

Introduction: Tourism and Inequalities

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As its title suggests, this book seeks to make a distinctive contribution to the tourism and inequality debate, not only through its investigation of how and why tourism contributes to and reflects social inequality, but crucially through its exploration of the ways in which tourism can be a means to reduce social inequality or alleviate its impact. As such, it is firmly located within 'hopeful tourism scholarship', an emerging paradigm within the field, which advocates linking critical thinking, pedagogy and action to achieve more just societies in and through tourism (Ateljevic *et al.*, 2007a; Ren *et al.*, in press). Tourism is frequently described as one of the world's fastest growing industries and a new source of wealth creation in deprived regions and less developed nations. Recently, however, emphasis on its economic benefits has been countered by increasing concerns over the uneven nature of such economic development, serious questions about the environmental sustainability of the tourism industry and disquiet at the negative social and cultural impacts of tourism. These concerns have been expressed by academics, policy makers and practitioners, and have been raised in relation to different scales: individual well-being, family structure, community development and national identity (Botterill and Klemm, 2006, 2007). In both tourism-generating regions and in tourism-receiving communities, tourism is part of wider social, economic, political, ecological and cultural processes, and the goal of this volume is to unpick these complex processes in order to expose the

relationships between tourism and inequality; more than this, however, its contributors also review international examples of socially responsible tourism to provide a stock of good practice cases for tourism students, educators, practitioners and activists.

Tourism has always been a site for and a contributor to social inequality (e.g. Morgan and Pritchard, 1999; Walton, 2005) but as tourism expands at a seemingly insatiable pace, the inequalities become increasingly evident and so too does the need for more complex and nuanced understandings of them. During an ESRC seminar series on Tourism Inequality and Social Justice in 2007, the level of interest and the number of researchers actively engaged in research about tourism and inequality became apparent. The individual seminars each examined inequality from a different perspective and those who attended them came from a variety of backgrounds, including academia, the public and private sectors, third sector organizations and a range of non-governmental organizations or NGOs. The academics came from a broad range of different disciplines and fields of study beyond tourism, including leisure studies, psychology, sociology, anthropology, geography and cultural studies, and while this volume is not in any way intended to be representative of the seminars, they certainly provided its genesis and many of these disciplines are reflected in the following chapters.

Of course, analysis of inequality is not

new and there is a well-developed literature on exclusion, inequality and social justice within many of tourism studies' underpinning disciplines, most notably geography and sociology (Barry, 2005; Pogge, 2007), much of it traversed in the following chapters. Similarly, scholars working across the broad fields of leisure and sports studies have undertaken extensive research into inequality and exclusion in leisure and sport provision and participation (Roberts, 2006). Such research has addressed spatial, social, cultural and economic inequalities, the mutually informing nature of such inequalities and the ways in which inequality is experienced differently in relation to cultural context, social class, gender, ethnicity, age and disability. To date, however, there has been limited synthesis of existing research relating to all these different forms of inequality, exclusion or injustice and how they relate to tourism (thus, contributions such as Hall and Brown, 2006, and Burns and Novelli, 2008, cover some but not all of these areas). At the same time, on the other hand, reflecting broader theoretical debates in social sciences, there is a clear sense that tourism as a field of research and an area of study is maturing and demonstrating a 'critical turn' – a shift in thought that provides opportunities for more critical engagement with the major environmental, socio-cultural and political issues facing the world (Ateljevic *et al.*, 2007b). As a result, there is a growing demand for volumes such as the present one, which focus on issues of ethics, citizenship and justice as they relate to tourism in an intellectually rigorous and thought-provoking way.

