

IN WAR WE TRUST (?)

WHY TODAY'S TOURISM DOES NOT PROMOTE GLOBAL PEACE AND SECURITY

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ABSTRACT:

Tourism does not flourish in areas subject to armed conflict and strong, violent socio-political instability. This axiom has obvious implications on the debate in tourism studies on the risks associated with armed conflicts. The question therefore remains as to how (and if) tourism can contribute to the reduction of global conflicts. This chapter reflects on how the men and women perceive tourism (from both supply and demand side) in this specific period of "End of History" (Fukuyama, 1992). Does tourism reflect the Kantian idea of hospitality in the context of a Perpetual Peace – thus a force for good - or is it just another instrument at the service of neo-liberalism and unbridled economism? Finally, a possible alternative is proposed for the use of tourism in reducing structural and cultural violence.

KEYWORDS:

1. Tourism
2. Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)
3. SDG 16
4. Peace
5. Tourist practices
6. Trauma porn

***“We had become complacent. All of us.
Been living in a dream world.
The threats that had been thrown around for so long
most of us hardly notice anymore.
Until it was too late”
- from Edge of War (Strom, 2019: 0:12:38)***

INTRODUCTION

Just few years ago, after having empirically examined armed conflicts over a decade long perspective, Szayna, et al. (2017) concluded that “interstate war has become a rare event, and intrastate conflict has lessened in frequency and magnitude (despite a recent uptick in violence)”. On February 24, 2022, the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation invaded Ukrainian territory with a 19th/20th century style military offensive still ongoing while I am writing, marking a sharp escalation of the Russian-Ukrainian crisis ongoing since 2014.

Armed conflicts, which are the epilogue of decades of silent conflicts (or *negative peace*), are a reality that has always and will always concerned us. The long period of peace that we called *Cold War* – based on the nuclear deterrence, in military terms known as *MAD – Mutual Assured Destruction* – and the falls of the Berlin Wall (9 November 1989) have allowed the western population of the global North the luxury to indulge into the illusion that peace would last forever, at least in our latitudes. And that is the risk for post historic societies: be found unprepared when history happens!

With this in mind, and even acknowledging that “for human beings to grasp the depth of the historical moment they inhabit is a very complex exercise” (Fabbri, 2022:7), it should be a constant imperative for all humans to ask ourselves to what extent we are actually contributing to the construction of more just societies, and more respectful relations between people of different cultures, necessary elements for sustainable peace. Those who work in tourism (both as practitioners and academics) are not an exception. In this sense, it is a widely shared idea that tourism is the best mean for the encounter between people of different cultures, and consequently it is commonly considered promoter of intercultural dialogue and peace. Is that actually true?

In previous works (e.g. Carbone, 2022a and 2022b) I have challenged this *status quo* through epistemological and ontological reflections on the existing literature. In the present work I provide the readers with some food for thought based on more practical reflections on the tourism industry and current tourist practices. This chapter therefore represents (and aims to be) a moment of synthesis on my idea on peace through tourism, building on a series of considerations born and developed over the years not only through my scientific, academic commitment to the subject, but also from the experience of several years of international activism "boots on the ground" as global ambassador of the International Institute for Peace through Tourism (IIPT), and IIPT special envoy to Iran. The main aim is to provide arguments to sustain the idea that currently - and *ceteris paribus* – tourism cannot be considered a vehicle of peace.

In this sense, I like to think that the present work will trigger in the readers a maieutic process towards new approaches, new considerations and new ideas for future works. In doing so I remain faithful to “our founder father”, Max Weber, therefore dealing with the topic as a *social action*, overcoming the

descriptive dimension by using a complex, transdisciplinary approach, thus informing my discourse with arguments from different disciplines of the social sciences (such as sociology, cultural anthropology, historical sciences, political science, economics, political economy, geopolitics, peace and conflict studies, etc.).

