) Distinctive and Interactive Experiences.[69]

Regarding sustainability in particular, the ATSP states:

> An important dimension of this set of sustainability considerations is the need to ensure that not only does tourism directly benefit the disadvantaged sectors of the population but at the same time tourism does not create negative impacts such as increased housing costs or displacement as well as degradation of the environment and loss of cultural heritage.[70]

Better stakeholder models that would be more reflective of ASEAN contexts and

complexities were also listed as an important part of sustainable tourism planning and

management. ASEAN members focus on win-win cooperative partnerships, and want to

strengthen tourism relationships and connections across countries. As tourism is one of the

primary exports of many ASEAN countries, they are dedicated to finding ways that well-

managed tourism can reduce poverty and aid in economic development. Within just a few

decades, tourism has become a dynamic part of many Asian and Pacific societies, even with

its powerful cultural impacts and colonial histories. ASEAN countries alone attracted over

109 million visitors in 2015. The ASEAN Tourism Strategic Plan for 2016-2025 increased

the emphasis on environmentally sustainable tourism development, desiring for economic

growth to be more "inclusive," "green," and "knowledge-based."[71] Strategic actions to make

ASEAN tourism more sustainable and inclusive included 1) upgrading local communities

and public-private sector participation in the tourism value chain, 2) ensuring safety and

security and good management of heritage sites, and 3) increasing responsiveness to

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[69] *ASEAN Tourism Strategic Plan for 2011-2015*. PDF. Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, June 2011.
[70] Ibid.
[71] *ASEAN Tourism Strategic Plan for 2015-2025*. PDF. Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, June 2015.

environmental protection and climate change. This latter topic has been something ASEAN nations are quick to address, as most ASEAN members have some or all of their countries in coastal and island environments, making them exceptionally susceptible to climate change and damages to industry.

Promoting Sustainable Policy: Regional vs. International Discourse

When comparing regional policy with international policy, I use resolutions and policies published through the United Nations General Assembly and the UNWTO. The UN World Tourism Organization is a resource to provide data, frameworks and guidelines for how governments should facilitate and promote environmentally conscious tourism practices. As all European Union countries are members of the United Nations, with two in the Security Council, it is not surprising that most EU and UN sustainable tourism policies overlap and agree. Similarly, ASEAN was founded with reverence towards and many references to the UN Charter. My interest is in who instituted similar regulations first, and are there areas where they diverge? While the United Nations is supposed to favor global interests and collaboration, the European Union and ASEAN have regional interests -- this explains most of the differences in policy, as the EU has financial incentives to remain "at the top" while ASEAN wants to build upon the recent rapid growth in tourism development and expand its cultural capital.

Tourism has been represented in international institutions for decades; the International Union of Official Tourist Propaganda Organizations (IUOTPO) was established in 1934 and was granted United Nations consultative status after World War II. Europe was the first to create a regional travel institution (the European Travel Commission) in 1948, where it was followed by other regions in the late '40s and throughout the '50s. The first UN

Conference on Tourism and International Travel was held in 1963, and 1967 was declared

the International Tourist Year by the UN with the slogan "Tourism, Passport to Peace."[72]

When comparing timelines of institutional engagement with sustainable tourism particularly,

the United Nations has been ahead of both selected regional organizations in drawing

attention to the importance of sustainability in tourism and publishing guidelines and best

practices. All three institutions began acknowledging the growing importance of *sustainable*

tourism in the '90s but this was done mainly through indirect communications or directives

(e.g., Agenda 21). One of the first official United Nations inquiries into the topic was in

1998, when the General Assembly named 2002 as the International Year of Ecotourism.

Fittingly, the next large engagement with the topic was in 2002 at the Johannesburg Summit

(the World Summit on Sustainable Development); here, government and non-government

groups gathered to discuss environmental challenges to and in consequence of

"development" initiatives, and tourism was discussed in various capacities. At the summit,

the UN Commission on Sustainable Development reviewed sustainable tourism, and then

announced the Sustainable Tourism - Eliminating Poverty (ST-EP) initiative. Once

sustainable development became a key framework for all future United Nations resolutions,

sustainable tourism followed as an important piece of the puzzle. The United Nations and

ASEAN began writing communications on sustainable tourism in the early 2000s, while the

European Commission didn't write communications about sustainable tourism until 2007 and

2010. While ASEAN coverage of sustainable tourism discourse has followed roughly the

same timeline as UN coverage, it has often emerged before European Union legislation.

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[72] UN World Tourism Organization, "History | World Tourism Organization UNWTO." UN World Tourism Organization. http://www2.unwto.org/content/history-0

The UNEP and UNWTO currently suggest that tourism should ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns through:

> *"1) Make optimal use of environmental resources that constitute a key element in tourism development, maintaining essential ecological processes and helping to conserve natural heritage and biodiversity.*
> *2) Respect the socio-cultural authenticity of host communities, conserve their built and living cultural heritage and traditional values, and contribute to inter-cultural understanding and tolerance.*
> *3) Ensure viable, long-term economic operations, providing socio-economic benefits to all stakeholders that are fairly distributed, including stable employment and income-earning opportunities and social services to host communities, and contributing to poverty alleviation… Sustainable tourism should also maintain a high level of tourist satisfaction and ensure a meaningful experience to the tourists, raising their awareness about sustainability issues and promoting sustainable tourism practices amongst them."* [73]

The United Nations General Assembly recently reaffirmed its commitment to sustainable tourism, through Resolution 66/288 and A/CONF.216/5, which set up the the structure to develop a new 10 Year Framework of Programmes on Sustainable Tourism (10YFP). It is designed to foster and aid international cooperation and collaboration so as to catalyze a shift towards sustainable tourism practices around the world. It has four main work areas: policy, evidence, practice, and finance. The United Nations also called for action through their 2030 Sustainable Development Goals, where Target 8.9 aims "to devise and implement policies to promote sustainable tourism that creates jobs and promotes local culture and products."[74] The 2030 Sustainable Development Goals request measures be taken by UN member states to 1) ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns, 2) develop and implement tools to monitor sustainable development impacts for sustainable

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[73] UNWTO & UNEP, Sustainable Tourism Webpage. http://sdt.unwto.org/content/about-us-5
[74] United Nations, *The Ocean and the Sustainable Development Goals under the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. (*New York: United Nations, 2017.)

tourism which creates jobs, promotes local culture and products, 3) conserve and sustainably

use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development in accordance with

Integrated Coastal Zone Management, and 4) in line with Target 14.7, increase the economic

benefits to SIDS and LDCs from the sustainable use of marine resources, including through

sustainable management of fisheries, aquaculture and tourism (UNWTO). All of the

aforementioned United Nations guidelines are supported by European Union and ASEAN

policy. It is logical that the regional institutions would not depart significantly, as

EU/ASEAN member states are members of the UN, and also because EU/ASEAN members

often hold leadership roles in the UN. Many of the same elite individuals that play decision-

making roles in national and regional policy also have influence on international arenas. Just

as the UN has to make policy for a variety of national interests and abilities, so do the

regional governing organizations. All three institutions lack ways to meaningfully enforce

most tourism guidelines that are produced until they are further implemented by national law

or policy.