Such issues are of increasing interest not only to the growing tourism student body in the more economically developed countries (MEDCs) of the world but also in the less economically developed countries (LEDCs) who are seeing exponential growth in tourism and a consequent growth in tourism education provision. The need for a single volume that is accessible and above all affordable to today's diverse student body was the rationale behind this

book. While it was written to appeal primarily to undergraduates, we hope that the book will also open new intellectual doors for masters-level students and offer stimulating reading for doctoral students, academics and reflexive practitioners. Thus, the volume endeavours to provide an accessible exploration of tourism's role as a site of injustice and its potential to address inequality. It seeks to extend debates and discourses prominent elsewhere to tourism studies, where research on inequality and social justice has lacked the visibility seen in other disciplines and subject fields. Across its 14 chapters, a wide range of inter-related forms of inequality and routes towards social justice are addressed. These include, but are not limited to, relations of class, nation, ethnicity, race, gender, disability and age, as they relate to social justice initiatives incorporating poverty alleviation, social inclusion, fair trade, ethics and human rights.

Tourism and Inequalities

For most people in MEDCs, having a holiday or a vacation is considered a feature of their everyday lifestyles, it is part of what they do and there is a well developed literature on the benefits that can be derived from taking a holiday (e.g. Minnaert *et al.*, 2006, 2009). Everyone can derive some benefit from taking a holiday (many of which are listed in Table I.1) and such breaks from routine are especially important in affirming relationships with family and friends, particularly for children (Hazel, 2005; Hilbrecht *et al.*, 2008). However, while many of us can and do enjoy some or all of these advantages, most people cannot, indeed it is estimated that less than 5% of the world's population currently participate in international air travel (Peeters *et al.*, 2006). What is particularly pertinent in all this of course is that it is usually those who are most in need of the benefits of a holiday (e.g. children and adults living in poverty, lone parents, individuals with disabilities and chronic, terminal and mental illnesses and

Table I.1. The benefits of holidays.

Recreational pleasure	Respite from the exigencies of modern life
Educational awareness	Enhancing and maintaining one's cultural capital
Self-actualization	Improved quality of life
Self-esteem	Material for narrating self-identity
Mutual interaction	Making new friends
Reinforcement of group and family relations	Subject of family narratives
Relief from time and place	Investment in well-being

those who for care for such individuals), who are least likely to be able to have one.

Since the early 1970s, scholars working broadly in leisure and sports studies have explored in considerable detail exactly which groups in societies are least likely to participate fully in cultural life, which encompasses sport, leisure and the arts (Cricher *et al.*, 1995; Haworth and Veal, 2004; Cushman *et al.*, 2005). Yet, after more than 30 years of scholarship in tourism enquiry, the field has nothing like a comparable literature in scale, scope or longevity, such has been tourism's focus on technically useful, management and performance-driven investigation, which has little interest in those who cannot access tourism products and services. Clearly, some groups are excluded from participation in tourism as a result of socio-economic disadvantage (Hughes, 1991) but exclusion and marginalization also results from discrimination, cultural prejudice and fear. For example, studies have shown that racial prejudice and institutional racist practices restrict ethnic minority citizens from enjoying tourism experiences to the full and thereby limit them from achieving full rights to social forms of citizenship (Stephenson, 2006). Such discrimination and prejudice encompasses all aspects of tourism; for instance, the promotion and marketing of holidays by major tour operators is perceived negatively by British Asians who consider that holidays in such brochures are 'for white people' (Klemm and Kelsey, 2004). Demonstrating how human status characteristics (such as gender, race, class, sexuality, age, ethnicity and ability) form layers and points of oppression and empowerment, the same

tourism brochures not only exclude British Asians but have also been described as marginalizing women in 'a world dominated by male heterosexual marketing fantasies' (Pritchard and Morgan, 2000: 899).

If gendered and racialized exclusion and marginalization (see Chapters 4 and 7, this volume) results from discrimination, cultural prejudice and fear, there are 'genuine problems and challenges which can attach to having bodies/psyches that are different from mainstream "norms"' (Butler and Parr, 1999: 2), such as ageing or disabled bodies. There have been calls for the tourism industry (and other areas such as environmental and product design) to adopt universal design principles. Universal design is a paradigm that extends the concept of accessibility and barrier-free environments to incorporate intergenerational and lifespan planning; it recognizes the nexus between ageing, disability and the continuum of ability of people over lifespan and much more. Universal design:

... is the design of products and environments to be usable by all people, to the greatest extent possible, without the need for adaption or specialized design...The intent of the universal design concept is to simplify life for everyone by making products, communications, and the built environment more usable by more people at little or no extra cost. The universal design concept targets all people of all ages, sizes and abilities.