In the first section an historical, sociological and philosophical contextualisation will be provided with regards to the current conflict sensitivity of Western society, in particular the European one. The second section will clarify the reason why I use to converge the debate on sustainability with that on peace, also with regard to reference frameworks (namely, the SDG 16 and SDG 16+). A brief historic overview is provided to reflect on the extent to which peace was increasingly included in the overall concept of sustainability. From the very beginning, indeed, multilateralism and interdependence of nations were among the basis for a sustainable development path (Brundtland, 1985; Last, 1987), but only with the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (UN, 2015) there was a specific, clear emphasis on the promotion of peaceful societies, fair and inclusive, claiming the fundamental co-dependence between sustainable development and peace:

There can be no sustainable development without peace and no peace without sustainable development (UN, 2015: 1)

And by reiterating the same concept later in the text:

Sustainable development cannot be realized without peace and security; and peace and security will be at risk without sustainable development (UN, 2015: 35).

Once defined all the above, a series of consideration about the current contribution of tourism to peace will be made in the third section, followed by some final thoughts.

1. Few preliminary clarifications

This section will serve to contextualize the reader from different points of view. The first, historical and social, will call the reader's attention to the post-historical character of Western societies, and the implications in terms of conflict sensitivity. Then there will be some clarification on the author's approach to the debate on tourism and peace. Clarifications that, as it will be explained, should represent common practice among the authors who engage in the debate on the tourism-peace nexus, and propaedeutic to any analysis and speculation on this matter.

1.1 Discourses on tourism and war. Discourses on tourism and peace.

One of the difficulties in dealing with the discourse on peace through tourism is to manage not to fall into the trap of mixing two different debates, that on *tourism and war*, with that of *tourism and peace*. Despite the apparent complementarity, studies on tourism and war are mostly concerned with emphasizing how war influences tourism, and even propels it in post-conflict periods (from the technological point of view, for instance, as well as social, economic, psychological, etc.). In this sense, however, the effects of war are rarely - if ever - simply a negation or reversal of the effects of peace on tourism (see Butler and Suntikul, 2013). Studies of tourism and peace, on the other hand, tend

mostly to explore and highlight those dynamics that can enable tourism to contribute to a globally shared culture of peace.

Tourism and War

Still at the end of the 90s of the XX century, "the interrelationships between war and tourism had been minimally investigated", as we read in Smith (1998: 202). At that time, the same author advocated that, according to his study, war stimulates promotional, emotional, military and political tourism, and that war-related tourism attractions are the largest single category known. The subject has meanwhile attracted an increasing number of scholars. It is worth mentioning among these the fundamental contribution given by Butler and Suntikul (2013), exploring in their book the complex relationship between war and tourism by considering its full range of dynamics - political, psychological, economic and ideological factors at different levels, and in different political and geographical locations. In less than twenty years, therefore, we witnessed the maturation of this subject of study, fully grasping the complexity and multi-faceted development of tourism amidst and because of conflict, showing the diverse ways in which tourism and war interacts.

Tourism and Peace

Article 3 of the constitution of the World Tourism Organization (WTO) states that tourism is not only a vehicle for economic development, but also a means to peace and understanding among peoples. In line with this belief, the academic debate on tourism and peace, namely the one on peace through tourism, refers to the potential and capacities of tourism to foster global peace.

The literature on this subject is already extensive (just to mention some works: Higgins-Desbiolles and Blanchard, 2010; Blanchard and Higgins-Desbiolles, 2013; Becken and Carmignani, 2016; Farmaki, 2017; Carbone and Oosterbeek, 2021; Carbone, 2022a). Several authors are therefore engaged in studies suggesting tourism may contribute to cross-cultural understanding, tolerance and even peace between communities and nations.

The reflections contained in this chapter have to do precisely with this debate, and with the practices that should be a direct consequence of this belief. Since the 80' slogans such as "Tourism. Industry of Peace" have become real catchphrases, followed by the production of a long series of both scientific and non-scientific works hailing tourism as the panacea for many social problems, including global insecurity and armed conflicts. But... is it really true?

1.2 History teaches us nothing.

We like to think that mankind learns from the mistakes made in its history. Reality shows us that, at least with regards to conflicts, history teaches us absolutely nothing, and we tend to cyclically repeat the horrific mistakes of the past. The current war in Ukraine is just the more recent and more evident example of this, but there are many other signs even closer to us. When I speak about conflicts, in fact, I do not refer exclusively to *armed* conflicts - interstate armed conflicts, involving violence between two or more states; and intrastate armed conflict, – occurring among opponent groups within a single state (Szayna et al., 2017).