One of the largest differences in United Nations and European Union policy on

sustainable tourism is the European emphasis on competitiveness. There are other regions in

the world with more rapidly growing tourism industries, and the EU has made it clear that

they intend to remain the world's #1 tourism destination.[75] The official Commission website

says this of sustainable tourism:

> The competitiveness and sustainability of the tourism industry go hand-in-
> hand as the quality of tourist destinations is strongly influenced by their
> natural and cultural environment, and their integration into the local
> community. Long-term sustainability requires a balance between economic,
> socio-cultural, and environmental sustainability. The need to reconcile

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[75] European Commission communication (COM(2010) 352).

economic growth and sustainable development also has an ethical dimension.[76]

This priority of competition has been the basis for most EU actions regarding sustainable tourism since 2007-- the Commission has co-funded various transnational tourism products and services (cycling routes, cultural tours, etc.), created EMAS and EU Ecolabel tools to prove the environmental excellence of certain tourism services, and developed the European Tourism Indicators System (ETIS) for measuring sustainability performance. These actions are aimed just as much at retaining and increasing profit in the industry as much as it is lowering environmental consequences. ASEAN policy also desires competitiveness, but there is more of a focus on internal integration and betterment of policy than the EU. While ASEAN discourse seeks to make both absolute and relative growth in their tourism industry, European tourism discourse relies on growth relative to other tourism industries. ASEAN tourism statistics have been growing while European tourist numbers have been dropping, so Europe has to find solutions to maintain tourists while reaching out to new demographics.

ASEAN tourism discourse and policy addresses the need to improve conditions of host communities more than European tourism discourse and policy. ASEAN member-states are still dealing with the consequences of colonization/de-colonization, and recognize that increased tourism comes with costs for the communities which tourists visit. While tourism may bring foreign capital and increased investment to the countries and region, it can have severe impacts on local environments, community health, and cultural identity. Cole, Cohen, and MacCannell note that ethnic and cultural tourism, which is a significant portion of the tourism in Southeast Asia, is unlike tourism in many European or American cities-- it is

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[76] Ibid.

concentrated attention on living people and culture, not places and history.[77] This puts tremendous pressure on host communities, as they never escape the tourist gaze; they are the attraction. ASEAN tourism discourse seems to acknowledge this by using more language about responsible, inclusive tourism with stakeholder involvement and the retention of cultural and environmental integrity. ASEAN legislation used language concerning negative cultural impacts and host community involvement before European Union legislation.

Often in UN, ASEAN and EU communications, sustainable tourism is referred to synonymously with sustainable development; sustainable tourism can be an extension of sustainable development, but only when done mindfully and meticulously. Programs like Sustainable Tourism-Eliminating Poverty (ST-EP) show how tourism can help alleviate poverty while conserving the environment, especially through the expansion of employment of women and youth. Capacity-building, ecological awareness, and the preservation of cultural heritage should be incorporated in all tourism initiatives, but especially in tourism industries which rely on cultural tourism and exploitation. However, sustainable tourism does not inherently bring about economic or community 'development,' and environmentally conscious tourism industries can still exploit communities without any retained local benefits.

The other most notable difference that discovered while analyzing UN and EU tourism frameworks was the European emphasis on technology. Hand in hand with the significance of competition, almost all of the actions for tourism that have been published by the Commission recently have listed technology as a main challenge and future priority for action. Specifically, the Commission wants to keep up with the switch to digital tourism

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[77] Dean MacCannell, *The Ethics of Sightseeing* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

resources--people are now researching destinations online, booking tickets and accommodations online, providing reviews and advice through websites… even the overall accessibility of WIFI to European tourists has been a topic of discussion. The importance of 'keeping up' with technology and the services it makes available is prominent in European Union sustainable tourism policy, but not in international guidelines. If mentioned in UN frameworks, technology is grouped with science and research as a way to advance best practices of sustainability, not draw more tourists. This difference is not surprising, as technology capacity varies between and within regions, and is more of a logistical marketing strategy for Europe than a critical priority for global sustainable tourism. References to technological improvements in ASEAN tourism frameworks are less frequent and are lower priority than the attraction of investments and diversification of products.

Shared Discourse, Shared Solutions

In February of 2018, the UNWTO Secretary General met with the European Parliament in Brussels to sign an agreement strengthening partnerships for the advancement of sustainable tourism. The collaboration prioritizes sustainability, innovation and technology, safety/security, and education and job creation; it will be used to share knowledge and promote best practices.[78] In April, the UNWTO and European Commission released a joint report entitled "European Union Tourism Trends" to help tourism stakeholders in decision making and to improve general socioeconomic knowledge of the sector. Moving forward, I expect that the United Nations/UNWTO and European Union policy on sustainable tourism will continue to strive towards similar goals, using similar best practices. ASEAN plans on strengthening not only inter-ASEAN partnerships, but also

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[78] UN World Tourism Organization. "UNWTO Deepens Tourism Cooperation with the European Union." News release, February 28, 2018. UNWTO. PR 18017.

partnerships with Asian countries (China, Japan) and North American countries. As part of

the recent Strategic Plan, ASEAN has started incentivizing innovation in sustainable tourism

various recognitions and awards at the ASEAN Sustainable Tourism Awards and

Community Based Tourism Awards. All three institutions have initiated new transnational

partnerships, emphasizing the global nature of the tourism industry.

When I began this research, I will admit that I expected more dissonance between

ASEAN, European Union and United Nations sustainable tourism policy. However, the

similarity in policy now makes more sense: multilateralism, limitations of power, and shared

interests. From its conception, the European Union and ASEAN have been deeply rooted in

multilateralism and closely connected with the United Nations. Article 21 of the Lisbon

Treaty states that the European Union should solve common problems through multilateral

solutions "...in the framework of the United Nations" and "in accordance with the purposes

and principles of the United Nations Charter."[79] From its creation, the EU has maintained a

strong connection with the United Nations Agencies, and both institutions have benefitted

from the relationship. Not all topics make for unchallenging endorsements, but tourism

seems to be a topic where the three institutions can find ways to agree. Again, I think that one

of the reasons for this is that none of these institutions are responsible for planning and

implementing legally binding tourism programs. All three bodies have various national

interests, budgets, abilities, and geographies to consider when it comes to sustainable

tourism. They are not publishing national action plans, but considering entire regions and the

interconnected industries and communities that contribute to sustainability and tourism.

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[79] "The European Union at the United Nations, Fact Sheet." EEAS - European External Action
Service (Brussels, 2017) https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/9875/european-
union-united-nations_en

Because of their lack of competencies/enforcement power, the UN, EU, and ASEAN are able to promote what would be optimal policy and then support countries who try to live up to it. It is easier to publish assenting and progressive sustainable tourism guidelines as a supranational body when the responsibility for public opinion, funding, management and the burdens of tourism fall largely on national execution.

The global defining of norms and values on "tourism development" through supranational governing institutions has shaped the policies of regional, and national, governments. This is supported by Constructivist theory that relationships (knowledge distribution, shared norms and values) can catalyze institutional and governmental action apart from or in combination with structure (power politics, global anarchy, etc.) International and transnational structures can shape state interests and motivate actors through norms and values. This case study shows that although discourse around "sustainable tourism development" has changed in similar ways across regional and international institutions over time, there have still been regional differences in language and time-frame. Returning to the question posed at the beginning of this section, "Is there a difference in the policies of previous colonizers versus the previously colonized?"… the answer is yes. ASEAN sustainable tourism policy has paid more attention to problems of wealth inequality, stakeholder inclusivity, and cultural heritage protection—problems that have continued since colonial era interventions. ASEAN was also quicker than the European Union to legislate the need to protect vulnerable environments and environmentally-dependent communities.