(Center for Universal Design, 2010)

These issues are examined in depth in Jenny Small and Simon Darcey's chapter, which analyses inequalities for people with mobility disability. Their chapter highlights

how it is society that disables people, a theme continued in Chapter 2 by Victoria Richards, Nigel Morgan, Annette Pritchard and Diane Sedgley. Taken together, these two chapters expose how ableist power geometries (Kitchin and Law, 2001) prevent people with disabilities from fully participating in and contributing to tourism, and reveal how disability interacts with age to create further inequalities.

Disability also intersects with poverty and gender in this regard – for example as Richards *et al.* (Chapter 2) point out, over 80% of people with low or no vision in the UK of working age are unemployed, while the impacts of disabilities are felt disproportionately by the populations of LEDCs, particularly women who have less access to medical care. As disparity of income is one of the commonest causes of inequality, it is not surprising that it features in many of the chapters in this volume. Chapters 3 (Michael Hall) and 8 (Lyn Minnaert, Jane Stacey, Bernadette Quinn and Kevin Griffin) discuss poverty in the MEDCs context. Taking a relativist view of poverty as equating to exclusion from participation in a significant part of contemporary life, at the European level the inability to afford a 1-week annual holiday is an indicator of material deprivation (see Chapter 3), and since 2003 the UK government has used this as a measurement of child poverty (see Chapter 8). Chapters 4, 5, 6, 7 and 10 explicitly analyse poverty in the LEDC context. Here, we are discussing tourism production and consumption in a framework of absolute poverty as much of the population in many of these tourism receiving countries exist on less than a US\$ a day. Thus Stroma Cole and Jenny Eriksson (Chapter 7) relate Gladys's story, a woman who has to walk for over an hour to work an 8-h shift during which she is not allowed to eat or drink at any point. At least this woman has a job, unlike many of the 'bumsters' in The Gambia (Chapter 5) or the women and children who have nothing left to sell other than their bodies (Chapter 4).

Tourism, Inequalities and Prospects

Analyses of the causes of inequality in tourism and how they relate to wider international systems of political and economic dependency relations are not new (e.g. de Kadt, 1979; Harrison, 2001). The underlying causes of inequity relating to unjust global systems, unfair international trade agreements, the workings of transnational corporations and the neo-liberal capitalist system are reviewed by various authors in this volume (see especially Chapters 9 and 10). However, while they review previous contributions to this debate, the contributors to this volume move the discussion forward in a number of new ways. To see a problem is an easy task, but to understand multifaceted problems is a much more complex but essential undertaking if we are to begin to find solutions. As editors of this book, neither of us wanted to produce a collection that simply scoped and reviewed the problems of tourism and inequality; we wanted to produce a thought-provoking and accessible text that also engaged with prospects for greater equality. Thus, while the power dynamics of international politics are rehearsed here, the contributors urge us to see these relations through new lenses, to appreciate their complexities and to demand more in-depth understanding.

This is true of all of the chapters in different ways as their authors go beyond examining the problems to ask 'what can be done' and 'is there another way'? Thus, in Part I, Darcy and Small (Chapter 1) and Richards *et al.* (Chapter 2) argue that equality legislation needs to be combined with enforcement, education and attitudinal change to create more inclusive environments, while Hall (Chapter 3) calls on us to understand mobility and accessibility as being imbued with values that are central to human well-being and a sustainable society. In Part II, Jacqueline Sanchez-Taylor's (Chapter 4) examination of sex tourism contends that a deeper understanding of the interlocking processes