The conflicts that we don't (want to) see, indeed, are also those manifested in cultural and structural violence that characterizes negative peace, leading to direct violence and/or armed conflict. Let us think, for example, of the forms of violence and latent conflicts that preceded the Second World War and the Shoah. Intolerance and hatred were rife and growing among ordinary people. Forms of racism and anti-Semitism that we thought were part of a horrible past which would never be repeated.

1.3 "I am not a pacifist, I am against war". On the need to clarify the philosophical position in approaching the debate on the tourism-peace nexus

Among the fundamental preliminary clarifications, finally, it is of essential importance to clarify one's philosophical positions whenever the word *peace* is brought up, as a basis for a concrete operationalization of the concepts expressed in the debate. "Are you a pacifist?" is the question that sometimes they asked me. Question with more implications than it may seem.

Pacifism is a philosophy rooted in the Sanskrit term *ahimsā* (do no harm), a fundamental concept in different Indian religions (e.g. Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism). Pacifism focuses on the rejection of any form of violence. Mahatma Gandhi put this philosophy into practice by proposing the *nonviolent resistance* as main modality for the protests of the Indian independence movement. Later on, Martin Luther King Jr. followed Gandhi's example, by practicing and promoting nonviolent resistance in the context of the African American civil rights movement. Since then, various social movements have acted (and still act) by embracing and implementing the philosophy of pacifism. Is the association between tourism and peace an expression of pacifism? Not necessarily, and everyone who engage in this debate should have their own position on it.

"I am not a pacifist, I am against war," stated Gino Strada, founder of the famous humanitarian organization Emergency. This declaration perfectly resumes my personal position in approaching the academic debate on tourism and peace, as well as the on-the-ground projects that stem from it. More than pacifism, my philosophical reference is the Kantian *ius cosmopolitanum* (cosmopolitan right), a guiding principle for the creation of a global society and the achievement of a permanent, enduring peace (for further insights on the Kantian *Perpetual Peace*, see also Taylor, 2010). Cosmopolitanism is thus the philosophical assumption at the basis of my work, more than pacifism and a rejection of violence *tout court*. Kant's arguments in support of the need for peace go beyond pacifism. Unlike other philosophers such as Hegel - who says that war is not only justified but even necessary for the development of the human beings - and sociologists such as Norbert Elias - according to whom civilization was not a result of peacetime, but it is a combination of the moment of extreme conflict and temporal political stability (Savoia Landini and Dépelteau, 2017) - Kant suggests that peace should be part of a wider debate in favour of internationalism, in which peace is indeed the basis for what we today call human development, and to reach these objectives that today we contemplate among the Sustainable Development Goals.

2. Peace and sustainable development

Kant's cosmopolitan right stems from an understanding of all human beings as equal members of a universal community. Cosmopolitan right thus works in tandem with international political rights, and the shared, universal right of humanity. In this sense, the latest revision and update of the concept of sustainability seem to converge on these philosophical constructs, if we consider that the United Nations state: "There is no peace without sustainable Development, and no sustainable development without peace".

I use to frame my work – including the present chapter - in the context of the contribution of tourism to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), namely the Goal 16: Peace, Justice & Strong Institutions. Today peace has a crucial role in the debate on sustainability. But was it like always like this?

2.1 Peace: the growing focus on its importance for sustainable development.

Sustainable development was initially defined in the Brundtland Report as "*development that meets the needs and aspirations of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs*" (UN, and World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987: 43). The Brundtland Report, also known as *Our Common Future*, is a document that

introduced the concept of sustainable development and described how it could be achieved. Sponsored by the United Nations and chaired by Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland, the WCED explored the causes of environmental degradation, attempted to understand the interconnections between social equity, economic growth, and environmental problems, and developed policy solutions that integrated all three areas (Jarvie, 2016)

The report sought to recapture the spirit of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment the Stockholm Conference (1972) which had introduced environmental concerns to the formal political development sphere (Last, 1987). Sustainability is traditionally considered as the organisational principle to use existing, but limited resources for the present endeavours, ensuring that future generations will have the opportunity to do the same (see Musson, 2013).

The action plans elaborated since then by the United Nations reflect this concept and its evolution. The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), also known as *Rio 'Earth Summit'* (1992) aimed to produce a broad agenda and a new blueprint for international action on environmental and development issues that would help guide international cooperation and development policy in the twenty-first century. One of the major results of the UNCED Conference was indeed the production of the Rio Declaration (UN, 1993), containing its 27 universal principles. The 25th principle states:

Peace, development and environmental protection are interdependent and indivisible (UN, 1993: 7).