VI. Authenticity, Tourist Imaginaries and the Commodification/Consumption of Culture

Similar to how Constructivists might understand international relations, think through the tourism industry as made up of:

> ...systems of relations and sets of ideas and practices that straddle material (land, sea, buildings and other material objects, physical bodies, etc.) and representational (images, icons, media products, embodied ideas, etc.) worlds. ... In most cases this is done by focusing on those global and local spaces and actors in which private and public interests, from those of property investors and tour operators to political movements and parties and agents of the state, do battle to determine the nature of the natural, physical, social and symbolic worlds in which they live, work and offer to tourists. [80]

Tourism has been used as a way to both praise certain communities and landscapes for being 'underdeveloped' (aesthetics of wilderness, etc.), while simultaneously pressuring those same people or spaces to 'develop.' Burdens to modernize can come from tourists, desiring more accessible or comfortable conditions; governments, wanting greater infrastructure and economic relationships; or international discourse, promoting hegemonic views of modernity and societal progress. The post-World War II discursive framings of progress, development, and industrialized modernity are frequently still used to make arguments about changing indigenous or traditional cultures. Within the last few decades, "*tourism development*" has been consistently promoted by governments, organizations and corporations alike as a means to bring "economic development" to regions or communities. Studies have shown, however, that the money tourists spend often does not make its way into local economies, aid quality of life, or even incentivize infrastructure.[81][82] The potentially

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[80] Julie Scott and Tom Selwyn, *Thinking Through Tourism.* (Berg Publishers, 2010), 20.
[81] John Bodley, *VICTIMS OF PROGRESS*. (Plymouth: AltaMira Press, 1998), 137-151.
[82] Stroma Cole, *Tourism, culture and development: hopes, dreams and realities in East Indonesia*. (Clevedon: Channel View Publ., 2008).

negative environmental and social consequences of cultural tourism are overlooked by investors because the burden falls on the host community -- similar to colonialist practices, the profits are exported to foreign elites who stand to benefit without risk.

Mainstream tourists frequently want an *authentic* experience of Otherness, without experiencing cultural practices or environments that may be unsettling or unusual. Each tourist arrives at a destination with their own perceptions of what an authentic or traditional experience in that place should feel and look like, and opposing ideas of what is *inauthentic*. In every tourate community, there is a politics of heritage construction and performance at some level, where spaces, images, objects and bodies are all being fought over, remade, affecting and evoking strong emotions in both host communities and tourists.

> After sociology, de Saussure, Derrida, deconstruction, and Lacan we know there is no possibility of an unmediated intersubjective relation. No matter how we might try to get close to an other, via anthropology, sightseeing, marriage, or any known method, there are always symbols and signs between us. Our only apprehension of the other is via symbolic representation. Accordingly, any belief in authenticity -- that is, any notion that one might bypass the symbolic and enter into a complete, open, fully authentic relation with another subject--obviates questions of ethics. [83]

Tourism as a social practice and international industry thrives on the implicit promise that tourists can gain access to whatever places, people and history they desire as long as they have the financial and transportation means to arrive. Since cultural authenticity is a subjective concept without an absolute form, one might think of it as "the currency at play in the marketplace of cultural difference. Authenticity functions as an ideal..." [84] If authenticity markers can be established (i.e., X is *authentic* Balinese culture), then these markers can be transformed and commodified into experiences, images, aesthetics and souvenirs to be

[83] Dean MacCannell, *The Ethics of Sightseeing*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).
[84] Deborah Root, *Cannibal Culture: Art, Appropriation, and the Commodification of Difference.* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996), 78.

purchased and consumed by tourists. They can also be used to control and regulate

communities, through incentives for certain "authentic" representations and reprimands for

others.

Indonesian Tourism and Local Resistance to Stereotypes

Scholars with underdevelopment theory in mind have discussed how tourism has

mirrored patterns of colonialism and economic dependency. Like "development," tourism

has been referred to as a form of imperialism and neocolonialism where "international

tourism dominated by foreign, frequently trans-national, ownership has resulted in the

perpetuation of existing inequalities as local people find themselves in a globally integrated

system over which they have no control…"[85] Transnational tourism presents challenges no

matter what the location, but it is particularly troubling when it is hosted in countries that are

economically or socially less powerful than those where the visitors originate from. In these

cases, there are more opportunities for systematic exploitation of host communities,

especially if tourism development offers benefits for the government or local elites. Visitors

arrive with preconceived notions of how their society compares with the tourist destination,

and then have the social and political capital and capacity to spread their ideas in ways that

have direct consequences for the host communities. If the tourism is particularly

cultural/ethnic tourism, then these difficulties are compounded even further:

> …referred to as ethnic tourism, MacCannell suggests that 'touristsified ethnic groups
> are often weakened by a history of exploitation, limited in resources and power, and
> they have no big buildings, machines, monuments or natural wonders to deflect the
> tourists' attention away from the intimate details of their daily lives' (1984: 386).
> Furthermore, as most of the money involved does not change hands at the site, there
> is little economic advantage for such groups. It is the underdevelopment of these
> groups that is their resource, it is their marginality that is their major source of
> attractiveness, and preservation of their distinctiveness is a crucial pre-condition for

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[85] Stroma Cole, *Tourism, culture and development: hopes, dreams and realities in East Indonesia*.
(Clevedon: Channel View Publ., 2008), 18.

the sustainability of their tourism. Furthermore, their representation tends towards essentialisation: they become known by distinct, easily recognisable, traits (Cohen, 2001). In many cases the most immediately apparent symbols, that carry the most exotic connotations, are selected and emphasised.[86]

Transnational tourism makes difference and ethnicity commodities and aesthetics to be consumed and fetishized. This can also lead to the museumification of a region or people-- they are no longer seen as dynamic and active communities. Culture becomes essentialized and stagnant, and anything else can be framed as inauthentic. To draw tourists, communities must maintain perceived "authenticity" while at the same time being accessible, hospitable, and non-alarming to visitors. However, this authenticity is not something based in tangible or measurable markers but is instead based on whatever pre-held conceptions the tourist comes with.

> Authenticity does not have an objective quality, it is socially constructed and therefore negotiable, it varies according to the tourist and their point of view (Cohen, 1988). Authenticity is a value placed on a setting by the observer and is a notion embedded with power implications (Appadurai, 1986). Authenticity is not fixed but, as Barker et al.'s (2006) analysis of Balinese dance demonstrates, it changes over time. Further, as we will see, differences of perspective between tourists, the local community, and the local government have important consequences for development in Ngadha villages. It is the different meanings of authenticity, the competing voices, and the inter-play with power relations that give meaning to our understanding of how the villagers relate to, and experience, tourists and tourism. [87]

Similar to colonialism, the following case studies in Ngadha and Sulawesi, Indonesia demonstrate how "tourism development" presents a productive space where notions of authenticity, culture, and customs are continuously resisted, re-narrated, and reinterpreted. Stroma Cole reflects that throughout her decades studying Ngadha tourism, one thing has not changed and that is tourists' equation of poverty with authenticity-- any attempts of villagers

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[86] Ibid, 19.
[87] Ibid, 24.