of globalization, legislation, race and gender inequalities is required to develop a more fine-grained understanding of the growing phenomena of sex tourism. Similarly, Sheena Carlisle (Chapter 5) exposes not only the causes of inequality for Gambians but also examines some excellent examples of how marginalized groups can be included in the benefits of tourism. Angela Kalisch (Chapter 6) is overtly critical of neo-liberal capitalism, which has continued the colonial legacy and created unequal relations between rich and poor nations, but offers an alternative in the form of a fair trademark for tourism. Stroma Cole and Jenny Eriksson (Chapter 7) investigate the human rights of citizens in tourism destinations and go on to provide a strong argument for companies to include human rights as part of their corporate social responsibility (CSR) agenda. Derek Hall and Frances Brown (Chapter 9) lay out the case for welfare-positive tourism, and the chapters by Minnaert *et al.* and Tim Gale (Chapters 8 and 11) provide compelling evidence of the benefits of social tourism, while that by Dorethea Meyer (Chapter 10) moves beyond causes of inequity to examine solutions in the form of pro-poor tourism (PPT), and Freya Higgins-Desbiolles (Chapter 12) explores both the causes and effects of inequality and injustice in tourism before examining how they can be reduced through justice tourism.

Structure of the Book

Taken as a group, the book's contributors draw on a range of disciplines and case studies to provide unique perspectives on social justice and inequality in tourism from the consumers' and producers' perspectives. The disciplinary perspectives of its contributors include sociology, cultural studies, media studies, geography, anthropology, history and tourism management, and they illustrate their arguments with international case studies drawn from countries including Australia, England, Ethiopia, Belgium, the Caribbean,

Eire, France, The Gambia, Kenya, Palestine, New Zealand, Thailand, the USA and Wales. This book is divided into three parts. Following this introduction, the first examines social inequalities from the tourist consumer's perspective; the second explores inequalities as experienced by the tourism producers; and the third part consists of a series of chapters that review initiatives to reduce or alleviate the impact of inequalities for both consumers and producers. It should be noted, however, that this division is somewhat artificial, as individuals can be both producers and consumers of tourism; furthermore, while the book is structured in this way, there is overlap within and between parts; for example, while Sheena Carlisle's chapter examines marginalization in The Gambia, it also provides some excellent cases of how, in partnership with various international organizations, the Gambians are overcoming their social exclusion and pursuing a more equal form of tourism.

The first part of the book consists of three chapters that examine inequality from the perspective of those who want to take part in tourism. Each chapter calls for a more nuanced understanding of the complexities of non-participation in tourism and argues that the answers to why people are excluded lie beyond economic poverty and include cultural prejudice, discrimination and fear. Jenny Small and Simon Darcy's chapter examines the social inequality of tourists with mobility disabilities. Critical of the commonly used medical approach to disability, the authors encourage a social approach that conceptualizes disability as a product of the dis-enabling social environment and prevailing attitudes. The chapter provides the concepts necessary for a fuller understanding of disability. Using Australia as a case study, the chapter unpicks The Disability Discrimination Act and explores the complaints that have been raised since the Act became law in 1992, 27% of which were in the tourism and hospitality sectors. The chapter concludes that legislation alone is not enough to effect change and that political will, enforcement, and education

together with changes in attitudes and behaviours are required before this form of inequality can be combated.

These themes are reinforced in the next chapter written by Victoria Richards, Nigel Morgan, Annette Pritchard and Diane Sedgley, which focuses on their research on tourism experiences of people with low or no vision in the UK. Their chapter demonstrates how, when the sighted world fails tourists with visual impairment through organizations' inability to provide staff training and inclusive physical environments, those individuals' tourism (and life) experiences are circumscribed. In such situations, many people with visual impairment prefer to remain at home and forgo the benefits of tourism rather than negotiate the anxiety and stress of travel in an unsympathetic, unaccommodating sighted world. Richards, Morgan, Pritchard and Sedgley conclude that the challenge for the tourism industry is to identify these customers, analyse their service needs in more depth and treat them with respect and dignity, to learn new skills, to be creative and then to truly apply that knowledge holistically.