Nevertheless, this is the first and the last time that the word *peace* appears in the 492 pages of the Rio Declaration, which remains mostly focused on environmental concerns. The Agenda 21 - a bold plan of action included in the document and calling for new strategies to invest in the future to achieve overall sustainable development in the 21st century - makes no mention of the word *peace*.

The continuous refinement of concepts and evolution of the instruments promoting and supporting sustainable development, however, was meant to move further. At the end of the Millennium Summit (6-8 September 2000, New York) the 189 Member States adopted the Millennium Declaration, containing the following opening statement:

We, heads of State and Government, have gathered at United Nations Headquarters in New York from 6 to 8 September 2000, at the dawn of a new millennium, to reaffirm our faith in the Organization and its Charter as indispensable foundations of a more peaceful, prosperous and just world (UN, 2000: 1).

In this resolution adopted by the General Assembly, there are evidence of a reflection that led to the establishment of a clearer association between peace and sustainability. The eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were set out in the Millennium Declaration:

1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger;
2. Achieve universal primary education;
3. Promote gender equality and empower women;
4. Reduce child mortality;
5. Improve maternal health;
6. Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases;
7. Ensure environmental sustainability;
8. Develop a global partnership for development.

The word *peace* does not yet appear among the general goals, but it is implied in many of them. Later on, at the World Summit (14-16 September 2005, New York), world leaders made strong commitments to achieving the eight MDGs by 2015.

Further refinement of the concept of sustainability formally started when, during the 2012 United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (also known as Rio+20), Member States launched a process to develop a set of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), building on the MDGs model. Consequently, as the MDGs era was concluding in 2015, the United Nations Summit on Sustainable Development (25-27 September 2015, New York) launched the new plan, called *Transforming Our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development by 2030*, which included the 17 sustainable development goals and 169 targets to be achieved over the next 15 years. By citing the resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 25 September 2015:

The 17 Sustainable Development Goals and 169 targets which we are announcing today demonstrate the scale and ambition of this new universal Agenda. They seek to build on the Millennium Development Goals and complete what they did not achieve. They seek to realize the human rights of all and to achieve gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls. They are integrated and indivisible and balance the three dimensions of sustainable development: the economic, social and environmental (UN, 2015: 1).

Hereafter the list of the 17 SDGs:

- Goal 1. End poverty in all its forms everywhere
- Goal 2. End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture
- Goal 3. Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages
- Goal 4. Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all
- Goal 5. Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls
- Goal 6. Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all
- Goal 7. Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all
- Goal 8. Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all
- Goal 9. Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster innovation
- Goal 10. Reduce inequality within and among countries
- Goal 11. Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable
- Goal 12. Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns
- Goal 13. Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts*
- Goal 14. Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development
- Goal 15. Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss
- Goal 16. Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels
- Goal 17. Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the Global Partnership for Sustainable Development (UN, 2015).

Finally, then, this last framework explicitly contains the term *peace*, dedicating to it a specific objective (SDG16), therefore specific operational efforts. The achievement of the SDG 16 implies fair access to justice, respect for human rights, efficiency of the rule of law and good governance. In this perspective, strong, transparent and accountable institutions would have the task of containing, in number and scope, conflicts and wars, as well as preventing corruption and criminal behaviour.

The present work (and all my scientific and non-scientific endeavours) refers to the SDGs' framework, particular with regards to the SDG 16, as plan of action in which – after long years of reflections – the ideas of peace and sustainability finally converge.

2.2 Make sense of the idea of peace

The SDG 16 implies fair access to justice, respect for human rights, efficiency of the rule of law and good governance. In this perspective, strong, transparent and accountable institutions would have the task of containing, in number and scope, conflicts and wars, as well as preventing corruption and criminal behaviour. While morally and politically crucial, the goal 16 could be difficult to define in practice, and therefore to measure and achieve. More and more often, in fact, violence and insecurity occur in hybrid contexts, not really in war or peace, in which manifestations of political and criminal violence overlap with processes of socio-economic and ecological degradation.