to retain income or signs of modernity *spoiled* the aesthetic that tourists expected. Orientalist, colonial, and "underdevelopment" representations of Indonesian communities presented aesthetics and stories that tourists then use as authenticity markers. While tourism is discursively praised as a means to economically "develop," it is the marginality and perceived Otherness of communities that attract cultural tourists. This conflict can be seen in Indonesian tourism; locals in Bena villages are torn between their desire for electricity, and the negative reactions of tourists and government officials to electricity poles in other villages (Wogo). If host communities use tourism to 'modernize,' they can quickly lose the industry, revenue, and government funding. The following case studies provide examples that validate my fourth overall hypothesis: *Cultural/ethnic tourism in Indonesia relies upon markers of perceived authenticity and exoticism that ultimately prevent host communities from using tourism revenue to "economically develop" as policy and discourse suggests.*

<u>*Wogo and Bena Ngadha Villages, East Indonesia*</u>

Stroma Cole conducted an ethnographic study in two Ngadha villages, Wogo and Bena, for 20 years in an attempt to understand the values of key tourism development stakeholders so as to better identify current and future conflicts. She began as an anthropologist-guide for small, educational culture tours which were marketed as anthropologist led tours. When she would ask locals if they wanted tourism, they would in turn ask, "'How can we have tourism and not end up like Bali?' The disturbing aspects of Bali that they described were the volumes of scantily clad tourists; the traffic jams; the wealth disparities, mansions and beggars; shops, hotels, and restaurants everywhere; and no peace at all."[88]Although physically far from the tourist hub of Bali, community members

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[88] Stroma Cole, *Tourism, culture and development: hopes, dreams and realities in East Indonesia.* (Clevedon: Channel View Publ., 2008), 3.

were acutely aware of the potential for tourism development to bring positive and negative consequences. The Indonesian government had not offered many development initiatives to Ngadha villages, due to their small size and remote location. However, as a result of the New Order government's emphasis on stability and development, villagers were almost always able to discuss concepts of "progress" (*maju* Ind) and "development." "In discussions about the meaning of development people said that development involved being like city people, having money, electricity and health care and children wearing clothes. They also said that in order to be developed one must get an education."[89] These understandings of "development" match with the rhetoric expounded by the West; modernity and progress are associated with industrialization and infrastructure, capital accumulation, and Western norms of education and acceptable behavior. A combination of the belittling of traditional knowledge, the prominence of Bahasa Indonesian, and the threatening patrimonial hierarchy of Indonesian government led villagers to have low opinions of themselves and their ability to reach improvement goals.[90]

The two villages had the cultural and material resources needed to support certain levels of tourism and "development" as long as they were refined for tourist consumption-- "Too little refinement and there is minimal economic benefit from tourism, too much and the resource is spoilt. Understanding the intricacies of the culture and the value systems of the actors is crucial to ensuring the sustainability of their tourism."[91] Cole proposes that cultural commodification is not always a negative thing, and can lead to affirmations of identity, re-evaluations of history, storytelling, and can empower tourates to use their commodification

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[89] Ibid, 18.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid, 5.

intentionally and for desired goals. If discourse can produce powerful narratives and stereotypes, it also has the capacity to produce equally powerful counter-narratives and representations. Host communities experience ongoing internal struggles over what aspects of a culture or locale to keep "traditional" and which to modernize. Cole calls these struggles "conflicts of acculturation": "The villagers not only experience value clashes and conflicts with other stakeholders but also as a result of the processes of tourism development, as the demands of modernization conflict with the demands to maintain tradition."[92] These conflicts of acculturation are exactly what my fourth hypothesis is referring to—the question becomes, acculturation to what and decided by whom?

How to navigate such conflicts of acculturation varies depending on the region of Indonesia (or the world), the types of tourism that are attracted, and the resources available to handle these frictions. It can also depend on pressures that the state, or non-state actors, place on an area to 'behave' or be portrayed a certain way. The Indonesian government has pursued an emphasis on regional rather than ethnic identities, and has intervened on various levels to legitimize and institutionalize Indonesian tourism, marketed as unique and distinctive from other Southeast Asian locales. Just as tourists arrive with a concrete idea of authenticity that they want performed, governments have expectations of the particular cultural traditions and histories they want to be showcased. State governments often play into the essentializations of colonial and development discourse, presenting cultures within their boundaries as static and exotic to entice tourists, TV shows, and outside investment. Governments, like Indonesia, benefit from the simplification and commodification of culture

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[92] Ibid, 191.

for tourism. How communities respond to these demands for authenticity and conceptualize tourists varies:

> Villagers' attitudes to tourists and tourism development share similarities but also reveal differences. In Bena, tourists were more normally referred to as turis (tourists) whereas in Wogo they were frequently referred to as guests (tamu). In Bena, tourists were seen to provide the villagers with entertainment but in Wogo they were seen as opportunities to provide glimpses of the wider world. While in Bena the villagers claimed they would keep their traditional culture with or without tourism, in Wogo tourism was considered to reinforce traditional culture. In both villages, it was widely believed that tourism could not erode traditional cultural values but that it had the potential to cause conflict between villagers. In both villages, community unity was considered essential for economic development.[93]

While the two villages differ in many important ways, both have maintained historical Ngadha cultural values framing tourists as "guests from afar." For Ngadha villages, travel is important for gaining wisdom, hosting and feeding guests is essential, and the further the distance travelled, the greater the status increase for the hosts. However, what Wogo and Bena villagers expect from their *guests* often conflicts with what the guests expect of their visit. For example, while a tourist might feel like they are 'living like the villagers' by wearing dirty or torn clothing, the Ngadha mentioned this to Cole as a disrespectful action; respect for hosts should be shown through clean and modest clothing. Similarly, crowded and noisy areas are seen as positive places to many Indonesians, so villagers often try to get as many tourists as possible; this is in contrast to the desires of most tourists, who do not like seeing other tourists and only seek crowds of villagers/the Other. While Ngadha communities do not have a representative political group, tourism development has been a catalyst for internally redefining and recognizing ethnic markers, and incentivized political involvement. These examples are the tip of the iceberg, but show how tourism is

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[93] Ibid, 193

incorporated within intersecting frameworks that shape Wogo and Bena villages. Cole suggests that instead of only understanding transnational tourism as a function of globalization or Westernization, one should also appreciate its ability to be a localizing force that affirms identity. Villages like the Wogo and Bena who are not being administered by the State or large intermediary companies have opportunities to make decisions about the types of tourists and tourism they want in their communities. Tourism gives the Ngadha possibilities to re-narrate themselves to foreign visitors, other Indonesians, and their own community. Alternatively, it provides tourate communities the potential to meet "modern" visitors and establish their own feelings towards aspects of Western modernity. The conflicting demands of cultural tourism simultaneously limits Ngadha possibilities for change, like access to electricity, if such "modernization" is desired.

The Sa'dan Toraja, Sulawesi Indonesia

Although the tourism industry has opened up many avenues for the exploitation of Indonesian communities, this is not to say that tourism and development have stripped communities of their agency or that host populations have no power over what happens to their societies. Just as the Wogo and Bena found ways to navigate the conflicts of acculturation that arose with increased tourism, the Sa'dan Toraja in Sulawesi, Indonesia have had to renegotiate and replace outsider discourse and imagery of themselves. Tana Toraja, or Torajaland, has steadily increased in popularity since the 1970s due to state-sponsored marketing of its unique architecture and funerary rituals -- deceased bodies can be kept for years before being ceremoniously buried over multiple days. As one of the top tourist destinations in Indonesia, Torajan tourism is a prime example of how the cultural

tourism industry exotifies non-Western, non-"modern" populations and practices for profit. While tourism has provided new revenue and access to government grants, it has reinforced and relied upon images and rhetoric depicting the people as primitive, backwards "Others."