The final chapter in Part I by Michael Hall links the topic of inequality with mobility and discusses the 'mobility gap' between those with privilege and plenty and those whose deprivation is acute. Using evidence from National Surveys in the UK, EU, USA and New Zealand Hall provides evidence of how social and economic inequality limit access to travel and tourism and how the car is the most significant factor affecting travel. In his chapter, Hall calls on us to understand mobility and accessibility as being imbued with values that are central to human well-being and a sustainable society. He concludes that if tourism studies are to embrace social justice then we need to understand how tourism opportunities are part of the overall life chances of individuals and appreciate how these are constituted and reproduced.

The second part of the book examines the social inequalities experienced by people in tourism destinations. While this

adds to an already large body of existing literature these chapters all take new perspectives. In the first, Jacqueline Sanchez-Taylor argues that hitherto sex tourism has been examined within the framework of gender inequalities and is better understood through the prism of race, globalization, agency *and* gender. Her chapter examines how sex tourism today involves men and women, the formal and informal sectors and overt prostitution and 'friendships'. Examining case study material from the Dominican Republic and Jamaica, Jacqueline Sanchez-Taylor explores the links between sex tourism and globalization, the law and race. She argues that economic, gender, race and age inequalities all interlock in the diversity and complexity of sexual-economic exchanges between tourists and locals.

The next chapter, written by Sheena Carlisle, examines tourism in Africa's smallest state, The Gambia. Following her provision of the background to the economic situation in The Gambia, Carlisle goes on to examine the barriers that marginalize local people from full participation in tourism development in beach enclave tourism. She illustrates how the inequalities result from a lack of access to certain areas, poor access to water and electricity, limited marketing, and a difficulty adhering to licensing rules and international legislation, and demonstrates how the resulting marginalization and social exclusion has led to the well known problem of 'bumsters'. Carlisle then examines the role of ASSET (Association of Small Scale Enterprises in Tourism) who work to include local businesses and provides examples of how the Gambians are rising above their social exclusion. Finally, the chapter concludes by demonstrating how by working in partnership, some of the barriers can be overcome and a more inclusive equal form of tourism can be pursued.

Chapter 6 is written by Angela Kalisch and examines the complexities of developing a fair trade mark for tourism. After presenting the backdrop of unfair, unequal, neo-colonial exchange that has given rise to the present capitalist tourism economy, her chapter explores issues of corporate power

and the problems of unfair international trade agreements. Kalisch then explores tourism certification in general before examining Fair Trade certification in particular. She exposes the rationale and philosophy behind the Fair Trade in Tourism Network and the criteria it developed. Kalisch concludes that a market instrument such as a Fair Trade kite mark cannot change the root causes of poverty and inequality in isolation but might succeed in bringing about changes in values and a greater commitment to social justice.

The final chapter in Part II analyses how, despite tourism's ability to alleviate poverty and bring dignity, it frequently does the reverse and so abuses the human rights of the people in destinations. Stroma Cole and Jenny Erikson demonstrate how the political economy of tourism means that the rights of the tourists to rest and travel override the most basic human rights of others, and argue that by regarding tourism as a system rather than an industry we can gain a more appropriate approach to understanding human rights abuses in the tourism context. Their chapter uses examples of labour, privacy, water and housing rights from a variety of international cases to illustrate how holidays for some bring about poverty and destitution for others. The chapter ends on the business case for including human rights as part of social performance indicators in a company's CSR report.

As we have made clear above, this book is not just about how and why tourism contributes to social inequality. It also examines how tourism can be a route to alleviate social inequality and reduce its impacts, both for the consumers and for the producers of tourism, for those that take holidays and for those in destination communities that provide the products and services consumed by the holiday-makers. The third and final part of the book thus examines the prospects for reducing inequalities in and through tourism. Lyn Minnaert, Jane Stacey, Bernadette Quinn and Kevin Griffin begin with their chapter on social tourism – initiatives that aim to

include groups in tourism that would otherwise be excluded on the basis that tourism is a right and promotes integration, knowledge and personal development. Their chapter explores the social and economic benefits for social tourism for the individuals involved and for society at large and, after reviewing examples of social tourism from various European countries, the authors explore the impacts of social tourism based on research in Eire and the UK. Their work illustrates how holidays provide participants with a much-needed break, improve family relations, create new social networks, enhance self-esteem and lead to the development of new skills and improved behaviour. The authors conclude their chapter with compelling social, economic and policy arguments for social tourism and their evidence suggests that tourism can be used to reduce inequality as well as to bring wider social and economic benefits.