In order to be able to carry out an analysis, it would therefore be appropriate to define what is meant by peace in the United Nations document:

We pledge to foster intercultural understanding, tolerance, mutual respect and an ethic of global citizenship and shared responsibility. We acknowledge the natural and cultural diversity of the world and recognize that all cultures and civilizations can contribute to, and are crucial enablers of, sustainable development (UN, 2015:36).

This extract of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (UN, 2015) helps us to understand what are, among others, the foundations for the sustainable peace sought by the UN. Consequently, this makes it possible to draw up a fairly clear question about the contribution of tourism, that is, to what extent tourism is contributing to achieve “intercultural understanding, tolerance, mutual respect and an ethic of global citizenship and shared responsibility”?

3. What Tourism? What Peace?

Keeping in mind all the above, it is now appropriate to reflect on the existing distance between the academic discourses on sustainability and peace through tourism, and the reality "out there". If we consider what has been said so far, and relate it with the actual tourism practices, the idea of tourism as a vehicle for peace will begin to falter, at least. In the next subsections I expose some aspects of the practice of tourism suggesting that the reality stands quite far from the idea of tourism as a peace industry.

3.1 In the yoke of economicism

One of the greatest limitations to the real contribution of tourism to peace is the fact that the sector is currently chained to the most unbridled *economicism*. The concern is perfectly expressed by Garberlet's general question:

Are we losing a more humanistic understanding of the world when we think about relationships, work, and life in terms of costs and benefits, comparative advantage, and ROI?
(2014)

The "ism" version of "economics" is raising the latter as a source of wisdom in realms that have nothing to do with economics. By referring to a discourse by Leon Wieseltier, Garber (2014) writes:

You get, overall, a sense that the world can be understood in terms of costs and benefits, inputs and outputs. And this deprives us, Wieseltier argues, of a more nuanced and humanistic—you might even say spiritual—understanding of the world and our place within it.

Wieseltier's considerations are generic, and they can be perfectly applied to the current practice of tourism and its management, at all levels. In the universities we talk about tourism planning, sustainable development and governance of tourism, but then, "out there", they talk almost exclusively about numbers (e.g. tourist income, tourism expenditure, hotel industry's room occupancy). Of course, it is important to consider the economic aspects of tourism. But it's also important to keep in mind (and teach our students) that tourism is "also" an economic phenomenon, rather than "just" an economic phenomenon. Economy is not what tourism is all about.

Once subjugated to the rules of the market and economics (or *economicism*), indeed, the tourist phenomenon has little to do with its human dimension, with a genuine interest in the local communities' well-being, and, in general, with the creation of a better world. If regulated merely by a market logic and managed according to the raging economicism, indeed, tourism loses a large part of its potential as a vehicle for dialogue and peace. By extremely simplifying this argument, we can say, for instance, that an overcrowded city, hotel, or monument is generally a positive circumstance from an economist perspective. The more people, the more profit.

Even though it could appear paradoxical and unreasonable, once again the facts "out there" show that economicism represents the compass for most choices in management and tourism development (main evidence being the worrying but growing phenomenon of overtourism). Are these the right conditions to establish a dialogue between local communities and tourists? And to offer visitors a cultural experience rather than an experience based on a staged authenticity?

3.2 The human factor (or the lack of it)

The fact that modern tourism arises from the human need for relaxation, discovery, and entertainment, and from the formal recognition of the right of men and women to meet these needs, is a concept made clear from the early days of every undergraduate tourism course. Tourism has to do with leisure, and its industry is built around this notion. Tourism is therefore a hedonistic practice,

from the demand perspective, and the supply side just adapts itself to this concept. But isn't the latter in conflict with the altruistic goal of using tourism to transform the world into a better place? Not necessarily. The two natures of tourism (the hedonistic and the socially responsible one) could coexist. At least, theoretically speaking. Though, let's make some considerations starting again from the reality out there.

Since the beginning of the Russian military invasion of Ukraine, on February 24, 2022, I have been interested in observing the reaction of the national DMOs in Europe and the UK, regularly analysing their main webpages. It has been noted that none of the pages refer to the conflict in Ukraine, with the exception of the Portuguese one. Business as usual, thus. It seems almost, if one wants to venture an interpretation, that the tourist industry wants to isolate itself from the surrounding reality, focusing exclusively on what can satisfy the hedonistic needs of the potential visitors. How do we make the world a better place starting under such conditions?