The Dutch colonized Sulawesi in 1906, and soon began attempting to convert the local populations to Christianity through missionaries. It was not until the 1950s and 60s that large amounts of Torajans began identifying as Christian, when there were more roads to missionaries and the newly independent Indonesian government fervently advocated for citizens to convert from indigenous to popular world religions. Kathleen M. Adams has been collecting data from ethnographic fieldwork in the mountainous highlands of Sulawesi since the early 1980s. In the 2000s, when Adams was writing her analysis, over 80 percent of the Toraja were Christian while roughly 11 percent continued traditional Ways of the Ancestors (*Aluk to Dolo*).[94] The Toraja represent a geographically isolated Christian minority in the world's largest Muslim country, and are often viewed with skepticism or distaste by Indonesians from other islands. This has not stopped their rise to travel destination prominence, which has caused various impacts on community life. Adams raises attention to the ways that Torajan history, tradition and art have been reshaped in direct consequence of "tourism development". Anthropologists have long been interested in the construction of tradition, and the introduction of tourism studies into anthropological consciousness has produced critical discussions around the fluidity of customs. Much of the scholarship around ethnic/cultural tourism suggests that it can lead to "staged authenticity" and "museumification," where traditional rituals and cultural activities are separated from their original significance and turned into performances for outsider tourists. In Tara Toraja, this

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[94] Kathleen M. Adams, *Art as Politics: Re-crafting Identities, Tourism and Power in Tana Toraja, Indonesia.* (University of Hawaii Press, 2006).

can be seen in the surge of locally run museums and shops, the marketing and scheduling of

funerary events as tourist activities, and an increase in traditional architecture. However,

Adams argues that this does not inherently indicate a loss of local meaning or power.

> Whereas the majority of studies of the "invention of tradition" concern the artificial
> creation of ritual traditions by colonial governments or indigenous elites, the focus
> here is on a different sort of context in which tradition is negotiated: that of ethnic
> tourism. As the Toraja case suggests, encounters with foreign tourists (and a national
> government interested in further stimulating tourism revenues) are prompting new
> challenges to local forms of meaning, power, and identity. In short, ethnic tourism
> creates a fertile context for the reinterpretation of history and custom.[95]

The Torajans have become acutely aware of images and representations of

themselves-- throughout the towns you can find shirts catering to visitors with "warrior

dancers," advertisements, and postcards of burial caves. Additionally, there are national

representations of traditional Torajan culture on Indonesian television shows that locals

watch frequently. "In short, contemporary Torajans are not only ethnically self-conscious,

but are also avid consumers, manipulators, and critics of the ethnographic and touristic

images of their culture."[96] Indonesian cultural policy breeds a sense of competition amongst

its hundreds of ethnicities, and Torajans will often brag to visitors about how they have

"more culture" than neighboring indigenous communities like the Buginese. Government and

private commercial approaches to tourism, development, and indigenous culture policy have

led to a framework where culture becomes measurable, comparable, and can be

hierarchically organized. Thinking back to the work of Foucault, these are ways to measure

populations to administer *biopower,* to manage communities and allow/disallow life.

Although they may be proud of their abundance of culture, Torajans have called

attention to the tensions in being portrayed as both celebrated travel destination and

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[95] Ibid, 310.
[96] Ibid, 312.

'primitive' rural villages. It is this dissonance that Adams suggests "... prompted Torajan attempts to reinterpret their customs and reshape outsiders' images of their identity as the cases discussed below illustrate."[97] Adams offers multiple examples of how locals intentionally combat and re-narrate negative stereotypes. One such example details an elaborate funeral festival for a prominent local figure who was close to the author: The family knew that the funeral would be one of the largest in recent years, and sponsors/relatives gain prestige in the community depending on how large of an audience a funeral draws. Those planning the funeral wanted locals, Indonesian government representatives, and tourists to all enjoy and speak highly of the event without enforcing negative stereotypes and demeaning images of Torajans. They intentionally marketed the event as a Christian funeral, using Christian hymns and officials, because they did not want visitors to think that they were animists. This speaks to their awareness of how non-Western religions are perceived and valued by Javanese officials and foreigners, and its potential negative impacts. Additionally, they made sure to advertise that their water buffalo sacrifice would be redistributed to poorer villages -- although an integral part of Torajan funerary practices, ritual slaughters have been criticized by outsiders as wasteful of money and resources. Adams was asked to be the mouthpiece who conferred and discussed this information with important guests; the family made sure to use the authoritative voice of a foreign anthropologist to give legitimacy of their practices.

Funerals are, amongst other things, a way to increase or showcase social status; this sanitation of ritual practices for outsiders has not taken away its importance and "meaning," but morphed into a way to increase the social status of the community on national and

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[97] Kathleen M. Adams, *Art as Politics: Re-crafting Identities, Tourism and Power in Tana Toraja, Indonesia.* (University of Hawaii Press, 2006), 312.

international levels. By taming controversial traditions, Torajans can retain their cultural customs while renegotiating the images portrayed to outsiders. Although they cannot change tourism policy or the Western-centric worldviews that they are often judged within, locals maintain and regain agency through counter-representations and narratives.

> Indeed, they are not resigned to accepting representations depicting them as pagan primitives given to inappropriately extravagant funeral rituals, but are actively engaged in ingenious political strategies to adjust and enhance their group's image and vigorously challenge and contest the perceived threats to their identity and power.[98]

Just as authenticity is marketable, cultural traditions can be seen as a resource to be mobilized as political, economic, or social capital. Authenticity is not only an underlying expectation that foreign travelers arrive with, but it can also be a way that societies within the same state compare each other, or understand themselves. Members of a village may see themselves as more 'authentic' than another, or a local may judge another for presenting 'inauthentic' representations of their culture. Perceived authenticity becomes a currency in which tourism relationships revolve around; it is a way that the importance of cultural autonomy is asserted and given value in both social and financial terms.

Tourism, Development and Indonesian Places: The Rainforests

Tourists come to Indonesia on searches for other materializations of imagined authenticity – environmental wilderness. Indonesia has the second largest biodiversity on the planet, and the rise of backpacker, adventure and eco-tourism has placed it among top ecological destinations. Its vast amount of resources, such as rubber and crude oil, have also made it a busy target for capitalist interests. In the 1980s and 1990s, these overlapping

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[98] Ibid, 318.

interests in Indonesian rainforests began reshaping the landscapes through illegal and legal means of obtaining land from residents and manipulating resources for non-Indonesian markets. Forests were cleared, burned, and sacrificed for corporate growth that did not aid local needs. Such conflicts over land ownership and usage led to national and local environmental movements in response, part of a larger emerging democratic movement in the 1990s. Anna Tsing writes about such "frictions" of globalization, and how they produce movement, action, and effects. "I call "friction": the awkward, unequal, unstable, and creative qualities of interconnection across difference."[99] The global interactions of environmental activists, tourists, Western investors, students, villagers, UN agencies, and local business people showcase how encounters are haphazard, messy, and open for a range of interpretations. The *frictions* of "tourism development" are productive spaces for power renegotiations and relationships.