In the second chapter of this part, Derek Hall and Francis Brown advocate using a 'welfare approach' to the study of tourism to enhance its benefits and reduce its negative impacts. Their chapter acknowledges the challenges of welfare-positive tourism while examining the need to explore the ethical dilemmas, nature of responsibilities and welfare trade-offs of and between the many different stakeholders in tourism. After placing welfare in its philosophical context the authors examine how tourism contributes to the well-being and welfare enhancement of tourists. They then take McKercher's 'fundamental truths about tourism' and Fennell's 'five paradoxes of tourism' as their starting point for examining CSR and industry responsibilities in tourism, before turning their attention to welfare considerations in destinations.

Following this, Dorothea Meyer's chapter then examines the origins and ideas behind PPT. She begins her chapter with the meanings of poverty in LEDCs and then examines how tourism can be used to reduce poverty through two intertwined approaches: pro-poor growth and sustainable livelihoods. Meyer then evaluates how

these strategies have been put into practice by focusing on the accommodation sector. She notes how PPT is not without its critics and explores these critiques before examining how this approach to reducing inequalities can be taken forward in tourism development.

The next chapter is Tim Gale's analysis of urban beaches, a phenomenon that has become a feature of many European cities in the summer months, with the aim of providing an alternative recreational space for residents on low incomes. Gale's chapter extends the discussion of social tourism in Chapter 8 to encompass the urban beach as a means of addressing, or compensating for, non-participation in leisure travel by the least mobile in society. He focuses on Paris Plage and Bristol Urban Beach and thought provokingly concludes that such 'tourism/leisure' spaces may increase in popularity as the era of uncomplicated long distance leisure travel comes under threat from climate change, economic downturn and global insecurities.

The final chapter of this third part of the book explores 'justice tourism'. After briefly examining tourism and injustice and how the discrepancies in wealth, power and status are particularly apparent in tourism encounters, Freya Higgins-Desbiolles considers the limited contributions to the discussion of the ethics of tourism and looks at theories of global justice and how these could be linked to tourism. Her chapter then goes on to examine how tourism can be used to bring about social justice. She describes a continuum of justice tourism, from responsible tourism at one end to transnational solidarity activism at the other. The chapter provides four case studies: tours offered by a human rights group; support for the

Palestinians; the International Solidarity Movement; and a solidarity activist, Rachel Corrie. Throughout her contribution, Higgins-Desbiolles explores the ambiguities and difficulties of justice through tourism and concludes that global solidarity tourism can help change our ethical understandings.

We said at the beginning of this introduction that this book is located within the hopeful tourism scholarship paradigm. Being a hopeful scholar or a transformative advocate matters when taking on research in tourism, in that your position (whether it is based on anti-oppression, social justice, pro-woman, advocacy of emancipation or self-determination, or any other similar worldview) influences every aspect of the research process. Thinking about your research and those with whom you co-create that research (including your participants, co-researchers and your audiences) from a critical point of view sharpens your ethical approach to a project. Above all, taking on research as a hopeful scholar means that we all should consider the wider impacts of our research – whether we are an undergraduate or postgraduate student or a more established researcher and educator. We hope that this book will be of value to anyone who is thinking about, practising or using such tourism research. Of course there are gaps and omissions, as this volume is not intended as a comprehensive textbook but rather as a collection of explorations into tourism and inequality – that, after all, is the nature of any project – it is never and nor should it be complete. We urge you to read, learn, get engaged, get thinking and get active but above all, be hopeful for a more socially responsible future for tourism practice.

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