The attitude observed in the supply side, is mirrored by one of the demand side. The situation described by Cabot and Lenz (2012) for example, well describes the relationship between seaside tourists and migrants/asylum seekers. The tourism beaches and coastlines are indeed significant "zones of contact among tourists, migrants, and locals" (Cabot and Lenz, 2012: 173). As dramatic as explanatory of this situation is the 2017 video of a boat that suddenly arrives in the tourist resort Playa de Zahara in Calpe (Spain), disembarking dozens of migrants on a beach full of stunned tourists. Well, what is the reaction of tourists to such contact is now widely documented by journalistic articles and activists.

In August 2015, photographer Jörg Brüggemann travelled to the Greek island of Kos to document the interactions between refugees and vacationers. Brüggemann declared in an interview with Crona (2016) that generally speaking:

Some tourists were approaching refugees, offering water and giving toys to children, but most of the help was from the people who live on Kos—people who ran the hotels and restaurants—and Greek anarchist and leftist groups. There were also tourists who signed up voluntarily to help there.

But then he makes some consideration on an alleged Western ignorance and a lack of empathy on the side of the tourists.

Who is to blame for this lack of empathy? If you just consume things through the mass media, you're obviously not directly exposed to them, so it's very different when you're presented with something like the refugee crisis head-on. It gets more emotional; you can relate to the people all of a sudden.

(...)

A lot of tourists had booked their two-week holidays way in advance. They'd worked the whole year to save for it, and they'd been looking forward to it, so when they got there and saw all the refugees... I mean, a lot of these people had seen what was happening in Kos on the news beforehand, so a lot of them probably thought: I'm having this two-week holiday, and I don't want to be confronted with this. Which I believe is perfectly fair. But if you didn't want to see

the refugees, you could book a hotel that was a half an hour's drive away on the other side of the island, so you wouldn't be exposed to it.

It is anyway worth to mention that later on, in the same interview, the photographer added:

Then there were obviously these people that said, "I'm here, and I want to do something," and volunteered. It was interesting; in a way, it's a kind of a metaphor for how the world is responding to all this chaos.

The last reflection in support of my conviction on the incapacity of tourism - as practiced and managed today - to promote peace, refers to a phenomenon which is not new, but it is growing. That of the commodification of human misery. From the conceptual point of view, I have already deepened the association I established between trauma porn and tourism, with special reference to war porn (for more details see Carbone, 2022c). The demand side's need for increasingly strong emotions, and the supply side's need (dictated by the dominant economicism, see above) to accept and satisfy it uncritically have given rise to a series of situations that are at least questionable from the ethical point of view, and surely in discordance with the aim to promote peace and dialogue through tourism. On the contrary, tourism finds "market opportunities" precisely in the struggle and human suffering.

Among the various examples, that of slum tourism seems to be among the most striking. Slum tourism is a type of tourism that involves visiting areas of extreme poverty and marginalisation. In this context, the morbid curiosity of tourists (usually western visitors to Asian, African or South American countries) sometimes reaches levels difficult to predict. Livni (2019) observes:

TripAdvisor's Travelers' Choice Awards recognized tours to Dharavi in Mumbai as the top "experience" in India and among the top 10 in the "Travelers' Choice Experiences in Asia" category this year.

Some may surely argue that these "tourist products" have given rise to commercial initiatives among the locals. My reply to this point: we should probably take more time to reflect on whether it is really worth it. Should trauma porn be used as a tourist attractor? Are the negative social effects of these practices on local populations not such as to prohibit such practices? What kind of peace and what kind of tourism are we talking about, if we assume the right to economically explore - through tourism - human misery in such a grim way?

Conclusion

The arguments set out in this chapter serve to illustrate some of the reports of the tourist industry which have been taken as an example in support of the thesis that tourism cannot, on the basis of current practice, be a vehicle for peace. Certainly not as much as we like to think. On the contrary, the examples given lead us to the worrying conclusion that today's tourist practices are not only exacerbating inequalities (leading to insecurity), but they are also taking advantage from the struggles

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of entire communities, by satisfying the most morbid (western) visitors' desires, using human suffering as an element of the tourism offer.

The hope is that this chapter will instil in the reader questions that break the status quo, leading to new and courageous research questions, and new and courageous sectoral approach with regards to management and tourism development for a real contribution to the creation of a better, more just, secure and peaceful world.

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