It is helpful to think about the intersections of tourism and development through Anna Tsing's concept of "frontiers," and her study of environmental frictions in Indonesia's Meratus Moutnains.[100] For Tsing, *frontiers* are not natural or discovered entities but are spaces made through capitalism-- they are "zones of unmapping," creating parts of nature as "resources" to be extracted and then saved. The rainforests of Indonesia offer many ways to think through frontiers, as various stake-holders conflict over who has rights to land, and what the 'appropriate' uses and understanding of landscapes are. While indigenous communities had deep connections to and diverse relationships with various landscapes across Indonesia, government and private actors saw appropriate land use as only usage for

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[99] Anna Tsing, *Friction: an ethnography of global connection*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 4.
[100] Ibid.

export or profit. Tsing's focus throughout the book is on "zones of awkward engagement, where words mean something different across a divide even as people agree to speak."[101] These are zones of cultural friction, arising from encounters and interactions and reappearing in various, unpredictable ways. "Development" and tourism practices are both zones of awkward engagement; Tsing cites conflicts over resource exploitation, conservation, and farming practices as ways to understand the forest landscape as social and socially constructed. One might imagine a "tourist/tourism frontier" that is also not natural or discovered, is also made through capitalist practices, and instead of creating nature as resources to be extracted they are resources to be experienced, photographed, and conquered through tourism. Indonesian nature and culture are commodified so as to be consumed, valued, and then re-narrated by tourists.

Nature and culture are consumed by the tourist-- through pictures, souvenirs, narratives and experiences, tourists intentionally pick and choose what aspects of environment and culture they enjoy or find valuable. Tsing writes about nature-loving as a "moral space of activism" in Indonesia, and often this is integrated into wilderness-centered tourism. Those participating in eco- and backpacker-tourism often do not reflect on the harm or consequences that they might cause, but instead see themselves as a moral actor outside of harmful economic practices. Just as "development" discourse relies on the binaries of "primitive/modern," and "developed/underdeveloped," eco-tourism industries rely on binaries of "nature" vs. "culture." Although there are many communities that live within and rely upon the forests of the Meratus Mountains, these are narrated and marketed by the Indonesian government as 'wild' spaces, undisturbed by human interaction. Backpacker

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[101] Ibid, xi.

tourism is promoted by the government and private tour guide companies as a way to experience *authentic wilderness.* Tsing suggests thinking through such entangled processes through "gaps"-- conceptual spaces and real places where clear demarcations do not travel well (subsistence v. market economies, farm v. forest). Gaps abound in Indonesian tourism development, where wilderness and "underdevelopment" are both vilified and exalted, and forests are unintelligible to developers and conservationists. Tourism relies upon these gaps, as tourists often want to experience an "underdeveloped" locale without the cultural or physical discomfort that might accompany that.

Not all stakeholders vying for influence over Indonesian forests had equal opportunities to claim the land. Tsing discusses how the Indonesian quest for *economic development* led to zones of human management and zones of resource management, the same types of management that were implemented during colonial times. The management of both humans and resources was materialized through a development governmentality and bio-power hinging on both discursive definitions of certain land as "wild" and the absence of identity based claims to land.

> Development has organized the national exploitation of natural resources. Between the late 1960s and the late 1990s, development directed this exploitation as if the areas in which natural resources were found were, by definition, uninhabited. Development divided the country into dichotomous zones: zones of population and zones of natural resource exploitation. In zones of population, development managed communities. In zones of natural resource exploitation, people were irrelevant. The goal of development was to get out the resources. In 1975 a national Forestry Law defined all forests as the property of the state, to be used according to state-designated national priorities. Local rights over forested lands were written out of existence.[102]

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[102] Anna Tsing, *Friction: an ethnography of global connection.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 194.

Entire swaths of land were categorized as forests even if they had villages and communities living within them; the social histories of forests were ignored and those living within them lost any legal power. Environmental and social justice groups began using political liberal rights discourse (human rights, indigenous rights, property rights, etc.) to criticize land destruction and authoritarian practices. Villagers and local communities began using independence and anti-colonial rhetoric against both international and Indonesian companies—Tsing writes of a local who declared "The timber companies are colonizers!...We fought the colonizers in the revolution, and we can fight them again!"[103] Marginalized residents and activists in the Meratus Mountains formed alliances, and made formal assertions that if the State didn't recognize them, they wouldn't recognize the state. Nature-loving students joined with village elders to combine local knowledge with technical and "expert" knowledge. The case study of social frictions in the Meratus Mountains offers a way to understand how colonial histories, international discourse, state-building through 'development,' and tourism practices create contestations of what is "natural," "social," "developed," and "authentic." The authoritarian Indonesian government used the accepted discourses of development to gain entry, establish control over resources, and maintain control over land and marginalized communities -- markers of the Internal Colonialism Model.[104] Government control of what defines "forests," "indigeneity," and "development" is an extension of the Foucauldian productive power to re-narrate humans and environments as a knowable objects with scientific status, which has happened through subjection and domination. The case studies in Ngadha and Sulawesi Indonesia above showcase the

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[103] Ibid, 207.

[104] Helen Matthews Lewis, Linda Johnson, and Donald Askins, *Colonialism in Modern America: The Appalachian Case*. (Appalachian Consortium Press, 1978).

potential for discourse to shape cultural, economic, and political ways of being and power

relationships.

In *The Will to Improve: Governmentality, Development, and the Practice of Politics*,

Tania Murray Li also writes about the Toraja in Indonesia, but her stories focus more on how

international donors and political actors try to instill the "will to improve" within

communities and reshape desires to fit within the development framework; the title also hints

at the persistence of the will of development to continue, despite the very real failures of the

processes. It is produced through the both banal and systemic. Each ethnography of

Indonesian tourist development and politics highlights how large of an impact development

initiatives have had on almost every landscape, livelihood, and identity of Indonesian

peoples, and acknowledge the uncomfortable frictions and conflicts of acculturation that

cultural tourism produces. In Li's book, she refers to "development" instead as

"improvement," with the goal to "make improvement strange, the better to explore its

peculiarities and its effects."[105] She nuances the complexities of improvement policies, and

the ways in which they overlap, intersect, and produce the unintended, and is frank in her

conclusion that she cannot come up with programs or ideas for how to improve

improvement. Li does not assume a hidden agenda within development, and takes seriously

"the proposition that the will to improve can be taken at its word. [...] Interests are part of the

machine, but they are not its master term. They are indeed hybrids, in which improvement

schemes serve to enrich a ruling group or secure their control over people and territory."[106]

By focusing only on identifying hidden goals of domination or capitalist profit, analyses can

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[105] Tania Murray Li, *The Will to Improve: Governmentality, Development, and the Practice of Politics.* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 3.
[106] Ibid, 9.

be unnecessarily narrowed. It is possible for Indonesian communities to desire certain aspects of "improvement" without assuming that those desires are forced on them or inherent.

Applying Foucault: Biopower, Knowledge, Discourse, and the Creation of Subjects

Power produces knowledge and is intrinsically linked with it. Power is exercised but not possessed, and is everywhere. It is not a substance to be had but asymmetries of power relations. Reflecting on the work of Foucault, if bodies are defined and known through discourse and relationships of power, the same occurs through "tourism development" discourse. It is a certain type of subject forming that can be anonymous, ungrounded in "fact," and produced by anyone who has access to internet, media or literature. "Development" forms biopower subjects who can be forced to live and forced to live a certain way; tourates are also forced to perform and live a certain way. Subjects, for Foucault, are both a "subject of" and "subject to" various political forces—here, post-colonial development economics and tourism industries. Stereotypes are formed and performed, when those represented (rural communities) do not have access to see how they are being represented. Previously, say in colonial era writings, communities typically knew *who* was writing about them, even if they did not know what they were saying. Now, it could be anyone, and can lead to very unrealistic tourist expectations when they arrive to a space that does not match online descriptions-- which can then be interpreted as in-authenticity, rather than the writer of the online pages' fault. The same can be said of pictures and videos that are taken out of context or overly emphasized. The rise of smartphones and travel photography on social networks allows photographs that might be intended for friends and family to be available to a much wider audience. A tourist might expect to see something

someone else captured, without realizing it was an annual ritual or an unusual occurrence. Some of this might be resolved by making an effort to allow tourate communities to represent themselves in online spaces. However, if locals decide to generate their own online content and discourse, the problem then becomes-- who in the community is fit to represent the whole? Does it make a difference if it is "experts" producing the knowledge/online content, even if the community still does not have access?

Just as the stereotypes and aesthetics of 'authenticity' feed into a larger need for discursive productions of the Other, they also serve the two levels of biopower: discipline and regulation. In this era of *biopower,* establishment and maintenance of control is focused on populations rather than individuals. Foucault expands on the ways the state now exerts and thinks about control:

> this power over life evolved in two basic forms; these two forms were not antithetical, however; they constituted rather two poles of development linked together by a whole intermediary cluster of relations. One of these poles – the first to be formed, it seems – centered on the body as a machine: its disciplining, the optimization of its capabilities, the extortion of its forces, the parallel increase of its usefulness and its docility, its integration into systems of efficient and economic controls, all this was ensured by the procedures of power that characterized the disciplines: an anatomo-politics of the human body. The second, formed some-what later, focused on the species body, the body imbued with the mechanics of life and serving as the basis of the biological processes: propagation, births and mortality, the level of health, life expectancy and longevity, with all the conditions that can cause these to vary. Their supervision was effected through an entire series of interventions and regulatory controls: a bio- politics of the population.[107]

Whether it is regulatory power or disciplinary power, the aim is greater knowledge/power of the populations and greater subjugations of bodies. Various institutions carry out these *biopolitics*, such as schools, prisons, hospitals, government agencies, and private partnerships. "Biopower administers life rather than threatening to take it away."[108]

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[107] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*. (Vintage, 1990), 139.
[108] Dianna Taylor, *Michel Foucault : Key Concepts*. (Durham: Routledge, 2011), 46.

While the Indonesian government may not threaten marginalized ethnic communities anymore, it does limit their possibilities and control their lives through "development" and "tourism development" discourse and policies. The state can use the quest for "progress" to modify lifestyles and change laws, like the removal of land rights in the Meratus Mountains, leading to negative material consequences for many people.

Various manifestations of "Development" can be used as a large blanket to make interventions in the economic, political, and social lives of various populations possible. The productive possibilities of development discourse can be understood as a facet of Foucauldian biopower in multiple ways: 1) "Development" discourse serves as a type of knowledge production that affects micro-level and macro-level power relations; 2) "Development" discourse serves as a framework with which to create norms/abnormalities and certain types of "subjects"; and 3) "Development" discourse can be used to both regulate and discipline populations through institutions and industries. In these ways, the disciplinary and regulatory tools of development *biopower* serve post-colonial State interests in maintaining imperialist hierarchies and practices. "Tourism development" is particularly powerful in supporting the cultural and ideological hegemonies of the West through the guise of economic aid and societal "progress."

VII. Remembering Discourse and Power -- Conclusions

The actions of individuals, institutions, and governments are based on certain *social constructs*; ideas, beliefs, norms, identities, and other interpretive filters that humans use to navigate the world. States, nations, and communities are socially-constructed entities with socially-constructed interests. Relationships (the "distribution of knowledge") can catalyze states' actions apart from or in combination with structure ("balance of power"). By adopting a Constructivist framework, I have attempted to showcase the socially constructed nature of geopolitical relationships, and discourse around "development," "authenticity," and "modernity." By acknowledging a range of actors and stakeholders, I endeavor to locate the political outside of simply state- or systems-level analysis. Agreeing with Finnemore that "much of international politics is about defining rather than defending national interests,"[109] this thesis shows how the defining of "development" discourse provided a framework for international relations after the end of the colonial era. The politics of "development" established a basis for discourses and policies of continued political, cultural, and economic subordination.

Imperial practices have continued in many previously colonized countries through an impetus for "development" and "modernization," accompanied by pushes for cultural commodification, land dispossession/resource extraction, and the spread of global capitalism. The political, economic, and social contexts following World War II allowed powerful, Western elites to produce discourse and knowledge that presumed universal truths and goals of modernity, industrialization, and culture. Through this production of discourse was the defining of spaces and bodies as "developed" or "underdeveloped," "modern" or "primitive."

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[109] Martha Finnemore, *National Interests in International Society*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), ix.

This defining of abnormalities and creation of essentialized subjects produced categories that are still used in popular media, literature, and academia today. These categories, and their negative connotations, were only possible because of the simultaneous naturalization and universalization of Western ideals as legitimate and optimal. 18th Century theories of unilineal evolution, Post-Enlightenment Orientalism, and Modernization Theory were all precursors to the global legitimization of development/underdevelopment ideology. By using neo-liberal industrialized nations as the benchmark of "modern civilization," all deviations from normative standards were seen as in need of discipline or treatment. Marginalized bodies and populations became things to be known and managed. When understood through the work of Michel Foucault, these value-laden framings were attempts to create order and define 'abnormality' (measured against Western standards), producing essentialized subjects to be controlled and administered. The norm-deviation structure and the ability to categorize ideals, cultural difference, and human life into data to regulate is a discursive move that has large effects on how development initiatives and policy are planned and materialized. It was imperative for the West to hold themselves as the standard, so that the defining of abnormalities and the creation of order could go hand in hand with a system that maintains their power over bodies and knowledge. This granted States a new tool of "life administering power."[110] Tourism development initiatives are used by government and private corporations to surveil and control land and populations. Contemporary states use biopower to regulate life and lifestyle through hegemonic discourse and administrative power.[111]

Development discourse and tourism discourse both produce lived realities; official and unofficial rhetoric, along with policy/program implementation all have consequences on

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[110] Michel Foucault and Paul Rabinow, *The Foucault Reader*. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984.)
[111] Ibid.

bodies, the environment, power structures and social interactions. Development can be seen

as a continuation of colonial discourse and practices, which understood through Foucault's

biopower is an administration of bodies and the calculated management of life. "Tourism

development" is a particular subset of development discourse; although tourism development

is not administered through one sole actor or state, it is a way to regulate bodies into a

palatable exotic for Western audiences. It often is accompanied by infrastructure and

economic changes, the essentialization and commodification of culture, and performances of

"authenticity."

> An abstract notion of authenticity can be used as a political tool to legitimize or delegitimize actual people and communities. This is especially obvious when the term is deployed against people who are seen as a source of exotic, authentic, and highly marketable images, yet who also occupy resource-rich land coveted by governments and resource companies… The term authenticity; then, becomes a definition imposed from the outside on a living culture so that the community will never be able to live up to the way it has been defined. Deploying a notion of authenticity gives a twentieth-century colonist an appearance of liberality that over self-interest cannot. The colonist says sadly, "Gee, we really would support your claim if only you were authentic, but unfortunately…"[112]

Cultural tourism development in post-colonial spaces relies on constant tensions for

host communities to remain an *authentic* Other, while also being pressured by international

and national discourse to "modernize" and "develop." Each ethnographic case study

presented ways to label and think through these conflicts. For Cole, these were "conflicts of

acculturation"; for Tsing, these were spaces of "friction"; for Adams, these were productive

spaces for re-narrating identity and stereotypes. Whatever you call it, they are all ways in

which host/tourate communities are reacting to foreign expectations and interventions in

order to strengthen their agency, identity, or community. These ethnographic case studies of

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[112] Deborah Root, *Cannibal Culture: Art, Appropriation, and the Commodification of Difference.* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996), 78.

tourism across time and space in Indonesia reveal that cultural "tourism development" does not entirely remove the capacity for local agency, but produces a series of overlapping global connections where cultural friction opens possibilities for all stakeholders. For Foucault, "Power is always accompanied by resistance; resistance is in fact a fundamental structural feature of power."[113] Norms, values, and interests supported by Western hegemonic discourse are resisted and re-narrated by tourate and host communities. I have provided evidence in support of my four original hypotheses:

H_1) International discourse around "development" and "tourism" is constantly changing and being produced according to interests, norms, beliefs, and resistance.

H_2) Patterns of discourse around "development" and "tourism" are similar and are have been produced to achieve similar goals.

H_3) The tourism industry offers powerful industrialized states and corporations opportunities to continue imperialist practices of political, cultural or economic advantages over previously colonized territories.

H_4) Cultural and ethnic tourism in Indonesia relies upon markers of perceived authenticity and exoticism that can prevent host communities from using tourism revenue to "economically develop" as policy and discourse suggests.

Norms are more than just regulative but are productive; they involve reconfigurations of interest and actors. Concepts of "development" became so salient in political and private consciousness because of its potential to aid self-perceived best interests. Governmental and supranational institutions have framed development as a global, national, and local interest. This is the silver lining--that social constructions can be reconstructed, deconstructed, and

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[113] Dianna Taylor, *Michel Foucault : Key Concepts* (Durham: Routledge, 2011).

constantly reworked. If any type of 'development' or 'improvement' programs are to continue, it must be done with an exceptionally critical analysis of who it is planned by, what definitions and discourses it is furthering, and who it profits.

Modernity is not singular or set, which is a supposition development agendas rest upon. To rethink development practices is to rethink and redefine universal standards articulated and normalized through Western political theories and discourses. Once it is acknowledged that the definitions of "developed," "underdeveloped," and First and Third world as abnormal are Western-decided and Western-serving, it is then easy to see how the practices and policies that flow from these discourses are often for the profit of industrialized states and elites. "Development" agendas have been a way for governments and private interests to control and manage the populations and bodies within Indonesia. Much of development theory has been analyzed using a neo-Marxist or Foucauldian lens, both of which show that development initiatives often fail in their humanitarian aims yet succeed in their political ones.[114] In order to look more deeply at development's economic, social, and political effects, one must set aside "self- representations of bureaucratic rationality in order to uncover more of the inner workings of development agencies."[115] The contradictions between authorized representations and outcomes must be teased out in order to disrupt the discourse that development is good - on the whole- or reasonable for anyone other than the First World. The case studies in East Indonesia, Sulawesi and the Meratus Mountains show that tourism in certain villages has brought both positive and negative, intended and unintended consequences. Although context shapes both tourism and developmental

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[114] David Lewis & David Mosse, "Encountering Order and Disjuncture". *Oxford Development Studies* 34, no. 1 (Routledge, 2006)
[115] Ibid, 3.

possibilities, Escobar, Li, Tsing and others seem to think that this alternative is far from being achieved, but is worth laboring towards. Bierschenk suggests

> With the transformation of development policy to global structural policy, the 'old' anthropology of development must become an anthropology of global social engineering. This involves the challenge of focusing on the entire policy chain-- from the production of development policy models in the context of the development agencies, to the different points of translation (for example, state ministries in the recipient countries and large international NGOs) and local intervention. From this perspective, the new development policy emerges as one of the contemporary forms of producing the world.[116]

Stronza proposes that instead of simply looking at either the origins of tourism (focusing on the tourist) or the impacts of tourism (focusing on the local), one must develop a more holistic approach. "For people in host destinations, tourism is often the catalyst of significant economic and social change, the context for cross-cultural encounters, and the stage-like setting for displays and recreations of culture and tradition. For the tourists, tourism can be a ritual form of escape from the structure of everyday life, or it can represent a symbolic quest for the kinds of authentic experiences that elude modern society."[117] It is a tricky tightrope to walk: wanting to allow tourism to raise consciousness and empathy through cultural exposure (and the possibility for economic growth), but avoiding the further marginalization or manipulation of host/tourate communities. If discourse can create tourist/villager subjects, as Foucauldian analysis would suggest, then there must be alternatives to counter these representations on a larger scale. Digital spaces may offer these opportunities, opportunities for self-representation. Wolfgang Sachs begins *The Development Dictionary* with the claim that "The last forty years can be called the age of development.

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[116] Thomas Bierschenk, "From the Anthropology of Development to the Anthropology of Global Social Engineering." *Zeitschrift Für Ethnologi*e 139, no. 1 (2014): 73-97.
[117] Amanda Stronza, "Anthropology of Tourism: Forging New Ground for Ecotourism and Other Alternatives." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30 (2001): 277.

This epoch is coming to an end. The time is ripe to write its obituary."[118] If this is true, then what is to happen in the future? Various scholars have come up with suggests for 'post-development' and 'alternative development' practices, while some want to abandon the term "development" all together. The idea of 'post-development' refers to possibilities of discourses/representations not mediated through the construct of "development", the need to change practices of knowing and doing through the 'political economy of truth', the need for the 'objects' of development to be those who produce knowledge about it, and highlighting the resistance and social movements to traditional "development."[119] Whatever the alternative, the discourse behind the "development" regime must be addressed before the policies and consequences of "tourism development" will meaningfully change for host communities. Development and tourism both rely on representations of the Other, and the commodification of the environment/culture for consumption. Until international, national, and local understandings of modernity, authenticity, and progress are removed from their colonial legacies, tourate communities will have to continue relying on themselves to provide alternatives that can counter harmful discourse and present new pathways for individual and communal agency.

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[118] Wolfgang Sachs, *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*. (London: Zed Books, 2010), xv.
[119] Arturo Escobar, "'Post-development' as Concept and Social Practice," in *Exploring Post Development*, ed. Aram Ziai (London: Routledge, 2007), 15.

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Vita

Victoria T. Olender was raised in Hickory, North Carolina where she attended an Early College High School and received an Associate in Arts at the age of 18. She then attended Appalachian State University, completing dual Bachelor of Science Degrees in Anthropology and Political Science and graduating *summa cum laude*. As an undergraduate, Victoria received various grants and awards, and was honored as the International Relations/Comparative Politics Outstanding Senior and Anthropology Outstanding Senior Honorable Mention. She remained at Appalachian State to complete an accelerated M.A. in Political Science (International Relations and Comparative Politics), graduating *summa cum laude* with Honors. Ms. Olender is an experienced research and teaching assistant, with academic interests in cultural anthropology, Southeast Asia, political theory and development studies. Her future academic and professional plans include obtaining a Ph.D in Anthropology, and pursuing jobs in both academic and non-academic settings.